

**From pluralisation to cohesion: Islam and state-
secondary education about religions in England and
France**

James Sampere Peacock

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Abstract

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This comparative interdisciplinary socio-political and educationalist thesis researches the place of religion, particularly Islam, in English and French state-secondary schools and how this relates to education about religion. Since the 1980s, both rapidly ethno-religiously diversifying countries have increasingly sought to develop educational responses to encourage ways of living together with our differences. The thesis researches this bi-national confluence which indicates a de-privatisation of religion, thus showing that England's 'State-Church' legacy and French *laïcité* are not as dissimilar as often believed.

The comparative case study focuses on the subjects of English RE and French Humanities, predominantly History and '*Enseignement moral et civique*' (Citizenship), in state-secondary schools. For this, I apply a multi-method qualitative research design combining an analysis of documents, class observations and most importantly, educator and elite interviews.

England and France's educational responses to their complex religious situations evidence that the de-privatisation of religion has led to two forms of bi-national convergence. The first point of confluence refers to state-educational commitments to egalitarian pluralism in England and greater religious recognition in France since the 1980s and 1990s. Secondly, in the 21st century, both countries have strengthened the promotion of 'social cohesion' via education, a development substantially associated with socio-political matters surrounding Islam. Such 'cohesive' discourses can bolster education about religion's role in student civic development.

This research also illustrates how educators' understandings and approaches concerning education about religion connect to 'cohesive' discourses, student civic development and, more widely, to the place accorded to religion within state-secondary schools as public spheres. English educators favour an RE premised on teaching religious diversity, but interviewees rarely allude to nurturing students' religiosity. Although the subject RE does not exist in French state-secondary schools, my data reveals instances of a religiously inclusive educational *laïcité*. Nonetheless, French educators show varying depths of pedagogical engagement with religion.

Key words: Education about religion, De-privatisation of religion, Islam, Public sphere, *Laïcité*, Cohesion, England and France

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‘I am myself and my circumstance, and if I do not overcome my circumstance, then I cannot be myself’

Jose Ortega y Gasset

For my mother, whose strength beat cancer this year. I cannot express the depths of my admiration, love and gratitude for your constant dedication, perseverance and patience.

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‘Gratitude is the fairest blossom which springs from the soul’

Henry Ward Beecher

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Acronyms

BV: British values

CC: Community cohesion

CEF: Conférence des évêques de France

CFCM: Conseil français du culte musulman

CORAB: Commission on Religion and Belief in British Public Life

CORE: Commission of Religious Education

DCA: Directed content analysis

DCSF: Department for Children, Schools and Families

DfE: Department for Education

EFR: Enseignement des faits religieux

EMC: Enseignement moral et civique

FBV: Fundamental British values

IESR: Institut européen en sciences des religions

IREL: Institut d'étude des religions et de la laïcité

IRR: Institute of Race Relations

IUFM: Institut universitaire de formation des maîtres

MCB: Muslim Council of Britain

PART: Plan d'action contre la radicalisation et le terrorisme

QCA: Qualifications and Curriculum Authority

QCA: Qualitative content analysis

RE: Religious Education

REC: Religious Education Council of England and Wales

RV: Republican values

SCAA: School Curriculum and Assessment Authority

SMSC development: Spiritual, moral, social and cultural development

THA: Trojan Horse Affair

Chapter one – Introduction

1.1 How can we live together with our differences?

On 18 March 2019, during a debate with intellectuals about France's 1905 law on the separation of 'Church and State', the French President Emmanuel Macron spoke about *laïcité* (French secularism). He alluded to France's complex contemporary religious situation and stated that "for everyone to live together, we must first progressively start at school". He contended this was "not a question of saying we have to teach a sort of catechism of the Republic, but we have to explain what the framework of *laïcité* is". Macron then turned to the importance of studying the history of civilisations "so that everyone can form their own opinion and be informed of the historical elements that sometimes lie behind beliefs". Subsequently, he stressed that "at school we must not yield at all to what some people would like us to back down on" such as teaching a "historical event because it does not fall within what religion accepts. That is an absolute red line" (France Culture, 2019). The salience of the debate of 'living together' and religion in state education and wider society is by no means limited to France. For the British sociologist Davie, Britain has seen a contemporary explosion of research on religion relating to equality, discrimination and good relations. She adds that questions of religious pluralisation and globalisation result in British "secular elites" (for example in state institutions) having to respond to religion's increased socio-political salience (Davie, 2014, pp. 4&183-187).

Undeniably, Western interests in the matter of religion's place in societies, considered settled during much of the 20th century, particularly in Europe, have once again gained public prominence (Berger et al, 2008, pp. 130-131). Since the late 20th century, academia has been progressively questioning the 'secularisation thesis' of Western modernity, which claims that as societies become more modern around the globe, religion increasingly loses importance. For instance, Berger pointed out that on an international religious scene, conservative, orthodox or traditionalist movements are on the rise rather than in retreat (1999, pp. 2&6). Other academic figures, such as Taylor and Habermas, posit that Western liberal democracies should become more inclusive of

the value that religious insights can bring to the public sphere (Taylor, 2007; Habermas, 2010; Spohn, 2015, p. 129). Thus, scholars in the West are giving serious consideration to the socio-political significance of religion.

I argue that, particularly for Western European countries, academic, political and wider public interest in religion is inherently related to globalisation and to their own complex contemporary religious situations. The first dimension of this complexity is the fact that, as Taylor notes, in countries like England and France belief in God is now “one option among others, and frequently not the easiest to embrace” (2007, p. 3). However, this is only one side of the picture. For Hervieu-Léger, in contemporary Western European individualist democracies, the destabilisations of traditional social and symbolic belonging mean that religions can paradoxically assume social and symbolic importance for individuals and communities (2016, pp. 191&192). In England and France, this continuing and, in some respects, even mounting socio-political relevance of religion, as evidenced in Macron’s speech, is accentuated by their contemporary ethno-religious diversity. Through my focus on England and France, my research relates to this complex religious situation and believes that, as Davie argues, in societies which are both increasingly secular and religiously plural, education about religions matters more, not less (2014, p. 125).

How can we theoretically define the complex place of religion in English and French public spheres? In the thesis, I argue that Casanova’s theory of the de-privatisation of religion is best suited to theoretically capture this situation. Casanova states there is little indication that secularisation (as a functional differentiation of secular spheres like the state or economy from religion)¹ is in decline in Western countries. However, he adds that “religion as a discursive reality, indeed as an abstract category and as a system of classification of reality, used by modern individuals as well as by modern societies across the world, has become an undisputable global social fact” (Casanova, 1994, p. 220; Casanova & Phillips, 2009, p. 8). I assess that for England and France, matters surrounding Islam are an integral dimension to the present-day public importance of religion. Firstly, since the 1950s, England and France have progressively become

¹ In this respect, secularisation should not be confused with the ‘secularisation thesis’.

religiously diverse societies. Thus, Muslim and wider ethno-religious minorities' demographic contributions result in adaptations of how the state regulates religion. This demographic change also raises questions about what is considered 'our' heritage as multicultural societies. Secondly, in the 21st century, religion, and Islam particularly, has become a sometimes contentious matter in England and France, which has led to both countries' governments adopting discourses to promote 'social cohesion'. This combination of pluralisation and contention has had a direct bearing on state education in both countries. The resultant paradox is that France's *laïcité* and England's 'State-Church' legacy show a degree of convergence in the importance they give to the matter of religion and 'living together' through state education. Yet how this contemporary convergence between England and France can play out in state-secondary schools, and how this relates to education about religions, have never before been the subject of in-depth empirical study.

My explanatory bi-national comparative research is thus an interdisciplinary thesis which explores the inherently socio-political and educationalist question of education about religions in English and French state-secondary schools. The unique contribution of my comparative study is that I provide in-depth empirical evidence of how convergences between England and France concerning the salient matter of "how can we live together with our differences (be they cultural, religious, etc)" can translate into action in both countries' state-secondary education systems (Willaime, 2007, p. 66). I focus predominantly on interviewing educators in conjunction with a wider array of relevant data. This allows me to reveal approaches, challenges and opportunities for education about religions to foster mutual understanding and contribute to students' civic development in two different European countries which, I argue, are characterised by the de-privatisation of religion.

The thesis focuses on non-confessional state-secondary education about religions rather than 'confessional' education, which nurtures students within a particular faith tradition either through a discrete subject or with a cross-curricula approach. In England, my use of the term non-confessional refers to a multi-religious RE, which can still nurture students' religiosity, but which

is not imparted as ‘instruction’ in one particular religion (Jackson et al, 2010, p. 16; Willaime, 2007, p. 61). In France, non-confessional refers to the fact that there is no subject in state schools dedicated exclusively to education about religions. Rather, religions are approached in Humanities subjects as *‘fait(s) religieux’* (facts or phenomena), which are considered important for students’ heritage-based and cultural, intellectual and civic education (Estivalèzes, 2005, p. 35). In relation to this non-confessional specificity, my academic contribution is relevant to comparative education about religions and to politics (including the sociology of religion) but is not applicable to confessional religious studies or theology.

1.2 Research aims, questions and findings

The thesis has two interrelated research aims. Firstly, I uncover evidence of, and responses to, the de-privatisation of religion, particularly Islam, in state-secondary education in both countries. Secondly, in connection to this, the research also explains how this de-privatisation relates to education about religions. Within this second research aim, I also focus particularly, though not exclusively, on Islam and centre on the subjects of English RE and French History and *‘Enseignement moral et civique’* (EMC) predominantly. The following two research questions guide my research aims respectively:

- (1) To what extent is the de-privatisation of religion, and Islam particularly, reflected in state-secondary education in England and France?**
- (2) What are English and French educators’ understandings and approaches regarding education about religions in state-secondary schools?**

1.2.1 Main argument and findings

Academic works about the place of religion in state-secondary education or wider public spheres can often give the impression that the English and French models are antonymic (Berger et al, 2008, p. 129). England is frequently associated with a multicultural conception of state-education. In comparison, France is often equated with assimilationism and both the privatisation of, and hostility towards, religions (Kuru, 2008, p. 14; Meer et al, 2009, p. 422; Ferrera, 2012, p. 515; Modood, 2013, p. 69). However, I argue that these representations lack nuance. In contrast, I

contend that the de-privatisation of religion in both countries results in a degree of convergence between their education systems. This confluence consists of England and France seeking strategies to aid future adult citizens to better live together with their differences. Nonetheless, within this convergence, both education systems still maintain key contextual specificities in the manner in which they regulate religion. My findings for both research questions contribute to my main argument.

For the **first research question**, I argue through my findings that:

There are three ways in which the de-privatisation of religion, and Islam particularly, are reflected in my data. These reflections can be categorised into three interrelated strands: A refutation of the ‘secularisation thesis’, the pluralisation of the polity and, more recently, the contentious political issue of religion in society. The de-privatisation of religion in both countries bolsters educational trends which emphasise a discourse of ‘cohesion’ in 21st century state-sponsored publications, state-institutional strategies, and among interviewees. This development can reinforce education about religion’s importance for state-secondary school students’ civic development.

The findings for my **second research question** elaborate on how educators’ understandings and approaches concerning education about religions connect to discourses of ‘cohesion’, student civic development and, more widely, to the place accorded to religion within state-secondary schools as public spheres.

For England, globalisation processes, a multiculturalisation of society and ‘cohesive’ educational intents can translate into trends that strengthen a broad comparative approach to teaching about different religions. My data thus evidences an RE which aims to cultivate students’ knowledge about religious diversity to enhance their civic competences, but interviewees make few allusions to nurturing pupils’ religiosity. Teachers value an RE which develops students’ critical thinking skills to respond to matters of ‘othering’, building empathy and fostering positive engagements with ‘difference’. Nevertheless,

concerning the thesis' predominant focus on Islam, the religion can occasionally be approached from a sanitised perspective among interviewees and in analysed textbooks.

For France, the heightened socio-political visibility of religion and 'cohesive' educational intents can translate into trends that associate a 'factual' civilisational study of religion with positive engagements with 'difference' in History, or that approach religiously relevant socio-political matters through the framework of *laïcité* in EMC. There is evidence of a religiously inclusive '*vivre ensemble*' (French concept denoting 'social cohesion'). However, depths of engagement with religion in History and EMC vary significantly among interviewed teachers. More developed engagements with religion are partly limited by sometimes ambivalent understandings of *laïcité*'s relationship with pedagogical 'neutrality'.

1.3 Thesis chapters

Chapter two, the conceptual framework, begins by elaborating on my scholarly contribution to the field of comparative studies into religion in education. I then explain my sociological understanding of religion as a collective 'chain of memory' (Hervieu-Léger, 2000). Afterwards, the chapter engages with my three-tiered conceptual framework within my studied timeframe (1985-2021) to provide an empirical picture capturing the changing story of religion in English and French state-secondary education. The primary concepts are secularism, secularisation and the de-privatisation of religion. The secondary concepts detail different educational responses relevant to the place of religion in both societies and how these relate to matters surrounding Islam. The tertiary concepts explain different pedagogies guiding my assessment for my second research question in empirical chapters.

Chapter three details my 'structured focused comparison' methodological research design. This includes using identical research questions and objectives, common academic literature to ground my comparative inter-disciplinary empirical contribution, and highly similar data collection and sampling methods for both cases. The methodology explains my top-down research and stresses

why and how I rely on different data sources. I specify the state-sponsored, legal and policy documents used to capture macro-political developments relevant to religion in education. These documents are integral for my analysis of textbook and syllabi documents, class observations and, most importantly, interviewee contributions, which illustrate micro-political educational actors' understandings and practices. I then detail my 'qualitative content analysis' (QCA) approach for data, which is a descriptive analytical tool well fitted to my explanatory research questions.

Chapter four is the first empirical chapter. It sets out my findings for the first research question about the extent to which the de-privatisation of religion, and Islam particularly, is reflected in my research focusing on state-secondary education, specifically for the English case study. I stress that the combination of the de-privatisation of religion and the resultant 21st century discourses of 'cohesion' can enhance RE's role to foster students' civic development via an "instrumentalist" view of the subject (Chater, 2018, p. 71). The chapter then addresses the second research question in the context of pluralism which refers to my normative valuation of plurality (Waillet & Roskam, 2013, p. 70). This perceives engagements with diversity as educationally enriching. By means of *World Religions* pedagogies, I expound on interviewees' understandings of and engagements with (non)religious diversity and demonstrate how interviewed educators often value broad comparative approaches to teaching Islam in conjunction with other religions.

Chapter five follows a similar logic to chapter four for the French case study and develops my findings for the first research question. I then compare how data from both countries tallies with Portier's 'converging secularisms' (2016a). The second part of the chapter deals with my second research question in the context of pluralism for France. My findings indicate how a 'factual' approach to religion in History can translate into positive engagements with 'the other' through a civilisational study of religion. An education touching on religion is also applicable to EMC, albeit through the framework of *laïcité*. However, interviewed teachers differ in their depth of engagement with religion.

Chapter six integrates data from both case studies in relation to my second research question in the context of deliberative democracy, which for the thesis means a pedagogy rooted in democratic education (Longo, 2013, p. 2). I rely on a *Critical Pedagogical* categorisation to analyse the framing of knowledge about religions, ‘shared values’, and dialogue touching on religious matters. I argue there is no indication that shifts towards promoting ‘cohesion’ in English education result in interviewed educators viewing Islam as a suspect community or promoting value homogeneity among students beyond encouraging mutual tolerance. For France, I find there is little evidence among interviewees to validate critiques which perceive or would imply that EMC promotes a *laïque* morality which sees Islam or wider religion as its opposite.

Chapter seven, the final empirical chapter, centres on textbook and syllabi documents for England and France. The thesis treats textbook authors and syllabi designers included in this chapter as educators. The analysis develops my engagement with the second research question in the context of deliberative democracy, thereby giving greater weight to the thesis’ findings and illustrating matters evoked by interviewees in preceding chapters. Overall, even when analysing ‘education about religions’ rather than ‘religious education’, English textbooks show a predominantly thorough *Critical Pedagogical* approach to religion which contrasts with French textbooks’ ambivalent engagement. Nonetheless, the English education system’s agenda to promote ‘cohesion’ can occasionally result in certain textbook material approaching education about Islam through a sanitised lens. French textbooks show instances of a religiously inclusive and pluralist educational *laïcité*. Yet this often consists of acknowledging, rather than engaging more deeply with religion.

Chapter eight concludes the thesis, answering both research questions comparatively and discussing my findings. I explain how the de-privatisation of religion, and Islam particularly, results in two forms of convergence between the English and French case studies. Firstly, since the 1980s, the English case study demonstrates shifts from a non-egalitarian Christian confessionalism to a commitment to egalitarian pluralism. France shows instances of moving from a strict separatism towards greater recognition of religion. Secondly, in the 21st century, both

cases also converge around educational discourses of ‘cohesion’. However, I also stress that the promotion of ‘cohesion’ does not necessarily represent a roll back of commitments to egalitarian pluralism in England or greater religious recognition in France. In relation to this, for my second research question, I posit that discourses of ‘cohesion’ can result in a more religiously inclusive French educational *laïcité*. In England, contrary to critiques, I argue that discourses of ‘cohesion’ do not lead to religion being framed as an unimportant private matter. On the contrary, my data shows that overall, RE can respond pragmatically to the country’s contemporary religious situation. I conclude by reiterating that the place of religion in both countries is complex. Both societies have become increasingly secular and more religiously diverse. Consequently, quests for ways to combine education about religions and shared democratic values should not be seen as a cultural homogenisation enforced on students, but rather as educational responses to encourage living together, that could nonetheless be improved.

Chapter two – Conceptual Framework

2.1 Introduction

Chapter one established my research aims to explain the place of religion in English and French state-secondary schools as public spheres, and how this connects with trends I uncover in empirical chapters in relation to education about religions.

This chapter begins by introducing my research contribution to the field of comparative studies before turning to the conceptual framework that guides the thesis. My comparative study's unique contribution is that it provides an in-depth empirical analysis of how convergences in state-education systems across Europe regarding the matter of "how can we live together with our differences" can play out in English and French state-secondary education (Willaime, 2007, p. 66). The thesis is the first exhaustive bi-national empirical project comparing the place of religion in English and French state-secondary schools and how this relates to education about religions. Comparing England and France in this respect may initially seem an anomaly. France has a separation between 'Church and State', and England a 'State-Church' model. Additionally, unlike RE in England, there is no subject called 'religious education' in French state schools. However, this chapter explains that England and France show a degree of convergence in how public discourse, legislation and policies, particularly in relation to education, respond to the de-privatisation of religion in Western Europe.² As Casanova says, even French *laïcité*'s separation model is having to adapt to the de-privatisation of religion (2010, p. 20).

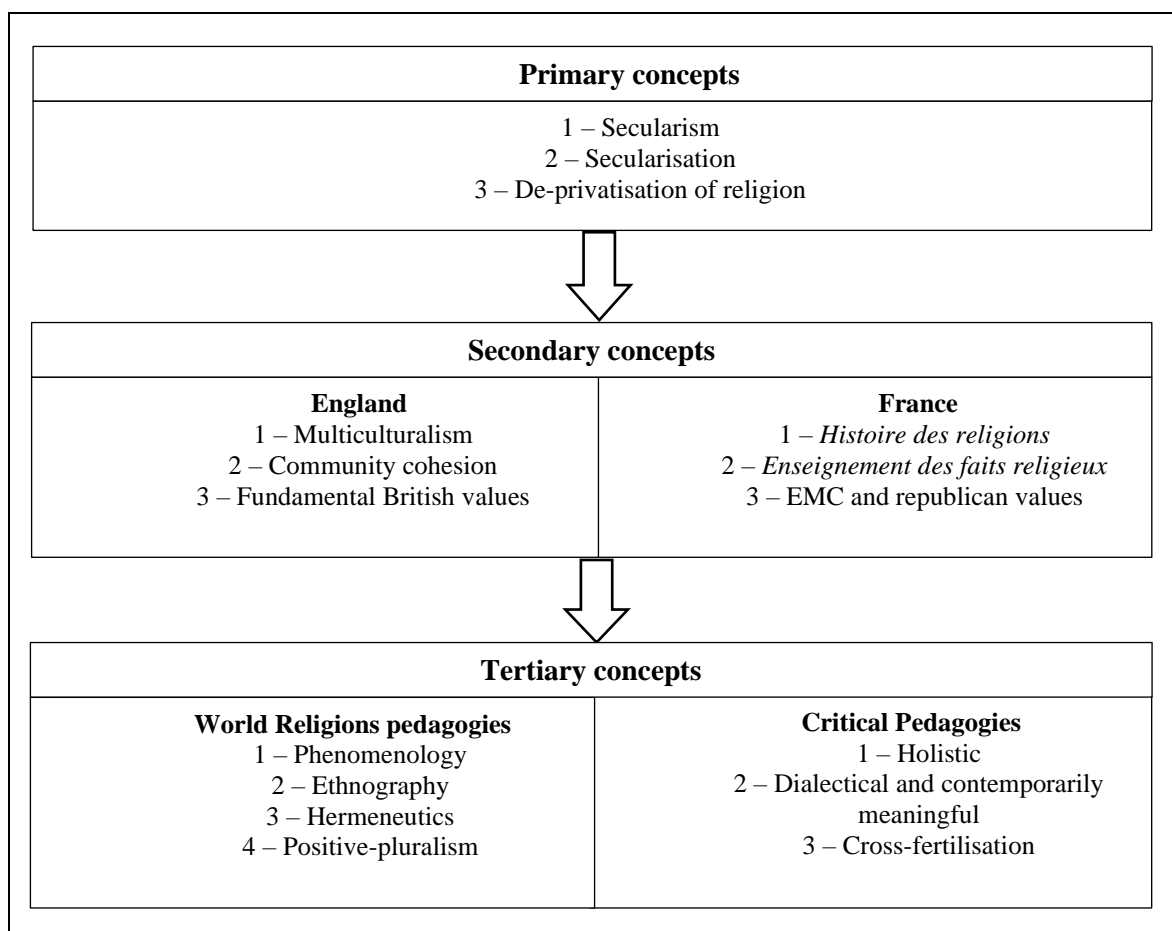
Both in this chapter and throughout the thesis, I concentrate predominantly on Islam when engaging with the place of religion in state-secondary schools and how this correlates with trends in education about religions I uncover in my research. This is because Islam, or its representation in society, contributes substantially to the de-privatisation of religion in England and France. My claim coincides with wider academic assertions that the 'secularisation thesis' of Western modernity, which believes religion will become an unimportant private matter, is no longer

² Section 2.4.3 defines and engages with the de-privatisation of religion.

empirically tenable. Within my timeframe (1985-2021), I give particular relevance to the increased salience of public discourses and state-institutional strategies promoting ‘social cohesion’ and ‘managing difference’ in the 21st century, which touch on education about religions in both countries. This tendency to encourage ‘cohesion’ in schools can bolster the importance of education about religions for students’ civic democratic development. However, these educational developments should be treated with certain caution, especially the way in which religions in education and their connection to ‘shared values’ and tolerance are framed in state-secondary education.

This chapter comprises five sections beyond the introduction and conclusion. Section 2.2 provides an overview of previous in-depth empirical studies centring on education about religions in English and French state schools during the 21st century. It then turns to discussing the field of comparative studies into religion in education in Europe, and finishes by expounding my academic contribution. Section 2.3 explains the thesis’ sociological interpretation of religion. After, I turn to the socio-political and educationalist interdisciplinary conceptual framework of the study. Section 2.4 details the primary concepts for the conceptual framework: secularism, secularisation and the de-privatisation of religion. Section 2.5 engages with secondary concepts in the conceptual framework: educational responses to the place of religion in public discourse and spheres between 1985 and 2021. Section 2.6 enumerates the tertiary concepts in the conceptual framework: pedagogies I employ to analyse how state-sponsored discourse, state-institutional strategies and wider socio-political developments translate into the trends in education about religions which I uncover in empirical chapters in the contexts of pluralism and deliberative democracy. For clarity, the table below provides a bird’s-eye view of the thesis’ three-tiered conceptual framework explored in this chapter.

Table 2.1 – Illustration of conceptual framework



2.2 Research contribution

There is an abundance of 21st century publications focusing on the field of education about religion either in England or France. Less common is for these to integrate in-depth empirical engagements with live participants in state-secondary schools. At national levels, four publications stand out as incorporating such in-depth empirical engagements.

The first, Conroy et al’s (2013) study ‘Does Religious Education Work?’, researches English RE in schools around the country. It connects policy analysis with a thematic description of teaching practices and student opinions. Overall, Conroy et al are critical of RE practices in many schools due to the complexities of teaching the subject in a desacralized space, the subject’s limited resources and competing pedagogical aims around civics, ethics, religion and education. Their assessment is that such combinations not only limit the conceptual and linguistic depth of education about religions, but also contribute to RE being academically ranked “very low”

compared to other subjects (Conroy et al, 2013, pp. 222&225-226). Although I do not deny that there is room for more linguistic and conceptual depth in education about religion, I question throughout the thesis Conroy et al's assessment that RE has a "very low" profile. Rather, I argue that RE in England can potentially add an integral dimension to students' civic democratic development. The subject is primely placed to respond to issues of globalisation, pluralism and the contentious representations of religion in Britain and internationally.

The second publication is a research report rather than a traditional academic work, but it provides a very thorough empirical engagement with live participants involved in schools. The Commission of Religious Education's (CORE) 'Religion and Worldviews: The way forward' compiles documents, student and teacher contributions, as well as responses from members of faith-based organisations, school inspectors and academics, among others. The report proposes that RE should be replaced by a new subject which would be called 'Religion and Worldviews'. It argues that this change would ensure that students' right to receive education about religion until the age of sixteen would be upheld in all schools, and better reflect religious demographic developments in contemporary England (CORE, 2018). The debate about turning RE into the subject of 'Religion and Worldviews' is beyond my research focus. Nonetheless, the report does provide an excellent up-to-date window into the provision of education about religion. Thus, I occasionally refer to the report's findings in my empirical chapters and conclusion.

For France, two 21st century publications in particular provide in-depth empirical analyses into macro and micro-political relationships in religion in education. Estivalèzes' '*Les religions dans l'enseignement laïque*' analyses the academic and political debates relating to educational *laïcité*'s evolution from its inception until the early 2000s, and how this relates to Islam's new public visibility both in education and wider society (2005). In addition, Béraud and Willaime's '*Les jeunes, l'école et la religion*' explores educator understandings, teaching practices and student perspectives on the place of, and education about, religion in French schools (2009). I draw substantially from both publications throughout the thesis and provide an updated

insight into education about religion in *laïque* education, considering both studies were conducted over a decade ago.

However, these four publications focus on one country and do not explain substantially how their research relates to wider tendencies illustrating the place of religion in public spheres or educational practices at the bi-national or multi-national European level. Béraud and Willaime's publication does mention there is a degree of "Europeanisation" in the importance that Germany, Spain, England, Norway, Holland and France give to developing educational responses to questions of 21st century religious diversity and pluralism (Willaime, 2009, p. 60). However, this is done briefly to contextualise how the '*fait(s) religieux*' are approached in France compared to other European democracies.

Comparative studies into religion in education between European countries are a relatively new field of study (Weisse, 2007, pp. 14-15). Several 21st century publications integrating in-depth empirical engagements with live participants in school settings beyond the mono-national level are available in the Religious Diversity and Education in Europe peer reviewed book series.³ The series has published works drawing from two European academic projects researching religion in education. The first is the European Network for Religious Education through Contextual Approaches (ENRECA), established in 1999 for scholarly mutual co-operation and reflection on the changing role of religious education mainly in European countries. Publications resulting from ENRECA's work include certain empirical engagements with live participants in state-secondary education settings. However, empirical research in France figures less prominently compared to other countries such as Holland, Sweden, England, Wales and, particularly, Germany and Norway (Bakker & Heimbrock, 2007; Skeie et al, 2013).

The second programme, more in line with my research into English and French state-secondary education, is the EU-funded programme Religion in Education: A Contribution to Dialogue or a

³ Available at: https://www.waxmann.com/waxmann-reihen/?tx_p2waxmann_pi2%5bissn%5d=1862-9547&tx_p2waxmann_pi2%5baction%5d=show#:~:text=broader%20European%20level,-.This%20well%2Destablished%20peer%20reviewed%20book%20series%20is%20committed%20to,countries%20or%20regions%20outside%20Europe (Accessed 12/11/2021).

Factor of Conflict in Transforming Societies of European Countries (REDCo). It undertook a study of religion in education through an exhaustive empirical project primarily, though not exclusively, focusing on student perceptions of religion as a source of dialogue and conflict in eight European countries including England and France. REDCo conducted student questionnaires, quantitative surveys and interviews, class observations and teacher interviews. Throughout the thesis, I engage with three publications resulting from REDCo's empirical project which bear some resemblance to my bi-national research approach. The first is a comparative study while the other two only include comparisons of different countries in their final chapters. The first publication is Knauth et al's 'Encountering Religious Pluralism in School and Society: A Qualitative Study of Teenage Perspectives in Europe' which explores individual, social and societal trends in religious encounters and dialogue among pupils (2008). England and France are among the eight countries studied in the book. However, in contrast to my research, France is compared to Spain, and England to Holland, at the bi-national level, which results in very limited direct comparisons between England and France. The second publication, Alvarez Veinguer et al's (2009) 'Islam in Education in European Countries: Pedagogical Concepts and Empirical Findings', shares my predominant research focus on Islam. However, England and France are only compared at the European rather than bi-national level regarding Muslim students' perspectives on religion and education (Jozsa, 2009). The third publication is van der Want et al's 'Teachers Responding to Religious Diversity in Europe: Research Biography and Pedagogy' (2009). However, as with Alvarez Veinguer et al's publication, England and France are only compared at the European rather than bi-national level in the last chapter and epilogue of the book.

Similarly to REDCo, my research contribution rests on a detailed empirical study engaging with the salient socio-political and educationalist matter of "how can we live together with our differences (be they cultural, religious, etc)" (Willaime, 2007, p. 66).

2.2.1 How can we live together with our differences: My academic contribution

My academic contribution explaining ways in which the question of “how can we live together with our differences” can translate into action in English and French education rests on three foundations. Firstly, the thesis concentrates on Islam predominantly as the religion of study. The second foundation, which is the most important element of my academic contribution, is my use of Portier’s term ‘converging secularisms’. The third relates to the fact that REDCo’s comparative research into religion in education, which to date bears the closest resemblance to my thesis, was conducted over a decade ago. I now explain these three foundations in greater detail.

(A) Islam and state-secondary schools as public spheres

My focus on Islam is an important specification for my research contribution. As seen throughout the thesis, socio-political matters surrounding Islam in England, France and world politics are integral to understanding why the question of religion in state-education, and other public spheres, raises passionate academic and wider public debates within my timeframe of study (1985-2021). Therefore, through trends I observe in my data, I illustrate how approaches to education about religion, and Islam particularly, in English and French state-secondary education address the challenges and opportunities for mutual understanding and students’ civic development.

(B) Comparing England and France through Portier’s ‘converging secularisms’

The crux of my academic contribution engages with the “Europeanisation” to which Willaime alludes in the aforementioned publication *‘Les jeunes, l’école et la religion’* (2009, p. 60). I argue there is a convergence in the importance given by English and French state-secondary education to questions of pluralisation and ‘living together’, while also explaining how each country’s contextual specificities affect approaches to these.

The scholarly significance of engaging with and explaining this convergence among education systems is implicit in REDCo’s publications. In contrast, Portier explicitly engages with Western European societies embodying what he calls ‘converging secularisms’. He argues that this convergence manifests itself through institutional secular models’ shifts towards reducing

religious inequalities, or exclusions in the case of France, post-1970 (Portier, 2013, p. 140; Portier, 2016a, pp. 83-88). Portier believes that more recently Western European countries like England and France show convergence in state-institutional strategies promoting ‘social cohesion’ and ‘managing difference’, which are largely responses to both countries’ complex religious situations (2016a, pp. 89-90; 2016b). However, Portier does not delve into in-depth empirical engagements beyond the macro-political level of state-institutional strategies and public discourse to illustrate this secular convergence. Thus, my research is the first bi-national in-depth contemporary empirical study into English and French education, in which I apply Portier’s concept of ‘converging secularisms’ to explain the place of religion in state-secondary schools as public spheres.

In connection to this, my comparative case study helps question perspectives that often imply that French *laïcité* and England’s ‘State-Church’ models embody antonymic secular systems (Berger et al, 2008, p. 129) or that *laïcité* solely privatises religion (Kuru, 2008, p. 14; Ferrera, 2012, p. 515; Modood, 2013, p. 69). On the other hand, my thesis also questions representations of European secularism as being monolithic (Bhargava, 2014, p. 335; Foner, 2015, pp. 890-891). These narratives are unable to adequately capture the contemporary changing place and role of religion in English and French public spheres, and subsequently, state-secondary schools.

(C) Acknowledging changes since REDCo’s research

My research also contributes to the field of comparative studies into religion in education in a third manner. This contribution directly relates to REDCo’s research, despite one important difference in our research aims and designs. REDCo focuses mostly on attitudes to religion as a source of dialogue and conflict, particularly among students. This contrasts with my study which analyses the place of religion in English and French state-secondary schools as public spheres and how this relates to approaches to education about religion, especially by interviewing educators.

Even if we do not share the same core research aims, REDCo provides empirical snippets into the place of religion in European countries and substantial contributions touching on teaching practices within schools. In this sense, both of our studies contribute to analysing the challenges

and opportunities for mutual understanding and students' civic development. However, the place of religion in English and French education has evolved since REDCo's research programme spanning from 2006 until 2009. Since then, English and French state-secondary education has witnessed a strengthening of public discourses and state-institutional strategies promoting 'social cohesion' and 'managing difference', which directly touch upon religion in education. As such, my research provides an updated study for England and France. For example, REDCo's assessment of religion in French state schools having "a rare presence" (Weisse, 2009, p. 8) has, I argue, become incrementally more nuanced over the last decade.

Before going on to expound the conceptual framework that guides my comparative empirical case study, I now explain the sociological interpretation of religion taken for the thesis.

2.3 Sociology of religion

The thesis takes a sociological interpretation of religion based on Bryan Wilson and Danièle Hervieu-Léger's definitions. Religion, at its core, is a path through which humans respond to the need for collective experience and anticipation in the face of uncertainties. This means religion is a form of collective belief that explains the present and aims for the future (Hervieu-Léger, 1987, p. 28). For Wilson, religion is a belief combining an appeal to the supernatural and social utopianism, coupled with an ability to create and legitimise projects and action with the aim of transforming society (Hervieu-Léger, 2000, p. 36).

However, why do collectives legitimise religion's claim to social transformation, or what precisely distinguishes religion from other forms of belief? Hervieu-Léger answers this question by defining religion as a collective 'chain of memory' and imagination based on the sanctity of tradition (2000, p. 4). Religious activity is wholly directed to the production, management and distribution of the particular form of believing which draws its legitimacy from reference to a tradition (Hervieu-Léger, 2000, p. 1; Urbaniak, 2015, p. 2). Tradition is thus the authorised version of a religion's collective memory (Hervieu-Léger, 2000, p. 97). This continuity of memory transcends history and manifests itself in the religious act of recalling, giving meaning

to the present and containing the future (Hervieu-Léger, 2000, p. 125; Urbaniak, 2015, p. 2). For groups to see themselves as part of a lineage, memory must be consciously shared, passed on and constantly constructed and adapted for it to be grasped and be meaningful through time. Therefore, the origins of tradition are constructed outside time and history (Hervieu-Léger, 2000, p. 123).

I approach the sociology of religion from a functionalist perspective which studies religion in social life rather than delving into the substance of belief (Davie, 1999, p. 109; Hervieu-Léger, 2000, p. 32). This functionalist approach researches the place of religion in public discourse and state-secondary schools as public spheres within my studied timeframe.

2.4 Primary concepts explaining the place of religion in England and France: Secularism, secularisation and the de-privatisation of religion

This section begins by providing a background to English and French education policy enacted since the second half of the 19th century in connection to both countries' distinct legacies concerning the regulation of religion in society. After, I engage with the primary concepts of my conceptual framework: secularism, secularisation and the de-privatisation of religion. I finalise the section by explaining how I relate these primary concepts to the term 'converging secularism', coined by Portier, which helps explain the place of religion in English and French public spheres, including state-secondary education.

2.4.1 Background to the regulation of religion, education policy and secularism in England and France

(A) The English 'State Church' and education

One of the most notable differences concerning religion in English and French society is the former's continuing 'State-Church' legacy first established by Henry VIII between 1531 and 1540. For instance, the state still rubber stamps the Church of England's candidates for bishops and several of these, alongside archbishops, are members of the House of Lords. Also, monarchs are both the Head of the State and Supreme Governor of the Church. The 19th century saw the

acceleration of state secularisation in England, whereby a series of laws maintained a special status for the Church of England but reduced religious inequalities and discrimination, primarily against Catholics and Jews (Sandberg, 2011).

Closer to education, the combination of the ‘State-Church’ model and moves towards toleration in the 19th century were evident in the 1870 Education Act which established universal compulsory schooling in England and Wales. In areas where religious (voluntary) schools could not provide education, the government created non-denominational state schools. These were intended to supplement schools already run by churches or private organisations (Shaw, 2011, p. 4). Schools of a designated religious character (also widely referred to using the non-official term ‘faith schools’) could opt for government financing as ‘state-aided voluntary schools’. State and religion, particularly the Church of England, thus acted as educational partners. State-funded schools that were not of a designated religious character were required to provide Christian Religious Instruction and acts of collective worship, with optional parental optout. However, even if most children in England came from Christian homes, there was a sizable number of these that were not followers of the Church of England. As such, the 1870 Education Act stated that neither Christian Religious Instruction nor acts of collective worship could be imparted as catechism in state-funded schools with no designated religious character. For this, the Act specified that Religious Instruction should be mostly limited to “Bible reading, the Ten Commandments and the Lord’s Prayer rather than [...] formularies distinctive of any particular denomination” (Freathy, 2007, pp. 372-373). The 1870 Act also allowed Catholic schools to increasingly benefit from government funding as ‘state-aided voluntary schools’ (Grace, 2001, p. 492). This approach to compulsory education was reaffirmed in the 1944 Education Act (Ipgrave, 2016, pp. 95-96).

The legacy of ‘faith schools’ opting for government support since the late 19th century contributes to these schools composing around 37 % of primary and 18% of secondary state-funded schools in contemporary England. Although most are Christian, certain Jewish schools have received state funding since the early 20th century. Also, since the establishment of the first Muslim state-funded school in 1998, the number of Muslim schools receiving government funding in England rose to

31 in 2019 (Long & Danechi, 2019, pp. 17&31). In the 1980s, when England was becoming increasingly religiously diverse (beyond the pre-existing diversity within Christianity), the 1988 Education Reform Act adapted RE in state-funded schools that were not of a designated religious character. This adaptation resulted in the embrace of multiculturalism through a pluri-religious approach to RE, while also underlining the predominant role of Christianity within British culture (Ipgrave, 2016, p. 97-98). Furthermore, acts of collective worship in state-funded schools with no religious designation can now depart from a Christian character, if schools have reasonable grounds to do so, by applying for ‘determination’.⁴

(B) Oscillating ‘Church-State’ relations and education in France

Relations between religion and the state have been less linear in France than in England. The late 17th and 18th centuries were characterised by the axiom “one faith, one law, one king”. This dictum embodied the absolute monarchy’s relationship with Catholicism, limiting papal influence and subordinating Catholicism to the crown. In exchange, the French clergy benefited from certain privileges such as a state-enforced monopoly on religion and tax exemptions. However, after the 1789 Revolution, most of these privileges were revoked by the ‘Declaration of the Rights of Man’ (Celador, 2017, pp. 107-109&120-121). This abrupt secularisation process is, I believe, an important element in understanding France’s sometimes turbulent relationship between religion and state.

During the 19th century, France experienced oscillations between monarchy, republic and dictatorship, and with these, different arrangements regarding the role that religion, particularly Catholicism, played in education and state matters more broadly. For example, during the presidency of Louis Napoléon, who later became dictator between 1852 and 1870, the 1850 Falloux Law promoted the expansion of elementary education provided by Catholic congregations. The law created a mixed education system whereby some primary education

⁴ ‘Determination’ refers to schools’ right to make the case to the government that requirements to provide worship that is wholly or predominantly Christian might conflict with the backgrounds of either the majority or a particular group of students.

establishments were controlled by the state while others, particularly in geographical regions where the government lacked resources or teachers for the provision of schooling, were under Catholic control (Harrigan, 2001, pp. 55-57). This partnership between the government and Catholicism in education subsided during the III Republic (1870-1940). The new republican period marked the beginnings of *laïcité* under the 1879 to 1883 ‘Ferry laws’ which introduced universal education. In 1882, religious instruction was removed from state-funded schools, stipulating that no adult-led religious pedagogy could take place within these. ‘*L’Instruction morale et civique*’ replaced ‘*l’Instruction morale et religieuse*’ (Borne & Willaime, 2009, p. 60). The 1905 ‘Law on the Separation of Church and State’ formally extended France’s separation model to all public institutions. The III Republic saw the gradual removal of religion from school curricula by applying a *laïque* morality that “accorded science the source of all knowledge”, and witnessed a further teacher-initiated sentimental separation of religious knowledge from class content. This period is sometimes termed ‘militant *laïcité*’ (Borne & Willaime, 2009, p. 61).

These oscillating relations between ‘Church-State’ partnership and anti-clerical secularism underwent a further transformation when a less strict separation between religion and education began materialising in 1959 under the ‘*Loi Debré*’, which stipulated that private schools could be eligible for state funding. The government reached agreements with private schools to cover up to 75% of their costs and to remunerate teachers. In exchange, teachers were subject to the same qualification requirements as in state schools, private schools under contract could not reject student applications on religious grounds, and these had to follow the national curriculum. However, they were able to impart religious education if they so wished. This close relationship between the state and private schools, many of which are religious, is still applicable today (Fougère et al, 2017, pp. 59-60). In terms of state-educational curricula, the omission of religion in state schools was first questioned during the 1980s and 1990s. This inflection has been termed a move from a ‘*laïcité d’abstention*’ to a ‘*laïcité d’engagement*’. This period witnessed a shift in mentalities regarding religious content’s role in *laïque* curricula, which argued “knowledge about religious cultures is necessary for the intelligence of our society, of their past and present, their

historical and artistic heritage and political system” (Borne & Willaime, 2009, p. 63; Massignon, 2000, pp. 354-355).

(C) ‘Implicit’ and ‘explicit’ secularism

Based on the background of ‘Church-State’ relations and education policy since the second half of the 19th century, how can one categorise both countries’ roads towards their contemporary secular systems? To answer this, one must first define secularism.

For Casanova, secularism can be defined as a ‘statecraft doctrine’ that “contains religion within its own differentiated ‘religious’ sphere and [...] maintains a secular public democratic sphere”. Based on this distinction, secularism as a ‘statecraft doctrine’ can “be a means to some other end, be it democracy and equal citizenship or religious pluralism” (Casanova, 2009, pp. 1057-1058). This may be characterised as a historical progression towards freedom of conscience and equality, as in England, or as a separation between ‘Church and State’, as in France (Celador, 2017, pp. 14-17). In this respect, England’s religious legacy combines a special status for the Church of England but embodies a liberal democratic secular ‘statecraft doctrine’. The most prominent difference between England and France is the latter’s ‘statecraft doctrine’ explicitly linking *laïcité* to the state’s religious ‘neutrality’ in the 1958 Constitution (Celador, 2017, pp. 191&275). To summarise both countries’ contextual religious backgrounds and journeys towards secularism, I henceforth define England as manifesting an ‘implicit’, and France an ‘explicit’, secular ‘statecraft doctrine’.

Casanova warns these doctrines can, however, become ‘secularist ideologies’ “when the political arrogates [...] for itself the mantle of rationality and universality, while claiming that ‘religion’ is essentially nonrational [...] and a threat to democratic politics”. Here, secularism becomes “an end in itself, an ultimate value” (Casanova, 2009, pp. 1058&1062). ‘Militant *laïcité*’ in the III Republic is one such example.

2.4.2 Secularisation

(A) The place of religion in Western European academia since the 70s and 80s

The ‘secularisation thesis’ is different from secularisation, which defines a differentiation of secular spheres from religion (Casanova, 1994, p. 19). The ‘secularisation thesis’ hypothesises that rationalist modernity progressively turns religion into an unimportant private matter. Particularly since the 1980s, social scientists began to question this hypothesis (Hervieu-Léger, 2000, p. 23; Habermas, 2008; Davie, 2014, p. 234).

Contemporary academic and political departures from the ‘secularisation thesis’ have resulted in what Woodhead and Davie call an explosion of research on religion relating to equality, discrimination and good relations (Woodhead, 2011, p. 3; Davie, 2014, pp. 183-184). Renewed interest represents a contemporary awareness that religion can no longer be perceived as residual or strictly private (Hervieu-Léger, 2000, p. 28). According to Willaime, the academic decline of Marxism and structuralism contributes to this renewed socio-political scholarly interest in religion in Europe (2004, pp. 373 & 383-384).

(B) State and societal secularisation

It is possible to see secularisation as a historic Western development without agreeing with the ‘secularisation thesis’. Secularisation is a process of functional differentiation and emancipation of secular spheres (the state, economy and science) from the religious sphere, and the resultant specialisation of religion into its own sphere (Casanova, 1994, p. 19). Liberal democracies require a certain degree of state secularisation to protect citizens’ religious freedom and equality. Moreover, contemporary plurality does not refer solely to increased contemporary religious diversity but also to rising numbers of individuals that no longer define themselves as religious in Europe. This indicates a degree of societal secularisation. I now turn to Davie and Hervieu-Léger to illustrate the somewhat paradoxical combination of secularisation and the increased contemporary relevance of religion in socio-political matters in England and France.

(C) Secularisation and the effects of ‘believing without belonging’, ‘vicarious religion’ and a ‘break in the chain of memory’

Both Davie and Hervieu-Léger point to a weakening of ties between institutionalised religions, like Catholicism in France and the Church of England in Britain, and individuals (Davie, 2014; Hervieu-Léger, 2000). For Davie, many Britons identify as Christian but consider themselves spiritual rather than religious, or religious while no longer attending church regularly. She calls this ‘believing without belonging’. Religion is largely irrelevant in these people’s daily lives, but they approve of what other pious individuals see as performing ‘vicarious religion’ in the name of those who are absent. But for Davie, this is only one side of the coin. Compared to most of the 20th century, the decline in active religiosity runs parallel with religion’s more manifest significance in contemporary public spheres (Davie, 2014, pp. 6&88). Over the past fifty years Britain, and France I would add, have witnessed substantial demographic contributions from communities originating from different parts of the world who often have different religious aspirations from those in the ‘host society’. Furthermore, globalisation turns religion into an important political matter and demonstrates that Western secularisation is a global exceptionality. This combination of pluralisation and globalisation results in secular elites having to respond to religion’s increased socio-political salience (Davie, 2014, pp. 4&187). For Davie, postsecularism often equates this complex situation to expressions such as “God is back” or “the resurgence” of religion. She is sympathetic to postsecularism taking religion seriously and attempting to synthesise this complex Western religious landscape. However, this sometimes mirrors simplistic accounts of secularism and can sometimes sidestep the fact that state and societal secularisation are very visible in the West (Davie, 2014, pp. 223-232).

From a French perspective, Hervieu-Léger argues that Western societies find it challenging to maintain the “continuity of memory” of their previously mono-religious identities. These societies are witnessing a “break in the chain of memory” of institutionalised religion. This is caused by Western contemporary affirmations of the autonomous individual, rationalisation, processes of institutional differentiation (state secularisation) and contemporary pluralism (Hervieu-Léger,

2000, p. 127&164). Thus, the West's religious situation is complex because modernity has deconstructed traditional systems of believing but not forsaken them. Believing increasingly "finds expression in an individualised, subjective and diffuse form, and resolves into a multiplicity of combinations and ordering of meanings which are elaborated independently of control by institutions of believing" (Hervieu-Léger, 2000, p. 74). Humans have a need to believe, and due to the inability of modernity's ideologies (socialism, nationalism, etc) to fulfil their aspirations, religion is still highly relevant to many individuals (Hervieu-Léger, 2000, p. 92). The consequence is that institutionalised religions, like Catholicism in France, tend to fare less well than religious groups more critical of secularisation, as the former find it harder to remain distinct from their surrounding society (Davie, 1999, p. 108). This connects to Davie's argument that fewer people are now religious, but those who are take their religion more seriously (Davie, 2014, p. 16).

Another effect of Hervieu-Léger's 'break in the chain of memory' has been the strengthening of the 'ethnic dimensions' of religion. For example, for certain French citizens of Arab descent, Islam becomes a refuge of identity in the face of failing integration policies post-1950. It has thus "been possible to 'belong without believing', or more precisely while believing only in the continuity of the group for which the signs preserved from traditional religion now serve as emblems" (Hervieu-Léger, 2000, pp. 161-162). This ethnic dimension also becomes manifest in the ethnicization of Christianity in counter-Muslim sentiments in England and France.

2.4.3 De-privatisation of religion within secularisation

To explain the refutation of the 'secularisation thesis' while acknowledging secularisation as a Western political phenomenon, Casanova developed the notion of the 'de-privatisation of religion' (Casanova, 1994, p. 7). For Casanova, the de-privatisation of religion is both a refutation of the normativity of the 'secularisation thesis' and an empirical explanation of how religions can 'go public' in Western modernity. Below, and in coming empirical chapters, I engage with three forms of de-privatisation:

- (1) A refutation of the 'secularisation thesis'
- (2) A pluralisation of the democratic polity

(3) The contentious contemporary political visibility and representation of religion, particularly Islam, in Western societies.

(A) De-privatisation as a refutation of the ‘secularisation thesis’

The de-privatisation of religion as a normative refutation of the ‘secularisation thesis’ explains how Western societies come to terms with the fact that “religion as a discursive reality, indeed as an abstract category and as a system of classification of reality, used by modern individuals as well as by modern societies across the world, has become an undisputable global social fact” (Casanova, 1994, p. 220; Casanova & Phillips, 2009, p. 8). The public visibility of religion due to globalisation, transnational religiosity, migration, societal pluralisation and terrorism, among others, renders religion a prominent Western public matter.

(B) De-privatisation as a pervasion of religion into the public sphere – my extension to the pluralisation of the democratic polity

De-privatisation also refers to a deliberative and/or predominantly peaceful pervasion of religion into public spheres. Casanova refers to three ways in which this can happen. Firstly, when secular ideologies fail or weaken, such as communism in Poland, religion returns to public arenas as a mobilising force. Secondly, religions can enter the public sphere to question and contest the claims of one or both of the two major societal systems: the state and/or market. Casanova mentions the example of Christianity’s campaign against the immorality of 20th century nuclear defence policies willing to sacrifice innumerable people for the sake of sovereignty and ideology. The third refers to traditional religions maintaining the very principles of “common good” vis-à-vis individualist modern liberalism. For instance, many Western religious organisations accept that abortion is associated with women’s rights but also critique abortion in relation to wider trends turning morality into individualist arbitrary decisions of freedom (Casanova, 1994, pp. 207 & 227-229 & 234-236).

In England and France, Islam has substantially contributed to the second form of deliberative de-privatisation to which Casanova alludes. In both societies, Muslims have democratically

questioned state practices or voiced concerns about improving religious accommodation, opening civil society to pluralism and/or ensuring religious rights. As Davie says, these matters render religion an important public matter (Davie, 2014, p. 7). Even France's 'explicit' secular model is adapting or reacting to the de-privatisation of religion (Casanova, 2010, p. 20).

In England, Islam's contribution to religious pluralisation has turned religion into an important public matter. Society, including the law, has had to adapt to meet minorities' religious needs (Davie, 2014, p. 10). In the late 1990s and early 2000s, New Labour endorsed ethno-religious communitarianism by sanctioning Muslim 'faith schools', introducing religious anti-discrimination legislation and including Muslims in governance networks. Islamic organisations were given an important voice during New Labour's 'community cohesion'. These proved integral to deliberating and resolving ethno-religious tensions after the Bradford Riots. Following the riots, mosques and Muslim organisations were key in improving 'social capital' through welfare provision and inter-community cooperation (Cantle, 2001; Cantle, 2004; Birt, 2006, pp. 691-692). Additionally, late 20th and early 21st century legislation has increasingly focused on ensuring the religious rights and safety of minorities. For example, the 2006 Equality Act put claims of religion and belief on the same level as race as protected characteristics for the first time (Davie, 2014, p. 198). These protected characteristics have been maintained by the '2010 Equality Act'. Thus, Islam has helped adapt state practices to acknowledge Muslims' religious needs and rights. This has contributed to the incorporation of Muslims' voices into English public life and ensured their legislation-based protection.

For France, an increasingly visible religious pluralism and changes in traditional religiosity have encouraged redefinitions of relationships between the state and religion, as well as a rediscovery of the latter's importance as a social phenomenon. This results in certain public discourse trying to connect and find a balance "between the universal and the particular, between national unity and the right to difference, between '*la république et la démocratie*'" (Willaime, 2004, p. 376-378). An example of governmental *laïcité*'s adaptation relates to the creation of the '*Conseil français du culte musulman*' (CFCM) in 2003 by the state as an umbrella organisation to represent

Muslims in France. The CFCM participates in political campaigning for Muslim interests and dialogue with the government. This was the case during their 2004 political campaign to dissuade citizens from voting for the Front National. In 2011, the CFCM also pronounced their public critique and boycott of ex-President Sarkozy's '*Débat sur la Laïcité*'. The state-organised debate addressed "religions in France and their compatibility with the laws of the Republic" and "the question of the '*islam de France*'".⁵ The CFCM heavily criticised Sarkozy's rhetoric and publicly rejected the invitation to take part in the debate which had arisen from an exaggeration of the extent of public Muslim prayers in France. The Secretary General of the CFCM, Anouar Kbilech, said "French Muslims are tired of being the scapegoat for society's problems [...] They want to be treated as fully-fledged citizens, not as entirely different citizens". Kbilech's argument sparked support among French bishops who warned France should be "wary of any step taken motivated by the stigmatisation of a community". In addition, twenty-six *laïque* organisations signed a manifesto expressing that "[t]he false debates against Islam and *laïcité* [...] instrumentalise fears and stigmatise citizens". The Socialist Party also joined this backlash. Even the then president of the Senate, Gérard Larcher, declared that "a debate that stigmatises is contrary to the principle of *laïcité*" (Baubérot, 2012, pp. 31-34). The CFCM's criticism and boycott of the state-organised debate held Sarkozy's government to account and galvanized other members of civil society and political elites to clamour against the stigmatisation intrinsic to the debate. In this case, the CFCM served as a democratic political voice representing Muslims at the civil society level in the French public sphere, questioning and scrutinising how the state had framed the place of Islam in French society.

Specifically for my research into state-secondary education, I extend Casanova's concept of de-privatisation in the sense of religion questioning state practices, to the broader public visibility of religion in England and France due to the religious diversification of both countries. I argue that this is a more 'passive' form of de-privatisation, where a specific religion does not necessarily

⁵ The French language often distinguishes between "islam" (as a religion) and "Islam" (as a civilisation).

question state practices directly, but civil society and state institutions must still adapt and respond to a religiously changing landscape. This assessment tallies with Davie's observation that the religious pluralisation of England, and France I would add, results in secular elites having to respond to religion's increased socio-political salience (2014, pp. 4&187). This extension of Casanova's de-privatisation of religion is reflected in my discussion of the secondary concepts within my conceptual framework in this chapter, and in my engagement with data in coming empirical chapters. Muslim and wider ethno-religious minorities' demographic contributions inherently result in questions and revisions of what we consider our religious heritage as a multicultural society. These demographic changes also raise questions about how we can respond to, adapt to and defend the ethno-religious diversification of society. Thus, Casanova's comments on religion questioning state practices correlate with a wider need to respond to the pluralisation of the English and French democratic polities. This relates to Willaime's observation that the question of "how can we live together with our differences" has become an integral debate in education in diversifying European societies (Willaime, 2007, p. 66).

(C) De-privatisation of religion as a contentious political issue

Casanova updated his concept of the de-privatisation of religion in the 21st century to acknowledge how religion, and Islam particularly, has become a contentious matter in Western European societies since 9/11. Casanova recognises that the "resonance of the discourse of the clash of civilisations" has had damaging effects which have "played an important role in focusing European attention on issues of religion". Huntington's 'clash of civilisations' thesis argued that "the fault lines between civilisations" had replaced "political and ideological boundaries of the Cold War", resulting in the re-emergence of the "cultural division [...] between Western Christianity [...] and Islam" (Huntington, 1993, pp. 29-30). This trope is often used by the far right. Consequently, for Casanova, the public visibility of religion in Europe sometimes represents a "contentious political issue to the public spheres of European societies" (2010, p. 20; 2008b, p. 71). The 21st century has witnessed an increase in the use of Islam to justify terrorism, and of Judeo-Christianity to construct counter-Muslim rhetoric.

Especially since 2015, Britain and particularly France have witnessed a new form of terrorism that expressly targets state and societal secularisation. The murder of the French History-Geography and EMC teacher, Samuel Pâty, in 2020 is a vivid example. The attack happened a few days after he showed students Charlie Hebdo's caricatures of Muhammad during an EMC class on free speech, even though he stressed beforehand that students were free not to look at the caricatures. The attack illustrates a resistance to free speech, in this case considered blasphemous, in secular societies. Episodes like Pâty's murder result in violence being the most prominent subject through which Islam enters the media spotlight (Mathieu, 2009, p. 88). Although not violent, debates about free speech and blasphemy also trickled into English education recently. In March 2021, an RE teacher from West Yorkshire's Batley Grammar School showed the above-mentioned caricatures in a Year 9 lesson on blasphemy. Soon after, Muslims protested outside the school and the teacher was temporarily suspended from his duties and went into hiding (Airey, 2021; Adams & Wolfe-Robinson, 2021). The incident demonstrates how the concept of free speech and religious sensibilities, particularly relating to Islam, have become a prominent public issue.

For Pranchère, the Samuel Pâty case is indicative of how the "jihadist strategy pits Muslims against non-Muslims" among the general population (2020, p. 10). In turn, public outcry at religion being used to curtail democratic principles feeds into perceptions that "liberal and Islamic traditions are incompatible" (Jones, 2021, p. 1). Moreover, this complex religious situation contributes to nativist political organisations, such as the Front National and Britain First, gaining visibility through a rhetoric of Europe's Judeo-Christian identity for their counter-Muslim discourse (Baubérot, 2012; Shaffer, 2016, p. 323; Poinot, 2017, p. 1). This is an exclusionary example of what Hervieu-Léger terms 'belonging without believing'. Also, since 9/11 there has been an increase in hate crimes against Muslims in the West (Stocker, 2016, p. 321). The result is that Islam is often framed as "foreign" and thus "unassimilable" and "unwelcome" among certain segments of Western societies (Casanova, 2007, p. 64).

2.4.4 ‘Converging secularisms’ and the place of religion in English and French public spheres

Casanova’s de-privatisation of religion theory allows the sociology of religion to intertwine the public visibility of religion in both countries with Davie’s terms ‘believing without belonging’ and ‘vicarious religion’, and with Hervieu-Léger’s ‘break in the chain of memory’. I apply Portier’s term ‘converging secularisms’ to connect the academic contribution of my thesis to Casanova’s theory of the de-privatisation of religion. Portier suggests that two trends show degrees of convergence between European secular systems while acknowledging national contextual specificities.

On the one hand, Portier argues Western European countries have progressively undergone a convergence in their institutional secular models to reduce religious inequalities and improve equity since the 1970s. He calls this phenomenon the extension of the “principle of equality” and “positive action” within government (Portier, 2013, p. 140). This extension of equality shows moves away from “non-egalitarian confessionalism” towards egalitarian pluralism in ‘State-Church’ models like England. Although not all religions benefit from the same level of state recognition, the law grants them all complete freedom, active recognition and punishes discriminations against followers on a personal basis. In contrast, France is moving away from a “rigid separatism”. This includes renewed funding of religious organisations, state responses to more publicly visible religious expressions due to contemporary pluralism, and the inclusion of religious voices in state-institutional public action networks or reflections on governmental decision-making. However, democratic arenas are only open to the active presence of religions if these agree to the normativeness of human rights and public order (Portier, 2013, pp. 127-132&140).

More recently, Portier believes Britain and France also show convergence in state-institutional discourses of ‘cohesion’, which he sometimes considers as conjectural obsessions responding to Islamist and populist developments (2016a, pp. 89-90; 2016b). For Portier, former Prime Minister David Cameron’s securitisation of ‘British values’ (BV) in 2011 around liberalism and Christian

culture shows a resemblance to recent policies in France that have extended *laïque* ‘neutrality’ from public services to wider society. These policies show connections of Britishness and ‘neutrality’ respectively with discourses and policies promoting ‘cohesion’ (Portier, 2016a, pp.89-90). To this, I would add that the insistence on promoting ‘republican values’ (RV) in the 2013 ‘*Charte de la laïcité à l’École*’⁶ and EMC since 2015 (Prochasson, 2016, p. 12) shows further homology with England’s ‘fundamental British values’ (FBV).

2.5 Secondary concepts – Educational responses to the place of religion in English and French public spheres

This section expounds the secondary operational concepts in my conceptual framework by detailing educational responses to the place of religion in English and French society since the 1980s until the present, and how these responses reflect shifting attitudes towards Islam in both countries. This section is thus integral to the thesis’ scholarly contribution. I draw from Ipgrave’s (2016) three-tiered assessment of educational responses to the place of religion in England since the 1980s and apply her categories to French educational responses within my timeframe (1985-2021). In England, I detail shifts from the official adoption of multicultural RE during the late 20th century towards ‘community cohesion’ (CC). Finally, I classify the latest educational response as ‘fundamental British values’ (FBV), compared to Ipgrave’s categorisation of this final stage as “securitisation”. For France, I explain the evolution of education touching on religion. This progresses from ‘*l’histoire des religions*’ and relating *laïcité* with “spiritual plurality”, to the ‘*laïcité d’engagement*’ in the ‘*enseignement des faits religieux*’ (EFR), and finally the creation of ‘*Enseignement moral et civique*’ (EMC) and the subsequent bolstering of ‘republican values’ (RV). To tie together the secondary concepts for each national case study, section 2.5.3 connects state-secondary educational responses touching on education about religions since the 1980s to Casanova’s de-privatisation of religion and Portier’s ‘converging secularisms’.

⁶ A government-produced document for schools which stresses the importance of *laïcité* and the ‘*vivre ensemble*’.

2.5.1 England

(A) Multiculturalism

From the 1980s onwards, the UK state-education system embraced multiculturalism. Yet for some time, teachers' shift away from Christian instruction met with resistance in Parliament from a group of MPs who saw RE as a form of Christian cultural preservation (Cristopher, 2020, p. 72). Eventually however, moves towards multiculturalism became institutionalised based on the blueprints established by the 1981 Rampton Report and 1985 Swann Report 'Education for All'. The Swann Report, drawing on the matter of education of religious minorities, argued that England's 'new pluralism' required different educational responses from those of the 'old pluralism' of Christians, Jews and non-religious people (Ipgrave, 2016a, p. 96). The government-commissioned report, which considered religion an integral element for building an inclusive society, contributed to the 1988 Education Reform Act and England's current approach to RE. 'Education for All' stated that the worldwide resurgence of Islam had had a direct bearing on British Muslims, encouraging parents to claim societal recognition for the educational religious rights and duties of their children (Swann, 1985, p. 203). It also argued RE should no longer present Christianity as the only "true religion" (Swann, 1985, p. 47), adding that:

"[R]eligious Education can play a central role in preparing all pupils for life in today's multi-racial Britain... [W]e believe that the phenomenological approach to religious education reflects most closely the aims [...] in laying the foundations for the kind of genuinely pluralist society which we envisaged at the opening of this report" (Swann, 1985, p. 496).

The Swann Report converged with changing views among many RE professionals since the 1960s who no longer saw the subject as a form of Christian instruction (Conroy et al, 2013, p. 45). A 1988 House of Lords debate on Christian teaching and acts of collective worship in schools highlighted the increasing, albeit sometimes contested, societal embrace of a multi-religious RE. For example, the Earl of Arran declared that England had to "recognise the nature of the society in which we now live. We are no longer a predominantly Christian nation and our schools reflect the multi-faith nature of Britain in 1988" (House of Lords, 1988).

The Swann Report motivated the modification of two aspects of RE in the 1988 Education Reform Act. Firstly, the Act stated that maintained schools had to reflect that British religious traditions were mainly Christian, but that RE should engage with the teachings and practices of other principal religions. Secondly, section 11(4) stipulated that Standing Advisory Councils on Religious Education (SACREs), responsible for designing local RE syllabi, should reflect the principal religious traditions in their area (Education Reform Act, 1988, pp. 5&8). Thus, the Swann Report and the Education Reform Act responded to growing societal plurality. As Ipgrave specifies, in an increasingly plural and secularised society, schools could no longer rely solely on transmitting Christian values for students' social, moral, spiritual and cultural development (SMSC) (2016a, p. 97). Following the Education Reform Act, the 1994 School Curriculum and Assessment Authority (SCAA) model syllabi recommended schools teach Christianity alongside two other religions for Key Stage Three (KS3) and one other for Key Stage Four (KS4) (SCAA, 1994a, pp. 39&57). For Islam, the syllabi listed key Muslim teachings, customs and beliefs. Among these were an exploration of the Oneness of Allah, the Islamic sources of authority, Akhlaq (character and moral conduct) and Islamic teachings relevant to 20th century issues (SCAA, 1994a, p. 64; SCAA, 1994b, p. 56). These syllabi gave schools a systematic strategy to teach multi-religious RE. Although several schools had been approaching RE multiculturally prior to 1988, the SCAA model syllabi provided many educators with a more comprehensive basis to teaching *World Religions*.

The SCAA model syllabi were indicative of a wider trend in public discourse in which, according to Ipgrave, RE was seen to nurture pupils' own faith in a multicultural society and promote tolerance of differences (2016b, pp. 25-26). Ipgrave's observation correlates with the Swann Report's comments concerning the need for an education system responsive to the wishes of Muslim parents who wanted schools to better respect the religious rights, duties and values of their children (Swann, 1985, p. 203). In this manner, Islam, as well as other religions, were seen as demarcated religious traditions and cultures within British society.

During the 1990s, there were concerns among certain proponents of pluri-religious RE that the 1988 Education Reform Act enshrined Christianity as “the main English religious tradition” which had “to be given most attention” in the subject (Bates, 1994, p.5). Also, the content dedicated to different religions in SCAA syllabi was dominated by religious communities at the expense of more comprehensive inputs from educationalists. This meant that SCAA syllabi presented specific religions across similar themes, although religions were looked at in isolation from others, thus compromising a more generic cross-religious study (Grimmitt, 2000, p. 12). Consequently, debates arose concerning RE privileging Christianity and teaching different religions in a disjointed manner. Both of these matters were critiqued by proponents of pluri-religious RE, thus demonstrating that multicultural RE in the 1980s and 1990s was considered far from perfect. Nonetheless, in retrospect, I suggest that in practice the Act and the SCAA syllabi actually helped lay the foundations for the institutional multiculturalisation of RE. For Grimmitt, despite some initial dissent, there was overall consensus about RE having to depart from its ‘instructional’ past to become a multi-religious subject applying two forms of learning: ‘learning about’ and ‘learning from’ different religions (2010b, pp. 8-9). ‘Learning about’ refers to acquiring a coherent picture of religions such as their language, story and symbolism. ‘Learning from’ involves identifying and responding to moral issues, reflecting on one’s own beliefs and responding to questions of meaning in relation to diverse religions. Different religions were seen as cultures that contributed to England’s new pluralism. Among the pedagogies adopted by multicultural RE, two of the most prominent were *phenomenology* and *ethnography*.⁷ *Phenomenology* applies a thematic (comparative) approach towards different religions (Alberts, 2010, p. 281), whilst *ethnography* seeks direct contact with religious communities (Stern, 2006, pp. 95-102). For the Swann Report, both RE pedagogies, particularly *phenomenology*, were cornerstones for building a successful multicultural society. In sum, the late 1980s and early 1990s helped shape RE’s current multi-religious approach to knowledge about different religions

⁷ Section 2.6.1 explains these pedagogies in more depth.

wherein understanding ‘the other’ became an important vehicle for students’ ‘spiritual, moral, social and cultural development’ (Conroy et al, 2013, p. 125).

(B) Community cohesion (CC)

RE was accorded a role to promote ‘social harmony’ in the early 2000s when New Labour believed society needed greater inter-community contact (Ipgrave, 2016a, p. 98). CC draws from the 2001 government-commissioned Cante Report after the Oldham, Burnley and Bradford ethno-religious riots involving the far right and Britons of South Asian origin. The Home Secretary asked Cante’s ‘Community Cohesion Review Team’ to visit affected towns and advise the government on a CC national plan. Among its recommendations, the Cante Report underlined the importance of promoting common values and civic culture. Regarding education, schools were considered to owe “a responsibility to their pupils to promote, expand and enrich their experience, by developing contact with other cultures” (Cante, 2001, pp. 13-33). In 2004, Cante led another report titled ‘The End of Parallel Lives? The Report of the Community Cohesion Panel’ which recommended:

“The DfES should actively promulgate the Community Cohesion Standard developed by the Group and ensure that it is adopted by schools [...] Ofsted should incorporate community cohesion as part of its inspection process, and encourage schools to take on the Standards and associated training” (Cante, 2004, p. 27).

The advice was adopted by the government in the 2006 Education and Inspections Act which introduced a duty for governing bodies of maintained schools to promote CC and required Ofsted to ascertain “the contribution made by schools to community cohesion” (DCSF, 2007, p. 1; Education and Inspections Act, 2006, p. 107). Here, ‘maintained’ schools means ‘state-maintained’, which include community, voluntary aided, voluntary controlled, foundation schools and academies (Jackson et al, 2010, p. 33).

School guidance on duties to promote CC attempted to work “towards a society in which there is a common vision and sense of belonging by all communities” (DCSF, 2007, p. 3). The 7/7 bombings strengthened the government’s resolve towards CC, which links to what Davie terms

“secular reactions” (2014, p. 177) to the use of religion for exclusionary, divisive or violent ends. The fact that CC was developed soon after 9/11, during the early stages of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, and as a direct response to the Bradford Riots, highlights how substantially matters surrounding, and attitudes towards, Islam impact on this development in education about religions. For the educationalist Gearon, the 21st century has witnessed increased links between RE and ‘political goals’ (2013). This characterises a shift from pluri-religious RE during the 1980s and 1990s, which mainly intended to nurture the religious values of different communities in multicultural Britain and to promote tolerance. CC marks a more assertive state-institutional desire to encourage Islam and other communities, both religious and non-religious, to develop contact with each other rather than seeing them purely as demarcated groups which compose the British polity. These developments show, as Jackson puts it, more explicit links between RE and education for citizenship, most notably the promotion of ‘social cohesion’ (Jackson, 2015).

CC’s insistence on building bridges between differences gave greater visibility to academics favouring “dialogical approaches to religious education” (Jackson, 2012, p. 102). The CC recommendations in the Cattle Reports proposed school twinning programmes to promote dialogue between students of different backgrounds. This dialogical focus supported the adoption of such teaching methods as O’Grady’s *hermeneutic* and Jackson’s *interpretive* pedagogies that value students’ personal interpretations for other pupils’ learning (O’Grady, 2005, p. 34). Another relevant pedagogy is Cush and Francis’ *positive-pluralism* which perceives dialogue about pluralism as societally enriching (Cush, 1999, p. 384).⁸ The popularity of ‘shared values’ and ‘dialogue’ among educationalists and state institutions in the early 2000s gave a new lens to multi-religious RE’s focus on ‘knowledge and understanding’ about ‘the other’. Some even argue that this focus on building ‘cohesive’ attitudes towards ‘the other’ can displace an RE which develops students’ ‘knowledge and understanding’ about religions (Conroy et al, 2013, p. 212; Smith et al, 2018, p. 5).

⁸ Section 2.6.1 explains these pedagogies in more depth.

CC in the early 2000s received mixed reactions. Ragazzi, for example, considers CC as “policed multiculturalism” that turns Muslims into a “suspect community” (Ragazzi, 2016, p. 724). Others, like the Institute of Race Relations (IRR), understand CC as “a cultural homogenisation” attempting to instil values among those deemed threatening (Burnett, 2007, p. 355; Awan, 2012, p. 1169). Additionally, Conroy et al argue that such emphasis on dialogue results in personal opinions frequently taking “precedence over any engagement in robust argument or the formulation of criteria by which to judge religious concepts and practices” (2013, pp 171-172). In this respect, CC may compromise RE’s depth.

However, Jackson, a leading British RE educationalist, provides a more nuanced assessment of CC than Ragazzi or the IRR. For him, the fact remains that in Britain’s contemporary pluralism, religion can be a source of discrimination, and as such, RE should be a tool for encouraging tolerance and mutual understanding within a plural society (Jackson, 2005, pp. 167-168). Despite controversies surrounding CC, its adoption by the government, in principle, motivated greater emphasis on promoting dialogue within RE (Ipgrave, 2016a, p. 99). The 2004 RE ‘Non-Statutory Framework’, for example, argued that the subject provided an opportunity to encourage “education for racial equality and community cohesion through [...] the promotion of respect, understanding and cooperation through dialogue between people of different faiths and beliefs” (QCA, 2004, p. 16). Although some educationalists believe dialogical approaches to RE may compromise the subject’s depth, as implied by Conroy et al (2013, pp. 171-172), I suggest this is not necessarily the case. Dialogical pedagogies promoting tolerance and civic engagement could be combined with materials emphasising ‘knowledge and understanding’ within classrooms. The 2010 ‘Warwick Religions and Education Research Unit’ Report into RE materials stressed these could substantially contribute to CC through “comprehensive, accurate and engaging representations of religion, of a diversity within and between religious traditions and also nonreligious positions” (Jackson et al, 2010, p. 170).

(C) Fundamental British values (FBV)

The 2011 'Prevent' counterterrorist strategy led to the inception of 'British values' (BV). For the Home Office, BV are "democracy, the rule of law, tolerance and individual liberty". Schoolteachers and other public employees were initially required not to 'undermine' these values. For Lockley-Scott, the prelude to this strategy originated from political critiques of multiculturalism after 7/7. Former Prime Minister Tony Blair stated that multiculturalism had led communities to "a separation and alienation from the values we hold in common" (Lockley-Scott, 2019, p. 357). Former Prime Minister David Cameron took this further by saying "muscular liberalism" had to replace "state multiculturalism" (BBC, 2011). Tony Blair and David Cameron's rhetoric illustrates an escalating discourse of 'cohesion' compared to the adoption of CC by the DCSF following the Cante reports.

Before 2014, BV were not a particular source of controversy, unlike the 'Channel Programme' created in 2006 (and statutory since 2015) to refer to local government authorities 'children prone to radicalisation'. The Muslim Council of Britain (MCB) believes 'Channel' (instituted by New Labour and subsequently maintained by the Conservative government) limits the opinions allowed to students with traditional Muslim interpretations or critical views about faith-related issues such as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (MCB/Versi, 2015). The real controversy surrounding BV began after the 'Trojan Horse Affair' (THA). In 2014, several state-maintained non-faith schools in Birmingham were accused of alleged attempts to introduce a Salafist ethos. The Department for Education (DfE) responded with lifelong teaching bans for accused educators, but most of these were dropped by 2017. Certain practices in the schools had allegedly contravened government education policy. These included separating boys and girls in certain classes, omitting teaching about homosexuality and paying little attention to other religions apart from Islam (Ipgrave, 2016b, p. 100). Overall, the matter was found to be a hoax blown out of proportion, partly shown by the investigation's bellicose name, 'Operation Trojan Horse' (Lockley-Scott, 2019, p. 358).

Beyond reprimands against involved educators, the THA resulted in bolder approaches to combining students' SMSC development with the promotion of liberal values (DfE, 2014b). The government's requirements for schools shifted from passively "not undermining" 'British values' (BV) to "actively promoting" 'fundamental British values' (FBV) (Lockley-Scott, 2019, p. 358). The state also extended its powers to intervene in schools seen to be failing in this duty, as specified in the DfE's 'Consultation on Promoting British values in school' (DfE, 2014a). The 2015 'Prevent duty: Departmental advice for schools and childcare providers' engrained a more pronounced securitisation dimension into FBV. The DfE's guidance stated:

"Schools and childcare providers can also build pupils' resilience by promoting fundamental British values and enabling them to challenge extremist views. It is important to emphasise that the Prevent duty is not intended to stop pupils debating controversial issues" (DfE, 2015, p. 5).

FBV, though sharing similarities with CC, are different in certain respects. The "instrumentalist" view of RE, premised on promoting attitudes of respect, tolerance and 'shared values' (Chater, 2018, p. 71), has been strengthened and directed towards a more explicit discourse of Britishness. Although this does not question a dialogical approach to RE, the concept of 'attitudes towards the other' shows a greater emphasis on "national identity, explicitly and unequivocally aligned with a pedagogy of values" (Elton-Chalcraft et al, 2017, p. 44). Thus, compared to CC, FBV indicate a shift in attitudes concerning Islam, and wider religion and non-religion for that matter. Since the THA, state-institutional discourse and policy have given heightened importance to regulating religion in schools and wider society. This regulation consists of challenging attitudes and practices considered detrimental to British democracy, either by enforcing existing educational legislation as occurred after the THA, countering perceived 'extremist' attitudes, or ensuring individual liberty through the promotion of respect and tolerance. Thus, both CC and FBV react to religion being a sometimes contentious issue in 21st century British and wider international society. However, through a discourse of Britishness, FBV evidence a magnification of 'cohesive' intents by the government and represent greater state regulation of religion.

This magnification of ‘cohesive’ discourse, and its direct bearing on RE, had been simmering even prior to the introduction of FBV, as illustrated by the REsilience programme. REsilience is a government-funded programme managed by the Religious Education Council (REC) which was rolled out to secondary schools in 2010/2011. REsilience provides teachers with support material and resources for “teaching controversial topics” in connection to questions of religious identity, conflict and misunderstanding (REC, 2010a, p. 1; REC, 2021).

Returning to FBV, these have caused controversy most notably because the term originates from counterterrorism. Some argue that FBV treat certain students as suspects or ‘un-British’ (Elton-Chalcraft et al, 2017). Lockley-Scott suggests the word ‘fundamental’ implies a fixed notion, that ‘British’ can be considered a reductive cultural adherence and ‘values’ could be viewed as non-deliberative patriotism (2019, pp. 365-366). Champain, focusing on RE, believes that although Prevent recommends schools should provide a “safe environment for discussing controversial issues”, the securitisation behind FBV may in fact close down spaces for discussion (2018, pp. 160-161).

The controversy surrounding FBV is partly due to former Prime Minister David Cameron drawing on counterterrorism to legitimise school requirements (HM Government, 2011, p. 68; DfE, 2014b, pp. 5-6). Even if one acknowledges his questionable association between religion, Britishness and securitisation, the fact remains that many educationalists still stress, as do FBV, the importance of preparing children for adulthood through tolerance and ‘shared values’ in a pluralist democracy (Jackson, 2015; Castelli, 2018, p. 155; Brine and Chater, 2020b, p. 26). Contemporary research into the place of religion in English or Western pluri-religious societies often claims that the use of Islam to justify terrorism and/or Judeo-Christian values to bolster counter-Muslim rhetoric can undermine tolerance and the ability to live in an inclusive society (Knott, 2015; Blanc, 2020). In relation to this, Cambridge University’s interfaith Woolf Institute stated in a 2015 CORAB⁹ report that Britain was “living through religiously confusing times” and that RE should play a major role

⁹ Commission on Religion and Belief in British Public Life.

in students' development as future adult citizens (CORAB, 2015, p. 34). According to Boeve, 21st century education about religions needs to be "paired [with] the manner in which one deals with diversity and difference" (Boeve, 2012, p. 148). Also, for Hervieu-Léger and Flanagan, mere national identity in postmodern Western societies finds it hard to "invoke either commitment or participation", resulting in many people looking at more personalised identities for meaning (Hervieu-Léger, 2000, p. 386; Flanagan, 1999). Consequently, the importance given by FBV to tolerance, individual liberty and democracy could provide an acknowledgement of and engagement with contemporary individuality within a framework of communal values in classrooms. My nuanced understanding acknowledges the controversies of FBV but also takes into account the more pronounced civic development that the policy can bring to RE. This nuance raises interesting questions which I address in empirical chapters.

2.5.2 France

Unlike in England, education about religion in French state-secondary schools is split across Humanities subjects. The thesis concentrates on History-Geography and EMC predominantly. The reasoning behind this is explained in section 3.3.2 of the methodology chapter. However, education about religions also relates to Art, French and Philosophy. The term '*fait(s) religieux*' is often coupled with an educational *laïcité* more accepting of religions since the 1980s. The '*fait(s) religieux*' in academia are seen as contributing to students' understanding of culture and heritage, intellectual development and citizenship education. Less accepted intents include the moral and existential dimensions of education about religions (Estivalèzes, 2005, p. 35). Exploring the existential dimensions are not empirically applicable to the '*fait(s) religieux*'. However, I engage later in the chapter with how '*Enseignement moral et civique*' (EMC) shows a connection between citizenship, religion and a *laïque* morality. Since the 1980s, there have been three differentiated periods of debate about, and state-institutional approaches to, education about religions. The first is the '*histoire des religions*', the second the '*enseignement des faits religieux*' (EFR) and the third the promotion of 'republican values' (RV).

(A) *Histoire des religions*

The now popularised concept '*fait(s) religieux*' originated in the 1980s. In 1982, Alain Savary, Minister of Education, asked the academic René Girault to conduct a pedagogical audit for History-Geography in schools. Girault concluded that students' knowledge about, and teaching approaches towards, the history of religions needed revision. However, the document still made no allusion to '*fait(s) religieux*' (Carpentier, 2004). Girault's report contributed to wider educationalist debates. The outcome of these was that *Cinquième* (Year 8) syllabus specifications in 1987 adopted the expressions '*phénomène religieux*' and '*héritage religieux*' for medieval history. Also in 1987, *Seconde* (Year 11) History-Geography students saw an update for the module 'France, Europe and the 19th century'. Here, students would appreciate a holistic "conception of culture" which included "artistic and cultural domains" alongside political, economic and social phenomena. Churches would henceforth be seen as contributing to "the development of historical thought and the place of religion in society" (Carpentier, 2004).

Two catalysts contributed to such changes in mentalities about religion within *laïque* education. Firstly, societal secularisation had caused a marked decrease in religiously practicing citizens which diminished certain children's understanding of religion. Secondly, religious and ethnic pluralism after the de-colonisation decades post-1950 contributed to a renewed search for national and individual identities that affected education. During the 80s and 90s, Islam's demographic contribution to this pluralism was met with some mistrust among certain segments of French society who saw Islam as resistant or opposed to European modernity, a matter exacerbated by the memory of the Algerian war (van den Kerchove, 2009, p. 54). However, alongside this mistrust of Islam, there existed a different current in public discourse. This second current argued for a society positively responsive to "*la France multiculturelle de demain*", with an integrated 'immigrant' population. (Gastaut, 2002, p. 382). Within this pluralising discourse, considerable attention was devoted to promoting the insertion of Islam into the French religious landscape and the laying of foundations for a representative authority for Muslims in the country (van den Kerchove, 2009, p. 53). Closer to education, this attitude towards Islam, and subsequently wider

religious pluralisation in France, helped reduce the former tensions between educational *laïcité* and religion which were present during the first half of the 20th century (Borne & Willaime, 2009, pp. 32-33&61). Perceptions of religion in education as “clericalism” became considerably less widespread. As van den Kerchove summarises, “since the end of the 1980s, religious issues have come back openly into the school curricula, not in opposition to *laïcité* but as an integral part of it” (2009, p. 64).

The concept ‘*fait(s) religieux*’ started to gain visibility in 1989 when Phillippe Joutard, French academic at the Franche-Comté University, compiled a report for the then Minister of Education, Lionel Jospin. Within the ‘*Rapport sur l’enseignement de l’histoire des religions*’, Joutard specified that a lack of cultural religious knowledge meant that “an entire part of our collective memory was threatened”. He added that ignorance about religions “did not allow an understanding of contemporary realities” (Estivalèzes, 2003, p. 27). Joutard argued for a ‘reasoned’ approach to religions as civilisational phenomena to overcome “heritage, social and moral distress” due to religious illiteracy (Claus, 2016, p. 29; Massigon, 2009, p. 55). Within the report, four reasons were identified to justify a more developed incorporation of religion as a historical civilisational phenomenon for secondary schools (Joutard, 1989; Sachot, 1991, pp. 93-94):

- (1) Vanquishing ignorance that inhibited understanding France’s cultural heritage.
- (2) Overcoming ignorance that limited intelligence about the contemporary world.
- (3) Understanding diverse religious components present on French soil (including the “significant Muslim community”).
- (4) Combining more effectively “*laïcité* and spiritual plurality” (overcoming dichotomies between religion and *laïcité*).

Two years later, when Joutard became rector for the ‘*Académie Besançon*’¹⁰, he organised a colloquium named the 1991 *Colloque Besançon* which gathered opinions from numerous public

¹⁰ Regional state-educational institution forming part of the Franche-Comté University and responsible for administering schools in the Bourgogne-Franche-Comté region.

figures and academic experts to discuss the main premise of the Joutard Report. The *Colloque Besançon* contributed to public concern about the exclusion of religious knowledge in secondary schools and to the adoption of the term ‘*fait(s) religieux*’ by state institutions. It also influenced syllabus changes in 1995 for History-Geography and French (Carpentier, 2004). Two ‘*arrêtés*’ (Ministerial Orders) formalised their curricular impact:

- ‘*Arrêté*’ of November 22nd 1995 relating to *Sixième* curricula in *collèges*.¹¹
- ‘*Arrêté*’ of May 9th 1995 relating to History-Geography programmes for *Seconde* classes preparing for the professional baccalaureate.¹²

These Ministerial Orders had two effects on content pertinent to education about religions. *Sixième* (Year 7) students were introduced in French and History to a textual dimension of religions under the terminology ‘ancient heritage texts’ including the Bible, the Odyssey and the Aeneid among others (Carpentier, 2004). For *Seconde* (Year 11) History students, six key chronological historical moments were incorporated into the programme to allow them a better understanding of French society. Among these, students would study Christianity as a major component of Western civilisation, civilisational diversity during medieval times, and the new conception of ‘man’ during the Renaissance (and Christian Reformation) (Deleplace, 2015, p. 173). This new approach to *Seconde* History entailed that pupils devoted more time to sociological aspects of the history of religions (Carpentier, 2004).

The *Rapport Joutard* and *Colloque Besançon* contributed to a renewed value for education about religions in public discourse and, to a limited extent, government strategies. They argued that their recommendations would enable “young people to acquire the knowledge that would help them decipher the religious allusion within classical texts and the iconography of European and French culture”, also “helping students understand current events in their religious dimension” (Massignon, 2009, p. 55). This approach chimes with what Hervieu-Léger calls the problem of transmitting religious tradition in late 20th century France (2000). Via a “secular, informative

¹¹ Available at: <https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/jorf/id/JORFTEXT000000373430/> (Accessed 18/01/2021).

¹² Available at: <https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/jorf/id/JORFARTI000002327704/> (Accessed 18/01/2021).

perspective”, the state-school system was seen to fill the vacuum of knowledge about religion previously imparted by family and church. (Massignon, 2009, p. 55). Thus, overall, the ‘*histoire des religions*’ focused predominantly on the heritage-based and intellectual, and less on the civic, dimensions of the ‘*fait(s) religieux*’.

(B) Enseignement des faits religieux (EFR)

In 2002, the ‘*fait(s) religieux*’ entered a new era with the Debray Report ‘*L’enseignement du fait religieux dans l’école laïque*’, commissioned by the then Minister of Education Jack Lang. The ‘*Rapport Debray*’ argued that state education had to progress from a ‘*laïcité d’incompétence*’, where “the religious [...] does not concern us”, to a ‘*laïcité d’intelligence*’, arguing “it is our duty to understand it” (2002, p. 22). Debray shares Hervieu-Léger’s belief that contemporary Western societies find it challenging to transmit a sense of communal belonging among their populations (Hervieu-Léger, 2000). For Debray, the EFR in state-secondary schools responded to the “erosion of the old vectors of transmission, such as churches, family, custom and civility [which] has shifted to the state-education sector the basic task of orientation in time and space that civil society is no longer able to provide [...] And it is here that the history of religions can take on its full educational relevance, as a means of connecting the short to the long term” (2002, pp. 4-5).

Debray argued for (2002, pp. 26-34):

- (1) A more developed appreciation of religions in established curricula.
- (2) An interdisciplinary approach to studying religious phenomena and more extensive teacher training about religions.
- (3) The introduction of a module dedicated to the ‘*fait(s) religieux*’ for teacher training in the ‘*Institut universitaire de formation des maîtres*’ (IUFM).
- (4) The creation of the ‘*Institut européen en sciences des religions*’ (IESR) (recently renamed IREL - ‘*Institut d’étude des religions et de la laïcité*’) to aid the fruition of these recommendations.

Similarly to Joutard, Debray believed his recommendations responded to a societal lack of religious knowledge which impeded citizens’ better understanding of themselves and each other

(2002, pp. 4-8). He also argued the EFR would reinforce the principles of liberty and equality by not repressing the religious foundation of class material (2002, p. 19). Nevertheless, Debray's position differed from Joutard's in two respects. First, although teaching the history of religions was important for Debray, he called for a broader acknowledgement of religions in Humanities subjects. Secondly, Debray emphasised more explicitly the importance of fostering tolerance, thus showing an implicit connection to the now popularised '*vivre ensemble*' (Estivalèzes, 2005, p. 306). In this sense, Debray influenced public discourse by reiterating Joutard's perspective and by linking the EFR more explicitly to the civic dimension of education about religions. We thus begin to see how discourses around the '*fait(s) religieux*' started to shift from an emphasis on students' heritage-based and intellectual development to one that combined these aims with an emphasis on 'managing difference'.

The '*Rapport Debray*' embodied France's complex religious situation. On the one hand, secularisation had resulted in public discourse arguing that education should fill the void left by "church and family" and promote religious understanding. Indeed, the report contributed to achieving a degree of political consensus about the importance of education about religions in *laïque* schools (Estivalèzes, 2005, p. 306). On the other hand, the EFR responded to the visibility of religion in contemporary French society partly due to France's new religious pluralism. For instance, Mathieu, based on REDCo's research in schools in 2007/2008, identified that students predominantly associated the visibility of '*le religieux*' in France with Islam and its practices. This was due not only to Middle Eastern crises and terrorism, but also to Islam not being easily "billeted [...] into the private sphere" because of "its strong social visibility through some of its practices, including school space" (Mathieu, 2009, pp. 87-88). Relating to this visibility of Islam in France, Weisse argues that a key component in understanding the background to the EFR lies in the realisation among scholars and the government at the time that a more substantial acknowledgement of Islam as part of French society was needed. This discourse was in opposition to certain segments of society seeing Muslims "as the potentially destructive outsiders" (Weisse, 2016, p. 34). We thus see a shift in certain societal attitudes, from simply perceiving Islam as

contrary to European modernity in the late 20th century, to considering the religion to be potentially ‘destructive’ to French society. To counteract these negative representations of Islam, state-institutional and academic discourses aimed to inclusively adapt and respond to “*la France multiculturelle*” (Gastaut, 2002, p. 382).

The first notable effect of the ‘*Rapport Debray*’ on state-institutional strategies was the creation of the IESR in 2002 (now renamed IREL) as a publicly funded academic and teacher-training institution. The second was the adoption of the EFR in February 2005 by the ‘*Assemblée Nationale*’ (Parliament) (Proeschel & Toscer-Angot, 2009, p. 78). This resulted in the Ministry of Education specifying that:

L'enseignement des faits religieux [...] is included in the knowledge, skills and cultural competences common platform [...] [I]t describes and analyses 'faits religieux' as elements to understanding past societies and our cultural heritage, through disciplines such as History, Literature, History of Art, Music, Arts and Philosophy (Eduscol/education.fr, 2021).

More than substantially affecting curricula, I argue that this specification reassured teachers that engaging with the ‘*fait(s) religieux*’ with students was not contrary to French laws guiding civil servant neutrality. Finally, the Debray Report resulted in the IUFM introducing compulsory modules for teacher training to reflect on *laïcité* and the ‘*fait(s) religieux*’ (Carpentier, 2004).

Despite a mainly cohesive public consensus on the importance of the EFR, the concept did cause some concern. The philosophers Pena-Ruiz and Kintzler considered the EFR as a neo-clericalism intent on reintroducing religious instruction and challenging *laïcité* (Estivalèzes, 2007, pp. 95-96). However, this claim is unsubstantiated since the ‘*fait(s) religieux*’ were conceived from a “secular, informative perspective” (Massignon, 2009, p. 55). On the other hand, the ‘*Conférence des évêques de France*’ (CEF) (Conference of French Bishops) believed the EFR could nullify religious sensibilities via a rational and factual view of religion (CEF/Pietri, 2004; La Croix, 2015). Other persuasive critiques include whether the EFR frames religions as a historical heritage and not as cultural elements of the present (Estivalèzes, 2007, p. 101; Chaix, 2015, p. 121).

Another is whether Joutard and Debray's emphasis on heritage risked focusing on Christianity at the expense of other religions composing contemporary France (Estivalèzes, 2007, pp. 100-101). I engage with these critiques in empirical chapters, particularly with the CEF's comments on religious sensibilities.

The EFR, overall, still opens the door to a more substantial acknowledgment of education about religions in *laïque* schools. As Estivalèzes notes, France has one of the most religiously diverse citizenries in Europe and this sometimes results in intolerance. One opinion survey, conducted just before Debray's Report, identified notable appreciation for a pedagogy that fostered religious understanding and tolerance (69% in 2000) (Estivalèzes, 2007, p. 101). Thus, the EFR has, or could have, the capacity to promote better reciprocal understanding of different beliefs, as well as dialogue to recognise France's new pluralism.

(C) EMC and republican values (RV)

Since the second decade of the 21st century, there has been a further shift concerning the place of religion in state education. This is characterised by the affirmation of RV in schools. The fact that France is the Western European country that has suffered most Jihadist terrorist attacks since 2010 has caused a spike in societal polarisation over religion. The success of the Front National in the first round of the 2017 presidential elections (21.3% of votes compared to Macron's 24.01%) was partly a backlash against terrorism (Chrisafis, 2017; Clarke & Holder, 2017). Already in 2013, former President Hollande reacted to this simmering polarisation by creating the '*Charte de la laïcité à l'École*' (henceforth referred to as the '*Charte de la laïcité*'). This is an A4-sized document for schools stressing the importance of *laïcité* and the '*vivre ensemble*'. The '*Charte de la laïcité*' mentions religion in eight of its fifteen headings. Some of the evoked themes include an underscoring of gender, racial and religious equality, teachers' obligation to transmit the values of *laïcité*, and students' liberty to have religious or non-religious beliefs. Other points include requirements for teachers to remain ideologically and religiously 'neutral' and highlighting that no topic in education, supposedly, is exempt from scientific and pedagogical questioning (Observatoire de la laïcité, 2013).

In addition to this, the French government crafted a new subject, '*Enseignement moral et civique*' (EMC), in 2013 to replace previous citizenship subjects. Vallaud-Belkacem, former Education Minister, presented the subject reformulation as "a grand mobilisation of the school system for the values of the Republic" (Gouvernement.fr, 2015). Unlike FBV in England, RV in France are not novel. The foundational 'republican values' of '*liberté, égalité et fraternité*' date back to the late 18th century. In 2015, the Ministry of Education added "*laïcité*, solidarity, spirit of justice, respect and non-discrimination in any form" (Education.gouv.fr, 2015, p. 6). The law establishing EMC stated:

The nation entrusted to schools [...] shar[ing] with pupils the values of the Republic, to teach them respect for the equal dignity of human beings, freedom of conscience and laïcité (Law No-2013-595 of July 8 2013 guiding and enacting the refoundation of the school of the Republic).

More specifically, the 2015 '*bulletin officiel*' outlines the subjects to be studied and connects, either implicitly or explicitly, secondary-school students' civic development with religion in six areas (Education.gouv.fr, 2015):

- (1) Understanding diverse manners to express civic, social, cultural and religious belonging.
- (2) Learning about different dimensions composing equality and non-discrimination including racial, religious, gendered and sexual dimensions.
- (3) Understanding the principles of *laïcité* (freedom of conscience and citizens' equality) emphasising the importance of the '*Charte de la laïcité*'.
- (4) Identifying and explaining ethical values and civic principles via foundational legal texts.
- (5) Engaging with historical analyses to show how democracy connects with struggles for equality including the abolition of slavery, the 'neutrality' of the state vis-à-vis religions, women's right to vote and the decriminalisation of homosexuality.
- (6) Engaging in EMC, but also inter-disciplinarily, with matters surrounding religious pluralism and *laïcité* via a contemporary study of diverse beliefs and practices in French society and researching different 'Church-State' relations in different national democratic systems.

As seen in coming empirical chapters, much of what teachers understand as educational engagements with religion occurs in EMC (Husser, 2017, p. 43). The IREL itself believes that including EMC in research on '*le religieux*' in schools provides valuable insight into contemporary relationships between *laïcité* and the '*fait(s) religieux*' in education (Saint-Martin & Gaudin, 2014). Also, the addition of 'morality' to citizenship education represents a more concrete connection between the subject and RV. Furthermore, trends in French public discourse and educational responses to recent religiously pertinent socio-political developments both highlight the increasingly pronounced importance of 'managing difference'. In this respect, EMC is primely placed to put into practice the reinvigoration of the '*vivre ensemble*'. Intrinsic to understanding the creation of EMC to promote RV is the evolution of attitudes surrounding Islam in state-institutional discourse. Compared to the first decade of the 21st century, the '*Charte de la Laïcité*' and formulation of EMC demonstrate a reaction aiming "to bring students out of their parochial views to a greater mutual understanding" (Lizotte, 2020, p. 4). This 'parochialism' touches on the fact that a considerable proportion of French society considers Islam to be a menace, while another proportion perceives that *laïcité* and *laïque* schools oppose Islam.

In contrast to the promotion of FBV, which derives its origins from a counterterrorist policy, RV benefits from a less pronounced securitisation dimension. However, the importance placed on RV has been critiqued by certain scholars as stigmatising Muslim students. Wesselhoeft argues that schools have recently framed classrooms as a battlefield for Muslim students, in an environment of surveillance that results in scrutiny of their comportment (2017, p. 638). Durpaire and Coutel believe the emphasis on a *laïque* morality and on the '*vivre ensemble*' provides an opportunity to adapt teaching based on France's religious landscape, but that this risks bringing about a nondeliberative "sanctifying" of *laïcité* in schools (Durpaire, 2013; Coutel, 2015, p. 69). Saint-Martin adds that some members of the public are sceptical of this new educational emphasis on a '*morale laïque*', claiming it is reminiscent of schools in the III Republic which imposed an ideal of 'secular citizens' (2013, p. 161). These critiques were manifest in some schools after the 2015

Charlie Hebdo attacks¹³, when certain students were reported to the police for refusing to take up the slogan “*Je suis Charlie*” (Fassin, 2015; Wesselhoeft, 2017, p. 635-636).

Vandamme acknowledges critiques against EMC and RV but suggests these may be more beneficial than moral relativism (2013, p.114). As Gaudin states “religion has inevitably entered the ‘back door’ of state schools in France” (2016, p. 103). In this respect, RV in EMC can provide teachers with a more robust approach to intertwining *laïcité* with religiously pertinent contemporary matters. Indeed, in 2015 the ‘*Commission Nationale Consultative des Droits de l’Homme*’¹⁴ published a report stating that the school system was in a privileged position for promoting respect for difference via the ‘*vivre ensemble*’. Additionally, in the Commission’s public survey, 29% of respondents believed schools could be doing more to tackle religious intolerance (Amelin et al, 2015, p. 44). In connection to a matter Hervieu-Léger uncovered during the 1990s, Limouzin declares that France finds itself in a cultural crisis due to recent developments partly linked to terrorism and the popularity of the far right (Limouzin, 2016, p. 81). As such, EMC responds to these issues by potentially permitting a much-needed dialogue, defending ‘liberal democratic values’ and promoting tolerance in a pluralist society.

2.5.3 Manifestations of the de-privatisation of religion within secularisation in education and their connection to ‘converging secularisms’

The conceptual framework chapter thus far has established a theoretical background to explain the place of religion in English and French society, how this relates to shifting attitudes towards Islam, and subsequent responses in education about religions. By combining Hervieu-Léger, Davie and Casanova’s perspectives, I argue that the term ‘de-privatisation of religion within secularisation’ captures the reversal of 20th century discourse that envisioned the declining public relevance of religion, and how this reversal connects to matters surrounding Islam. Within my

¹³ Charlie Hebdo is a satirical newspaper based in Paris that published a cartoon depicting the prophet Muhammad in January 2015 and suffered a Jihadist terrorist attack killing 12 and injuring 11. After the attacks, a nationwide movement coined “*Je suis Charlie*” was started to condemn the attacks and defend free speech.

¹⁴ CNCDH: The French National Commission on Human Rights is a governmental organisation monitoring respect for human rights in the country.

timeframe (1985 to 2021), I identify three matters that summarise the complex association between secularisation and de-privatisation.

Firstly, the greater visibility of religions because of England and France's new pluralism has turned education about religions into a salient matter in public discourse and state-institutional strategies since the 1980s. This phenomenon can be conceived as a response to religion's de-privatisation as a pluralisation of the polity. Secondly, and particularly evident in France, education in public discourse is increasingly seen to fill the void of religious knowledge previously provided by family and church. This represents a response to societal secularisation. Thirdly and more recently, England, and especially France, have witnessed tensions between 'liberal democratic values' and the use of religion to flout 21st century democratic principles and legislation, to bolster exclusionary rhetoric or justify violence. These tensions have resulted in a strengthening of 'cohesive' educational intents in both countries.

These socio-political developments tally with Davie's assessment that although secularisation as a Western phenomenon is evident, "secular elites" must increasingly respond to the blurring of public-private divides (2014, p. 4). Also, such state-institutional responses are at the heart of what Portier terms 'converging secularisms' and I have argued that evolving matters and attitudes surrounding Islam in both countries, especially in the 21st century, are integral to understanding this convergence. This is manifest within education in England's 'implicit' and France's 'explicit' secular systems. I summarise this convergence as a combination of a democratisation of the polity to acknowledge pluralism on the one hand, and a discourse of 'managing difference' on the other. In France, the former is embodied in the '*histoire des religions*', the EFR and the respective concepts of '*laïcité plurielle*' and '*laïcité intelligente*'. In England, this is evidenced by the Swann Report and the 1988 Education Reform Act's emphasis on multiculturalism. These developments link to Portier's observation that in Western Europe, since the second half of the 20th century, 'State-Church' models like England have moved towards an egalitarian pluralism, whilst 'separationist' models like France show a greater recognition of religion (Portier, 2013, p. 134). 'Managing difference' is also apparent in Debray's EFR, but is particularly pronounced in EMC

and its bolstering of RV for France, and in CC and FBV in England. For Portier, state and broader public discourse on ‘social cohesion’ characterises 21st century moves towards adding a value system to liberal democracy (2016b). Thus, both state-secondary education systems also demonstrate a level of convergence in how education about religions can contribute to student civic development through a discourse of ‘managing difference’ and ‘shared values’.

CC, FBV and the bolstering of RV and *laïque* morality via the creation of EMC, have attracted a degree of controversy. These critiques have much to offer from a perspective of deliberative dialogue. However, I have also argued that education about religions has an important part to play for citizenship (Jackson, 2003, p. 22; Jackson, 2015, pp. 354&361). It is legitimate within this civic dimension for religious and non-religious roles in public affairs to be held accountable in the face of ‘common democratic values’. Furthermore, in the 21st century, extreme right-wing groups in England and France show increased religious hostility (Ipgrave, 2003, p. 157&161; Limouzin, 2016). I posit that to combat such religious prejudice, and respond to the challenges facing 21st century plurality in England and France, it is justifiable for the civic dimension of education about religions to be more pronounced. As Ostberg stresses, “in a pluralist, multicultural society, unity is not something given but something to be worked for. Unity must be found in diversity” (2003, p. 106).

2.6 Tertiary concepts – Situating the research in relation to educationalist perspectives and pedagogies for later empirical analysis

Section 2.4 of the chapter contextualised both case studies through an overview of how the regulation of religion in both countries shaped education policy during the 19th and 20th centuries. It also explained the theoretical outlook I take for the thesis (de-privatisation of religion) and connected this to my predominant focus on Islam in England and France. Section 2.5 detailed the educational responses to the de-privatisation of religion and how these demonstrate a level of convergence between England’s ‘implicit’ and France’s ‘explicit’ secular systems. These sections help establish the foundations of my answer to the first research question ‘**to what extent is the**

de-privatisation of religion, and Islam particularly, reflected in state-secondary education in England and France?’. Matters surrounding Islam have made a substantial contribution to the de-privatisation of religion in both countries. In education, this de-privatisation has facilitated shifts in public discourse, legislation and policy, which started with an emphasis on encouraging students’ cultural knowledge and progressed to promoting ‘cohesion’ and ‘managing difference’. Such ‘cohesive’ intents can bolster the civic relevance of education about religions in state-secondary education in both countries. Chapters four and five delve more deeply into this initial assessment in relation to my first research question. The current section details the pedagogies that guide my empirical analysis of pedagogical engagements with religion, and particularly Islam, in state-secondary schools. This is essential to provide a backbone for my later empirical engagement with the second research question ‘what are English and French educators’ understandings and approaches regarding education about religions in state-secondary schools?’.****

Before discussing pedagogical processes, I would reiterate my opinion that the civic dimension of education about religions through a discourse of ‘cohesion’ is a legitimate response to both countries’ complex religious situations. However, ‘cohesive’ educational responses should be treated with some caution. For one thing, such intents can raise questions about how ‘managing difference’ is approached in schools. For example, as explained previously, some of the most ardent critics perceive ‘cohesive’ intents as “policed multiculturalism”, cultural homogenisation or compromising a holistic pedagogy. However, as Chater states, an “instrumentalist” view of education about religion, premised on promoting attitudes of respect, tolerance and ‘shared values’, is a justifiable curricular aim (2018, p. 73). Connecting pluralism to ‘shared values’ is essential in increasingly religiously diverse Western European societies which are also characterised by what Woodhead considers the receding attractiveness of mono-religious truths (2018, p. 9). The combination of religion’s public visibility via pluralism with many pupils defining their lives without reference to religion (Brine & Chater, 2020a, p. 87; Chater, 2018, p. 79) is a complex situation. According to Jackson, the consequences of this changing religious

landscape include more critical views of religion. This is not negative per se, but they can reinforce stereotypes in Western literature and the media which may, for example, associate Islam with terror or claim that Muslims cannot “be loyal both to Islam and to the civil and legal requirements of a non-Muslim state” (Jackson, 2003, pp. 12). Although Jackson’s comments date from 2003, I argue, as evidenced throughout the thesis, that his assessment is even more applicable today. He adds that the debate about citizenship education and religious diversity needs to pay attention to the position of Muslim minorities within non-Muslim nation-states. For this, “the common school is [...] a vitally important forum” to build an inclusive society (Jackson, 2003, pp. 12&23). Consequently, education about religions has much to offer for student civic engagement.

To inform my engagement with the second research question, I draw particularly from certain of Chater’s ideas for England, and from Borne and Willaime for France. For England, RE’s pronounced “instrumentalist” civic dimension intent on promoting tolerance, respect and ‘shared values’ must be wary of three aspects. First, it should not result in “safetyism”, which means fear of causing offence to specific groups and avoidance of holistic engagements with different religions (Chater, 2020, pp. 60-61; Champain, 2018). The second is for the emphasis on tolerance and mutual respect not to translate into a pedagogy of “sentimentality” whereby interfaith dialogue or discussions about peace become “exchanges of platitudes about why family and friends are important” (Chater, 2020, p. 64). Thirdly, in relation to the above, Chater mentions there can be implicit complicity with “abusive” religious beliefs (2020, pp. 61-63). I believe this could lead to occasional tendencies in RE to see critiques of religion as challenges to religious communities. Such approaches, according to Chater, rob “RE of what makes it potent and interesting” and, according to Champain, compromise RE’s role as a “safe environment for discussing controversial issues” (Chater, 2020, p. 60; Champain; 2018, pp. 160-161).

For France, Borne and Willaime from the IREL provide a categorisation of what the ‘*fait(s) religieux*’ could legitimately entail within *laïque* secondary schools. This allows me to analyse empirical material in relation to the heritage-based, intellectual and the potentially more

pronounced 21st century civic dimension of the *'fait(s) religieux'* in state-secondary education. For Borne and Willaime, the *'fait(s) religieux'* can be defined as (Borne & Willaime, 2009, pp. 43-45):

- collective manifestations
- material visibilities
- symbolic phenomena
- individual and collective experiences and sensibilities.

'Collective manifestation' refers to "individuals that share something in common, that feel part of the same world and that gather together more or less regularly. There are people that, in extremely various forms, relate to invisible entities by practicing rituals, reading texts, meeting in buildings, behaving in different ways". 'Material visibility' can be summarised as texts, images, music, practices, buildings and objects as archaeological, literary, artistic and cultural phenomena. 'Symbolic phenomena' are important to ground our understanding of religion as collective and material manifestations. This requires an exegesis of "belief systems" via texts, the "history of dogmas" and the effects of "religious disputes". This involves understanding religious expressions as a continual reading and rereading of traditions, symbols and texts from which actors draw meaning. 'Individual and collective experiences and sensibilities' is premised on the fact that "religious manifestations and practices are lived by millions of people [...] as an essential dimension of their existence". In this manner, religion touches upon nationality, language, culture and ethnicity which can result in passionate manifestations either of remarkable altruism, peace mediation or triggering fanaticism. For Borne and Willaime, sidestepping one or several of these four dimensions of the *'fait(s) religieux'* would be an epistemological mistake (2009, pp. 43-45). These categories demonstrate that it is legitimate in French History to distinguish between history and "myth", but that it is also possible to stress how the latter is meaningful for societies and their beliefs (van den Kerchove, 2009, p. 66; Laither & van den Kerchove, 2014).

Borne and Willaime's four dimensions show a leaning towards a knowledge-based understanding of the *'fait(s) religieux'* premised on academic rigour. More recently, for Gaudin, due to the value

given to the '*vivre ensemble*' in the creation of EMC and to broader 21st century discourses of 'cohesion', the 'traditional' knowledge-based understanding of the '*fait(s) religieux*' can, or should be, increasingly combined with a "citizenship objective". Gaudin argues that to achieve this objective, paying attention to knowledge about religions should play a pivotal role in "understanding the other" as the basis for building respect, tolerance and fostering dialogue through education (2014, pp. 252-258).

Coming empirical chapters rely on Borne and Willaime's four categories to analyse how the place of religion in French public spheres relates to education about religions. Gaudin's comments regarding the "citizenship objective", which combines knowledge about religions with attitudes towards religious understanding, are also taken into account. This helps engage with such questions as how specific educators believe knowledge about religions or dialogue is or should be taught in contemporary France. Or whether distinctions between 'croire et savoir' (believing and knowing) in *laïque* education can result in trends in gathered data that limit legitimate engagements with the '*fait(s) religieux*' as 'symbolic phenomena' or 'individual and collective experiences and sensibilities'. I now detail the pedagogies, in the contexts of pluralism and deliberative democracy, that guide my engagement with the second research question.

2.6.1 World Religions pedagogies applied in chapters four and five in the context of pluralism

The context of pluralism allows me to show how data from both case studies illustrates engagements with (non)religious diversity and difference in education.

Pluralism is both a descriptive term and a normative valuation of plurality. This normative stance sees diversity as enriching. Thus, like Jackson, I argue that acknowledging diversity through education can have an important civic dimension for the health of plural democracies (Jackson, 2005). I interpret this normative stance as a unity "found in diversity" (Ostberg, 2003, p. 106). The thesis follows Waillet and Roskam's categorisation of traditional and modern plurality. Traditional plurality refers to the coexistence of various religious and ethnic groups. Modern

plurality describes diversity in postmodernity as ethno-religious pluralism running in conjunction with secularisation and the individualisation of belief. This results in increased exposures to varying religious and non-religious values, views and identities as matters of choice (Waillet & Roskam, 2013, p. 70).

The second parts of chapters four and five analyse the pedagogical process of engagement with education about religions among interviewed educators and in class observations for each country respectively. I describe below the four *World Religions* pedagogies that guide my engagement with the second research question in the context of pluralism: **‘what are English and French educators’ understandings and approaches regarding education about religions in state-secondary schools?’**. I draw the expression *World Religions* from the ‘Shap Working Party on Religions in Education’, established in 1969 by academics, educators and religious leaders. The Working Party encouraged the teaching of religions through a *World Religions* paradigm, departing from a Christian instruction approach to RE, in a religiously pluralising Britain (Jackson, 2019). Although there is no RE subject in French state schools, I apply this British-coined term to France for two reasons. Firstly, this adds rigour to my comparative methodology by categorising data under the same codes. Secondly, pedagogical theories relating to education about religions in France are rather sparse. As seen previously, Borne and Willaime argue there are four dimensions relevant to the substance of the *‘fait(s) religieux’* in education. However, they do not elaborate on pedagogical theories to help categorise teaching practices. Thus, *World Religions* pedagogies allow me to conduct a more systematic analysis.

(A) Phenomenology

Phenomenology links to late 19th century attempts to describe and categorise religious phenomena disassociated from confessional assumptions (Hannam, 2016, p. 29). Phenomenologists of religion share an interest in human experiences of religion (Allen, 2005, p. 188). Drawing from Ninian Smart, *phenomenology* of religions was popularised among RE educationalists during the 70s and 80s. This pedagogy was developed as a pluri-religious response to change the Christian

instruction approach to RE in a diversifying Britain (Cristopher, 2020, p. 71; Swann, 1985, p. 496). For Smart, *phenomenology* embodies an “attitude of informed empathy” (1999, p. 4).

Phenomenology takes a thematic (often comparative) approach towards different religions (Alberts, 2010, p. 281). Barnes believes this accentuates similarities to achieve “social harmony” and gives most importance to the personal experience of God (Barnes, 2000, p. 320; Barnes, 2006, pp. 405-407). While the former critique is plausible, the latter is less convincing. Smart’s insistence on an empathetic approach may touch upon personal interpretations, but also represents a broadening of horizons to understand specific themes across religions (Smart, 1973; Smart, 1999). However, how can *phenomenology* link to the ‘*fait(s) religieux*’? Historical or literature-based themes can be applied in France, but the study of forms of worship, for example, would need to adhere to *laïque* education (Estivalèzes, 2005). Based on Fitzgerald’s distinction, France can apply an anthropological rather than transcendental *phenomenology* (Fitzgerald, 2000). This means comparative themes would normally be approached as “historical and descriptive” rather than “enshrining [...] the nature of reality” (Smart, 1968, p. 12).

(B) Ethnography

Ethnography seeks contact with religious traditions outside the classroom, for example by visiting mosques (Stern, 2006, pp. 95-102; Jackson & O’Grady, 2007; O’Grady, 2005, p. 234). My use of the word *ethnography* draws from English Religious Studies educationalists. The application of this pedagogy in England allows students to delve into the spiritual aspects and practices of different religious beliefs. However, for France, just as with *phenomenology*, such contacts will usually take an anthropological or sociological focus (Estivalèzes, 2005, p. 235). In this sense, *ethnography* brings to life what students in France have studied in the classroom, but direct contact with the experiences of religious leaders is hardly applicable. As such, although *ethnography* focuses on knowledge above dialogue, this pedagogy underscores ‘learning about

religions' in France, while in England it links to both 'learning about' and 'learning from religions'.¹⁵

(C) Hermeneutics

O'Grady's *hermeneutic* pedagogy values student ideas, experiences and responses during the learning process (O'Grady, 2005, p. 234). This approach relates to Jackson's *interpretive* pedagogy that connects students' personal religious understandings to class material, thus enabling a reflexive understanding for all pupils (Béraud & Willaime, 2009, pp. 37-39). In the UK, this approach is widely acknowledged. However, within the '*fait(s) religieux*', Béraud and Willaime stress that education about religions needs to be cautious about influencing students' understanding of the world. The French education system is reflexive, teaches how to live with cultural diversity and situate oneself in a plural world. But its role is not to interfere with students' 'belief systems' (Béraud & Willaime: 2009, pp. 40-41). Thus, although certain dialogical and intercultural elements integral to a *hermeneutic* pedagogy can be applied in France, teachers must take care not to rely heavily on student perceptions to guide their peers. However, this does not reject the applicability of *hermeneutics* '*à la française*'. Massignon, through interviews with educators, evidenced how experienced teachers encouraged discussions including students' own personal comments by "starting with what is on their minds". This allowed students to combine their own understanding with that of classmates and to distance themselves from their own opinions through class content to gain a higher level of understanding (Massignon, 2009, pp. 63-64). In sum, *hermeneutics* in England and France can facilitate classroom dialogue.

(D) Positive-pluralism

Positive-pluralism aims to teach that religions and worldviews are equally valid. Thus, it shares a common core with Smart's *phenomenology*. However, *positive-pluralism* gives greater attention to non-religious perspectives apart from religions (Cush & Francis, 2001, p. 54). *Positive-pluralism* also takes more care to avoid a universalist position by taking "the differences and incommensurability of worldviews seriously, but approach[ing] them from a viewpoint of

¹⁵ Page 36 explains the difference between 'learning about' and 'learning from' religions.

‘epistemological humility’ or ‘methodological agnosticism’” (Cush 1999, p. 384). *Positive-pluralism* was coined by Denise Cush and Dave Francis who viewed religious and non-religious pluralism as positive resources (Cush, 2004, p. 71). The concept draws from John Hick and Andrew Wright’s religious pluralisms which consider that religious and non-religious traditions are culturally determined and thus place value on the experiences they express beyond the reality they describe (Teece, 2005, p. 31). Both Hick and Wright uphold a position of not privileging any vantage point by seeking to present religions from a plurality of perspectives (Wright, 2001; Teece, 2005, p. 37). In this respect, Cush and Francis’ *positive-pluralism* attempts to combat hegemonic cultural impositions and not foreclose on differences or explain them away (Cush & Francis, 2001, p. 53; Teece, 2005, p. 37). This type of pedagogy has an important civic dimension and, according to Waillet and Roskam, can be related to Jackson’s broader theme of religion in education as a recognition of ‘the other’ in plural democracies (Waillet & Roskam, 2013, p. 70; Jackson, 2011, p. 37).

As with *hermeneutics*, connecting *positive-pluralism* to France requires caution, but it can relate to the ‘*fait(s) religieux*’. Béraud and Willaime commend an education about religion which teaches empathy and mutual comprehension, but stress this should be implemented via a ‘distanced’ pedagogy. Thus, in accordance with the principles of French *laïcité*, topics need to be approached from an “objective” perspective above an interreligious and dialogical orientation (Béraud & Willaime; 2009, p. 40). This “objective” perspective does not, however, mean that sensitive topics should be explained away or that students be foreclosed from a plurality of beliefs.

2.6.2 Critical Pedagogies applied to guide chapters six and seven in the context of deliberative democracy

The context of deliberative democracy builds on the context of pluralism, but allows a more critical analysis of how my data relates to questions pertinent to democratic education. These questions include how knowledge about religions is framed, the value given or approaches to dialogue, and/or how pedagogical practices relate to the promotion of ‘shared values’.

As specified previously, overall, I view that the bolstering of an education about religions intent on promoting ‘social cohesion’ contributes to students’ civic development. Nonetheless, I also stated previously that this educational development should be treated with some caution as it raises questions about how dialogue, ‘shared values’ and subject content are approached in state-secondary schools. Therefore, in chapters six and seven, I answer my second research question **‘what are English and French educators’ understandings and approaches regarding education about religions in state-secondary schools?’** in the context of deliberative democracy. The thesis engages with deliberative democracy as a pedagogical perspective rather than governmental decision-making. Academics who use the concept ‘deliberative democracy’ in educational settings refer to a pedagogical perspective rooted in democratic education (Longo, 2013, p. 2). These scholars value an empathetic education to understand ‘the other’, encourage open discussion and promote ‘shared values’ (Corrie, 2020, pp.234-236; Molnar-Main, 2017; McDevitt, 2018, p. 803). They are also sceptical of non-deliberative patriotic rituals, idealised depictions of authority, authoritatively promoting value homogeneity, or superficial understanding of topics relevant to political education (McDevitt & Kioussis, 2006, p. 249; McDevitt, 2018, p. 803). I believe that knowledge about religions is an integral dimension for students to comprehend past or contemporary politics. For example, knowledge about differences between Sunni and Shi’a Islam helps students’ understanding of contemporary developments in the Middle East.

To engage with the context of deliberative democracy in chapters six and seven, I rely on a *Critical Pedagogical* categorisation. This is well suited to the context of deliberative democracy as *Critical Pedagogy*’s main proponent, Paulo Freire, believed education to be an inherently political act that should “liberate”. This links with an open examination of different voices rather than the dominant culture’s representations (Byrne, 2011, p. 75; Giroux, 2010, p. 716). *Critical Pedagogues* also question the notion of knowledge being neutral, and value an education system sensitive to issues of social justice, democracy and equality (Giroux, 2010; McLaren, 2016). In addition to *Critical Pedagogy* fitting the context of deliberative democracy, I also use this

pedagogical categorisation due to public discourse and policy stressing that education about religions should be approached ‘critically’ (Ofsted, 2014, pp. 1-7; Ministère de l’éducation nationale, 2021, pp. 48-49; Clarke & Woodhead, 2015, p. 48). However, these publications tend to provide little specification on how education about religions can meet this criterion. For these reasons, I rely on three *Critical Pedagogical* strands to guide my empirical analysis.

(A) Holistic

Critical pedagogues often value *holistic* teaching (Sleeter & McLaren, 1995, p. 197; Puett, 2005; Rendon, 2009). The thesis’ use of *holistic* is more limited than that of many educationalists as I focus less on a transformational education which promotes students’ physical, emotional, aesthetic, moral and spiritual growth (Miller, 1999, pp. 46-47). Rather I take *holistic* from the Greek concept *holon*: the different dimensions composing our world (Lee, 1997; Mahmoudi et al, 2012). I thus understand *holistic* as a teaching approach that does not foreclose on different matters or contexts which shape and give meaning to phenomena (Clark, 1991).

(B) Dialectical and contemporarily meaningful

Secondly, based on McLaren’s work, critical education needs to be *dialectical* (2003). For this, questions of society should not be seen as isolated events independent from social construction. *Dialectical* pedagogical practice helps students appreciate social constructions in subject content. Classes should also be adaptive to reflect contemporary interests and issues (McLaren, 2016, pp. 27-28). For this reason, I add the term ‘*contemporarily meaningful*’ to McLaren’s ‘*dialectical*’ *Critical Pedagogy*. An example is how the complexity and ambivalence behind *laïcité* in contemporary France could be explored in History and EMC.

(C) Cross-fertilisation

Although not often viewed from a secondary education perspective, *Critical Pedagogy* can be connected to *cross-fertilisation*. *Cross-fertilisation*, which often adopts an interfaith or intercultural understanding of dialogue, argues that different participants in an arena (in this case classrooms and textbooks) should be able to provide convincing representations of their religious

or non-religious beliefs and be open to respectful critique. This can provide a common ground making dialogue and conflict possible (Wolf, 2012, pp. 45-50). For Pannikar, *cross-fertilisation* also “requires a conscience of detachment, contingency and vulnerability” (Teixeira, 2019, p. 14). I ground the applicability of *cross-fertilisation* in state-secondary schools based on Scuderi’s use of Pannikar’s *cross-fertilisation* during her experience in Italian secondary schools. She views dialogue as a continuous and constant process which should only attempt to resolve conflict in situations of emergency (Scuderi, 2015, p. 170). The crux of this pedagogical lens is that we cannot know ourselves without knowing ‘the other’. Consequently, a *cross-fertilising Critical Pedagogy* has much to add to engaging with difference as a transformative and empowering element of education (Puett, 2005, pp. 269-271).

In accordance with French laws guiding educational *laïcité*, it is hardly applicable to speak of interfaith education. However, the ‘*Charte de la laïcité*’ for schools specifies no subject is excluded from scientific questioning (Observatoire de la laïcité, 2013). As such, to some extent, *cross-fertilisation* is possible in French state-secondary schools. Though not from an interfaith perspective, this pedagogy in France could touch on individuals, and/or worldviews, being able to provide representations of their beliefs and how these may guide their socio-political opinions, thus finding common grounds to make dialogue and respectful conflict possible.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter’s conceptual framework served as a background to my comparative study into the place of religion in English and French state-secondary schools as public spheres, and how this relates to education about religions. The thesis contributes to the relatively novel field of comparative studies into religion in European education systems. The unique contribution of my research is explaining ways in which the convergence in contemporary tendencies in Western Europe to seek ways to “live together with our differences (be they cultural, religious, etc)” can manifest themselves in English and French state-secondary education (Willaime, 2007, p. 66). Relating to this, I also engage with approaches, challenges and opportunities for education about religions for the English and French case studies as illustrated in empirical chapters.

My approach to the primary concepts of the conceptual framework (secularism, secularisation and de-privatisation of religion) in section 2.4 helps explain what motivates this tendency to which Willaime alludes. The place of religion in England and France is somewhat paradoxical. Hervieu-Léger and Davie provide compelling illustrations of secularisation's palpability but explain why the sociology of religion in both countries is alive and growing. Davie in particular stresses how 20th century public-private divides are increasingly blurred due to a combination of globalisation, pluralism and secular responses to the renewed visibility of religion in Western Europe (2014). Casanova's de-privatisation of religion encapsulates this combination of secularisation running side by side with religion's manifest public significance in the West. One of the effects of this de-privatisation, using Portier's 'converging secularisms', is a degree of confluence between England's 'implicit' and France's 'explicit' secular models (2013). Another concept worthy of mention is Habermas' postsecularism (2010). However, as Beckford argues, the term postsecularism has become so diffuse that there is little agreement on its meaning beyond stressing the public relevance of religion (2012, p. 16).

Section 2.5 applied Portier's concept of 'converging secularisms' to the secondary concepts in my conceptual framework: educational responses to the changing place of religion in England and France from 1985 until 2021. These educational responses have been shaped by several factors. The first is the pluralisation of the polity, whilst the second is a realisation, particularly for France, that societal secularisation requires schools to fill the void of education about religions previously provided by family and church. The third relates to state institutions demonstrating tendencies to respond to the contentious issue of religion in 21st century English or French society. Section 2.5 is integral to setting the foundations for my academic contribution to the field of comparative studies into religion in education. Literature sometimes implies that French *laïcité* and England's 'State-Church' models are opposite secular systems (Berger et al, 2008, p. 129) or that *laïcité* solely privatises religion (Kuru, 2008, p. 14; Ferrera, 2012, p. 515; Modood, 2013, p. 69). Therefore, comparing both countries through Portier's 'converging secularisms' is a refreshing take to explain contemporary socio-political developments touching on religion in

education and wider society. A pluralisation of the principle of equality and affirmative action helped spark this convergence.

The fifteen-year period between the Swann and Joutard Reports and the beginning of the 21st century witnessed discourses and government strategies premising ‘knowledge about cultural legacies’ in both pluralising education systems. Afterwards, the prevalence of a discourse of ‘cohesion’ contributed to England’s CC and FBV agenda, whilst in France Debray’s Report showed a combination of increasing knowledge and promoting ‘cohesion’. What is certain, however, is that the creation of EMC between 2013 and 2015 shows a strong similarity to England’s FBV educational strategy. In many respects, these policy directions contribute to education about religions taking on a pronounced civic dimension for ‘managing difference’ in state-secondary schools. This last point on post-2010 education policies concerning FBV in England, and EMC and RV in France, links to my comments in the opening stages of this chapter in connection to the REDCo project. My academic contribution provides an updated picture of 21st century developments concerning religion in state-secondary education in England and France.

REDCo’s research remains to date the most comprehensive comparative empirical study into religion in education in Europe. However, England and France are only compared at the European rather than bi-national level. Also, although REDCo did interview teachers about their pedagogical practices, the main focus was on student attitudes towards religion. By contrast, my thesis concentrates mainly on interviewed educator understandings of the place of religion in society, particularly state-secondary schools, and of related teaching practices. Thirdly, REDCo’s research focus spanned from 2006 until 2009, which means they were unable to integrate the impact of either post-2010 Jihadist terrorism in Europe or policies such as FBV, the creation of EMC and its bolstering of RV. I acknowledged in section 2.5 that these post-2010 secular responses to the place of religion in society have caused academic and public controversy. However, overall, I have a more nuanced and less critical interpretation of the core educational aims behind these policies, which I explain further in empirical chapters.

The conceptual framework also grounds my engagement with both research questions in coming empirical chapters. This chapter has provided the first brush strokes for the answer to my first research question ‘**to what extent is the de-privatisation of religion, and Islam particularly, reflected in state-secondary education in England and France?**’. Chapters four and five engage with this question further through an analysis of public discourses and interviewed educator assessments. What I have argued for now is that Islam has contributed to the late-20th century pluralisation of the polity which catalysed the adoption of a multicultural RE in England and a more religiously inclusive educational *laïcité* in France. Secondly, and more substantially, matters surrounding Islam have contributed to 21st century public discourses and state-institutional strategies which give greater value to an education system fostering ‘social cohesion’ to ‘manage difference’. This evolution can bolster education about religion’s role in aiding students’ civic democratic development.

These comments on ‘cohesion’, ‘managing difference’ and civic development relate to laying the foundations for the answer to my second research question ‘**what are English and French educators’ understandings and approaches regarding education about religions in state-secondary schools?**’ in the contexts of pluralism and deliberative democracy. To help engage with the second question in a systematic manner in empirical chapters, section 2.6 detailed the tertiary concepts of my conceptual framework: *World Religions* pedagogies and *Critical Pedagogies* that help categorise my empirical analysis.

In the following chapter, I establish my methodological strategy to develop my approach to the research questions by illustrating my qualitative comparative case study focus, choice of data collection methods and analytical strategy.

Chapter three – Research Design and Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter established the conceptual framework for the thesis. This illustrated how Islam was integral to understanding the changing place of religion in English and French education, wider public spheres and society. I relied on Casanova's de-privatisation of religion and Portier's 'converging secularisms' as explanatory theoretical anchors. The first two levels of my conceptual framework discussion illustrated that England and France have shown a level of confluence since the 1980s. This confluence can be summarised as the importance that contemporary scholars and state institutions give to the question of "how can we live together with our differences" (Willaime, 2007, p. 66). This in turn touches directly on the place of religion in state-secondary education. Consequently, the tertiary concepts of my conceptual framework listed different pedagogies that guide my approach to the second research question which explains English and French educators' understandings of, and approaches to, education about religions in two societies which, I argue, are characterised by the de-privatisation of religion.

This chapter details the methodological implementation for my socio-political and educationalist interdisciplinary thesis, which provides an empirical picture capturing instances within the contemporary moment in the changing story of religion in English and French state-secondary education. For my case studies, I utilise a 'structured focused comparison' methodological design explained in section 3.2.1. This includes using identical research questions for each case and the studied phenomena (structure), as well as the same explanatory research objective and academic literature to ground my empirical contributions (focus) (Esser, 2019, p. 90; George & Bennett, 2005, p. 67; Broughton-Micova, 2019, p. 76). Like many case studies, my research applies 'methodological pluralism', which means relying on multiple data collection methods to gather evidence (Broughton-Micova, 2013, p. 72). I thus add further 'structure' and 'focus' by relying on almost identical data collection methods for both England and France.

The project makes use of a ‘multi-method’ qualitative approach. In accordance with my top-down research, I utilise state-sponsored, legal and policy documents to ground my empirical engagement with how macro-political developments correlate with micro-political actors’ understandings and practices. For the examination of micro-political actors’ understandings and practices, I mainly draw on interviews with educators and elite participants with substantial working knowledge or experience in English RE or French History and/or EMC. However, I also engage with data procured through class observations and textbook and syllabi documents for English RE and French History, EMC and, to a lesser degree, Philosophy. For the examination of data, I follow a ‘qualitative content analysis’ (QCA) approach, which is a descriptive analytical tool. QCA is suited to synthesising large pools of data while also, thanks to its qualitative focus, allowing researchers to expound on nuance, depth and ‘latent meaning’, which signifies meaning that is not immediately obvious, thus requiring a degree of interpretation (Schreier, 2012, pp. 1-9). Within QCA, I specifically apply a ‘directed content analysis’ (DCA) approach explained in section 3.6.2. DCA is ‘directed’ in the sense that it adopts a structured coding application dependent on prior theory, research or literature (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

This chapter is organised as follows. Section 3.2 explains what a multi-method qualitative comparative case study involves and how this links to my conceptual framework and research design. This additionally engages with the choice and logic of comparison between England and France. The section also expounds how my research methodologically links and contrasts with relevant comparative studies into religion in education. Section 3.3 explains the choice of data collection methods and considers their advantages and disadvantages. After, in section 3.4, I explain the sampling strategies used for collection. Section 3.5 details the implementation of data procurement and challenges I faced within this. Section 3.6 expounds on what QCA entails for this research and my resultant application of DCA. Finally, section 3.7 concludes the chapter by summarising the key points of the methodological design, how this relates to my fieldwork journey and my empirical academic contribution in coming chapters.

3.2 Multi-method qualitative comparative case study design

All studies must specify how research questions affect methodology (Yin, 2018). My two research questions are:

(1) To what extent is the de-privatisation of religion, and Islam particularly, reflected in state-secondary education in England and France?

(2) What are English and French educators' understandings and approaches regarding education about religions in state-secondary schools?

My research questions have an explanatory focus. Within this, I concentrate on the subjects of English RE and the French '*fait(s) religieux*' in History, EMC and, to a lesser extent, Philosophy.

3.2.1 Foundations of the comparative case study

A case study is an in-depth examination of a real-life scenario. Yin defines case study as an in-depth "empirical method that investigates a contemporary phenomenon [...] within its real-world context". Yin clarifies that contemporary means a fluid rendition of the recent past and present (Yin, 2018, p. 12). Case studies usually involve the use of multiple sources of information (Creswell, 2013).

All comparative case studies include at least two cases (Broughton-Micova, 2019, p. 78).¹⁶ This allows them to interpret the illumination of variables that remain invisible in single case studies in order to provide more generalisable knowledge (Abu-Lughod, 2007, p. 402; Goodrick, 2014). For this to happen, comparative case studies must make cross-case conclusions and give importance to studying similarities and differences between objects of analysis against the backdrop of their contextual conditions. This relies on structured conceptual frameworks applied to all cases and on highly similar or equal collection methods (Esser, 2019, pp. 85-86). I incorporate these specifications into my small-N comparative case study (choosing a small number of cases).

¹⁶ Comparative case studies are a specific form of multiple-case studies.

As with many comparative case studies, I follow a ‘structured focused comparison’ method (Esser, 2019, p. 90). The method is ‘structured’ by using identical research questions for each case and studying the same phenomena. This enables the systematic collection and comparison of findings (George & Bennett, 2005, p. 67; Broughton-Micova, 2019, p. 76). Comparison is integral to the research questions and chosen phenomena. I examine the changing place of religion (i.e. de-privatisation) in two multicultural Western European democracies and how this relates to education about religions, particularly Islam, in state-secondary education. The method is ‘focused’ when it identifies the same research objective and theoretical literature for explanation (George & Bennett, 2005, pp. 69-70; Broughton-Micova, 2019). I rely on Casanova’s de-privatisation of religion, Portier’s ‘converging secularisms’ and *World Religions* pedagogies, as well as *Critical Pedagogy*, for ‘focus’. This helps me explain how I engage with different pedagogical processes (approaches and practices) in empirical chapters for English RE and French Humanities subjects, primarily History and EMC.

I ensured that socio-political criteria directed the choice of cases. England and France are both ethno-religiously diverse secular liberal democracies. Also, 21st century socio-political matters and discourses relating to Islam in both countries draw much public interest, as do government responses to this phenomenon. Additionally, Britain’s multicultural approach to diversity and France’s more assimilationist approach are fascinating cases for comparison. Convenience and personal background also play into most comparative case studies (Broughton-Micova, 2013, p. 78). My knowledge of both languages and background in both education systems also guided my choice. In relation to the above, the thesis design accords with Goodrick and Yin’s six-stepped ‘logic of comparative case studies’ (Goodrick, 2014, p. 3):

- (1) Clarify how the research questions and purpose of evaluation fit into the comparative case study – clarified in the conceptual framework chapter.
- (2) Identify theories to focus the comparison – addressed in the conceptual framework chapter.
- (3) Define type of case studies and how the process was conducted – explained in this chapter.

- (4) Identify how evidence is collected, analysed and synthesised within and across cases – detailed in this chapter.
- (5) Consider alternative explanations of outcomes – engaged with in the conceptual framework chapter and expanded on in empirical chapters and conclusion.
- (6) Report findings – reported in empirical chapters and conclusion.

My research design integrates methodological elements of two existing comparative case studies in the field of religion in European education systems, but also includes certain major differences. The first is Braten's publication 'Towards a Methodology for Comparative Studies in Religious Education: A Study of England and Norway'. The second is REDCo's study primarily into perceptions of religion as a source of dialogue and conflict in education in eight European countries. REDCo's research resulted in numerous publications, three of which are detailed in section 2.2 of the conceptual framework chapter, where I clarified that only one of the three books is an actual systematic comparative study. Nonetheless, the European Commission website describes REDCo's complete research programme as providing a European comparative study.¹⁷

Like Braten, my "comparativist" focus explains why processes of engagements with religion in two education systems vary, and in my case also converge, in relation to social and political factors (2013, p. 34). For this, similarly to Braten, my comparativist focus relies on a 'multi-method' qualitative approach (2013, p.41) and follows a similar QCA logic, aimed at condensing vast amounts of information while also giving importance to interpreting data and engaging with 'latent meaning'. I also follow REDCo's contextually sensitive approach to engaging with and comparing case studies in relation to different countries' societal traditions, practices and political frameworks (Knauth et al, 2008).

Beyond these similarities, my research design differs from Braten and REDCo's research. Firstly, Braten researched the domain of culture within RE in multicultural and intercultural education in England and Norway. In contrast, I concentrate on the changing place of religion in English and

¹⁷ Available at: <https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/28384> (Accessed 17/11/2021).

French state-secondary schools as public spheres, and how this can permeate education about religion within my timeframe. Due to our differing research objectives, our studies adopt different data collection methods. Although we both collect data from policy documents, teacher interviews and class observations, she also conducted student interviews. In contrast, I touch minimally on student perceptions, but also collect data from elite interviewees and state-sponsored, legal, textbook and syllabi documents. This is because my research centres more on micro-political level adult understandings and practices relating to the place of religion in education.

REDCo applied a variety of data collection methods for their case studies, spanning student qualitative questionnaires, quantitative surveys, interviews both with pupils and teachers, and some class observations (Knauth et al, 2008; Alvarez Veinguer et al, 2009; van der Want, 2009). Thus, REDCo combined quantitative and qualitative ‘content analysis’. In contrast, I adopt a QCA approach intent on engaging with in-depth descriptions of data regarding the place of religion in state-secondary schools as public spheres and how this relates to trends I uncover in teaching practices, textbooks and syllabi. Another difference between our studies is that even if van der Want’s publication into teachers’ responses to religious diversity included interviews with six teachers in six education systems respectively (2009), REDCo’s main research objective lay in mapping student attitudes towards religion as a source of dialogue and conflict. In fact, REDCo’s publication ‘Encountering Religious Pluralism in School and Society: A Qualitative Study of Teenage Perspectives in Europe’ compiled an average of 70 pupil qualitative questionnaires in eight different countries (Knauth et al, 2008, p. 13). Conversely, educator interviews in France and England form the bulk of my empirical contribution. My range of chosen data collection methods allows me to ascertain relationships between macro-political developments and micro-political actors relating to the place of religion in English and French state-secondary education.

3.2.2 Multi-method qualitative focus of the research design

Broughton-Micova explains that a case study is an “intensive research into a phenomenon in a particular instance” and therefore usually applies a mix of methods to achieve an overall picture from different kinds of information sources (2019, pp. 71&80). Comparative case studies follow

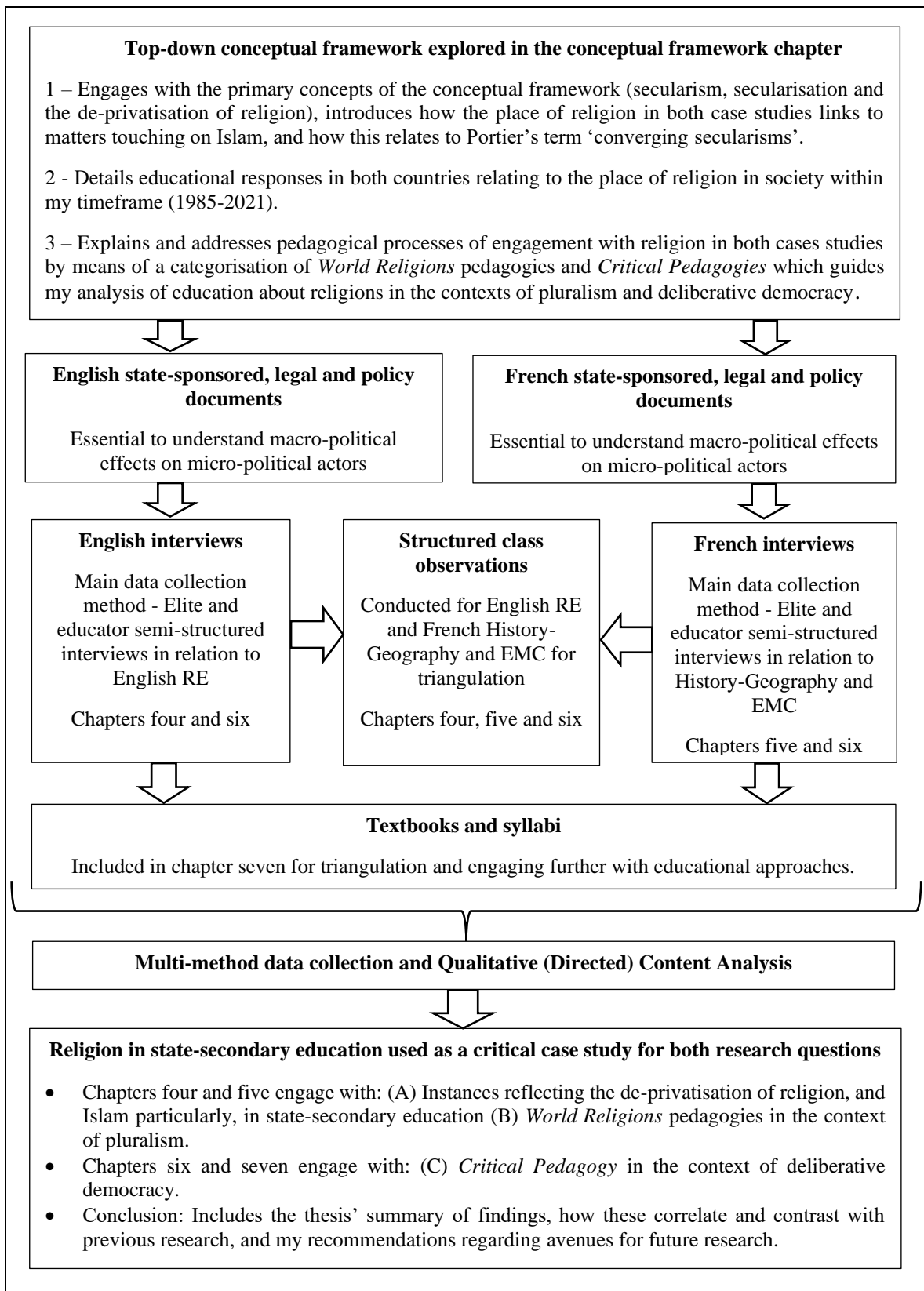
the same logic. However, comparative case studies need to ensure they implement, as far as possible, equivalent research strategies. These include avoiding sampling bias at the data collection stage (Esser, 2019, pp. 90&97). To achieve this, I collect highly similar data, including the number of interview participants, from England and France. I also apply a ‘multi-method’ qualitative approach to data collection (Creswell, 2015, p. 4). I combine information from state-sponsored, legal and policy documents, textbooks and syllabi documents, class observations, and elite and educator interviews. Two aspects guided my choice of qualitative data collection. The first refers to my use of empirical evidence providing rich and, particularly for interviews, nuanced data. The second relates to my reliance on multiple data sources following the logic of ‘triangulation’ (building and correlating data using multiple methods).

This ‘triangulation’ thus correlates with synergist approaches that utilise different sources for results within the same study (Broughton-Micova, 2019, p. 75). My document analysis contributes to elite and educator interviews. In turn, class observations are related to interviewee responses. This helps to ‘construct validity’ (identifying correct operational measures for the concepts being studied) (Yin, 2018, p. 42; Fusch & Ness, 2015, pp. 1411-1412). All data collection methods are linked to my theoretical basis reliant on Casanova’s de-privatisation of religion and Portier’s ‘converging secularisms’, which capture the renewed socio-political visibility of religion and its influence on education within my timeframe (1985-2021). This enables well-grounded comparisons based on empirical patterns in subsequent chapters. Through this, the thesis builds ‘internal validity’ (establishing a causal relationship whereby certain conditions can be explained and how these may lead to other conditions) via ‘pattern matching’. ‘Pattern matching’ refers to comparing empirically based patterns with a predicted one made before collecting data (Yin, 2018, p. 175). Within this ‘pattern matching’, I also consider rival explanations in the conceptual framework chapter, empirical chapters and conclusion (Yin, 2018, p. 177). Adopting a ‘multi-method’ approach contributes to the study’s ‘external validity’ (showing whether a case study’s findings can be generalised beyond the immediate study) (Yin, 2018, pp. 45-46). This is further ensured by my ‘structured focused comparison’ that, as far as

possible, researches an identical phenomenon, relies on an overarching applicable theory for both cases, and adopts highly similar sampling strategies and data for these. Also, especially for pedagogical practices, I have specified from the beginning of the thesis that I approach interviewee contributions, class observations and textbook extracts as trends relating to the changing place of religion in state-secondary schools as public spheres, and not as totalising country-wide assessments. Setting these parameters also establishes 'external validity'.

The table below illustrates how the conceptual framework, thesis timeframe and data collection methods link together. The table and remainder of the chapter demonstrate my methodological implementation. By explaining the data collection choices, sampling, implementation of data collection methods and analysis, I illustrate the study's 'reliability', demonstrating how the research's exact same operation could be repeated with similar results (Yin, 2018, pp. 46-47).

Table 3.1 – Illustration of research design



3.2.3 Logic of comparison

The first rationale for case selection and comparison relates to the research aims, questions and design. The second grounds itself on historical and demographic reasons.

(A) Research aims, questions and design

Since the 1980s, English and French governments have had to formulate democratic responses to adapt to religious diversity and to cultivate ethe which are more sensitive to ethno-religious pluralism. Additionally, state institutions in 21st century England and France have increasingly adopted discourses emphasising the importance of promoting ‘social cohesion’, largely as a result of religion’s more pronounced socio-political visibility (Portier, 2016a, pp. 89-90). My research aims to describe how the salient question of Islam in both societies, coupled with contemporary pluralism (both religious and non-religious), have contributed to this confluence between England and France, particularly focusing on state-secondary education as public spheres. In connection to this, I also aim to explain how this confluence between both countries relates to education about religions, particularly Islam, in English RE and predominantly French History and EMC. I engage with these research aims via the following two research questions:

(1) To what extent is the de-privatisation of religion, and Islam particularly, reflected in state-secondary education in England and France?

(2) What are English and French educators’ understandings and approaches regarding education about religions in state-secondary schools?

The research aims and questions direct my thesis’ design. I adopt an ‘embedded’ rather than ‘holistic’ research design (Yin, 2018, p. 60). Within my study of English RE and French History, EMC and, to a limited extent, Philosophy, I specifically concentrate on the place of religion in state-secondary schools as public spheres and on education about religion in the contexts of pluralism and deliberative democracy. This delimitation helps keep my study ‘focused’ on the same research aims and studied phenomena. Within this ‘embedded’ design, my level of analysis (scale of research target) is at the macro-level as this compares two national case studies (Decarlo,

2018, p. 4). I specifically interviewed teachers from several schools in each country to strengthen my claims when comparing both national case studies. Within my level of analysis, my unit of analysis (the entity of research focus) is at the meso-level as I concentrate on state-secondary schools (Decarlo, 2018, pp. 181-184). To research my unit of analysis, I rely on four units of observation, which are the items, locations or participants that are observed, measured or collected in relation to the unit of analysis. These are:

- Individuals (educator and elite interviewees) – Main unit of observation.
- Classes (observations) – Complementary.
- State-sponsored, legal and policy documents – Complementary but integral to my top-down approach.
- Textbooks and syllabi documents – Complementary but integral to findings reported in chapter seven.

In summary, my research aims and questions study the relationship between macro-political developments (public discourses and state-institutional strategies for education about religions) and micro-political actors' understandings and practices (principally interviewed educators, but also textbook authors and syllabi designers). For this, my design incorporates a level of analysis at the macro-level, grounded on a meso-level unit of analysis consisting of state-secondary schools. This allows me to engage with educational micro-level political actors' understandings of religion's place in society and state-secondary schools as public spheres, and their approaches to education about religion, particularly centring on Islam.

(B) Socio-historical reasons

For the comparative case study I selected cases that share two key similarities to help make coherent comparisons (Braten, 2013, p. 32). Firstly, England and France are both secular liberal democracies. Secondly, both are religiously diverse societies and have large Muslim communities. France has Western Europe's largest Muslim population, standing between 7 and 9% of the general population in 2015-2016 (CIA, 2021¹⁸; Pew Research Centre, 2017). For

¹⁸ The World Fact Book: Part of the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

England, the official 2011 census calculated that Muslims composed 4.8% of the population (Office for National Statistics/Stokes, 2013; MCB/Ali, 2015, p. 22). This figure rose to an estimated 5.6% in 2019 (Office for National Statistics, 2019). Certain other Western European countries have bigger Muslim populations than England (Sweden at 8.1% in 2017, for example). However, acknowledging slight differences in dates of figures, England has a bigger Muslim population compared to Europe's overall 2017 average (4.9%) (Pew Research Centre, 2017). Also, in contrast to most Western European countries, significant Muslim communities have been part of England and France's polities for three generations.

I also chose both cases based on one difference. I rely on a degree of 'case variance' to illustrate that although England has a 'State Church' and France a separation between 'Church and State', both models converge regarding the importance that many European governments and education systems give to the question of "how can we live together with our differences" (Willaime, 2007, p. 66). In the conceptual framework chapter, I engaged with how this results in certain similarities between both education systems, and with the contextual reasons that explain differences between both cases in the light of country-specific religious and educational histories. I elaborate on these comparisons in empirical chapters.

3.3 Data collection methods

The thesis relies on four types of data detailed below.

3.3.1 State-sponsored, legal and policy documents

I use the term state-sponsored for state-funded documents highlighting the place of, or education about, religion, as well as for reports requested by governments. The term legal documents refers to legislation. Finally, policy relates to "a course of action adopted and pursued by a government" according to the Oxford dictionary. My reason for choosing these three types of documents is that they represent government consultations, strategies and legislation which show instances of, and responses to, the place of religion in public spheres, especially state-secondary education. Legal and policy documents serve as foundations to contextualise country-based specificities (i.e.

‘implicit’ English and ‘explicit’ French secularism) when including interviewee contributions, class observations and textbook and syllabi material.

Using documents entails certain complications. Some may be hard to access and navigate. Although I found it relatively easy to access most documents, selecting the most relevant for empirical chapters due to space constraints required serious consideration (Yin, 2018, p. 117). Secondly, even though many are not included as data, I had to trawl legal documents from both countries’ legal systems to ascertain connections between policy documents and specific laws. Overcoming these challenges was important to develop my understanding of macro-political developments which shape the place of religion in state-secondary schools, and to avoid ‘biased selectivity’, meaning an incomplete collection of data in projects (Bowen, 2009, p. 32).

Despite these challenges, documents provide unobtrusive and non-reactive data. They are unaffected by research processes and can capture broad coverages of developments relevant to my research (Bowen, 2009, p. 31). Thus, state-sponsored and government documents provide windows into political power and change, national contexts and chronology (Karppinen & Moe, 2012, pp. 188&194). For example, the 1958 French Constitution is a foundational text to understand the ‘explicit’ dimension of *laïcité* compared to English ‘implicit’ secularism. Also, the policy establishing EMC syllabus requirements in 2015 marks a chronological shift in the importance of (non)religious difference in connection to RV. Where possible, I include document extracts in empirical chapters to illustrate the place of religion in state-secondary schools. The following table lists the state-sponsored, legal and policy documents I use as data.

Table 3.2 – Analysed state-sponsored, legal and policy documents

English state-sponsored documents
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (SCAA) Model syllabuses for religious education – Model 1: Living faiths today (1994) • (QCA) Religious education: The non-statutory national framework (2004)
English legal documents
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1988 Education Reform Act • 2010 Equality Act
English policy documents
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Guidance on the duty to promote CC (2007) • (DCSF) Religious education in English schools: Non-statutory guidance (2010) • Prevent Strategy (2011) • Guidance on promoting British values in schools (2014) • Promoting fundamental British values as part of SMSC in schools: Departmental advice for maintained schools (2014) • Prevent duty: Departmental advice for schools and childcare providers (2015) • CONTEST: The United Kingdom’s Strategy for Countering Terrorism (2018)
French state-sponsored document
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • L’enseignement du fait religieux dans l’École laïque (2002)
French legal documents
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Loi du 9 décembre 1905 concernant la séparation des Eglises et de l’Etat • Constitution du 4 octobre 1958 • Loi n° 83-634 du 13 juillet 1983 portant droits et obligations des fonctionnaires • Bulletin officiel de l’éducation nationale n° 12 du 29 juin (1995) • Loi n° 2013-595 du 8 juillet 2013 d’orientation et de programmation pour la refondation de l’école de la République
French policy documents
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • L’enseignement laïque des faits religieux (2005) • Charte de la laïcité à l’École (2013) • Rappel à la loi à propos de la laïcité et du fait religieux (2013) • Bulletin officiel spécial n°6 du 25 juin 2015: Programme d’enseignement moral et civique • PART - Plan d’action contre la radicalisation et le terrorisme (2016) • Prévenir Pour Protéger – Plan national de prévention de la radicalisation (2018)

3.3.2 Participants

Interviews are well suited for in-depth knowledge and to study ambiguity (Broughton-Micova, 2019, p. 79). Interviews allowed me to garner nuanced and complex perspectives into matters such as how religions and secularism in education are framed by different social actors. However, using interviews for research presents drawbacks. Firstly, the process of contacting, preparing,

transcribing and analysing interviews is time-consuming. Other aspects for consideration are poorly articulated questions, over-relying on respondent bias, inaccuracies due to lacking recall, and interviewees saying what researchers want to hear. However, when strategised carefully, interviews provide insightful knowledge coupled with personal views (Yin, 2018, p. 121). Interviews have few rivals for capturing experiences and lived meanings of subjects' everyday world (Kvale, 2011, pp. 15-16). This emphasis on participants' experience links to my use of interpretivist and constructivist means of acquiring and explaining participant knowledge. Methodological constructivism and interpretivism capture personal and contrasting meanings by assessing knowledge as socially produced (Kohlbacher, 2005; Yin, 2018, p. 16). I approached interviews as giving insight into individual participants' perceptions about their experiences and/or personal understandings of religion in state-secondary schools.

All interviews followed a semi-structured in-depth approach. These types of interviews are conducted using topic guides that provide information to answer research questions (Broughton-Micova, 2013, p. 87). While structured interviews do not allow respondents to diverge from set questions, semi-structured interviews use guides to direct conversations but allow participants to expound on what is important to them to explain patterns or behaviour (Bryman, 2012, p. 471). Semi-structured interviews ensure exploration of conversations that are not always anticipated (Kvale, 2011, pp. 78; Brown & Danaher, 2017, p. 77). To develop interview guides I used the concepts of the renewed public visibility of religion in England and France, academic pedagogical debates about religions, and national specificities. Interview templates are available in Appendices 22 to 25. All interviews attempted to uncover understandings concerning the following interrelated topics:

- (1) Perspectives on Islam in society and how, specifically for educators, this may affect their experiences in school and/or teaching methods.
- (2) Understandings of contemporary socio-political developments, public discourses and policies concerning the place of religion in public spheres and how these relate to state-secondary education.

- (3) Perspectives on Islam's place in English RE and the French '*fait(s) religieux*', particularly History and EMC.
- (4) Perspectives on topics, approaches and depths of engagements with education about religions.

All non-elite interviewees were educators: English (mostly RE) teachers, a religious organisation's outreach educator, and French History-Geography and EMC teachers. All chosen teachers taught in state-funded non-religious community schools or academies and state-secondary *collèges* and *lycées*. For comparison with English RE, History and EMC were chosen over other French Humanities subjects. This choice was founded on three reasons. Firstly, since the 1989 Joutard Report, debates about and incorporations of the '*fait(s) religieux*' have given particular prominence to History syllabi. History teachers therefore have a wealth of knowledge about the '*fait(s) religieux*'. Secondly, most History educators also teach EMC. Interviewing one teacher provided expert knowledge about two subjects. Finally, the thesis connects the '*fait(s) religieux*' to EMC. Many teachers expressed that in EMC there occurs an unavoidable connection between Islam, the '*vivre ensemble*' and contemporary societal diversity due to religion often representing a source of contention in 21st century France. Thus, EMC is an important dimension for understanding the contemporary place of religion in *laïque* state-secondary schools.

I include two elite interviews, which appear in empirical chapters. For England, I interviewed Charles Clarke, Education Secretary from 2002 until 2004, Home Secretary between 2004 and 2006 and MP for Norwich South from 1997 until 2010. My interview with Charles Clarke was illuminating as he had been one of the main actors developing CC educational policies under Tony Blair. He has also worked recently with Linda Woodhead, prominent Religious Studies academic. His interview allowed me to unearth important knowledge about what he understood as changing trends in religious demographics, the place of religion in public spheres and how these relate or should relate, in his opinion, to education about religion. In France, I interviewed Jamal Ahabab, member of the IREL and Islamic Studies scholar. He is also an examiner for History-Geography teacher civil service examinations and develops educators' knowledge about

the '*fait(s) religieux*'. We conversed about approaches to education about religions, particularly Islam, in the '*fait(s) religieux*'.

In line with ethical standards (Johnson & Christensen, 2008), I ensured all participants gave their informed voluntary consent¹⁹ and highlighted their right to withdraw from the research at any time during or after interviews until thesis submission. The thesis protects the anonymity of all educators and schools by using pseudonyms. Elite interviewees could also request that right.

(A) English interviews

The following table lists all the participants for the English case study. These are split into three intra-national case studies based on estimates from the UK Official 2011 Census: high, medium and low-density Muslim demographic contributions for each settlement or county. This choice is grounded on education about Islam being my main source of analysis. In total, data was collected from nine teachers in six different schools within England. These include two state-secondary schools both in Norwich and Peterborough, and one both in Leicester and Manningtree (Essex). I also conducted an interview with a member of Newcastle's Islamic Diversity Centre responsible for visiting schools in the North-East to contribute to students' awareness of Islam, and an elite interview with Charles Clarke.

¹⁹ Please refer to Appendices 26 to 29 for English and French educator and elite consent forms.

Table 3.3 – English case study participants

<p>High density Muslim population (density > 15 % of total settlement population)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leicester - Total percentage of religious demographic composed of Muslims: 18.6 % (Leicester City Council, 2012, p. 7) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Jonathan Williams: Head of RE and Citizenship. The Hawkins Academy: Leicester. Interview 12/10/2017. ○ Julia Sheppard: RE and Citizenship teacher. The Hawkins Academy: Leicester. Interview 12/10/2017.
<p>Medium density Muslim population (7.5 % < density ≤ 15% of total settlement population)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Peterborough - Total percentage of religious demographic composed of Muslims: 9.4 % (Peterborough City Council, 2011: p. 6) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Jane Wilkinson: Head of Humanities. Neneford School: Peterborough. Interview 18/10/2017. ○ Laura Rose: Art teacher and Jewish member of Peterborough Interfaith Council. Neneford School: Peterborough. Interview 16/10/2017. ○ Sara Chamberlain: Year 9 head teacher for students with learning difficulties. Neneford School: Peterborough. Interview 17/10/2017 ○ Lucy Jones: Head of RE. William Paley Academy: Peterborough. Interview 02/05/2019.
<p>Low density Muslim population (density ≤ 7.5 % of total settlement population)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Norwich - Total percentage of religious demographic composed of Muslims: 3.8 % (Welch, 2012) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Charles Clarke: Education Secretary 2002 - 2004, Home Secretary 2004 - 2006 and MP for Norwich South 1997 - 2010. Interview 02/07/2017. ○ Elizabeth Taylor: RE teacher. Yare Academy: Norwich. Interview 10/04/2018. ○ Martin Henderson: RE, Citizenship and Geography teacher. The Broads School: Norwich. Interview 09/04/2019. • Manningtree (Essex) - Total percentage of religious demographic composed of Muslims: 0.3% (Citypopulation.de, 2018) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Olivia Davies: RE teacher. Stow High School: Manningtree. Interview 08/06/2018. • Newcastle Upon Tyne - Total percentage of religious demographic composed of Muslims: 6.3 % (MCB/Ali, 2015, p. 73) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Fatima Baqri: Education Manager for Newcastle Islamic Diversity Centre: Durham. Interview 12/10/2018.

(B) French interviews

Interviewees in France were also categorised in relation to Muslim demographics in specific settlements and regions. Investigating ethno-religious demographic trends is more convoluted in France than England because the French government is not legally entitled to conduct empirical research into people's religious affiliations (Vampouille, 2011). This is reinforced by French social etiquette that considers it invasive for any researcher to enquire about citizens' religion. Appendix 2 details how I combined the limited reliable demographic information and my own calculations to reach non-politicised estimates for Marseilles, Greater Paris and the regions of Le Jura (Lons-le-Saunier) and Alpes-Maritimes (Cannes). There are contributions from ten French interviewees in these locations. These include Jamal Ahabab (elite interviewee) from the IREL in Paris, and nine teachers (one of whom was retired) in five different schools. One of these schools was located in Cannes, two in Lons-le-Saunier and two in Marseilles.

Table 3.4 – French case study participants

<p>High density Muslim population (density > 20 % of total settlement / department population)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Marseilles – Estimated total percentage of religious demographic composed of Muslims: 29% <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Alban Vaugirard: History-Geography and Enseignement moral et civique teacher. Lycée Aix-Roux: Marseilles. Interview 30/11/2017. ○ Marie Mallet: Enseignement moral et civique teacher. Lycée Aix-Roux: Marseilles. Interview 15/03/2018. ○ Louise Abbas: History-Geography and Enseignement moral et civique teacher. Lycée Aix-Roux: Marseilles. Interview 20/03/2018. ○ Delphine Bernard: History-Geography and Enseignement moral et civique teacher. Lycée Allard: Marseilles. Interview 01/12/2017. ○ Josephine Martin: History-Geography and Enseignement moral et civique teacher. Lycée Allard: Marseilles. Interview 01/12/2017.
<p>Medium density Muslim population (10 % < density ≤ 20 % of total settlement / department population)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paris – Estimated total percentage of religious demographic composed of Muslims: 13.6 % <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Jamal Ahabab: Member of the Institut européen en sciences des religions (IESR), now renamed Institut d'étude des religions et de la laïcité (IREL): Paris. Interview 02/10/2017.
<p>Low density Muslim population (density ≤ 10 % of total settlement / department population)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alpes-Maritimes (Cannes) – Estimated total percentage of religious demographic composed of Muslims: 2.04 % <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Camille Didier: History-Geography and Enseignement moral et civique teacher. Lycée Giroud: Cannes. Interview 05/12/2017. • Lons-le-Saunier (Department of Le Jura) – Estimated total percentage of religious demographic composed of Muslims: 2.1 % <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ François Flambard: History-Geography and Enseignement moral et civique teacher. Collège Rouget de Lise: Lons-le-Saunier. Interview 06/12/2017. ○ Marcel Beau: History-Geography and Enseignement moral et civique teacher. Collège Bouchard: Lons-le-Saunier. Interview 06/12/2017. ○ Jean Reason: Retired English teacher. Collège Bouchard: Lons-le-Saunier. Interview 06/12/2017.

3.3.3 Structured and participant class observations

‘Structured observations’ differ from ‘participant observations’ based on how events are observed ‘in their natural settings’. Observations are not only considered ‘structured’ when these are based on pre-determined categories guiding the recording process, but also when researchers do not impinge on the setting being studied (i.e. not interacting with participants) (Stausberg, 2011, p. 382). ‘Participant observation’ may also utilise pre-determined categories to guide recording processes. However, ‘participant observation’ learns about the activities of people in natural settings via researchers’ active participation in these (Kawulich, 2005).

I approach class observations as supplementary within both ‘multi-method’ cases. Observations take a secondary role as my research provides, first and foremost, rich windows into educator opinions, beliefs and attitudes through interviews (Broughton-Micova, 2019, p. 79). Furthermore, lone researchers face certain complexities when using observations. Observations incur significant fieldwork costs, particularly in cases of continuous monitoring, whereas onetime observations may not give reliable pictures of everyday behaviours. Additionally, researchers’ tacit lens can influence observation reporting (Curtis et al, 1993) compared to interviews, where participants answer and contest interviewer questions directly. As such, I approach observations through a data convergence rationale typical of case studies (Yin, 2018). This helps add balance via data collection ‘triangulation’.

Comparatively, observations provide windows into real-time actions and contexts. Indeed, my observations allow me to further understand each education system. However, due to the thesis’ predominant focus on interviews, I only include class observations explicitly in connection to interview extracts. Observations add new dimensions to delve deeper into interview opinions and the research phenomena by providing physical immersion into a field (Yin, 2018, pp. 121-125). For me, this relates to demonstrations of classroom practices, limited examples of student perceptions and correlation with matters discussed in interviews. I use observations for ‘triangulation’ to add further insight and a confluence of evidence into my research to enhance credibility (Bowen, 2009, p. 28). For example, my visit to a Peterborough mosque with Neneford

School corroborated how *ethnographic* visits to places of worship were implemented as previously explained by the school’s teachers.

I conducted five ‘structured observations’ in two English schools: The Hawkins Academy in Leicester and Neneford School in Peterborough in 2017 and 2018. In Marseilles, I spent three days conducting interviews and three ‘participant observations’ of History and EMC classes in March 2018 at the Lycée Aix-Roux. These were ‘participant observations’ as teachers allowed five to ten minutes at the end of each class for me to ask students questions pertaining to *laïcité* and the place of Islam in education and wider society. I ensured all teachers or principals gave their informed consent before I attended classes or school fieldtrips, and highlighted their right to withdraw from the research at any time during or after observations until thesis submission. The thesis protects the anonymity of all schools through pseudonyms.²⁰ The thesis includes three English structured observations and one French participant observation, chosen for being most relevant to matters discussed by teachers in my empirical analysis. Thus, observations take a corroboratory role in relation to interviewees’ contributions.

Table 3.5 – Structured and participant observations used as empirical contributions

England
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Hawkins Academy: Leicester. Structured Observation of Year 11 RE lesson on Stewardship and Dominion: 12/10/2017. • The Hawkins Academy: Leicester. Structured Observation of Year 8 RE lesson on anti-Semitism: 16/01/2018. • Neneford School: Peterborough. Structured Observation of student day trip to mosque: 31/01/2018.
France
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lycée Aix-Roux: Marseilles. Participant Observation of <i>Seconde</i> (Year 11) EMC class: 20/03/2018.

²⁰ Please refer to Appendices 30 and 31 for class observations consent forms.

3.3.4 Textbooks and syllabi documents

Data collection from textbooks and syllabi also serves for ‘triangulation’. The thesis treats textbook authors and syllabi designers as educators in relation to my second research question. Although interviews supply rich data, they may provide a ‘favourable’ picture of the researched phenomenon (Tongco, 2007). Thus, an analysis of French Humanities and English RE textbooks and syllabi allowed me not only to corroborate interview contributions, but to achieve a more balanced assessment of my research phenomena. However, as previously stated, documents have their limitations. Additionally, documents often contain insufficient detail to answer research questions as they are created independently of a research agenda (Bowen, 2009, p. 32). Nonetheless, when used correctly, document analysis provides ‘multi-method’ rigour and can add immense value to case studies (Cardno, 2018, p. 626). Textbooks and syllabi provide a low-cost, unobtrusive and non-reactive form of data (unlike interviews that react to time, interviewer position and questions) (Bowen, 2009, p. 31&38). Also, textbooks and syllabi are illustrations of curricular requirements and provide support material for classrooms.

Textbooks and syllabi are analysed in chapter seven. I couple these documents to the particular strands of *Critical Pedagogy* identified in the conceptual framework chapter. This helps assess how public discourse about religion, state-institutional educational strategies and interviewee contributions relate to sourced textbook and syllabi processes of pedagogical engagement in the context of *deliberative democracy*. When using textbooks and syllabi as data, I pay particular attention to education about Islam and to the value they give to:

- (1) Studying different realms affecting a phenomenon under study – *Holistic*.
- (2) Encouraging discussion and an education responsive to present-day societal developments and issues – *Dialectical and contemporarily meaningful*.
- (3) Allowing those with different perspectives about a particular phenomenon under study to provide convincing representations of their beliefs – *Cross-fertilisation*.

All documents chosen for English RE and French Humanities subjects in chapter seven were published in or after 2005. This demarcation is important for analysed materials to provide an empirical picture of 21st century education practices. For example, the more pronounced emphasis on promoting ‘cohesion’ through education in England only started taking shape after the 2001 and 2004 Cante Reports explored in my previous chapter.

For England, all KS3 and KS4 documents had to approach RE via a multi-religious lens. I was fortunate that the Head of RE from The Hawkins Academy gave me two GCSE textbooks he used in 2018. I bought and borrowed via libraries all the remaining textbooks and accessed syllabi online. In my study of English RE documents, I concentrate most predominantly on GCSE textbook extracts. However, I make sure to include two Sixth Form documents in the sample. The first is an AS/A-level Religious Studies syllabus focusing on Islam (as Sixth Form students often study the subject via a more mono-religiously specific focus). I also include one Year 13 A-level textbook in the sample which centres on Christianity, philosophy and ethics. However, due to space constraints, the Sixth Form material is only briefly analysed in table 7.1 of chapter seven on page 238, as are the KS3 textbooks. The table below lists analysed English textbooks and syllabi.

Table 3.6 – Analysed English textbooks and syllabi

English non-confessional RE textbooks and syllabi design (only for Year 13 RE Islamic focus)	
Year 7	Brewer, M., Mantin, R., Smith, P. and Wood, C. (2005) <i>Think RE: Book 1</i> . Oxford: Heinemann.
Year 8	Brewer, M., Mantin, R., Smith, P. and Wood, C. (2005) <i>Think RE: Book 2</i> . Oxford: Heinemann.
Year 9	Brewer, M., Mantin, R., Smith, P. and Wood, C. (2005) <i>Think RE: Book 3</i> . Oxford: Heinemann.
Years 10 & 11	Parry, L., Hayes, J. & Butler, S. (2016) <i>Religious Studies: Specification A</i> . London: Hodder Education.
	Burridge et al. (2009) <i>Religion & Human Experience</i> . Essex: Heinemann.
Years 12 & 13 (Sixth Form)	OCR (2016) <i>Religious Studies: Developments in Islamic Thought</i> . Cambridge: Cambridge Assessment.
	Frye, J., Herring, D. & Thompson, M. (2017) <i>Religious Studies: For A-level Year 2</i> . London: Hodder Education.

For France, a teacher at the Lycée Aix-Roux gave me three History textbooks for *Seconde* (Year 11), *Première* (Year 12) and *Terminale* (Year 13). I bought all other remaining textbooks pertaining to History and EMC. These subjects often appear within one textbook. As the ‘*fait(s) religieux*’ are incorporated into various Humanities subjects, I also bought one Philosophy *Terminale* textbook as I wanted to ascertain how religion as a philosophical phenomenon is approached in the subject. Thus, chapter seven also provides a very interesting engagement with a Philosophy textbook, beyond my main focus on History and EMC. The table below lists analysed French textbooks and syllabi.

Table 3.7 – Analysed French textbooks

French Humanities textbooks – History, EMC and Philosophy (<i>Terminale</i> only)	
<i>Sixième</i> - Year 7	Le Mercier (ed.) (2009) <i>Histoire-Géographie-Education Civique</i> . Buc: Scérén.
<i>Cinquième</i> - Year 8	Lagrenade, M., Arpillere, J., John, M. & Roupillard, D. (2016) ‘Histoire-Géographie EMC’, in Balaguier, A. (ed.) <i>L’année de 5ème: Tout pour réussir</i> . Paris: Bordas, pp. 118-165.
<i>Quatrième</i> - Year 9	Blanchard, É. & Mercier, A. (eds.) (2016) <i>Histoire-Géographie – Enseignement moral et civique</i> . Lyon: lelivrescolaire.fr.
<i>Troisième</i> - Year 10	Genet, L., Jézéquel, P. & Pralon, G. (2017) <i>Histoire-Géo 3^e: Enseignement moral et civique</i> . Paris: Nathan.
<i>Seconde</i> - Year 11	Vidal, J. (ed.) (2015) <i>Histoire: Les Européens dans l’histoire du monde</i> . Paris: Magnard.
<i>Première</i> - Year 12	Chevallier & Lapray (eds.) (2015) <i>Histoire: Questions pour comprendre le XX siècle</i> . Paris: Hatier.
<i>Terminale</i> - Year 13	Billard, H. (ed.) (2014) <i>Histoire Terminales ES.L</i> . Paris: Magnard.
	Cerqueira, S., Lamouche, F. & Rosset, A. (2017) <i>Bescherelle Philo: La référence pour le BAC</i> . Paris: Hatier.

3.4 Sampling and considered alternatives

To ensure a systematic engagement with all data, it was fundamental to strategize my sampling approach. Sampling means selecting a relatively small number of representative items (documents for example) or individuals from a pre-defined pool or population for a study (Sharma, 2017, p. 749). I utilise ‘non-probability sampling’, which is based on researchers’ judgement (Sharma, 2017, pp. 749-750). For coherent judgements, it is important to base samples on conceptual

frameworks and research questions. This then informs the types of ‘non-probability sample’ for data collection. I apply two forms of ‘non-probability sampling’. The first is ‘snowball sampling’ which relies on existing participants to recruit others willing to participate among their acquaintances until enough data is gathered. This sampling strategy is often used for populations that may be hard to access. The second is ‘purposive sampling’, a technique that relies on the judgement of the researcher when selecting units to be studied (people, organisations and data sources). Within ‘purposive sampling’, there are several sub-strands (Sharma, 2017, pp. 751-752; Marshal & Rossman, 2016, p. 115). These include:

- ‘Maximum variation sampling’ (e.g. opposites).
- ‘Homogenous sampling’ (selecting a small homogeneous group of subjects or units with similar or identical traits)
- ‘Extreme/Deviant case sampling’ (selecting cases that are special in some way)
- ‘Expert sampling’ (e.g. elite interviews)

Within ‘purposive sampling’, I use ‘expert sampling’ for elite interviews and ‘homogenous sampling’ for all documents, educator interviews and class observations. ‘Purposive sampling’ draws its efficacy from enabling researchers to study a certain cultural domain with rich sources and/or knowledgeable participants (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009, p. 318). Though sometimes considered biased, ‘purposive sampling’ gives most importance to rich and quality data (Tongco, 2007, p. 147). To a lesser degree, I utilise ‘snowball sampling’ for certain teacher interviews and observations. Usually some combination of sampling strategies is deployed in research (Marshall & Rossman, 2016, p. 116). Sections 3.4.1 and 3.4.2 explain how and why I combine ‘purposive’ and ‘snowball sampling’.

3.4.1 Sampling strategy for state-sponsored, legal, policy, textbook and syllabi documents

The rationale behind the ‘purposive’ selection of these documents is that they discuss, regulate or illustrate the place of religion in society and/or state-secondary education in each country.

My ‘homogenous purposive sampling’ of key state-sponsored, legal and policy documents, all of which appear in table 3.2, requires two clarifications. Firstly, for France, I purposively select three legal documents prior to my timeframe of study (1985-2021). These are foundational documents for understanding French secularism and are integral for my critical analysis of concepts such as educational ‘neutrality’, non-proselytization and *laïcité* in chapter six. All remaining state-sponsored, legal and policy documents for both case studies are sampled within my timeframe. Secondly, concerning my selection of state-sponsored documents, there are two English documents that could initially seem to fall within my focus on textbooks and syllabi in chapter seven. The first of these was published in 1994 by the SCAA and provides model syllabi for RE. The second was published by the QCA in 2004 and details a framework for teaching RE in maintained schools. I analyse these documents in chapter four to highlight macro-political developments. This is grounded on two reasons. Firstly, both documents were commissioned by the central government. Secondly, they capture shifts in RE’s perspectives of religions: from considering them as separate cultures (in the 1980s and 1990s) towards greater emphasis on valuing inter-community religious engagements (2001 onwards).

The selection of textbooks and syllabi for inclusion in chapter seven, which appear in tables 3.6 and 3.7, also applies ‘homogenous purposive sampling’. Firstly, these are chosen in relation to research question number two ‘**what are English and French educators’ understandings and approaches regarding education about religions in state-secondary schools?**’. In this sense, I treat textbook authors and syllabi designers as educators. Also, analysed textbooks and syllabi target approaches to education about religion since the increased emphasis on promoting ‘cohesion’ and ‘managing difference’ in schools. Therefore, no document published before 2005 is used in chapter seven. To guard against ‘biased selectivity’ (Bowen, 2009, p. 32), I sample documents for all secondary school years for both cases, even though for England I concentrate predominantly on KS4 material for in-depth empirical illustrations.

3.4.2 Sampling strategy for interviews and observations

With the exception of elite participants, the selection of interviews and class observations applies ‘homogenous purposive sampling’ predominantly. In my case, all interviewees needed to have considerable knowledge of education about religions and state-secondary education in either education system. All observations relate to English RE or French History-Geography or EMC. On average, I contacted fifty schools in each country, all of which are non-confessional state-secondary institutions. An element of heterogeneity for ‘case variance’ guided this selection founded on regional or settlement-based Muslim demographic contributions. This allowed me to take into account how different student audiences may affect teacher understandings about the place of religion in state-secondary schools as public spheres and education about religions, particularly Islam. I applied such heterogeneity to potentially uncover information that I had not initially considered (Robinson, 2014, pp. 26-27). In total, I interviewed teachers from eleven schools (six English and five French) and conducted observations in two English and one French school. Additionally, I interviewed Fatima Baqri, member of Newcastle’s Islamic Diversity Centre²¹. Though not a teacher, she plays an important educator role in RE classrooms by visiting schools to discuss and teach students about Islam.

I was unable to gain access to a French school located in a ‘medium density Muslim demographic area’. However, I was fortunate to interview Jamal Ahabab from the IREL in Paris (a medium Muslim density settlement). Although not a state-secondary school educator, his expert knowledge about the *‘fait(s) religieux’* is extensive.

It was difficult to achieve a degree of parity in participant numbers by relying purely on email invitations, ‘cold-calling’, my own contacts and personal networking. Therefore the project’s sampling method inevitably incorporates ‘snowball sampling’. ‘Snowball sampling’ enabled me to interview three teachers whose contributions appear in empirical chapters. These include two

²¹ Organisation promoting Islamic Awareness through education and community engagement.

of the three History and EMC teachers from the Lycée Aix-Roux and the Head of RE from William Paley Academy.

The approach to contacting elite interviewees is purely ‘expert purposive sampling’. I specifically wanted to contact experts knowledgeable about the evolution of English or French religious sociology, the potential educational impact of 21st century ‘cohesive’ discourses, and how these relate or should relate to the place of religion in education (Tongco, 2007, pp. 147-151). Charles Clarke and the previously mentioned Jamal Ahabab allowed me to learn from actors involved in state-institutional debates and/or policies pertinent to education about religions, as well as to enrich my empirical analysis. For more information on elite and non-elite interviewees please refer to tables 3.3 and 3.4.

3.4.3 Considered alternative data collection methods

In the PhD’s initial stages I recognised that interviews would be a highly appropriate data source for my explanatory study. However, I also wanted to use questionnaires for adult members of school communities where I conducted teacher interviews. I particularly wanted to access teaching bodies and parents from schools to learn about their perceptions of RE and French Humanities’ approaches to teaching religious knowledge, as well as their attitudes towards Islam. Believing it would be interesting to receive opinions about such matters from possible participants, I wished to tap into broader public perceptions about English RE and the French ‘*fait(s) religieux*’. In each country these matters raise important debates about the place of religion in public spheres. Questionnaires are advantageous as they can access large samples, as was the case with REDCo’s study into student attitudes towards religion in schools throughout Europe (Knauth et al, 2008). Additionally, they can reach out to individuals in distant locations and participants who are otherwise difficult to contact (Wright, 2005).

After interviewing teachers, with their consent I provided them with hard-copy questionnaires and with an internet link to a google questionnaire. However, I received very few responses and thus had to abandon this data source at the end of my second year and find a new way to enhance

‘methodological triangulation’. It was then that I decided to use textbooks as an integral part of empirical contributions. Creswell and Garrett specify that it is normal to rectify and add new tools to researchers’ toolkits over time (2008, p. 322). Textbooks and syllabi relate to the third theme of analysis (*Critical Pedagogy* in the context of deliberative democracy). This method ended up being paramount for my empirical engagement with, and comparisons between, both case studies in chapter seven.

3.5 Conducting data collection methods

This section details the four types of data from which I draw, and how they fit into empirical chapters.

3.5.1 State-sponsored, legal and policy documents

Substantial desk research went into navigating and selecting state-sponsored, legal and policy documents. I targeted relevant documents relating to instances of and responses to public discourses and state-institutional strategies determining the place of religion in public spheres, usually in connection to education. I accessed all documents included in empirical chapters online in their original language. My knowledge of both languages allowed me to reduce the risk of ‘biased selectivity’ or broader misunderstanding. These documents are used to inform my approach to the conceptual framework chapter and as extracts appearing in empirical chapters. Three fundamental French legal documents which capture France’s ‘explicit’ secularism are included in chapter six even though they predate my timeframe of study (1985-2021). However, I contribute to my implementation of ‘structured focused comparison’ by ensuring all remaining documents selected for both countries fall within my research timeframe (George & Bennett, 2005, pp. 67-72). Section 3.3.1 details the state-sponsored, legal and policy documents included as data.

3.5.2 Interviews

For all semi-structured interviews, I used topic guides to direct conversations. I had to ensure some element of structure so that conversations corresponded to the comparative study. I designed

these in connection to my discussion about the renewed visibility of religion in both countries, the resultant state-institutional (including educational) responses, and the pedagogies listed in the conceptual framework chapter.

After a process of iteration, I added to my focus on *World Religions* pedagogies by incorporating some questions that allowed a more consistent engagement with a ‘critical’ approach to education about religions. This later fed my *Critical Pedagogical* analysis, not envisioned at the outset of my fieldwork. These guides added convergence during interviews. This meant I introduced areas to be chartered, but followed up on the subjects’ answers by seeking new information. I approached interviews via my explanatory case study focus by uncovering aspects of each participant’s lived world. Therefore, I also adapted interview guides slightly for specific participants (Kvale, 2011, p. 38). Appendices 22 to 25 include questions I used at times to politely steer conversations towards my research aims.

As shown in Appendices 22 and 23, the semi-structuring of interviews was adapted to adhere to each education system’s specificities, particularly tailoring questions to RE and French History and EMC respectively. All interviews commenced with open-ended ice-breaker conversations. I then asked initial pre-planned questions to explore new avenues or expand on knowledge previously acquired from interviews or literature. Thereafter, interviews entered a conversational stage. I only steered discussions when specific topics were exhausted. Initially, my interview skills were less refined as I was a novice to this technique. Over time, I developed more proficiency by increasingly asking open-ended questions to reduce my personal bias on respondents’ answers (Brown & Danaher, 2017, pp. 81-83). For example, initially I asked English RE teachers how they viewed French approaches towards divisions between ‘Church and State’:

In French state-secondary schools, basic forms of religious literacy are incorporated into different Humanities subjects (History, Citizenship and French literature for example). However, there are firm guidelines restricting teachers and students’ religious expressions under the framework of ‘avoiding religious and ideological proselytization’. How do you interpret these boundaries set in French state-secondary schools as an RE/RS teacher in Britain?

I soon realised this question was convoluted, overused my positionality on the value of religious dialogue and was insensitive to contextual differences (Braten, 2013, p. 31). Interviewees were asked to reply regarding matters about which they might have no knowledge. I made sure not to include any extracts relating to this question in coming empirical chapters. I increasingly avoided asking similarly formulated questions. Also, following my first interviews in France, I adapted my interview strategy to better suit country-based cultural norms (Kvale, 2011, p. 40). For example, I often stressed the word *laïque* when talking about education about religions with French participants to prevent it from being confused with ‘religious education’. In addition, because my interviewees were usually educational professionals, I adapted questions over time based on their insight.

The table below details certain questions from interview guides. I categorise these in relation to three themes relevant to the research questions. This categorisation serves as a guide for the reader more than a clear-cut distinction. In practice, answers to questions did not so readily fit into one specific theme. Table 3.8 illustrates this porous thematicization of questions.

Table 3.8 – Interview schedule

RESEARCH THEMES	QUESTIONS
<p>De-privatisation of religion, particularly in relation to state-secondary education</p> <p>Relevant to research question one and setting the tone for research question two</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What do you think of relating RE / <i>'fait(s) religieux'</i> to historical and current political issues, considering religion is an important aspect of national and international politics during the 21st century? – Related to theme three • How, if at all, are educational legislation on promoting 'British values' and RE combined? – Related to theme three • What is the connection between the <i>'fait(s) religieux'</i> and the promotion of 'republican values' in French state <i>collèges</i> and <i>lycées</i>? – Related to theme three • How do images presented about religions, and Islam predominantly, in class and the media differ? – Related to theme three • Under which topics is Islam normally taught? For example: five pillars of Islam, festivities and rituals, gender issues ...? How does this change from KS3, KS4 up to Sixth Form / <i>Sixième</i> to <i>Terminale</i>? – Related to themes two and three
<p>World Religions pedagogies in the context of pluralism</p> <p>Relevant to research question two</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Under which topics is Islam normally taught? For example: five pillars of Islam, festivities and rituals, gender issues ...? How does this change from KS3, KS4 up to Sixth Form / <i>Sixième</i> to <i>Terminale</i>? – Related to themes one and three • What is Islam's position within class material in relation to other major religions? • How can students express their political and religious opinions in History & EMC? – Related to theme three • Is time dedicated to conduct fieldwork in RE / History & EMC, for example visits to mosques, synagogues, churches or religious communities?
<p>Critical Pedagogy in the context of deliberative democracy</p> <p>Relevant to research question two</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How can students express their political and religious opinions in History & EMC? – Related to theme two • What do you think of relating RE / <i>'fait(s) religieux'</i> to historical and current political issues, considering religion is an important aspect of national and international politics during the 21st century? – Related to theme one • How, if at all, are educational legislation on promoting 'British values' and RE combined? – Related to theme one

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is the connection between the '<i>fait(s) religieux</i>' and the promotion of 'republican values' in French state <i>collèges</i> and <i>lycées</i>? – Related to theme one • How do images presented about religions, and Islam predominantly, in class and the media differ? – Related to theme one • Under which topics is Islam normally taught? For example: five pillars of Islam, festivities and rituals, gender issues ...? How does this change from KS3, KS4 up to Sixth Form / <i>Sixième</i> to <i>Terminale</i>? – Related to themes one and two
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Logistical preparation for English elite and educator interviews was relatively easy as I was based in Norwich. I conducted interviews between October 2017 and May 2019 in Leicester, Peterborough, Durham, Norwich and Manningtree. I visited France three times for fieldwork. I travelled to Paris to interview Jamal Ahabab from the IREL in October 2017. In November - December 2017, I interviewed teachers from five different schools: two *lycées* in Marseilles, another in Cannes and two *collèges* in Lons-le-Saunier. In March 2018 I revisited Marseilles to conduct two more interviews at the Lycée Aix-Roux.

Except for one telephone interview with the Head of RE for William Paley Academy in Peterborough, all interviews were face-to-face and usually one-to-one. I conducted one joint interview during a visit to Lons-le-Saunier with two History and EMC teachers from different *collèges* and a retired English language teacher who previously taught in French state-secondary schools. Face-to-face conversations were conducted in participants' preferred locations: their workplaces, homes or cafés.

Being a native English speaker and fluent in French overcame language barriers. This also allowed me to transcribe interviews verbatim in their original language. Afterwards, I translated pertinent interview extracts into English. Although I tried to approach interviews as conversations, one factor slightly influenced power dynamics. Being less articulate in French, certain conversations demarcated interviewer-interviewee roles more clearly compared to English interviews. For France, I conducted most interviews in French but was able to conduct one

interview in my second native language, Spanish. On another occasion, I asked questions in English and the respondent answered in French.

During interviews, it was impossible to completely avoid my subjective understanding of education about religion. However, I did implement an iterative process after certain interviews. For example, in the interview guide for English educators (Appendix 22), I initially asked a considerably close-ended question which excessively included my own normative position. The question reads:

What do you think of relating RE to historical and current political issues, considering religion is an important aspect of national and international politics during the 21st century?

The way this question is formulated can restrict respondents' opinions, leading them to answer in accordance with my preconceived personal understanding of the value of including contemporary socio-political issues, and dialogue about these, in education about religions. Consequently, I developed a similar but more refined, open-ended and less value-laden question through iteration:

Much is written in educationalist and institutional documents on making RE 'critical' in 'religiously confusing times'. What does this mean for you?

When formulating this question, I established the background to the question in relation to RE educationist debates. I then allowed the participant to expand on what this meant from their experience. One answer to this question from Ms Jones from Peterborough's William Paley Academy is divided into two empirical extracts. One appears on page 149 in chapter four and the other on page 202 in chapter six. Such iteration and self-reflection after interviews allowed me to acquire richer interviewee contributions by giving participants greater space to elaborate more freely on their own understandings and experiences (Kvale, 1994, p. 153).

Iteration also helped me enhance my understanding of the essential characteristics of the topic (Lambert & Loiselle, 2008, p.235). This resulted in refining my use of technical educational language, replicating fruitful questions while removing inaccurate ones, and adapting interview focus for future conversations based on participants' feedback. For example, I incorporated EMC

as an important subject for the data after having conducted several interviews in France. A developed understanding of education about religion in French schools and its connections to students' civic development does well to acknowledge this subject. The Ministry of Education's specification for '*L'enseignement des faits religieux*' following the Debray Report does not explicitly mention citizenship education (Eduscol/education.fr, 2021). However, as EMC was created between 2013 and 2015 partly to respond to France's complex religious situation through an emphasis on promoting 'cohesion', 'managing difference' and 'shared values', the subject inherently touches on the place of religion in contemporary French society. Consequently, I made sure to acknowledge this in later interviews.

For example, Louise Abbas, History-Geography and EMC teacher, highlighted the fruitfulness of EMC for the thesis in chapter six (page 223). She specified that the theme of *laïcité* is present in almost all EMC class material as a central topic. She believed it unavoidable to include references in these classes to understanding religious specificities in order to help students distinguish between terms such as Muslim and Islamist if they were used interchangeably. However, she considered this could not be classed as an '*enseignement des faits religieux*'.

For elite interviews, I prepared substantially beforehand, seeking knowledge about each participant's background and work. This allowed me to include questions that interviewees were particularly well versed to answer. This preparation is also useful for anticipating participants' 'talk tracks' (Kvale, 2011, p. 77). I not only attempted to go beyond these, but also reflected on which of them were important for the data to highlight interviewees' assessments of public discourses about religions and their place in education. For example, during the interview with Charles Clarke, I asked the following question:

You argue that a "National SACRE approach" might improve what you consider is the patchy work of RE. How would this be?

This question was based on his recent work with Linda Woodhead and on his own background as former Education Secretary.

3.5.3 Structured and participant observations

I conducted ‘structured observations’ in England at The Hawkins Academy in October 2017 and January 2018, and attended a fieldtrip to a Peterborough mosque with Neneford School in January 2018. In March 2018, I was able to observe three lessons, either History-Geography or EMC, at the Lycée Aix-Roux. I did not initially intend to take an active role in these observations. However, teachers invited me to ask students questions during the last 10 minutes of lessons about their understandings of *laïcité* and its relation to the place of religion in education. For this reason, I qualified my immersion into French classes as ‘participant observations’.

For observations, I created templates for real-time annotations. Following Gillham’s recommendations (2008), I designed observation templates around events, linked events, number and gender of participants involved in each event, and the *World Religions* pedagogies applied. I also allowed space to note outstanding and unforeseen events and linked events. Appendix 21 is an example of observation templates. The data collection commenced by framing and noting down main events that arose relating to Islam, other religions or *laïcité*, together with events linking to the said main event. Categories were numerically converted to save annotation time. Afterwards, I jotted down the nomenclatures for the RE *World Religions* pedagogies being utilised (*phenomenology, hermeneutics, ethnography, positive-pluralism*). All observations were audio recorded with teacher consent. Events under observation were divided into three to five-minute intervals.

In practice, these templates served as summaries for entire observations rather than highly elaborate standards for data analysis. Nonetheless, designing templates and using them during observations helped my ‘Content Analytical’ immersion, reduction and interpretation when reflecting on specific classes or transcribing extracts from observations (Forman & Damschroder, 2007, p. 46).

Observations assume a secondary role in my empirical chapters as supplementary material to corroborate interviewed educators’ understandings of, and approaches to, religion in state-secondary schools. Thus, as shown in table 3.5, I incorporate three English observations into

chapters. The brief participant observations at the end of French History-Geography and EMC classes produced very similar results, which is why I only include one of them in my empirical chapters, specifically a student's understanding of *laïcité*. Nonetheless, all observations were important for me to gain a more developed picture of the place of religion within both education systems, as well as differences between both case studies. Observations appear either as non-quotation references, for example in chapters four and six, or as a quotation of a student's opinion on page 191 in chapter five.

3.5.4 Textbooks and syllabi

Previously I discussed the criteria for selecting textbooks and syllabi and how I acquired these. I now specify how I implemented the selection of material from these textbooks and syllabi. I use these documents extensively for empirical contributions, treating them not only as 'sources', but also as 'objects for analysis' designed by authors whom I classify as 'educators'. Therefore, my analysis is not limited to 'facts' showing approaches to education about religion and validating interviewee contributions. I also see them as cultural artifacts and social products relevant to national contextual specificities (Karppinen & Moe, 2012, p. 186) relating to the place of religion in state-secondary schools and wider public spheres.

I dedicate chapter seven to textbooks and syllabi both to elaborate on the third theme of the PhD (*Critical Pedagogy* in the context of deliberative democracy) and for 'triangulation' with interview contributions more broadly. As with many forms of document analysis, I skimmed through (superficial examination), read (thorough examination) and interpreted relevant sections (Bowen, 2009, p. 32). Due to the comparative focus, much of the material I selected for empirical illustration had to centre on similar topics for both education systems.

Also, these topics had to be relevant to at least one of the following criteria:

- Religion, and particularly Islam, as a socio-politically relevant phenomenon in past or current society
- Religion in relation to the public sphere
- Openness to difference in religiously pertinent topics

This process for selecting relevant material served to identify information and separate it from that which did not relate to the topic (Bowen, 2009, p. 32).

3.6 Data Analysis

I use a top-down approach for data analysis to explain relationships between macro-politics (state-sponsored, legal and policy documents and societal developments) and micro-political actors (interviewed educators, textbooks and syllabi's perspectives and practices) (Dunmire, 2012, p. 738).

3.6.1 Qualitative content analysis (QCA)

I utilise QCA to engage with data. QCA's descriptive methodology fits well with the explanatory nature of my research. Schreier defines QCA as a systematic description of meaning which combines deductive and inductive codes reliant on an evaluation and modification of coding frames during analysis (Schreier, 2012, pp. 3-6). I explain how I combine deductive (developed before data analysis) and inductive (data-driven) codes in section 3.6.3. QCA reduces analysed data. This differentiates it from many other types of qualitative analysis that 'open up' data. In this manner QCA is well-suited for case studies as these often combine numerous data collection methods. For example, I select specific sections of legal, policy and textbook documents (reduction) that relate to the thesis research questions. Lastly, QCA focuses on 'latent meaning' that is not immediately obvious in material requiring a degree of interpretation (Schreier, 2012, pp. 1-9&15).

Schreier argues that 'latent meaning' describes phenomena by interpreting data as a basis for conclusions about an external social reality (2012, pp. 4&15). For instance, following Kvale's approach to 'meaning interpretation', for interviews I not only explain different participants' opinions of and/or approaches to education about religions in English or French state-secondary schools. I also often analyse these contributions through more 'latent meaning' relating to the place of religion in public spheres (de-privatisation of religion and/or country-based contextual specificities like distinctions between '*croire et savoir*' in France). This method links to Kvale's

approach to interpreting interviews, where extracts of material are used for empirical demonstration and connected to broader frames of reference not initially apparent in ‘manifest meaning’ (Kvale, 2011, pp. 123-125). Therefore, my QCA approach has two layers, the first being engagement with overt meaning in ‘manifest content’. Secondly, much of the data is subjected to an analysis of its ‘latent content’. This relies on inferences from specific extracts to other properties of the same or other sources, or to other relevant fields grounded in prior literature (Mayring, 2000, p. 2).

For example, I engage with ‘manifest’ and ‘latent meaning’ to address both research questions based on perceptions and connotations in interviews, observations and documents for key words like Islam, religion, media, *laïcité*, ‘neutrality’, challenge/challenging and (in)tolerance/(in)tolerant. My top-down elucidation of relationships between macro-political developments and micro-political actors’ understandings and practices requires a robust analysis of data to move beyond ‘manifest’ content to explain ‘latent meaning’. For this, I rely on (1) socio-political literature to ground my theoretical outlook as explained in the conceptual framework chapter, (2) different pedagogical theories associated with the contexts of pluralism and deliberative democracy, and (3) multiple data collection methods for ‘triangulation’. To systematically engage with either or both layers of meaning for data within my QCA approach, I specifically use qualitative ‘directed content analysis’ (DCA).

3.6.2 Directed content analysis

DCA defines an approach to ‘content analysis’ which applies a structured coding application dependent on prior theory, research (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, pp. 1281-1283) and/or, I would add, academic terminology. This is evident in my coding frame illustrated in table 3.9 which includes codes devised in relation to prior literature. These include Casanova’s theory of the de-privatisation of religion, *World Religions* pedagogies and *Critical Pedagogies*, terminology central to my conceptual framework. Thus, DCA links well to my ‘structured focused comparison’ approach.

My DCA approach is illustrated by an example on pages 220 and 221 in chapter six engaging with my second research question in the context of deliberative democracy. The interview analysis specifies how the teacher, Mme Mallet, integrates religious scriptures for debates pertaining to religion in EMC. I ‘direct’ my analysis of her contribution in two layers, firstly through the ‘first level’ code *Critical Pedagogy* and subsequently through the ensuing ‘second level’ code *dialectical* and *contemporarily meaningful*. This systematic coding structure helps me engage not only with ‘manifest meaning’ illustrating approaches to religion in EMC. Her contribution also relates to more ‘latent meaning’ concerning different teacher understandings about the permissibility of dialogue pertaining to religion within *laïque* education. Such engagements with ‘latent meaning’ inform my nuanced understanding of *laïque* education which contrasts with certain academic assessments which perceive that *laïcité* purely privatises religion.

3.6.3 Coding strategy

I use a ‘medium complexity’ coding frame combining two units of analysis and two coding levels (Schreier, 2012, pp. 61-66). The units are ‘religion in state-secondary education’ and, in connection to this, ‘understandings and approaches to education about religions’. I relate the first unit to the coding category ‘de-privatisation of religion’. For the second unit, I develop the coding categories ‘*World Religions* pedagogies in the context of pluralism’ and ‘*Critical Pedagogy* in the context of deliberative democracy’. These are split into coding sub-categories detailed in table 3.9.

I transcribed all interviews and observations in their original language and later translated French transcript extracts into English. I ensured to maintain these in verbatim form by including pauses, repetition and, to some extent, filler words. I also translated relevant sections of French documents into English. Coding for all data was done manually on Word documents in a four-part strategy. Firstly, I read through, highlighted and codified documents and interview transcripts based on categories and subcategories. It was here that I established certain inductive codes. Secondly, I reduced documents and interview transcripts on Word to the extracts I linked to codes (data condensation). Thirdly, I further reduced the inclusion of codified extracts to those that would

appear in empirical chapters. Finally, I related certain class observations (simply as topics discussed in class or transcribed extracts of utterances in classrooms) to codified documents or transcribed interview extracts that would appear in chapters.

The majority of the codes are deductive and thus pre-established before data analysis. However, I developed certain codes for analysis after I had collected and analysed the first instances of data. Policy and interviewee references to a 'critical' education and 'shared values' in schools required a more developed coding strategy. I realised that my assessment of pedagogical processes which engage with democratic education required the addition of a third research theme (*Critical Pedagogy* in the context of deliberative democracy) and subsequent subcategories (second level codes). The inductive data-driven coding category of *Critical Pedagogy* and its subsequent subcategories is essential for a systematic empirical analysis in chapters six and seven.

Table 3.9 – DCA coding frame

CATEGORIES 1st LEVEL CODES	SUBCATEGORIES 2nd LEVEL CODES	RELATION TO CHAPTERS & DATA SOURCES
<p style="text-align: center;">↓</p> <p style="text-align: center;">THEME ONE De-privatisation of religion</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">↓</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Islam in society</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Place of religion in state-secondary education as public spheres</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Civic relevance of education about religions</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">↓</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Explored in chapters four and five</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • State-sponsored, legal and policy documents • Interviews • Observations
<p style="text-align: center;">THEME TWO World Religions pedagogies in the context of pluralism</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Phenomenology</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Ethnography</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Hermeneutics</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Positive-pluralism</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Explored in chapters four and five</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews • Observations
<p style="text-align: center;">THEME THREE Critical Pedagogy in the context of deliberative democracy</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Critical Pedagogy: Holistic</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Critical Pedagogy: Dialectical and Contemporarily meaningful</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Critical Pedagogy: Cross-fertilisation</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Instances to improve or limitations on Critical Pedagogical engagements</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Explored in chapters six and seven</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • State-sponsored, legal and policy documents • Interviews • Observations • Textbooks and syllabi documents

3.6.4 Comparison in chapters and limits of the research

All empirical chapters use state-sponsored, legal and/or policy documents to contextualise data drawn from interviews, observations, textbooks and syllabi. Chapters four and five explain the themes ‘de-privatisation of religion’ and ‘*World Religions* pedagogies in the context of pluralism’. Chapter four focuses exclusively on England, whilst chapter five concentrates on France but includes a cross-case comparative section for my first research question. Chapters six and seven engage with theme three ‘*Critical Pedagogy* in the context of deliberative democracy’, with the former concentrating especially on interviewee understandings, and the latter on textbooks and syllabi content. Chapters six and seven combine both case studies and draw direct comparisons between cases. The thesis conclusion synthesises findings from empirical chapters, compares and contrasts my findings with other research publications, and connects the whole comparative nature of the research aims to Portier’s concept of ‘converging secularisms’.

The research contribution falls into the category of comparative education about religions in state-secondary non-confessional schools, as opposed to comparing religions or religious instruction. Thus, my findings are relevant to educationalism and to socio-political interests in the subjects of secularism, religion in society and relations between state and religion. In contrast, my findings cannot be extended to the fields of theology and Islamic or wider confessional religious studies.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter expounded my ‘structured focused comparison’ methodological approach to my socio-political and educationalist interdisciplinary thesis which provides a snapshot of religion’s place in contemporary English and French state-secondary schools as public spheres. My methodology applies a top-down approach centring on the relationship between macro-political developments and micro-political actors’ understandings and practices in state-secondary English RE and the ‘*fait(s) religieux*’ in History, EMC and, to a limited extent, Philosophy. My approach, which integrates interviewees from varying backgrounds and schools, enables more robust cross-country comparisons than if I were using evidence from only one school in each country (Braten, 2013, p. 41). My research into the place of religion in state-secondary schools applies a ‘multi-

method' strategy following the logic of 'methodological triangulation' to add 'validity' to my findings. This strategy combines state-sponsored, legal and policy documents to serve as a background to comprehending macro-political developments and how these relate to the micro-political understandings and practices unearthed through interviewee contributions, class observations, syllabi and textbooks. Although I have not taken a 'theory testing' stance for the methodological design (George & Bennett, 2005, p. 75), the conceptual framework integrates two strands of academic literature to inform the data collection and DCA approach guiding coming empirical chapters. The first is academic literature relating to the recession of the 'secularisation thesis' of Western modernity. The second encompasses educationalist literature relevant to my research focus on education about religions.

For my methodological approach, my background in teaching and familiarity with both education systems and languages were particularly helpful for data collection and analysis. On the other hand, interviews were a novel research method for me, and my non-religious background posed challenges. Consequently, I had to hone my interview skills, methodological rigour and sensitivity towards religious language, specificities and traditions. In a way, this process of engagement and learning from the unknown is the premise on which *cross-fertilisation* thrives.

The methodology serves to systematically keep my research focused on reflections of the de-privatisation of religion, particularly Islam, in state-secondary schools and how this de-privatisation relates to education about religion. Paying particular attention to Islam within my study is a key methodological specification for my academic contribution. The question of Islam in English and French society has been, particularly in the 21st century, central to comprehending the degree of secular convergence in both countries. Thus, the academic contribution of my comparative case study researches how the converging quest to encourage ways of 'living together with our differences' can materialise in practice in English and French state-secondary education. Within my contribution, I elucidate approaches to, and the complexities of, combining an educational ethos of shared citizenship and cultural difference in both case studies. In coming empirical chapters I am cautious not to make generalised claims relating to education about

religion in other European nations. However, the findings in ensuing empirical chapters do link to research in Europe more broadly by providing a point of comparison with studies about other countries on similar topics.

Chapter four – De-privatisation, Islam and education about religions in the context of pluralism: An empirical engagement with England

4.1 Introduction

The conceptual framework chapter explained that my research is the first contemporary in-depth bi-national comparative study into the place of religion in English and French state-secondary schools as public spheres. The methodology chapter described my ‘structured focused comparison’ approach for data collection and analysis to explain how macro-political developments relate to micro-political actors’ understandings and practices. The micro-political actors are educators, which include interviewed teachers primarily, but also an outreach educator, textbook authors and syllabi designers. I correlate their understandings with elite interviewees and class observations. To situate the state-sponsored and policy documents that capture macro-political specificities in this chapter, please refer to table 3.2 on page 83. Similarly, tables 3.3 and 3.5 on pages 87 and 91 respectively list the interviewees and class observations included in this chapter.

This chapter is divided into two main sections plus the conclusion. Section 4.2 engages with my first research question ‘**to what extent is the de-privatisation of religion, and Islam particularly, reflected in state-secondary education in England and France?**’ specifically for the English case study. My empirical findings build on what I consider the de-privatisation of religion as a refutation of the ‘secularisation thesis’, the pluralisation of the democratic polity, and the sometimes contentious issue of religion in society. These phenomena reinforce trends in public documents and interviewed educator perspectives that strengthen RE’s role in promoting ‘social cohesion’ through a discourse of ‘managing difference’, and consequently in fostering students’ civic development in contemporary English society.

Section 4.3 engages with my second research question ‘**what are English and French educators’ understandings and approaches regarding education about religions in state-secondary schools?**’ in the context of pluralism, specifically for England. My findings uncover that an RE increasingly intent on promoting ‘cohesion’ and students’ civic development can translate into educational trends that value a broad comparative approach to teaching Islam in conjunction with other religions in state-secondary schools. Such an approach favours an RE which compares and contrasts religious traditions, beliefs and practices in relation to contemporarily relevant themes, often with the aid of *hermeneutic* and *ethnographic* engagements with religious communities. In this comparative approach, Islam is not presented by educators as being in essential agreement with other religions. This contrasts with certain critical assessments of multicultural RE and of the promotion of ‘cohesion’.

4.2 Reflections of the de-privatisation of religion, particularly Islam, in England: An engagement with state-secondary education

This section engages with my first research question based on my data drawn from the English case study. I begin by focusing on the topic of Islam in society by way of the 2011 Prevent strategy and educator interviews. I first touch on macro-political matters concerning the present-day socio-political salience of religion, particularly Islam, both in England and internationally, before moving on to how this connects to micro-political actors’ (i.e. educators) experiences and understandings in schools. After, I delve more deeply into public discourse, educational responses and interviewee contributions that shed light on, account for, or contribute further to the renewed public visibility of religion in England. I then discuss how these developments can result in a strengthening of the civic relevance of education about religions. I finalise the section by relating my findings to Casanova’s theory of the de-privatisation of religion.

4.2.1 Islam in society: An assessment based on state-secondary education

In the conceptual framework chapter, when adopting Casanova’s notion of ‘de-privatisation’, I refer to the complex combination of secularisation existing alongside religion’s renewed political

relevance in certain Western European countries. I especially argue that Islam and broader globalisation processes play an integral role in this sociological phenomenon. To start this empirical chapter, I reproduce an interview extract that highlights the relevance of the thesis in contemporary English society. I asked Ms Rose, Art teacher at Neneford School and Jewish member of Peterborough's interfaith council, how she considered that the place of religion, particularly in politics, had changed since she was at school. She responded:

*I think it has increased its public profile in a much more political way. I don't know why that is, but society is much more polarised. So, when I was at school, people just gave a nod to religion [...] Now religion is much more prominent.*²²

As becomes apparent later in the chapter, Ms Rose was not the only teacher to voice this opinion of the “increased public profile” of religion “in a much more political way”. Multiple reasons can influence this perceived reversal of the religious retreat in England. One commonly referenced reason relates to Western realisations that, globally, secularisation is an exception (Davie, 2014). Another two reasons, with which I engage in this section, touch upon the place of Islam in England. These refer to Islam's contribution to the pluralisation of the democratic polity and, more recently, to religion having become a sometimes contentious public matter. According to Berger et al, this combination results in a reluctance among certain segments of society to open, adapt or democratise public spheres to autochthonous Islam (2008, pp. 130-131). This phenomenon leads to secular state institutions attempting to counteract societal perceptions of Islam being “the diametrical opposite” of Western culture and politics (Bakour, 2018, p. 4). For example, the 2011 Prevent strategy acknowledges and endeavours to counterbalance these perceptions (HM Government, 2011, p. 20).

²² Laura Rose. Interview 16/10/2017.

Prevent Strategy

Some politically extreme organisations routinely claim that the West is perpetually at war with Islam [...] and the Muslims living here cannot legitimately and or effectively participate in our democratic society [...]

Issues which can contribute to a sense that Muslim communities are being unfairly treated include [...] a perception of biased and Islamophobic media coverage.

Prevent’s statement regarding biased “media coverage” or exclusionary rhetoric claiming Muslims cannot “effectively participate in our democratic society” chimes, to some degree, with interviewees’ experiences. Fatima Baqri, educational officer for Newcastle’s Islamic Diversity Centre, argued that certain secondary-school learners express concerns over Muslims’ presence and role in Britain. Although I engage later with her critique of Prevent, for now I will concentrate on how government positions and her experience correlate:

Our organisation, when working in schools, have had conversations directly with secondary-school learners who have expressed a fear that they believe Muslims are indeed trying to take over the country. We have directly challenged this perception by presenting statistics and facts that show otherwise, and that show the actual percentage of Muslims in Britain today is contrary to what they are led to believe by their family, the media and politicians.²³

Conroy et al’s comprehensive research on RE classrooms suggests that education about Islam has often prioritised counter-narratives to misconceptions about Muslim communities above a study of “the structure and topography of Islamic belief” (2013, p. 44). This counter-narrative was often evoked among interviewed educators. Fatima Baqri’s comment that certain students believe Muslims “are trying to take over the country” correlates with an occasional perception of Islam as ‘the other’ in English and broader Western culture. A matter that contributes to Fatima Baqri’s experience, I believe, ties to the “disproportionate attention” Islam receives when religion is

²³ Fatima Baqri. Interview 12/10/2018.

evoked in the media (Davie, 2014, p. 65). This “disproportionate attention” to Islam increases the public and political visibility of religion as a societally contentious matter. This can trickle down into classrooms. For Ms Jones, Head of RE at William Paley Academy in Peterborough, Islam’s contentious image in the media significantly shapes her role as an RE teacher:

Islam gets a very negative press [...] So I see part of my job is to make sure students aren’t leaving with that kind of misunderstanding [...] [P]art of why RE is so important is because we need to make sure the students do not leave with that kind of ignorance because ignorance leads to hate.²⁴

Ms Jones feels that redressing negative perceptions of Islam is an integral dimension to her role as an RE teacher. Her view that Islam receives a “very negative press” correlates with Davie’s assertion that growth in media coverage about religion in the UK is dominated by negative attention to Islam (Davie, 2014, p. 65). Moreover, Ittefaq and Ahmad believe these representations are even more visible and crude in English-speaking social media (2018). Indeed, these latter representations of Islam form an integral dimension for why religion represents such a contentious matter in Western Europe. This in turn motivates certain teachers like Ms Jones to value counter-narratives against Islam’s sometimes problematic image as an essential part of her responsibilities as an RE teacher.

In relation to this, education about Islam causes occasional issues between teachers and students’ parents. For Mr Williams, Head of RE and Citizenship at The Hawkins Academy in Leicester, tensions are very rare but his school has had a limited number of issues with parents who are reluctant for their children to learn about Islam. When I attended an RE teacher conference in 2017, some attendees mentioned similar occurrences. I asked Mr Williams about his own personal experience concerning this matter:

It (Islam) is still seen as an immigrant religion, even if many people of white British background have converted. We don’t have many problems in this school

²⁴ Lucy Jones. Interview 02/05/2019.

*but have received letters from parents who do not want their children to learn about Islam [...] [W]e had an activity about finding mosques in students' areas... and a parent sent a letter that she did not want her child to do the homework as they were Christian. This is not common, but barriers are drawn more with Islam than with other religions.*²⁵

Mr Williams' experience coincides with a trend that when parents raise issues about RE, one of the most common causes is they do not want their child to study Islam (Myatt, 2020, p. 9). What contributes to barriers being "drawn more with Islam than with other religions" is, I believe, a resistance among certain segments of society to acknowledge Muslims as an autochthonous community of contemporary Europe (Berger et al, 2008, pp. 130-131). This is exacerbated by occasional representations of Islam as the "diametrical opposite" of Western culture (Bakour, 2018, p. 4) which sometimes permeate certain teachers' experiences with parents.

The above interviewee contributions illustrate the substantial controversy surrounding Islam in English public spheres. According to Berger et al, a factor that contributes to this is the fact that Islam is not only a faith, but also a system of political and social organisation. This results in public-private divides having to be reconsidered, thus reopening debates about religion in public spheres (Berger et al, 2008, pp. 130-131). Additionally, Europe's recent experience with Jihadist terrorism further reinforces the perception that Islam is the "diametrical opposite" to the West. I argue that the combination of these factors has contributed to heightening the political relevance of religion in a contentious manner. This chimes with interviewees' experiences in state-secondary schools and motivates educators like Fatima Baqri and Ms Jones to counteract these perceptions. Added to this is Mr. Williams' comment that Islam "is still seen as an immigrant religion" which contributes to occasional barriers being drawn by parents when their children study this religion in RE. In my opinion, all three educators' experiences relate to what Ms Rose sees as religion having "increased its public profile in a much more political way".

²⁵ Jonathan Williams. Interview 12/10/2017.

Having engaged with the question of Islam in present-day England both at the societal and educational levels, I now turn to how this matter connects to wider public discourse, policy directions and interviewee understandings of education about religions in state-secondary schools.

4.2.2 The place of religion in state-secondary education as a public sphere

To elaborate on the matter of religion in English state-secondary education, I put forward two trends which emerge from my data. One relates to the visibility of societal secularisation (Davie, 2014, pp. 6&88), while the other refers to the importance that matters of religion have in state-secondary education in England. The latter tendency has particularly led to the adoption of a discourse of ‘cohesion’ intent on ‘managing difference’, which has been motivated, to a large degree, by matters surrounding Islam.

To comprehend the ‘de-privatisation of religion’ in Western Europe, one needs first to engage with the question of secularisation. During an interview, Ms Wilkinson, RE teacher and Head of Humanities at Neneford School in Peterborough, referred to changing religiosities among her students. She gave the following opinion:

*Many people in the UK do not follow a particular religion but may be spiritual
[...] There is illiteracy among young people as they no longer identify as devout
Christians but enjoy the cultural aspects of Christianity such as Christmas.²⁶*

Ms Wilkinson’s comment on spirituality links to what Hervieu-Léger and Copley view as the rise in more personalised forms of believing in Western modernity (Hervieu-Léger, 2000, pp. 73&92; Copley, 2005, p. 83). Ms Wilkinson relates her opinion to Christianity specifically. However, this does not mean that RE is losing importance. On the contrary, according to Boeve, with Europe becoming less Christian, RE has a central role to play in how one deals with contemporary religious and non-religious diversity (2012). Mr Williams expressed a similar view, adding that students show a more pronounced engagement with pluralism:

²⁶ Jane Wilkinson. Interview 18/10/2017.

The students are interested in learning about religions though. The statistics show that people used to go more to church and the status of clergymen is in decline [...] When my dad went to school, they did not know about other faiths. But for example, now they know a lot more diverse non-Christian practices.²⁷

Mr Williams' observation ties in with what Davie considers the paradox of religion being largely irrelevant in many people's daily lives running parallel with its incremental public significance over the last 40 years (Davie, 2014, pp. 6&88). This complex combination of secularisation and religious diversification has had, I argue, a direct bearing on the propagation of government discourse and trends in RE teaching practices, which view the subject as a "vehicle to engender a more tolerant society" (Copley, 2005, p. 116).

This educational change originated after the 1988 Education Reform Act but has become more manifest over the last 20 years. During the 1980s and 1990s, multicultural RE aimed to build students' cultural knowledge and understanding of different religions. In the 21st century, this has shifted to a more pronounced emphasis on good intercommunity relations and 'shared values' for building tolerance. The new direction has had significant effects on how difference and 'the other' are framed within state-sponsored discourse, legislation and government policy. Pre-21st century, multicultural RE viewed different religious communities as distinct cultures in their own right. Although this premise has been maintained, RE in the new millennium embodies a discourse of 'managing difference'. This shows a level of convergence with French education, as will be explained in chapter five. The shift in approach becomes evident when comparing the 1994 SCAA model syllabi with the QCA 2004 non-statutory national framework for RE. While these documents were not intended as enforceable RE syllabi but rather as recommendations, they nonetheless provide a window into changing educational trends relating to government guidelines. The SCAA model syllabi premised an RE intent on developing pupil knowledge and understanding of England's Christian heritage, combined with an intellectual engagement with minority religions (1994a, pp. 4-7). In contrast, the 2004 QCA framework maintained several

²⁷ Jonathan Williams. Interview 12/10/2017.

characteristics of late 20th century multicultural RE but concentrated more substantially on “developing good relations” between different communities (2004, pp. 3&15-17). The two following extracts from these state-sponsored documents highlight this shift.

Model syllabuses for religious education – Model 1: Living faiths today (SCAA)

Guidance to Agreed Syllabuses Conferences [...]

The distinctiveness of religions [...]

At all key stages, pupils will frequently be interested in general religious and moral issues. These might include belief in God, life after death, relationships, personal identity, values, a sense of community, and the need to keep alive traditions and memories which form part of their heritage. Advantage should be taken of the opportunities this provides for them to consider such issues in the light of the teaching of both Christianity and other religions. [...]

Progression in the model syllabuses [...]

- *Throughout the key stages, there is a deepening of the knowledge and understanding of religious beliefs, practices, moral values and the nature of communities.*

Religious education: The non-statutory national framework (QCA)

Foreword [...]

- *Equality of opportunity is part of the broad set of common values and purposes that underpin the school curriculum and the work of schools.*

About religious education in the curriculum [...]

Promoting personal, social and health education through religious education [...]

- *Developing good relationships and respecting the differences between people by learning about the diversity of different ethnic and religious groups and the destructive power of prejudice, challenging racism, discrimination, offending behaviour and bullying, being able to talk about relationships and feelings, considering issues of marriage and family life and meeting and encountering people whose beliefs, views and lifestyles are different from their own.*

Promoting other aspects of the curriculum [...]

- *[E]ducation for racial equality and community cohesion through studying the damaging effects of xenophobia and racial stereotyping, the impact of conflict in religion and the promotion of respect, understanding and cooperation through dialogue between people of different faiths and beliefs.*

These two state-sponsored documents capture the different slants in state-institutional educational discourse during the 1990s compared to the 2000s. The SCAA syllabi intended multicultural RE to “keep alive traditions and memories” forming part of different religious heritages. On the other hand, in its foreword, the QCA non-statutory framework integrated a reference to “common values”. Also, the SCAA publication specified that RE should teach “both Christianity and other religions”. However, the QCA framework went further by giving greater attention to “developing good relationships and respecting the differences between people by learning about the diversity of different ethnic and religious groups”. In this manner, the question of religious difference has evolved from a leaning towards ‘knowledge and understanding’ of different cultural traditions to a more pronounced focus on moulding ‘attitudes towards others’ and ‘managing difference’. The QCA publication, which expressed that RE contributes to “racial equality and community cohesion through studying the damaging effects of xenophobia and racial stereotyping”, highlights this focus. This is one of the first examples of an educational state-sponsored document promoting CC after the 2001 and 2004 Cattle Reports. Beyond the QCA’s CC recommendations for schools, in 2007 the DCSF (now DfE) furthered this emphasis on ‘managing difference’ by formalising CC as an education policy requirement for schools (DCSF, 2007, pp. 6-7).

Guidance on the duty to promote CC

How does a school contribute towards community cohesion? [...]

[S]chools build community cohesion by promoting equality of opportunity and inclusion for different groups of pupils within a school. But alongside this focus on inequalities and a strong respect for diversity, they also have a role in promoting shared values and encouraging their

pupils to actively engage with others to understand what they all hold in common [...] [T]he main focus of the duty is cohesion across different cultures, ethnic, religious or non-religious and socioeconomic groups.

The causes behind these shifts in emphasis towards “community cohesion”, “strong respect for diversity” and “shared values” are often not explicitly explained, yet socio-political developments touching on Islam are essential to understand these evolutions. Although often eclipsed by the 2001 and 2004 Cante Reports’ CC discourse, the Swann Report also devoted significant attention to ‘shared values’ and ‘cooperation’ within a vision of an ‘anti-racist’ education. A major difference between the Swann and Cante Reports lies in the importance they give to the place of Islam in society. The Swann Report insisted Muslims had become more determined to bring about changes which would recognise, respect and acknowledge their children’s religion (Swann, 1985, p. 203). Yet for Swann, Islam was only one factor among broader matters pertaining to an education which would account for ethno-religious minorities and redress their academic underachievement.

In contrast, the 2001 and 2004 Cante Reports were written in response to the Bradford riots involving Muslim youths and far-right groups. Among the reports’ concerns and objectives, they underscored the importance of countering Islamophobia and the pressing matter of promoting ethno-religious inter-community engagement, which also encompassed children from different religious backgrounds who were said to be living “parallel lives” and not mixing with one another (2001, pp. 40&51; 2004, pp. 29&45). The 2001 Cante Report also argued that the events of 9/11 had contributed to a much more serious interest in building cooperation between Islam and the West (2001, p. 62). Moreover, the 2004 Cante Report adopted a discourse challenging xenophobia particularly aimed against Jewish and Muslim communities who expressed fears and anxieties about attacks, abuse and hate crimes in reaction to world events. In this respect, to considerable measure, CC in schools derives its discourse of ‘cohesion’ from the Cante Reports’ attention to issues affecting Muslim communities. Thus, matters pertaining to Islam within England significantly influenced the DCSF’s CC guidance on the duty of “promoting shared

values and encouraging their pupils to actively engage with others to understand what they all hold in common”. Although the DCSF was cautious of explicitly stressing this association, these connections are still strong.

As seen above, the Cattle Reports led to the adoption of CC which reinvigorated multicultural RE’s role in counteracting the damaging effects of xenophobia and racial stereotyping, an aim which has permeated educational practices. For example, Fatima Baqri associates her visits to schools with countering what she perceives as the damaging effect that internet media has on tolerance:

The internet is a cesspit of dirty and dodgy sites to navigate, and young people who do not know how to think any different, or do not have the ability to differentiate between real news, fake news, and how the media portrays certain groups of people in society, how the media chooses to focus on some things and not others, they can be sucked in, and easily radicalised to think that ‘White is right’, and anyone different, in colour, religion, belief etc., is inferior.²⁸

In this sense, Fatima Baqri believes that potential xenophobia, prejudice and religious intolerance against “certain groups” are elements that need to be redressed by informing and educating students to be more discerning when navigating the internet. In relation to interpretations of CC more specifically, 21st century public discourse and policy peruse interviewees’ educational practices. Although touching less explicitly on RE and more on state-secondary school ethos, Ms Rose from Neneford School explained that CC translates into:

[R]einforc[ing] here to treat others as they would like to be treated by realising that we live in a diverse community [...] [W]e cannot put forward our own political opinions by remaining neutral but we need to challenge unacceptable beliefs such as anti-Semitism and Islamophobia.²⁹

²⁸ Fatima Baqri. Interview 12/10/2018.

²⁹ Laura Rose. Interview 16/10/2017.

Ms Rose's understanding that education has to counteract "unacceptable beliefs such as [...] Islamophobia" links to Fatima Baqri's opinion relating to media literacy. Both contributions correlate with broader 21st century state-sponsored and state-institutional perceptions of education as a tool to counteract xenophobia and religious intolerance. These gained particular prominence in the early 2000s, as evidenced in the QCA's 2004 'Religious education: The non-statutory national framework'. Such 'cohesive' educational intents have been scrutinised in academia. For example, Smith et al are, overall, critical of an RE or broader education about religions intent on promoting CC. They argue that "if RE is principally conceptualised instrumentally as combating prejudice and fostering community cohesion, rather than as the pursuit of knowledge", religious knowledge will be purposively "selected to serve instrumental goals and is thereby distorted" (Smith et al, 2018, p. 5). Yet I make a more nuanced assessment of 'cohesive' responses in education about religions, believing these do not necessarily detract from RE's academic value as a discipline in its own right. For example, I agree with Grimmitt who has a more favourable view of 'cohesive' intents compared to Smith et al. On the one hand, Grimmitt accepts that promoting the socio-political aims of CC in RE can give a distorted (sanitised) presentation of religion. However, he argues that if handled carefully, such 'cohesive' intents can help strengthen RE's ability to go beyond traditional taxonomies of education purely intent on knowledge or checking outcomes. In this sense, CC can strengthen education about religion's position to contribute to young people becoming responsible citizens in an increasingly religiously diverse society (Grimmitt, 2010a, pp. 283&286). As Ostberg argues "in a pluralist, multicultural society, unity is not something given but something to be worked for. Unity must be found in diversity" (2003, p. 106).

CC's insistence on 'managing difference' was taken further in 2011 with the introduction of BV via the Prevent strategy in response to concerns about practices in certain schools. The government argued that "a minority of independent faith schools ha[d] been actively promoting views [...] contrary to British values, such as intolerance of other cultures and gender inequality. [...] [S]ome independent faith schools ha[d] allowed extremist views to be expressed by staff,

visitors or pupils” (HM Government, 2011, p. 68). In 2014, following an allegedly similar affair known as the THA³⁰ in non-faith state-maintained schools, the government published ‘Guidance on promoting British values in schools’. This stronger stance on BV guidance clearly stated schools “had a duty to actively promote” the FBV “of democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and mutual respect and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs” (DfE/Nash, 2014). Consequently, the question of religion in connection to discrimination and democracy figured strongly within DfE advice for promoting FBV as part of SMSC development in state-maintained schools (DfE, 2014b, pp. 4-6). As with CC in the early 2000s, matters touching upon Islam were important catalysts for state institutions’ adoption of BV and FBV.

Promoting fundamental British values as part of SMSC in schools: Departmental advice for maintained schools

Through ensuring pupils’ SMSC development, schools can also demonstrate they are actively promoting fundamental British values [...] Pupils must be encouraged to regard people of all faiths, races and cultures with respect and tolerance [...]

Fundamental British values [...]

The list below describes the understanding and knowledge expected of pupils as a result of schools promoting fundamental British values [...]

- *an acceptance that other people having different faiths or beliefs to oneself (or having none) should be accepted and tolerated, and should not be the cause of prejudicial or discriminatory behaviour; and*
- *an understanding of the importance of identifying and combatting discrimination.*

School requirements for pupils “to regard people of all faiths, races and cultures with respect and tolerance” add to CC by strengthening ties between ethnicity, religion, discrimination, democracy and Britishness. The adoption of FBV has had a direct bearing on Ms Sheppard’s personal experience as an RE and Citizenship teacher in Leicester:

³⁰ The THA is explained in section 2.5.1 on page 40.

*We used to do more Citizenship here before. This has changed as RE has been given importance in the key curriculum and this may be due to Ofsted and the promotion of British values. That is why we do not do as much Citizenship at KS4 and focus on RE GCSE. It gives RE more value than before, I don't know this, but probably more schools are increasingly teaching RE... There are a load of schools in the country that are still failing the practice of RE. But now it has been noted, more schools will react to this new knowledge published about the failing practice of RE.*³¹

According to Ms Sheppard, on the one hand FBV may have resulted in RE being given “more value” in public discourse and more importance within her school. On the other hand, she stresses this situation may vary around the country as many schools are “still failing the practice of RE”. For example, despite RE’s compulsory status, the Commission on Religious Education identified that, as of 2016, 23.1% of schools at KS3 and 33.4% of schools at KS4 did not offer RE as an independent school subject (CORE, 2018, pp. 3&9). Despite this mixed response, Ofsted’s inspection criteria for assessing how schools promote FBV strengthens the politically instrumentalist role RE plays in state-secondary schools (Chater, 2018, p. 73). In this sense, CC and later FBV have heightened the public visibility and role of RE. As Ms Sheppard suggests, this may contribute to why the failing practice of RE within certain schools has gained considerable public attention.

This section of the chapter has engaged with the complex religious situation in England. One side of this picture relates to the visibility of societal secularisation. Based on their own classroom experiences, Ms Wilkinson and Mr Williams understand that this relates most to the changing place of Christianity in society. Conversely, the public relevance of religion in England in certain respects has progressively increased since the late 20th century. The place of Islam in society is key to understanding trends which bolster educational state-institutional responses to the de-

³¹Julia Sheppard. Interview 12/10/2017.

privatisation of religion both as a pluralisation of the polity but also as a contentious political issue.

In summary, during the late 20th century, Islam was one among other religious minorities that had to be accounted for in education. However, since the early 2000s, Islam has taken centre-stage in educational public discourse and strategies, albeit often implicitly. Most notably, the Bradford Riots catalysed the Cattle Reports and the adoption of CC by the DCSF. Additionally, the DfE's guidance on the promotion of FBV came into being after the THA and as a wider response to far-right and Islamist extremist rhetoric (Crawford, 2017). The strengthening of discourses of 'cohesion' can affect educator practices and perceptions in a variety of ways. I identified three trends:

- Encouraging students to develop their knowledge and criticality of the media.
- Countering perceived 'intolerable' attitudes towards others.
- Renewed public interest in RE.

In reference to the first trend, Fatima Baqri believes that student media literacy is an important dimension to counteract exclusionary narratives that may touch on religion and ethnicity. Ms Rose evidences the second trend by stating CC translates into reinforcing mutual respect and challenging "unacceptable beliefs" such as anti-Semitism and Islamophobia in schools. Thirdly, according to Ms Sheppard, FBV guidelines could have contributed to bolstering RE's value in her school's key curriculum. Her view that religion in education has received renewed public interest correlates with religion's prominence in contemporary educational debates, state-institutional discourse and government strategies.

I now turn to how the above developments can result in greater appreciations of education about religions as an important dimension to students' civic development. As Davie argues "in a society which is both religiously plural and increasingly secular, religious education matters more, not less. It is here that students will discover not only the information but the critical faculties they will need to be more effective citizens" (Davie, 2014, p. 125).

4.2.3 The civic relevance of education about religions through a discourse of ‘cohesion’

Civic education refers to the type of citizens the state wants to cultivate in democratic societies through stimulating youths’ political literacy, democratic knowledge, values and beliefs (Parker, 2008; Hahn & Alviar-Martin, 2008; Jackson, 2003). For Jackson, Western European societies in the 21st century must increasingly connect education in citizenship to contemporary religious and non-religious diversity (2003, pp. 4&19; 2015, pp. 354&361). I argue that RE has much to offer for pupils’ civic competences. Indeed, this matter has recently been highlighted both in state-institutional discourse and policies, and by interviewed state-secondary school educators. For example, the civic relevance of RE in schools is underscored by Ofsted’s 2021 ‘Research review series: religious education’. Ofsted states “high quality RE” includes a “curriculum impact that is achieved by pupils building up accurate knowledge about the complexity and diversity of global religion and non-religion. This provides pupils with many of the ingredients for cultural and civic competences that are important to many RE teachers” (Ofsted, 2021). This reiteration of the civic relevance of RE includes two dimensions with which I engage in this section. The first relates to the effects of globalisation and the realisation in Western Europe that secularisation is by no means a global norm (Davie, 2014, pp. 4&187; Casanova, 2010, p. 20). As such, engaging with religion in class becomes an important element for students’ political literacy. The second connects more to what I discussed in the previous section of the chapter about educational state-institutional responses around CC and FBV.

Before engaging with state-institutional emphasis on RE’s civic relevance, I will indicate how globalisation has contributed to realisations that engagements with religion are, in Jackson’s words, integral for students’ “political literacy” as global developments increasingly impact national concerns (2003, pp. 1&4). Mr Henderson, RE, Citizenship and Geography teacher at The Broads School, stated that pupils are aware and very engaged when he teaches RE:

I think they value RE as a subject. And when we start looking at headline figures... over a billion people on the planet are Muslim or Hindu or whatever

*they might be. Our students see that and although they may not be religious themselves, they do appreciate that there are many people out there with strong religious values and beliefs [...] Our world has become increasingly more globalised; we have become increasingly well connected with other countries [...] Certainly, when I was at school, RE felt like something that we had to do, whereas I know that our students today really value and enjoy the subject and the topics within the subject that we do because [...] they know that they need to have an understanding of different beliefs and different values. I don't believe that was as important thirty years ago. There is definitely a big place for it, if you like, today.*³²

Mr Henderson argues that “although they may not be religious themselves” many of his “students today really value and enjoy” RE due to their awareness that they need “to have an understanding of different beliefs and [...] values”. He considers that globalisation processes contribute to why RE is so significant now. In this manner, globalisation gives religion an important dimension to understanding the contemporary world, which corresponds with the de-privatisation of religion as a refutation of the ‘secularisation thesis’ (Casanova, 1994, p. 220; Casanova & Phillips, 2009, p. 8). Teachers relate to this aspect of RE in a variety of ways. One approach is via an appreciation of religious identities and belonging which motivate not only political action in conflict but also altruistic acts of kindness and peace. For example, when I asked Ms Sheppard how RE could be connected to political matters in class, she answered the following:

Yes, so we look at peace and conflict and not only conflict that has arisen due to religious conflict. We look at how religious groups such as Quakers and Islamic Relief go into war zones to help the victims of war. So, kids are astonished that Muslim people go in and help out as they often believe that Muslims caused conflicts such as the Syrian war. We do interfaith dialogue, how that has helped

³² Martin Henderson. Interview 09/04/2019.

*in numerous situations such as in Ireland (The Troubles). This is at GCSE curriculum level.*³³

Ms Sheppard's GCSE students engage with the political relevance of religion through a globalised dimension touching on conflict, interfaith dialogue and NGOs in war zones. Grimmitt argues that religion has become "globalised and politicised" partly due to the Middle East's turbulent situation and to terrorism, which results in public awareness of religion's negative influence at the expense of its positive actions (2010b, pp. 9-10). I thus view Ms Sheppard's engagement with the nuanced global and political dimension of religion as a deconstruction of narratives arguing "Muslims cause conflicts".

Beyond the effects of globalisation, state-institutional discourse and policies relating to CC and FBV touch upon the civic relevance of education about religions. This connection results in stronger ties between religion, tolerance, inter-community engagement, 'shared values' and Britishness. For example, the 2007 DCSF school 'Guidance on the duty to promote CC' expressly connects RE to contributing to a better understanding of UK society (DCSF, 2007, pp. 8-9).

Guidance on the duty to promote CC

Many schools have built very successful approaches to [...] building community cohesion, for instance, by providing:

- *Opportunities [...] to promote shared values and help pupils to value differences and to challenge prejudice, discrimination and stereotyping [...] in the new programmes of study for Religious Education (RE) and Personal, Social and Health Education (PSHE).*
- *A programme of curriculum-based activities whereby pupils' understanding of community and diversity is enriched through fieldwork, visits, for example to places of worship, and meetings with members of different communities [...]*

³³ Julia Sheppard. Interview 12/10/2017.

- *Encouragement for learners to value diversity and develop a better understanding of UK society, for example by challenging assumptions and creating an open climate to address sensitive and controversial issues.*

In the early 2000s, CC in schools had resulted in RE helping to forge the type of citizen desired by the state by encouraging ‘shared values’ and ethno-religious inter-community engagement. In 2007, this discourse was taken up a notch when the DCSF turned the promotion of ‘shared values’ and “challeng[ing] prejudice” into requirements for schools. The 2014 ‘Guidance on promoting British values in schools’ further underscored this requirement for students’ civic development in relation to England’s pluralist society (DfE/Nash, 2014).

Guidance on promoting British values in schools

A key part of our plan for education is to ensure children become valuable and fully rounded members of society who treat others with respect and tolerance, regardless of background.

Since the late 20th and early 21st centuries, numerous educationalists have affirmed that in the West’s increasingly diverse societies, there is or should be a realisation that trust in democratic principles must cut across diverse groups, their differences and practices. This process requires an active tolerance, reciprocal trust and commitments to societal-wide civility (Olssen et al, 2004, pp. 273-274). For Healy, schools are primely placed to encourage such models of civic relationships as they allow “wider social interactions encouraging the reduction of the distance between citizens” (2019, p. 434). The DfE’s emphasis on FBV’s importance in teaching “children to become valuable and fully rounded members of society” touches upon education about religions’ potential to develop students’ civic competences in line with Olssen et al and Healy’s arguments. This is particularly so, considering that CC and FBV were largely introduced to respond to religious pluralisation and contentious 21st century issues.

Among interviewed teachers two trends stand out in relation to this potential. The first implicitly touches upon RE helping students understand and adapt to contemporary British and wider society. For example, Mr Williams believes that RE aids students’ preparation for adulthood by

helping to break down barriers between people and make them aware of the growing attention that religion receives on a global scale:

Britain is a very diverse and multicultural society and in terms of RE, they get to understand people's beliefs and understand where they are coming from [...] If you understand something, barriers can be broken down and I think that is where RE is very important [...] I think it breaks down misconceptions, it makes them aware for going out into the outside world [...] Although in Europe and in the West we see that in terms of Christianity it seems to be diminishing [...] [O]n a world stage, religion is becoming more important. It seems to be raising bigger issues, it becomes part of bigger global kind of issues.³⁴

Interestingly, Mr Williams does not reference students' spirituality but rather refers to the importance of religion in understanding 'the other' in the context of Britain's multicultural society and a pluri-religious globalised world. Mr Williams' opinion coincides with a vision of RE as a subject that helps pupils develop their civic competences by nurturing their tolerance and mutual understanding through knowledge about religions.

The second trend is exemplified by Ms Jones, who explicitly connects her understanding of RE with the FBV of democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and mutual respect and tolerance. When asked how CC and FBV affect, if at all, her role as an RE teacher and about her view of recent controversies surrounding these policies, she answered:

I made a massive display in the school which showed how every single one of our topics linked to every single one of the British values. For whilst it could be interpreted negatively, we went with it, and I think community cohesion has been a really positive thing in reaching into our community and making those links [...] I don't really think they are necessarily a bad thing. We obviously link with the tolerance of other faiths and, if anything, it's helped us. Instead of it being

³⁴ Jonathan Williams. Interview 12/10/2017.

*seen as because religions are violent, I interpreted it as “people don’t understand religion” [...] I think the issue is with calling it British values when students don’t always consider themselves to be British.*³⁵

For Ms Jones, CC and FBV strengthen RE’s role to reach out and make links with different members of Peterborough’s community. She underscores how RE topics “linked to every single one of the British values”. Overall, she considers FBV as a positive component, believing that they can help people to understand religion and redress the perception that “religions are violent”. In this sense, her understanding corresponds with Healy’s nuanced assessment of FBV. Healy stresses the value of ‘cohesive’ educational intents to reduce distances between future adult citizens in a globalised Britain. Nonetheless, Healy mentions that the discourse of Britishness has attracted academic critique (2019. pp. 426&434). Similarly, Ms Jones acknowledges FBV have caused controversy, but she relates this to the mere fact that designating these values as “British” may be problematic when “students don’t always consider themselves to be British”.

On this note, I now turn to the more controversial aspect of the civic dimension of FBV and how this can touch upon education about religions. ‘British values’ have been equated to a securitisation dimension because the term first appeared in the 2011 Prevent strategy. This connection is apparent in the 2015 ‘Prevent duty Departmental advice for schools and childcare providers’ (DfE, 2015, p. 8).

Prevent duty Departmental advice for schools and childcare providers

Building children’s resilience to radicalisation

[S]chools can build pupils’ resilience to radicalisation by providing a safe environment for debating controversial issues and helping them to understand how they can influence and participate in decision-making. Schools are already expected to promote the spiritual, moral, social and cultural development of pupils and, within this, fundamental British values.

³⁵ Lucy Jones. Interview 02/05/2019.

The 2015 duty guidance for schools is intended to “build pupils’ resilience to radicalisation by providing a safe environment for debating controversial issues” in connection to SMSC and FBV. This may seem to promote open critical discussion about religions. However, interviewees have differing interpretations about how these connections relate to freedom of speech in schools. Below I provide two contrasting interviewee perspectives. The first, expressed by Fatima Baqri, demonstrates a profound critique of FBV and its association with Prevent:

[F]rom my perspective, fundamental British values [...] implies that anyone who may wish to disagree with the basis of these values, and not necessarily the values themselves, will be perceived as being anti-British, when in fact this may not be the case at all. How can one argue otherwise without being reported to the government’s fundamentally and institutionally racist Prevent programme?³⁶

Fatima Baqri’s assessment concurs with academic critics of FBV who argue that the policy may result in educational institutions identifying certain communities as suspect or un-British (Elton-Chalcraft et al, 2017). Additionally, for Lockley-Scott, the word ‘fundamental’ implies a fixed notion, ‘British’ a reductive cultural adherence, and ‘values’ a non-deliberative patriotism (2019, pp. 365-366). Indeed, for Fatima Baqri, FBV’s association with Prevent, which she sees as “fundamentally and institutionally racist”, means that people disagreeing with “the basis of these values” could end up being perceived as “anti-British”.

In contrast, Ms Jones provides a different opinion about the securitisation dimension in FBV and how this can affect RE. She understands that Prevent can help promote tolerance within classrooms. She also casts doubt on academic propositions which claim that Prevent and FBV equate Muslims to suspects (Shah, 2019) by pointing out that “Prevent is not just about Muslim radicalisation, it is also about far-right extremism”. When asked about the somewhat controversial association between Prevent and FBV, Ms Jones replied:

³⁶ Fatima Baqri. Interview 12/10/2018.

*Prevent is not just about Muslim radicalisation, it is also about far-right extremism. It sort of really helped us to see what it is like in our school with both ends of the spectrum. We have some very intolerant students and we realise that we need to be educating them to be more tolerant. I have not let it affect how I teach and what I do. But I see why, in certain schools, it might make you more aware and more wary of having those conversations and teaching those topics just in case.*³⁷

Ms Jones assesses that Prevent responds to her experience of having “some very intolerant students” and the “need to be educating them to be more tolerant”, adding that Prevent has not affected her teaching methods. However, Ms Jones does believe Prevent could make some teachers “more wary” of engaging with dialogue and class discussions, which can, I argue, curtail the civic role of RE in “certain schools”. Similarly, Champain recognises that FBV raise the profile of RE but considers their association to the Prevent strategy may undermine some schools’ RE classrooms as “safe environment[s] for discussing controversial issues” (2018, pp. 160-161). Additionally, for Abbas, associations between FBV and Prevent run the risk of extending the ideas or positions considered as “threat[s] to democracy” (2017, pp. 426-427). However, apart from Fatima Baqri, the other ten interviewees perceive FBV as positive or simply a logical policy direction. If questioned, this is due to the designation of these values as ‘British’. In terms of Prevent, participants usually integrate the discourse of ‘cohesion’ within the policy’s counter-radicalisation discourse. The real concern among interviewees lies in the policy potentially being misinterpreted in certain schools, which could consequently curtail avenues for dialogue in RE. To summarise, the addition of CC and FBV as new dimensions for pupils’ civic development has reinforced state-institutional discourses of ‘cohesion’ in the 21st century. These aim to:

- encourage “learners to value diversity”
- “develop a better understanding of UK society” (DCSF, 2007, p. 9)

³⁷ Lucy Jones. Interview 02/05/2019.

- ensure “they become valuable and fully rounded members of society” (DfE/Nash, 2014)
- build “their resilience to radicalisation” (DfE, 2015, p. 8)

Intended in part to respond to the de-privatisation of religion, this state-institutional discourse can have a direct bearing on education about religion and wider school attitudes towards difference. In terms of CC and FBV, Healy argues that recent moves in England emphasise a reconceptualization of national identity in the sense of what it is to ‘belong together’ at a time of growing diversity. In this way, the “concept of ‘perceived belonging’ reminds us that *who-I-am* needs to be partly constructed with others”, meaning that citizens in a socially cohesive society must engage with concerns of the public way of relating to each other. For Healy, schools are well placed to play a significant role in encouraging social interactions and reducing distance between citizens (2019, pp. 421&434). As stated in the conceptual framework and this chapter, these shifts in multicultural RE are connected to the de-privatisation of religion in England. Thus, RE can play an integral role within state-institutional discourse and policies intent on promoting ethno-religious ‘cohesion’ as a component of the type of citizens the state aims to cultivate in Britain’s globalised democracy. I now turn to summarising how my data relates to my first research question.

4.2.4 To what extent is the de-privatisation of religion, and Islam particularly, reflected in state-secondary education in England?

There are four dimensions that guide my engagement with the first research question based on my empirical study into the place of religion in English state-secondary schools as public spheres.

(A) Globalisation, the refutation of the ‘secularisation thesis’ and the de-privatisation of religion

Three of the seven educators included in this section touched upon an RE responsive to a globalised world. Within these, Mr Williams and Mr Henderson explicitly mentioned that globalisation processes, which often relate to matters pertinent to Islam but also broader religion, have increased religion’s political visibility and strengthened RE’s role for students’

understanding of the contemporary world. For example, Mr Henderson (pages 132-133) expressed his view that although some of his students may not be religious, the fact that “our world has become increasingly more globalised” means students are aware of the importance of learning about religious dimensions for a better understanding of world matters. This is one reason why Mr Henderson believes RE has “a big place” in state-secondary schools. Mr Henderson’s contribution correlates with a wider realisation in Western Europe that religion is not a private matter and that secularisation is not a global norm (Davie, 2014, pp. 183-184). For Casanova, this realisation refers to de-privatisation as a normative refutation of the ‘secularisation thesis’ which purported that modernity would turn religion into an unimportant private matter. In this respect, religion’s political significance becomes an “undisputable global social fact” (Casanova & Phillips, 2009, p. 8).

(B) Islam and the de-privatisation of religion as a pluralisation of the democratic polity

My data also revealed a de-privatisation of Islam and wider religion as a pluralisation of the polity. This form of de-privatisation is amplified by state institutions and interviewed educators’ practices, which translate into what Portier calls a commitment to move away from a “non-egalitarian confessionalism” in English state institutions. It extends the “principle of equality” and “positive action” to promote “tolerance” and defends the religious rights of minorities and their contribution to the polity within England’s ‘State-Church’ model (Portier, 2013, pp. 127-128&140). Concerning schools, this commitment became institutionalised in the 1988 Education Reform Act following the 1985 Swann Report ‘Education for All’. This evolution from a Christian instruction to a multicultural understanding of RE permeates interviewed educators’ perceptions. An example is Mr Williams’ assessment on page 136 that RE’s value lies in its capacity to respond to the fact that “Britain is a very diverse [...] society” and that understanding “people’s beliefs” means that “barriers can be broken down”. However, it would be wrong to assume that 21st century discourses of ‘cohesion’ inherently curtail positive appreciations of ‘the other’ due to the pluralisation of the polity. For example, recommendations from the 2001 and

2004 CC Cante Reports, which were adopted by the DCSF in 2007, gave serious consideration to problems voiced by the Muslim community in Britain. Ms Jones on pages 136 and 137 expressed a favourable view of shifts towards the promotion of CC as being “really positive” in helping her school “reaching into” Peterborough’s diverse community. For Ms Rose on page 127, CC translates into an emphasis in Neneford School’s ethos on “challeng[ing] unacceptable beliefs such as anti-Semitism and Islamophobia”. These understandings relate to discourses of ‘cohesion’ in their connection to inter-community engagement and challenging intolerant views. However, they are still extensions of a socio-political commitment in education to build positive connections with communities and to defend Islam’s, and other minorities’, contributions to the pluralisation of the democratic polity.

(C) Islam and de-privatisation as a contentious public matter

As stated from the initial stages of the thesis, in the 21st century there is another phenomenon which adds to the de-privatisation of religion: the fact that religion, especially Islam, has become a somewhat contentious issue in Western Europe. As the 2011 Prevent strategy extract on page 119 states, there is an occasional framing of Muslims living in Britain as not forming part of “our democratic society”. An illustrative example of how this form of de-privatisation is reflected in my interview data is Mr Williams’ contribution on pages 120 and 121. He said that he has experienced a small number of incidents where parents are reluctant for their children to learn about Islam, and claimed that “barriers are drawn more with Islam than with other religions”.

21st century discourses of ‘cohesion’ intent on safeguarding education and counteracting contentious images of religion, particularly Islam, are reflected in interviewees’ understandings and teaching approaches. For example, Ms Jones (page 120) believes that part of her RE teaching role “is to make sure students aren’t leaving with [...] misunderstanding[s]” that touch upon “Islam get[ting] a very negative press”. Another example is Fatima Baqri on page 119 counterbalancing contentious matters through “conversations [...] with secondary-school learners” who express fears that Muslims are “trying to take over the country”.

(D) The effects of the de-privatisation of religion in state-secondary schools: ‘cohesion’, civic development and trends strengthening an instrumentalist RE

On the whole, I argue that the de-privatisation of religion is reflected in my data centring on state-secondary education in England. Based on my analysis of state-sponsored documents, policies and interviewees’ contributions, this de-privatisation materialises through globalisation processes, the pluralisation of the polity and the sometimes contentious public matter of religion, particularly in relation to Islam. I consider that these developments correlate with Ms Rose’s assessment on page 118 that religion “has increased its public profile in a much more political way”. This de-privatisation has catalysed stronger discourses of ‘cohesion’ that have permeated RE and broader education. For example, on page 130 Ms Sheppard said her school may have given greater importance to RE recently “due to Ofsted and the promotion of British values”. This potential bolstering of the subject, at least in certain schools and government discourse, touches on the civic relevance of education about religion. RE was not totally devoid of civic intents prior to policies like CC and FBV. Freathy assesses that the 1944 Education Act led to an underscoring of Religious Instruction’s role in teaching pupils to become Christian citizens (2008, p. 312). However, today’s RE responds to a new and more pronounced form of civic development. Interviewed educators understand that contemporary multi-religious RE breaks down barriers, redresses misconceptions and prepares students for life in Britain’s diverse and globalised democracy. This emphasis on ‘cohesion’ and ‘managing difference’ translates, for Copley, into RE becoming a “vehicle to engender a more tolerant society” (2005, p. 116) in line with what Chater calls a political “instrumentalist” view of the subject (2018, p. 72).

In sum, there is a paradox in which the de-privatisation of religion runs parallel to rising levels of irreligiosity in contemporary England. The latter of these trends was mentioned by Ms Wilkinson and Mr Henderson when talking about their students on pages 122 and 132-133 respectively. One of the results of this paradox, at least based on my data, is that RE has had to give greater importance to preparing students to relate with others in a multicultural society and globalised world.

4.3 World Religions pedagogies: An empirical analysis of trends in state-secondary schools in the context of pluralism

This section focuses on my empirical engagement with the second research question ‘**what are English and French educators’ understandings and approaches regarding education about religions in state-secondary schools?**’ in the context of pluralism, specifically for England. Thus, I expound here on ways in which researched schools approach (non)religious diversity in education, particularly when this is connected to Islam. My approach to the context of pluralism helps explain how RE’s growing role as a vehicle to engender a more tolerant society relates to the educational practices I uncover in gathered data. In this manner, to some degree, I study how macro-political processes relate to micro-political actors (educators). As mentioned in the conceptual framework chapter, the context of pluralism refers to a normative valuation of plurality (Skeie, 2006) and to how engaging with diversity through education can have an important civic dimension for the health of plural democracies (Jackson, 2005). For Waillet and Roskam, plurality in religious and non-religious terms can refer either to (2013, p. 70):

- **Traditional plurality:** Referring to the coexistence of various religious groups.
- **Modern plurality:** Not only describing (non)religious diversity. Rather, it refers to the climate of postmodernity, secularisation and individualisation of beliefs which results in a pluralisation of sometimes contradictory rationales and values.

I approach the context of pluralism via my *World Religions* pedagogical categorisation: *phenomenology, ethnography, hermeneutics* and *positive-pluralism*.

4.3.1 Phenomenology

Phenomenology intends to broaden horizons to understand specific themes in different religions (Smart, 1999; Alberts, 2010, p. 281). Smart’s *phenomenology* was a cornerstone of the introduction of multicultural RE during the 1980s, which replaced former Christian instruction approaches to the subject in state schools of no designated religious character (Cristopher, 2020, pp. 71-73). For most interviewed teachers, Islam at KS3 is studied with the other five major world religions. This differs from the aforementioned 1994 SCAA model syllabi specifications to study

Christianity with two other religions at this level. For Ms Jones, this broader thematic approach to RE is not only a way to engage with different religions in contemporary Britain. She also believes this pedagogy helps create a sense of collective within her classrooms:

We look at the six major world religions using a thematic approach [...] [I]t is generally all six major faiths trying not to favour any of the religions [...] Because we look at lots of different religions and faiths, it is very much shown as we are not favouring anyone, we are not separating anyone, there is no 'them and us', we are a collective, and I think that is partly why RE is so important because it is the one thing RE teachers generally are quite good at.³⁸

Ms Jones understands that a thematic approach is integral to reinforcing positive attitudes towards difference by “not favouring” any religion so “there is no ‘them and us’”. Her view aligns with the 2007 DCSF’s CC guidance for schools which detailed schools’ duty to promote “inclusion for different groups” and “strong respect for diversity” (DCSF, 2007, p. 8). Ms Jones, by “not separating anyone”, fosters class ‘cohesion’ by creating “a collective”. Among critics, a *phenomenological* thematic approach could be considered to accentuate similarities in an attempt to attain social harmony and reinforce personal experiences of religion (Barnes, 2006, pp. 405-407; Barnes, 2009, pp. 17&32). Conversely, I argue that this critique is a misrepresentation of *phenomenology*’s role in promoting a normative valuation of plurality. It is true that certain teachers value this facet of *phenomenology* to encourage social harmony. However, such social harmony links to *phenomenology*’s intent to broaden students’ horizons through comparative themes in relation to different religions in England’s multicultural society rather than to accentuating similarities.

4.3.2 Ethnography

Among several interviewees, the traditional *phenomenological* approach via which Islam and other religions are incorporated at KS3 is often complemented with *ethnographic* contacts with

³⁸ Lucy Jones. Interview 02/05/2019.

religious communities. For example, Ms Rose considers that Neneford School's 'Core Beliefs Day' is an important dimension for students' understanding and ability to contrast different religions through an engagement with lived beliefs:

Each year, we [...] visit different places of worship such as mosques and we can thus compare and contrast these religions with Christianity. So, by the time they finish, students have the capacity to compare and contrast Britain's six major faiths.³⁹

Ms Rose recognises that in-depth studies of religion are challenging at Neneford School, which is for children with special needs. However, she believes that the school's annual 'Core Beliefs Day', including visits to places of worship, helps cement a better understanding of Britain's six major faiths among students. I was able to corroborate the pedagogical value of these *ethnographic* activities when I conducted a day-long structured observation⁴⁰ during one of the school's visits to a Peterborough mosque. Students received a tour of different rooms composing the mosque and learned about traditional protocols conducted in the prayer room and the reasons behind these. These included explaining ablution and forms of communal prayer, in addition to the importance for Sunni Muslims to learn to read the Qur'an and Hadiths in Literal Arabic. Students also learned from devout Muslims about the importance of the five pillars of Islam among Sunnis, particularly emphasising the importance for able-bodied believers to complete the Haj pilgrimage to Mecca. This type of *ethnographic* contact can greatly encourage a normative valuation of plurality by providing an interactive and revisionist approach to RE to learn from the point of view of the believer (Stern, 2006, p. 102; Yu, 2014). Particularly for Neneford School's special needs students, learning via physical immersion through the lived experiences and sensibilities of British Muslims helps move beyond the cognitive challenges that traditional abstract class content can pose.

³⁹ Laura Rose. Interview 16/10/2017.

⁴⁰ Neneford School. Structured observation 31/01/2018.

4.3.3 Hermeneutics

Hermeneutic pedagogies gained prominence after the 2001 and 2004 Cante Reports. The reports and the DCSF encouraged schools to build inter-community engagement through *hermeneutic* approaches. One such example is Jackson's *interpretive* pedagogy (Jackson, 2018) which connects class activities to students' personal interpretations in order to give pupils a reflexive understanding (Jackson & O'Grady, 2007, p. 196). For Ms Jones, a key element in her role in promoting CC in RE is to mix students of different backgrounds in her ethno-religiously diverse classrooms:

[P]art of our work on community cohesion is making sure that our students get along with each other and something that I really don't like is if I have got a class, to have one (separate) group of Asian Pakistani Muslims and a (separate) group of white atheist students. They will be mixed as much as possible.⁴¹

Ms Jones' approach to mixing students of Muslim and "atheist" backgrounds as part of her work on CC intends to build inter-community ties and may also allow pupils to develop mutual understanding. This tallies with Jackson's *interpretive* pedagogy where students contribute to each other's perspectives in class activities, which can enhance pupils' 'learning from religions' (Jackson & O'Grady, 2007), or non-religious perspectives, I would add. Ms Jones' approach can favour opportunities for dialogue, aiming to instil a normative valuation of plurality among students from different backgrounds. Thus, the civic dimension of RE within England's multicultural society comes to the forefront based on its capacity to foster inter-community engagement within Ms Jones' religiously diverse classrooms.

Beyond explicit CC intents, Ms Taylor, RE teacher from Yare Academy in Norwich, also highlighted how a *hermeneutic* approach can enhance students' understanding. When discussing the question of religious expression, she commented on the value of providing students with relatable insight from young believers:

⁴¹ Lucy Jones. Interview 02/05/2019.

*We quite often use... on the BBC... the clips that are available [...] like hearing young British Muslims sharing their ideas, talking things through. We will often use them (the clips) to complement a teacher-led discussion or perhaps a piece of reading that we have done to maybe get a more... I guess down-to-earth relatable insight coming from someone who is living within the same country as our students, but is just practicing their religion in their way. For example, this morning, I showed a clip of a family that were preparing for Ramadan. It is set in the home, it shows students going to school, making it more relatable.*⁴²

Ms Taylor's contribution relates to a normative valuation of plurality in two respects. Firstly, she uses an internet resource to introduce an *e-hermeneutic* pedagogy, so to speak. Thus, although religious demographics may not always allow a physical *hermeneutic* pedagogy, online resources can help students to learn from the lived experiences of, for example, "young British Muslims". Secondly, according to Ms Taylor, her approach has the capacity to bridge abstract beliefs with "relatable insight" into these, through young people's personal experiences in British society.

4.3.4 Positive-pluralism

Positive-pluralism shares *phenomenology's* perception that all religions are equally valid. However, within their shared insistence on broadening horizons, *positive-pluralism* stresses more profoundly that RE should not foreclose on differences and contradictions between religions, or, I argue, non-religious positions (Cush, 2004, p. 71; Teece, 2005, p. 37). Since the early 2000s, the government's promotion of 'cohesion' intent on 'managing difference' has correlated with *positive-pluralism's* premise. For instance, the DCSF specified that schools are ideally placed in their CC capacity to create "an open climate to address sensitive and controversial issues" (DCSF, 2007, p. 9). The 2015 'Prevent duty Departmental advice for schools and childcare providers' reiterated this by stating "[s]chools can build pupils' resilience to radicalisation by providing a safe environment for debating controversial issues" (DfE, 2015, p.

⁴² Elizabeth Taylor. Interview 10/04/2018.

8). Ms Sheppard incorporates *positive-pluralist* elements into her approach to Islam and Christianity as the two core religions for KS4 students at The Hawkins Academy:

*We often teach core beliefs and how Christians and Muslims for example have standpoints on certain issues: relationships, families, gender roles, just wars, holy wars, terrorism, responses to victims of war, creation, stewardship and dominion, crime, punishment, sin and afterlife.*⁴³

Some of the topics Ms Sheppard evoked touch on commonalities. However, her contribution also relates to different deep-held beliefs like “sin” and sensitive contemporary socio-political topics including “gender roles, just wars [...], crime [and] punishment”. I witnessed first-hand how the comparative approach to the two religions played out during a Year 11 structured class observation on ‘Stewardship and Dominion’⁴⁴. The students, who displayed an engaged attitude and willingness to enter into debate, learned about and discussed the concept from broad Christian and Muslim perspectives centring on questions of contemporary war and environmental politics. Beyond comparisons that may not foreclose on differences, Ms Jones, although not specifically in relation to Islam, as seen later in chapter six, incorporates critiques of certain religious teachings. When asked what she understood as critical RE, she specified the following:

*Everything isn't all rosy [...] Our job (RE teachers) is not to indoctrinate students but to educate them and it is okay to criticise certain sorts of teachings in a respectful and appropriate way.*⁴⁵

Thus, there is evidence that elements of *positive-pluralism* are integrated by certain interviewed teachers who move beyond benign studies of, or comparisons between, religions. These two contributions illustrate that multicultural RE and its normative valuation of plurality need not always emphasise “sameness” to foster tolerance (Smith et al, 2018, p. 3&15). They also go

⁴³Julia Sheppard. Interview 12/10/2017.

⁴⁴ The Hawkins Academy. Structured observation 12/10/2017

⁴⁵ Lucy Jones. Interview 02/05/2019.

against what Barnes claims is a tendency in RE to frame religions as being in essential agreement due to the subject's insistence on encouraging acceptance of religious diversity (2009, p. 17).

Section 4.2 provided evidence of the existence of an “instrumentalist” view of RE which is intent on promoting tolerance through the framework of CC and FBV (Chater, 2020). I also stressed that my document and interview analysis showed indications that correlate with Copley's assessment that RE's main educational *raison d'être* is to be a “vehicle to engender a more tolerant society” (Copley, 2005, p. 116). As will be seen in chapters six and seven, I do not deny that RE may sometimes apply a sanitised pedagogy. However, although RE does emphasise that all religions are equally valid interpretations about life and society, my data questions the critique that RE focuses the promotion of tolerance on “sameness” and presenting religions as being in essential agreement while sidestepping difference. This is evidenced by Ms Jones and Ms Sheppard who include in their classrooms elements of *positive-pluralism* which do not foreclose on differences. Ms Jones in particular understands that a basic premise of an RE that educates rather than “indoctrinate[s]” is to acknowledge that “everything isn't all rosy” in religious traditions, which could result in an exploration of difference. Previously in the chapter, Ms Jones (page 149) referred to an RE intent on fostering tolerance. However, she shows here that this need not result in an implicit complicity with “abusive religious beliefs” (Chater, 2020, pp. 61-63) whereby critiques of religion are seen as challenges to religious communities.

4.3.5 Final remark on the normative valuation of plurality

Since 2015, certain key figures or organisations in the field of Religious Studies educationalism, such as Charles Clarke, Woodhead, Chater and CORE, have argued that RE should engage more systematically with non-religious worldviews. They claim this would better reflect contemporary demographics in England and thus make the subject more engaging (Clarke & Woodhead, 2015; Chater, 2018; CORE, 2018). Students at KS4 are supposed to engage with “knowledge and understanding of [...] non-religious beliefs such as atheism and humanism” (Ipgrave, 2015). For example, Ms Jones (page 147) referenced atheism in her contribution appearing under the category of *hermeneutics*. However, several interviewed educators, even if they mentioned non-

religious worldviews at KS3 and KS4, did so very briefly. Thus, educational practices in the English case study tend towards a “traditional” view of pluralism. This is based on an ethno-religious understanding of diversity rather than on “modern plurality” in which religions increasingly coexist alongside a variety of personal and communal non-religious worldviews (Waillet & Roskam, 2013, p. 70).

4.4 Conclusion

The bulk of this chapter engaged with my first research question ‘**to what extent is the de-privatisation of religion, and Islam particularly, reflected in state-secondary education in England and France?**’ for the English case study specifically. I have illustrated how the de-privatisation of religion can affect state-secondary education. For Casanova, the de-privatisation of religion in Western societies originates from the realisation that religion cannot be considered a residual matter despite the fact that, on the whole, levels of religiosity in the West are in decline. Certain interviewees in this chapter alluded to this increasing irreligiosity in their classrooms, particularly when referring to Christianity. However, this mounting irreligiosity in England needs to coexist alongside growing religious diversity. Interviewees evoked several factors which contribute to RE’s educational potency in contemporary England, not least of which is the subject’s ability to develop understandings of others’ religious beliefs in a society which is both increasingly secularised and religiously plural. Other factors cited by interviewees, and that strengthen RE’s importance, relate to religion having become a salient political matter in the 21st century: globalisation, reconfigurations of ‘our heritage’ due to multiculturalism, and rising contention surrounding religion, particularly Islam. In connection to such matters mentioned by interviewees, de-privatisation has strengthened trends in public documents and educator perceptions that increasingly emphasise a discourse of ‘cohesion’ which touches on education about religion and its role in state-secondary students’ civic development. As Ipgrave notes, an education about religion intent on promoting CC has resulted in strong similarities between RE and Citizenship Education as subjects (2014, p. 38). I argue that these educational trends raise the

political importance given to religion and consequently contribute further to the de-privatisation of religion in state-secondary schools as public spheres.

Participant answers often correlated with what Davie and Casanova consider a realisation in Western Europe that secularisation is by no means a global norm (Davie, 2014, pp. 183-184; Casanova, 2010, p. 20). Also, for several interviewed educators, a cornerstone of contemporary RE is to counterbalance Islam's contentious domestic and global image in the media. This tallies with FBV and Prevent's insistence on counteracting alleged proliferations of far-right and Islamist extremist rhetoric (Crawford, 2017). My data uncovered a tendency in policy documents around CC and FBV, and among interviewed educators, that strengthens education's role in defending Islam's positive contribution to England's democratic polity. This emphasis on encouraging a positive understanding of Islam's societal contribution is sometimes diminished in academia focusing on CC and FBV in schools. At times, these policies are framed predominantly as restrictive promotions of patriotism or as a stigmatising securitisation of education. In contrast to these interpretations, except for the interviewee Fatima Baqri (page 138), FBV were not viewed negatively by interviewed educators. In fact, responses to such policy directions were more nuanced, and even mostly positive, among educators. For example, Ms Jones on pages 136, 137 and 139 gave a positive appraisal of CC and FBV's educational impact in her school and stressed that Prevent was also aimed at far-right extremism and not only radical Islam. However, she did express reservations about terming democratic values as 'British' and considered that Prevent could potentially curtail academic freedom in certain schools.

In section 4.3, I engaged with the second research question '**what are English and French educators' understandings and approaches regarding education about religions in state-secondary schools?**' for England in the context of pluralism. This section illustrated how moves towards multicultural RE since the 1980s, and 21st century discourses of 'cohesion', relate to interviewed educators' understandings of, and approaches to, education about religion. Interviewees saw RE as nurturing students' knowledge about religious diversity for their civic development but, within this approach, they rarely alluded to the subject nurturing pupils'

religiosity. An education about religion intended “to engender a more tolerant society” (Copley, 2005, p. 116), together with an “instrumentalist” view of RE aiming to promote CC and FBV (Chater, 2018, p. 73), raised the question of whether religions are presented as being in essential agreement. However, via my categorisation of interviewee contributions into *World Religions* pedagogies, I conclude that although thematic comparisons through broad overviews of religions were manifest in gathered data, there were few indications that religions were presented as being in essential agreement. On the other hand, within this comparative focus, overall, interviewed educators leaned towards a traditional understanding of pluralism, making only brief mentions of non-religious worldviews at KS3 and KS4.

In general, I acknowledge there are controversies surrounding multicultural RE’s 21st century emphasis on promoting ‘cohesion’ and ‘managing difference’. However, based on my data analysis, I argue that this educational shift is a response which attempts to prepare students as future adults to better live together with their differences in a complex religious landscape. This complexity is summarised by Davie as a globalised society which is not only increasingly secular but also religiously diverse (2014).

I make a similar assessment of ‘cohesive’ educational intents for France in chapter five which delves into instances of the de-privatisation of religion, particularly Islam, in French state-secondary education. Chapter five also includes a bi-national comparison in connection to Portier’s ‘converging secularisms’. Also, as in this chapter, I engage with approaches towards education about religions in researched schools. This serves to ascertain how developments concerning the place of religion in France, especially in state-secondary education, relate to educators’ practices in the context of pluralism.

Chapter five – De-privatisation, Islam and education about religions in the context of pluralism: An empirical engagement with France and bi-national comparison

5.1 Introduction

This chapter about France follows a similar logic to chapter four which centred on England. As such, for the French case study I rely on state-sponsored, legal and policy documents, in conjunction with interviewee contributions and a class observation, to explore matters pertaining to my two research questions. To situate the documents analysed in this chapter, please refer to table 3.2 on page 83. Information about the interviewees included in this chapter appears in table 3.4 on page 89.

The chapter comprises three parts plus the conclusion. Section 5.2 engages with my first research question ‘**to what extent is the de-privatisation of religion, and Islam particularly, reflected in state-secondary education in England and France?**’ for the French case study. Despite France’s ‘explicit’ secular model, present-day interest in religion, found in French public discourse, state-institutional strategies and among interviewees, pays particular attention to the place of Islam within French society. In connection to this, my empirical findings demonstrate reflections of the de-privatisation of religion in French state-secondary education. This de-privatisation can be understood either as a refutation of the ‘secularisation thesis’, the religious pluralisation of the democratic polity and/or, in the 21st century, the contentious political issue of religion in French society. These phenomena can bring about a more religiously inclusive *laïcité* and bolster the promotion of ‘cohesion’ in schools, largely in response to France’s complex contemporary religious situation. This combination of inclusivity and ‘cohesion’ can strengthen education about religion’s importance in promoting students’ civic development.

Section 5.3 compares my findings for the first research question for England and France by means of Portier's concept of 'converging secularisms'. This section is integral to highlighting my thesis' contribution to the field of comparative studies into education about religion in European countries. I illustrate how trends in state-secondary education tally with Portier's idea of 'converging secularisms': firstly through a degree of state-institutional opening of the democratic polity to religious pluralism since the late 20th century, and secondly through the adoption of 'cohesive designs' in the 21st century. These developments highlight a level of convergence between both countries in developing models of coexistence between the universal and the particular. These respond to both countries' religious landscapes while maintaining key elements of their own national contextual ways of regulating religion (Portier, 2013, p. 140).

Section 5.4 addresses the second research question '**what are English and French educators' understandings and approaches regarding education about religions in state-secondary schools?**' in the context of pluralism, specifically for France. In the thesis, this context of pluralism means a normative valuation of plurality. My findings uncover that the overall view among interviewees is that education about religion, in the form of civilisational studies about Islam and other religions in History-Geography, can serve to develop positive engagement with difference and positive attitudes towards 'the other'. Engagements with difference and matters touching upon religion in contemporary society also permeate EMC classrooms. For several interviewed teachers, this results in an inclusion of religion, generally within the framework of *laïcité* and often linked to the '*vivre ensemble*'. However, compared to England, conceptions of 'cohesion' and 'managing difference' in my data tend more towards a discourse of a unified citizenry. Finally, although interviewees lean towards a 'factual' approach, the actual depth and extent of engagements with religion in History and EMC vary among individual teachers. This is corroborated in chapter six.

5.2 Reflections of the de-privatisation of religion, particularly Islam, in France: An engagement with state-secondary education

By means of an analysis of interviews and state-sponsored, legal and policy documents, this section empirically engages with the extent to which the de-privatisation of religion, and Islam particularly, is reflected in my data centring on state-secondary education. I begin by connecting matters surrounding the place of Islam at the macro-political level in contemporary French society with micro-political actors' (i.e. educators) opinions on such matters and their experiences in education. I then turn to wider public discourses and educational strategies to account for, respond to and sometimes contribute further to the renewed public visibility of religion in state-secondary schools. After, the chapter explains how these developments can link to a strengthening of the civic relevance of education about religions. I finalise the section by relating my findings to Casanova's theory of the de-privatisation of religion.

5.2.1 Islam in society: An assessment based on state-secondary education

To begin my analysis, I refer to my interview with Mme Bernard, a History-Geography and EMC teacher in Marseilles. She made the following comments about the public visibility of religion in recent years:

When I was a student, I never asked myself religious questions. We were truly in a laïque institution and questions about religions were very far from our minds. It is true that there is a heightened focus about religions in the media but also, society has evolved since I was younger. So, I never felt it back in those days. It was not as visible either in political debates or discourse, in people's minds or in the media.⁴⁶

Her experience correlates with what I consider is the end of the religious retreat and subsequent renewed socio-political significance of religion in France. Multiple reasons relate to Mme Bernard's assessment. One recurring academic explanation, underscored in chapter four, refers to

⁴⁶ Delphine Bernard. Interview 01/12/2017.

globalisation and the realisation that Western secularisation is an exception in global terms (Davie, 2014). Another reason that may have conditioned Mme Bernard's answer refers to the matter of Islam in France, which has played an increasingly pivotal role in reinstating religion as an important public matter. I now explain three dimensions that contribute to this. The first is Jihadist terrorism and its political effects since 2010. The second and third relate to interviewees' views on the potential limitations of the 1905 law on the 'Separation of Church and State' and, with a particular focus on education, the recent affirmation of religious identity among certain Muslim students.

Compared to England, contemporary Jihadist terrorism has particularly shaken French society. This phenomenon led former Prime Minister, Manuel Valls, to state that "the fight against Jihadism is the greatest challenge of our generation" (Gouvernement.fr, 2016). Part of this "fight" includes giving the Muslim community an integral role alongside the government. The 2016 '*Plan d'Action contre la Radicalisation et le Terrorisme*' (PART) illustrates this (Gouvernement.fr/Premier Ministre, 2016, pp. 38&50).

PART

The scope for preventing radicalisation [...]

[T]he 'community' can act as an intermediary with public authorities and families. In this respect, the components of the 'Islam de France' can play a valuable role in terms of religious counter-discourse [...]

Supporting the mobilisation of religious institutions [...]

The necessary mobilisation of leaders from the 'Islam de France' against radicalisation forms part of the conclusions shared between the Government and the leaders of the Muslim faith during the last meeting of the Ministry of Interior's forum for dialogue on March 21st 2016.

In this way, to respond to terrorism, the government has given greater importance to a positive engagement with religious communities. This development correlates with what Portier considers is the French 'separation' model undergoing a process of flexibility whereby religious voices are, to a degree, integrated into state-institutional strategies (2013, pp. 128-132&140). The above

extract relates to the de-privatisation of religion in two respects. Firstly, the document links to religion, and matters surrounding Islam particularly, having become a sometimes contentious issue in French society. However, through a ‘cohesive’ discourse responding to such contention, the government has further contributed to the de-privatisation of religion, in this case understood as a pluralisation of the polity, by promoting interconnectedness between state institutions and Islam in France.

According to interviewed educators’ understandings and experiences, other less bellicose factors also highlight and explain why the question of Islam in France is such a visible socio-political matter. For M. Vaugirard, History-Geography and EMC teacher in Marseilles, the public visibility of contemporary debates about Islam in relation to *laïcité* is partly due to:

When they (French government) voted for the ‘Separation of Church and State’, it was devised in relation to Catholics, Protestants and Jews but did not account for Islam.⁴⁷

Napoléon’s 1801 Concordat provided protection for three recognised ‘*cultes*’: Catholicism, Protestantism and Judaism, but not Islam. The 1905 law on the ‘Separation of Church and State’ only took into account the ‘*cultes*’ already integrated into society when it established the non-recognition of religion within its separation model (van den Kerchove, 2009, pp. 51-52). The non-recognition of religions has receded in recent years. However, the pronounced removal of religion from public spheres in 1905 now faces the question of how to accommodate Muslim needs. For Mathieu, Islam involves religious practices that cannot be easily billeted into the private sphere (2009, pp. 87-88). In this manner, the contemporary limits of the 1905 law give rise to significant debates that focus on Islam within the framework of *laïcité*.

This phenomenon sometimes results in critical perceptions of Islam, as became apparent during an interview with Mme Didier, History-Geography and EMC teacher in Cannes. When discussing

⁴⁷ Alban Vaugirard. Interview 30/11/2017.

the contention surrounding Islam in France and why the matter of integration was so visible compared to other non-traditionally native communities within France, she answered:

[T]hey were not Muslim. Jews and Christians from other countries integrated into laïcité. This is not the case with Islam, one needs to admit this [...] The Algerian war is a sensitive topic in schools, so there is the colonial aspect too.

I then asked whether counter-Muslim rhetoric exacerbated the problem, to which she responded:

A teacher at school two years ago... A student came dressed in Islamic clothing, not the hijab or veil, but completely dressed in black. The teacher told her he was astonished, and she called a committee responding to Islamophobia that wrote a letter to the headmaster saying there was a teacher who was Islamophobic [...] Islamophobia exists but they exaggerate with victimisation. A lot of people do not want to say this because they are scared.⁴⁸

Wesselhoeft alludes to this matter when arguing that religion in France sometimes represents the greatest marker of difference and tension in economically disadvantaged schools such as Mme Didier's *lycée* (2017, p. 627). This situation is complicated by some representations of Islam "as being opposed to the principal of *laïcité*" (van den Kerchove, 2009, p. 58). Mme Didier does not deny the existence of Islamophobia, but she claims that the contentious topic of Islam in France is intensified by certain Muslims assuming a reactionary identity in the face of *laïcité*, a phenomenon which permeates state-secondary schools. Mme Martin, History-Geography and EMC teacher in Marseilles, agreed that Muslim students have emphasised religion within their identity. However, she had a different understanding of this:

We are in a school with many Muslim students [...] It does not shock me when we say that it is the second largest religious community in France and there is an 'islam de France' [...] The fact remains that there is a population that practices Islam and that they are just as French as we are. But this is not always

⁴⁸ Camille Didier. Interview 05/12/2017.

accepted. I appreciate living with French children that belong to another cultural tradition to mine.

In terms of the role Islam has played in the renewed public visibility of religion over the last few decades she answered the following:

Islam is undergoing a marked claim to identity that uses religion to affirm this identity [...] An explanation for this is that both prior generations did not integrate very well or did not feel well integrated into French society. Their parents played the integration game and seeing that this did not work, their children [...] find their roots to claim an identity and that goes through religion.⁴⁹

Mme Didier and Mme Martin have somewhat contrasting views about how Islam is perceived vis-à-vis educational *laïcité*. Compared to England, debates about Islam's integration seem more visible in France, at least among interviewed participants. The controversy surrounding the reaffirmation of Muslim identities in *laïque* schools is an important dimension in this cross-country difference. In addition, for M. Vaugirard the limits of the 1905 law are key to understanding the pronounced debates surrounding Islam in France. Both factors might motivate contemporary societal "narrative[s] of Muslim *communautarisme*" (Lizotte, 2020, p. 1). For M. Beau, History-Geography and EMC teacher from Lons-le-Saunier, such narratives in their more radical forms can manifest themselves through:

[A] heated debate on whether France is a country of "Christian heritage". However, people who promote this discourse are not usually religious themselves as there is a large segment of France's population that no longer identify themselves as Christian. Those who place religion (with reference to France being a nation of "Christian heritage") front stage is often for political and exclusionary reasons... "We, white and Christian".⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Josephine Martin. Interview 01/12/2017

⁵⁰ Marcel Beau. Interview 06/12/2017.

Such counter-Muslim discourses using a rhetoric of “white and Christian” indicate that *laïcité* can be “*lepénisée*”⁵¹ by the Front National against Islam (Baubérot, 2012, p. 13). The amalgamation of counter-Muslim rhetoric and contemporary Jihadist terrorism contributes to the tendency to believe that, when *laïcité* is in danger, the threat comes from Muslims (van den Kerchove, 2009, p. 58). The 2016 PART security strategy acknowledges this dilemma and attempts to redress this polarisation by promoting initiatives for greater engagement with religious pluralism to counter radical discourses touching upon religion or *laïcité* (Gouvernement.fr/Premier Ministre, 2016, p. 53).

PART

Countering the narrative and propaganda of radicalisation with credible counter-discourses

[...]

Similarly, initiatives to improve access to a plurality of interpretations of religious discourse, in a laïque and republican spirit of exercising freedom to believe or not to believe, can counterbalance the excessive weight taken by extremists in the dissemination of theological and spiritual knowledge.

Although the application of “a plurality of interpretations of religious discourse” may not be entirely possible within *laïque* state-secondary education, schools can contribute to engaging with positive understandings of plurality in “a *laïque* and republican spirit”. For Estivalèzes, the fact that Islam is the second largest religion in France, coupled with the contentious public visibility of Islam, make it of paramount importance “to promote better understanding and greater tolerance among pupils” (Estivalèzes, 2011, p. 45). For M. Flambard, History-Geography and EMC teacher from Lons-le-Saunier, such “counter-discourses” as referenced in PART can help redress the prominence of exclusionary ethno-religious ideologies:

When we speak of the ‘vivre ensemble’, it is a way to tell students “here is your neighbour who has a different religion” and insist on curiosity more than

⁵¹ “*Lepéniser*”. Term meaning “to bring in line with the ideas of Jean-Marie and Marine Le Pen”, former and current leaders, respectively, of the Front National.

*confrontation. There is a perception of laïcité either as open or closed, which are very different. For example, being able to reaffirm one's religion, or as a militant one that takes a closed interpretation and is a bit Islamophobic.*⁵²

For M. Flambard, the '*vivre ensemble*' helps bridge gaps by redressing the sometimes antonymic view of Islam and *laïcité* in society (van den Kerchove, 2009; Baubérot, 2012). He illustrates that *laïcité* has different interpretations with varying degrees of openness or closedness, which tallies in part with Baubérot's concept of "seven *laïcités*" (2017). This complexity motivates M. Flambard to associate the '*vivre ensemble*' with an open *laïcité* within his classes.

Thus, three perspectives stand out among interviewed educators regarding the place of Islam in France and how this can permeate education. Firstly, for M. Vaugirard, the reason why Islam generates public debates in contemporary France relates to the limitations of the 1905 law to respond to present-day French religious demographics. Secondly, for Mme Didier, certain tensions between Islam and *laïcité* manifest themselves in her work. Thirdly, Mme Martin argued there has been a reassertion of Muslim students' Islamic identities recently, but sees this as a failure of prior integration policies. Hervieu-Léger alluded to this phenomenon two decades ago when arguing that French Muslim youths relied on religion as a refuge, forging their identities vis-à-vis partially unsuccessful 20th century integration policies (2000, pp. 161-162). In response to these matters, M. Flambard approaches the contentious matter of Islam in France by stressing the importance of the '*vivre ensemble*' in education within his classes as a counter-narrative to heated debates surrounding Islam in French public spheres. Within their varied opinions, these contributions all recognise the pronounced visibility that religion has assumed in society, public discourse and in the interviewees' own teaching experiences, which is to considerable degree motivated by matters surrounding Islam in France.

I now relate this phenomenon to a focused engagement with interviews, policies and legislation touching upon state-secondary education.

⁵² François Flambard. Interview 06/12/2017.

5.2.2 The place of religion in state-secondary education as a public sphere

In the 1980s and early 1990s, there was a slow process of re-engagement with religion in French state-secondary education (Borne & Willaime, 2009, p. 61). During these decades, public discourse and government strategies argued for a greater appreciation of religion for students' heritage-based cultural knowledge and engagement with religious pluralism. The Joutard Report and *Colloque Besançon* embodied this trend (Sicard, 2010, p. 90). Concerning Islam, the religion's position within both was framed in relation to engaging with the "diverse components present" in France's late 20th century "religious diversity", and intertwining "*laïcité* with spiritual plurality" (Joutard, 1989; Sachot, 1991, pp. 93-94; Favey, 1991, p. 326). For Legris, both documents evidenced shifts towards a more open conception of national identity (both pluri-religious and European) (2010, p. 144). This subsection explains how, since the early 2000s, a discourse of 'cohesion' relating to religion has increasingly emphasised intents to 'manage difference'. In my analysis, I focus particularly on the place of Islam within these educational developments. To capture shifts from an engagement with 'spiritual diversity' in the Joutard Report and *Colloque Besançon* towards 'managing difference' in the 21st century, I begin by summarising changes in educational mentalities during the 1980s and 1990s.

After the Joutard Report and the *Colloque Besançon*, in 1995 the French education authorities issued two relevant Ministerial Orders. One was the *arrêté* of 22 November which incorporated mythical and religious texts within French Literature (Carpentier, 2004). The other *arrêté*, dated 9 May and relating to History-Geography, reads as follows (Ministère de l'éducation nationale, 1995):

Bulletin officiel de l'éducation nationale n°12 du 29 juin 1995

Lycée curricula aim to provide knowledge and understanding of the contemporary world. The syllabus for Seconde lays the foundations for this. It is devoted to the study of six historical moments that mark the development of contemporary civilisation [...] This is based on the study of what it meant to be a citizen in the ancient world and how this differs from our own,

on the development of Christianity, a major component of Western civilisation, on the diversity of medieval civilisations, on the new vision of man and the world during the Renaissance, on the fundamental turning point represented by the revolutionary period and the new conceptions it disseminated, and finally on the way these conceptions were progressively imposed on Europe.

The new introductions integrated an important religious dimension into *Seconde* History syllabi by strengthening the historical role of Christianity and its contact with the religious traditions of other medieval civilisations. This built on students' prior engagement with Islam and Christianity in *Cinquième* (Year 8) established in a 1985 *arrêté* (Carpentier, 2004). From his own personal experience as a student, M. Vaugirard recalled these shifts in education:

For a long time in France, education had a particular role: to divulge the values of the Republic that are considered to be above all other beliefs. Before (pre-1980s), religion had no influence on education. But currently, religions are studied through the premise of laïcité [...] It is a very recent reformulation, during the 80s and 90s. It was motivated by a need to recognise the (ethno-religious) diversity of our country. For example, I remember being a student in a collège during 88 and 89 and we studied Islam. This change was motivated as France's population was one of the most ethno-religiously plural countries in Europe during the 1980s.⁵³

For M. Vaugirard, a more religiously accepting educational *laïcité* represents an important redirection of an education system where previously, he argues, "religion had no influence". M. Vaugirard's assessment coincides with van den Kerchove, who considers the 1980s witnessed a fall in the popularity of the view that equated religion in education with clericalism. Since "the end of the 1980s, religious issues have come back openly into the school curricula, not in

⁵³ Alban Vaugirard. Interview 30/11/2017.

opposition to *laïcité* but as an integral part of it” (van den Kerchove, 2009, p. 64). This tallies with M. Vaugirard’s understanding that, since the late 20th century, in state-secondary schools:

[L]aïcité is perceived as the main door that allows religious liberty and equality
(in the classroom).⁵⁴

The 1980s and 1990s saw an ontological reconfiguration of *laïcité* in education to become more religiously sensitive and pluralistically inclusive (Carpentier, 2004; Legris, 2010, p. 152). However, as stated from the outset of the thesis, since the early 21st century, a new dimension has been added to discourses about religion in education, namely an emerging trend towards ‘managing difference’. The 2002 Debray Report embodied more pronounced emphases on ‘cohesion’ in public discourse. The Report’s recommendations, detailed in the conceptual framework chapter, furthered the Joutard Report’s appreciation of religion as a heritage-based and intellectual phenomenon. However, Debray justified that education about religions would counteract the “dismemberment” of society (2002, pp. 3-4).

L’enseignement du fait religieux dans l’École laïque

[T]he increasingly noticeable threat of a collective disinheritance, of a break in the links of national and European memory where the missing link of religious information renders strictly incomprehensible, even irrelevant, the Tympanum of Chartres, Tintoretto’s Crucifixion, Mozart’s Don Giovanni, Victor Hugo’s Boaz Asleep, and Aragon’s Holy Week [...] What contributes to the fear of a community dismemberment of civic solidarities is our ignorance of the past and the beliefs of others that leads to clichés and prejudices. Researching the universality of the sacred with its prohibitions and permissions, of the depth of unifying values and relaying these to civic education through a tempered reference to our unprecedented diversity would help address this [...] The collapse or erosion of the old vectors of transmission, such as churches, families, customs and civilities, means that the basic tasks of

⁵⁴ Alban Vaugirard. Interview 30/11/2017.

orientation in time and space, which civil society is no longer able to provide, are transferred to the public education system.

Debray's reference to "community dismemberment" is reminiscent of discourses within CC in England. Moreover, his expression "collective disinheritance" evokes what Hervieu-Léger sees as the "break in the chain" of institutional or traditional religions in Western Europe (2000). To a degree, the Debray Report embodies France's complex religious situation. On the one hand, societal secularisation results in education having to fill the religious vacuum left by "church and family". This was explicitly voiced by three interviewed teachers, such as Mme Didier in Cannes:

They (students) often have misconstrued religious interpretations and know very little.⁵⁵

On the other hand, when Debray referenced "our unprecedented diversity" he acknowledged France's new pluralism and religion's greater visibility. This correlates with the de-privatisation of religion as a pluralisation of ethno-religious affiliations that must be accounted for in France's democratic polity, but also touches on the sometimes contentious matter of Islam in society. The latter is illustrated when Debray argues "*laïcité* is a chance for '*islam en France*', and the '*islam de France*' is a chance for *laïcité*" (2002, p. 21).

The adoption of Debray's EFR in February 2005 by the '*Assemblée Nationale*' (Proeschel & Toscer-Angot, 2009, p.78) resulted in the Ministry of Education formalising the EFR as follows (Eduscol/education.fr, 2021):

L'enseignement des faits religieux

The EFR [...] is included in the knowledge, skills and cultural competences common platform [...] [I]t describes and analyses 'faits religieux' as elements to understanding past societies and our cultural heritage, through disciplines such as History, Literature, History of Art, Music, Arts and Philosophy.

⁵⁵ Camille Didier. Interview 05/12/2017.

The effect of the EFR on education must not be overstated as it is not a form of ‘religious education’ or an elaborate curricular update. Rather, the adoption of the EFR represents a governmental endorsement of pedagogical practices in Humanities subjects to adopt more religiously sensitive approaches to education through a diffuse multidisciplinary “common platform”. During an interview with Jamal Ahabab, member of the IREL, he described the EFR as a cultural engagement with religion through “snippets”:

*The EFR is valuable, and even essential, in that we enlighten students’ understanding of other cultures or encourage their discovery through snippets that enrich cultural understanding of humankind’s heritage.*⁵⁶

Although Debray used a discourse of ‘cohesion’, his narrative still centred on religion as a heritage-based and intellectual phenomenon. Jamal Ahabab follows this line of thought whereby the EFR helps understand ‘the other’ and “humankind’s heritage” through a pedagogy of cultural engagement touching on a variety of class content.

However, since 2013 education about religions has entered a new phase with a more pronounced emphasis on ‘cohesion’ and ‘shared values’ that started germinating after the Debray Report. The government invigorated RV in schools under the 2013 ‘*Charte de la laïcité*’. The Charter responded to the challenge of societal polarisation due to Jihadist terrorism since 2010 and the resultant popularity of counter-Muslim rhetoric among certain segments of French society, which Limouzin equates with a cultural crisis (2016, p. 81). Three points from the Charter illustrate the government’s invigoration of RV and *laïcité* vis-à-vis religion (Observatoire de la laïcité, 2013).

Charte de la laïcité à l’École

- *Laïcité allows the exercise of citizenship, by combining individual liberty with everyone’s equality and fraternity for the public interest.*

⁵⁶ Jamal Ahabab. Interview 02/10/2017.

- *All staff have a duty to transmit to students the values of laïcité in addition to all other foundational republican values. They watch over their effective implementation at school. It is also their duty to make parents aware of this Charter.*
- *Classes are laïque. In order to guarantee students the greatest objectivity to the diversity of world visions, in addition to the range and precision of sources of knowledge, no subject is excluded from scientific and pedagogical questioning. No student can invoke a religious or political conviction to contest a teacher's right to study a theme within curricula.*

The ‘*Charte de la laïcité*’ can have two significant effects on religion within state-secondary schools. Firstly, the Charter strengthens teachers’ role in promoting *laïcité* and RV in religiously contentious times. Secondly, the Charter places great weight on ‘cohesion’ and ‘managing difference’, by “combining individual liberty with everyone’s equality and fraternity for the public interest”. Whereas in the UK discourses of ‘cohesion’ stress the value of ‘community’ and ‘British’, in France the weight falls on ‘*laïcité*’ and ‘Republic’. However, both education systems show convergence in the ‘cohesive’ importance given to ‘liberal democratic values’.

Furthermore, between 2013 and 2015, state education witnessed the bolstering of a *laïque* morality with the newly crafted citizenship subject, EMC (Law No-2013-595 of July 8 2013 guiding and enacting the refoundation of the school of the Republic, 2013).

Loi n° 2013-595 du 8 juillet 2013 d’orientation et de programmation pour la refondation de l’école de la République

The nation entrusts to schools [...] shar[ing] with pupils the values of the Republic, to teach them respect for the equal dignity of human beings, freedom of conscience and laïcité [...]

Teaching the ‘morale laïque’ [...] contributes to the construction of a better ‘vivre ensemble’ within our society. This teaching notably aims to allow students to acquire and understand requirements such as respecting people, their origins and differences, but also equality

between women and men, in addition to the foundations and meaning of laïcité which is one of the fundamental republican values.

The creation of EMC, with its ‘*morale laïque*’, strengthens ties between “differences” and “the foundations and meaning of *laïcité*” through a more pronounced discourse of ‘cohesion’. The Charter and EMC’s emphasis on a *laïque* morality and RV differs from the Debray Report in one interesting aspect. Whereas all emphasise ‘cohesion’, the EFR made no reference to RV or morality.

As seen above, *laïcité*’s civic importance has been increased since 2013 in response to France’s contentious religious situation. For M. Beau, the 2015 terrorist attacks (against Charlie Hebdo, Bataclan and Stade de France) further convinced state institutions and teachers of the need to strengthen and reshape the values of *laïcité* through EMC:

Since the attacks of 2015, there was a perception in education of a need to reshape and reaffirm the values of laïcité. Many History, EMC and primary teachers took modules on what constituted the values of the Republic to bring to life and reinterpret the values of laïcité and republican values.⁵⁷

M. Beau’s contribution points to a degree of mirroring by teachers interested in developing their own engagement with RV and *laïcité*, which aligns with government discourse and strategy since 2013. M. Vaugirard explicitly stated that the more pronounced emphasis on *laïque* morality includes a dimension that strengthens RV vis-à-vis religion:

[T]he Minister of Education reiterated the importance of EMC after the terrorist attacks. Teachers need to reiterate that the Republic offers them (the students) a framework of absolute freedom. No idea or creed can be above others and no religion or interpretation about God can be above the Republic.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Marcel Beau. Interview 06/12/2017.

⁵⁸ Alban Vaugirard. Interview 30/11/2017.

Both M. Beau and M. Vaugirard interpret in their own manner how RV respond to France's contentious religious situation. For M. Beau, the emphasis lies more in "reinterpret[ing] the values of *laïcité* and republican values". For M. Vaugirard, EMC represents a strengthening of RV whereby "no idea or creed [...] can be above the Republic". Do both interviewee contributions correlate with academic assessments that *laïcité* solely privatises religion or promotes a morality which is opposite to religion (Modood, 2013, p. 69; Bauzon, 2017, p. 190)? The answer is by no means simple. On the one hand, both interviewee contributions tally with EMC's reinvigoration of old ties between *laïcité*, education and RV, characteristic of the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Chaix, 2016, pp. 109-110). Also, M. Vaugirard links EMC to a perception that no "interpretation about God can be above the Republic". However, neither interviewee makes reference to privatising religion nor adopts a counter-religious discourse. Rather, they speak of a *laïcité* and RV responsive to France's contentious contemporary religious situation which is also manifest in the '*Charte de la laïcité*' and the creation of EMC. Also, as seen previously in this chapter and later in this thesis, *laïcité* has been moving away from perceiving religion as its opposite, towards being considered the guarantor of a '*vivre ensemble*' in France's present-day ethno-religiously diverse society. Thus, educational *laïcité* requires a nuanced assessment. Yes, there is a invigoration of *laïcité* vis-à-vis religion. However, the creation of EMC, and what M. Beau considers teacher interest in reinterpreting the "values of the Republic", can potentially strengthen, rather than react against, engagements with religion through the framework of *laïcité*.

To summarise, concerning the thesis' predominant focus on Islam, during the 1980s the religion's educational impact formed part of a pluralised understanding of national identity and heritage. The Debray Report, however, introduced a discourse of 'cohesion', partly in reference to Islam (2002, p. 21). The 2013 '*Charte de la laïcité*' in schools and the creation of EMC represent a stronger connection between *laïcité*, education and RV. State-sponsored, legal and policy documents included in this section show a combined response to the pluralisation of the democratic polity, which requires a more religiously sensitive *laïcité*, and to contemporary contentious issues surrounding religion, and Islam particularly. The evolution from '*laïcité*

plurielle' during the 80s and 90s to a *'laïcité d'intelligence'* in the Debray Report, and finally the *'morale laïque'* post-2013, has progressively bolstered the importance of an education responsive to the country's new religious landscape. Particularly the latter development pertinent to EMC can strengthen the civic role that an education touching on religion can have in student development. I use the word *can* as my data uncovers that engagement with the *'religieux'* in EMC varies in depth among interviewees.

5.2.3 The civic relevance of education about religions through a discourse of 'cohesion'

This subsection delves into state-institutional approaches that highlight the potential relevance of the civic dimension of education about religions in EMC. As seen previously, civic education is the vehicle by which societies shape the type of citizens they desire by stimulating young people's political literacy, democratic knowledge, values and beliefs (Parker, 2008; Hahn & Alviar-Martin, 2008; Jackson, 2003).

Before addressing said state-institutional approaches, as in the English case study, I must mention that globalisation can also contribute to religion's relevance to what Jackson calls students' "political literacy" within citizenship education (2003, p. 1). For Davie and Casanova, globalisation has demonstrated that Western secularisation is not the norm internationally (Davie, 2014; Casanova, 2010, p. 20). Therefore, as global concerns increasingly impact national concerns (Jackson, 2003, p. 4), engaging with religion represents an important dimension to understand 21st century world politics. This correlates with what M. Flambard explained about pupils' contemporary awareness of religion and how this touches on EMC:

[T]hey read, listen and watch the news and realise that the religious is a source of conflict in a few regions around the world. This intrigues them and learning how things work and why they are a certain way is very important for students.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ François Flambard. Interview 06/12/2017.

For M. Flambard, the significance of religion in world politics represents one reason why '*le religieux*' is an important dimension for developing students' political literacy. This view links to what Husser calls a "comprehensive approach" to EMC that does not foreclose on religion (2017, p. 52).

I now turn to explaining how state-institutional discourse and policies since 2015 perceive the relevance of religion for civic education and how this relates to interviewee contributions. EMC gives an explicit moral dimension to *laïcité*, mainly absent from French education since the second half of the 20th century. The current emphasis on *laïque* morality responds, to a considerable degree, to the contentious place of religion, particularly Islam, in France, and also to a defence of the contemporary pluralisation of the polity. For Pithon, EMC is a reaction to the political and social context of contemporary France, affected by religious and ethnic revindications in the Middle East and Africa which later spill over into French society, most notably through Jihadist attacks. Additionally, state institutions perceive there is an occasional identity-based malaise that opposes *laïcité* (Pithon, 2017). Two examples of this perceived malaise are Mme Didier's experiences with certain Muslim students on page 159 and M. Beau's account on page 160 of certain segments of French society using a discourse of "[w]e, white and Christian".

Consequently, the 2015 Official Bulletin establishing the EMC syllabus responds to France's complex contemporary religious situation. The bulletin substantially references religion through expressions like "convictions", "beliefs", "diverse feelings of [...] religious belonging", "diversity of beliefs and religious practices" and "pluralism in religious convictions" (Ministère de l'éducation nationale, 2015, pp. 5&17-17&27). Among the topics touching on religion with which state-secondary pupils could engage are:

Bulletin officiel spécial n°6 du 25 juin 2015: Programme d'enseignement moral et civique

General principles

- *Moral education is not only relevant to or the responsibility of schools; it starts in the family. The 'Enseignement moral et civique' focuses on the principles and values necessary for living together in a democratic society. It takes place within the framework of laïcité of the Republic and the school [...]*
- *The purpose of this education is to transmit and share the values of the Republic accepted by all, whatever their convictions, beliefs or personal life choices [...] The teacher listens to everyone and encourages autonomy, critical thinking and cooperation. He/she takes care to avoid any discrimination and devaluation between students [...]*

Sensibility: personal and of others

- *Understanding diverse feelings of civic, social, cultural and religious belonging [...]*

Judgment: thinking by oneself and with others

- *Explaining the different dimensions of equality, distinction between inequality and discrimination.*
 - *Different forms of discrimination (racial, anti-Semitic, religious, xenophobic, sexist, homophobic...) [...]*
- *Understanding issues relating to laïcité (liberty of conscience and citizens' equality).*
 - *The principles of laïcité.*
 - *Work on the 'Charte de la laïcité' [...]*

Diversity of beliefs and laïcité

- *Identifying and explaining ethical values and civic principles / Developing personal expression, argumentation and critical thinking [...]*
 - *The concept of laïcité. Its different meanings. Its historical, political, philosophical and legal dimension.*
Diversity of beliefs and religious practices in French society.
Exercising liberties and the risks of sectarianism.

- *Interdisciplinary study of the different ways to conceive relations between the State and pluralism in religious convictions within democratic regimes [...]*
- *A case study of the conditions under which the 2004 law (relating to religious symbols) was drafted and the debates within the Stasi Commission. Analysis of the opposing arguments and the ethical and political principles behind them.*
- *Using observed situations or various media (literary, philosophical, historical, cinematographic, etc.), a debate can be held on the notion of tolerance and its moral significance, the distinction between tolerance and rights, the limits of tolerance, etc.*

It would be an overstatement to claim that EMC brings highly elaborate interfaith dialogue. Rather, EMC engages with religion in an intent to ‘manage difference’ within the framework of French *laïque* ‘republican values’. As with FBV in England, the discourse of ‘cohesion’ within EMC is very visible, where “moral education” aims to “transmit and share the values of the Republic accepted by all, whatever their convictions”. I now discuss two interviewed teachers’ appreciations of the civic relevance of religion in EMC. The first connects to what the 2015 EMC Official Bulletin calls sensibility to “understanding diverse feelings of civic, social, cultural and religious belonging” and “[d]iversity of beliefs and *laïcité*”. This refers to EMC’s capacity to provide excellent opportunities to expand on religious sensibilities within education (Husser, 2017). The second teacher appreciation relates less to engaging with religious sensibilities and more to EMC’s integral role in cultivating students’ “critical thinking” as part of their civic development.

For Mme Mallet, EMC teacher in Marseilles, the subject contributes to studying the ‘*fait(s) religieux*’ beyond the traditional civilisational focus of other Humanities subjects:

The ‘faits religieux’ can be taught with a civilisational framework and the ‘faits religieux’ can be taught in a political framework. So when you study the laïque

*Republic, we are in the framework of politics [...] The question we ask ourselves is how to be a Protestant in France today, how to be Jewish in France today.*⁶⁰

Mme Mallet believes that the “political” dimension of the *‘fait(s) religieux’* is important within EMC. Her strategy relates to the 2015 EMC syllabus specification regarding the “[d]iversity of beliefs and religious practices in French society” and “the notion of tolerance and its moral significance”. Within her classes, she engages with contemporary pluralism in France through an exploration of the experiences of different religious communities. She associates education about religions to a sociological study of what Husser perceives as EMC’s capacity to explore “convictions and practices that occupy an important place in believers’ lives” (2017, p. 50). Mme Mallet’s approach also touches on what Estivalèzes calls the “recognition of cultural and religious pluralism through a framework of respecting beliefs and differences and encouraging points of contact and dialogue” as an important civic dimension (2005, p. 39).

Although Mme Abbas, History-Geography and EMC teacher in Marseilles, is somewhat sceptical of using the expression EFR (as will be seen in chapter six), she does assess that the subjects she teaches are primely placed to contextualise matters touching upon religion on certain occasions. For her, understanding religiously pertinent matters is an important dimension for developing students’ “critical thinking” for their civic education:

*[W]e are the best placed subject to contextualise matters [...] [W]e are the subject that is anchored in the past and present and we have this capacity to be the subject [...] where the ‘esprit critique’ is central and these are the elements that are useful in questions about religion, the ‘esprit critique’ is central, I think.*⁶¹

Mme Abbas’ assessment connects with the aforementioned EMC 2015 Official Bulletin’s insistence on encouraging students to think critically by themselves and with others to explore civic questions which sometimes touch on religion. For Husser, EMC has the capacity to allow

⁶⁰ Marie Mallet. Interview 15/03/2018.

⁶¹ Louise Abbas. Interview 20/03/2018.

students to be “taught how to debate” about matters pertinent to religions and their “effects on the world and their vision of humanity” (2017, pp. 53-54). In this respect, understanding religion via a contextualised approach can help “prepare students to be good debaters, inviting them to reflect on the issue of pluralism in contemporary societies” (Estivalèzes, 2005, p. 39). Within the different understandings teachers may have about how religion should be incorporated within EMC, since 2015 the subject significantly takes into account religion’s relevance in contemporary France and wider international society. In this sense, via EMC’s intent to promote ‘cohesion’, state-secondary education seems to be moving further towards a more religiously engaging *laïcité* in comparison to pre-1980s guidelines and practices. For M. Reason, retired state-secondary school teacher from Lons-le-Saunier, the ‘*vivre ensemble*’, which I argue is particularly pertinent to EMC, stresses that:

*We have to form good citizens and accept ‘the other’.*⁶²

Engaging with ‘the other’ in state education in contemporary France can no longer elude the importance of religion in French public discourse. Indeed, the question of religion having re-entered the French state-school system features prominently in debates about religion in Republican public spheres (Gaudin, 2016, p. 103). For EMC, this re-entry could manifest itself as a bolstering of engagements with diversity by opening *laïcité* to religious pluralism, strengthening pedagogical practices to ‘manage difference’, engaging with Muslim affirmations of identity, or responding to counter-Muslim rhetoric or Jihadist terrorism.

This subsection has thus far provided a window into religion’s civic relevance within EMC, the reasons for this, and snippets of interviewed educators’ understandings relating to education about religions. The 2015 EMC Official Bulletin shows a level of convergence with FBV in England whereby a discourse of ‘cohesion’ strengthens the importance of ‘managing religious difference’. However, there is an important distinction between RV and *laïque* morality in EMC, and FBV in English RE. When referring to FBV in education, the British Prevent counter-radicalisation

⁶² Jean Reason. Interview 06/12/2017.

policies state more explicitly how religions can contribute to promoting these values. By contrast, French counter-radicalisation measures are more wary of making such explicit connections. The 2016 PART (Gouvernement.fr/Premier Ministre, 2016, p. 42) and 2018 ‘*Prévenir Pour Protéger*’ (CIPDR/Premier Ministre, 2018, pp. 9-10) policies touch upon French education in the following manner:

PART

Sectoral measures

Media and information education

- *Since 2015, the French Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Culture have made media education a priority in their action towards young people [...]*
- *Young people must be able to understand and consciously navigate the media environment in which they evolve and develop their critical faculties in the face of the mass of information and content to which they have access.*

Prévenir Pour Protéger

Defending the values of the republican school system

Measure 1: Develop initiatives to support the principle of laïcité at the national and regional educational levels, tailoring them to meet specific local needs. Improve training in the values of the Republic for teachers and educational staff in general [...]

Streamlining detection in all schools

Measure 3: Ensure that all school principals receive the guidebook compiled by the Ministry of Education to facilitate the detection of radicalisation in all State schools [...]

Bolstering pupils’ defences

Measure 9: Shield pupils from the risks of radicalisation in online spaces, and from conspiracy theories, by systematising media and news literacy training (EMI). At the same time, develop children’s capacities for critical thinking and debate.

I argue that the counter-radicalisation role to “shield pupils”, ensure “media and information education”, and reiterate the importance of the “values of the republican school system” inevitably falls on EMC. Nonetheless, the securitisation dimension added to French education has no outright association with education about religions specifically. PART and ‘*Prévenir Pour Protéger*’ do relate to a wider Western European trend strengthening collaboration between education and securitisation (Michalon-Brodeur et al, 2018, p. 230). In this sense, they embody a discourse of ‘cohesion’ through an underpinning of liberal democratic values (Portier, 2016b). However, compared to English interviewees, French participants considered that connections between counter-radicalisation measures and education about religions more specifically are not prevalent. For example, I discussed with Jamal Ahabab how connections between counter-radicalisation and education differed between England and France. He minimised PART’s effect on education touching on religions, making particular reference to Islam:

Obviously, there is a part which references the importance of education. But actually, the prevention of terrorism is not linked to education, there are no links between the two. However, this is a Franco-French perspective. For me, I think you can be Muslim without being a terrorist [...] [I]t is necessary to dissociate both in the sense that there are other factors that lead down the road to radicalisation and terrorism.⁶³

For Jamal Ahabab, there are no real links between education and counter-terrorism, and his response implies that explicit associations between the two might result in unfounded Muslim stereotyping. PART and ‘*Prévenir Pour Protéger*’ do emphasise the importance of schools by bolstering EMC’s role in “media education”, “support[ing] the principle of *laïcité*” and “critical thinking and debate”. However, associations between FBV and England’s Prevent policies touch on schools and education about religions more explicitly. In my opinion, this caution in France helps the promotion of RV and *laïque* morality in EMC to cause less academic and public controversy than FBV in England. In this respect, I argue, the French PART and ‘*Prévenir Pour*

⁶³ Jamal Ahabab. Interview 02/10/2017.

Protéger' policies benefit from France's *laïque* framework which is somewhat sceptical of a pedagogy which explicitly believes that education about religions serves counter-radicalisation purposes. Such French wariness of relating education about religions to counter-radicalisation chimes with Mme Bernard's experience when attending a PART teacher-training course:

I had a teacher training last year [...] [T]hey told us that, in terms of content, discipline, in terms of pedagogy, in fact, there was not a great deal to do [...] I got the impression they were saying in the training course that placing discussions about religion, inter-religious or any form of dialogue at the forefront was not going to change matters.⁶⁴

Based on Jamal Ahabab and Mme Bernard's perspectives, associations between counter-radicalisation measures and pedagogies touching on religion seem somewhat tenuous. There are scholarly critiques of PART in France. However, these are usually aimed at the potential discrimination that certain students (such as Muslims) may face due to 'screening programmes' (Michalon-Brodeur et al, 2018, p. 235) rather than at PART's effect on a pedagogy touching on religion, RV or the '*morale laïque*'.

In sum, this subsection has explained how the civic relevance of religion within EMC is framed in state-institutional strategies and how this is understood by interviewees. Explicit associations between education touching on religions and counter-radicalisation policies are not particularly evident, even if EMC's creation directly responds to the contentious public visibility of religion, and particularly Islam, in contemporary France (Pithon, 2017). Overall, I would not say that EMC allows a developed appreciation of religion's moral dimension, as Husser would have hoped (2017, pp. 45&50). Understandings about EMC, and how the subject could relate to the contemporary place of religion, varied among interviewed educators. From M. Flambard's experience (page 171), pupils are intrigued to learn about the relevance of religion in global politics which "is very important for students". Mme Mallet on pages 174 and 175 considers that

⁶⁴ Delphine Bernard. Interview 01/12/2017.

EMC can provide students with a political engagement with the *'fait(s) religieux'* that touches directly on the sociology of religion. Although for Mme Abbas (page 175) religion does not form an integral part of EMC, she does believe that a contextualisation of *'le religieux'* is central to developing students' *'esprit critique'*. For M. Reason (page 176), the *'vivre ensemble'*, or in other words 'cohesion', allows students to accept 'the other'. Despite these varied responses, several interviewee contributions in this section touch on the fact that, to different degrees, matters surrounding religion within the framework of *laïcité* are indeed a relevant component for student civic development in 21st century France.

5.2.4 To what extent is the de-privatisation of religion, and Islam particularly, reflected in state-secondary education in France?

The following four dimensions guide my engagement with the first research question explaining the extent to which the de-privatisation of religion is reflected in my data centring on French state-secondary education.

(A) The question of Islam within *laïcité*, the refutation of the 'secularisation thesis' and the de-privatisation of religion

At the start of the chapter (page 156), I referred to Mme Bernard who expressed her belief that religion has increased its public visibility compared to when she was a student. She stated that previously religion "was not as visible either in political debates or discourse, in people's minds or in the media". Her assessment coincides with academics' refutation of the 'secularisation thesis' of Western modernity. In my view, Berger et al's observation that matters touching upon Islam have caused a re-emergence of the question of religion in Western European public spheres is particularly applicable to France (2008, pp. 130-131). Indeed, interviewee contributions in section 5.2.1 on the question of Islam within *laïque* education or wider contemporary society underscore this. Religion's significance vis-à-vis *laïcité* in the 21st century tallies with Casanova's de-privatisation of religion as a normative refutation of the 'secularisation thesis' which purported that modernity would turn religion into an unimportant matter (Casanova, 1994, p. 220).

(B) Islam and the de-privatisation of religion as a pluralisation of the democratic polity

However, apart from the limits or perceived challenges to *laïque* society detailed in section 5.2.1, there are other dimensions that evidence the de-privatisation of religion, including Islam, in France. Public discourse and government strategies have also adapted *laïcité* to acknowledge contemporary diversity. These discourses and strategies both respond, and can further contribute to, the de-privatisation of religion. I refer to this phenomenon as the de-privatisation of religion via a pluralisation of the polity. For Portier, there is evidence that the rigid separatism between ‘Church and State’ in France has, in certain respects, been giving way to a more flexible separation between religion and government (2013, pp. 128-131). The educational impact of state-institutional moves away from a strict separatism was referenced by M. Vaugirard on page 164. He believes that the late 20th century “diversity of our country” contributed to an educational shift. He considers that prior to “the 80s and 90s”, “education had a particular role: to divulge the values of the Republic that are considered to be above all other beliefs” but that “currently, religions are studied through the premise of *laïcité*”. As France has the largest Muslim population in Western Europe, it follows that matters surrounding Islam are an important dimension to understanding state-educational institutions’ responses to this societal pluralisation.

The 21st century promotion of ‘cohesion’ in education does not inherently represent a roll back of state-institutional moves towards a more pluri-religiously aware educational *laïcité* since the 1980s. The 2002 Debray Report adopted a more pronounced discourse of ‘cohesion’ compared to the 1989 Joutard Report and the resultant 1991 *Colloque Besançon*. However, Debray still believed that one reason why the Ministry of Education should consider his recommendations about the EFR was the need for an education about religions which was responsive to France’s “unprecedented diversity” (2002, pp. 3-4). Indeed, for Jamal Ahabab (page 167), the EFR, which was introduced by the government following Debray’s report, translates into a pedagogy to “enlighten students’ understanding of other cultures”. Therefore, rather than a roll back of a more

religiously aware educational *laïcité*, discourses of ‘cohesion’ can contribute further to the recession of militant anti-clerical *laïcité* in education. For example, for M. Vaugirard (page 165), contemporary *laïcité* in education is “the main door that allows religious liberty and equality” in classrooms.

(C) Islam and de-privatisation as a contentious public matter

Discourses of ‘cohesion’ also respond to religion, and particularly Islam, having become a sometimes contentious public issue in 21st century Western Europe (Casanova, 2010, p. 20). This form of 21st century de-privatisation has been catalysed in France by concerns about Jihadist terrorism and the pronounced religious dimension of Middle Eastern conflicts in a globalised world. Other contributing factors are counter-Muslim rhetoric among certain segments of French society, and debates about integration, including religious expression and identities in public spheres.

In section 5.2.1, several interviewees alluded to such a contentious public visibility. For example, M. Beau (page 160) believes there are people “who place religion front stage” for political and exclusionary reasons using a rhetoric of “[w]e, white and Christian” which could be seen as a reactionary discourse to Muslims in France. The creation of EMC, whose founding documents have been analysed in this chapter, directly responds to this contentious visibility. This educational response frames the promotion of tolerance via the framework of *laïcité* as a grand mobilisation to “share with pupils the values of the Republic” (Law No-2013-595 of July 8 2013 guiding and enacting the refoundation of the school of the Republic, 2013). Such a ‘cohesive’ state-institutional discourse is adopted by certain interviewed educators. Again, Mr Flambard (pages 161-162) for example, tries to instil in pupils a *laïcité* founded on a ‘*vivre ensemble*’ which is open and inclusive towards religious differences and which encourages “curiosity more than confrontation”.

(D) The effects of the de-privatisation of religion in state-secondary schools: The potential strengthening of the civic relevance of education about religion

This chapter has revealed indications of the potential increased relevance of an education touching on religions for students' civic development. However, the actual depth of engagement with religion varies among interviewees. This is one reason why I often use the words *potential* and *can* when referring to the civic relevance of education about religions for the French case study. For example, for Mme Mallet (pages 174-175), EMC provides an opportunity to engage with spiritual plurality and explore convictions and practices that occupy an important dimension in people's lives. In contrast, on page 175 Mme Abbas argued that religion is not often evoked either in History or EMC, but that when it is, both subjects are the best placed to contextualise matters pertinent to religion and promote students' '*esprit critique*'. I elaborate on different perspectives among French educators later in this and coming empirical chapters. What is clear is that the question of student civic development since 2013 is, to a considerable degree, directly related to France's complex contemporary religious situation.

5.3 'Converging secularisms': English and French perspectives into state-secondary education

The de-privatisation of religion has resulted in a degree of convergence between France's 'separationist' and England's 'State-Church' models. Portier's 'converging secularisms' questions academia's sometimes dichotomous perception of England and France's secular models. I now compare how my data analysis of state-sponsored, legal and policy documents and, most importantly, educators' understandings and their practices in chapters four and five, converge in relation to the first research question. I detail below two characteristics of this convergence within state-secondary education: one relates to the opening of the democratic polity to religious pluralism and the second to the concept of 'social cohesion'. As stated in the previous section, openness to religious pluralism and discourses of 'cohesion' are not antonymic. Rather, I argue that discourses of 'cohesion' often defend Islam and wider religions as integral components in both democratic polities.

The religious pluralisation of the polity has required England's 'State-Church' model to open to an egalitarian pluralism (Portier, 2013, p. 134). There are varying ways this can imbue RE classrooms. One way this could materialise, as presented on page 136, relates to Mr Williams' view that RE's potency lies in the subject's prime position for breaking down barriers by understanding others' beliefs in multicultural Britain. France's 'separationist' model, on the other hand, has reduced its tendency to exclude religion and turned towards religious recognition (Portier, 2013, p. 134). This trend in education translates into a recession of militant *laïcité* in state education (Borne & Willaime, 2009, p. 61). Moves towards greater recognition of religion were afoot in the late 20th century, partly due to French society's growing diversification, to which Islam made a substantial contribution. As illustrated on page 164, M. Vaugirard alluded to how this trend trickled into educational legislation "during the 80s and 90s" partly "to recognise the diversity of our country". M. Vaugirard's understanding tallies with van den Kerchove's assessment that since the 1980s, educational *laïcité* has been moving away from considering religion as its opposite (2009, p. 64).

Portier's 'converging secularisms' includes a second dimension that has developed in recent years. England and France show convergence in what Portier considers similar public discourses and government strategies promoting 'cohesion' (2016a, p. 89). 21st century 'cohesive' discourses permeate certain interviewee responses. On pages 136, 137 and 139, Ms Jones gave an overall positive assessment of FBV and Prevent with their focus on countering radicalisation, stating that her school has "some very intolerant students" who need to be educated "to be more tolerant". Although not in relation to Prevent, Ms Rose on page 127 followed a similar discourse, arguing that schools need to "challenge unacceptable beliefs such as anti-Semitism and Islamophobia". Both teachers' emphasis on countering or challenging intolerance correlates with CC, Prevent and FBV's focus on promoting 'cohesion' through education. Similarly, some French participants adopted somewhat comparable discourses and educational intents '*à la française*'. On page 169, M. Beau argued that after the 2015 Charlie Hebdo, Bataclan and Stade de France terrorist attacks "[m]any History, EMC and primary teachers took modules" to "bring to life" *laïque* and

“republican values”. M. Vaugirard on page 169 followed a similar train of thought in reference to the 2015 Jihadist attacks which he believes underscore the importance of EMC in teaching students that “the Republic offers them a framework of absolute freedom”. I argue that these interviewee contributions highlight a degree of convergence around discourses of ‘cohesion’, which nonetheless maintain key elements of each country’s contextual specificities. The English participants expressly alluded to promoting tolerance and, in the case of Ms Rose (page 127), challenging discrimination. The French contributions embody a similar ‘cohesive’ discourse to the English participants, but they frame this explicitly through a regulation of religion via *laïcité* and ‘republican values’. Thus, these specificities highlight how England’s ‘implicit’ and France’s ‘explicit’ secular models can imbue educators’ opinions.

Do developments relating to egalitarian pluralism in England, greater religious recognition in France, and 21st century discourses of ‘cohesion’ in both countries mean we are witnessing postsecular developments? On the one hand, there is evidence that Western modernity can no longer perceive religion as a private or unimportant matter. This phenomenon correlates with postsecular theory (Garzón Vallejo, 2014, p. 102). Yet the promotion of ‘cohesion’ in 21st century English and French state-secondary schools embodies more explicit associations between religion and a substantialised secular (even if implicit in England) liberal democratic value system (Portier, 2016b). There has been a reengagement with religion in French education. However, particularly since 2013, this is via a bolstering of *laïque* morality and RV intent on ‘managing difference’ through the ‘*Charte de la laïcité*’ and EMC. Additionally, there are indeed instances of a more religiously aware educational *laïcité*. Nevertheless, the ‘headscarf debate’ and 2004 ban on ‘conspicuous religious symbols’ in state schools, which show the salience of debates about the place of Islam in contemporary *laïcité*, underscore the highly secular nature of classrooms as public spheres. For England, CC and FBV can strengthen the civic relevance of RE in state-secondary schools. However, this is through a politically “instrumentalist” view of the subject (Chater, 2018, p. 73). Due to its very name, the promotion of FBV in particular manifests the reinforcement of the liberal democratic value system to which Portier alludes.

In this respect, rather than postsecular developments, the English and French case studies converge in trying to compose models of coexistence between the universal and the particular to respond to their new religious situations. In their responses, they maintain key elements of their national contextual ways of regulating religion (Portier, 2013, p. 140).

5.4 World Religions pedagogies: An empirical analysis of trends in state-secondary schools in the context of pluralism

This section engages with my empirical approach to my second research question ‘**what are English and French educators’ understandings and approaches regarding education about religions in state-secondary schools?**’ in the context of pluralism for France. Thus, I expound on ways in which engagements with (non)religious diversity are approached in the French case study, particularly when these touch upon Islam. For this, I analyse extracts from interviews and a class observation via my *World Religions* pedagogical categorisation.⁶⁵ This illustrates trends uncovered during my fieldwork and how these relate to socio-political developments, public discourse, legislation and policy. In this manner, I analyse the relationship between macro-political developments and micro-political actors’ understandings and practices regarding education about religion in French state-secondary schools.

5.4.1 Phenomenology

The *phenomenology* of religion in French state-secondary schools usually follows a historical, cultural and often descriptive approach rather than one “enshrining [...] the nature of reality” (Smart, 1968, p. 12). The original inclusion of Islam in themes within History dates back to two educational reforms from 1985 and 1995 which, as discussed previously on pages 163 and 164, relate to the context of France’s new religious pluralism. These reforms resulted in greater weight being given to religion, including Islam, for students’ heritage-based knowledge and understanding of key moments marking the development of contemporary civilisation. M. Vaugirard, when distinguishing between what he believes is ‘religious history’ and the ‘history

⁶⁵ Section 2.6.1 of the conceptual framework chapter provides greater details about *World Religions* pedagogies in the context of pluralism.

of religions’, connects a civilisational study of Islam with 21st century tendencies to promote ‘cohesion’ as part of pupils’ civic development:

[T]he difference is between ‘religious history’ and the ‘history of religions’, because religious history is a direct reference to the beliefs or to the religious practices of believers. We look at empires, political regimes with their religious foundations [...] In Cinquième we look at Islam and Christianity, two worlds in contact. We compare the Carolingian, Byzantine and Arabic-Islamic Empires. We need to focus on the differences and the ties between these three empires and religions. We [...] emphasise that these worlds (Christian and Muslim) do not only confront each other but build cultural ties. This is the prime purpose of this topic in History. In Seconde, we study [...] the Ottoman Empire and Istanbul as a cultural and religious crossroads (between East and West).⁶⁶

M. Vaugirard’s contribution touches on an approach to the *‘fait(s) religieux’* as ‘material visibilities’ (Borne & Willaime, 2009, pp. 43-45). Even within this ‘distanced’ historicised approach, he employs a ‘cohesive’ discourse when referring to historical engagements with Christian and Muslim worlds, emphasising that they built cultural ties, an example being Istanbul as a “cultural and religious crossroads”. This tallies with the Debray Report’s insistence that education about religion could counter the “community dismemberment of civic solidarities” caused by “ignorance of the past and the beliefs of others that leads to clichés and prejudices”. In this respect, Debray connected a heritage-based and intellectual pedagogy with the promotion of students’ “civic education through a tempered reference to our unprecedented diversity” (2002, pp.3-4). M. Vaugirard’s emphasis on positive engagements with religion in medieval and Renaissance history correlates with van den Kerchove’s assessment that since the 1980s, there has been a shift in French education to view religion as a dimension within educational *laïcité* rather than its opposite (2009, p. 64).

⁶⁶ Alban Vaugirard. Interview 30/11/2017.

5.4.2 Ethnography

The civilisational focus on the history of Islam and other religions can also be complemented with *ethnographic* engagements that contribute to students' normative valuation of plurality (Waillet & Roskam, 2013, p. 70), as evidenced by M. Beau and M. Flambard:

Yes, we do it (visiting places of worship). I myself have never visited a mosque but I have visited a church in Dijon and Bourgogne.⁶⁷

Some students thought that entering a church was against their religion but it's necessary to point out that it is a house of God (for everyone irrespective of personal beliefs). They were all surprised by the celebration of Easter worship in Dijon Cathedral. When I was in Mayotte, I visited a mosque with a group of students.⁶⁸

Interestingly, for M. Flambard, these visits can help students adopt a more inclusive understanding of religion that may deconstruct perceptions that entering a mosque or church might go “against their religion”. They also allow students to view for themselves religious buildings, ornaments and practices. Within a civilisational focus, certain History-Geography teachers thus contribute to students' engagement with the ‘*religieux*’. This *ethnographic* pedagogy touches on approaching the ‘*fait(s) religieux*’ as ‘collective manifestations’, ‘material visibilities’ and, potentially, ‘symbolic phenomena’ from which actors draw meaning (Borne & Willaime, 2009, pp. 43-45). Contrary to perceptions that *laïcité* simply excludes religion from education (Maraj et al, 2021, p. 247), M. Beau and M. Flambard's contributions coincide with one of my core arguments in the thesis which is that such perceptions lack nuance. These claims fail to do justice to the educational practices of certain History-Geography and EMC teachers. What is true, however, is that M. Beau and M. Flambard

⁶⁷ Marcel Beau. Interview 06/12/2017.

⁶⁸ François Flambard. Interview 06/12/2017.

were the only two teachers who expressly referenced such *ethnographic* approaches towards the ‘*fait(s) religieux*’.

5.4.3 Hermeneutics

The applicability of a *hermeneutic* pedagogy in French state-secondary schools produces varying responses among interviewed teachers. When I asked Mme Martin in Marseilles if students could contribute to classroom developments by referring to their own religious experiences or beliefs, she answered:

*In EMC we could hear a student say that they are of so and so religion but only in a reflection of laïcité. This means it could not be invasive or dogmatic.*⁶⁹

The government’s insistence that education should avoid any form of proselytization could be an important element conditioning Mme Martin’s answer that references to religion cannot “be invasive or dogmatic”. This matter is reiterated by the ‘*Charte de la laïcité*’ which insists “staff have a strict duty of neutrality: they cannot manifest their political or religious beliefs in the exercise of their duties”. However, the Charter later states that “[i]n order to guarantee students the greatest objectivity to the diversity of world visions, in addition to the range and precision of sources of knowledge, no subject is excluded from scientific and pedagogical questioning” (Observatoire de la laïcité, 2013). In this respect, the Charter demonstrates two potentially different readings of education about religions. For example, when I asked M. Vaugirard whether it was possible for students to reference religious experiences within classes, his opinion concurred more with the latter specification of the ‘*Charte de la laïcité*’:

*In republican schools there cannot be any taboo subjects. We can debate, discuss and criticise everything. In the Republic we can debate about everything. The teacher has to talk and contest rumours. For me, the most important thing is to talk.*⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Joséphine Martin. Interview 01/12/2017.

⁷⁰ Alban Vaugirard. Interview 30/11/2017.

Based on M. Vaugirard's answer, the application and/or depth of *hermeneutic* pedagogies in connection to religion in past or current French or international society is dependent on how teachers interpret the statement that “no subject is excluded from scientific and pedagogical questioning” (Observatoire de la laïcité, 2013).

5.4.4 Positive-pluralism

In theory, one can relate the ‘*Charte de la laïcité*’ insisting on a need to provide students with a “diversity of world visions” to elements of a *positive-pluralist* pedagogy that does not foreclose on differences in worldviews (Observatoire de la laïcité, 2013; Cush, 2004, p. 71; Teece, 2005, p. 37). In this respect, M. Flambard attempts to maintain a normative valuation of plurality among his students that inevitably touches upon the contentious debate surrounding Islam and *laïcité*. He argued that, after the 2015 terrorist attacks, students were more engaged in debates connecting *laïcité*, the attacks and religion:

After the attacks, we spoke about how Charlie Hebdo criticised all religions and not just Islam. Many Muslims considered it an aggression; “they’ve been asking for it, it serves them right”. But for the Bataclan and the Stade de France this opinion was not the same because everyone thought that the attack was against innocent people. Many of our students were very affected by that. When we speak about the ‘vivre ensemble’ and laïcité, they are a lot more sensitive and quite affected. We know that we are going to get a response with these matters. It touches that which has been lived, certain (students) felt attacked and affected.⁷¹

For M. Flambard, the contentious religious situation perceptible in contemporary France has a direct bearing on classroom discussions where he “speak[s] about the ‘*vivre ensemble*’ and *laïcité*”. Additionally, he is not apologetic in his critique of the religious grounding of the Charlie Hebdo attack when stressing that the magazine “criticised all religions and not just Islam”. The value M. Flambard places on the ‘*vivre ensemble*’ for these classroom discussions also relates to

⁷¹ François Flambard. Interview 06/12/2017.

the ‘cohesive’ discourse in the law establishing EMC (pages 168-169). The law insists that “the nation entrusts to schools [...] shar[ing] with pupils the values of the Republic” and that “[t]eaching the ‘*morale laïque*’ [...] contributes to the construction of a better ‘*vivre ensemble*’” (Law No-2013-595 of July 8 2013 guiding and enacting the refoundation of the school of the Republic). The law’s underscoring of “Republic”, “nation” and “*vivre ensemble*” also permeated M. Flambard’s approach to discussing discrimination in EMC:

*[I]n Cinquième we fight against discrimination because we are all citizens.*⁷²

This unifying discourse of citizens also imbued the interviews I had with Mme Mallet, Mme Martin, M. Vaugirard and M. Beau, when discussing how difference is often managed in EMC. This discourse was echoed during an EMC class ‘participant observation’ I conducted at the Lycée Aix-Roux in Marseilles. When discussing the question of *laïcité* in relation to people’s liberty, a *Seconde* male student gave an interesting answer:

*[I]t gives people freedom, but it limits your right to wear a cross for example, it works both ways. It’s good (laïcité) as we are all the same; there are no groups and we are all together but it also takes away people’s liberty. However, even if it limits people, it places boundaries on everyone: everyone has limits to respect (for religious expression). But it is true there are people who are badly perceived because of their religion, I can see that with Muslims for just wearing a hijab for example. But it’s not because of laïcité itself but more how people interpret it.*⁷³

French discourses of ‘cohesion’ often focus on encouraging a unified citizenry where “there are no groups” compared to England’s emphasis on building ties *between* groups. In France, this can reinforce perspectives of *laïcité* giving everyone the ability to live “together” by “plac[ing] boundaries on everyone”. Another such example is M. Vaugirard’s contribution on page 169, where he associated EMC with a reiteration to students that no idea can be above others and that

⁷² François Flambard. Interview 06/12/2017.

⁷³ Lycée Aix-Roux. Participant-Observation 20/03/2018.

no “interpretation about God can be above the Republic”. The concepts of no idea being above others and no subject supposedly being taboo from educational scrutiny both link to *positive-pluralism*’s insistence on beliefs requiring an epistemological humility in classrooms (Cush, 1999, p. 384). On the other hand, although religious beliefs are supposedly all equal, M. Vaugirard’s comment risks placing republicanism on a moral pedestal, which could somewhat curtail a *positive-pluralist* approach. Compared to England, my examination of data relating to *positive-pluralism* in the French case study reveals one major difference. Whereas in English data, engagements with difference are frequently approached through a discourse of different ‘communities’, the French data often involves a discourse of a unifying *laïque* ‘republican’ public sphere.

5.4.5 Final remarks on the normative valuation of plurality

My data shows instances of what van den Kerchove insists is contemporary educational *laïcité* no longer viewing religion as its opposite (2009, p. 64). However, chapter six will demonstrate that the place of religion within educational *laïcité* is far from being a settled matter, even though my data does show examples of a normative valuation of plurality linking more to a ‘*laïcité plurielle*’ rather than a ‘*laïcité d’abstention*’. Additionally, my data reveals no evidence to validate critiques that Debray’s EFR would lead to the instauration of neo-clericalism in schools, as argued by Pena-Ruiz and Kintzler (Estivalèzes, 2007, pp. 95-96). Rather, the ‘*fait(s) religieux*’ in History are approached ‘factually’ among interviewees. Due to space constraints, I could not include more contributions, but most interviewed teachers concur with M. Vaugirard’s distinction (page 187) between the ‘history of religions’ and ‘religious history’. Also, the bolstering of the ‘*vivre ensemble*’ in EMC to respond to France’s complex contemporary religious situation strengthens the framework of *laïcité* as the guarantor of a normative valuation of plurality and, on occasions, the promoter of a unified citizenry. Thus, although there are grounds to speculate that such discourses correlate with a more prescriptive valuation of pluralism, the framework of *laïcité* seems capable of bridging ‘traditional’ and ‘modern’ plurality more easily than the English case study.

5.5 Conclusion

The first part of this chapter concentrated on my first research question ‘**to what extent is the de-privatisation of religion, and Islam particularly, reflected in state-secondary education in England and France?**’ for the French case study. My findings for both countries have key similarities. However, one of the differences is that in France, globalisation processes were evoked less frequently than by English participants as another significant factor contributing to religion’s contemporary socio-political importance. Another country-based difference, resulting from matters surrounding Islam within *laïcité* being very much in the public eye, is that the blurring of public-private divides is felt more profoundly in France’s ‘explicit’ secularism than England’s ‘implicit’ secularism. Despite these differences, both English and French state-sponsored documents, legislation, policies and interviewee perceptions show trends that embody a discourse of ‘cohesion’ which can potentiate the importance of education about religion for state-secondary school students’ civic development.

Specifically relating to my first research question for France, the matter of Islam within *laïcité* links to the de-privatisation of religion as a refutation of the ‘secularisation thesis’. However, I also elaborated on the other two components that guide my theoretical use of the de-privatisation of religion. Firstly, my data shows that de-privatisation, in the sense of religion having become a contentious 21st century issue, is reflected in state-secondary education. This contention is particularly visible in relation to Islam, as evidenced by several interviewee contributions from section 5.2. More positively, both as an educational reaction to this contention and as a pragmatic response to the ethno-religious diversity of France since the late 20th century, my data also reveals that state-secondary education reflects the de-privatisation of Islam, and religion more broadly, as a pluralisation of the democratic polity. This contributes to educational trends that perceive religion as part of *laïcité* rather than its opposite. My data therefore evidences a ‘*laïcité d’engagement*’ vis-à-vis religions.

Section 5.3 of the chapter combined my findings for the first research question in the English and French case studies. For this, I related both cases to Portier’s ‘converging secularisms’ by

extrapolating this concept to my state-secondary education focus. My research is the first comparative bi-national study into the place of, and educational approaches to, religion in England and France. By explicitly comparing both countries, I question, to some degree, representations of French secular exceptionalism (Kuru, 2008, p. 14) or monolithic interpretations of European secularism (Bhargava, 2014, p. 335). Firstly, according to my data, both education systems show convergence in commitments to egalitarian pluralism in England and greater recognition of religion in France. Beyond these commitments, both education systems also evidence confluence in their 21st century discourses promoting religious and wider ‘social cohesion’. This further questions a totalising idea of French exceptionalism or that educational *laïcité* simply excludes religion from state schools.

Despite England and France showing a convergence in their responses to their contemporary religious situations, there are marked national contextual specificities in how religion is approached in state-secondary education in practice. This is particularly manifest in my empirical engagement with the second research question **‘what are English and French educators’ understandings and approaches regarding education about religions in state-secondary schools?’** in the context of pluralism. The de-privatisation of religion in France translates into trends among interviewed History-Geography and EMC teachers which can connect a civilisational study of Islam and other religions with a positive engagement with difference. For EMC, engagement with France’s pluralism through the *‘vivre ensemble’* and RV has been strengthened since 2013 via discourses of ‘cohesion’ and ‘managing difference’. This resembles the promotion of CC and FBV in English education. However, there are two major differences. Firstly, whereas the normative valuation of plurality in English RE often focuses on the six world religions and communities, the French framework of *laïcité* frequently embodies a more pronounced emphasis on the promotion of a unified citizenry. Secondly, although most interviewed educators in France did concur that education touching on religion is possible in both History-Geography and EMC, the emphasis lies more in applying a ‘factual’ and more ‘distanced’

pedagogy which is cautious of entering the realm of 'believing'. In contrast, such distinctions were not present among interviewed English educators.

In accordance with the main narrative of my thesis, rather than a curtailment of academic, individual and communities' liberties, both countries' more marked intents to 'manage (non)religious difference' seek to accommodate their complex religious landscapes. As identified in this chapter, such intents could also help provide a more comprehensive appreciation of the civic importance of education about religions for state-secondary students' development. Chapters four and five have provided an opportunity to engage briefly with this phenomenon in relation to my second research question in the context of pluralism.

Chapter six delves more deeply into education about religions in both countries through the context of deliberative democracy, at a time when the question of 'how can we live together with our differences' increasingly touches upon religion in schools. To do this, analysed data will be categorised using *Critical Pedagogies*.

Chapter six – Education about religions in the context of deliberative democracy: A Critical Pedagogical analysis of documents and interviewee understandings

6.1 Introduction

In the preceding two empirical chapters, I established how the de-privatisation of religion, particularly Islam, manifests itself in state-sponsored, legal and policy documents, as well as in interviewee perceptions. In chapter five, I also argued that both case studies embody a degree of what Portier terms ‘converging secularisms’. Firstly, since the 1980s this is evident in commitments to egalitarian pluralism in England and greater religious recognition in France. Secondly, both case studies converge in their 21st century ‘cohesive designs’. However, through the context of pluralism, I also explained that despite this convergence, approaches to education about religion are still subject to both countries’ religious legacies in regulating religion.

This chapter develops my engagement with the second research question ‘**what are English and French educators’ understandings and approaches regarding education about religions in state-secondary schools?**’ in the context of deliberative democracy for both England and France. This context allows me to examine questions of classroom discussions, engagements with difference, approaches to specific subject content, and ‘shared values’ through my analysis of legal and policy documents, interviewee contributions and a class observation. To situate the documents analysed in this chapter within my complete selection, please refer to table 3.2 on page 83. Tables 3.3 (page 87) and 3.4 (page 89) respectively provide information on English and French participants in this chapter.

The chapter comprises four sections. Section 6.2 reminds the reader of the thesis' understanding of deliberative democracy and the *Critical Pedagogical* categorisation which enables a systematic analysis of my data.⁷⁴

Section 6.3 concentrates on the English case study. My findings are that interviewees value an education about religions which develops students' critical thinking skills. This is applied by studying diverse religious beliefs, moralities and contemporary issues in order to respond to matters of 'othering' and foster positive engagements with difference. Overall, interviewed educators do not use non-deliberative or authoritative approaches to the civic relevance of education about religion and its relation to promoting 'shared values'. However, concerning the thesis' predominant focus on Islam as the religion of study, there are indications that interviewees present the religion in a somewhat sanitised manner, which may be a potential by-product of 'cohesive' intents in RE. Partly in relation to this, there is also evidence that the media is sometimes seen solely as a hindrance to tolerance at the expense of a nuanced understanding of the media's role in democratic societies.

Section 6.4 engages with the French case study. My findings show that, in an education system increasingly intent on promoting the '*vivre ensemble*', inclusions of religion in History and EMC vary in depth depending on individual interviewed teachers' interpretations of educational *laïcité*. These range from brief acknowledgments of religiously pertinent subject content, to a flexible understanding of religion's place and importance within *laïque* schools. Thus, educational *laïcité* should not be seen to purely privatise religion, nor should EMC be inherently seen to create a homogenous secular republican citizenry which is insensitive to, or opposes, religious identities. Nevertheless, based on interviewee contributions, it appears that History-Geography syllabi provide little chronological continuity to the study of Islam. Also, the extension of non-proselytization requirements to include students by the *Observatoire de la laïcité* (succeeded in

⁷⁴ Please refer to section 2.6.2 of the conceptual framework chapter for further details.

July 2021 by the *Comité interministériel de la laïcité*) can inhibit a more developed critical engagement with religion in the framework of *laïcité*.

Section 6.5 concludes the chapter. I provide a synthesis and comparison of the chapter's findings and illustrate specificities within the English and French case studies.

6.2 Setting the context

For the thesis, I refer to 'deliberative democracy' as a pedagogy rooted in democratic education rather than in governmental decision-making (Longo, 2013, p. 2). This educational perspective, which favours not foreclosing on knowledge, values empathy and discussion open to past or current social issues and 'shared values' (Corrie, 2020, pp.234-236; Molnar-Main, 2017; McDevitt, 2018, p. 803). In this sense, it is sceptical of non-deliberative patriotic rituals, idealised depictions of authority or authoritatively promoting value homogeneity in education (McDevitt & Kioussis, 2006, p. 249).

Proponents of *Critical Pedagogy* consider education to be inherently political, question the notion of knowledge being neutral, and value an education sensitive to issues of social justice, democracy and equality (Giroux, 2010; McLaren, 2016). Academic and government publications often insist that education about religions should be critical while providing little explanation on how to meet this criterion (Ofsted, 2014, pp. 1-7; Ministère de l'éducation nationale, 2021, pp. 48-49; Clarke & Woodhead, 2015, p. 48). Moreover, relevant literature sometimes perceives that schools are either falling short in this respect or teaching a sanitised version of religion (Amelin et al/CNCDH, 2015, p. 44; CORAB, 2015). Thus, scholarly and state-institutional emphases on promoting criticality in education about religions contribute to why I use a three-stranded *Critical Pedagogical* categorisation, summarised in table 6.1, to analyse interviewee contributions as well as legal and policy documents.

Table 6.1 – Critical Pedagogical categories for education about religions

Holistic	Studying the numerous realms that affect a phenomenon under study
Dialectical and contemporarily meaningful	Encouraging discussion and an education responsive to present-day societal developments and issues
Cross-fertilisation	Learning from ‘the other’ as a revelatory experience by allowing those with different perspectives to provide convincing representations of their beliefs

6.3 Critical Pedagogical analysis of English interviewees’ perspectives and classroom practices in the context of deliberative democracy

The promotion of ‘cohesion’, tolerance and ‘shared values’ in English education raises questions about how the place of religion in public spheres, particularly state-secondary schools, permeates classroom discussions, engagements with differences, approaches to content, and ‘shared values’.

The nuance I explore in this section is partly characterised by the following quote from the 2018 counter-terrorist Contest strategy (HM Government, 2018, p. 37):

CONTEST: The United Kingdom’s Strategy for Countering Terrorism

Our schools, colleges and universities should be places in which children and young people can understand and discuss sensitive topics. Encouraging free speech and open debate is one of our most powerful tools in promoting critical thinking and preventing terrorist and extremist narratives taking hold.

Contest stresses the importance of schools discussing “sensitive topics”, promoting “free speech” and “critical thinking”. However, as addressed in section 6.3.4, the combination of these educational aims with “preventing [...] extremist narratives taking hold” raises the question of whether an education about religion intent on challenging intolerant narratives can potentially impede the criticality the policy itself intends to promote.

6.3.1 Holistic approach

Critical pedagogues often value a *holistic* teaching (Sleeter & McLaren, 1995, p. 197; Puett, 2005; Rendon, 2009), focusing on a transformational education which promotes students' physical, emotional, aesthetic, moral and spiritual growth (Miller, 1999, pp. 46-47). The interpretation of *holistic* in the thesis is more limited, as I take the term from the Greek concept *holon*: accounting for different aspects composing our world (Lee, 1997; Mahmoudi et al, 2012). I thus understand *holistic* as a teaching approach that engages with different matters or contexts shaping and giving meaning to phenomena or moving beyond curricula requirements (Clark, 1991). For Facione, fostering students' critical thinking skills for their democratic development requires classroom appreciations of different dimensions touching on matters like religion, culture, language and ethnicity relevant to specific phenomena (2015, p. 24).

The educator perspective I present below links to the DCSF's guidance on developing students' critical inquiry and communication skills (2010, p. 35).

Religious education in English schools: Non-statutory guidance (2010)

[D]evelop skills that are useful in a wide range of careers and in adult life generally, especially skills of critical inquiry, creative problem solving, and communication in a variety of media.

Ms Taylor, RE teacher from Yare Academy in Norwich, believed her classes help students' critical thinking and communication skills as follows:

Mainly the thing I would like students to get from it is tolerance and for them to accept that everybody is going to hold different views. Equally I would say that within the same religion. That is important because the way the scripture is interpreted obviously is debated. I think having this acceptance of tolerance, having to communicate ideas in a respectful way and a constructive way are the key skills that we want students to be able to have. Also, equally to be able to understand religion is helping students understand part of their heritage in a historical sense and understanding society around them, giving them the

*language that they need to be able to understand what is happening in the media and not taking a sensationalised reaction to it and instead being able to evaluate and reflect for themselves and hopefully being able to answer what are the right questions before they reach their own conclusions.*⁷⁵

Ms Taylor's main intent is to encourage tolerance and acceptance of difference, which correlates with discourses that favour an "instrumentalist" RE aiming to promote CC and FBV (Chater, 2018, p. 73). Although RE educationalists tend to agree that promoting tolerance is valuable, several, like Conroy and Wright, subtly imply that such an educational aim is one of the catalysts that can devalue RE in England (Conroy et al, 2013; Wright, 2016). It is true that, as of 2016, the percentages of schools in England failing in their duty to provide RE to all students until Year 11 were 23.1% at KS3 and 33.4% at KS4 (CORE, 2018, p. 9). However, based on interview contributions in chapter four, I argue that an "instrumentalist" view of the subject linked to the promotion of tolerance and 'cohesion' helps uphold RE's value in the schools that do provide the subject. For example, Ms Taylor's account shows that she associates RE's insistence on tolerance, in other words attitude formation, with a *holistic* understanding of its contribution, which does not detract from the subject's academic potency. Her view tallies with the Religious Education Council's assessment that RE is ideally placed to allow students to gain a more robust understanding of the world around them and, as stressed in the 2014 DfE guidance on FBV, become "valuable and fully rounded" members of society (REC et al, 2017; DfE/Nash, 2014). Similarly to these assessments that RE plays an essential *holistic* pedagogical role, Ms Taylor said her approach to knowledge about religions and/or scriptures contributes to different dimensions and contexts giving meaning to phenomena. These include student language acquisition, communication skills, understanding their heritage or the capacity to engage in critical thinking and reflection.

Ms Taylor's appreciation of an RE that includes a historical dimension to enable a more *holistic* understanding of religion was also visible during a Year 8 structured class observation I conducted

⁷⁵ Elizabeth Taylor. Interview 10/04/2018.

at The Hawkins Academy.⁷⁶ Mr Williams provided students with a background and images of the holocaust to introduce them to the concept of anti-Semitism. Afterwards, he discussed children's suffering in the recent Syrian war, linked to the universal concept of physical and emotional suffering. By using a historical and contemporary political intersection, the lesson not only showed students how ethnicity and religion may be used for xenophobic ends, but also tapped into a pedagogy promoting student empathy by exploring suffering.

In relation to governmental insistence on the need for a critical approach to RE, Ms Jones understood this requirement as not shying away from controversial topics:

For example, I won't shy away when touching on Christianity about teachings against homosexuality or realising the violence that is in the Old Testament. I think being able to critically reflect on religions and the thematic of it, such as the death penalty, and actually recognising that religion sometimes fully supports the death penalty and that sometimes religion goes against the rights of women.⁷⁷

Ms Jones' focus when reflecting with her students on "the ambivalence of the sacred" (Appleby, 2000) can be considered characteristic of a nuanced *holistic* approach to RE. This reflexive study of religions' impact on society adheres to the concept of schools having to foster students' individual liberty. This includes engaging with religion in a liberal society, like Britain, which is increasingly bound to secular morality and characterised by changing stances on matters such as gender, sexuality and punishment. Inevitably, these can directly contradict certain Abrahamic codes of conduct or communities' beliefs (Kinnvall, 2004, p. 757). I draw two readings from her contribution. Firstly, although I do not claim Ms Jones' contribution can be extrapolated to all RE practices, her approach does not fall within the Woolf Institute's assessment that contemporary RE generally gives a "sanitised interpretation of religion" (CORAB, 2015, p. 34; Smith et al, 2018, p. 3). However, her omission to mention Qur'anic stances on such matters, preferring to focus on Christianity and the Old Testament, may indeed show an instance of a sanitised approach

⁷⁶ The Hawkins Academy. Structured Observation 16/01/2018.

⁷⁷ Lucy Jones. Interview 02/05/2019.

concerning education about Islam specifically. Ms Jones' contribution tallies with the potential challenges that teachers may face when engaging in more critical discussions surrounding Islam. One such example, mentioned in the conceptual framework chapter, is the incident at Batley Grammar School in 2021 concerning Charlie Hebdo's Muhammad cartoons being shown in a class about blasphemy, and the resultant protests.

I do not claim that there is necessarily a widespread avoidance of connecting sensitive issues with education about Islam. For example, the 2019 Pearson Edexcel GCSE 'Religion and Ethics' examination paper concentrating on Islam does connect with Ms Jones' comments on the rights of women. One essay question in the paper asks students to consider arguments for and against the statement: "[w]omen should be treated in the same way as men in a Muslim family" (Pearson Edexcel, 2019, p. 8). Another example is the 2018 Pearson Edexcel RE examination paper on 'Philosophy and Ethics' about Islam, which asks students to write an essay giving arguments for and against the statement: "[a]ttitudes to homosexuality are changing" (Pearson Edexcel, 2018b, p. 8). However, rather differently from these essay topics, the same examination body in the 2018 GCSE RE paper 'Study of Religion', focusing on Christianity, approaches an essay question on gender and religion less impersonally by asking students to provide arguments for and against the statement: "[a]ll Christians should accept women as leaders in the Church" (Pearson Edexcel, 2018a, p. 12). I argue that it is more provocative in its formulation as it makes a totalising statement which personalises all Christians. I allude to this degree of caution seeming particularly marked in relation to Islam. Nonetheless, delving deeper into this hypothesis would require further research specifically comparing education about *different* religions than is possible in my thesis which focuses predominantly on Islam.

6.3.2 Dialectical and contemporarily meaningful

For McLaren, questions in society require a *dialectical* pedagogy exploring social constructions, appreciating different dimensions of phenomena, and acknowledging the importance of discussion about contemporary issues (Sleeter & McLaren, 1995, p. 80; McLaren, 2016, pp. 27-

28). In this respect, I combine the term *contemporarily meaningful* with McLaren's *dialectical* pedagogy.

One of the most prevalent religiously related topics in contemporary liberal democratic societies is Islamist-inspired terrorism in Britain and internationally. Relating to this, several interviewees underscored the need to distinguish between Muslim communities and the instrumentalisation of religion for Jihadist terrorism. One example is Ms Wilkinson who, when she thought apt, included *contemporarily meaningful* discussions about recent terrorist attacks in the post-16 college where she taught prior to her duties at Neneford, a special needs school:

Time at Neneford to look at religious contradictions is limited. However, in the post-16 college I taught in this was possible on topics such as after the terrorist attacks in Germany. We made sure that no negativity was aimed at Muslim students. It is important to challenge this head on. It gave context to non-Muslim students to differentiate between terrorism and normal Muslims.⁷⁸

Ms Wilkinson believed that discussing the issue of terrorism after recent Jihadist attacks ensured that students, both Muslim and non-Muslim, did not see their normative valuation of plurality undermined due to the violence of certain individuals. Although she was not expressly referring to an RE class, she adopted a *dialectical* slant touching on the religious to develop students' understanding of contemporary society.

Specifically for RE, *dialectical* can also relate to a *contemporarily meaningful* appreciation of social and demographic shifts relevant to religion in contemporary England. Charles Clarke, former Education Secretary (2002-2004) and Home Secretary (2004-2006), argued that RE should take into account philosophical understandings of religion in relation to contemporary British pluralism:

Is the form of engagement in 1944 appropriate now (concerning locally rather than nationally agreed syllabi for RE)? Schools have changed and the nature of

⁷⁸ Jane Wilkinson. Interview 18/10/2017.

*religion has changed over that period. Including the wide range of religious communities which are now established in Britain, less people are going to church. Religion is important in our life, for example, for explaining how society evolves. People want to think philosophically about religion.*⁷⁹

Charles Clarke's perspective tallies with Davie's assessment that England's complex contemporary religious situation combines both increased societal secularisation and growing religious plurality (Davie, 2014). I draw two readings from the above interview extract. Firstly, Charles Clarke argues that on a macro-political level, certain educational legislation regarding RE lags behind Britain's contemporary (non)religious landscape. Nonetheless, his comment on "[s]chools hav[ing] changed" could be coupled with the fact that even if some legislation concerning RE might need updating, this does not inherently mean that the subject fails to adapt to contemporary English society in practice. For instance, his belief that people "want to think philosophically about religion" tallies with Ms Taylor's assessment that biblical stories provide valuable insight for her classes by, for example:

*Looking at the Good Samaritan. Most students are familiar with it but then taking the understanding of that text to a high school level (KS4 and KS5) as opposed to just understanding the story in general of being kind to people and treating people kindly. Sometimes we are almost set up to see a certain group of people as an enemy but we shouldn't be afraid to challenge that, promoting good and being able to stand up for what you believe in.*⁸⁰

This *contemporarily meaningful* approach to the 'Good Samaritan' engages students by connecting religiously related lessons to contemporary issues. Through this, Ms Taylor reinforces positive attitudes towards 'the other' by strengthening an appreciation of difference in line with McLaren's *dialectical Critical Pedagogy*. The aims of this strategy are threefold: for students of all backgrounds to relate to class content, to think critically, and to learn how to incorporate topics

⁷⁹ Charles Clarke. Interview 02/07/2017.

⁸⁰ Elizabeth Taylor. Interview 10/04/2018

discussed in such lessons into their daily lives. Ms Taylor's contribution questions the premise that Western European modernity inherently results in a restrictive dichotomy of 'public' Enlightenment thinking and 'private' religious belief (Milbank et al, 1999; Wright, 2016, p. 38). This teacher's approach, and the emphasis in policies such as CC and FBV on building positive attitudes towards the 'other', give considerable relevance to the role that public engagements with religion (in this case in schools) can play in this respect.

More in relation to demographic shifts, and subsequently the question of present-day English plurality, what can often help the fruition of a *contemporarily meaningful* RE is schools' flexibility when choosing an ontological strategy to the subject based on classroom demographics. This was commented on by interviewees. Ms Jones, for example, stated the following when asked about her GCSE approach to RE:

We are mostly a Muslim school; we have a really big Muslim population. Again, I think the ethnic makeup would be a lot of Asian-Pakistani students and 15-20% white Christian, agnostic or atheist students [...] At the moment we are doing Christianity and Islam (as GCSE core religions) [...] [I]t partly helps us get numbers for our GCSE because a lot of our Muslim students take it. It helps us get better grades that way as well. But also just because of the representation of Islam across the UK, I am very keen to continue with that thing for students who do not know much about Islam.⁸¹

In contrast, Mr Henderson who teaches in Norwich, England's least religious city in the 2011 census, remarked that in his school:

There are certainly not many students with religious beliefs in the classes that I teach presently.

This might contribute to why his school combines RE and Citizenship at KS3 level in one subject:

⁸¹ Lucy Jones. Interview 02/05/2019.

*We don't call it Religious Education; we call it Religious Education and Citizenship [...], it's combined. [...] So students come into my classroom and it's not going to be six weeks of one particular religion, religious beliefs and practices and so on. It is very much the whole citizenship package as well.*⁸²

In this manner, Mr Henderson's school adapts to the (non)religious composition of classrooms. Although KS3 students do not have RE as an independent subject at Mr Henderson's school, there is a *contemporarily meaningful* element that connects religiously pertinent questions to "the whole citizenship package".

On another note, all interviewed RE teachers consider their classes can help counterbalance contemporary media representations of religion. This is particularly pertinent to the contemporary scrutiny of Islam in Western European media. Lloyd and West argue that this scrutiny can border on prejudice towards Islam which plays out in media vocabulary, where certain behaviours are designated more readily as 'terrorist', and judged more negatively, when perpetrated by Muslims rather than non-Muslims (2017, p. 220). In response, some interviewees include *dialectical* and *contemporarily meaningful* elements in classes touching on social constructions of media representations of Islam and wider religion. Ms Davies for example, stated the following when we discussed media representations of religion and the instrumentalisation of religion for exclusionary ends:

The news love to promote that idea (associating Islam with extremism and terrorism). When there are issues in America, it is always 'a white school kid', it is never 'a Christian white school kid' or an 'atheist white school kid' or a 'humanist school kid'. They only mention Islam when it's negative. I was talking to the schoolchildren today that when I was a child, Christian terrorism was an issue, the IRA. I couldn't go to London without thinking: Is there going to be a nail bomb? But they (the students) don't understand that. You are now in an era

⁸² Martin Henderson. Interview 09/04/2019.

*where people think it is Islamic terrorism, mine was Christian terrorism. If you are going to link it to a religion, we will link it, but we are just in a different era and I don't want to perpetuate that (associating Islam with terrorism) [...] I can show them that throughout history, there have been religious beliefs and violence but it's nothing special now. They (the students) always think it is the worst time but, of course, it is not the worst time.*⁸³

Ms Davies' gives her classes a *contemporarily meaningful* angle when discussing the media's reporting of terror attacks. Her assertions highlight that media representations of Islam may indeed underscore the religious motivations behind Jihadist terrorism, unlike with other acts of terror, such as lone wolf mass shootings in the US or far-right extremist attacks in Europe in recent years. This approach contains elements of a *dialectical* pedagogy through her emphasis on comparison and deconstruction. Nonetheless, Ms Davies' reference to the IRA solely as "Christian terrorism" (omitting its nationalist pretensions) may unintentionally downplay the religious foundation behind Jihadist terrorist organisations. Jihadist terrorists are Islamists "who believe in Islam as (the sole) political and governing force" (Beck, 2015, pp. 9-11). Although Islamism does not inherently promote Jihadist terrorism, religion is at the heart of such terrorist groups. Thus, although well-intentioned in its aim to counteract certain media outlets' exaggerated association between Muslims and Jihadist terrorism, I believe Ms Davies' approach to comparing the IRA and Jihadist terrorism lacks a certain nuance.

Ms Taylor in Norwich also acknowledged the detrimental effect the media can have on promoting tolerance but through a more nuanced assessment of social media in students' lives:

I certainly think that the young people I work with are very in tune with the need to understand a far more diverse range of opinions, specifically in the last ten years. The access to a broad range of opinions, instantly being able to see comments people may have made on social media, it's very, very quickly

⁸³ Olivia Davies. Interview 08/06/2018.

*evolving. So, the need to be able to make an informed opinion that is hopefully based on knowledge and not prejudice, I think is definitely more relevant to this generation than any other. I'd like to hope that the popularity of the subject intake at GCSE as an option reflects the fact that they (the students) consider it (RE) of relevance and that they enjoy learning about a diverse range of lifestyles, whilst at the same time having the experience of working in a classroom, having respect for others' views, and exploring this world of beliefs or topics like abortion and euthanasia. Being able to then explore those in a lot more depth at GCSE level to understand how it (religious or non-religious belief) would affect a person's personal moral character.*⁸⁴

Concerning the present-day socio-political contention surrounding Islam, some researchers have indicated that adolescents who favour online media sources for their news consumption show more negative attitudes towards Muslims (Ahmed & Matthes, 2016, p. 238). In relation to this, Ms Taylor took into account contemporary social media platforms serving as important sources for the framing of news and information, shaping public opinion and cultural perceptions of religion. She thus incorporates a *dialectical* and *contemporarily meaningful* approach into her classes, allowing students to reach informed opinions free from prejudice in response to evolving new media environments.

6.3.3 Cross-fertilisation

My application of intercultural *cross-fertilisation* to education relies on Scuderi's use of the term for classrooms as places for continuous and constant dialogue which should only attempt to resolve conflict in situations of emergency (2015, p. 170). With its emphasis on bridging different *telois* and diverse expressions of similar concepts (Wolf, 2012, pp. 45-50; Fletcher, 2013, p. 175), *cross-fertilisation* links to learning from 'the other' through class debates, respectful criticism, and/or nurturing students' empathy.

⁸⁴ Elizabeth Taylor. Interview 10/04/2018

Ms Davies encourages students to critique beliefs by comparing and contrasting at least two interpretations of a specific topic. She explained her strategy, adding that critical debate has also been given greater importance in recent GCSE examinations:

I try to get students to critique views [...] I think that they should be able to unpick [...] [W]e focused a lot on Jesus dying on the cross [...] I certainly wouldn't expect them to say in the classroom, "Jesus didn't die on the cross everyone, you are being lied to, it's not true," because that is not the right way of doing it. It's saying, "actually, I am not sure how someone would die and come alive again, I'm not sure how that would happen, maybe he didn't". There is a difference between; "I think that and you are wrong" or "let's just unpick this" [...] [I]t's only part of the argument if you don't look at both sides, otherwise it's just you. So in the new GCSE they have to do more evaluation which they did not have to do before. So they have to look at different sides of the argument critically. If they don't look at them critically, they can't get the top marks [...] Is it logical to say a man was killed and came alive again? Why might some people say that is logical and then what are the arguments against that.⁸⁵

Ms Davies' approach to *cross-fertilisation* includes four dimensions. Firstly, she encourages interest in other convictions as revelatory experiences by considering different perspectives. Secondly, she encourages students not to dismiss aspects of beliefs they may not fully understand as logical. This allows pupils to provide convincing representations of their perspectives by distinguishing between an argumentation stating "you are wrong" and "let's just unpick this". Thirdly, this practice provides a common ground making dialogue and conflict possible through respectful critique and understanding that "it's only part of the argument if you don't look at both sides". Finally, through this respectful critique, students can engage with criticism against their own religious or non-religious basis (Wolf, 2012, pp. 45-50; Scuderi, 2015, p. 170).

⁸⁵ Olivia Davies. Interview 08/06/2018

Cross-fertilisation also links to class debates that touch upon religion's political relevance. Mr Williams, for example, commented that he introduces Year 7 pupils to the complexities between religious rights and secular authority in England's pluralist society as follows:

[T]here is a lesson that they do right at the start of Year 7 where they talk about the call to prayer and they have to act as if they were the town council and should it be allowed, why shouldn't it be allowed, reasons for and against and reach a decision.⁸⁶

Mr Williams' approach to debating religious expressions in the public sphere finds a common ground allowing dialogue and conflict, taking into account differing perspectives about how to bridge and balance deep-seated religious beliefs and 'managing difference'. Beyond Ms Davies and Mr Williams' aforementioned practices, *cross-fertilisation* also relates to student lived immersions into different religions. Again, Ms Davies expressed her view that trips to places of worship or visits to school from pious adults immerse students in religion through the eyes of believers and encourage respect for ideas with which pupils may not agree:

With GCSE we went to the mosque and cathedral in Chelmsford... So yes, we do take them to holy buildings where possible...What I have tried to do also is get people to come in to speak to them (pupils). So, we've had vicars come in and we've had Sikhs come to speak to the Year 8s last year. So, I do try and get people to come in. I say (to the students): listen to their beliefs, you might not agree or see the logical argument, but we listen to their beliefs [...] It is good for them to realise that actually faith and belief doesn't always follow a logical argument.⁸⁷

Many interviewed English educators consider these types of contacts essential for students' development. For Ms Davies, such encounters encourage an empathetic respect towards another's religious convictions and telos, beyond traditional classroom activities, by "listen[ing] to their

⁸⁶ Jonathan Williams. Interview 12/10/2017.

⁸⁷ Olivia Davies. Interview 08/06/2018

beliefs” even if one does “not agree or see the[ir] logical argument”. This perspective tallies with Stern’s view that such lived immersions for students are a fruitful approach to education about religions which allows more interactive and revisionist learning directly from the believer’s viewpoint (2006, p. 102).

6.3.4 Instances for improvement from a Critical Pedagogical perspective

Overall, interviewees use a variety of approaches to enable students to acquire the civic competences needed in a pluralist democracy. These include learning about beliefs integral to different communities, thinking philosophically about religious scriptures and relating RE to contemporary debates about matters like human suffering, religious expressions in public spheres, euthanasia and gender. Interestingly, and as already identified in chapter four, interviewees rarely mention an RE intent on promoting students’ religiosity or spirituality. Ms Chamberlain, a devout Christian, special needs teacher and Head of Year 9 at Neneford School, though not an RE educator, claimed that RE lacks sufficient engagement with the promotion of student spirituality:

*Their spirituality yes, because I don’t think it is encouraged. We started by becoming apologetic about Christianity, then we said it was just a book of stories and my objection comes when we express our own bias [...] Because a lot of people dismiss Christianity, they think they are unbiased, yet they are showing their own bias.*⁸⁸

The emphasis placed by interviewed educators on encouraging positive attitudes towards ‘the other’ does seem to eclipse their references to student spirituality. However, I do not believe interviewed educators teach Christianity and other religions as “a book of stories”. Rather, I argue that interviewees are often responding to British society’s complex combination of being both increasingly secular and increasingly religiously diverse (Davie, 2014, p. 125). This development, together with CC and FBV’s emphasis on intercultural engagements, foster a more *dialectical* and dialogical approach to multicultural RE, such as Jackson’s *interpretive* pedagogy (2012, p.

⁸⁸ Sara Chamberlain. Interview 17/10/2017.

102), above looking at specific religions in isolation from others. Turning to another matter, Ms Chamberlain's second comment that RE teachers should not show "bias", links to two critiques I now discuss based on my research findings.

Firstly, educators occasionally view the media solely as detrimental to tolerance without taking into account the media's role in democratic discussion and free speech. Ms Davies' quote on pages 207 and 208, and Fatima Baqri's contribution on page 127 exemplify this. Five interviewees perceived that media representations of religion should be challenged rather than critically evaluated. It is understandable that teachers wish to counteract negative media representations of Islam and other religions, but this should not be done at the expense of a deliberative democratic education. One example that incorporates a degree of nuance is Ms Taylor's account on pages 208 and 209 that RE enables students "to make an informed opinion that is hopefully based on knowledge and not prejudice" in a time when they have "access to a broad range of opinions" and are exposed to "comments people may have made on social media". In his work on RE and Critical Realism, Wright alludes to liberal democracy's emphasis on tolerance inherently resulting in a differentiation of what is and what is not to be tolerated (2016, p. 38), which can permeate classrooms. In this respect, representations and critical views of religion, and Islam particularly, in the media can sometimes be framed by certain educators only as impediments to tolerance and 'cohesion'.

Overall, throughout the thesis I argue that CC and FBV strengthen RE's importance in students' civic development by preparing them for adulthood through an emphasis on tolerance and 'shared values' in England's pluralist democracy. Nonetheless, concerning the context of deliberative democracy, portraying the media solely as detrimental to tolerance indicates a potential limiting effect of recent policies and public discourse on 'challenging' perceived un-cohesive views. For example, the DfE's advice for promoting FBV and the Prevent duty guidance stress how education can contribute to students' civic development through critical engagement with subject content. However, this runs alongside reiterations on challenging narratives deemed intolerant or un-cohesive, as seen below (DfE, 2014, p. 5; DfE, 2015, p. 5):

Promoting fundamental British values as part of SMSC in schools: Departmental advice for maintained schools

Actively promoting the values means challenging opinions or behaviours in school that are contrary to fundamental British values. Attempts to promote systems that undermine fundamental British values would be completely at odds with schools' duty to provide SMSC.

The Prevent duty Departmental advice for schools and childcare providers

Schools and childcare providers can also build pupils' resilience to radicalisation by promoting fundamental British values and enabling them to challenge extremist views.

I found no indications that the policy requirements for schools to challenge ideas perceived as being contrary to FBV resulted in a non-deliberative patriotism or a framing of Muslims as suspect communities among interviewees (Lockley-Scott, 2019, pp. 365-366). However, there were instances of critical representations of religion in the media being considered purely as detrimental to tolerance, which could close down spaces for classroom discussions in some cases (Champain, 2018).

Secondly, no interviewed participant spontaneously mentioned engaging in critiques about Islam. For example, when teachers referred to Jihadist terrorism, the tendency was to disengage from, rather than engage with, the religious motivations behind these attacks. For Wright, this phenomenon would be linked to his conception of liberal tolerance permeating RE as a characterisation of the subjugation of faith into 'benign' forms of belonging and the private sphere (2016, pp. 91-92&185). I do not believe this is the case, as participants often underlined the relevance of religion for a socio-political understanding of society. Nor does an "instrumentalist" view of RE promoting CC and FBV inherently run the risk of turning the subject into "exchanges of platitudes" (Chater, 2020, p. 64). However, I argue that there is a degree of "safetyism" around Islam which can limit a critical approach to education about this specific religion.

6.4 Critical Pedagogical analysis of French interviewees' perspectives and classroom practices in the context of deliberative democracy

Similarly to England, socio-political developments surrounding Islam are integral to comprehending the de-privatisation of religion in France. In my focus on state-secondary schools, I detailed in chapter five how this de-privatisation is reflected in state-institutional responses and interviewed educators' understandings relating to education about religions. Recent developments bolster an education about religions intent on promoting 'cohesion' which can strengthen its role in students' civic development in contemporary France. In this respect, there is a convergence between England's 'implicit' and France's 'explicit' secular systems. However, how this convergence translates in practice differs in accordance with each country's approach to engaging with religion in public spheres. For example, whereas Britain acknowledges its Christian heritage, France underscores its *laïcité*. These distinctions affect how religiously pertinent topics in English RE or French History-Geography and EMC relate to deliberative democratic pedagogical questions of discussion, different opinions, understanding subject content, and approaches to 'shared values'. I now turn to explaining these matters for France using a *Critical Pedagogical* analysis.

6.4.1 Holistic approach

In the thesis, a *holistic* approach represents an engagement with different dimensions and contexts relevant to subject content (Clark, 1991; Mahmoudi et al, 2012). As seen in chapter five, the '*Charte de la laïcité*' stresses that the *laïque* nature of classes enables students to engage with "the greatest objectivity to the diversity of world visions" and "sources of knowledge", claiming that "no subject is excluded from scientific and pedagogical questioning" (Observatoire de la laïcité, 2013). However, this state-institutional declaration touching on a *holistic* understanding of education about religions is interpreted differently among interviewees.

For Mme Abbas, education about religion in History-Geography can be classed as a ‘distanced’ approach to the religious background of civilisations. She stated that the EFR has little impact on the subject:

The EFR has a very limited role in school programmes, I believe. I am a History-Geography and EMC teacher. In History-Geography, I believe it is only present in collège (Years 7 to 10) programmes in Sixième and Cinquième (Years 7 and 8) where we teach, not the EFR, but the birth of the major monotheistic religions from a historical perspective. After that, there are several themes in History programmes that will make us talk about it (religion). We have medieval Christianity in Seconde (Year 11) but it is really a historical focus.⁸⁹

Based on Mme Abbas’ understanding, religion in History syllabi in its basic form links primarily with civilisational incursions into the ‘collective manifestations’ and ‘material visibilities’ of the ‘fait(s) religieux’ rather than religious ‘symbolism’ and ‘sensibilities’ (Borne & Willaime, 2009, pp. 43-45). As explained in chapter five, the 1980s and 1990s witnessed shifts towards more religiously aware syllabi for History-Geography and French Literature. These evidence a reengagement with religion for different periods in European and other civilisations’ history from Antiquity until the 21st century (Carpentier, 2004). Also, following the 2002 Debray Report, in 2005/2006 the Ministry of Education adopted the ‘*enseignement des faits religieux*’ within the ‘skills based and cultural knowledge’ common platform for Humanities subjects (van den Kerchove & Beudrap, 2009, pp. 152-153). However, I argue that this adoption of the EFR represents a governmental endorsement of more religiously conscious teaching methods for Humanities subjects rather than elaborate curricula requirements. For Mme Abbas, for example, the EFR has little curricular impact. In this respect, the depths of *holistic* incursions into the religious foundation of topics such as “the birth of the major monotheistic religions” in History depend on independent teachers’ motivations to engage with religion.

⁸⁹ Louise Abbas. Interview 20/03/2018.

Even if *holistic* incursions into religion in History are occasional, M. Vaugirard argued these provide an opportunity to allow students to better understand their cultural background:

*If students do not understand their own beliefs, studying Islam allows a better understanding of their own religion or culture [...] [E]ducation allows students to learn further about their religion. I have taught about Islam for ten years and many Muslim students did not even know the five pillars of Islam or many words in Arabic; that was quite shocking for me.*⁹⁰

In this respect, History-Geography for M. Vaugirard helps students appreciate their own religious and cultural heritage. In relation to M. Vaugirard's assessment, according to Freedman, Muslims in France are sometimes presented homogeneously, perceiving them as more devout than other communities in France. However, the reality is that there is a continuum of diverse practices and levels of commitment and religiosity (Freedman, 2004, p. 8). Thus, minor *holistic* engagements with religion in History can broaden students' knowledge about France's contemporary pluralist heritage.

M. Beau also emphasised how the EFR helps build students' cultural background about religion. However, his response correlated more with what Debray's Report considered the "erosion of the old vectors of transmission, such as churches, families, customs and civilities" (2002, p. 4):

*The EFR was created to fight against lack of knowledge about religions which contributes to contradictory information about religion. For example, the Qur'an has no law about the headscarf. The headscarf became a militant act during the 80s. We try to avoid such manipulations.*⁹¹

According to M. Beau, references to religion are important to "try to avoid [...] manipulations" due to "lack of knowledge". His interpretation of the EFR is related, I argue, to French state-institutional discourse and strategies aiming to promote a pluralist, yet above all, unified citizenry

⁹⁰ Alban Vaugirard. Interview 30/11/2017.

⁹¹ Marcel Beau. Interview 06/12/2017.

through educational *laïcité*. This is reflected in the following points of the ‘*Charte de la laïcité*’ (Observatoire de la laïcité, 2013):

Charte de la Laïcité à l’École

- *Laïcité ensures students access to a common and shared culture.*
- *On state school premises, rules guiding coexistence specified in internal regulations are respectful of laïcité. Wearing symbols or clothes by which students ostentatiously manifest their religious belonging is prohibited.*

Based on the above interviewee contributions, references to religion via *holistic* incursions within specific subject content in History-Geography relate to three dimensions. Firstly, they allow students to achieve a richer understanding of historical issues. Secondly, according to M. Vaugirard, these can help students better understand their own cultural background. Finally, based on M. Beau’s contribution, the EFR allows teachers to validate government stances on the management of religions in public spheres, such as the ‘headscarf debate’.

Because M. Vaugirard and M. Beau particularly touched upon education about Islam, what do History-Geography syllabus requirements specify in this respect and how do these relate to a *holistic* pedagogy? On page 187, M. Vaugirard detailed how History-Geography engages with Islam for a *holistic* understanding of the Middle-Ages and early-Renaissance. These topics centre on the Islamic ‘Golden Age’, emphasising the cultural ties between Islam and Christianity, in addition to studying Istanbul as an intercultural powerhouse under the Ottoman Empire. Apart from these topics, students also engage with 20th and 21st century Middle Eastern history. When asked about how this curricular inclusion could connect to an education touching on religion, Mme Didier and M. Vaugirard said the following:

*We have a module on the Middle East in Terminale (Year 13) [...] I dedicate ten minutes to Sunni and Shi’a differences.*⁹²

⁹² Camille Didier. Interview 05/12/2017.

*In Terminale, we look at the Middle East, focusing on Israeli-Palestinian relations, Islamism and the 2001 and 2003 wars in Iraq and Afghanistan as causes of current tensions between the West and Islam.*⁹³

In relation to 20th and 21st century history, teachers can explore the religious dimensions pertinent to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the rise of Political Islam and the Afghanistan and Iraq wars post-9/11. However, the depth of study is dependent on each teacher's approach to these topics. For example, Mme Didier implied there is little time to look at internal differences within Islam, saying that she dedicates only "ten minutes to Sunni and Shi'a differences". In contrast, M. Vaugirard delved into "current tensions between the West and Islam".

A critique of current History syllabi is that education about Islam jumps with little continuity from Islam's 'Golden Age' in the Middle-Ages and early-Renaissance to 20th and 21st century religious conflict. To some degree, the current approach towards Islam in History lacks nuance. This leap from glorified past to conflictual present could incorporate a more developed chronological study of Islamic civilisations. Estivalèzes, Borne and Willaime warn that moving from a positive engagement with medieval and early-Renaissance Islam to then resurface post-1945 with wars, violence and immigration after the Algerian War, paints an incomplete picture of the history of France's second largest religion. This unwittingly feeds into an Islamist reading of politics and history which professes a return to an Islamic 'Golden Age' (Estivalèzes, 2011, p. 56; Borne & Willaime, 2009). Thus, a more nuanced and *holistic* approach to History would benefit from a more chronologically developed engagement with Islamic civilisations that could move beyond its somewhat dichotomous concentration on past and contemporary history about Islam.

6.4.2 Dialectical and contemporarily meaningful

For the *Critical Pedagogue* McLaren, topics in education should benefit from an appreciation of different dimensions relevant to contemporary society, which relates to a *holistic* pedagogy, but connected more explicitly to a discussion-based or *dialectical* approach (Sleeter & McLaren,

⁹³ Alban Vaugirard. Interview 30/11/2017.

1995, p. 80; McLaren, 2016, pp. 27-28). Due to his emphasis on an education in touch with current issues, McLaren's *Critical Pedagogy* also relates to *contemporarily meaningful* teaching.

As evidenced on page 187, M. Vaugirard believes that History-Geography has the capacity to draw from historical content in order to promote positive attitudes towards difference in a *contemporarily meaningful* manner. Indeed, as mentioned previously, the Debray Report, which led to the adoption of the EFR, embodied this discourse proposing a positive engagement with France's contemporary ethno-religious diversity (2002, p. 4).

Beyond History-Geography, EMC also provides teachers with the capacity to include a *dialectical* and *contemporarily meaningful* appreciation of religion in contemporary France. For example, Mme Mallet incorporates debates into her classes whereby students explore and contrast secular law, scriptures and media representations of religion with current events. She illustrated this when asked how she addresses matters pertaining to the '*fait(s) religieux*' in EMC:

My idea is to move from a simple debate as if we were in a restaurant or bar, the empty debate, in other words, into a well-founded debate. I allow students to debate, to bring out all opinions: ideas, representations, false information, beliefs, etc. And the idea is for the group of students who have organised the informed debate, a group of three students, for example, to bring prior acquired knowledge to the rest of the class. So, for example, there is a hypothetical incident in a private swimming pool and a woman was evicted from the pool by the caretaker for wearing a burkini. So, the students start with a question like 'Was it a legitimate case for eviction?' Then students discuss as a group and the organising group bring them the knowledge they acquired in order to organise the debate. This allows students to leave the classroom with a transformed opinion. Maybe some change their ideas, maybe others keep them, but at least

*they acquire more knowledge about a subject. Often organising groups prepare by looking at the Qur'an, on forums, on social media...*⁹⁴

Mme Mallet's input demonstrates that, within the framework of *laïcité*, there is room for students to learn from religious scriptures in French state-secondary schools. In this way, she moves beyond a more factual approach to the '*fait(s) religieux*' understood as 'collective manifestations' and 'material visibility'. By incorporating scriptures such as extracts from the Qur'an into student debates, she is able to engage with the 'symbolic phenomena' from which religious actors draw meaning. Her approach also touches on exploring '*le religieux*' as 'individual and collective religious sensibilities' (Borne & Willaime, 2009, pp. 43-45). Mme Mallet's open attitude towards raising and discussing religious beliefs in her classes shows that a more developed engagement with the different dimensions of the '*fait(s) religieux*' is applicable in EMC within the framework of *laïcité*. Her approach also illustrates why I have a nuanced understanding of educational *laïcité* compared to more totalising assessments which purport that *laïcité* is purely a counter-religious morality that privatises religion (Bauzon, 2017, p. 190). Mme Mallet's contribution is one example of how teachers can give a *dialectical* and *contemporarily meaningful* twist to learning about religiously pertinent matters within the framework of *laïcité* in EMC.

Engaging with the '*fait(s) religieux*' in EMC can also relate to *contemporarily meaningful* responses to present-day controversies associated with the instrumentalisation of *laïcité* for counter-Muslim rhetoric. M. Beau stressed it is important to disassociate 21st century state-institutional *laïcité* from:

*[P]erspectives of the far right. They play on the ambiguity of the concept "the Islamisation of France". Jean Marie Le Pen said France is a country of Christian foundations and so Muslims would become second-class citizens.*⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Marie Mallet. Interview 15/03/2018.

⁹⁵ Marcel Beau. Interview 06/12/2017.

M. Flambard added to this when explaining his view that *laïcité* and religion are symbiotic rather than confrontational:

*There are students that ask themselves “So can we be religious and laïque?” And that is when we succeed.*⁹⁶

In this respect, M. Beau and M. Flambard use a pedagogy which has the potential to *dialectically* bridge *laïcité* and France’s religious contemporary pluralism to counteract the Front National’s exclusionary rhetoric. This helps students understand the nuances between *laïcité* and its contemporary instrumentalisation or misrepresentation in exclusionary ideologies. This is particularly relevant to Islam which, according to Baubérot, is often rhetorically misconstrued in society as the antithesis of *laïcité* (2012).

6.4.3 Cross-fertilisation

My application of *cross-fertilisation* to education follows Scuderi’s interpretation of the term as a continuous and constant process of dialogue in classrooms in which educators should only intervene to resolve conflict in situations of emergency (2015, p. 170). Rather than focusing on interfaith engagements with different religious *teloi* (Wolf, 2012, pp. 45-50), *cross-fertilisation* in French education links more to engaging with different beliefs in connection to RV and *laïcité*, which can allow students to learn and benefit from each other (Neuner, 2012, p. 32). The ‘*Charte de la laïcité*’ concisely summarises this pedagogical focus as follows (Observatoire de la laïcité, 2013):

Charte de la laïcité à l’École

- *Laïcité allows students freedom of speech within the parameters of enabling the efficient functioning of the School, in addition to respecting republican values and diversity in beliefs.*

⁹⁶ François Flambard. Interview 06/12/2017.

In this sense, I believe that the Charter's emphasis on *laïcité* allowing "students freedom of speech" indicates the possibility of including elements of dialogical *cross-fertilisation*, particularly in EMC. However, as becomes evident later in this and the next chapter, the Charter's emphasis on "freedom of speech" and respect for "diversity in beliefs" can clash with the *Observatoire de la laïcité*'s own interpretation of educational 'neutrality' and non-proselytization guidelines for schools.

As reiterated throughout the thesis, the approach to, and depth of engagements with, religion within the framework of *laïcité* in EMC depend on how teachers wish to address religiously relevant topics. For instance, M. Vaugirard and Mme Abbas, both teachers in the same *lycée*, succinctly summarised how each conceives the ontological nature of *laïque* classrooms differently, and how each approaches religiously pertinent content:

*It's necessary to confront the questions, the most difficult ones. For me, it's not an attack on laïcité. It's necessary to defend and guarantee laïcité for everyone and to avoid any type of propaganda or proselytization.*⁹⁷

*In EMC the theme of laïcité is present in almost all class material and it is a central topic of study. But this is not the EFR. We don't have classes about religion or material that explains religions. In reality, it is common that we bring up religion as we realise that understanding religious and denominational specificities are not that clear to students. For example, students do not know the difference between a Catholic and a Protestant. Even the term Islam; they say Islamist and not a Muslim. In these cases, we are going to explain.*⁹⁸

Mme Abbas' contribution, albeit not precisely related to *cross-fertilisation*, explains that she considers references to religious terminology and beliefs are essential to avoid misrepresentations or misconceptions about religion. M. Vaugirard, in contrast, interprets *laïcité* very much from the viewpoint of schools being public spheres which discuss and confront "the most difficult"

⁹⁷ Alban Vaugirard. Interview 30/11/2017.

⁹⁸ Louise Abbas. Interview 20/03/2018.

questions. In theory, M. Vaugirard's approach may more easily provide a common ground to facilitate both dialogue and conflict, thus sowing the seeds of dialogical *cross-fertilisation*, and openness of different perspectives to respectful criticism against their own religious or non-religious bases (Halsall & Roebben, 2006, p. 448).

In relation to a *cross-fertilising* pedagogy, M. Beau raised a matter underscored by French state institutions and certain interviewed teachers: the importance of promoting a unified citizenry in schools. Whereas in England FBV takes a community-based approach, there are indications that discussing difference and 'shared values' in France is often conceived differently. In chapter five I stressed that France's framework of *laïcité* has the capacity to cut across traditional and modern pluralism, compared to England's greater focus on a normative valuation of plurality in ethno-religious terms. However, I argue that the framework of *laïcité*'s emphasis on promoting a unified republican citizenry could pose challenges for open discussions in classrooms in the context of deliberative democracy. For example, M. Beau commented the following when we conversed about how different ethno-religious communities' voices could be incorporated into EMC discussions about *laïcité* and France's contemporary pluralism:

[T]he term *community* is contrary to the *national community* [...] [I]t is very polemical when a historian speaks about communities.⁹⁹

Evidence presented previously in the thesis points to a recession of the anti-clerical *laïcité* prevalent in state schools during most of the 20th century. This correlates with the refutation of the 'secularisation thesis' in contemporary France. However, as stressed in chapter five, I do not believe this is indicative of an emerging postsecular polity. A more pronounced awareness of, and sometimes engagement with, religion in French state-secondary schools often result in a strengthening of French republican *laïque* morality in their intent to 'manage difference' (Gaudin, 2016, pp. 103-104; Busch & Morys, 2016, pp. 48-49). I posit that this underscoring of a unified Republic in public discourse contributes to M. Beau's belief that it can be controversial when "a

⁹⁹ Marcel Beau. Interview 06/12/2017.

historian speaks about communities”. Mme Martin went further, commenting that there is still considerable wariness about religion among certain educators:

Laïcité sometimes protects equality between religions but at the same time it restricts even if it shouldn't, as this is not its aim when we look at the general definition of laïcité. It is not meant to impede but to allow and authorise. I believe there is some form of hypocrisy to think that laïcité preserves neutrality because in the end, Islam is always the religion on which criticism falls. At the same time, the education system has a highly 'laïciste', very secularised body of teachers, who have a mistrust towards all religions.¹⁰⁰

Based on Mme Martin's experience, the persistence of a certain mistrust towards religions, particularly Islam, can sometimes impede a more deliberative democratic *cross-fertilisation*, understood as working with dialogue and criticism on matters touching upon *laïcité*, RV and religious communities. As Mme Martin understands, *laïcité* should “allow and authorise” rather than “impede” equality of beliefs. This links back to M. Beau's comment that it is “polemical when a historian speaks about communities”. Another aspect which I suggest may contribute to Mme Martin's assessment that certain educators restrict more profound engagements with religion relates to the EFR being a diffuse policy which validates engagements with religions in Humanities subjects but without specifying curricula requirements.

6.4.4 Instances that can limit Critical Pedagogical engagements with the '*fait(s) religieux*'

This section discusses factors which can limit *holistic, contemporarily meaningful*, but particularly *dialectical* and *cross-fertilising* engagements with the '*fait(s) religieux*' in Humanities subjects, particularly History-Geography and EMC. For this, I start by detailing three foundational laws concerning the place of religion in public spheres and then contrast these to the *Observatoire de la laïcité*'s extension of non-proselytization requirements to include students,

¹⁰⁰ Josephine Martin. Interview 01/12/2017.

and to its problematic association of *laïcité* with educational ‘neutrality’. Overall, I argue that the *Observatoire*’s stance poses educational challenges from a deliberative democratic perspective.

The laws in question are as follows:

Loi du 9 décembre 1905 concernant la séparation des Églises et de l'État

- *Article 1: The Republic ensures liberty of conscience. It guarantees the free exercise of faiths under the sole restriction of maintaining public order* (Law of December 9 1905 concerning the separation of Churches and State, 2018).

Constitution du 4 octobre 1958

- *Article 1: France is an indivisible, secular and socially democratic Republic. It ensures equality before the law to all its citizens without distinction of origin, race or religion. It respects all beliefs [...] The nation guarantees the equal access of children and adults to education, professional development and culture. The organisation of state education is free and secular and is a duty of the state* (Constitution of October 4 1958, 2018).

Loi n° 83-634 du 13 juillet 1983 portant droits et obligations des fonctionnaires

- *The civil servant carries out his duties with dignity, impartiality, integrity and probity. In the performance of his duties, he is bound by obligation to neutrality. The civil servant performs his duties in accordance with the principle of laïcité. As such, he abstains from demonstrating, in the exercise of his functions, his religious opinions. The civil servant treats all people equally and respects their freedom of conscience and dignity* (Law n° 83-634 of July 13 1983 on the rights and obligations of civil servants, 2018).

From the above laws, *laïcité* in schools is bound, not to the relegation of religious expressions into the private sphere, but to the “free exercise of faiths under the sole restriction of maintaining public order”. Moreover, neutrality is mandatory for civil servants, including teachers in state schools, but is not applicable to pupils. In this sense, engaging with religious beliefs and accepting

respectful criticism of each other's (non)religious perspectives in schools within the framework of *laïcité*, should not be considered contrary to *laïque* education, provided that no viewpoint is favoured above others. My critique concurs with Stokke and Helskog's assessment that a dialogical education helps cement students' civic democratic competences (2014).

However, there are two obstacles that can limit *dialectical* and *cross-fertilising* approaches to the '*fait(s) religieux*' or discussions about *laïcité*. Firstly, according to Mme Martin (page 225), there are some teachers who may still mistrust religions. I believe this can result in an understanding of *laïcité* that restricts engagements with religion by using a discourse of maintaining 'neutrality' which curtails legitimate dialogue. Secondly, this situation is not aided by the *Observatoire de la laïcité* which published in 2013 a document for school communities which extended the obligation of non-proselytization to students and parents, beyond the specifications of relevant legislation (Premier Ministre/Observatoire de la laïcité, 2013).

Rappel à la loi à propos de la laïcité et du fait religieux

Within state school premises, educational and extracurricular activities, students should not be subjected to any form of proselytization by staff, parents of students or other students. Following the principle of laïcité, the Republic guarantees neutral state-funded education.

From a *Critical Pedagogical* perspective, moving beyond the parameters of the law by extending the requirement of non-proselytization to include "parents of students or other students" and equating "the principle of *laïcité*" with "neutral state-funded education" could curtail legitimate deliberation in classrooms. Moreover, the concept of *laïcité* as absolute 'neutrality' is in itself a contested matter among interviewed teachers, as demonstrated by Mme Mallet, Mme Bernard and Mme Martin:

*Just because we are laïque does not mean we are neutral. Laïcité is a political option and that is all. Behind laïcité lie the principles of living together, democracy and respect [...] I do not see how laïcité can be neutral.*¹⁰¹

*Neutrality is meant to be at the heart of laïcité. After that, I believe that engaging so little with religious facts makes it impossible to move towards greater dialogue.*¹⁰²

*There are three definitions (for laïcité). The first is the neutrality of the State, the second is respecting that all religions are equal and the third one is equality of all denominations.*¹⁰³

Interviewees had differing opinions about equating *laïcité* with ‘neutrality’. Is *laïcité* neutral? Is it simply the neutrality of the state? Or is it a liberal democratic option which evolved from France’s religious history, which entails that neutrality has nothing to do with it? State-institutional *laïcité* does, in principle, result in a moral disassociation between a specific religion and the state, which is ensured by civil servants who perform their duties with neutrality and impartiality. French legislation regulating ‘neutrality’ in education and the illegality of proselytizing pedagogies bind only school staff as civil servants. Yet, the *Observatoire de la laïcité* overstepped legal boundaries by also binding students to non-proselytization, thus requiring religious and ideological ‘neutrality’ beyond legal specifications, and synonymising *laïcité* with “neutral state-funded education”, which is itself contestable. In this way, the *Observatoire de la laïcité*’s approach to ‘managing difference’ could limit the legitimate application of *dialectical* and *cross-fertilising* pedagogies for the ‘*fait(s) religieux*’.

It is problematic to equate *laïcité* itself with ‘neutrality’ as, in line with Mme Mallet’s argument, *laïcité* is bound to a national liberal democratic value system. Extending the equation of *laïcité* with ‘neutrality’ can contribute to secularism becoming an ideology, id est, an end in itself rather

¹⁰¹ Marie Mallet. Interview 15/03/2018.

¹⁰² Delphine Bernard. Interview 01/12/2017

¹⁰³ Josephine Martin. Interview 01/12/2017.

than a means to an end to ensure the equality of religions (Casanova, 2009, pp. 1058&1062). I believe that an understanding of *laïcité* which binds civil servants, including teachers, to neutrality while acknowledging that *laïcité* itself is not an absolute ‘neutrality’, could increase the depth of religiously based matters within subject content. This would allow a more deliberative democratic incorporation of opinions, socio-political stances, moralities and philosophical understandings of religion into History-Geography, EMC and wider Humanities subjects. In turn, this would help teachers engage more with religious beliefs, codes of conduct and scriptures for a more *holistic, dialectical, contemporarily meaningful* and *cross-fertilising* appreciation of ‘*le religieux*’. In this manner, it would be possible to engage more profoundly with the ‘*fait(s) religieux*’ not only as ‘material visibilities’ and ‘collective manifestations’ but also as ‘symbolic phenomena’ and ‘individual and collective experiences and sensibilities’ (Borne & Willaime, 2009, pp. 43-45). One instance when this could have been applied was during the aftershock of the Charlie Hebdo attacks. Academics have reported several cases of French schools which forced students to take up the phrase “*Je suis Charlie*”, without giving them the opportunity to question their backing of the movement from their own religious perspectives (Fassin, 2015; Wesselhoeft, 2017, p. 635-636). An open interpretation of the framework of *laïcité* could have permitted a more critical approach to school discussions and initiatives in relation to the attacks. Such an approach would have potentially allowed greater deliberation, whereby religious students could have condemned the attacks, but also been able to debate and question the slogan “*Je suis Charlie*”.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter has engaged with ways in which education about religion relates to the context of deliberative democracy regarding matters such as openness, discussion and ‘shared values’ in both case studies. I also tied my assessment to how my data links to country-based specificities relating to the place and regulation of religion in the public sphere. Below I provide a synthesis of my findings expounded in this chapter for my second research question ‘**what are English and French educators’ understandings and approaches regarding education about religions in state-secondary schools?**’ in the context of deliberative democracy.

In England, interviewees valued an RE that develops students' critical thinking skills when discussing diverse beliefs, moralities and contemporary issues in order to respond to matters of 'othering' and foster positive engagements with difference. In this sense, there is evidence of different interviewed educators:

- Not shying away when certain religious stances contrast with contemporary conceptions of race, gender, sexuality and punishment.
- Encouraging philosophical appraisals of scriptures.
- Adapting approaches to RE based on classroom demographics and contemporary issues to make the subject more meaningful to students.
- Exploring debates about religions in public spheres or stances on issues like euthanasia.
- Developing students' aptitudes for respectful critique and empathetic engagement with other communities' beliefs.

Thus, in the context of deliberative democracy, there was no indication that CC and FBV or Prevent and Contest strategies result in interviewees promoting value homogeneity among students beyond encouraging mutual tolerance. Also, among interviewees there was no evidence that the policies translate into a non-deliberative patriotism or restrictive cultural adherence which regard Islam as a suspect community.

In France, the question of how education about religions in History-Geography and EMC responds either to students' cultural and heritage-based knowledge or civic development was interpreted by different interviewees in varying depths. These ranged from brief acknowledgments of religiously pertinent subject content to flexible understandings of education about religion's place within *laïque* education. Among interviewees, religion was evoked in relation to:

- Providing awareness of religion's importance in students' heritage-based and cultural understanding of past and current society.
- Encouraging students to bridge religious and *laïque* belonging.

- Clarifying religious terminology and specificities, although briefly, considering this important to avoid misrepresentation or misunderstanding.
- Enabling critical discussions and debates pertinent to *laïcité*'s relationship with religiously grounded perspectives or with the management of religious expressions in contemporary France.

Therefore, in my opinion, to perceive that *laïque* schools simply privatise or exclude religion lacks sufficient nuance. Additionally, compared to academic critiques, I believe it is an oversimplification to claim that EMC's creation, and the subsequent bolstering of RV, are reminiscent of the III Republic. The same goes for arguing or implying that the subject promotes a *laïque* morality which views Islam or wider religion as its opposite, or forges a homogenous secular citizenry (Wesselhoeft, 2017, p. 638; Bozec, 2020, p. 64; Lizotte, 2020, p. 3).

In terms of legislation, policy documents and teaching practices, I identified two major differences relating to how education about religion was approached in each case study. Firstly, English interviewees engaged with religious 'sensibilities' and promoting students' empathetic development more substantially. In contrast, French participants generally concentrated less on such 'sensibilities' and more on '*le religieux*' as a historical and sociological 'material visibility' and 'collective manifestation'. Secondly, questions of tolerance and 'managing difference' in relation to religion permeate data from both countries. However, the main difference between England and France, which highlights the former's 'implicit' and the latter's 'explicit' secular models, is the tendency in the French case study to direct such educational intents towards the framework of *laïcité*. Nevertheless, the actual depth of engagement with religion through this framework varied substantially, as did the perceived meaning of *laïcité* itself, among different interviewees and analysed documents.

In sum, as I argue throughout the thesis, 21st century educational tendencies intent on 'managing (non)religious difference' are attempts to accommodate each country's complex religious situation. However, this chapter has also provided a critique of how this convergence between England and France relates to education about religions in both case studies. Discourses of

‘cohesion’ have the capacity to further students’ democratic education by fostering engagements with pluralism and promoting better mutual understanding and ‘shared values’ in both increasingly secular and religiously diverse societies. Nevertheless, I identified a tendency among English interviewees to make no explicit mention of Islam when elaborating on what they understood as a critical approach to RE, or on how they incorporated critiques of beliefs and practices within the subject. Also in England, when certain interviewed teachers discussed Jihadist terrorism, they tended to disengage from, rather than engage with, the religious motivations behind such acts. Additionally, there was evidence that the media was at times viewed solely as a hindrance to tolerance and ‘cohesion’ due to its portrayals of religion and Islam particularly. This was at the expense of a more nuanced assessment which would not only critique negative representations of religion in the media, but also acknowledge its important role in democratic discussion, free speech and holding people to account for their actions. For France, I identified three aspects that could inhibit a more critical and thus deliberative democratic engagement with the *‘fait(s) religieux’*. Firstly, Islam, France’s second largest religion, is approached with little chronological continuity in History-Geography syllabi. Secondly, the strategy towards the *‘fait(s) religieux’* among most interviewees seemed to focus on religion as a ‘collective manifestation’ and ‘material visibility’ and less on religious ‘symbolic phenomena’ and ‘sensibilities’. Thirdly, the *Observatoire de la laïcité*’s extension of non-proselytization requirements to encompass students could inhibit legitimate *dialectical* and *cross-fertilising* engagements with religion and *laïcité*.

Chapter seven builds on this chapter’s focus on the context of deliberative democracy by analysing textbook and syllabus material mainly in connection to interviewee contributions included throughout the thesis. Thus, chapter seven continues the bi-national comparisons and completes the thesis’ ‘methodological triangulation’.

Chapter seven – Education about religions in the context of deliberative democracy: A Critical Pedagogical analysis of textbooks and syllabi

7.1 Introduction

This chapter has two purposes. Firstly, I analyse textbook and syllabi content to triangulate with matters evoked by interviewees in chapters four to six, as well as with state-sponsored and state-institutional documents. As such, my findings for textbooks and syllabi do not aim to present an exhaustive generalised picture of these types of teaching resources. Rather, I provide a small window into the type of material that may imbue state-secondary school classrooms. Secondly, I further address the second research question ‘**what are English and French educators’ understandings and approaches regarding education about religions in state-secondary schools?**’ in the context of deliberative democracy through my three-stranded *Critical Pedagogical* categorisation¹⁰⁴. In this sense, I treat textbook authors and syllabi designers as educators. My focus leans towards education about Islam, but also refers to topics touching upon wider religion in English RE and French History, EMC and, to a lesser degree, Philosophy. To enable coherent cross-case comparisons, I concentrate mainly on ‘education about religions’ rather than ‘religious education’, as the latter is not applicable in French *laïque* schools.

During my observations of English RE and French History-Geography and EMC classes, I witnessed a variety of teaching methods. These ranged from textbooks, teacher handouts based on their own resources, audio-visual material, visits to places of worship, student presentations and class debates. I acquired several textbooks directly from two interviewed teachers. Mr Williams provided me with the two GCSE RE textbooks by Parry et al and Burridge et al. For France, M. Vaugirard gave me History textbooks he uses for *Seconde*, *Première* and *Terminale*. To provide a wider analysis, I also include textbooks or syllabi for other school years (Years 7 to 13

¹⁰⁴ Please refer to section 2.6.2 of the conceptual framework chapter for further details.

and *Sixième to Terminale*), which I either bought, borrowed from libraries or accessed online. Tables 3.6 and 3.7 (pages 93 and 94) list the textbooks and syllabi sourced for the English and French case studies respectively.

The chapter comprises three sections plus the conclusion. Sections 7.2 and 7.3 are devoted to the English and French case studies respectively. I use extracts of textbook material to illustrate my findings. As space constraints allow me to include an in-depth analysis of only a few selected excerpts, the extracts are purposively selected. This method enables meaningful comparisons of often similar themes discussed in the English and French sections of the chapter, as well as connections to the understandings and teaching practices evoked by interviewees in previous empirical chapters.

According to my findings for England, examined content takes significant care to provide a *holistic* appreciation of potentially misinterpreted Islamic terms and of diversity within the religion. Content touching on a *dialectical* and *contemporarily meaningful* pedagogy avoids a prescriptive educational methodology. However, there are instances in textbooks where critical views of religion are omitted when topics touch upon issues deemed contentious in British society, such as Shari'ah in Britain and internationally. Such omissions can limit a *cross-fertilising* pedagogy.

For France, my findings show that the de-privatisation of religion results in textbooks often embodying a more religiously sensitive educational *laïcité* compared to its counter-religious past. However, textbooks indicate an ambivalent *holistic* pedagogy. On the one hand, History textbooks value the religious dimension behind, and intercultural contacts between, civilisations during the Middle-Ages and early-Renaissance. On the other hand, this appreciation of religion wanes as History topics progress towards the modern era. Also, a *dialectical* pedagogy, which is particularly pertinent to EMC, is limited by a somewhat non-deliberative insistence that *laïcité* solely guarantees religious freedom. Additionally, analysed material still embodies a clear distinction between '*croire et savoir*' (belief and knowledge), which limits *cross-fertilising* engagements even within the confines of the framework of *laïcité*.

Section 7.4 compares material from both countries and illustrates specificities within the English and French case studies. I argue that French textbooks show an ambivalent *Critical Pedagogical* engagement with religion in the context of deliberative democracy, which contrasts with English textbooks' predominantly thorough *Critical Pedagogical* engagement. This is even within a focus on 'education about religion' rather than 'religious education'.

7.2 Education about religions in English RE textbooks and syllabi in the context of deliberative democracy

This section concentrating on England is split into four main sets of findings. Firstly, I make an assessment of 'implicit' secularism which contextualises my analysis of English RE content. I then go on to analyse the application of each of the three *Critical Pedagogical* categories.

7.2.1 'Implicit' secularism and sourced content: An initial assessment

(A) Main findings: Religion, politics and an unprecedented diversity

- Analysed textbooks and syllabi pay attention to combining an education about religions with socio-political debates in Britain and a globalised world. My assessment thus contrasts with scholarly views that English RE promotes an a-historical, deeply personal and/or non-political study of religion.
- However, analysed KS3 and KS4 textbooks are mostly devoid of non-religious philosophies or ideologies like humanism, even though religion is frequently linked to socio-political issues since the late 20th century. In this respect, analysed material evidences a mixed engagement with Britain's present-day unprecedented diversity.

(B) Illustration

As a starting point I would stress that, despite the degree of 'secular convergence' which manifests itself in my case studies, engaging with the socio-political significance of religion in English state-secondary education is more flexible than in French *laïque* education. Nonetheless, section 7.4 argues that there is room for a more developed application of *Critical Pedagogy* within the framework of French *laïcité*.

The English model is characterised by granting a specific status to the Church of England as the State Religion. However, legislation guarantees the free exercise of conscience and religion, and cooperates with religious communities to remove obstacles that limit that freedom, independently of the majority or minority who benefit from those measures. In this respect, the state “implements the essential requirements that make it possible to describe it as a secular model” (Celador, 2017, p. 191). The 1988 Education Reform Act and the 2010 Equality Act illustrate England’s ‘implicit’ secularism and how this legacy can shape education about religions in state-secondary schools. My inclusion of these two documents also links to section 7.3.1 where I discuss *laïcité* as a founding principle of France’s ‘explicit’ secular republic, with a focus on education.

1988 Education Reform Act – Chapter 40

Article 8.3: Any agreed syllabus which after this section comes into force is adopted [...] shall reflect the fact that the religious traditions in Great Britain are in the main Christian whilst taking account of the teaching and practices of the other principal religions represented in Great Britain (Education Reform Act, 1988, p. 6).

2010 Equality Act – Chapter 15

Article 4: Protected characteristics

The following characteristics are protected characteristics—

age; disability; gender reassignment; marriage and civil partnership; pregnancy and maternity; race; religion or belief; sex; sexual orientation. [...]

Article 10: Religion or belief

(1) Religion means any religion and a reference to religion includes a reference to a lack of religion.

(2) Belief means any religious or philosophical belief and a reference to belief includes a reference to a lack of belief.

(3) In relation to the protected characteristic of religion or belief— (a) a reference to a person who has a particular protected characteristic is a reference to a person of a particular religion

or belief; (b) a reference to persons who share a protected characteristic is a reference to persons who are of the same religion or belief (Equality Act 2010, pp. 4-6).

The 1988 Act explicitly states that traditions in Great Britain are “in the main Christian”. Despite this public acknowledgment of Britain’s Christian religious tradition, certain scholars, such as Barnes, argue that religion in England has become privatised and that RE contributes to this phenomenon. He states that “religion is removed from the realm of public knowledge”, meaning “religious knowledge” has become “deeply personal, a-historical and non-political” (Barnes, 2006, p. 399). Thobani follows a similar line of thought, arguing that RE privatises religion by excluding it “from the public domain” (2017, p. 617). Additionally, Shaw claims that RE promotes a “public/private binary that sees true religion as being about beliefs, a private affair, free from the messy, secular world of politics” (2018, p. 11). My thesis makes a different appraisal of RE. Contrary to these scholarly perspectives, in chapters four and six I stated that, in fact, RE seems to be gaining more relevance in students’ civic development. I argued this is due to RE’s capacity to foster equality between people with different religions or beliefs by building positive attitudes towards ‘the other’. Furthermore, the textbooks analysed in this chapter reinforce what I, and interviewees, see as RE responding to a de-privatisation rather than privatisation of religion in English and wider international society. Table 7.1 summarises the extent to which textbooks and syllabi connect education about religions to past or current politics, culture and society.

Table 7.1 – Content inclusion of religion in connection to past or current politics, culture and society in English RE textbooks and syllabi

English RE textbooks		
Textbook / syllabus	Class / Age group	Topics of study
Brewer et al, 2005a	Year 7 (KS3)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Human rights in the world’s six major faiths.
Brewer et al, 2005b	Year 8 (KS3)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Religious causes and responses to prejudice. Religious interpretations and responses to poverty, war, pacifism and the environment.
Brewer et al, 2005c	Year 9 (KS3)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Religion and scientific ethics. Interfaith encounters: Islamophobia, Irish Troubles, Apartheid. Exploring answers to the current debate about the hijab as oppressive or a source of Muslim personal identity.
Burridge et al, 2009	Years 10 & 11 (GCSE)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Religion and conflict, including different religious interpretations of peace, suffering, forgiveness, reconciliation, war and non-violent protest. Religion and medicine including the sanctity of life and medical ethics on questions such as abortion and euthanasia. Religious expression in a variety of ways, such as what is worn and sharing faith with others. Religion and questions of human rights, punishment and sacred texts vis-à-vis state (governmental) law.
Parry et al, 2016	Years 10 & 11 (GCSE)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Christianity and local community support, responses to poverty and charity. Reconciliation in 20th century political events from a Christian perspective. Sunni and Shi’a specificities to understand their political relevance today. Discussing suffering in the world from an Islamic perspective. The Qur’an, its authority and the basis for Shari’ah. Greater and Lesser Jihad in the contemporary world. Religious responses to peace and conflict. Crime and punishment from contrasting religious perspectives. Human rights among renowned religious figures or leaders. Exploring religious social justice.
OCR, 2016 ¹⁰⁵	Years 12 & 13 (Sixth Form)	<p>Islamic focus:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Islamic contribution to science. Science and Philosophy Gender Equality. Islamic law and cultural norms. Justice in Islamic law and ethics. Contemporary approaches to social liberation in Islam. Religion and the state in pre-modern Islam. Secularisation and the state in modern Islam. Life as a religious minority. Islam and European integration.
Frye et al, 2017	Year 13 (Sixth Form)	<p>Christian focus:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Meta-ethics. Free will and moral responsibility. Bentham and Kant. Christianity, gender and sexuality. Christianity and science. Christianity and the challenge of Secularisation. Migration and religious pluralism. Dialogue between Christianity, philosophy and ethics.

¹⁰⁵ Oxford, Cambridge and RSA AS/A-level syllabus specification, support and guidance for teachers delivering class material relating to developments in Islamic thought.

The topics illustrated in the table question Barnes' interpretation that RE contributes to a "deeply personal, a-historical and non-political" understanding of religion (Barnes, 2006, p. 399). The table also shows why I give a different appraisal of contemporary RE compared to Thobani and Shaw's assertions that RE promotes a study of religion as "a private affair", removed from the public domain (Thobani, 2017, p. 617; Shaw, 2018, p. 11). The table provides little indication that religions are studied in isolation from their social significance or relegated to the private sphere. Rather, textbooks intertwine religion and socio-political phenomena in numerous cases. These include, among others, scientific ethics, Shari'ah in Britain, questions of public religious expressions, causes and responses to prejudice and war, human rights and the environment.

However, turning to another matter, Clarke and Woodhead argue that non-religious philosophies are not usually studied in depth at KS3 and KS4 levels. This is an important matter given that in 2019, an estimated one third of Britons (32.8 %) did not identify as religious (Office for National Statistics, 2019). Clarke and Woodhead emphasise that humanism and secular philosophical views of life and the world should be given more consideration in the subject. They partly attribute this situation to SACREs not being required to include humanists or secular organisations as permanent members on their committees (Clarke & Woodhead, 2015, pp. 29-36). This characteristic of SACREs makes one ponder whether the 1988 Education Reform Act's requirement for RE to reflect that religious traditions in Great Britain are mainly Christian, but also to take into account other principal religions until KS4, should be updated to include non-religion. As seen, Article 10 of the 2010 Equality Act specifies that the protected characteristics of religion and belief also refer "to a lack of religion". Analysed KS3 and KS4 textbooks evidence an almost total absence of non-religious philosophies or ideologies like humanism even though religion is frequently evoked in relation to socio-political issues of the late 20th and early 21st centuries. In the few instances where non-religious philosophies or ideologies do appear in textbooks, they are not usually explained in detail. In chapter four I argued that, overall, English interviewees lean towards a 'traditional' normative valuation of plurality rather than a 'modern plurality' which, apart from religions, also systematically explores contemporary non-religious

worldviews (Waillet & Roskam, 2013, p. 70). Chater alludes to this in his proposal to reforge the subject into ‘Religion and Worldviews’ (2020). Analysed KS3 and KS4 textbooks correlate with my previous finding that although English RE attempts to reflect the religious demographics of pupils in its multicultural focus and GCSE two-core religions approach, there is room for more systematic engagements with non-religious or secular views before Sixth Form. This would make it possible to further develop textbooks’ *holistic, dialectical, contemporarily meaningful* and *cross-fertilising* engagement with religion in Britain. I now turn to a *Critical Pedagogical* analysis of English RE textbooks.

7.2.2 Holistic approach

This sub-section examines whether, and in what manner, sourced content applies a *holistic* pedagogy to study the numerous facets within phenomena.

(A) Main findings: Exploring nuance and diversity within religion

Within my predominant focus on Islam, analysed textbook material indicates on the whole:

- Attention to nuance and ambivalence to clarify and deconstruct misunderstandings.
- A systematic engagement with diversity within the religion to avoid monolithic representations.

(B) Illustration

To illustrate how textbooks pay attention to nuance and ambivalence to deconstruct misunderstandings, I analyse below an extract defining Jihad from Parry et al’s GCSE textbook. The extract correlates with Ms Taylor’s assessment on pages 200 and 201 where she stated that knowledge about religion contributes to students “understanding society around them”, “giving them the language that they need to be able to understand what is happening in the media” and “not taking a sensationalised reaction”. It also coincides with Mr Williams’ comment on page 136 that RE’s potency lies in the subject’s capacity to help students understand where people “are coming from”. In his words, “if you understand something, barriers can be broken down [...] I think it breaks down misconceptions”.

Jihad

This is one of the Obligatory Acts of Shi'a Islam. It is important to all Muslims, especially in its sense as trying to follow Allah's teachings in the world. Actually every religious person might say they have a similar duty in their own faith; to keep to their laws and beliefs in the best way possible. [...]

The word Jihad means to struggle or to strive. It comes from the word "juhd" which means to "make an effort". Muslims today use Jihad in two contexts. First, Jihad is a Muslim's internal struggle to serve Allah as best they can. It is the spiritual struggle a person needs to make to conquer their own selfishness, lust or greed to stay on the right path. Secondly, Jihad can mean to struggle to defend Islam. The first idea is commonly known as Greater Jihad, the second, the Lesser Jihad. [...]

- **The Basics**

1. Explain the difference between Greater and Lesser Jihad.
2. Discuss in groups why in the modern world these terms are often confused or misunderstood. [...]
3. **It is never right to fight a holy war.** Do you agree with this statement? Explain your arguments.

(Parry et al, 2016, pp. 137-138 – Appendix 6)

Parry et al's distinction of different scholarly and social lay interpretations of the word Jihad and its centrality to Muslims' day-to-day lives (Greater Jihad) is *holistic* in its approach (please refer to Appendix 6 for longer extract). This said, certain academics argue that the designation of Lesser Jihad as "Holy War" is incorrect, as this concept was first coined by Christian Crusaders and the meaning is erroneously extrapolated to redressing injustice against Muslim communities (Waines, 2018). However, even with this questionable terminology, the above extract provides a nuanced definition and engagement with Jihad. The nuances of the term in the English textbook and inviting students to "discuss in groups why in the modern world these terms are often confused or misunderstood" provide a deliberative democratic and *holistic* educational appreciation. This is particularly pertinent nowadays bearing in mind the attention the term receives in British and wider society. This attention focuses heavily on Al-Qaeda and ISIS's interpretation of Jihad, which draws from the Egyptian Salafist ideologue Sayyid Qutb's approach to the term (1906-1966). Sayyid Qutb framed Jihad as a liberation of Islamic lands from other cultures, particularly the West, and as an obligation for Muslims to engage in uncompromising military combat against the supposed enemies of Islam (Bozorgmehri, 2018, p. 3). Similarly to Parry et al, the REsilience

programme's material on Jihad places this bellicose and counter-Western interpretation within a broader look at the term's different and nuanced meanings, premised on a pedagogical aim to counterbalance negative stereotyping of Muslims in British society (REC, 2010b, p. 7).

The chapter now illustrates my second finding relevant to a *holistic* pedagogy: my assessment that English textbooks and syllabi evidence a systematic engagement with diversity within Islam to avoid monolithic representations. This finding also correlates with Ms Taylor and Mr Williams' statements concerning the importance of understanding religion to comprehend the modern world. I illustrate this finding via the following extract explaining Sunni and Shi'a differences from Parry et al's GCSE textbook (please see Appendix 7 for fuller extract).

Diversity of beliefs within the religion [...]

- **The Six Articles of Faith in Sunni Islam**

1. "The Oneness of Allah" [...]. This means that Allah is the creator and sustainer of life. He is beyond any human limitations like age and death because He was not born and cannot die. He has no partners or children and nothing is like Him.
2. Angels do the work of Allah. [...] They receive souls at death. Angels do not have free will like humans and they obey Allah's commands.
3. Five sources of authority are books: the Torah of Moses; the Psalms of David; the Gospels; the Scrolls of Abraham; and the Qur'an. [...] The Qur'an is the only revealed scripture still in its original form. It is the direct Word of Allah as given through the Angel Jibril.
4. Muslims believe in the supremacy of Allah's will. Sunni believe that Allah knows everything. Qadr means everything is ordered by Allah; nothing is random or by chance. [...]
5. Muslims believe that there will be a day (the Day of Judgement) when all Muslims and others stand alone in front of Allah [...].
6. Prophets and messengers are chosen by Allah to deliver His message to humankind. Muslims believe that Allah has revealed messages throughout time to guide humanity and that Prophet Muhammad was the last (Seal) of the prophets [...]. [...]

The Basics [...]

4. Explain ways in which belief in these six articles of faith influences Muslims in their lives today.
5. Belief in the Oneness of Allah is all a Muslim needs to have. What do you think about this statement? Give arguments for and against the statement and explain your answer. [...]

- **The five roots of Usul ad-Din in Shi'a Islam [...]**

1. Tawhid – 'oneness': This means the same as in Sunni beliefs, that Allah is One. [...]
2. Nubuwwah – prophethood: Shi'as believe that Allah sent messengers to guide people to the right path and Prophet Muhammad was the last of them. The "right path" means a peaceful way of life, lived in total submission to Allah. [...]

3. Justice of Allah – Adalat: [...] The Shi’a believe they need to be aware there is good and evil in everything, but Allah commands them to be good. [...]
4. Al-Ma’ad – resurrection: The Shi’a believe that there will be a Day of Judgement. Every Muslim and non-Muslim will be judged by Allah.
5. Imamate – leadership: Some believe that Prophet Muhammad said that twelve imams from his own tribe would succeed him as leaders. [...] All Imams are seen as infallible [...] and must be obeyed. They are protectors of the faith, ensuring the teachings do not become corrupted or spoiled. [...]

The Basics [...]

3. Explain how each of the five roots influences the lives of Shi’a Muslims today.

(Parry et al, 2016, pp. 80-84 – Appendix 7)

This *holistic* detailed approach to differences allows students to analyse questions such as “Explain ways in which belief in these six articles of faith influences Muslims in their lives today” and “Explain how each of the five roots influences the lives of Shi’a Muslims today”. Moreover, appreciating specificities within Islam’s two major sects can develop students’ understanding of past and contemporary international Sunni-Shi’a relations. The analysed extract also shows compliance with 21st century state-institutional and educationalist perspectives linked to English CC discourses. Such CC discourses stress the importance of engaging with diversities within religions to counteract misrepresentations in society (DCSF, 2007; Ofsted, 2010, pp. 33&47-49; Jackson et al, 2010, p. 170). Indeed, not engaging with internal differences and nuances in education about religions can reinforce stereotypes. In this respect, the textbook extract on Sunni and Shi’a differences avoids, through a *holistic* engagement, falling into such a trap.

7.2.3 Dialectical and contemporarily meaningful

This sub-section assesses the extent to which sourced material encourages discussion through an education responsive to present-day societal developments and issues.

(A) Main findings: A non-prescriptive pedagogy

My analysis points to English RE textbooks and syllabi valuing the importance of engaging students with *contemporarily meaningful* issues with an emphasis on a *dialectical* pedagogy. This takes the form of:

- Encouragement of open dialogue about religion in public life using a secular language accessible to different participants in a classroom.

- Content touching on debates about religion in public life tending to avoid a prescriptive pedagogy by favouring an open-ended approach.

(B) Illustration

In Britain, the de-privatisation of religion on the one hand, and mounting irreligiosity in society on the other, result in more widespread critical views of mono-religious truths (Woodhead, 2018, p. 9). This situation is accentuated by the rise of individualised, and often contrary, truth claims (Waillet & Roskam, 2013, p. 70). Analysed RE material integrates this sociological phenomenon as interactive debates about religion in public life via a *dialectical* and *contemporarily meaningful* pedagogy, often utilising secular language which is both accessible to different participants in a classroom and open to religious sensibilities.

Below I use two extracts from Burrige et al and Parry et al’s GCSE textbooks relating to debates about “public faith expressions” in current British society in order to elucidate analysed RE textbooks’ predominantly thorough *dialectical* and *contemporarily meaningful* pedagogy. The extracts, from textbooks used by Mr. Williams, tally with his approach to public religious expressions detailed on page 211, when he asks students to role play as the town council and debate whether to allow the call to prayer. Although I engaged with Mr Williams’ interview contribution in relation to *cross-fertilisation* in chapter six, his approach also relates to my categorisation of the following textbook extracts as a *dialectical* and *contemporarily meaningful* *Critical Pedagogy*.

Is it right for people to share their faith with others?

The question needs to be considered of whether it is appropriate for others to share their faith. There is a distinction between sharing faith and imposing faith on others. [...]

- **For**
 - It is only through the sharing of faith that some people get to hear God’s message and follow their own religion.
 - Sharing beliefs is part of human nature – It is not simply a religious idea.
 - As long as it is sharing and not forcing, what’s the harm?
 - It is interesting to learn about the faith of others and get a better understanding of their religion.
 - Sharing faith with others provides a deeper understanding of their beliefs, as you can discuss them and share together in worship.

- It is important to be able to get on with other people and sharing faith ideas helps you to do this.
- Faith is an important part of someone's life and you should feel honoured that they want to share it with you.
- **Against**
 - Faith is a personal thing and should not be dealt with in public.
 - Some religious believers may try to convert people.
 - Some religious believers may force religion on someone who doesn't want it or who is happy with their own beliefs.
 - It can be intimidating if someone you don't know stops you and starts telling you about their religion.
 - It isn't necessary – if someone wants to become religious, they can go and find out about the religion for themselves.
- **Activity**

Write a speech trying to persuade others of your view about the following statement: "Religion is a private matter and it is not necessary for religious believers to share it with others". Remember you are trying to convince them, so anticipate any counter arguments they may give by showing your awareness of them in your writing.

(Burridge et al, 2009, p. 83 – Appendix 8)

- Should religious people openly express their beliefs? [...]**
- **Is it easy to follow a religion in the modern world?**

More and more countries are becoming "religion-rich", as immigration brings new faiths in, and new places of worship are built. The internet means anyone can access any religion, or group within it, for information or worship from their own home, without having to be part of a physical community. As a society, it could be said we know more about other faiths, so are more tolerant. Laws protect religious freedoms. All this makes it easier than ever to follow a religion.
 - **Is there any problem with being open about what you believe in?**

In the West, fewer people follow religions, and it seems acceptable to make fun of religious believers and their beliefs. Society is not guided by religion anymore, so it has less authority. [...]
 - **The Basics**
 1. What is meant by "religious freedom" and "freedom of religious expressions"?
 2. Explain religious attitudes to other religions and people of other religions from the religion(s) you have studied.
 3. What can make it difficult to openly express religion in our society? Use examples in your answer.
 4. Freedom of religion and religious expression is not possible in the modern world. Do you agree with this statement? Explain your arguments.

(Parry et al, 2016, p. 385 – Appendix 9)

The tone taken for both activities links to Habermas' argument that religious voices and sensibilities should be recognised in public spheres, but that these should adopt a (secular) language accessible to all participants in socio-political debates. (Habermas, 2008). Regarding the *dialectical* and *contemporarily meaningful* analysis of RE, Parry et al's textbook provides authentic examples of public religious expressions which have caused controversy (illustrated in Appendix 9). In this way, the activity puts across the centrality of this debate in contemporary Europe. The same activity also allows exploration of potential differences in Britain's current pluri-religious society between "religious freedom" and "freedom of religious expression" by means of the deliberately provocative statement "Freedom of religion and religious expression is not possible in the modern world. Do you agree with this statement?". Other interesting *dialectical* and *contemporarily meaningful* features of Parry et al's extract are asking students to explain how different religions may interact with people of other beliefs, and why open public faith expressions may be difficult in our society (Parry et al, 2016, p. 385 – Appendix 9). Therefore, the excerpt evidences a non-prescriptive pedagogy which favours open discussion. Furthermore, Parry et al's comment on why open public faith expressions may be difficult in our society links to Ms Davies' contribution on page 211. Here, she spoke about nurturing students' empathy towards those of different beliefs, saying "you might not agree or see the logical argument, but we listen to their beliefs".

In addition, BurrIDGE et al's textbook proposes multiple arguments "for and against" the question "is it right for people to share their faith with others?", thereby applying an open-ended approach to the topic. Another clarifying point in this activity is the phrase "there is a distinction between sharing faith and imposing faith on others", which stresses the need for tolerance and respect for others with different beliefs, or no belief for that matter. BurrIDGE et al's activity extract also relates to the DCSF's CC guidance (and to the more recent DfE Prevent advice) regarding the importance for classes to encourage dialogue that creates an open climate to address sensitive and controversial issues (DCSF, 2007, p. 9; DfE, 2015, p. 8). In line with such discourse, the textbook suggests students write a speech arguing for or against the statement that "Religion is a private

matter and it is not necessary for religious believers to share it with others” (Burridge et al, 2009, p. 83 – Appendix 8). While this statement seems one-sided and provocative, I argue that its intent is not to privatise religion. Rather, it aims to set the tone for a debate on the place of religion in public spheres. This is a highly contemporarily relevant matter considering that British society is both increasingly secular but also religiously diverse. This means that the decline in active religiosity runs parallel with religion’s more manifest significance in contemporary public spheres (Davie, 2014).

The above activities deliberate on questions of religious freedom, religious expression and ‘managing difference’ by use of a ‘secular language’ accessible to all. The approach taken in the English textbooks is *dialectical* because students can ponder different perspectives about a specific phenomenon. A *contemporarily meaningful* angle is added by acknowledging that the intertwining of public faith expressions, respect for freedom of conscience and democratic principles is an important source of debate in today’s pluri-religious Western European societies.

Finally, the second English textbook activity in this section presents a statement to students: “In the West, fewer people follow religions, and it seems acceptable to make fun of religious believers and their beliefs. Society is not guided by religion anymore, so it has less authority” (Parry et al, 2016, p. 385). Whether intentionally or not, this statement responds to worrying evidence of the link between religion and bullying in English schools. In a 2012 survey, young people who agreed with the statement that at school “I am bullied because of my religion” included 42% of Sikh pupils, 32% of Jewish, 23% of Muslim, and 11% of Christian pupils (REC/Miller, 2014, p. 4).

In sum, both GCSE textbook extracts tackle an important contemporary debate regarding faith expressions in pluri-religious Western European countries. Just as importantly, by means of their *dialectical* and *contemporarily meaningful* approach to the question of religious expressions in present-day society, the extracts also relate to ‘cohesive’ discourses associated with CC and FBV which aim to encourage positive attitudes towards ‘the other’.

7.2.4 Cross-fertilisation

Cross-fertilisation shares key similarities with a *dialectical* pedagogy as both value the potency of dialogue. Nevertheless, *cross-fertilisation* pays closer attention to two matters. Firstly, it is premised on the belief that engagements with others help one to better understand oneself. Secondly, *cross-fertilisation* strives to ensure a more equal footing between different perspectives to allow respectful criticism and/or conflict (Wolf, 2012, pp. 45-50; Halsall & Roebben, 2006, p. 450; Byrne, 2011, p. 57).

(A) Main findings: A mixed reading

In contrast to textbooks and syllabi demonstrating a comprehensive *holistic* and *dialectical* approach, I make a mixed assessment of how analysed materials implement a *cross-fertilising* pedagogy.

- Analysed material stresses how different religions, particularly those of Abrahamic roots, often build on each other's beliefs. Other *cross-fertilising* engagements include, but are not limited to, attention to interfaith encounters in world politics, debates about scientific ethics in the modern world and, at Sixth Form level, comparisons between religious beliefs and 'secular' philosophers.
- Nonetheless, analysed textbooks occasionally limit *cross-fertilising* engagements when religious and liberal democratic (secular) views and practices could come into conflict over topics deemed contentious in British society.

(B) Illustration

Certain elements of *cross-fertilisation* are central in English non-confessional RE. For instance, Ms Sheppard on pages 133, 134 and 149 commented that her teaching touches on instances of interfaith dialogue and comparing religious stances on key issues such as creation, war, sin and afterlife. This *cross-fertilising* dimension is also present in analysed textbooks. For example, KS4 textbooks explain that within Islamic beliefs, Muhammad and his first followers not only achieved religious enlightenment with the Qur'an as the words of God, but also learned from previous sacred texts from Judaism and Christianity (Parry et al, 2016, pp. 101-105). This shows that

Abrahamic religions have much in common and can complement each other's beliefs. Other examples, from KS3 materials, include researching different religious attitudes to poverty, war and pacifism, scientific ethics in current society, and interfaith engagement such as during the Irish Troubles (Brewer et al, 2005b, pp. 54-55&72-73; Brewer et al, 2005c, pp. 34-35&88-89). From a *cross-fertilising* perspective, these engagements link to what I argue is the pragmatism of English RE which reflects the mainly Christian religious traditions of Great Britain, whilst also adapting to an increasingly multicultural society to promote students' civic development.

On another note, an integral dimension of the de-privatisation of religion in present-day England is the contentious image of Islam in 21st century Western societies (Casanova, 2010, p. 20). This contentious public visibility contributes to policies promoting CC and FBV to encourage a better understanding to foster tolerance. I believe that state-institutional reactions to this development permeate analysed textbook content which concentrates substantially on positive engagements with certain 'hot topics' surrounding Islam. One example is the previously analysed nuanced explanation of the word Jihad (Parry et al, 2016, pp. 137-138 – Appendix 6).

However, as argued in chapter six, discourses in CC and FBV policies aimed at challenging perceived intolerant views can, at times, result in a sanitised presentation of certain practices drawn from the Qur'an. For instance, most educators participating in this research made little mention of engaging (beyond mere acknowledgments) with more controversial Islamic interpretations. Sometimes this can also be the case with textbooks. I believe that two factors contribute to this tendency observed during my empirical analysis. The first relates to state-institutional discourses that combine an education intent on promoting tolerance with "challenging opinions or behaviours in school that are contrary to fundamental British values" (DfE, 2014b, p. 5). This entails that critical engagement with what is contentious can be undermined. Secondly, interviewees are faced with the challenge of having to counterbalance Islam's somewhat negative representation in the media and Western societies, as highlighted in chapters four and six. I argue that this combination of factors can sometimes curtail *cross-fertilising* deliberation relating to Islam. One such manifestation in the textbooks is a KS4 topic

exploring Shari'ah, which avoids mentioning how secular law can protect individuals and democratic principles and how this can conflict with divine law.

The Qur'an as the basis for Shari'ah [...]

- **What makes up the Shari'ah?**

Shari'ah (Islamic law) means 'a path to life-giving water' and goes back to Ibrahim. Shari'ah considers:

1. The Qur'an – containing direct guidance from Allah.
2. The Sunnah – many of the prophet's teachings and actions putting the Qur'an into practice.

Leading scholars use these to make decisions (ijma', which means consensus). [...] The opinions of the Prophet's companions, such as Abu Bakr and Qatadah, are like laws, later ijma' are only seen as guidelines. There is the belief that these can be changed as time moves on.

- **Sunni and Shi'a diversity**

For Sunni Muslims there are four schools of thought within Islamic Shari'ah Law (each known as madh'hab): the Hafani, Maliki, Shafi'i and Hanbali schools. Some Sunni also accept the Shi'a Ja'fari school of thought. Shi'a Muslims only accept the Ja'fari school, which is made up of learned individuals called mujtahids (living religious scholars or ayatollahs representing the twelve imams). Their opinions must still be based on the Qur'an and the Sunnah though.

- **Why is there a need for Shari'ah?**

Allah's laws are always superior to human-made laws, because He knows and understands the world humans live in far better than they ever could. Also, Allah is without prejudice or favour, so is absolutely objective, whereas humans are biased. Laws are needed for society to function properly and fairly. Shari'ah Law covers five main areas: behaviour and manners; ritual worship; beliefs; transactions and punishments. If the laws in a country are not based on absolute justice, then Shari'ah Law is more important to follow. Muslims are taught to obey the laws of the country they live in, but some Muslims do want Shari'ah to be used alongside government law in dealing with matters of religion. This subject has been debated in Britain as radical Muslims called for Shari'ah Law to be the law of the UK. However, Shari'ah is not meant to be imposed on people, it must be part of the consensus. Some parts of Shari'ah are used in Britain, for example, in relation to marriage.

- **Categories of behaviour**

1. Fard or Wajib: compulsory actions, for example, prayers.
2. Mustahab and Mandoob: things that are recommended for Muslims [...].
3. Mubah: things that are allowed, but neither recommended nor forbidden.
4. Makruh: allowed actions which are disliked or disapproved of, for example, divorce.
5. Haram: forbidden actions, for example, adultery.

- **How does Shari'ah fit in a modern world?**

Shari'ah Law comes from 1,400 years ago. How can they apply today? Are our lives too complex today? Should religion really govern our actions, for example, telling me whether I can drink alcohol? Muslims see all rules as Allah looking after us, helping us stick to the right path, rather than them being seen as restricting us. They are all there to help.

- **Task**

In groups of five give each person one of the boxes [corresponding to the above five points] on this page to research. Each person should then feed back to the group so that notes can be made.

(Parry et al, 2016, p. 98-99 – Appendix 10)

This topic explores how Shari'ah's authority is constructed in Islam. However, the perspective put forward in the textbook avoids exploring reasons why the concept of divine law, and Shari'ah particularly, attracts considerable attention in contemporary Britain. Firstly, the activity omits any mention that secular law can protect individual liberties in the face of certain practices based on religious beliefs. Rather, it uses a somewhat sanitised approach by stating that "Muslims see all rules as Allah looking after us, helping us stick to the right path, rather than them being seen as restricting us. They are all there to help". Secondly, a more *cross-fertilising* perspective would also consider cases where civil and divine law might conflict. An example of conflict is the 2015 French Charlie Hebdo Muhammad cartoons, where the concept of blasphemy confronted the right of free speech (Manea, 2016, pp. 230-233). Thirdly, some interpretations of Shari'ah consider apostasy (renouncing Islam) a punishable offence (Moore, 2012, p. 182). Therefore, the concept that Shari'ah "is not meant to be imposed on people" but "must be part of the consensus", as Parry et al suggest, is a one-sided argument.

For example, in recent years Humanists UK, Women Against Fundamentalism and Secular Muslim societies have warned of the potential societal risks when giving legitimacy to quasi-legal institutions (for example Shari'ah courts in the United Kingdom). They have posited there needs to be a regulatory government body to ensure there is no infringement of individuals' freedom (Humanists UK, 2018; Dhaliwal & Yuval-Davis, 2014, pp. 9-13; Orenstein & Weismann, 2016, pp. 379-380). Disregarding such non-religious or secular positions in certain societal debates is problematic. The result is that Parry et al's textbook fails to provide a common ground that makes dialogue and respectful conflict possible. A more developed engagement with different religious and non-religious stances on Shari'ah in British society and internationally would have been more *cross-fertilising*. My perspective in relation to the textbook extract does not aim to sow controversy. Rather, I argue that RE provides an excellent "safe environment for discussing controversial issues" (Chater, 2020; Champain; 2018, pp. 160-161) due to the presence of diverse student opinions and educators capable of approaching topics in a non-sensationalised manner.

Despite my critique of Parry et al's extract, it would be inaccurate to state that this approach to Shari'ah is applicable to all GCSE textbooks. For instance, BurrIDGE et al (Appendix 11) provide a section on "What if the law conflicts with religious beliefs?". This elaborates on how, for example, "according to British law, it is not illegal to commit adultery [...] but it is often viewed as being against the laws of religion" (BurrIDGE et al, 2009, p. 120). The textbook briefly describes how state law and religious beliefs may differ from Christian, Buddhist and Islamic perspectives. Regarding Islam, BurrIDGE et al mention that Shari'ah has a variety of interpretations and acknowledge that "[s]ometimes, extreme punishments under Shari'ah Law are in conflict with the laws of many Western countries" (2009, p. 111). This textbook provides a more nuanced assessment of Shari'ah even if mentioned briefly in less than 170 words. Thus, there is a difference in how the topic is approached when comparing both sourced GCSE textbooks.

However, in general, Parry et al's extract correlates more closely with most interviewees' approaches to teaching about Islam: emphasising a "counter-Islamophobic" strategy to counterbalance the religion's sometimes negative image in order to foster tolerance. This tallies with 21st century 'cohesive' discourses perceiving that RE helps "community relations" by forming students as "champions of equalities, human rights and social justice" (REC/Miller, 2014, p. 11). Overall, I consider such a normative valuation of plurality in education as an acknowledgement of England's increasingly religiously diverse society. However, as stated in chapter six, an RE intent on promoting a democratic and tolerant society should not curtail a *cross-fertilising* pedagogy. Yet 'cohesive' discourses challenging perceived 'extremist' and 'unacceptable' views can in fact potentially limit *cross-fertilisation*. Paradoxically, my assessment links to the DCSF and DfE's own 'cohesive' discourses which underscore the need for education in multicultural Britain to create an open climate to address sensitive and controversial issues (DCSF, 2007, p. 9; DfE, 2015, p. 8).

7.3 Education about religions in French Humanities textbooks in the context of deliberative democracy

Similarly to English RE, this section provides a broad overview of French textbook incorporations of the '*fait(s) religieux*', before moving on to the three *Critical Pedagogical* strands devised for the thesis. My evaluation of textbook content in the context of deliberative democracy makes sure to fall within the parameters of educational *laïcité*. These parameters are based on Borne and Willaime's categorisation of the '*fait(s) religieux*' explained in section 2.6 of the conceptual framework chapter.

7.3.1 'Explicit' secularism and sourced content: An initial assessment

(A) Main findings: Religion in *laïque* education, a not so absent presence

Based on sourced textbooks:

- There is evidence of contemporary educational *laïcité* having become, in part, more religiously sensitive in comparison to its counter-religious past.
- Although engagements with religion are often brief in analysed textbooks, it would be a disfavour to view Humanities subjects as being devoid of religious content.

(B) Illustration

Three aspects stand out regarding the way in which examined French textbooks connect religion to historical or contemporary culture, politics and society. The first two aspects relate to the thesis' predominant focus on Islam as the main religion of study, while the third relates more generally to religion within educational *laïcité*.

Firstly, analysed textbooks corroborate M. Vaugirard's statement on page 164 that France's religiously changing landscape has contributed to History syllabi incorporating several references to the history of Islam. Although lacking in chronological continuity, there are still several History topics that bring up religious dimensions pertinent to Islam's history. These inclusions correlate with the de-privatisation of religion either as a pluralisation of the polity or as a broader refutation of the 'secularisation thesis' in global politics. The former is characterised by the attention given

to medieval Islam, which engages with the pluralist heritage of France's present-day citizenry. The latter relates to globalisation processes of the late 20th and early 21st centuries which contribute to a realisation that Western secularisation is not the global norm. The analysed textbooks expressly touch on how Islamic religious beliefs shape socio-political matters in the following key historical topics:

- A brief inclusion of Muhammad's teachings.
- The drawing of cultural, military and economic interconnections between Islam, Orthodox Christianity and Catholicism across the Mediterranean.
- Islamic civilisations from their origins in the 7th century until the capture of Constantinople by Suleiman the Magnificent in 1453.
- The Israeli-Palestinian conflict's relation to Zionism and anti-Zionism in the Middle East.
- Political Islam and Islamism during the Iranian Revolution.
- Al-Qaeda terrorism.

Secondly, the study of medieval Islam has integrated the discourse of the Joutard Report, Besançon Colloquium and Debray Report which advocated a *laïque* education which should not only be more inclusive of religion, but also wider in its conception of religious heritage. Additionally, textbook content underscoring points of intercultural contact between Islamic and Christian civilisations during the Middle-Ages tallies with the Debray Report's greater insistence on promoting 'cohesion' via schools. However, as will become apparent, there is evidence that, despite moves towards a more religiously inclusive *laïcité* and '*vivre ensemble*', textbooks include very limited appreciations of religions as 'symbolic phenomena' and 'individual and collective sensibilities'.

Thirdly, I argue that contemporary educational *laïcité* is, in some respects, redressing its counter-religious past (van den Kerchove, 2009, p. 64). This process translates into a state-education system which is moving away from excluding the study of religions as "social phenomena" (Béraud & Willaime, 2009, p. 40). Table 7.2 indicates how analysed textbooks approach the '*fait(s) religieux*' as social phenomena.

Table 7.2 – Content inclusion of religion in connection to past or current politics, culture and society in French textbooks

French Humanities textbooks (History, EMC and Philosophy)		
Textbook	Class / Age group	Topics of study
Le Mercier, 2009	<i>Sixième</i> (Year 7)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Greek and Roman mythology. • Moses and the First Israeli Kingdom. • Judaism and Christianity in Roman Israel. • Faith-based architecture in Rome. • Christian empires (Byzantium and the Carolingian dynasty). • Hindu practices in Ancient India (Indus Valley).
Lagrenade et al, 2016	<i>Cinquième</i> (Year 8)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Birth of Islam and its civilisational impact. • Mosque designs in medieval settlements. • Interculturalism in Constantinople and Sicily. • Humanism and the Christian Reformation. • Stressing that “<i>laïcité</i> tolerates all religious and non-religious beliefs in school”.
Blanchard & Mercier, 2016	<i>Quatrième</i> (Year 9)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Voltaire’s concept of religious toleration. • Explaining the ‘Declaration of the Rights of Man’ signed in 1789. • The Concordat treaty between Napoleon and the Pope. • Social Catholicism, a reaction to the excesses of the Industrial Revolution. • <i>Laïcité</i> during the III Republic. • The Dreyfus Affair and 19th century institutionalised religious discrimination. • 1905 law on the Separation of Church and State and Vatican - III Republic tensions. • Celebrating the ‘<i>Journée de la Laïcité</i>’: 1881 until 2004: “<i>Laïcité</i>, a space where everyone is free to practice their own religious beliefs”.
Genet et al, 2017	<i>Troisième</i> (Year 10)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Algerian War, including its religious dimension. • 2013 ‘<i>Charte de la laïcité</i>’ and debates on whether students are allowed to express their religious or non-religious identities in class.
Vidal, 2015	<i>Seconde</i> (Year 11)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Greek and Roman mythology. • Christianity’s role in rural medieval society. • The Christian Reformation. • The French Revolution and ‘Church-State’ relations until Napoleon.
Chevallier & Lapray, 2015	<i>Première</i> (Year 12)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Bosnian Civil War and religious violence during the Siege of Sarajevo. • Jihadist terrorism since the birth of Al-Qaeda, including definitions of Islamism and Jihad. • Religious tensions during 19th century France, laws guiding late 19th and early 20th century “Republican Culture” and accepting <i>laïcité</i>’s connection to anti-clericalism. • Engagement with dilemmas faced by students after the 2004 ban of “conspicuous religious symbols” in public buildings. • Different interpretations of <i>laïcité</i> given by historians and social scientists in a religiously diverse French society.
Billard, 2014	<i>Terminale</i> (Year 13)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political Islam during the Iranian Revolution and differentiation between Sunni and Shi’a sects. • Zionism and anti-Zionism in post-1945 Middle East. • Effects of the Algerian War on French society.
Cerqueira et al, 2017	<i>Terminale</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Religion as a philosophical phenomenon.

The above textbooks show numerous instances of a *laïcité* receptive to the historical and/or social importance of religion. Within these, there is an awareness of religion's significance in key historical periods, engagements with France's diverse heritage and the promotion of a pluralist *laïcité*. Although RE as a subject does not exist in French state-secondary schools, arguing that Humanities subjects are devoid of connections to religions does not hold up to empirical scrutiny. Most of the content illustrated in table 7.2 touches briefly on the religious dimension pertinent to specific topics, such as Voltaire's insistence on religious toleration. There is also evidence of a more religiously accepting *laïcité* in textbooks. One example is the following *Première* History textbook extract which acknowledges *laïcité*'s anti-clerical past, and contrasts this with a *laïcité* that is more aware of the importance and legitimacy of the '*fait(s) religieux*'. It also engages students with how the framework of *laïcité* might need to adapt to accommodate Islam.

Historians' interpretations of *laïcité*

- In France, *laïcité* is one of the founding principles of the Republic. Formalised by the 1905 law on the separation of Church and State, the term is inscribed in the IV and V Constitutions of the Republic. Historians find ways to draw out its different interpretations and try to show how it adapts to the evolutions of French society. *Laïcité* is at the heart of the Republican school project founded by Jules Ferry's laws of 1881-1882. [...]

- **1. Several models of *laïcité* in France?**

"The history of *laïcité* during the XX century is divided into [...] its appearance, followed by the development of two different interpretations about what both of these entail. The oldest interpretation, the one that inspired the process of secularisation from 1880 until 1905, remains loyal to its initial beliefs: Catholicism remains the most serious menace, its influence needs to be contained if it cannot be eradicated, meaning that *laïcité* should exclude any reference to religious beliefs. This combination of convictions is in line with a belief in national unity which grudgingly accepts pluralism in educational perspectives while preferring [...] to maintain a monopoly over the state school system.

Another interpretation of *laïcité* evolved bound to its essential meaning – liberty of conscience, the independence of the State, a total rejection of clericalism or, in the opposite sense, an instrumentalisation of religion by the political - while still recognising the importance and legitimacy of the *fait religieux* and not holding *laïcité* and the manifestation of diverse opinions as incompatible [...]" (René Rémond, "*Laïcité and its critics*", *Pouvoirs*, n 75, November 1995, D.R.).

- What issues does the double reading of the law of 1905 reveal?

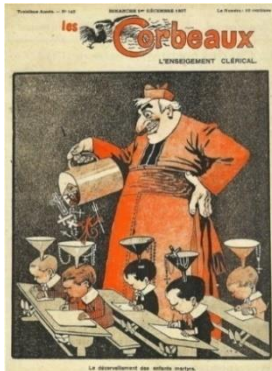
- **2. *Laïcité*, a French national myth?**

“Doesn’t *laïcité* try to [...] stop the relationship between politics and religion?

Not entirely. All forms of *laïcité* need both politics and religion. It consists, more precisely, that religious powers do not influence political life or state decisions. [...] Personally, I do not believe there exists, judicially or politically, a French model of *laïcité*. However, undeniably, it is a mythical representation in France which is part of the national imaginary” (“*Laïcité is a national myth*”, *Jacqueline Lalouette, interviewed by Antoine De Baecque, Liberation, 15 October 2005*).

- What does *laïcité* define as the relation between religion and politics?

- **3. *Laïcité*, a fight against the Church?**



(“*Brainwashing the children of martyrdom*”, cartoon by Ahseverus for *Les Corbeaux*, 1907)

- How does this cartoon interpret Republican and Catholic Church relations in France at the turn of the XX century?

- **4. 1905-2005: Is *laïcité* still the same? [...]**

“France is no longer really *laïque* as the state and local authorities spend over 8 million euros funding catholic institutions and schools. The State also finances the clergy’s social security and pensions. [...] French people are very attached to the principal of *laïcité* but, taking into account the changing role of religion in France which has nothing to do with that of the early XX century, the status quo is no longer possible. It is necessary to make space for Islam, which is disadvantaged compared to other older and more established religions.” [...] (*Odon Vallet, historian of religions, interviewed by Jean-Yves Boulic, Ouest-France, December 8th 2005*).

- What difficulties does the 1905 law pose to French society in 2005?

(Chevallier & Lapray, 2015, pp. 298-299 – Appendix 12)

This textbook’s content, presenting various opinions of French historians, has much in common with Baubérot’s distinction of seven *laïcités*. One of these is a “*laïcité ouverte*” (open), where the state acknowledges the social uses of religion, or a *laïcité* founded on protecting people’s freedom of conscience, coupled with an acceptance that faith cannot be solely a private matter (Baubérot, 2017, pp. 17-18). The textbook activity summarises how *laïcité* is one of the founding principles

of the French Republic and provides different interpretations and engagement with its meaning (both militant and adaptive), evolution (from anti-clericalism to new challenges) and existence. In this manner, the textbook illustrates how contemporary educational *laïcité* has, to some degree, become more religiously sensitive. Firstly, it acknowledges the “importance and legitimacy of the *fait religieux* and not holding *laïcité* and the manifestation of diverse opinions as incompatible”. This discourse is echoed in M. Flambard’s affirmative response (page 222) to his students’ question “[s]o we can be religious and *laïque*?”. Secondly, the excerpt ponders the democratic limits of the “status quo” by considering whether it is “necessary to make space for Islam, which is disadvantaged compared to [...] more established religions” (Chevallier & Lapray, 2015, pp. 298-299).

I now explore, via a *Critical Pedagogical* analysis, how this realisation about the importance of the ‘*fait(s) religieux*’ and discussions about *laïcité* in the context of deliberative democracy play out in textbooks.

7.3.2 Holistic approach

This sub-section engages with whether and how analysed textbooks adopt a *holistic* approach to the ‘*fait(s) religieux*’, acknowledging the importance of different aspects of religions for students’ ‘knowledge and understanding’ about the past and present. In my analysis, I focus predominantly on Islam.

(A) Main findings: An ambivalent application of a holistic appreciation of religion

- French textbooks show an ambivalent application of a *holistic* pedagogy, particularly regarding religious foundations and practices which are central to understanding key historical periods and/or topics.
- Studies of the Middle-Ages in History pay significant attention to the religious dimension of, and points of encounter between, different civilisations.
- Conversely, History textbooks tend to provide very brief, and often incomplete, engagements with religion in subject content focusing on the 20th and 21st centuries.

(B) Illustration

Chapters five and six stressed that the ‘*Charte de la laïcité*’ and wider public discourse in France insist that *laïque* education ensures students are exposed to a diversity of worldviews and critical engagements with subject content. One element that I argue is important for the fruition of these intents is a *holistic* pedagogy which acknowledges different aspects or contexts composing studied phenomena (Clark, 1991; Mahmoudi et al, 2012; Facione, 2015, p. 24) in line with Baubérot’s ‘*laïcité ouverte*’ (2017, pp. 17-18). To illustrate my finding that analysed textbook approaches to the ‘*fait(s) religieux*’ demonstrate an ambivalent application of a *holistic* pedagogy, I provide five textbook extracts centred predominantly, yet not exclusively, on Islam. The first three, pertaining to *Cinquième*, centre on the medieval period, while the last two extracts, from *Première* and *Terminale* textbooks respectively, relate to 20th century history.

From the birth of Islam until the taking of Bagdad by the Mongols

- **Islam, third monotheistic religion**

- Islam is born in Arabia during the VII century. The Qur’an is its sacred text: For Muslims, it gathers the message of God revealed to the prophet Muhammad and establishes religious and day-to-day rules.
- 622, date symbolising Muhammad’s departure from Mecca to Medina, and the beginning of the Muslim calendar. [...]

Activity: 3. Associate the following phrases to the five pillars of Islam. Add the correct numbers to the right boxes.

Declaration of faith	.....
Prayer	.....
Charity	.....
Fasting during the month of Ramadan	.....
Pilgrimage	.....

1. Do not absorb / consume anything from sunrise to sunset.
2. “There is no god but God, and Muhammad is his prophet”.
3. “Share the greatest things you have acquired”.
4. It has to be done five times a day facing Mecca.
5. Go once in your life to Mecca. [...]

(Lagrenade et al, 2016, pp. 122-123 – Appendix 13)

The Mediterranean, place of contact [...]

- **Activity: 2. Read the following text and answer the questions.**

Ibn Djubayr in the house of William II, Catholic king of Sicily

The king's attitude is truly extraordinary. He behaves perfectly towards Muslims; he provides them with employment, he chooses his officers among them and all, or almost all, keep their beliefs intact and remain attached to the Islamic faith. The king has full confidence in Muslims and relies on them during his duties and listens to their grievances, to the point that the head chef of his kitchen is Muslim [...].

He has astronomers and physicians as he pays great attention and makes sure that when a physician or an astronomer is passing through his kingdom, to send out orders to retain them and burdens them with so many questions about life that they forget to leave. [...]

Another trait that we speak about him and which is extraordinary, is that he reads and writes Arabic. [...]

(Lagrenade et al, 2016, pp. 125-126 – Appendix 14)

Byzantium and Carolingian Europe

- **During the IX century, two Christian empires are in contact**
 - The Byzantine Empire consolidates itself under the reign of Justinian (572-565). The empire's capital is Constantinople until its fall in 1453. The emperor gives himself the title of *basileus* (king or emperor in Greek). The laws of the empire are gathered in the "Justinian Code", written in Greek.
 - The Carolingian empire is founded in 751 by Pepin the Short. His son Charlemagne expands the empire's territory, which he divides into 300 counties controlled by royal envoys: the *missi dominici* (envoys of the lord). Charlemagne crowns himself emperor in Rome in the year 800.
- **One religion, two churches**
 - These empires are Christian, as is shown in the Basilica of Saint-Sophia in Constantinople or the chapel of Aix-la-Chapelle. But the religious practices are different: the churches of each empire become separated in 1054 during the *schism*.
 - The Pope, leader of the Christians in the West, controls the Roman Catholic Church. The Patriarch of Constantinople is at the head of the Orthodox Church. [...]

(Lagrenade et al, 2016, pp. 120-121 – Appendix 15)

The above *Cinquième* activities (please refer to Appendices 13, 14 and 15 for longer extracts) indicate that a holistic approach to the '*fait(s) religieux*' is applied in certain cases. The three textbook extracts follow Facione's interpretation of including different realms affecting studied content for an enriched student understanding (2015, p. 24): in this case a brief study of religious dimensions integral to medieval history. The engagements with Catholicism, Orthodox Christianity and Islam contextualise cultural, artistic, architectural and wider historical phenomena of the Middle-Ages by exploring specificities within these religions. In accordance

with the Joutard Report's call for an '*histoire des religions*' responsive to 'spiritual plurality', these *holistic* incursions into Islamic and other religious civilisations help cement basic understandings of France's pluralist heritage. For instance, the first activity engages students with the birth of Islam and certain of its basic religious practices. Furthermore, as explained by M. Vaugirard on page 187, the second activity on the Mediterranean contains a discourse of 'cohesion' to underline that medieval Christianity and Islamic civilisations built intercultural ties. Thus, there is a *holistic* appreciation of this time-period which stresses how these civilisations not only confronted each other but also interacted interculturally.

In contrast to the above *holistic* approach, the following activities relating to Islamism, Al-Qaeda terrorism and Shi'a Political Islam post-1979, seem to lack such engagement. The first extract, touching on Islamism and Al-Qaeda, corresponds to a *Première* textbook (please see Appendix 16 for more details).

September 11: "Hyper terrorism"

On September 11th 2001, diverted airplanes crash against the two towers of the World Trade Centre in New York and the Pentagon in Washington, causing the death of more than 2,500 people. Attributed to Al-Qaeda by the United States, these developments cause, from October 2001 onwards, the UN-supported invasion of Afghanistan.

Definitions

- **Islamism:** Political movement founded on a rigorous reading of the Qur'an wanting to impose their own interpretation of Muslim law (Shari'ah) in political and social organisations, via violence, rejecting Western values.
- **Jihad:** The term designated by Muslims to fight in the defence of Islam. [...]

(Chevallier & Lapray, 2015, pp. 226-229 – Appendix 16)

The textbook's definition of Islamism could be developed by providing additional explanations. Undoubtedly, Islamism is "founded on a rigorous reading of the Qur'an" and Hadiths, and Islamist groups sometimes pursue their political ends "via violence". However, although the movement tends towards totalitarianism, Islamists differ in the ways in which they aim to 'Islamise' the world, which range from "peaceful indoctrination and political struggle to violent methods" (Mozaffari, 2007, p. 24). Also, Islamism is a reaction to crises (both political and economic) in Muslim countries since the second half of the 20th century. These crises feed into

Islamists' aim to return to an Islamic Golden Age by ending Western and communist spheres of influence in Muslim countries and overthrowing 'secular' dictators like the Iranian Shah and Saddam Hussein (Mozaffari, 2007, p. 23). Thus, based on a *holistic* pedagogical understanding, the definition for Islamism in the *Première* textbook extract could have pointed out that Islamists differ in how they seek to expand their doctrine. Also, the textbook could fine-tune its assessment of Islamism from a rejection of Western values to a wider repudiation of a world "that does not correspond to Islamic principles" (Mozaffari, 2007, p. 23). Acknowledging these details could provide a nuanced response to perceptions of Islam being the diametrical opposite of the West. Moreover, with reference to Mme Abbas' comment on page 223 regarding certain pupils using the terms Muslim and Islamist interchangeably, the finer details explained above could help teachers clarify such misconceptions.

Also regarding the *Première* textbook extract, the definition ascribed to Jihad as the "term designated by Muslims to fight in the defence of Islam" is underdeveloped. A more detailed definition could have been provided in response to four matters elucidated in chapters five and six. Firstly, the word Jihad has received growing attention in 21st century France. Therefore, the textbook, published in 2015, could have responded to this societal development. Secondly, the 2016 PART counter-terrorist policy stresses the value of building a "counter-discourse" to the instrumentalisation of religion for exclusionary ends (Gouvernement.fr/Premier Ministre, 2016, pp. 38&50&53). A nuanced definition of Jihad could fall within this "counter-discourse". Thirdly, Mme Didier and Mme Abbas, on pages 166 and 223 respectively, spoke about some of their students having misconceptions about religion and pertinent terminology. Finally, M. Flambard mentioned on page 171 that his students are curious to learn how and why religion is an important socio-political phenomenon internationally. Considering the evidence presented in this paragraph, I believe it would have been possible within the framework of *laïcité* to engage briefly with the different meanings of Jihad coined by Tahir al-Sulami, an 11th century Damascene jurist and philologist (Waines, 2018)¹⁰⁶:

¹⁰⁶ Conference presentation. University of Lancaster 22/06/2018.

- Greater Jihad, “striving for the love of Allah” for personal spiritual condition.
- Lesser Jihad, which preaches redressing violence and injustice against Muslims with armed conflict though vowing not to strike first.

A similar reading can be made based on the following *Terminale* extract about the Iranian Revolution (please see Appendix 17 for longer extract). Although it contains a short differentiation between Sunni and Shi’a sects, its distinctions could be *holistically* improved.

Iran and Shiite Islamism after 1979: What role does Iran play in the dissemination of Political Islamist ideology?

In January 1979, the pro-Western regime of the Iranian Shah, Reza Pahlavi, is overthrown by an Islamist Revolution. The new regime, led by the Ayatollah Khomeini, marks the appearance of Islamism in the international arena. The precepts of a rigorous Islam organise the political, economic, social and cultural life of the country. Iran believes itself to embody and support the recovery of Muslim countries against Western powers. The country reaffirms itself as the spearhead leading the fight against Israel. [...]

To understand: Sunnism and Shiism

Islam is divided into several branches where the two principal strands are:

Sunnism which applies the tradition (Sunna) and places faith under the authority of caliphs, successors of the prophet Muhammad. There is no clergy. Around 85 percent of Muslims are Sunni.

Shiism refers to Ali’s spiritual succession, nephew of the Prophet Muhammad. This succession is embodied via the authority of the clergy. Almost all Iranians, the majority of Iraqis and segments of the Lebanese and Syrian populations are Shiites. [...]

(Billard, 2014, pp. 224-225 – Appendix 17)

The above *Terminale* History topic engages very briefly with Sunni and Shi’a differences and provides contemporary demographic and geographical distributions. However, the textbook omits any substantial engagement, even through a ‘distanced’ pedagogy, with ‘*croyances*’ (beliefs) to provide a more *holistic* ‘*savoir*’ (knowledge). The extract states that within Sunnism, caliphs are considered the successors of Muhammad, whereas in Shi’a Islam, Ali is believed to be the prophet’s spiritual successor. However, the textbook does not mention that for Sunnis, the caliphs appointed by Muhammad are known as the four rightly guided caliphs, or that for Shi’as, Ali alone (among the four) was appointed as supreme spiritual successor (Moore, 2015). Although the textbook notes that in Sunnism “there is no clergy”, there is no mention why the figure of Ali in Shi’a Islam is central to understanding the origins of the sect’s more hierarchical approach

towards leadership which places earthly religious authority in the ‘twelve Imams’ (Parry et al, 2016, pp. 80-84). Also, the textbook could have briefly defined the six articles of faith in Sunni Islam and the five roots of Usul ad-Din in Shi’a Islam, as explained on pages 242 and 243 or Appendix 7. Looking at these more developed sect-specific differences could have been possible even from a “critically distanc[ed]” study of religions as “social phenomena” (Béraud & Willaime, 2009, p. 40). Such distinctions in beliefs could have provided a more comprehensive background not only to the 1979 Iranian Revolution, but also to modern-day Sunni-Shi’a intra and inter-state relationships. The value of this comprehensive background links to M. Vaugirard’s comment on page 217 that he has experienced instances of religious illiteracy among students during his teaching career.

The activities included in this section discussing Islam and Christianity during the Middle-Ages, 20th century Islamism, the Iranian Revolution and Al-Qaeda provide a window into how a ‘distanced’ engagement with the *‘fait(s) religieux’* plays out in analysed textbooks. Three points stand out from the above activities. Firstly, references to Catholicism, Orthodox Christianity and Islam during the Middle-Ages, albeit brief, engage with the religious dimensions of medieval civilisations. This links to the Joutard Report and Besancon Colloquium’s discourse of an *‘histoire des religions’* in touch with religious ‘cultural heritage’ and France’s ‘spiritual plurality’. Secondly, the textbook extract portraying the Franco-Norman king of Sicily as the embodiment of an intercultural individual bathing in Christian and Muslim knowledge correlates with a ‘cohesive’ discourse and the promotion of the *‘vivre ensemble’*. Thirdly, the limited definition given for Jihad, the lack of nuance in defining Islamism without specifying that not all Islamists condone Jihadist terrorism, and the cursory explanation of Sunni and Shiite sects, all evidence how analysed textbooks diminish more pronounced explorations of the religious dimensions of these 20th and 21st century historical topics. This last point links to Mme Didier’s comment on page 218 that she only dedicates ten minutes to Sunni-Shi’a distinctions. This also correlates with what I explained in chapter six: that the actual depth of engagement with the religious dimensions

of History topics is largely dependent on individual teachers' agency rather than curricula requirements and textbooks.

7.3.3 Dialectical and contemporarily meaningful

This sub-section centres on 21st century intents to 'manage difference', which touch particularly on EMC textbook content.

(A) Main findings: A prescriptive engagement with religion

French textbooks show a mixed application of a *dialectical* and *contemporarily meaningful* pedagogy.

- History and EMC content demonstrates a *contemporarily meaningful* acknowledgement of France's present-day plurality.
- However, *dialectical* discussions about religion within History and EMC content are limited as, generally, there is evidence of a prescriptive approach to debates about religion in contemporary society.
- The de-privatisation of religion contributes to framing the promotion of 'social cohesion' through a pluralist yet still highly *laïque* perspective which could be *dialectically* improved.

(B) Illustration

The implementation of this strategy was illustrated earlier in the chapter in the *Première* students' History textbook extract about *laïcité* (pages 256-257 or Appendix 12). The extract discusses how *laïcité* is central to French society while offering different interpretations and encouraging students to engage with its meaning, evolution and existence. Posing questions such as "What issues does the double reading of the law of 1905 reveal?" and "What difficulties does the 1905 law pose to French society in 2005?" evidences a *dialectical* and *contemporarily meaningful* approach to religion's relationship with *laïcité* (Chevallier & Lapray, 2015, pp. 298-299 – Appendix 12). On the other hand, the following two EMC extracts demonstrate a less *dialectical* approach to portraying and discussing religions' role in French public life. This is a highly *contemporarily meaningful* topic in 21st century France. For example, the interest and controversy

surrounding the 2004 ban on ‘ostentatious’ religious symbols in schools is one instance that indicates the high visibility of democratic debates that centre on balancing religious freedom and ‘managing difference’. The first extract is a *Troisième* activity, whilst the second is from a *Cinquième* textbook.

Laïcité in practice [...]

- **Document 2: *Charte de la laïcité à l'École* (2013)**

1. Article 1: France is an indivisible, *laïque*, democratic and social Republic. It ensures equality before the law, throughout its territory, for all its citizens. It respects all beliefs.
2. Article 2: The *laïque* Republic organises the separation of religions and the State. The State is neutral in the face of religious or spiritual convictions. There is no State religion.
3. Article 14: On state school premises, rules [...] respect *laïcité*. The wearing of garments or symbols by which students ostentatiously manifest their religious belonging is banned.

Questions

1. Show how the *Charte de la laïcité* defends people’s freedom to be part of one or no religion.
2. Explain what is meant in document two by “separation of religions from the State”.
3. At the start of the year, to introduce themselves during the ‘hour of class life’ (*assembly period*) in their state-secondary school, Sophie, Etienne, Manuelle, Yves, Tanguy, Ismael, Theo and Dounia have to complete a poster presentation in their class. They ask themselves if they can introduce themselves in class making reference to their religion. What answers are proposed in documents 1 and 2? [...]

(Genet et al, 2017, pp. 165-168 – Appendix 18)

Judgement: thinking independently and with others. [...]

- **Read the text and observe the picture to answer the questions.**

“If a person believes in God or is an atheist it is his / her personal and private matter. The State must not interfere. It is not an arbitrator of beliefs: it cannot impose or ban any creed. The Republic, as such, abstains from privileging a belief [...]. Atheists, agnostics, believers in one or several gods, all are placed on an equal footing” (*Henri Pena-Ruiz, Laïcité for equality, One thousand and one nights, 2001*).



[...]

(Lagrenade et al, 2016, p. 161 – Appendix 19)

In my opinion, these two activities (further information available in Appendices 18 and 19) could have provided a more critical presentation of *laïcité*'s relationship with religious communities in France. For instance, several interviewed teachers provided nuanced opinions about contemporary *laïcité*. M. Flambard on pages 161 and 162 insisted that there were two perceptions of *laïcité*, either as a guarantor of religious freedom or as a militant “closed” interpretation which he considers “a bit Islamophobic”. Furthermore, chapter six showed educators had varying views of *laïcité*'s relationship with ‘neutrality’. On page 228, Mme Mallet questioned outright the concept of ‘neutrality’ and Mme Bernard wished that ‘neutrality’ did not entail a curtailment of dialogue. Mme Martin coupled *laïcité* with the ‘neutrality’ of the state and respecting equality between religions, but also reflected (pages 225 and 228) that this interrelation was sometimes hampered by certain secularist teachers who mistrust religion. Considering such varied and nuanced views of *laïcité* among educators themselves, in certain ways, both EMC topics limit religious or non-religious opinions about whether *laïcité* always guarantees freedom of conscience. For example, the cartoon in extract two, showing a happy boy telling apparently disorientated confessional school students “Hey! We mingle there! (state school)”, offers a somewhat negative view of religious influences over education. I believe the cartoonist’s reproving representation of religious schools relates to a potential danger of non-deliberatively promoting a unified citizenry above religious, ethnic and regional identities through *laïcité*. This potential danger consists of a prescriptive promotion of patriotic rituals and value homogeneity in schools (McDevitt & Kiouisis, 2006, p. 249) which could, in fact, curtail the ‘*esprit critique*’ on which French *laïque* education prides itself.

In addition, activity one (*Laïcité* in practice) does not explore the nuances associated with *laïcité* being seen as a guarantor of religious freedom. Even within the confines of constitutional specifications and legislation relating to *laïcité* in schools, a more *dialectical* approach to EMC topics on relations between religion and state would have been possible, thereby exploiting the *contemporarily meaningful* potential of this topic. For example, asking students “Show how the ‘*Charte de la laïcité*’ defends people’s freedom to be part of one or no religion” is potentially *non-*

dialectical as it presupposes that everyone agrees with the statement and thus excludes the opinions of many French citizens who may question certain of the Charter's measures. An example would be the societal discussions surrounding Muslim expressions of faith in public spheres. I argue that the non-*dialectical* formulation of the question relates to strict distinctions between '*croire et savoir*' permeating analysed textbooks. This is despite indications that the promotion of the contemporary '*vivre ensemble*' in education has brought about a '*laïcité plurielle*' more inclusive of ethno-religious differences.

Furthermore, although activity one does allow group discussions about how different students view expressing religious identities in state schools, there is little engagement with why faith expressions in public spheres may be important to religious individuals. For example, from an Islamic perspective, certain acts, such as Muslims' duty to explain their religion to others or their contributions to Zakah (charity to maintain or improve local communities), are public and socially engaging religious acts central to Qur'anic teachings. As *laïque* education places importance on the '*esprit critique*' and 'managing difference' in France's pluralist society, the textbook activity could have included a more *dialectical* engagement with why religious individuals may sometimes want to express their religion in public.

Although I have been critical of the cartoon in textbook activity two, it could also be understood as an invitation for students of all religions to mingle and identify as citizens in state schools, without renouncing their differences and beliefs. Indeed, the question of *laïque* education providing students with a "common culture which includes the '*faits religieux*'" to promote a better '*vivre ensemble*' (Ministère de l'éducation nationale, 2021, pp. 16&51) has been stressed by state institutions in recent years. I believe that countering certain academic and wider public perceptions of *laïcité*, either as a form of anti-clericalism or the antithesis of Islam, feeds into this insistence by state institutions. In this respect, I argue that matters regarding the de-privatisation of religion (both as a pluralisation of the polity and contentious issues surrounding Islam) can contribute to textbooks framing the promotion of 'social cohesion' through a pluralist yet still

highly *laïque* perspective. However, this pluralist understanding of *laïcité* also translates into a somewhat non-*dialectical* approach in the EMC textbook extracts.

7.3.4 Cross-fertilisation

Most interviewed teachers specified they approach the '*fait(s) religieux*' from a civilisational and sociological perspective. As such, this could hardly be called interreligious in focus. However, certain elements intrinsic to *cross-fertilisation* could be applied in theory to *laïque* state-secondary education. As stressed in chapters five and six, the '*Charte de la laïcité*' underscores that *laïque* education allows "freedom of speech" and that "no subject is excluded from scientific and pedagogical questioning" (Observatoire de la laïcité, 2013). This insistence ties in with M. Vaugirard's opinion on page 189 that "[i]n republican schools there cannot be any taboo subjects. We can debate, discuss and criticise everything". In this respect, there are grounds to claim that it is legitimate within *laïque* education to find ways to develop a common ground that makes dialogue and respectful conflicts possible, with openness to criticism on all sides.

(A) Main findings: The limiting effects of distinctions between 'croire et savoir'

- Analysed material still embodies a clear-cut, and perhaps sometimes unnatural, distinction between '*croire et savoir*' which can limit *cross-fertilisation*.
- The greater socio-political significance of religion in 21st century France contributes to the promotion of a more pluralist understanding of educational *laïcité* compared to its anti-clerical militant past. However, this does not necessarily result in secular and religious voices being placed on a more equal deliberative democratic footing.

(B) Illustration

The aforementioned limits on *cross-fertilisation* could be justified based on the '*fait(s) religieux*' touching mostly upon religion's relevance to Literature, Art, History, Citizenship and Philosophy, subjects whose prime intent is not the academic study of religion. However, I argue that limits on a *cross-fertilising* pedagogy, which is legitimately applicable within *laïque* education, are due to secular and religious voices not being placed on a more equal footing. For illustration, I utilise a

Philosophy textbook extract dedicated specifically to religion as a philosophical phenomenon. Although this departs somewhat from my focus on History and EMC, the example highlights that even discussions about religion itself as a philosophical phenomenon can restrict opportunities for ‘*le religieux*’ to provide convincing representations of its beliefs. In this respect, this extract is essential to explore distinctions between ‘*croire et savoir*’, a matter integral to the thesis.

Religion [...]

- **A tangle of beliefs and rituals**

- The notion of religion can be firstly defined from a psychological point of view, if we take into account the personal and subjective relation of an individual with a religious phenomenon. From this angle, religion is a combination of beliefs, faith in the existence of one or more beings, forces or superior principles.
- But if we consider its collective manifestations which are objectively visible, religion is also a social reality. From this perspective religion is an institution which organises practices (ceremonies and rituals) in accordance with the beliefs shared by a community.
- All religion is thus a complex tangle of these two dimensions, interior – faith – and exterior – institutionally recognised manifestations. [...]

- **Freud’s response**

- The strength of religious ideas is explained by the fact that they come not from reason or experience, but from unconscious desires shared by all human beings. [...]

- **What Freud says**

- Freud asserts that the foundation of religions is to be sought neither in a revelation of experience nor in a demonstration of reason, but in the desires of infancy, rooted in each of us.
- Considered by their adherents as absolute truths - dogmas - religious ideas would be only illusions. And they are all the more stubborn as they last as long as we need to believe them.
- More specifically, religious ideas result from the “distresses of childhood” experienced by the infant who depends entirely on the protection and love of his parents. Indeed, if this feeling of vulnerability is initially appeased by our parents, it still persists unconsciously throughout our lives. [...]
- It is for this reason that the collective belief in a superior, just and benevolent divine power, as well as the idea of an eternal world where our happiness can be assured, allow individuals to satisfy this need for protection which remains anchored in us. [...]

- **Philosophical issues**

- Religion, an explanation of the unexplainable:
 - It is not possible to observe or experiment empirically (by the data of the senses) what is supposed to be immaterial: God, the soul, the spirit, according to certain conceptions. [...]
 - Heart and reason: In the ‘*Pensées*’, Pascal supposes that there exists beside reason another source of knowledge which he names the “Heart”. The latter makes it possible to intuitively “feel” truths that we cannot prove, but that we are allowed to experience as intimate evidence. In the truths of the order of the heart, he ranks the founding axioms of any mathematical demonstration and the existence of God.

- The psychological function of religious ideas: [...]
 - One may nevertheless wonder whether the need to resort to this type of belief is not strictly speaking a sign of the weakness of men rather than of the strength of religions. In any case, it is the point of view of Nietzsche, who believes in '*Beyond Good and Bad*', that religion is first and foremost a consolation for 'vulgar men', that is to say, those who have no other means to justify and support the harshness and nonsense of their real life than to believe in another world and a different life (Nietzsche). [...]

(Cerqueira et al, 2017, pp. 104-111 – Appendix 20)

In the above extract (longer version available in Appendix 20) most of the interpretations of religion as a philosophical phenomenon, with the exception of the 17th century Christian philosopher Pascal, are given from 'secular' viewpoints. Moreover, the emphasis on dogma and irrationality to explain religion is quite negative in its appreciation of 'the religious'. For example, Freud and Nietzsche, who figure prominently in the excerpt, describe religion as dogmas based on stubborn illusions, the "distresses of childhood" and "a consolation for 'vulgar men' [...] who have no other means to justify and support the harshness and nonsense of their real life than to believe in another world and a different life". Applying an '*esprit critique*', as the French government stresses when speaking about education, means that certain sceptical perceptions of religion do need to be included. However, considering the Philosophy extract engages with religion, it would have been more *cross-fertilising* to include more references to 'religious' viewpoints. The textbook shows a restrictive approach to religion, which includes connotations of religion's irrationality but omits substantial engagements with religiously lensed philosophical insights. Therefore, I would venture to say that the textbook extract indicates how the importance placed by France on 'non-proselytising' pedagogies might sometimes curtail the critical academic scrutiny that French state education is supposed to encourage (Ministère de l'éducation nationale, 2021, pp. 48-49; Observatoire de la laïcité, 2013).

As Habermas argues in his interpretation of deliberation, not only should religious individuals strive to translate their beliefs into secular language accessible to all, but secular positions should strive to see the value that religious perspectives can contribute to knowledge (Habermas, 2008). This reciprocal openness is relevant to contemporary education considering that, according to interviewees throughout chapter five, certain students have a heightened interest in religion as

a source of identity or as a socio-political matter, and that the place of Islam within *laïcité* has become a prominent societal question. Therefore, brief engagements with philosophical positions integrating a deeper sense of religiosity would have been a more *cross-fertilising* and thus deliberative democratic approach (Martin, 2010, p. 135; Dryzek, 2006, p. 26). One example could be Kierkegaard's rationale that "what is needed for religious life" are personal and communal truths "not merely thought, but lived" (Carlisle, 2006, pp. 63-64). Another is Averroes' belief that philosophy is an attempt to define the element over which the Law (Islam) has no hold (Heller-Roazen, 2006, p. 442). Such incorporations into the Philosophy extract would have acknowledged more substantially '*le religieux*' as 'symbolic phenomena' from which actors draw meaning and, subsequently, how religious 'sensibilities' guide many individuals' existence and actions (Borne & Willaime, 2009, pp. 43-45).

In summary, the greater socio-political significance of religion in France does contribute to the promotion of a more pluralist understanding of educational *laïcité*. However, the clear-cut distinction between '*croire et savoir*' imbuing analysed textbooks has a limiting effect on a *cross-fertilising* pedagogy. This is one reason why I prefer to use the concept de-privatisation of religion rather than postsecularism to explain the place of religion in contemporary French state-secondary education.

7.4 A comparison of English and French textbook content

This section compares both national case studies via matters elucidated in sections 7.2 and 7.3, and makes the case that certain of the analysed content within English RE could be applied in French textbooks. I am thus more critical of French content. This is because, compared to England, French state education has only contemplated a more developed engagement with religion since the late 20th century, which means the '*fait(s) religieux*' in *laïque* education are still in their infancy.

7.4.1 Holistic approach: Exploring ambivalence and diversity within religion

English textbooks pay thorough *holistic* attention to deconstructing misrepresentations of Islam and exploring diversity within the religion. In turn, French History textbooks also demonstrate a *holistic* engagement with religion for a more rigorous academic understanding of medieval civilisations. However, this *holistic* attention diminishes for post-Renaissance topics. I illustrated this tendency through the textbook extracts touching on Sunni and Shi'a Islam, and Jihad in the 20th and 21st centuries.

Even from a focus on 'education about religions' rather than 'religious education', English content evidences greater nuance in topics closer to the modern world. For example, Parry et al's approach to the term Jihad (page 241 or Appendix 6) allows students to discover different facets of the word and discuss why it is "often confused or misunderstood". This more deliberative democratic engagement could be applied in Chevallier & Lapray's textbook extract on page 261 or Appendix 16, which merely defines Jihad as "the term designated by Muslims to fight in the defence of Islam".

A similar comparison can be made regarding engagements with Sunni and Shi'a Islam in the English and French textbook extracts (pages 242-243 and 263 or Appendices 7 and 17). Again, Parry et al's textbook applies a more *holistic* pedagogy explaining Shi'a Islam's five roots of Usul ad-Din and Sunni Islam's six articles of faith, inviting students to answer such questions as "Explain how each of the five roots influence the lives of Shi'a Muslims today". Therefore, the English content imparts knowledge and touches on beliefs. In comparison, Billard outlines Sunnism and Shiism in a cursory manner based on the bare facts. Within the context of *laïcité*, engaging, as the English textbook does, with questions touching on how people should live their religious lives would not be applicable for French History classes. However, Billard's extract could have listed the aforementioned five roots of Usul ad-Din and six articles of faith using a 'distanced' approach. Doing so would have provided a richer holistic contextual background not only to the Iranian Revolution, but also to Sunni-Shi'a specificities and relations more broadly.

7.4.2 Dialectical and contemporarily meaningful: Debates touching on religion

The most prominent cross-case difference concerning a *dialectical* and *contemporarily meaningful* pedagogy is whether or not a prescriptive approach imbues discussions about religion in contemporary society. Compared to most analysed French material, English textbooks avoid a prescriptive methodology.

The non-prescriptive nature of English RE textbooks is illustrated by the extracts “is it right for people to share their faith with others?” from Burridge et al and Parry et al’s “should religious people openly express their beliefs?” (pages 244-245 or Appendices 8 and 9 respectively). Both activities allow students to ponder and discuss, in a *dialectical* and *contemporarily meaningful* manner, diverse views about public faith expressions, freedom of conscience and democratic principles. By contrast, the French EMC activity “*Laïcité* in practice” (page 266 or Appendix 18) shows a more prescriptive *dialectical* engagement in its framing of the ‘*Charte de la laïcité*’ or secular schools vis-à-vis democratic debates about balancing religious freedom, free speech and ‘managing difference’. The extract presupposes that the ‘*Charte de la laïcité*’ solely guarantees religious freedom, when it actually places limits on religion, albeit through a perception of guaranteeing equality for all.

Both the aforementioned activity focusing on the ‘*Charte de la laïcité*’ and the EMC extract on “Judgement: thinking independently and with others” (page 266 or Appendix 19) could have applied the English RE excerpts’ more open-ended methodology. A more *dialectical* approach would not only stress the value of *laïcité* for French state education and democracy, but also allow more room to engage with religious sensibilities.

Nevertheless, the French extract on “Historians’ interpretations of *laïcité*” (pages 256-257 or Appendix 12) engages with the evolving meaning of *laïcité* from its anti-clerical past to its more religiously inclusive present. Mention is made of France’s potentially unequal institutional treatment of long-established religions compared to less institutionally established ones, like Islam. Moreover, the extract invites students to discuss ‘issues’ posed by *laïcité* in contemporary France, thus applying a non-prescriptive *dialectical* and *contemporarily meaningful* approach.

7.4.3 Cross-fertilisation: The question of openness to difference

I found indications that analysed textbook material for both case studies can potentially curtail a *cross-fertilising* pedagogy. Despite this convergence, the limits placed on *cross-fertilisation* highlight the specificities within each country.

The limit for England relates to the promotion of an RE intent on challenging perceived ‘radical’ narratives and intolerant views. Compared to certain scholars, I do not believe this development evidences a privatisation of religion (Barnes, 2006, Thobani, 2017; Shaw, 2018). However, I do argue that occasional omissions of critical views of religion could be a by-product of ‘cohesive’ educational intents in CC and FBV. I illustrated this phenomenon via a GCSE textbook extract about Shari’ah (page 250 or Appendix 10) which states that divine law is “not meant to be imposed on people”. This phrase could sometimes be at odds with the views of, for example, certain Muslims, non-Muslims, women and sexual minorities.

For France, a dimension which curtails *cross-fertilisation* is that religious and *laïque* voices are not placed on a more equal footing. Thus, whereas in English RE textbooks what can limit *cross-fertilisation* is the occasional omission of critical views of religion, in France it is the restriction of religion’s potential contribution to subject content where respectful conflict and criticism could be possible. I illustrated this phenomenon using a Philosophy textbook extract (pages 270-271 or Appendix 20) about religion as a philosophical phenomenon which mostly focused on secular perspectives, at the expense of religious viewpoints.

7.5 Conclusion

Through a focus on textbooks and syllabi, this chapter has engaged with my second research question ‘**what are English and French educators’ understandings and approaches regarding education about religions in state-secondary schools?**’ in the context of deliberative democracy.

I have argued throughout the thesis that the multiculturalisation of English RE since the 1980s, an increasingly religiously inclusive French educational *laïcité* since the late 20th century, as well

as 21st century ‘cohesive’ discourses in both countries, respond to the salient question of “how can we live together with our differences” (Willaime, 2007, p. 66). Thus, particularly in connection to ‘cohesive’ discourses, my assessment differs from scholars who claim that these represent a curtailment of academic, individual and communities’ liberties (Gearon, 2013; Wesselhoeft, 2017). In contrast to such perspectives, I argue that the promotion of ‘cohesion’ attempts to accommodate each country’s complex religious situation. However, my narrative does not prevent me from making a nuanced reading of textbook and syllabi content, as illustrated in this chapter.

English RE textbooks and syllabi demonstrate a flexible, and overall thorough, *Critical Pedagogy* responsive to the de-privatisation of religion. Nonetheless, I detected little engagement with non-religious philosophies like humanism, beyond the superficial, in KS3 and KS4 material, which does not reflect present-day demographics in England. From a *cross-fertilising* perspective, there is also a sometimes partially sanitised approach to topics deemed contentious in British society.

For France, the chapter illustrated instances of a more religiously engaging educational *laïcité*, even if textbook content indicates an ambivalent application of *Critical Pedagogy*. However, I argue that there is still a somewhat strict distinction between ‘*croire et savoir*’ in *laïque* education. This limits deeper *holistic* incursions into certain religiously pertinent topics or curtails placing religious and secular voices on a more equal footing, which often impedes *dialectical* and *cross-fertilising* approaches towards the ‘*fait(s) religieux*’ in analysed textbooks. Generally, textbooks’ engagement with the ‘*fait(s) religieux*’ limits the fruition of deliberative democratic appreciations of, and engagements with, education about religions. Thus, in sum, analysed material provides educators with few resources in the face of what interviewees assess as students’ heightened interest in matters touching on religion in France and internationally.

This chapter brings my empirical analysis to a close. In chapter eight I conclude the thesis by answering both research questions comparatively and discussing my overall findings.

Chapter eight - Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

My interdisciplinary thesis has provided a bi-national empirical contribution to the field of comparative studies into education about religions in Europe. As specified in section 2.2, this relatively novel academic field is interested in mapping cross-case comparisons between European countries concerning the changing role of, and/or attitudes towards, religion in education. In relation to this, my research has revealed instances of how two state-secondary school systems respond to the salient matter of “how can we live together with our differences (be they cultural, religious, etc)” (Willaime, 2007, p. 66). Previous to my thesis, publications resulting from REDCo’s research were the only works containing in-depth engagements with live participants in English and French school settings. However, both countries were only compared at the European, rather than bi-national level, and the studies were published between 2006 and 2009. Also, although they conducted interviews with teachers, they empirically focused mainly on student perspectives about religion as a source of dialogue and conflict. In contrast, I have concentrated on how macro-political developments (the de-privatisation of religion, particularly Islam) are reflected in micro-political actors’ experiences, understandings and approaches regarding education about religions.

To achieve my research aims, I devised a comparative case study through a ‘structured focused comparison’ design. The data collection included state-sponsored documents, legislation and policies. I coupled these with elite and educator interviews, which form the bulk of my data. These were then triangulated with class observations, together with 21st century English RE and French History, EMC and Philosophy textbooks and syllabi. Gathered data was analysed through qualitative ‘directed content analysis’.¹⁰⁷

This chapter comprises three sections. Section 8.2 answers both of my research questions and connects these to Portier’s concept of ‘converging secularisms’ and Casanova’s theory of the de-

¹⁰⁷ More information available in the methodology chapter.

privatisation of religion. I also compare my findings with relevant publications, particularly when these draw from in-depth empirical engagements. Afterwards, I conclude that the convergence between the English and French case studies cannot be considered postsecular developments. Section 8.3 suggests three avenues for future research which could build on my academic contribution. Section 8.4 closes the project with a final remark. Here I connect my findings to the main narrative of the thesis, which is that 21st century educational tendencies to promote ‘social cohesion’ in both countries represent attempts to accommodate their complex religious situations rather than curtailments of academic, individuals and communities’ freedoms.

8.2 De-privatisation of religion, ‘converging secularisms’ and education about religions

This section answers both research questions. My answers and the ensuing discussions cement my bi-national study’s contribution to the field of comparative research into education about religion in Europe. The first research question deals with the first two levels of my conceptual framework, whilst the second question delves into the tertiary concepts. These concepts are detailed in chapter two.

8.2.1 Research question one

My findings indicate that France’s ‘separationist’ and England’s ‘State-Church’ models show a confluence in what Willaime considers a European-wide interest in the issue of “how can we live together with our differences” (2007, p. 66). I argue that this confluence results from the de-privatisation of religion which, particularly since the 21st century, has been accentuated by socio-political matters concerning Islam in Western Europe. The answer to my first research question **‘to what extent is the de-privatisation of religion, and Islam particularly, reflected in state-secondary education in England and France?’** is as follows:

There are three forms of de-privatisation of religion reflected in both case studies: the refutation of the ‘secularisation thesis’, the pluralisation of the polity and, more recently, religion having become a sometimes contentious socio-political issue.

The refutation of the ‘secularisation thesis’ is evidenced in interviewee contributions touching on the fact that rising levels of societal irreligiosity exist alongside increasing religious diversity and globalisation processes. These strengthen religion’s political profile. References to globalisation are particularly prominent in the English case study, whereas comments on diversity in France tend to focus on the place of autochthonous Muslim communities within *laïcité*. The refutation of the ‘secularisation thesis’ also encompasses the two other forms of de-privatisation of religion.

My research reflects the de-privatisation of religion as a pluralisation of the polity in two ways. Firstly, both case studies evidence moves towards more pluralist educational conceptions of heritage and nationhood as ethno-religiously diverse countries. Secondly, my data illustrates efforts to counterbalance critical, and often exclusionary, attitudes surrounding Islam considered detrimental to a pluralist view of society.

The third type of de-privatisation, concerning contention surrounding religion, relates to the aforementioned counterbalancing discourses. This form of de-privatisation imbues state-sponsored and state-institutional documents, as well as interviewee contributions, and often touches upon the place of Islam in each country. For England, my data highlights that responses to this contention underscore a perceived need to promote inter-community contacts and ‘challenge’ attitudes deemed detrimental to society. Somewhat similarly, French educational responses emphasise the need to counteract exclusionary ‘parochial’ attitudes towards religion and non-religion.

The combination of these three types of de-privatisation of religion in both countries bolsters trends that emphasise a discourse of ‘cohesion’ in 21st century state-sponsored publications, state-institutional educational strategies, and interviewee perceptions. This development can reinforce education about religion’s importance for state-secondary school students’ civic development.

My comparative answer, based on empirical findings in chapters four and five, questions the sometimes dichotomous view of England and France's secular models (Kuru, 2008, p. 14; Meer et al, 2009) or the perception that French *laïcité* solely privatises religion (Modood, 2013, p. 69; Ferrera, 2012, p. 515). My research contributes to a more nuanced understanding. Chapter five delved into two dimensions that define Portier's concept of 'converging secularisms' within my focus on education. The first refers to moves towards religious egalitarian pluralism in England and greater recognition of religion in France. The second dimension is 21st century 'cohesive designs' (Portier, 2016a, pp. 89-90; Portier, 2016b). The former relates to the de-privatisation of religion, understood as an opening of the democratic polity to pluralism. The latter to state-sponsored discourse and state-institutional responses to de-privatisation as the contentious issue of religion, particularly Islam, in English and French 21st century society. Bridging both forms of de-privatisation is what Casanova calls the de-privatisation of religion as a normative theoretical refutation of the 'secularisation thesis' of Western modernity (Casanova, 1994, p. 220).

(A) Egalitarian pluralism and recognition

Firstly, there is a convergence in state-sponsored documents, legislation, policies (since the 1980s), and interviewee contributions which illustrate an opening of the democratic polity to religious pluralism in education. Islam's demographic contribution to both societies has been integral to this pluralisation. However, its contribution is only one dimension within a broader multiculturalisation of both countries and, specifically for France, a recession of militant anti-clerical *laïcité*.

In England, following the 1985 Swann Report and 1988 Education Reform Act, state schools of no designated religious character officially departed from a Christian instruction approach to RE. This catalysed a pluralisation of the concepts of heritage and identity explored in the subject, as highlighted in the 1994 SCAA model syllabi analysed in chapter four (1994a, pp. 4-7). This pluralisation of the democratic polity, and consequently RE, was exemplified by Mr Williams (page 136) who stated that as "Britain is a very diverse and multicultural society", RE allows students to "understand people's beliefs" so that "barriers can be broken down". The progression

of an education receptive to societal pluralisation is evidenced in REDCo's findings among European students. Pupils valued learning about religion to respond to contemporary religious pluralism and religion's social importance (Bertram-Troost et al, 2008, p. 408; Jozsa, 2009, pp. 143&155). My findings also correlate with CORE's 2018 report 'Religion and worldviews: The way forward'. Student contributions to CORE's research valued RE's capacity to allow an understanding of others' beliefs in contemporary English diversity in order to build respect and acceptance of difference or to "help understand the context of world events" (2018, pp. 28-29). My study thus extends REDCo and CORE's findings among students to my analysis of documents and interviewed educators.

In France, the pluralisation of the democratic polity and its impact on education was illustrated by M. Vaugirard's contribution on page 164. He argued that moves towards a more comprehensive integration of Islamic civilisations in History "during the 80s and 90s" were "motivated by a need to recognise the diversity of our country". Indeed, the 1989 Joutard Report and 1991 *Colloque Besançon* advocated a more comprehensive '*histoire des religions*' in secondary schools, partly to intertwine *laïque* education with contemporary "spiritual plurality" (Joutard, 1989; Sachot, 1991, pp. 93-94). Furthermore, Jamal Ahabab (page 167) stated that a key aim of the EFR, introduced in 2005, is to provide "snippets" of knowledge about religions for pupils' "understanding of other cultures".

(B) 'Cohesive designs'

Secondly, there is a convergence in how 21st century discourses of 'cohesion' touch upon religion in both education systems. I argue these 'cohesive' discourses respond to the de-privatisation of religion, in this case understood as a contentious matter in society and, subsequently, a greater refutation of the 'secularisation thesis'. These 21st century developments, to considerable degree, have been catalysed by matters surrounding Islam in both countries and internationally. For Portier, this form of convergence reacts to issues of supposed ethno-religious segregation, Islamism, terrorism and anti-Muslim sentiments. Although sometimes wary of 'cohesive' responses, Portier admits that countries like England and France are living through religiously

contentious times (2016a, p. 89-90; 2016b). His assessment tallies with Casanova's argument that the contentious issue of Islam post-9/11 is an integral dimension to the de-privatisation of religion in Western Europe (2010, p. 20).

For example, in England, the Cattle Reports, which adopted the term CC, responded to the 2001 Bradford riots. Additionally, the Prevent strategy stressed the need to counteract rhetoric that claims that the "West is perpetually at war with Islam" and that "Muslims [...] cannot legitimately and or effectively participate in our democratic society" (HM Government, 2011, p. 20). This mistrust imbues certain interviewees' experiences. For instance, Mr Williams (pages 120-121) stated that parents have complained about their children learning about Islam specifically. Such instances of contention surrounding Islam have bolstered discourses of 'cohesion' through CC and FBV which reinforce an "instrumentalist" view of RE (Chater, 2018, p. 73) for students' civic development. In chapter four, my findings correlated with Copley's assessment that contemporary RE has increasingly become "a vehicle to engender a more tolerant society" (2005, p. 116). FBV's connection to Prevent has aroused substantial academic concern regarding the potential framing of students, particularly Muslims, as suspects. However, apart from Fatima Baqri's contribution on page 138, interviewees were less critical and even receptive of Prevent and/or FBV's emphasis on "challenging" perceived intolerant views.

English RE's increasing focus on tolerance, 'cohesion', 'shared values' and dialogue at the possible expense of religious literacy and knowledge raises the question of whether this reduces RE's profile. Conroy et al, in their analysis of policy documents and ethnographic research in schools, alluded to such shifts potentially curtailing linguistic and conceptual depths in RE, which contributes to the subject being academically ranked "very low" in schools (2013, pp. 222&225-226). Although there could be more linguistic and conceptual depth in RE, which links to Ofsted's statement that a large proportion of schools show non-compliance in devoting sufficient time to the delivery of an "ambitious RE curriculum" (Ofsted, 2021), my findings differ from Conroy et al's assessment that RE necessarily has a "very low profile". Firstly, educators participating in my research often stressed the importance of education about religions in redressing negative

representations of Islam to build a more inclusive society. Secondly, CC and FBV were largely developed as a response to religion having become a contentious socio-political matter in England. According to Ms Sheppard (page 130), requirements to promote FBV, and Ofsted's inspection of schools' fulfilment of this duty, could have led to her school giving more class-time to RE. Finally, my data reflects instances of the refutation of the 'secularisation thesis' in education. For example, Mr Henderson (pages 132-133) spoke of a shift in student attitudes concerning education about religions. He stated that when he was at school "RE felt like something we had to do, whereas I know that our students really value and enjoy the subject" because "they know that they need to have an understanding of different beliefs and different values. I don't think that was as important thirty years ago". In sum, based on my document and interview analysis, an education about religions increasingly intent on promoting 'cohesion' and 'managing difference' can bolster RE's prominence in schools via its capacity to build a religiously inclusive future adult population.

In France the 2016 PART counterterrorist policy, created following numerous Jihadist attacks on French soil, gives importance to '*l'islam de France*' playing a "valuable role in terms of religious counter-discourse" against extremist narratives (Gouvernement.fr/Premier Ministre, 2016, pp. 38). France benefits from less pronounced connections between counter-radicalisation measures and education touching on religions compared to England. The interviews with Jamal Ahabab and Mme Bernard on pages 178 and 179 inform my assessment. However, 21st century discourses of 'cohesion', and their relation to religion in education, are nonetheless noticeable in French state-sponsored documents, educational legislation and policy. For instance, Debray insisted that education about religions would help counterbalance the "community dismemberment of civic solidarities" (2002, pp. 3-4). The '*Charte de la laïcité*', which references religion in eight of its fifteen points, and the creation of EMC (2013-2015) to promote a *laïque* morality and RV, exemplify how this discourse of 'cohesion' permeates French education. The macro-political effects of religion becoming a contentious matter, and the resultant discourses of 'cohesion' intent on 'managing difference', imbued several interviewed educators' experiences. M. Beau (page

169) argued that after the 2015 terrorist attacks many teachers “took modules on what constituted the values of the Republic” and *laïcité*. M. Vaugirard adopted a ‘cohesive’ discourse, as seen on page 169. He said that EMC helps teachers “reiterate that the Republic offers them (students) a framework of absolute freedom” and that “[n]o idea or creed can be above others and no religion or interpretation about God can be above the Republic”.

It would be an overstatement to assert that French state-educational developments post-2013 inherently result in religious dialogue entering schools through wide open doors. Indeed, in 2013 the *Observatoire de la laïcité* extended the concept of ‘non-proselytization’ to include students, beyond the legal requirements set on teachers as civil servants, and synonymised *laïcité* with educational ‘neutrality’. Despite the *Observatoire*’s discourse, I argue that REDCo’s assessment that religion in French state schools “is a rare presence” (Weisse, 2009, p. 8) has become more nuanced since their research between 2006 and 2009. The references to religion in the ‘*Charte de la laïcité*’, the creation of EMC and several interviewee contributions all evidence that *laïque* education has had to respond to France’s complex religious situation in the last decade. For instance, discourses of ‘cohesion’ intent on fostering students’ civic development are responses to issues touching upon religion, and Islam particularly, in French and international society. However, it is true that interviewed educators often stated that matters of religion in education need to be addressed either as ‘*faits*’ and/or expressly through the framework of *laïcité*.

My approach to the first research question has thus provided a bi-national empirical window into how Portier’s ‘converging secularisms’ can play out in state-secondary education. I have argued that this convergence is inherently related to the de-privatisation of religion in both societies, and subsequently in their state-secondary school systems. The second research question analyses how the aforementioned reflections of the de-privatisation of religion in education correspond to processes of pedagogical engagement which I uncover in gathered data.

8.2.2 Research question two

The aforementioned instances of the de-privatisation of religion in both case studies lead to questions concerning micro-political actors' methods for teaching about religions. In relation to this, the contexts of pluralism and deliberative democracy guide my bi-national comparative answer to the second research question '**what are English and French educators' understandings and approaches regarding education about religions in state-secondary schools?**'. Pluralism relates to a normative valuation of plurality (Waillet & Roskam, 2013, p. 70) which sees diversity as enriching. Thus, like Jackson, I argue that acknowledging diversity through education can have an important civic dimension for the health of plural democracies (2005; 2015). Through this context, I have expounded on ways in which educators can approach engagements with (non)religious diversity in education. Deliberative democracy has helped me analyse the framing of knowledge about religion, 'shared values' and dialogue relating to religious matters. The answer to research question two is as follows:

Context of pluralism

For England, in the context of pluralism, there is a trend among educators to favour a broad thematic *phenomenological* comparative approach to teaching about different religions within an RE progressively intent on 'managing difference'. This pedagogy is often complemented with *ethnographic* and *hermeneutic* lived experiences of an increasingly multicultural and globalised British society. My data thus evidences an RE which aims to cultivate students' knowledge about religious diversity to enhance their civic competences, but interviewees make few allusions to nurturing pupils' religiosity. This emphasis on diversity teaches that all religions are equally valid worldviews. Nonetheless, among interviewed educators, there is little indication that 'cohesive' discourses result in a presentation of Islam and other religions as being in essential agreement.

In France, my data demonstrates that the heightened salience of religion in society imbues its state-secondary school system, partly illustrated by the strengthening of

educational ‘cohesive’ discourses. Within this climate, there is evidence of interviewees associating a ‘factual’ civilisational study of religion with positive engagements with difference. In EMC, interviewees incorporate engagements with difference to varying degrees of depth when addressing contemporary socio-political matters which potentially touch upon religion. These are approached through the framework of *laïcité* and sometimes relating to the promotion of a unified citizenry.

Deliberative democracy

In the case of England, in the context of deliberative democracy, interviewees value an RE that develops students’ critical thinking skills to respond to matters of ‘othering’, building empathy and fostering positive engagements with difference. Overall, analysed textbooks provide developed *Critical Pedagogical* engagements with religion to allow pupils to understand contemporary society. Nonetheless, concerning the thesis’ predominant focus on Islam, the religion can occasionally be approached from a sanitised perspective by interviewees and analysed textbooks. Whether this is mainly applicable to Islam, or is also relevant to other religions in RE, would require further research specifically comparing education about different religions.

France’s present-day diversity and contentious religious situation encourage the promotion of a religiously inclusive ‘*vivre ensemble*’. However, depths of engagement with religion in History and EMC vary significantly based on individual teachers’ understandings of educational *laïcité*. These range from brief acknowledgments to flexible understandings of religion’s place within *laïque* schools. Analysed French textbooks show an ambivalent *Critical Pedagogical* implementation of education about religions. More developed studies of, or debates about, religion among certain interviewees and in analysed textbooks are partly limited by a strict distinction between ‘*croire et savoir*’ and by contrasting understandings of *laïcité*’s relationship with pedagogical ‘neutrality’.

In the context of pluralism, there are grounds to claim that a comparative approach to English RE can reinforce tolerance as the backbone of the subject. However, unlike Barnes, I do not believe that contemporary approaches to tolerance in RE inherently result in presenting religions as being in essential agreement (2009). For example, on page 149 in my *positive-pluralism* category, Ms Sheppard stressed that she often teaches at GCSE how “Christian and Muslims” have “standpoints on certain issues” which can differ. Through my interviewee contributions, I argue that comparative approaches in RE do not necessarily emphasise the “sameness” of religion. Rather, these are a response to the fact that British society is increasingly ethno-religiously diverse, and that RE is ideally placed to engage with and ‘manage difference’, one example being Ms Jones’ *hermeneutic* approach on page 147. On the other hand, this engagement with difference often leans towards a traditional normative valuation of plurality. Among several interviewees, engagement with difference does not systematically include non-religious views.

For France, most teachers stressed that education about religions in History is possible provided this is ‘factual’. My findings correlate with the empirical assessment in ‘*Les jeunes, l’école et la religion*’ that History teachers, when legitimising the inclusion of education about religions, often ensure to distinguish between what they perceive as “*fait historique et croyance*” (Massignon & Mathieu, 2009, p. 192). This factual approach need not result in a disengagement from building positive attitudes towards difference. For instance, M. Flambard (page 188) commented that when conducting *ethnographic* visits to places of worship “some students thought that entering a church was against their religion but it’s necessary to point out that it is a house of God”, irrespective of personal beliefs. EMC provides several interviewed teachers with an opportunity to depart from a historicised study of religion and to respond to France’s contentious religious situation. However, depths of engagement with religion in EMC depend on individual teachers’ assessments of what the framework of *laïcité* allows. For example, Mme Martin (page 189) argued that students can occasionally reference religion in class if this is not “invasive or dogmatic”. In contrast, M. Vaugirard (page 189) said that in “republican schools there cannot be any taboo subjects. We can debate, discuss and criticise everything”, which can legitimise a

hermeneutic pedagogy. This last finding coincides with Estivalèzes' conclusion, from her empirical analysis of documents and teacher, lecturer and elite interviews, that the extent and depth of an education about religions in *laïque* schools is a delicate and debated matter (Estivalèzes, 2005, p. 229). Finally, although the empirical findings from '*Les jeunes, l'école et la religion*' argue that the promotion of the '*vivre ensemble*' can present an irenic view of religion (Massignon & Mathieu, 2009, p. 192), I found no indication of this in my data. Rather, certain interviewed educators referenced the 2015 Jihadist attacks in France, such as M. Flambard on page 190 in my *positive-pluralism* category, as topics in which they did integrate discussions about Islam, religion and the '*vivre ensemble*' in EMC.

In the context of deliberative democracy, an English education about religions increasingly intent on promoting 'cohesion', 'managing difference' and 'shared values' results in educators referencing an RE which attempts to redress issues of 'othering'. Ms Taylor's approach to the Good Samaritan (page 205) illustrated this. She expressed that "sometimes we are almost set up to see a certain group of people as an enemy but we shouldn't be afraid to challenge that". Challenging perceived intolerance is also a key component in publications relating to CC and FBV. Overall, based on my *Critical Pedagogical* categorisation, chapters six and seven evidenced practices among interviewees and analysed textbooks that fall within a deliberative democratic understanding of education. Nonetheless, the emphasis on challenging intolerance can be a double-edged sword. Firstly, it can inhibit legitimate deliberation or sometimes frame critical views of religion as being contrary to RE's aims. For instance, the media is at times viewed purely as a hindrance to tolerance, particularly in its portrayal of Islam. An example is Ms Davies' statement (pages 207-208) that the news "only mention[s] Islam when it's negative". While media representations of religion, particularly Islam, are often problematic, the media also plays an essential democratic role regarding freedom of speech and holding individuals and groups to account. Secondly, when interviewed educators touched on critiquing religious beliefs and practices, they omitted explicit mentions of Islam. My finding correlates with the somewhat irenic representation of Shari'ah in Parry et al's GCSE textbook extract. Here Shari'ah was presented

almost exclusively as “not meant to be imposed on people, it must be part of the consensus”, based on seeing “all rules as Allah looking after us, helping us stick to the right path, rather than [...] restricting us” (Parry et al, 2016, pp. 98-99 – Appendix 10). The textbook sidestepped an opportunity to implement a *cross-fertilising* pedagogy to explore why some Muslims interpret Shari’ah as integral to a pious life, whilst other Muslims, minorities, religions and non-religious perspectives are critical of certain elements of ‘divine law’.

Overall, for France, the more pronounced emphases on ‘cohesion’, ‘managing difference’ and ‘shared values’ evidenced in my data can result in a more religiously inclusive framework of *laïcité*. For example, the *Première* textbook extract on ‘Historians’ interpretations of *laïcité* acknowledged *laïcité*’s anti-clerical past and the democratic dilemmas this posed. The textbook also encouraged students to reflect on how *laïcité* can make space for Islam in contemporary France (Chevallier & Lapray, 2015, pp. 298-299 – Appendix 12). However, a more inclusive framework does not necessarily result in developed engagements with religion. The actual depth of engagement in relation to *Critical Pedagogy* varies among interviewees and textbooks. For instance, Mme Didier (page 218) stated that she only dedicates “ten minutes to Sunni and Shi’a differences” in a *Terminale* module about the Middle East. In contrast, M. Vaugirard (page 219) assessed this module allows an exploration of Islamism and the Afghanistan and Iraq wars as “causes of current tensions between the West and Islam”. Analysed French History textbooks provided teachers with a basis to explore Christianity and Islam’s medieval civilisational influences and points of encounter between both religions. However, the textbooks could develop their engagement with religious dimensions relevant to 20th and 21st century history, such as Sunni and Shi’a specificities when exploring the origins of the Iranian Revolution and a more nuanced reading of Islamism and Jihad. This correlates with Estivalèzes, Laither and van den Kerchove’s findings that education about Abrahamic religions in History syllabi and textbooks privilege a study of the religious dimensions of medieval history at the expense of more chronological inclusions (Estivalèzes, 2005, pp. 230-233; van den Kerchove, 2009, p. 62; Laither & van den Kerchove, 2014, p. 276). Although there is evidence of a more religiously inclusive *laïcité* and

'*vivre ensemble*' in the French case study, there are still instances of a somewhat strict distinction between '*croire et savoir*'. For example, in 2013 the *Observatoire de la laïcité*'s '*Rappel à la loi*' for schools extended the concept of non-proselytization to include students, and equated *laïcité* with 'neutral' education, both of which can limit *dialectical* and *cross-fertilising* deliberation in classrooms (Premier Ministre/Observatoire de la laïcité, 2013). This limit is sometimes also evident elsewhere in my data. For instance, the *Troisième* EMC textbook extract on the '*Charte de la laïcité*' asked students to show *how*, rather than deliberate *to what extent*, the Charter "defends people's freedom" in relation to balancing religious liberty and 'managing difference' (Genet et al, 2017, pp. 165-168 – Appendix 18).

Strict, and somewhat unnatural, distinctions between '*croire et savoir*' in the French case study relate even to the analysed Philosophy textbook extract exclusively dedicated to religion as a philosophical phenomenon. The extract sidestepped an opportunity to engage with religion in a *cross-fertilising* manner. The textbook approached the topic mostly from 'secular' viewpoints and leant towards an understanding of religion as "a consolation for 'vulgar men'" or caused by the "distresses of childhood" (Cerqueira et al, 2017, pp. 104-111 – Appendix 20). However, some interviewees do overcome dichotomies between '*croire et savoir*'. For example, Mme Mallet (pages 220-221) encouraged her students to look at religious scriptures in preparation for EMC discussions on religion in contemporary France. Thus, her approach moves beyond a focus on '*fait(s) religieux*' as 'collective manifestations' and 'material visibilities', which can allow a study of 'symbolic phenomena from which actors draw meaning' and 'individual and collective sensibilities' (Borne & Willaime, 2009, pp. 43-45).

8.2.3 Manifestations of de-privatisation rather than postsecular developments

In general, interviewee contributions, state-sponsored documents such as the Cattle or Debray Reports, legislation and policies indicate that the renewed socio-political relevance of religion in England and France permeates state-secondary education. Thus, state-secondary education shows, using Habermas' words, an adaptation to the higher public profile of religion in recent decades (Beckford, 2012, pp. 8-9; Habermas, 2008). However, I argue that Casanova's de-

privatisation of religion, rather than Habermas's postsecularism, explains more accurately these phenomena and their effects on the place of religion in English and French state-secondary schools. Beyond postsecularism's meanings being so varied that these are sometimes incompatible (Beckford, 2012, pp. 15-16), I question the theoretical applicability of postsecularism for my explanatory thesis. My data for England indicates that foregrounding 'cohesion' in education strengthens tendencies which see the promotion of tolerance as the *raison d'être* of contemporary RE. I disagree with Wright that RE frames religions as private sources of belonging. However, I do concur that contemporary RE sometimes emphasises the need to challenge beliefs perceived as contrary to empathetic and tolerant attitudes, which Wright links to the doctrine of secular liberalism (2016, p. 235). Additionally, in France, the '*vivre ensemble*' has become more religiously inclusive, but often through the bolstering of a *laïque* morality.

Thus for both countries, rather than postsecular developments, these phenomena correlate with what Davie calls "secular reactions" to the greater contemporary socio-political relevance of religion in Western modernity (Davie, 2014, p. 177). This evidences, based on Portier's assessment, the promotion of a substantialised secular democratic cultural value system (2016b). Therefore, state institutions might react and contribute to the de-privatisation of religion. Yet, I do not believe that this inherently results in open deliberation between religious and secular perspectives in state-secondary schools as public spheres, which is what postsecular scholars would hope for (Beckford, 2012, p. 9). Even less empirically tenable, particularly for France, is the claim that there is a "spiritualisation of the public sphere" (Beckford, 2012, p. 16). Thus, Casanova's de-privatisation of religion is more empirically applicable for my study than postsecularism (1994). I concur with Casanova that Western secularisation is clearly manifest, but that this runs parallel with the realisation in England and France that religion cannot be considered a private or unimportant matter.

8.3 Avenues for future research

My interdisciplinary study opens three avenues for future research that could build on and contrast with my findings.

Firstly, my thesis has focused predominantly on how the de-privatisation of Islam is reflected in state-secondary schools, and how this relates to educators' understandings and approaches concerning education about religion. Thus, certain of my findings centre on Islam rather than religion more broadly. Researching education about religions beyond a predominant focus on Islam would provide new findings to complement and contrast with those of my thesis.

Secondly, my brief engagement with French Philosophy demonstrated that mapping the place of education about religion in state-secondary schools is not exclusive to RE or History-Geography and EMC. How religion is approached in other English or French Humanities subjects would provide points of comparison with my thesis. A major component in the convergence between European secular systems is 'State-Church' models like England moving towards an egalitarian pluralism, and 'separationist' models such as France towards greater religious recognition. These developments relate to what I call a pluralisation of the polity through more ethno-religiously diverse conceptions of 'our heritage' which can permeate education. Thus, it would be interesting to see the extent to which these developments imbue other state-secondary school subjects beyond those analysed for this thesis.

Finally, another avenue for future research touches on discourses of 'cohesion' and 'shared values' which connect students' civic development with education about religion in English RE and French History, but EMC particularly. I recommend replicating the value given by my thesis to interviewing educators, while also analysing a wider array of textbooks and engaging more substantially with class observations and students' attitudes towards different pedagogical practices than was possible in my study. This avenue could research more extensively how both education systems might build on each other's approaches to address the salient question of 'how can we live together with our differences'. The reasoning behind this future research is that we cannot

know ourselves without knowing ‘others’, the very crux of *cross-fertilisation*, which in this case means aiding a self-reflection of how religion is approached in each state-secondary school system. This comparison could consider ways to balance fostering ‘cohesion’ with the principals of a deliberative democratic pedagogy to avoid non-deliberative promotions of ‘shared values’ or patriotic rituals, idealised depictions of authority, or foreclosures on differences. Concerning this balance, future research could reveal ways in which English RE might integrate elements of France’s ‘*esprit critique*’. Although I have made the case that an “instrumentalist RE” intent on fostering CC and FBV responds to the need to ‘live together with our differences’, I have also argued this can occasionally result in a degree of “safetyism” (fear of causing offence or controversy) (Chater, 2020, pp. 60-61). Conversely, a bi-national comparative lens could explore how French educational *laïcité* could learn from English RE to incorporate a more flexible distinction between ‘*croire et savoir*’ within its ‘*esprit critique*’, for example, to integrate a more systematic dialogical pedagogy in EMC.

8.4 Final remark

My findings indicate that the place of religion in English and French society is complex. Firstly, state and societal secularisation are clearly noticeable. However, alongside this, religion has an increasingly significant socio-political visibility in contemporary English and French public spheres. I argue that questions relating to Islam play an important role in this visibility, both in connection to the broader pluralisation of the democratic polity and to religion having become a sometimes contentious issue in the 21st century. As such, religion can by no means be seen as a private matter in either country, and subsequently, in either state-secondary education system. Therefore, although secularisation is manifest in both case studies, this does not validate the ‘secularisation thesis’ of Western modernity in England or France. Rather, the question of religion in relation to pluralism and ‘managing difference’ is very present in educational debates, state-sponsored discourse, state-institutional strategies, among many interviewees and in much textbook material. Connections between religiously pertinent matters and students’ civic development have undeniably gained socio-political and educational salience in many European

countries. For England and France, this results from both countries being characterised by the refutation of the 'secularisation thesis' and by the paradox of their societies becoming both increasingly secular and religiously diverse. Consequently, the converging quest for ways to combine education about religion and 'shared democratic values' in England and France should not be seen as a cultural homogenisation enforced on students and communities. Rather, these interconnections are legitimate responses to both countries' complex religious situations which aim to encourage future adult citizens to live together with their differences. Nonetheless, these responses could be improved upon.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 – English case study empirical contributions

High density Muslim population (density > 15 % of total settlement population)
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Leicester - Total percentage of religious demographic composed of Muslims: 18.6 % (Leicester City Council, 2012, p. 7)<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ Jonathan Williams: Head of RE and Citizenship. The Hawkins Academy: Leicester. Interview 12/10/2017.○ Julia Sheppard: RE and Citizenship teacher. The Hawkins Academy: Leicester. Interview 12/10/2017.○ The Hawkins Academy: Leicester. Structured Observation of Year 11 lesson on Stewardship and Dominion: 12/10/2017.○ The Hawkins Academy: Leicester. Structured Observation of Year 8 lesson on anti-Semitism: 16/01/2018.
Medium density Muslim population (7.5 % < density ≤ 15% of total settlement population)
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Peterborough - Total percentage of religious demographic composed of Muslims: 9.4 % (Peterborough City Council, 2011; p. 6)<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ Jane Wilkinson: Head of Humanities. Neneford School: Peterborough. Interview 18/10/2017.○ Laura Rose: Art teacher and Jewish member of Peterborough Interfaith Council. Neneford School: Peterborough. Interview 16/10/2017.○ Sara Chamberlain: Year 9 head teacher for students with learning difficulties. Neneford School: Peterborough. Interview 17/10/2017○ Lucy Jones: Head of RE. William Paley Academy: Peterborough. Interview 02/05/2019.○ Neneford School: Peterborough. Structured Observation of student day trip to mosque: 31/01/2018.
Low density Muslim population (density ≤ 7.5 % of total settlement population)
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Norwich - Total percentage of religious demographic composed of Muslims: 3.8 % (Welch, 2012)<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ Charles Clarke: Education Secretary 2002 - 2004, Home Secretary 2004 - 2006 and MP for Norwich South 1997 - 2010. Interview 02/07/2017.○ Elizabeth Taylor: RE teacher. Yare Academy: Norwich. Interview 10/04/2018.○ Martin Henderson: RE, Citizenship and Geography teacher. The Broads School: Norwich. Interview 09/04/2019.

- **Manningtree (Essex) - Total percentage of religious demographic composed of Muslims: 0.3 % (Citypopulation.de, 2018)**
 - Olivia Davies: RE teacher. Stow High School: Manningtree. Interview 08/06/2018.
- **Newcastle Upon Tyne - Total percentage of religious demographic composed of Muslims: 6.3 % (MCB/Ali, 2015, p. 73)**
 - Fatima Baqri: Education Manager for Newcastle Islamic Diversity Centre: Durham. Interview 12/10/2018.

Appendix 2 - Calculation of estimated demographic contribution of Muslims in French settlements and departments under study

Alpes-Maritimes (Cannes)	Total Department Population	Muslim Population in numbers and percentage demographic contribution based on estimated 0.8% national increase from 2012 until 2016
2012	1,098,000	2 % = 21,960
2016	1,084,000	21,960 x 1.008 (0.8 %) = 22,136 or 2.04 %

(INSEE, 2019; Barbier, 2012)

Le Jura (Lons-le-Saunier)	Total Department Population	Muslim Population in numbers and percentage demographic contribution based on estimated 0.8% national increase from 2012 to 2016
2012	271,439	2 % = 5,429
2016	260,517	5,429 x 1.008 (0.8%) = 5,472 or 2.1%

(Barbier, 2012; Citypopulation.de, 2018a)

Metropolitan Paris	Total Metropolitan Population	Muslim Population in numbers and percentage demographic contribution based on estimated 1.5% national increase from 2010 until 2016
2010	9,737,000	15 % = 1,460,550
2016	10,925,000	1,460,550 x 1.015 (1.5%) = 1,482,458 or 13.6 %

(Farmer, B., 2011, p. 8; United Nations, 2016, p. 21)

Marseilles	Total Urban Settlement Population	Muslim Population in numbers and percentage demographic contribution for the city
2015	861,635	250,000 (Muslim population) ÷ 861,635 (total population) = 29%

(Azadé, 2015)

Appendix 3 – French case study empirical contributions

High density Muslim population (density > 20 % of total settlement / department population)
<ul style="list-style-type: none">● Marseilles –Estimated total percentage of religious demographic composed of Muslims: 29%<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ Alban Vaugirard: History-Geography and Enseignement moral et civique teacher. Lycée Aix-Roux: Marseilles. Interview 30/11/2017.○ Marie Mallet: Enseignement moral et civique teacher. Lycée Aix-Roux: Marseilles. Interview 15/03/2018.○ Louise Abbas: History-Geography and Enseignement moral et civique teacher. Lycée Aix-Roux: Marseilles. Interview 20/03/2018.○ Delphine Bernard: History-Geography and Enseignement moral et civique teacher. Lycée Allard: Marseilles. Interview 01/12/2017.○ Josephine Martin: History-Geography and Enseignement moral et civique teacher. Lycée Allard: Marseilles. Interview 01/12/2017.○ Lycée Aix-Roux: Marseilles. Participant Observation of <i>Seconde</i> (Year 11) EMC class: 20/03/2018.
Medium density Muslim population (10 % < density ≤ 20 % of total settlement / department population)
<ul style="list-style-type: none">● Paris –Estimated total percentage of religious demographic composed of Muslims: 13.6 %<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ Jamal Ahabab: Member of the Institut d'étude des religions et de la laïcité (IREL): Paris. Interview 02/10/2017.
Low density Muslim population (density ≤ 10 % of total settlement / department population)
<ul style="list-style-type: none">● Alpes-Maritimes (Cannes) – Estimated total percentage of religious demographic composed of Muslims: 2.04 %<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ Camille Didier: History-Geography and Enseignement moral et civique teacher. Lycée Giroud: Cannes. Interview 05/12/2017.● Lons-le-Saunier (Department of Le Jura) – Estimated total percentage of religious demographic composed of Muslims: 2.1 %<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ François Flambard: History-Geography and Enseignement moral et civique teacher. Collège Rouget de Lise: Lons-le-Saunier. Interview 06/12/2017.○ Marcel Beau: History-Geography and Enseignement moral et civique teacher. Collège Bouchard: Lons-le-Saunier. Interview 06/12/2017.○ Jean Reason: Retired English teacher. Collège Bouchard: Lons-le-Saunier. Interview 06/12/2017.

Appendix 4 – Analysed English textbooks and syllabi

English non-confessional RE textbooks and syllabi design (only for Year 13 RE Islamic focus)	
Year 7	Brewer, M., Mantin, R., Smith, P. and Wood, C. (2005) <i>Think RE: Book 1</i> . Oxford: Heinemann.
Year 8	Brewer, M., Mantin, R., Smith, P. and Wood, C. (2005) <i>Think RE: Book 2</i> . Oxford: Heinemann.
Year 9	Brewer, M., Mantin, R., Smith, P. and Wood, C. (2005) <i>Think RE: Book 3</i> . Oxford: Heinemann.
Years 10 & 11	Parry, L., Hayes, J. & Butler, S. (2016) <i>Religious Studies: Specification A</i> . London: Hodder Education.
	Burridge et al. (2009) <i>Religion & Human Experience</i> . Essex: Heinemann.
Years 12 & 13 (Sixth Form)	OCR (2016) <i>Religious Studies: Developments in Islamic Thought</i> . Cambridge: Cambridge Assessment.
	Frye, J., Herring, D. & Thompson, M. (2017) <i>Religious Studies: For A-level Year 2</i> . London: Hodder Education.

Appendix 5 – Analysed French textbooks

French Humanities textbooks – History, EMC and Philosophy (<i>Terminale</i> only)	
<i>Sixième</i> - Year 7	Le Mercier (ed.) (2009) <i>Histoire-Géographie-Education Civique</i> . Buc: Scérén.
<i>Cinquième</i> - Year 8	Lagrenade, M., Arpillere, J., John, M. & Roupillard, D. (2016) ‘Histoire-Géographie EMC’, in Balaguier, A. (ed.) <i>L’année de 5ème: Tout pour réussir</i> . Paris: Bordas, pp. 118-165.
<i>Quatrième</i> - Year 9	Blanchard, É. & Mercier, A. (eds.) (2016) <i>Histoire-Géographie – Enseignement moral et civique</i> . Lyon: lelivrescolaire.fr.
<i>Troisième</i> - Year 10	Genet, L., Jézéquel, P. & Pralon, G. (2017) <i>Histoire-Géo 3^e: Enseignement moral et civique</i> . Paris: Nathan.
<i>Seconde</i> - Year 11	Vidal, J. (ed.) (2015) <i>Histoire: Les Européens dans l’histoire du monde</i> . Paris: Magnard.
<i>Première</i> - Year 12	Chevallier & Lapray (eds.) (2015) <i>Histoire: Questions pour comprendre le XX siècle</i> . Paris: Hatier.
<i>Terminale</i> - Year 13	Billard, H. (ed.) (2014) <i>Histoire Terminales ES.L</i> . Paris: Magnard.
	Cerqueira, S., Lamouche, F. & Rosset, A. (2017) <i>Bescherelle Philo: La référence pour le BAC</i> . Paris: Hatier.

Jihad

This is one of the Obligatory Acts of Shi'a Islam. It is important to all Muslims, especially in its sense as trying to follow Allah's teachings in the world. Actually every religious person might say they have a similar duty in their own faith; to keep to their laws and beliefs in the best way possible. [...]

The word Jihad means to struggle or to strive. It comes from the word "juhd" which means to "make an effort". Muslims today use Jihad in two contexts. First, Jihad is a Muslim's internal struggle to serve Allah as best they can. It is the spiritual struggle a person needs to make to conquer their own selfishness, lust or greed to stay on the right path. Secondly, Jihad can mean to struggle to defend Islam. The first idea is commonly known as Greater Jihad, the second, the Lesser Jihad. [...]

- **The Greater Jihad**

Firstly, many Muslims do not accept this term at all. Those that do, claim that it applies to the everyday life of a Muslim. It is simply following a moral and virtuous life. A person engaged in Jihad is called a mujahid. Examples of Jihad are:

- Following the Pillars: striving to do them properly.
- Those who are hafiz, as they made the effort to learn the Qur'an.
- Forgiving someone who has insulted you.
- Giving up things for the poor or working for social justice.

According to Muslim public opinion polls [...] most people referred to jihad as a "duty to God" or "worship of God" or "striving for peace and cooperation" with no reference to war. [...]

- **The Lesser Jihad**

The following two teachings are attributed to Muhammad:

'The best Jihad is the word of justice in front of an oppressive rule.'

'The best Jihad is the one in which your horse is slain and your blood spilled.' [...]

However, even if these quotes are adhered to, there are regulations and rules that should apply concerning behaviour and parameters. This is where extreme groups today like ISIS, Al Qaeda, Al Shabab, Boko Haram could be failing in their Islamic understanding. [...]

- **Rules – a Lesser Jihad / Holy War**

- To defend Allah and not for conquest.
- To gain freedom from tyranny and restore peace.
- Fought until the enemy lays down their weapons.
- Women and children should not be harmed nor crops damaged, mosques should be protected absolutely.
- Mercy should be applied to enemy captives, soldiers treated, women left unharmed, not abused or raped, and the enemy should never be executed. [...]

- **The Basics**

1. Explain the difference between Greater and Lesser Jihad.
2. Discuss in groups why in the modern world these terms are often confused or misunderstood. [...]
3. **It is never right to fight a holy war.** Do you agree with this statement? Explain your arguments.

Diversity of beliefs within the religion [...]

• **The Six Articles of Faith in Sunni Islam**

1. “The Oneness of Allah” [...]. This means that Allah is the creator and sustainer of life. He is beyond any human limitations like age and death because He was not born and cannot die. He has no partners or children and nothing is like Him.
2. Angels do the work of Allah. [...] They receive souls at death. Angels do not have free will like humans and they obey Allah’s commands.
3. Five sources of authority are books: the Torah of Moses; the Psalms of David; the Gospels; the Scrolls of Abraham; and the Qur’an. [...] The Qur’an is the only revealed scripture still in its original form. It is the direct Word of Allah as given through the Angel Jibril.
4. Muslims believe in the supremacy of Allah’s will. Sunni believe that Allah knows everything. Qadr means everything is ordered by Allah; nothing is random or by chance. [...]
5. Muslims believe that there will be a day (the Day of Judgement) when all Muslims and others stand alone in front of Allah, who decides whether they go to heaven or hell based on their deeds. [...]
6. Prophets and messengers are chosen by Allah to deliver His message to humankind. Muslims believe that Allah has revealed messages throughout time to guide humanity and that Prophet Muhammad was the last (Seal) of the prophets [...]. [...]

The Basics

1. Name one of the articles of faith.
2. Explain briefly what is meant by the “Oneness of Allah”.
3. Explain the three ways Allah communicates with humankind.
4. Explain ways in which belief in these six articles of faith influences Muslims in their lives today.
5. Belief in the Oneness of Allah is all a Muslim needs to have. What do you think about this statement? Give arguments for and against the statement and explain your answer.

• **The five roots of Usul ad-Din in Shi’a Islam [...]**

1. Tawhid – ‘oneness’: This means the same as in Sunni beliefs, that Allah is One. [...]
2. Nubuwwah – prophethood: Shi’as believe that Allah sent messengers to guide people to the right path and Prophet Muhammad was the last of them. The “right path” means a peaceful way of life, lived in total submission to Allah. [...]
3. Justice of Allah – Adalat: [...] The Shi’a believe they need to be aware there is good and evil in everything, but Allah commands them to be good. [...]
4. Al-Ma’ad – resurrection: The Shi’a believe that there will be a Day of Judgement. Every Muslim and non-Muslim will be judged by Allah.
5. Imamate – leadership: Some believe that Prophet Muhammad said that twelve imams from his own tribe would succeed him as leaders. [...] All Imams are seen as infallible [...] and must be obeyed. They are protectors of the faith, ensuring the teachings do not become corrupted or spoiled. [...]

The Basics

1. What are the five roots of Usul ad-Din?
2. Explain each of the five roots clearly. [...]
3. Explain how each of the five roots influences the lives of Shi’a Muslims today.

Appendix 8 – Burrige et al, 2009, p. 83

Is it right for people to share their faith with others?

The question needs to be considered of whether it is appropriate for others to share their faith. There is a distinction between sharing faith and imposing faith on others. Consider the arguments for and against below:

- **For**

- It is only through the sharing of faith that some people get to hear God's message and follow their own religion.
- Sharing beliefs is part of human nature – It is not simply a religious idea.
- As long as it is sharing and not forcing, what's the harm?
- It is interesting to learn about the faith of others and get a better understanding of their religion.
- Sharing faith with others provides a deeper understanding of their beliefs, as you can discuss them and share together in worship.
- It is important to be able to get on with other people and sharing faith ideas helps you to do this.
- Faith is an important part of someone's life and you should feel honoured that they want to share it with you.

- **Against**

- Faith is a personal thing and should not be dealt with in public.
- Some religious believers may try to convert people.
- Some religious believers may force religion on someone who doesn't want it or who is happy with their own beliefs.
- It can be intimidating if someone you don't know stops you and starts telling you about their religion.
- It isn't necessary – if someone wants to become religious they can go and find out about the religion for themselves.

- **Activity**

Write a speech trying to persuade others of your view about the following statement: "Religion is a private matter and it is not necessary for religious believers to share it with others". Remember you are trying to convince them, so anticipate any counter arguments they may give by showing your awareness of them in your writing.

Should religious people openly express their beliefs? [...]

• **Is it easy to follow a religion in the modern world?**

More and more countries are becoming “religion-rich”, as immigration brings new faiths in, and new places of worship are built. The internet means anyone can access any religion, or group within it, for information or worship from their own home, without having to be part of a physical community. As a society, it could be said we know more about other faiths, so are more tolerant. Laws protect religious freedoms. All this makes it easier than ever to follow a religion.

• **Is there any problem with being open about what you believe in?**

In the West, fewer people follow religions, and it seems acceptable to make fun of religious believers and their beliefs. Society is not guided by religion anymore, so it has less authority.

• **Read these real situations. What is your opinion on each? Do these show we live in a society tolerant of religion?**

- An incident took place where a check-in desk worker at an airport was banned from wearing a cross and chain because it might offend passengers who were not Christian.
- A discussion took place as to whether shops should display Christmas cards in their windows because it might cause offence to non-Christians.
- A nurse was suspended because, as a Christian, she offered to pray for a patient who was in the hospital she worked at.
- A Muslim woman employed as a teacher was asked to remove her full face veil because it was deemed not appropriate when teaching young children.
- A secondary school has renamed Christmas Holidays as “Winter Break” to avoid offending the Muslim students who attend. In contrast, the school has not reduced the length of the break so that it could make Eid a whole school holiday.
- A head teacher lost her job because she decided that all assemblies should be given to all students, and not just split for particular religious or non-religious groups.

• **The Basics**

1. What is meant by “religious freedom” and “freedom of religious expressions”?
2. Explain religious attitudes to other religions and people of other religions from the religion(s) you have studied.
3. What can make it difficult to openly express religion in our society? Use examples in your answer.
4. Freedom of religion and religious expression is not possible in the modern world. Do you agree with this statement? Explain your arguments.

The Qur'an as the basis for Shari'ah [...]

- **What makes up the Shari'ah?**

Shari'ah (Islamic law) means 'a path to life-giving water' and goes back to Ibrahim. Shari'ah considers:

1. The Qur'an – containing direct guidance from Allah.
2. The Sunnah – many of the prophet's teachings and actions putting the Qur'an into practice.

Leading scholars use these to make decisions (ijma', which means consensus). Muslims believe that any devout Muslim has the right to make judgements in keeping with the Qur'an and Sunnah where there is no guidance. The opinions of the Prophet's companions, such as Abu Bakr and Qatadah, are like laws, later ijma' are only seen as guidelines. There is the belief that these can be changed as time moves on.

- **Sunni and Shi'a diversity**

For Sunni Muslims there are four schools of thought within Islamic Shari'ah Law (each known as madh'hab): the Hafani, Maliki, Shafi'i and Hanbali schools. Some Sunni also accept the Shi'a Ja'fari school of thought. Shi'a Muslims only accept the Ja'fari school, which is made up of learned individuals called mujtahids (living religious scholars or ayatollahs representing the twelve imams). Their opinions must still be based on the Qur'an and the Sunnah though.

- **Why is there a need for Shari'ah?**

Allah's laws are always superior to human-made laws, because He knows and understands the world humans live in far better than they ever could. Also, Allah is without prejudice or favour, so is absolutely objective, whereas humans are biased. Laws are needed for society to function properly and fairly. Shari'ah Law covers five main areas: behaviour and manners; ritual worship; beliefs; transactions and punishments. If the laws in a country are not based on absolute justice, then Shari'ah Law is more important to follow. Muslims are taught to obey the laws of the country they live in, but some Muslims do want Shari'ah to be used alongside government law in dealing with matters of religion. This subject has been debated in Britain as radical Muslims called for Shari'ah Law to be the law of the UK. However, Shari'ah is not meant to be imposed on people, it must be part of the consensus. Some parts of Shari'ah are used in Britain, for example, in relation to marriage.

- **Categories of behaviour:**

1. Fard or Wajib: compulsory actions, for example, prayers.
2. Mustahab and Mandoob: things that are recommended for Muslims, for example, nafil prayer.
3. Mubah: things that are allowed, but neither recommended nor forbidden.
4. Makruh: allowed actions which are disliked or disapproved of, for example, divorce.
5. Haram: forbidden actions, for example, adultery.

- **How does Shari'ah fit in a modern world?**

Shari'ah Law comes from 1,400 years ago. How can they apply today? Are our lives too complex today? Should religion really govern our actions, for example, telling me whether I can drink alcohol? Muslims see all rules as Allah looking after us, helping us stick to the right path, rather than them being seen as restricting us. They are all there to help.

- **Task**

In groups of five give each person one of the boxes [corresponding to the above five points] on this page to research. Each person should then feed back to the group so that notes can be made.

Appendix 11 – Burrridge et al, 2009, pp. 110-111

What if the law conflicts with religious beliefs?

- **Religious laws v State laws?**

What happens when the laws of the country are different from the laws of a religion? Which one should a person follow and how does a religious believer know how to make this decision?

There are a number of times when this dilemma can be seen and it is difficult to reconcile the conflicting ideas. For example, according to British law, it is not illegal to commit adultery (if you are old enough to have sex), but it is often viewed as being against the laws of religion. In this difficult situation, what does a religious believer do? There is no right or wrong answer, although, obviously, to ignore the rules of the country could lead to a person being prosecuted or even imprisoned. Nevertheless, a religious believer would argue that they need to be true to their faith and, perhaps, try to find some compromise, which means they remain loyal to their beliefs and religious teachings, but also stay within the limits set by the country. [...]

- **Islamic teaching**

As well as the sacred texts of the Qur'an and hadith, Muslims also follow Shari'ah Law, which is Islam's legal system. Shari'ah is a religious code for living. It is based on the Qur'an as the word of God, the example of the life of the Prophet Muhammad and *fatwas*, or rulings of Islamic scholars. It is implemented to varying degrees – from beheadings in Saudi Arabia, to the relatively liberal social customs of Malaysia.

The key issues in the United Kingdom are family law, finance and business. In practice, many Muslims turn to Shari'ah Law for guidance in many of these day-to-day matters. Sometimes, extreme punishments under Shari'ah Law are in conflict with the laws of many Western countries. These penalties may be imposed for unlawful sexual intercourse (adultery); false accusation of unlawful intercourse; the drinking of alcohol; theft; and highway robbery. Sexual offences can carry a penalty of stoning to death or flogging, while theft can be punished by cutting off a hand. [...]

Historians' interpretations of *laïcité*

- In France, *laïcité* is one of the founding principles of the Republic. Formalised by the 1905 law on the separation of Church and State, the term is inscribed in the IV and V Constitutions of the Republic. Historians find ways to draw out its different interpretations and try to show how it adapts to the evolutions of French society. *Laïcité* is at the heart of the Republican school project founded by Jules Ferry's laws of 1881-1882. [...]

- **1. Several models of *laïcité* in France?**

“The history of *laïcité* during the XX century is divided into [...] its appearance, followed by the development of two different interpretations about what both of these entail. The oldest interpretation, the one that inspired the process of secularisation from 1880 until 1905, remains loyal to its initial beliefs: Catholicism remains the most serious menace, its influence needs to be contained if it cannot be eradicated, meaning that *laïcité* should exclude any reference to religious beliefs. This combination of convictions is in line with a belief in national unity which grudgingly accepts pluralism in educational perspectives while preferring [...] to maintain a monopoly over the state school system.

Another interpretation of *laïcité* evolved bound to its essential meaning – liberty of conscience, the independence of the State, a total rejection of clericalism or, in the opposite sense, an instrumentalisation of religion by the political - while still recognising the importance and legitimacy of the *fait religieux* and not holding *laïcité* and the manifestation of diverse opinions as incompatible [...]. (René Rémond, “*Laïcité and its critics*”, *Pouvoirs*, n 75, November 1995, D.R.).

- What issues does the double reading of the law of 1905 reveal?

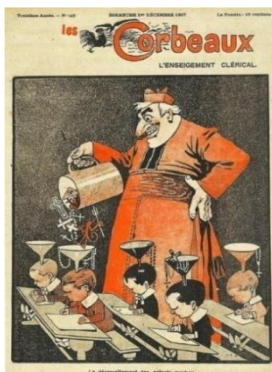
- **2. *Laïcité*, a French national myth?**

“Doesn't *laïcité* try to [...] stop the relationship between politics and religion?

Not entirely. All forms of *laïcité* need both politics and religion. It consists, more precisely, that religious powers do not influence political life or state decisions. [...] Personally, I do not believe there exists, judicially or politically, a French model of *laïcité*. However, undeniably, it is a mythical representation in France which is part of the national imaginary” (“*Laïcité is a national myth*”, Jacqueline Lalouette, interviewed by Antoine De Baecque, *Liberation*, 15 October 2005).

- What does *laïcité* define as the relation between religion and politics?

- **3. *Laïcité*, a fight against the Church?**



(“*Brainwashing the children of martyrdom*”, cartoon by Ahseverus for *Les Corbeaux*, 1907)

- How does this cartoon interpret Republican and Catholic Church relations in France at the turn of the XX century?
- **4. 1905-2005: Is *laïcité* still the same? [...]**

“France is no longer really *laïque* as the state and local authorities spend over 8 million euros funding catholic institutions and schools. The State also finances the clergy’s social security and pensions. [...] French people are very attached to the principal of *laïcité* but, taking into account the changing role of religion in France which has nothing to do with that of the early XX century, the status quo is no longer possible. It is necessary to make space for Islam, which is disadvantaged compared to other older and more established religions.” [...] (*Odon Vallet, historian of religions, interviewed by Jean-Yves Boulic, Ouest-France, December 8th 2005*).
- What difficulties does the 1905 law pose to French society in 2005?

Appendix 13 – Lagrenade et al, 2016, pp. 122-123

From the birth of Islam until the taking of Bagdad by the Mongols

• **Islam, third monotheistic religion**

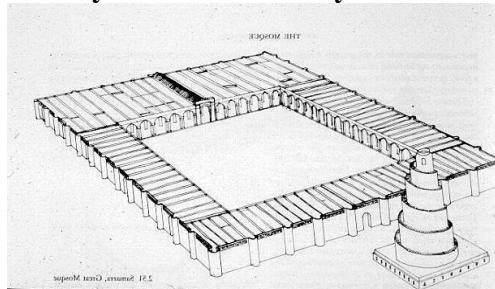
- Islam is born in Arabia during the VII century. The Qur’an is its sacred text: For Muslims, it gathers the message of God revealed to the prophet Muhammad and establishes religious and day-to-day rules.
- 622, date symbolising Muhammad’s departure from Mecca to Medina, and the beginning of the Muslim calendar. [...]

• **Study the layout of a religious building**



Great Mosque of Kairouan in Tunisia [...]

Activity: 1. Place on the layout the different parts of the Mosque.



a) Courtyard b) Prayer room c) Minaret

Activity: 2. Reread the class text, look at the map below and choose the correct column in the table: [...]

	True	False
1. Muhammad conquered Egypt.		
2. The first four caliphs considerably expanded Muslim territories.		
3. Damascus is the capital of the Muslim.		
4. The Omayyad caliphs conquered Spain.		
5. The Abbasids established their capital in Africa.		
6. The Abbasid territories extended over three continents.		

Activity: 3. Associate the following phrases to the five pillars of Islam. Add the correct numbers to the right boxes.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------|
| Declaration of faith | ..... |
| Prayer | ..... |
| Charity | ..... |
| Fasting during the month of Ramadan | ..... |
| Pilgrimage | ..... |
1. Do not absorb / consume anything from sunrise to sunset.
 2. “There is no god but God, and Muhammad is his prophet”.
 3. “Share the greatest things you have acquired”.
 4. It has to be done five times a day facing Mecca.
 5. Go once in your life to Mecca. [...]

The Mediterranean, place of contact

Three political and religious systems

- Around the Mediterranean, between the VI and XII centuries, three civilisations are in contact.
- The Christian West, to the North-West, is on the land of the former Western Roman Empire. The area is home to Roman Christianity.
- The Byzantine Empire is in the North-East. This territory falls under the territories of the former Eastern Roman Empire to the North-East and the dominant religion is Orthodox Christianity.
- The Muslim World, to the South, occupies vast spaces from the Iberian Peninsula to the Middle East, built on conquests. The dominant religion is Islam.

Military, commercial and cultural relations

- These three civilisations experience military contacts during the Holy Wars (The Reconquista in Spain and the crusades in Palestine), commercial contacts with the development of exchanges and the flourishing of port cities (Venice, Genoa and Pisa). They also established cultural contacts, in scientific discoveries for example.
- The exchanges are numerous even with the dangers of this [Mediterranean] sea (pirates, storms...).

Analyse a building



The Mosque-Cathedral of Cordoba.

- Observe the photograph.
The photograph shows the interior of Cordoba Cathedral, which was initially a mosque built in 785. Cordoba is a city in Andalusia, in the south of Spain which was part of the kingdom of Al-Andalus (711-1492).
- Research the main characteristics.
The interior of the cathedral contains a labyrinth of columns and marble with exceeded arches (shaped like a horseshoe), typical of Omayyad art. The stone and brick are mixed. Light penetrates through big openings. [...]
- **Activity: 2. Read the following text and answer the questions.**
Ibn Djubayr in the house of William II, Catholic king of Sicily
The king's attitude is truly extraordinary. He behaves perfectly towards Muslims; he provides them with employment, he chooses his officers among them and all, or almost all, keep their beliefs intact and remain attached to the Islamic faith. The king has full confidence in Muslims and relies on them during his duties and listens to their grievances, to the point that the head chef of his kitchen is Muslim [...].
He has astronomers and physicians as he pays great attention and makes sure that when a physician or an astronomer is passing through his kingdom, to send out orders to retain them and

burdens them with so many questions about life that they forget to leave. [...] Another trait that we speak about him and which is extraordinary, is that he reads and writes Arabic. [...]

- Underline the extracts that show political and religious tolerance of the Norman kings of Sicily.
- What scientific practices / specialisations are evoked in the text?
- What characteristic did William II have that shows the cultural mix among Mediterranean sovereigns? [...]

Appendix 15 – Lagrenade et al, 2016, pp. 120-121

Byzantium and Carolingian Europe

- **During the IX century, two Christian empires are in contact**

- The Byzantine Empire consolidates itself under the reign of Justinian (527-565). The empire's capital is Constantinople until its fall in 1453. The emperor gives himself the title of *basileus* (king or emperor in Greek). The laws of the empire are gathered in the "Justinian Code", written in Greek.
- The Carolingian empire is founded in 751 by Pepin the Short. His son Charlemagne expands the empire's territory, which he divides into 300 counties controlled by royal envoys: the *missi dominici* (envoys of the lord). Charlemagne crowns himself emperor in Rome in the year 800.

- **One religion, two churches**

- These empires are Christian, as is shown in the Basilica of Saint-Sophia in Constantinople or the chapel of Aix-la-Chapelle. But the religious practices are different: the churches of each empire become separated in 1054 during the *schism*.
- The Pope, leader of the Christians in the West, controls the Roman Catholic Church. The Patriarch of Constantinople is at the head of the Orthodox Church. [...]

Activity: 3. Link each of the following practices to the corresponding church [Catholic and Orthodox].

a) The Pope lives in Rome and is head of the Church. b) Priests are allowed to marry. c) Mass is directed in Greek. d) Idols are worshipped.

Activity: 4. Look at the following source and answer the questions.



Mosaic of the portal of Saint-Sophia, in Constantinople. The emperors Justinian (to the left) and Constantine (to the right) are represented with the Virgin Mary, patron saint/protector of Byzantium.

1. What is a mosaic?
2. Which is the dominant colour? Why do you think this is?
3. Identify the elements represented in the Mosaic: A) The city of Constantinople B) Basilica of Saint-Sofia.
4. What are the emperors doing in the picture?
5. Draw a circle within the mosaic which demonstrates people speak Greek in this empire.

September 11: “Hyper terrorism”

On September 11th 2001, diverted airplanes crash against the two towers of the World Trade Centre in New York and the Pentagon in Washington, causing the death of more than 2,500 people. Attributed to Al-Qaeda by the United States, these developments cause, from October 2001 onwards, the UN supported invasion of Afghanistan.

Definitions

- **Islamism:** Political movement founded on a rigorous reading of the Qur’an wanting to impose their own interpretation of Muslim law (Sharia) in political and social organisations, via violence, rejecting Western values.
- **Jihad:** The term designated by Muslims to fight in the defence of Islam. [...]

What was the impact of September 11 on international relations?

1. The world in shock

[Students look at a frontpage article from the newspaper Le Monde written on 13th September 2001 and have to answer three introductory questions] [...]

1. How does Le Monde describe the attacks? Analyse the vocabulary being used.
2. What was the intention? Why is this attack particularly traumatising for the United States?
3. Why does the impact of September 11 surpass America’s borders?

2. Who are the terrorists?

[Reading comprehension activity] [...]

Could the inspirators behind this diabolical plan, combining technical knowledge, religious fundamentalism and the simplicity of weapons used, have imagined such carnage? For the President of the United States, this instigator has a name: Osama Ben Laden. He comes from a rich BTP entrepreneurial Saudi family [...]. In 1988, Ben Laden creates a movement called Al-Qaeda (the Base). [...] In December 1989, the Soviets leave Afghanistan. [...] Osama Ben Laden journeys to Khartoum (Sudan), where he remains until 1996. After, he returns to Afghanistan. [...] Ben Laden becomes increasingly radicalised. The enemy is clearly designated: American imperialism, which controls Saudi Arabia – and thus its Holy places – and the State of Israel (*Eric Pelletier, Gilles Gaetner, Jerome Dupuis, Quentin Rousseau, “September 11: how the terrorists organised the massacre”, The Express, September 20th 2001*).

1. Where do the terrorists come from?
2. How were they able to organise the plan? Who do they obey? What is their goal? [...]
3. What were the different stages to the radical Islamist route taken by Ben Laden? [...]

4. “Fighting Americans and Jews”

[Reading comprehension activity based the words of Ben Laden] [...]

“Western values under American domination have been destroyed. [...] They only understand the language of violence and assignation. [...] The fight was taken to the heart of America. We will strive to pursue this combat, if Allah allows it, until victory or until we find Allah. [...] If they kill our women and our innocent people, we will kill their women and innocent people until they stop. [...] We are the children of the Islamic nation led by Muhammad. [...]

I swear that whoever follows Bush in his project renounces Islam and the word of the Prophet. [...]

We swore that America would not be safe just as long as we shall not know security in Palestine. [...] I say to faithful Muslims to believe in Allah’s victory and *jihad* against the infidels of the world. Killing the Jews and Americans is one of the greatest duties” (*Osama Ben Laden, extracts of an interview with Tayseer Alouni, Al-Jazeera correspondent, October 2001*). [...]

Task: Show how the confrontation between both of the above documents demonstrates the changing rules of military engagement caused by the appearance of radical Islamism during the early 2000s. [...]

1. How does Ben Laden describe the attacks of September 11? Why?
2. What visions of the world are opposed in both texts?
3. What are some of the defining features of “the war on terror” defined by G. W. Bush? [...]

Essay

How do the September 11 terrorist attacks reveal a new form of conflict at the dawn of the XXI century?

Iran and Shiite Islamism after 1979: What role does Iran play in the dissemination of Political Islamist ideology?

In January 1979, the pro-Western regime of the Iranian Shah, Rhea Pahlavi, is overthrown by an Islamist Revolution. The new regime, led by the Ayatollah Khomeini, marks the appearance of Islamism in the international arena. The precepts of a rigorous Islam organise the political, economic, social and cultural life of the country. Iran believes itself to embody and support the recovery of Muslim countries against Western powers. The country reaffirms itself as the spearhead leading the fight against Israel. [...]

To understand: Sunnism and Shiism

Islam is divided into several branches where the two principal strands are:

Sunnism which applies the tradition (Sunna) and places faith under the authority of caliphs, successors of the prophet Muhammad. There is no clergy. Around 85 percent of Muslims are Sunni.

Shiism refers to Ali’s spiritual succession, nephew of the Prophet Muhammad. This succession is embodied via the authority of the clergy. Almost all Iranians, the majority of Iraqis and segments of the Lebanese and Syrian populations are Shiites.



[...]

2. Islamism and third-world politics (1987)

“The disavowal of the heathens is the prelude to the fight and organisation of the soldiers of God against the forces of Satan. This is one of the founding principles of monotheism. [...] Our slogan “neither East nor West” is the fundamental slogan of the Islamic Revolution in the world of the famished and oppressed. It takes it upon itself to reshape the politics of Islamic countries which have strayed from the true path and to lead countries which will accept Islam as the sole school possible to save humanity in the near future, with God’s help. [...] Islamic countries and the Muslim people cannot depend on the West – America or Europe- nor on the East – the Soviet Union. [...] Once again, I reiterate the dangers of spreading the evil and cancerous cells of Zionism in Islamic countries. I announce my unconditional support, in addition to that of the Iranian nation and government, to the heroic Muslim youth of Islamic countries for the liberation of Jerusalem. With confidence I can say Islam will eliminate one after the other all the great obstacles, both interior and exterior of its borders, and will conquer the main bastions of the world. [...] We shall

either know peace, or an even greater peace, martyrdom” (*Rouhollah Khomeini, message to pilgrims of Mecca, 28 July 1987*). [...]

5. An analysis of President Ahmadinejad’s programme

After the death of Khomeini and a phase of liberalisation of the regime, the members of a hard-line Political Islamic ideology return to power in Iran.

“As the Imam Khomeini, the father of the Islamic Revolution, said ‘Israel needs to be erased from the map’ ”, declared the Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad on 26th October. “Whoever recognises Israel will burn in the fire of the Muslim Umma’s fury. Whoever recognises the Zionist regime admits defeat and the surrender of the Muslim world”. “The fight in Palestine is a war between the Muslim Umma and the world of arrogance: the United States [...]. There is no doubt the new wave of fights in Palestine will sweep away this stigma [*Israel*] from the face of the Muslim world.” [...]

This diatribe is associated with Israel and the United States, but also any Muslim country that has already recognised the Jewish State or is likely to do so. Several Arab countries, such as Jordan and Egypt, have already taken it upon themselves to ensure peace with the Hebrew state provided that it returns all occupied land on the West Bank, in Gaza, Jerusalem and the Syrian Golan, and that Palestinians regain their rights. (*Mouna Naim, “On the path to radicalisation, Iran wants to erase Israel from the map”, Le Monde, 28 October 2005*).

Questions

- What are the founding principles of Iranian politics? (doc. 2,3)
- What are the main designated enemies? Why? (doc. 1,2,5)
- What elements show a desire to export Islamism outside Iran? (doc. 2,3,4) [...]

Laïcité in practice [...]

• **Document 2: *Charte de la laïcité à l'École* (2013)**

1. Article 1: France is an indivisible, *laïque*, democratic and social Republic. It ensures equality before the law, throughout its territory, for all its citizens. It respects all beliefs.
2. Article 2: The *laïque* Republic organises the separation of religions and the State. The State is neutral in the face of religious or spiritual convictions. There is no State religion.
3. Article 14: On state school premises, rules [...] respect *laïcité*. The wearing of garments or symbols by which students ostentatiously manifest their religious belonging is banned.

Questions

1. Show how the *Charter for laïcité* defends peoples' freedom to be part of one or no religion.
2. Explain what is meant in document two by "separation of religions from the State".
3. At the start of the year, to introduce themselves during the 'hour of class life' (*assembly period*) in their state-secondary school, Sophie, Etienne, Manuelle, Yves, Tanguy, Ismael, Theo and Dounia have to complete a poster presentation in their class. They ask themselves if they can introduce themselves in class making reference to their religion. What answers are proposed in documents 1 and 2? [...]

[Sample conversation to help guide a student debate for question three above]

During the "hour of class life" in their state-secondary school (*college*), the students from class 5^{ème} 2 (Year 8) need to introduce themselves. They ask themselves if they can carry out the activity by making reference to their religion. A debate begins because they don't agree.

Yves: I am going to write on my poster: "My name is Yves, I am 13 years old and I am Protestant".

Ismael: Hey, you can't speak about your religion in class.

Yves: Why? Is it because you have no religion that you're telling me this?

Ismael: No, it's because we are in a *laïque* college. Haven't you read the *Charter for Laïcité* in your textbook?

Dounia: Yes, Ismael is right. We don't have the right to speak about our religion in class.

Theo: Of course we have the right to do so, as all beliefs are accepted in school. For example, we studied Islam at the beginning of the year in History.

Etienne: You haven't understood anything, it is religious symbols which are banned from school. And specifically those that are visible. That is what "ostentatious" means.

Yves: Yes, but when I introduce myself, I will say what my religion is, it is important for me! It is part of my identity.

Sophie: I believe we can say what our religion is on the poster, but it cannot take up too much room, as we are students before anything else.

Manuelle: I agree. If we all put our religious beliefs on the poster, and if Ismael says he is atheist, in this case there will be no favouritism, that will be good as we will see that all beliefs are represented and we all understand each other and that we respect everybody's beliefs.

Judgement: thinking independently and with others [...]

• **Read the text and observe the picture to answer the questions.**

“If a person believes in God or is an atheist it is his / her personal and private matter. The State must not interfere. It is not an arbitrator of beliefs: it cannot impose or ban any creed. The Republic, as such, abstains from privileging a belief [...] Atheists, agnostics, believers in one or several gods, all are placed on an equal footing (*Henri Pena-Ruiz, Laïcité for equality, One thousand and one nights, 2001*).



Laïcité seen by the cartoonist Pancho.

1. From the cartoonist's perspective, what does *laïcité* allow in state schools?
2. Based on the text, how can we define *laïcité*?
3. Based on the text, under which condition can children of all religions attend state schools? [...]

Religion

- Easter meal, the month of Ramadan, Hanukkah: the daily lives of secular societies remain influenced by religious traditions. However, the beliefs within religions vary based on the individual, and it is hard to place in the same picture those who practice cultural traditions, personal faith or follow rituals practiced by a community of believers.
A precise approach to the notion of religion requires a distinction between different terms, ideas and practices in order not to mistake a reflection on religious beliefs, practices and institutions.
- **A tangle of beliefs and rituals**
 - The notion of religion can be firstly defined from a psychological point of view, if we take into account the personal and subjective relation of an individual with a religious phenomenon. From this angle, religion is a combination of beliefs, faith in the existence of one or more beings, forces or superior principles.
 - But if we consider its collective manifestations which are objectively visible, religion is also a social reality. From this perspective religion is an institution which organises practices (ceremonies and rituals) in accordance with the beliefs shared by a community.
 - All religion is thus a complex tangle of these two dimensions, interior – faith – and exterior – institutionally recognised manifestations.
- **The unity of the religious phenomenon**
 - Apart from its definition is the issue of the unity of religion. If religion is proper to man, a large variety of institutions and religious beliefs exist. Even so, several common traits can be found.
 - First of all, religious institutions place in social life a clear separation between the sacred and profane domains. The profane domain concerns daily lives. Subsistence and other normal daily activities. The sacred realm includes the specific realities in religious life, such as ceremonies and rituals, limited by specific rules.
 - Also, the religious is characterised by the social bond it produces. Beliefs and religious rituals create a feeling of collective belonging that unites members within the same community. However, from a questionable etymology, the word “religion” comes from the Latin word *religare*(relay-disseminate).
 - Finally, religious beliefs are very often connected to a certain interpretation of transcendence, something which is greater than our ordinary experiences of the human known world: immortality, absolute power, immateriality, etc. [...]
- **Freud’s response**
 - The strength of religious ideas is explained by the fact that they come not from reason or experience, but from unconscious desires shared by all human beings. [...]
- **What Freud says**
 - Freud asserts that the foundation of religions is to be sought neither in a revelation of experience nor in a demonstration of reason, but in the desires of infancy, rooted in each of us.
 - Considered by their adherents as absolute truths - dogmas - religious ideas would be only illusions. And they are all the more stubborn as they last as long as we need to believe them.
 - More specifically, religious ideas result from the “distresses of childhood” experienced by the infant who depends entirely on the protection and love of his parents. Indeed, if this feeling of vulnerability is initially appeased by our parents, it still persists unconsciously throughout our lives. He is awakened to adulthood by the agonizing questions raised by the trials of existence (misfortunes, injustice, worries about death, etc. ...).

- It is for this reason that the collective belief in a superior, just and benevolent divine power, as well as the idea of an eternal world where our happiness can be assured, allow individuals to satisfy this need for protection which remains anchored in us. The religious imagination is thus a way for human beings to proclaim the anxieties of their infancy in a socially accepted way, that is, without losing their adult status. [...]
- **Philosophical issues**
 - Religion, an explanation of the unexplainable
 - It is not possible to observe or experiment empirically (by the data of the senses) what is supposed to be immaterial: God, the soul, the spirit, according to certain conceptions. Likewise, it is contradictory to reason about what there would be before the beginning of time or after the end of time, since this amounts to presupposing a form of temporality (a before and after time ...). Thus, the physical limits of the experience and the respect of logical rules leave some of our questions unanswered, which leads to frustration.
 - But religions are the only ones (*philosophies*) to propose a definitive answer to the questions concerning the creation of the universe, life after death or miracles. The often original, even strange, aspect of religious dogma then perhaps corresponds to the intuition of transcendent realities, that is, beyond the immanent world of human experience (Transcendent / immanent).
 - From this perspective, religious ideas would be superior truths, inaccessible to any rational justification, but only capable of answering some of our metaphysical questions. [...]
 - Heart and reason: In the '*Pensées*', Pascal supposes that there exists beside reason another source of knowledge which he names the "Heart". The latter makes it possible to intuitively "feel" truths that we cannot prove, but that we are allowed to experience as intimate evidence. In the truths of the order of the heart, he ranks the founding axioms of any mathematical demonstration and the existence of God.
 - The psychological function of religious ideas [...]
 - One may nevertheless wonder whether the need to resort to this type of belief is not strictly speaking a sign of the weakness of men rather than of the strength of religions. In any case, it is the point of view of Nietzsche, who believes in '*Beyond Good and Bad*', that religion is first and foremost a consolation for 'vulgar men', that is to say, those who have no other means to justify and support the harshness and nonsense of their real life than to believe in another world and a different life (Nietzsche).
 - The social importance of religions as institutions [...]
 - [R]eligions are fundamental institutions for social order. Indeed, in addition to the psychological support they provide, they create a powerful bond that unites all members of a society. As Emile Durkheim explains in '*The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*', religious ceremonies produce the feeling of collective belonging, and the effervescence that emerges is nothing more than the effect of this feeling. .. Therefore, the strength of religions may be due to the fact that they allow individuals to feel indirectly (through the object of belief) a form of higher unity (the unity of society) that connects and exceeds them. [...]
- **To what extent is religious freedom a fundamental liberty?**
 - Freedom of ideas, which includes religious belief, is a fundamental right. Thus, the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen of 1789 states that "no one should be worried about his opinions, even religious ones".
 - The difficulty lies, therefore, not in knowing whether individuals have the right to believe, but in determining to what extent the conduct induced by their beliefs (rites, ceremonies, etc.) is a moral and political priority. When is the freedom to practice a religion likely to undermine the equally fundamental freedom of opinion and expression of other members of society?
 - A possible approach [...]
 - All political regime having free and equal beings would need to guarantee for its people freedom of religious beliefs.

- But this freedom is to be distinguished from that of practicing a religion without restrictions. And it is, moreover, to guarantee the freedom of belief of all that the power of religious institutions must be limited when they impose a cult as the only valid norm. As such, the philosophers of the Enlightenment have defended, against the abuses of institutional religions, the concept of “natural religion”, fruit of our own reflection and our individual sensitivity (Rousseau).
- The principle of secularism, which establishes a separation between political and religious power, can then be a solution to the problem. By this principle, the State guarantees its neutrality towards religions, while each religious community undertakes to respect the common law and renounces serving as an official moral guide for all of society (Locke).
[...]
- **Is it unreasonable to believe in God? [...]**
 - A possible approach [...]
 - Two modes of belief may need to be distinguished: on the one hand, faith in God understood as a lucid commitment, which does not pretend to go beyond the limits of reason: on the other, a fanatical or superstitious adherence whose irrational character brings individuals to interpret any event as a divine sign and to act accordingly (Spinoza).
[...]

Appendix 21

Templates for Structured observations

A) Events:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1) Inter-Religious and Social Debates | 10) Learning/Explaining ways of worship |
| 2) Preparation for Examinations | 11) Practicing ways of worship |
| 3) Terrorism and Violence | 12) Learning about practices in place of worship |
| 4) Student Coursework and Presentations | 13) Learning about religious practices and beliefs |
| 5) Exercises and Corrections | 14) Explanation of the relevance of worship |
| 6) Promoting Community Cohesion | 15) Explaining different parts of the temple and their relevance |
| 7) Reading Religiously founded Texts. | |
| 8) Religion and History | |
| 9) Religious traditions and culture | |

B) Linked events:

- 1) Student, teacher and/or religious leader or individual interest
- 2) Student, teacher and/or religious leader or individual rejection
- 3) Student, teacher and/or religious leader or individual respect
- 4) Student, teacher and/or religious leader or individual disrespect
- 5) Student, teacher and/or religious leader or individual boredom
- 6) Student, teacher and/or religious leader or individual knowledge
- 7) Student, teacher and/or religious leader or individual tension
- 8) Organisation at the beginning of class, session or activity
- 9) Talkative and/or distracted student, teacher and/or religious leader or individual.

C) Applied pedagogical strategy(ies):

- T – Thematic Phenomenology
- H – Hermeneutic RE – Student religious / non-religious contribution.
- P-P – Positive pluralistic RE
- E – Ethnographic RE

TEMPLATE FOR STRUCTURED OBSERVATIONS OF CLASSES, FIELD TRIPS AND ASSEMBLIES

Date:		Onset – Finishing time:	
Subject:		Location:	
Age group:		Class size:	

3 to 5 minute Intervals Time Sampling for 50 or 60 minute lesson

Time frame: 3 to 5 minute interval	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
Event																				
Linked Event																				
Number of participants in Event																				
Gender of participants in Event																				
Pedagogical strategy(ies)																				

Comments on important or outstanding Events and Linked Events:

Unforeseen Events and Linked Events:

Appendix 22

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR ENGLISH TEACHERS AND EDUCATORS

1. ***What position and image does Islam hold in textbooks and in the classroom?***
 - How has the increasing demographic contribution of Islam and its visibility in British public life affected, if at all, the topics and pedagogies applied in non-confessional RE?
 - Under which topics is Islam normally taught? For example: five pillars of Islam, festivities and rituals, gender issues ... and how does this change from KS3, KS4 up to Sixth Form?
2. ***What effects might the independent school subject vs integrated Humanities approach have?***
 - Is time dedicated to conduct fieldwork in RE, for example visits to mosques, synagogues, churches or religious communities?
 - How do teaching approaches in RE change, if at all, from KS3, KS4 and Sixth Form?
3. ***Teaching pluri-religious non-confessional RE in practice:***
 - What is a broad estimate of the religious make-up of students at '*name of school*'? Do you believe the RE/RS curricula for KS3 and KS4 take into account the religious make-up of regional populations in areas or towns such as '*name of settlement*'?
 - In French state-secondary schools, basic forms of religious literacy are incorporated into different Humanities subjects (History, Citizenship and French literature for example). However, there are firm guidelines restricting teachers and students' religious expressions under the framework of 'avoiding religious and ideological proselytization'. How do you interpret these boundaries set in French state-secondary schools as an RE/RS teacher in Britain?
 - What do you think of relating RE to historical and current political issues, considering religion is an important aspect of national and international politics during the 21st century? Does this occur in non-confessional RE in state-secondary schools? May this approach enrich or compromise the fruitfulness of RE/RS at '*name of school*'?
4. ***What is the connection between faith, RE and 'community cohesive' educational approaches and legislation?***
 - How do Ofsted inspections influence school life and teaching approaches for non-confessional RE?
 - Do Ofsted inspectors, in your opinion, place value on the role RE plays for students' development?
 - Does the 'Prevent' policy have anything to do with the implicit promotion of 'community cohesion'?
 - How, if at all, are educational legislation on promoting 'British values' and RE combined (Democracy, Rule of Law, Individual Liberty, Mutual Respect and Tolerance of those of different beliefs)?
 - What is the relation, if there is any, between 'Prevent', 'community cohesion' and the promotion of 'British values'?
 - Could it be argued Citizenship and RE are the two subjects to which 'community cohesion' is most pertinent?
 - Some organisations, such as the MCB and BBC, often claim that approaches to 'preventing radicalisation' can have a negative effect on the capacity for students to express their religious and political opinions in class. Do you believe this is true or is this a simplification?
 - Much is written in educationalist and institutional documents on making RE 'critical' in 'religiously confusing times'. What does 'critical RE' mean for you? From your experience, is this applied in RE?
5. ***How do religious expressions and belonging among current students differ from past generations since the second half of the 20th century?***
 - Considering potential generational changes, how do you believe parents and teachers experience religion: differently or similarly?

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR FRENCH TEACHERS AND EDUCATORS

1. ***What position and image are religions and Islam more specifically accorded in class content?***
 - Under which topics are religions taught in secondary schools? How does this change from *Sixième* to *Terminale*?
 - What is Islam's position within class material in relation to other major religions?
 - Do the '*Observatoire de la laïcité*' and the '*Charte de la laïcité*' affect the themes studied in EMC? Has this resulted in an expansion of religiously related content?
 - Does the current education system scrutinise religions? If so, does this scrutiny potentially fall more on Islam than other religions?
2. ***What effect may an independent vs cross-subject integrated approach to the 'fait(s) religieux' have when teaching religions in schools?***
 - Generally, do you find teachers in state-secondary schools have sufficient knowledge for teaching students how religions affect French society?
 - How does the IREL help teachers develop their knowledge about Islam?
 - Are students interested in learning about the political, social and cultural impacts of religions?
3. ***Teaching Islam and religious diversity: Does it encourage dialogue, understanding, confrontation or indifference in class?***
 - How do images presented about religions, and Islam predominantly, in class and the media differ?
 - Does EMC establish links between different religious beliefs?
 - Is a critical interreligious dialogue promoted in relation to the '*fait(s) religieux*' in EMC for example?
 - Do students respect different socio-religious perspectives when discussed in class?
 - In your opinion, how have Islamic beliefs predominantly, but also of other religions, evolved in our day and age?
 - Do students give more importance to religious or ideological identities? Is this a recent change?
4. ***What is the connection between faith, the promotion of 'republican values' and security strategies?***
 - Does the *laïque* approach characteristic of French state institutions allow greater religious neutrality in schools when considering the potential educational impact of policies like the '*Plan d'action contre la radicalisation et le terrorisme*' and the '*vivre ensemble*'?
 - What is the connection between the '*fait(s) religieux*' and the promotion of 'republican values' in French state *collèges* and *lycées*?
 - What do you think of relating the '*fait(s) religieux*' to historical and current political issues, considering religion is an important aspect of national and international politics during the 21st century?
 - How do the '*Observatoire de la laïcité*', the 1958 Constitution and the 1905 law on the Separation of Church and State differ in their treatment of religions in public spheres and schools more specifically?
5. ***What are teachers, students and parents' reactions when students express their faith or political opinions?***
 - What do you interpret as religious communitarianism?
 - How Can students express their political and religious opinions in EMC?
Imagine we are back during the time of 'Je suis Charlie', what would you say if a Muslim student did not identify themselves with the slogan but respect the minute's silence?

Appendix 24

INTERVIEW WITH CHARLES CLARKE

- You have a background as a Norwich MP and Education Secretary under Tony Blair. When and why did you become interested in RE in state-secondary schools?
- 1. ***What position and image does Islam, but also other religions, have in textbooks and in the classroom?***
 - Do you think part of the issue that you identify with current RE approaches in providing a sanitised interpretation of Religion is that conservative views of different religions are treated differently in the public eye?
 - How has the increasing demographic contribution of Islam and its visibility in British public life affected, if at all, the topics and pedagogies applied in non-confessional RE?
- 2. ***What effects might the independent school subject vs integrated approach have?***
 - You argue that a “National SACRE approach” might improve what you consider the patchy work of RE. How would this be?
 - Can the exam-centred approach to RE at GSCE and A level limit the capacity to use critical inter-religious debates in state-secondary schools?
- 3. ***Teaching pluri-religious non-confessional RE in practice:***
 - In your opinion, how have Islamic beliefs, but also other faiths, changed in our day and age?
 - Based on your work in the Westminster Faith Debates with Linda Woodhead, could you expand on your interpretation when you say that RE needs to be critical?
 - Do you believe ethno-religious tensions in British society are heightened by the media?
 - You argue that developing the inclusion of non-religious philosophies such as Humanism in schools could improve RE practices. Why do you believe this?
- 4. ***What is the connection between faith, ‘community cohesive’ education policies and security strategies?***
 - What is the connection between RE and the promotion of ‘British values’?
 - There are claims that there are connections between the ‘Channel’ programme and ‘Prevent’. Do you believe this to be true?
 - If so, what effect could this have on RE practices, and most importantly, the teaching of Islam and its intra-religious communities?
- 5. ***What are teachers, classmates and the school community’s reaction when students express their faith?***
 - Do you believe there is a certain religious illiteracy in British society? If so, could this heighten religious tensions in and outside school life? How could this be redressed?

INTERVIEW WITH JAMAL AHBAB FROM THE IREL

- 1. *What position and image does Islam hold in textbooks and class content?***
 - Under what topics are religions studied in secondary schools? For example: religious festivals and rituals, social debates, history... and how does this change between *Sixième* and *Terminale*?
 - What position does Islam hold in these classes in relation to other major religions in subjects where the '*fait(s) religieux*' are incorporated?
 - Are instances of religiously instrumentalised violence currently present in several European countries integrated into pertinent school subjects like EMC? Does this aspect dominate material relating to the '*fait(s) religieux*'?
- 2. *What effect may an independent vs a cross-curricular approach to teaching about religions have in state-secondary schools?***
 - In general, do you find teachers in state-secondary schools have enough knowledge for teaching about religious influences on French past and / or current societies?
 - How does the IREL help teachers develop their knowledge about Islam?
- 3. *Teaching Islam: Does it encourage dialogue, understanding, confrontation or indifference in classes?***
 - In general, what is the difference between the images presented in the media and schools when discussing Islam?
 - Is critical interreligious dialogue promoted in class in relation to the '*fait(s) religieux*'?
 - Do students, in your opinion, respect different socio-religious perspectives when studying France's major religions?
 - In your opinion, how have Muslim primarily but also other religious beliefs changed in our day and age?
- 4. *What connections are drawn between faith, promoting civic values and security strategies?***
 - Do you believe educational measures in the '*Plan d'action contre la radicalisation et le terrorisme*' affect practices relating to the '*fait(s) religieux*' and does this limit what may be deemed as 'acceptable' and 'unacceptable' beliefs ?
 - Does the *laïque* approach characteristic of French institutions allow greater religious neutrality in schools in relation to political measures such as the '*Plan d'action contre la radicalisation et le terrorisme*' and the '*vivre ensemble*'?
 - What connections are drawn, if they do indeed exist, between the '*fait(s) religieux*' and the promotion of French 'republican values' in state-secondary schools?
- 5. *What are teachers, students and parents' reactions when students express their faith in school?***
 - Do you think there is respect and understanding towards different religious beliefs from parents, teachers and students?
 - Do you believe that allowing students to expand on their beliefs (including humanism and atheism) and establishing interreligious critical dialogue in classes would be helpful in fighting against intolerance and exclusive communitarianism? Would this be contrary to French *laïque* educational standards?

Appendix 26 – English teacher interview consent form

Mr James Sampere Peacock
PhD student

Faculty of Social Sciences
School of Education and Lifelong Learning
University of East Anglia
Norwich Research Park
Norwich NR4 7TJ
United Kingdom
Email: J.Sampere-Peacock@uea.ac.uk
Tel: +44 (0) 7392982769
Web: www.uea.ac.uk

Teaching Islam and religious diversity in British and French state secondary schools PARTICIPANT INFORMATION STATEMENT – Teachers and member of the school community interviews / questionnaires

(1) What is the study about

You are invited to take part in a research study about “Teaching Islam in British and French secondary state schools: a case study based political comparison of community-cohesive multi-faith non-confessional Religious Education between 2005 and 2020”. The research attempts to analyse how faiths, and Islam particularly, are taught in state secondary schools and the government’s attempt to utilise religions as a means to tackle intolerance, encourage inter-religious community cohesion and how the changing societal position of Islam in the 21st century as Britain and France’s second largest religion is being accounted for in the provision of education about religions in secondary schools. Attention also falls on how divergent interpretations of the historical evolution of secularism in both countries affects the pedagogies and topics approached in religiously related subject content in British RE and French humanities subjects. Reflecting on your experiences as RE / RS teachers in an interview would allow the study to encompass a variety of perspectives and have greater scholarly impact.

This Participant Information Statement tells you about the research study. Knowing what is involved will help you decide if you want to take part in the study. Please read this sheet carefully and ask questions about anything that you don’t understand or want to know more about. Participation in this research study is voluntary. By giving consent to take part in this study you are telling us that you:

- ✓ Understand what you have read.
- ✓ Agree to take part in the research study as outlined below.
- ✓ Agree to the use of your personal information as described.

(2) Who is running the study?

The study is being carried out by the following researcher: Mr James Sampere Peacock, PhD student, School of Politics, Philosophy, Language and Communication Studies, University of East Anglia.

(3) What will the study involve for me?

Your participation will involve having one interview with James Sampere Peacock. These will take place on or outside of school premises at a time that is convenient for you and the interviews will be audio recorded. You will be asked questions relating to how Islam is taught in different school years, the material used and what your thoughts, as members of the school community, are about the strategies developed by the non-statutory RE national framework, the wider national-curriculum and regional and national governments of promoting inter-religious tolerance and respect. You will also be asked on how teaching faiths, and particularly Islam, is received by the

students, how the teaching of religions has changed since the turn of the century and what your views are on expanding the role played by Islam in education about religions in their country.

(4) How much of my time will the study take?

It is expected that each interview will take between 40-60 minutes each.

(5) Do I have to be in the study? Can I withdraw from the study once I've started?

Being in this study is completely voluntary and you do not have to take part. Your decision whether to participate will not affect your current or future relationship with the researchers or anyone else at the University of East Anglia. If you decide to take part in the study and then change your mind later, you are free to withdraw at any time during the interview. You can do this by letting James Sampere Peacock know in person, by email (J.Sampere-Peacock@uea.ac.uk) or by phone +44 (0) 7392982769. You are free to stop the interview at any time. Unless you say that you want us to keep them, any recordings will be erased after the interview transcripts have been completed. You may also refuse to answer any questions that you do not wish to answer during the interview. If you decide at a later time to withdraw from the study, your information will be removed from our records and will not be included in any results. In the event you do not want to take part in the research or wish to withdraw your contribution after the interview, please make sure you inform the researcher, James Sampere Peacock. If you wish to withdraw after the thesis submission, your information may be used in the thesis but will follow strict rules and guidelines to maintain your anonymity and safeguard your contribution and will not be used for any future work.

(6) Are there any risks or costs associated with being in the study?

There are no physical risks associated with being in the study. However, questions about religion and ethnicity are considered sensitive topics in Britain and France. As a result, you will be informed about how participants will be anonymised. If you wish to do so, you can provide your contact details to be sent the transcripts of the interview and a summary of the thesis' findings after submission in 2020. As is further explained in this document, your information, identity and school will all be anonymised.

(7) Are there any benefits associated with being in the study?

I would hope that by talking about your experiences, it will allow you to reflect on those areas that have helped as well as those areas that might need additional support when teaching faiths, and particularly Islam, from a non-confessional perspective. Your contribution will also contribute to a cross country analysis on the changing role of different faiths in the British and French education system and expressing your opinions on the redefined political role of religion in particular reference to targeting radicalisation and closed or religious communities.

(8) What will happen to information about me that is collected during the study?

By providing your consent, you are agreeing to James Sampere Peacock collecting personal information about you for the purposes of this research study. Your information will only be used for the purposes outlined in this Participant Information Statement, unless you consent otherwise. Data management will follow the 1998 Data Protection Act and the University of East Anglia Research Data Management Policy (2013). Your information will be stored securely and your anonymity/information will be stringently maintained. Study findings may be published, but you will not be identified in these publications except for your teaching post, if you are an educator, and your gender. In this instance, data will be stored securely for a period of 10 years and then destroyed.

(9) What if I would like further information about the study?

When you have read this information sheet, James Sampere Peacock will be available to discuss it with you further and answer any questions you may have. You can contact him in person, by email (J.Sampere-Peacock@uea.ac.uk) or by phone (+44 (0) 7392982769).

(10) Will I be told the results of the study?

You have a right to receive feedback about the overall results of this study. You can express your wish to receive feedback by providing a contact detail on the consent section of this information sheet. This feedback will be in the form of a summary of the findings and a transcript of the interview. You will receive this feedback after the thesis submission in 2020 (intended month of thesis completion). You will then be able to decide whether or not to include the data you provided for the thesis. If you decide to withdraw from the study after the thesis submission, your contribution will be used in the PhD anonymously but will not be used for further work or research.

(11) What if I have a complaint or any concerns about the study?

The ethical aspects of this study have been approved under the regulations of the University of East Anglia's School of Politics, Philosophy, Language and Communication Studies Research Ethics Committee (G-REC).

If there is a problem please let James Sampere Peacock know. You can contact him via the following address:

James Sampere Peacock

School of Politics, Philosophy, Language and Communication Studies

University of East Anglia

NORWICH NR4 7TJ

J.Sampere-Peacock@uea.ac.uk

If you are concerned about the way this study is being conducted or you wish to make a complaint to someone independent from the study, please contact the Head of the School of Politics, Philosophy, Language and Communications Studies Professor Lee Marsden, at L.Marsden@uea.ac.uk.

(12) OK, I want to take part – what do I do next?

You need to fill in one copy of the consent form and hand it back to James, in person or via email J.Sampere-Peacock@uea.ac.uk, before the interview. Please keep the letter, information sheet and the 2nd copy of the consent form for your information.

This information sheet is for you to keep

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM (1st Copy to Participant)

I, [PRINT NAME], agree to take part in this research study.

In giving my consent I state that:

- ✓ I understand the purpose of the study, what I will be asked to do, and any risks/benefits involved.

- ✓ I have read the Participant Information Statement and have been able to discuss my involvement in the study with the researchers if I wished to do so.

- ✓ The researchers have answered any questions that I had about the study and I am happy with the answers.

- ✓ I understand that being in this study is completely voluntary and I do not have to take part. My decision whether to be in the study will not affect my relationship with the researchers or anyone else at the University of East Anglia now or in the future.

- ✓ I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time.

- ✓ I understand that I may stop the interview at any time if I do not wish to continue, and that unless I indicate otherwise any recordings will then be erased and the information provided will not be included in the study. I also understand that I may refuse to answer any questions I don't wish to answer.

- ✓ I understand that personal information about me that is collected over the course of this project will be stored securely and will only be used for purposes that I have agreed to. I understand that information about me will only be told to others with my permission, except as required by law.

- ✓ I understand that the results of this study may be published, but these publications will not contain my name or any identifiable information about me.

Please keep my identity anonymous.

I consent to:

- **Audio-recording** YES NO
- **Reviewing transcripts** YES NO
- **I would like to receive feedback about the overall results of this study** YES NO
- **My right to withdraw my contribution** YES NO

If you answered **YES**, please indicate your preferred form of feedback and address:

Postal: _____

Email: _____

.....
Signature **PRINT name** **Date**

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM (2nd Copy to Researcher)

I, [PRINT NAME], agree to take part in this research study.

In giving my consent I state that:

- ✓ I understand the purpose of the study, what I will be asked to do, and any risks/benefits involved.

- ✓ I have read the Participant Information Statement and have been able to discuss my involvement in the study with the researchers if I wished to do so.

- ✓ The researchers have answered any questions that I had about the study and I am happy with the answers.

- ✓ I understand that being in this study is completely voluntary and I do not have to take part. My decision whether to be in the study will not affect my relationship with the researchers or anyone else at the University of East Anglia now or in the future.

- ✓ I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time.

- ✓ I understand that I may stop the interview at any time if I do not wish to continue, and that unless I indicate otherwise any recordings will then be erased and the information provided will not be included in the study. I also understand that I may refuse to answer any questions I don't wish to answer.

- ✓ I understand that personal information about me that is collected over the course of this project will be stored securely and will only be used for purposes that I have agreed to. I understand that information about me will only be told to others with my permission, except as required by law.

- ✓ I understand that the results of this study may be published, but these publications will not contain my name or any identifiable information about me.

Please keep my identity anonymous.

I consent to:

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| • Audio-recording | YES <input type="checkbox"/> | NO <input type="checkbox"/> |
| • Reviewing transcripts | YES <input type="checkbox"/> | NO <input type="checkbox"/> |
| • I would like to receive feedback about the overall results of this study | YES <input type="checkbox"/> | NO <input type="checkbox"/> |
| • My right to withdraw my contribution | YES <input type="checkbox"/> | NO <input type="checkbox"/> |

If you answered **YES**, please indicate your preferred form of feedback and address:

Postal: _____

Email: _____

.....
Signature **PRINT name** **Date**

Appendix 27 – French teacher interview consent form

M. James Sampere Peacock

Étudiant au doctorat

Faculty of Humanities

School of Politics, Philosophy, Language and
Communication Studies

University of East Anglia

Norwich Research Park

Norwich NR4 7TJ

United Kingdom

Email: J.Sampere-Peacock@uea.ac.uk

Tel: +44 (0) 7392982769

Web: www.uea.ac.uk

L'enseignement de l'Islam et la diversité religieuse dans les établissements scolaires d'enseignement secondaire publics

DÉCLARATION D'INFORMATION AU PARTICIPANT - Enseignants et membres de la communauté scolaire

(1) Objet de l'étude

Vous êtes invité à participer à une étude de recherche sur « L'enseignement de l'Islam dans les établissements scolaires d'enseignement secondaire publics britanniques et français : une comparaison politique fondée sur l'étude de cas de l'enseignement du fait religieux non confessionnel, multi-religieux et cohésif vis-à-vis de la communauté entre 2005 et 2020 ». Cette recherche tente d'analyser d'une part, comment les religions, et en particulier l'Islam, sont enseignées dans les établissements scolaires d'enseignement secondaire publics ainsi que la tentative du gouvernement d'utiliser les religions comme un moyen pour lutter contre la radicalisation, favoriser la cohésion communautaire interreligieuse et d'autre part, comment la position sociale changeante de l'Islam au XXI^e siècle, en tant que deuxième religion la plus importante en Grande-Bretagne et en France, est tenue en compte dans l'éducation en matière de religions dans les établissements scolaires d'enseignement secondaire. Cette Déclaration d'Information au Participant vous explique l'étude de recherche. Avoir connaissance de ce dont il s'agit vous aidera à décider si vous voulez participer à l'étude. Veuillez lire attentivement cette fiche et posez des questions sur tout ce que vous ne comprenez pas ou ce dont vous souhaitez en connaître plus. La participation à cette étude est volontaire. En donnant votre consentement à participer à cette étude, vous nous dites que vous :

- ✓ Comprenez ce que vous avez lu.
- ✓ Acceptez de participer à l'étude de recherche décrite ci-dessous.
- ✓ Acceptez l'utilisation de vos renseignements personnels tels que décrits.

(2) Qui dirige l'étude ?

L'étude est dirigée par le chercheur M. James Sampere Peacock, étudiant au doctorat à l'École d'Études de Politique, Philosophie, Langues et Sciences de la Communication à l'Université d'East Anglia.

(3) Quelle sera mon implication dans cette étude ?

Votre participation impliquera une entrevue avec James Sampere Peacock. Elle aura lieu à l'intérieur ou à l'extérieur des locaux scolaires au moment qui vous conviendra le mieux et elle sera enregistrée. On vous posera des questions sur la façon dont l'Islam est enseigné au cours des différentes années scolaires, sur le matériel utilisé et sur vos idées, en tant que membre de la communauté scolaire, au sujet des approches des programmes régionaux et nationaux de promotion de la tolérance et du respect. On vous posera également des questions sur la façon dont l'enseignement des croyances, et en particulier de l'Islam, est reçu par les étudiants, sur comment l'enseignement des religions a changé depuis le début du siècle et sur votre point de vue sur la progression du rôle de l'Islam dans l'éducation en matière de religions dans votre pays.

(4) Combien de mon temps l'étude prendra-t-elle ?

Il est prévu que la durée de chacune des entretiens sera de 40 à 60 minutes.

(5) Dois-je participer à l'étude ? Puis-je me retirer de l'étude une fois que j'ai déjà commencé ?

La participation à cette étude est complètement volontaire et vous n'avez pas à en prendre part. Votre décision de participer n'aura aucune incidence sur vos relations actuelles ou futures avec les chercheurs ou toute autre personne à l'Université d'East Anglia. Si vous décidez de prendre part à l'étude et vous changez d'avis plus tard, vous êtes libre de vous retirer à tout moment. Vous pouvez le faire en le communiquant à James Sampere Peacock par courrier électronique (J.Sampere-Peacock@uea.ac.uk) ou par téléphone au +44 (0) 73 92 98 27 69. Vous êtes libre d'arrêter l'entretien à tout moment. Sauf si vous indiquez que vous souhaitez que nous les gardions, tous les enregistrements seront effacés et les informations que vous avez fournies ne seront pas incluses dans les résultats de l'étude. Vous pourrez également refuser de répondre aux questions auxquelles vous ne souhaitez pas répondre pendant l'entretien. Si vous décidez plus tard de vous retirer de l'étude, vos informations seront retirées de nos dossiers et elles ne seront pas incluses dans les résultats. Si vous ne souhaitez pas participer à la recherche ou si vous désirez retirer votre contribution, veuillez-vous assurer d'en informer le chercheur, James Sampere Peacock, avant la finalisation de la thèse. Après la finalisation de la thèse, vos informations pourront être utilisées dans l'étude, mais elles seront soumises à des règles et de strictes directrices pour maintenir votre anonymat et protéger votre contribution.

(6) Y a-t-il des risques ou des coûts liés à l'étude ?

Il n'y a aucun risque physique associé à être dans l'étude. Cependant, les questions sur la religion et l'ethnicité sont considérées comme des sujets sensibles en Grande-Bretagne et en France. En conséquence, vous serez informé de la façon dont ils seront anonymisés. Si vous souhaitez le faire, vous pouvez fournir vos coordonnées afin que je puisse vous envoyer les transcriptions de notre entretien et un résumé des conclusions de la thèse en 2020. Comme est expliqué plus en détail dans ce document, vos informations, votre identité et votre école seront tous anonymes.

(7) Y a-t-il des avantages liés à l'étude ?

J'espère que le fait de parler de vos expériences vous permettra de réfléchir sur les domaines qui ont été utiles dans l'enseignement des croyances, et en particulier de l'Islam, à partir d'une perspective non confessionnelle ainsi que sur ceux qui pourraient avoir besoin d'un soutien supplémentaire. Votre apport contribuera également à une analyse transversale de l'évolution du rôle des différentes croyances dans les systèmes éducatifs britannique et français et servira à expliquer et à exprimer vos opinions sur la nouvelle définition politique du rôle de la religion en particulier en ce qui concerne la radicalisation et les communautés fermées ou les non religieuses.

(8) Qu'arrivera-t-il avec mes renseignements personnels recueillis au cours de l'étude ?

En donnant votre consentement, vous acceptez que nous recueillions des renseignements personnels vous concernant aux fins de cette étude de recherche. Vos renseignements ne seront utilisés qu'aux fins décrites dans la présente Déclaration d'Information au Participant, sauf indication contraire de votre part. La gestion des données sera traitée dans le respect de la Loi sur la Protection des Données de 1998 et la Politique de Gestion des Données de Recherche de l'Université d'East Anglia (2013). Vos renseignements seront gardés en toute sécurité, et votre anonymat ainsi que vos renseignements personnels seront rigoureusement assurés. Les résultats de l'étude pourront être publiés, mais vous resterez anonyme dans ces publications ; seulement votre poste d'enseignant, si vous êtes un éducateur, et votre sexe y figureront. Dans ce cas-là, les données seront gardées en toute sécurité pendant une période de 10 ans, puis détruites.

(9) Que faire si je souhaite des renseignements plus approfondis sur l'étude ?

Lorsque vous aurez lu cette information, James Sampere Peacock sera à votre disposition pour en discuter avec vous et pour répondre à toutes vos questions. Vous pourrez contacter avec lui en personne, par email (J.Sampere-Peacock@uea.ac.uk) ou téléphone (+44 (0) 73 92 98 27 69).

(10) Est-ce que je serai informé des résultats de l'étude ?

Vous aurez le droit de recevoir des commentaires sur les résultats globaux de cette étude. Vous pourrez dire si vous souhaiteriez recevoir des commentaires en fournissant vos coordonnées dans la section de consentement de cette fiche d'information. Le retour de ces commentaires sera sous la forme d'un document de la transcription de notre entrevue et des extraits des chapitres de ma thèse dans lesquels vos opinions sont incorporées. Cela sera fait après finir la thèse en 2020. Si vous repérez quelques problèmes sur comment le chercheur interprète l'entrevue, on pourra négocier la présentation des données ou exclure votre contribution pour la thèse si vous le désirez.

(11) Qu'arrive-t-il si j'ai une plainte ou des inquiétudes au sujet de l'étude ?

Les aspects éthiques de cette étude ont été approuvés par le Comité Éthique de Recherche (G-REC) de l'École d'Études de Politique, Philosophie, Langues et Sciences de la Communication de l'Université d'East Anglia.

S'il y a un problème, je vous prierais de le faire savoir. Vous pourrez contacter avec James Sampere Peacock *via* l'Université à l'adresse suivante :

James Sampere Peacock

School of Politics, Philosophy, Language and Communication Studies

University of East Anglia

NORWICH NR4 7TJ

J.Sampere-Peacock@uea.ac.uk

Si vous êtes soucieux de la façon dont cette étude est menée ou si vous souhaitez déposer une plainte auprès d'une personne indépendante de l'étude, veuillez contacter le professeur Lee Marsden, Chef de l'École d'Études de Politique, Philosophie, Langues et Sciences de la Communication au L.Marsden@uea.ac.uk.

(12) D'accord, je veux participer. Que dois-je faire par la suite ?

Vous devrez remplir une copie du formulaire de consentement et la remettre à James Sampere Peacock en personne, par courrier électronique (J.Sampere-Peacock@uea.ac.uk) avant l'entrevue. Veuillez conserver la lettre, la fiche d'information et la 2ème copie du formulaire de consentement pour votre information.

Cette fiche d'information est pour vous

FORMULAIRE DE CONSENTEMENT DU PARTICIPANT (1ère copie pour le participant)

Je soussigné..... [Écrivez votre nom en toutes lettres] accepte de participer à cette étude. Tout en donnant mon consentement, je déclare que :

- ✓ Je comprends le but de l'étude, ce que je vais être invité à faire, et tous les risques et avantages associés.
- ✓ J'ai lu la Déclaration d'Information au Participant et j'ai pu discuter, si j'ai souhaité le faire, de mon implication dans l'étude avec les chercheurs.
- ✓ Les chercheurs ont répondu à toutes les questions que j'ai posées au sujet de l'étude et je suis satisfait des réponses.
- ✓ Je comprends que la participation à cette étude est totalement volontaire et je n'ai pas à y participer. Ma décision de participer à l'étude n'affectera pas ma relation avec les chercheurs ou toute autre personne à l'Université d'East Anglia maintenant ou dans l'avenir.
- ✓ Je comprends que je peux me retirer de l'étude à tout moment.
- ✓ Je comprends que je peux interrompre l'entrevue à tout moment si je ne souhaite pas continuer et que, sauf indication contraire, les enregistrements seront effacés et les renseignements fournis ne seront pas inclus dans l'étude. Je comprends également que je peux refuser de répondre aux questions auxquelles je ne souhaite pas répondre.
- ✓ Je comprends que mes renseignements personnels qui sont recueillis au cours de ce projet seront gardés en toute sécurité et ne seront utilisés qu'aux fins que celles que j'ai acceptées. Je comprends que mes renseignements personnels ne seront communiqués à d'autres personnes qu'avec ma permission, à moins que la loi ne l'exige.
- ✓ Je comprends que les résultats de cette étude peuvent être publiés, mais ces publications ne contiendront ni mon nom ni aucun renseignement personnel qui permettrait de m'identifier.

Veuillez préserver mon anonymat

Je consens à ce que :

- | | |
|---|---|
| • Enregistrement audio | OUI <input type="checkbox"/> NON <input type="checkbox"/> |
| • Vérification des transcriptions | OUI <input type="checkbox"/> NON <input type="checkbox"/> |
| • Je souhaite recevoir les commentaires sur les résultats globaux de cette étude | OUI <input type="checkbox"/> NON <input type="checkbox"/> |
| • Mon droit de retirer ma contribution | OUI <input type="checkbox"/> NON <input type="checkbox"/> |

Si vous avez répondu **OUI**, veuillez indiquer votre moyen de retour préféré et votre adresse

Adresse Postale : _____

Adresse Électronique : _____

.....
Signature

.....
Écrivez votre nom en toutes lettres

.....
Date

FORMULAIRE DE CONSENTEMENT DU PARTICIPANT (2ème copie pour le chercheur)

Je soussigné..... [Écrivez votre nom en toutes lettres] accepte de participer à cette étude. Tout en donnant mon consentement, je déclare que :

- ✓ Je comprends le but de l'étude, ce que je vais être invité à faire, et tous les risques et avantages associés.
- ✓ J'ai lu la Déclaration d'Information au Participant et j'ai pu discuter, si j'ai souhaité le faire, de mon implication dans l'étude avec les chercheurs.
- ✓ Les chercheurs ont répondu à toutes les questions que j'ai posées au sujet de l'étude et je suis satisfait des réponses.
- ✓ Je comprends que la participation à cette étude est totalement volontaire et je n'ai pas à y participer. Ma décision de participer à l'étude n'affectera pas ma relation avec les chercheurs ou toute autre personne à l'Université d'East Anglia maintenant ou dans l'avenir.
- ✓ Je comprends que je peux me retirer de l'étude à tout moment.
- ✓ Je comprends que je peux interrompre l'entrevue à tout moment si je ne souhaite pas continuer et que, sauf indication contraire, les enregistrements seront effacés et les renseignements fournis ne seront pas inclus dans l'étude. Je comprends également que je peux refuser de répondre aux questions auxquelles je ne souhaite pas répondre.
- ✓ Je comprends que mes renseignements personnels qui sont recueillis au cours de ce projet seront gardés en toute sécurité et ne seront utilisés qu'aux fins que celles que j'ai acceptées. Je comprends que mes renseignements personnels ne seront communiqués à d'autres personnes qu'avec ma permission, à moins que la loi ne l'exige.
- ✓ Je comprends que les résultats de cette étude peuvent être publiés, mais ces publications ne contiendront ni mon nom ni aucun renseignement personnel qui permettrait de m'identifier.

Veuillez préserver mon anonymat

Je consens à ce que :

- **Enregistrement audio** OUI NON
- **Vérification des transcriptions** OUI NON
- **Je souhaite recevoir les commentaires sur les résultats globaux de cette étude** OUI NON
- **Mon droit de retirer ma contribution** OUI NON

Si vous avez répondu **OUI**, veuillez indiquer votre moyen de retour préféré et votre adresse

Adresse Postale : _____

Adresse Électronique : _____

.....
Signature **Écrivez votre nom en toutes lettres** **Date**

Appendix 28 – British elite interview consent form

Mr James Sampere Peacock

PhD student

Faculty of Social Sciences

School of Education and Lifelong Learning

University of East Anglia

Norwich Research Park

Norwich NR4 7TJ

United Kingdom

Email: J.Sampere-Peacock@uea.ac.uk

Tel: +44 (0) 7392982769

Web: www.uea.ac.uk

Teaching Islam and religious diversity in British and French state secondary schools

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION STATEMENT – Elite interviewees

(1) What is the study about?

You are invited to take part in a research study about “Teaching Islam in British and French secondary state schools: a case study based political comparison of community-cohesive multi-faith non-confessional Religious Education between 2005 and 2020”. The research attempts to analyse how faiths, and Islam particularly, are taught in state secondary schools and the government’s attempt to utilise religions as a means to tackle radicalisation, foment inter-religious community cohesion and how the changing societal position of Islam in the 21st century as Britain and France’s second largest religion is being accounted for in the provision of education about religions in secondary schools. This Participant Information Statement tells you about the research study. Knowing what is involved will help you decide if you want to take part in the study. Please read this sheet carefully and ask questions about anything that you don’t understand or want to know more about. Participation in this research study is voluntary. By giving consent to take part in this study you are telling us that you:

- ✓ Understand what you have read.
- ✓ Agree to take part in the research study as outlined below.
- ✓ Agree to the use of your personal information as described.

(2) Who is running the study?

The study is being carried out by the following researcher: Mr James Sampere Peacock, PhD student, School of Politics, Philosophy, Language and Communication Studies, University of East Anglia.

(3) What will the study involve for me?

Your participation shall involve having one interview with James Sampere Peacock. These will take place in a location and time that is convenient for you. The interviews will be audio recorded. You will be asked questions about your expert opinion on how the approaches used by the national curriculum and state secondary schools determine how faiths, and particularly Islam, are taught in multi-faith education about religions from Year 7 until Year 13. You will also be asked about your opinion on utilising religion to tackle radicalisation and for fostering inter-religious community cohesion. Questions will also centre on how Islam has evolved since becoming Britain and France’s second largest religion and if this is manifested in education or whether Islam has not yet departed from its migrant status. You will be able to review the transcript of your interviews, if you wish, to ensure they are an accurate reflection of the discussion.

(4) How much of my time will the study take?

It is expected that each interview will take between 40-60 mins each.

(5) Do I have to be in the study? Can I withdraw from the study once I've started?

Being in this study is completely voluntary and you are not obliged to take part. Your decision whether to participate will not affect your current or future relationship with the researcher or anyone else at the University of East Anglia. If you decide to take part in the study and then change your mind later, you are free to withdraw at any time during the interview. You can do this by letting James Sampere Peacock know by email (J.Sampere-Peacock@uea.ac.uk) or by phone +44 (0) 7392982769. You are free to stop the interview at any time. Unless you say that you want us to keep them, any recordings will be erased after the interview transcripts have been completed. You may also refuse to answer any questions that you do not wish to answer during the interview. If you decide at a later time to withdraw from the study, your information will be removed from our records and will not be included in any results. In the event you do not want to take part in the research or wish to withdraw your contribution, please make sure you inform the researcher, James Sampere Peacock, before one year has elapsed after the interview date, the deadline for submitting my PhD. After this date, your information may be used in the thesis but will follow strict rules and guidelines to maintain your anonymity and safeguard your contribution.

(6) Are there any risks or costs associated with being in the study?

Elite interviewees such as yourself have a reputation to maintain and, as a result, I do not wish my project to hinder your image or work in any way. Therefore, you will be sent a summary of the research's findings after completing the thesis in 2020 and extracts of my thesis where your contribution has been incorporated into the chapters. In addition, you have the right to remain anonymous if you wish to do so and maintain your religious beliefs private.

(7) Are there any benefits associated with being in the study?

Talking from your expert opinion, it will allow you to contribute your valued perspective for my thesis. This may aide in assessing the current provision of non-confessional education about religion in Britain and France's pluri-religious national societies, thus reflecting on the benefits and limitation on current approaches in state secondary schools.

(8) What will happen to information about me that is collected during the study?

By providing your consent, you are agreeing to us collecting personal information about you for the purposes of this research study. Your information will only be used for the purposes outlined in this Participant Information Statement, unless you consent otherwise. Data management will follow the 1998 Data Protection Act and the University of East Anglia Research Data Management Policy (2013). Your information will be stored securely and, if you wish, your anonymity/information will be stringently maintained. If you give your consent, the data gathered may be stored securely for a period of 10 years and then destroyed.

(9) What if I would like further information about the study?

When you have read this information sheet, James Sampere Peacock will be available to discuss it with you further and answer any questions you may have. You can contact him on J.Sampere-Peacock@uea.ac.uk or +44 (0) 7392982769.

(10) Will I be told the results of the study?

You have a right to receive feedback about the overall results of this study. You can express your wish to receive feedback by providing contact details on the consent section of this information sheet. In 2020, you may also request the right to receive extracts of my thesis where your contribution has been incorporated into the chapters. If you see any dilemma associated with how I interpreted our interview, we will be able to either negotiate the presentation of my data or exclude your contribution from the thesis if you express a desire to do so.

(11) What if I have a complaint or any concerns about the study?

The ethical aspects of this study have been approved under the regulations of the University of East Anglia's School of Politics, Philosophy, Language and Communication Studies Research Ethics Committee (G-REC).

If there is a problem please let James Sampere Peacock know. You can contact him via the University at the following address:

James Sampere Peacock

School of Politics, Philosophy, Language and Communication Studies

University of East Anglia

NORWICH NR4 7TJ

J.Sampere-Peacock@uea.ac.uk

If you are concerned about the way this study is being conducted or you wish to make a complaint to someone independent from the study, please contact the Head of the School of Politics, Philosophy, Language and Communication Studies Professor Lee Marsden, at L.Marsden@uea.ac.uk.

(12) OK, I want to take part – what do I do next?

You need to fill in one copy of the consent form and hand it back to James Sampere Peacock, in person or via email J.Sampere-Peacock@uea.ac.uk, **before the interview**. Please keep the letter, information sheet and the 2nd copy of the consent form for your information.

This information sheet is for you to keep

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM (1st Copy to Participant)

I, [PRINT NAME], agree to take part in this research study.

In giving my consent I state that:

- ✓ I understand the purpose of the study, what I will be asked to do, and any risks/benefits involved.
- ✓ I have read the Participant Information Statement and have been able to discuss my involvement in the study with the researchers if I wished to do so.
- ✓ The researchers have answered any questions that I had about the study and I am happy with the answers.
- ✓ I understand that being in this study is completely voluntary and I do not have to take part. My decision whether to be in the study will not affect my relationship with the researchers or anyone else at the University of East Anglia now or in the future.
- ✓ I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time.
- ✓ I understand that I may stop the interview at any time if I do not wish to continue, and that unless I indicate otherwise any recordings will then be erased and the information provided will not be included in the study. I also understand that I may refuse to answer any questions I don't wish to answer.
- ✓ I understand that personal information about me that is collected over the course of this project will be stored securely and will only be used for purposes that I have agreed to. I understand that information about me will only be told to others with my permission, except as required by law.
- ✓ I understand that the results of this study may be published, but these publications will not contain my name or any identifiable information about me unless I consent to being identified using the "Yes" checkbox below.

- Yes, I am happy to be identified.
- No, I don't want to be identified. Please keep my identity anonymous.

I consent to:

- **Audio-recording** YES NO
- **Reviewing transcripts** YES NO
- **I would like to receive feedback about the overall results of this study** YES NO
- **My right to withdraw my contribution** YES NO

If you answered **YES**, please indicate your preferred form of feedback and address:

- Postal: _____
- Email: _____

.....

Signature

PRINT name

Date

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM (2nd Copy for Researcher)

I, [PRINT NAME], agree to take part in this research study.

In giving my consent I state that:

- ✓ I understand the purpose of the study, what I will be asked to do, and any risks/benefits involved.
- ✓ I have read the Participant Information Statement and have been able to discuss my involvement in the study with the researchers if I wished to do so.
- ✓ The researchers have answered any questions that I had about the study and I am happy with the answers.
- ✓ I understand that being in this study is completely voluntary and I do not have to take part. My decision whether to be in the study will not affect my relationship with the researchers or anyone else at the University of East Anglia now or in the future.
- ✓ I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time.
- ✓ I understand that I may stop the interview at any time if I do not wish to continue, and that unless I indicate otherwise any recordings will then be erased and the information provided will not be included in the study. I also understand that I may refuse to answer any questions I don't wish to answer.
- ✓ I understand that personal information about me that is collected over the course of this project will be stored securely and will only be used for purposes that I have agreed to. I understand that information about me will only be told to others with my permission, except as required by law.
- ✓ I understand that the results of this study may be published, but these publications will not contain my name or any identifiable information about me unless I consent to being identified using the "Yes" checkbox below.

- Yes, I am happy to be identified.
- No, I don't want to be identified. Please keep my identity anonymous.

I consent to:

- **Audio-recording** YES NO
- **Reviewing transcripts** YES NO
- **I would like to receive feedback about the overall results of this study** YES NO
- **My right to withdraw my contribution** YES NO

If you answered **YES**, please indicate your preferred form of feedback and address:

- Postal: _____
- Email: _____

.....

Signature

PRINT name

Date

Appendix 29 – French elite interview consent form

M. James Sampere Peacock
Étudiant au doctorat

Faculty of Social Sciences
School of Education and Lifelong Learning
University of East Anglia
Norwich Research Park
Norwich NR4 7TJ
United Kingdom
Email: J.Sampere-Peacock@uea.ac.uk
Tel: +44 (0) 7392982769
Web: www.uea.ac.uk

L'enseignement de l'Islam et la diversité religieuse dans les établissements scolaires d'enseignement secondaire publics

DÉCLARATION D'INFORMATION AU PARTICIPANT – Entrevue d'élite

(1) Objet de l'étude

Vous êtes invité à participer à une étude de recherche sur « L'enseignement de l'Islam dans les établissements scolaires d'enseignement secondaire publics britanniques et français : une comparaison politique fondée sur l'étude de cas de l'enseignement du fait religieux non confessionnel, multi-religieux et cohésif vis-à-vis de la communauté entre 2005 et 2020 ». Cette recherche tente d'analyser d'une part, comment les religions, et en particulier l'Islam, sont enseignées dans les établissements scolaires d'enseignement secondaire publics ainsi que la tentative du gouvernement d'utiliser les religions comme un moyen pour lutter contre la radicalisation, favoriser la cohésion communautaire interreligieuse et d'autre part, comment la position sociale changeante de l'Islam au XXI^e siècle, en tant que deuxième religion la plus importante en Grande-Bretagne et en France, est tenue en compte dans l'éducation en matière de religions dans les établissements scolaires d'enseignement secondaire. Cette Déclaration d'Information au Participant vous explique l'étude de recherche. Avoir connaissance de ce dont il s'agit vous aidera à décider si vous voulez participer à l'étude. Veuillez lire attentivement cette fiche et posez des questions sur tout ce que vous ne comprenez pas ou ce dont vous souhaitez en connaître plus. La participation à cette étude est volontaire. En donnant votre consentement à participer à cette étude, vous nous dites que vous :

- ✓ Comprenez ce que vous avez lu.
- ✓ Acceptez de participer à l'étude de recherche décrite ci-dessous.
- ✓ Acceptez l'utilisation de vos renseignements personnels tels que décrits.

(2) Qui dirige l'étude ?

L'étude est dirigée par le chercheur M. James Sampere Peacock, étudiant au doctorat à l'École d'Études de Politique, Philosophie, Langues et Sciences de la Communication à l'Université d'East Anglia.

(3) Quelle sera mon implication dans cette étude ?

Votre participation impliquera une entrevue avec James Sampere Peacock. Elle aura lieu à l'endroit et à l'heure qui vous conviendra le mieux. Les entrevues seront enregistrées. On vous posera des questions sur votre avis d'expert au sujet de la façon dont les religions, et en particulier l'Islam, sont enseignées dans l'éducation multi-croyante des religions de la *Sixième* à la *Terminale*, d'après les approches utilisées par le programme national et les établissements d'enseignement secondaire publics. On vous posera également des questions sur votre avis au sujet de l'utilisation de la religion comme moyen pour lutter contre la radicalisation et pour favoriser la cohésion des communautés interreligieuses. Les questions porteront aussi sur la façon dont l'Islam a évolué depuis qu'il est devenu la deuxième religion la plus importante en Grande-Bretagne et en France et si cela s'est fait sentir dans l'éducation ou bien si l'Islam n'a pas encore quitté son statut de migrant. Vous pourrez consulter la transcription de vos entrevues, si vous le souhaitez, pour vous assurer qu'elles sont le reflet fidèle de la discussion.

(4) Combien de mon temps l'étude prendra-t-elle ?

Il est prévu que la durée de chacune des entretiens sera de 40 à 60 minutes.

(5) Dois-je participer à l'étude ? Puis-je me retirer de l'étude une fois que j'ai déjà commencé ?

La participation à cette étude est complètement volontaire et vous n'avez pas à en prendre part. Votre décision de participer n'aura aucune incidence sur vos relations actuelles ou futures avec les chercheurs ou toute autre personne à l'Université d'East Anglia. Si vous décidez de prendre part à l'étude et vous changez d'avis plus tard, vous êtes libre de vous retirer à tout moment. Vous pouvez le faire en vous communiquant avec James Sampere Peacock en personne, par courrier électronique (J.Sampere-Peacock@uea.ac.uk) ou par téléphone au +44 (0) 73 92 98 27 69. Vous êtes libre d'arrêter l'entretien à tout moment. Sauf si vous indiquez que vous souhaitez que nous les gardions, tous les enregistrements seront effacés. Vous pourrez également refuser de répondre aux questions auxquelles vous ne souhaitez pas répondre pendant l'entretien. Si vous décidez plus tard de vous retirer de l'étude, vos informations seront retirées de nos dossiers et elles ne seront pas incluses dans les résultats. Si vous ne souhaitez pas participer à la recherche ou si vous désirez retirer votre contribution, veuillez-vous assurer d'en informer le chercheur, James Sampere Peacock, avant la finalisation de la thèse. Après cette date, vos informations peuvent être utilisées dans thèse, soumises à des règles et de strictes directrices pour maintenir votre anonymat et protéger votre contribution, mais elles ne seront plus utilisées pour aucune future occasion.

(6) Y a-t-il des risques ou des coûts liés à l'étude ?

Les personnes d'importance académique ou politique dans le domaine de mon étude, tels que vous-même, ont une réputation à maintenir et, par conséquent, je ne souhaite pas que mon projet nuise à votre image ou à votre travail. Par conséquent, vous recevrez des extraits de ma thèse où votre contribution a été incorporée dans les chapitres en 2020 après que la thèse soit finit. En outre, vous avez le droit de rester anonyme si vous le souhaitez et de maintenir vos croyances religieuses en privé.

(7) Y a-t-il des avantages liés à l'étude ?

Le fait de parler de vos expériences vous permettra d'apporter votre précieux point de vue pour ma thèse. Cela pourra aider à évaluer la prestation actuelle de l'enseignement non confessionnel sur la religion dans les sociétés nationales multi-religieuses en France et en Grande-Bretagne, tout en réfléchissant sur les avantages et les contraintes des approches actuelles dans les établissements d'enseignement secondaire publics.

(8) Qu'arrivera-t-il avec mes renseignements personnels recueillis au cours de l'étude ?

En donnant votre consentement, vous acceptez que nous recueillions des renseignements personnels vous concernant aux fins de cette étude de recherche. Vos renseignements ne seront utilisés qu'aux fins décrites dans la présente Déclaration d'Information au Participant, sauf indication contraire de votre part. La gestion des données sera traitée dans le respect de la Loi sur la Protection des Données de 1998 et la Politique de Gestion des Données de Recherche de l'Université d'East Anglia (2013). Vos renseignements seront gardés en toute sécurité et votre anonymat, ainsi que vos informations seront rigoureusement assurées. Si vous donnez votre consentement, les données seront gardées en toute sécurité pendant une période de 10 ans, puis détruites.

(9) Que faire si je souhaite des renseignements plus approfondis sur l'étude ?

Lorsque vous aurez lu cette information, James Sampere Peacock sera à votre disposition pour en discuter avec vous et pour répondre à toutes vos questions. Vous pourrez le contacter sur J.Sampere-Peacock@uea.ac.uk ou au +44 (0) 73 92 98 27 69.

(10) Est-ce que je serai informé des résultats de l'étude ?

Vous aurez le droit de recevoir des commentaires sur les résultats globaux de cette étude. Vous pourrez dire si vous souhaiteriez recevoir des commentaires en fournissant vos coordonnées dans la section de consentement de cette fiche d'information. Le retour de ces commentaires sera sous la forme d'un document de la transcription de notre entretien et des extraits des chapitres de ma thèse dans lesquels vos opinions sont incorporées. Cela sera fait après finir la thèse en 2020. Si vous repérez quelques problèmes sur comment le chercheur interprète l'entretien, on pourra négocier la présentation des données ou exclure votre contribution pour la thèse si vous le désirez.

(11) Qu'arrive-t-il si j'ai une plainte ou des inquiétudes au sujet de l'étude ?

Les aspects éthiques de cette étude ont été approuvés par le Comité Éthique de Recherche (G-REC) de l'École d'Études de Politique, Philosophie, Langues et Sciences de la Communication de l'Université d'East Anglia.

S'il y a un problème, je vous prierais le faire savoir. Vous pourrez contacter James Sampere Peacock *via* l'Université à l'adresse suivante:

James Sampere Peacock

School of Politics, Philosophy, Language and Communication Studies

University of East Anglia

NORWICH NR4 7TJ

J.Sampere-Peacock@uea.ac.uk

Si vous êtes soucieux de la façon dont cette étude est menée ou si vous souhaitez déposer une plainte auprès d'une personne indépendante de l'étude, veuillez contacter le professeur Lee Marsden, Chef de l'École d'Études de Politique, Philosophie, Langues et Sciences de la Communication au L.Marsden@uea.ac.uk.

(12) D'accord, je veux participer. Que dois-je faire par la suite ?

Vous devrez remplir une copie du formulaire de consentement et la remettre à James Sampere Peacock en personne, par courrier électronique (J.Sampere-Peacock@uea.ac.uk) avant l'entrevue. Veuillez conserver la lettre, la fiche d'information et la 2ème copie du formulaire de consentement pour votre information.

Cette fiche d'information est pour vous

FORMULAIRE DE CONSENTEMENT DU PARTICIPANT (1ère copie pour le participant)

Je soussigné..... [Écrivez votre nom en toutes lettres] accepte de participer à cette étude. Tout en donnant mon consentement, je déclare que :

- ✓ Je comprends le but de l'étude, ce que je vais être invité à faire, et tous les risques et avantages associés.
- ✓ J'ai lu la Déclaration d'Information au Participant et j'ai pu discuter, si j'ai souhaité le faire, de mon implication dans l'étude avec les chercheurs.
- ✓ Les chercheurs ont répondu à toutes les questions que j'ai posées au sujet de l'étude et je suis satisfait des réponses.
- ✓ Je comprends que la participation à cette étude est totalement volontaire et je n'ai pas à y participer. Ma décision de participer à l'étude n'affectera pas ma relation avec les chercheurs ou toute autre personne à l'Université d'East Anglia maintenant ou dans l'avenir.
- ✓ Je comprends que je peux me retirer de l'étude à tout moment.
- ✓ Je comprends que je peux interrompre l'entrevue à tout moment si je ne souhaite pas continuer et que, sauf indication contraire, les enregistrements seront effacés et les renseignements fournis ne seront pas inclus dans l'étude. Je comprends également que je peux refuser de répondre aux questions auxquelles je ne souhaite pas répondre.
- ✓ Je comprends que mes renseignements personnels qui sont recueillis au cours de ce projet seront gardés en toute sécurité et ne seront utilisés qu'aux fins que celles que j'ai acceptées. Je comprends que mes renseignements personnels ne seront communiqués à d'autres personnes qu'avec ma permission, à moins que la loi ne l'exige.
- ✓ Je comprends que les résultats de cette étude peuvent être publiés, mais ces publications ne contiendront ni mon nom ni aucun renseignement personnel qui permettrait de m'identifier, sauf si je consens à être identifié. Dans ce cas-là utilisez la case « Oui » ci-dessous.

Oui, je consens à être identifié
Non, je ne veux pas être identifié. Veuillez préserver mon anonymat.

Je consens à ce que :

- **Enregistrement audio** OUI NON
- **Vérification des transcriptions** OUI NON
- **Je souhaite recevoir les commentaires sur les résultats globaux de cette étude** OUI NON
- **Mon droit de retirer ma contribution** OUI NON

Si vous avez répondu **OUI**, veuillez indiquer votre moyen de retour préféré et votre adresse

Adresse Postale : _____

Adresse Électronique : _____

.....

Signature

Écrivez votre nom en toutes lettres

Date

FORMULAIRE DE CONSENTEMENT DU PARTICIPANT (2ème copie pour le chercheur)

Je soussigné..... [Écrivez votre nom en toutes lettres] accepte de participer à cette étude. Tout en donnant mon consentement, je déclare que :

- ✓ Je comprends le but de l'étude, ce que je vais être invité à faire, et tous les risques et avantages associés.
- ✓ J'ai lu la Déclaration d'Information au Participant et j'ai pu discuter, si j'ai souhaité le faire, de mon implication dans l'étude avec les chercheurs.
- ✓ Les chercheurs ont répondu à toutes les questions que j'ai posées au sujet de l'étude et je suis satisfait des réponses.
- ✓ Je comprends que la participation à cette étude est totalement volontaire et je n'ai pas à y participer. Ma décision de participer à l'étude n'affectera pas ma relation avec les chercheurs ou toute autre personne à l'Université d'East Anglia maintenant ou dans l'avenir.
- ✓ Je comprends que je peux me retirer de l'étude à tout moment.
- ✓ Je comprends que je peux interrompre l'entrevue à tout moment si je ne souhaite pas continuer et que, sauf indication contraire, les enregistrements seront effacés et les renseignements fournis ne seront pas inclus dans l'étude. Je comprends également que je peux refuser de répondre aux questions auxquelles je ne souhaite pas répondre.
- ✓ Je comprends que mes renseignements personnels qui sont recueillis au cours de ce projet seront gardés en toute sécurité et ne seront utilisés qu'aux fins que celles que j'ai acceptées. Je comprends que mes renseignements personnels ne seront communiqués à d'autres personnes qu'avec ma permission, à moins que la loi ne l'exige.
- ✓ Je comprends que les résultats de cette étude peuvent être publiés, mais ces publications ne contiendront ni mon nom ni aucun renseignement personnel qui permettrait de m'identifier, sauf si je consens à être identifié. Dans ce cas-là utilisez la case « Oui » ci-dessous.

- Oui, je consens à être identifié
 Non, je ne veux pas être identifié. Veuillez préserver mon anonymat.

Je consens à ce que :

- **Enregistrement audio** OUI NON
- **Vérification des transcriptions** OUI NON
- **Je souhaite recevoir les commentaires sur les résultats globaux de cette étude** OUI NON
- **Mon droit de retirer ma contribution** OUI NON

Si vous avez répondu **OUI**, veuillez indiquer votre moyen de retour préféré et votre adresse

Adresse Postale : _____

Adresse Électronique : _____

.....
Signature **Écrivez votre nom en toutes lettres** **Date**

Appendix 30 – English class observations consent form

Mr James Sampere Peacock

PhD student

Faculty of Humanities

School of Politics, Philosophy, Language and
Communication Studies

University of East Anglia

Norwich Research Park

Norwich NR4 7TJ

United Kingdom

Email: J.Sampere-Peacock@uea.ac.uk

Tel: +44 (0) 7392982769

Web: www.uea.ac.uk

Teaching Islam and religious diversity in state secondary schools

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION STATEMENT FOR RE DEPARTMENT

Structured observation

(1) What is the study about?

You are invited to take part in a research study about “Teaching Islam in British and French secondary state schools: a case study based political comparison of community-cohesive multi-faith non-confessional Religious Education between 2005 and 2020”. The research attempts to analyse how faiths, and Islam particularly, are taught in state secondary schools and the government’s attempt to utilise religions as a means to tackle radicalisation, encourage inter-religious community cohesion and how the changing societal position of Islam in the 21st century as Britain and France’s second largest religion is being accounted for in the provision of education about religions in secondary schools. This Participant Information Statement tells you about the research study. Knowing what is involved will help you decide if you want to take part in the study. Please read this sheet carefully and ask questions about anything that you don’t understand or want to know more about. Participation in this research study is voluntary. By giving consent to take part in this study you are telling us that you:

- ✓ Understand what you have read.
- ✓ Agree to take part in the research study as outlined below.
- ✓ Agree to the use of your personal information as described.

(2) Who is running the study?

The study is being carried out by the following researcher: Mr James Sampere Peacock, PhD student, School of Politics, Philosophy, Language and Communication Studies, University of East Anglia.

(3) What will the study involve for me?

Your participation will involve giving consent to structured observation by the researcher of assemblies, when relevant, or lessons. These will take place on or outside of school premises at a time that is convenient for you and the observation will be audio recorded and coded on paper during each observation session. This research method is being applied to the study to analyse the approaches taken in each school when Islam predominantly, but also other major faiths, are taught in different school years, whether this is done critically, the material used in class to teach students about religion and if RE classes and assemblies are fruitful in promoting the strategies developed by the non-statutory RE national framework, the wider national-curriculum, regional and national governments of inter-religious tolerance and respect.

(4) How much of my time will the study take?

It is expected that each structured observation will take 60 minutes, one hour of class or assembly and aims to incorporate if possible KS3, KS4 and KS5 age groups. It is hoped that a total of four sessions will be achieved in each school.

(5) Do I have to be in the study? Can I withdraw from the study once I've started?

Being in this study is completely voluntary and you do not have to take part. Your decision whether to participate will not affect your current or future relationship with the researcher or anyone else at the University of East Anglia. If you decide to take part in the study and then change your mind later, you are free to withdraw at any during structured observation. You can do this by letting James Sampere Peacock know in person, by email (J.Sampere-Peacock@uea.ac.uk) or by phone +44 (0) 7392982769. Unless you say that you want us to keep them, any recordings will be erased after the observation transcripts have been completed. If you decide at a later time to withdraw from the study, your information will be removed from our records and will not be included in any results. In the event you do not want to take part in the research or wish to withdraw your contribution, please make sure you inform the researcher, James Sampere Peacock. If you wish to withdraw your contribution after the thesis submission, your information may be used for the thesis following strict guidelines to maintain your anonymity and safeguard your contribution but will be erased and will not be used for future research and projects.

(6) Are there any risks or costs associated with being in the study?

There are no physical risks associated with being in the study. However, religion and ethnicity are considered sensitive topics in Britain and France. As a result, you will be informed about how participants will be anonymised. If you wish to do so, you can provide your contact details in order to receive the notes, codes and transcripts of each structured observation session. Based on the information provided, you can then decide whether to accept or decline using your data in the thesis. As is further explained in this document, your information, identity, student participants and school will all be anonymised.

(7) Are there any benefits associated with being in the study?

I would hope that by talking about your experiences, it will allow you to reflect on those areas that have helped as well as those areas that might need additional support when teaching faiths, and particularly Islam, from a non-confessional perspective. Your contribution will also contribute to a cross country analysis on the changing role of different faiths in the British and French education system and expressing your opinions on the redefined political role of religion in particular reference to targeting radicalisation and closed religious communities.

(8) What will happen to information about me that is collected during the study?

By providing your consent, you are agreeing to us collecting information about the school's teaching methods in RE. Your information will only be used for the purposes outlined in this Participant Information Statement, unless you consent otherwise. Data management will follow the 1998 Data Protection Act and the University of East Anglia Research Data Management Policy (2013). Your information will be stored securely and your anonymity/information will be stringently maintained. Study findings may be published, but you or any of the participants will not be identified in these publications except for your teaching post, if you are an educator, and your gender. In this instance, data will be stored securely for a period of 10 years and then destroyed.

(9) What if I would like further information about the study?

When you have read this information sheet, James Sampere Peacock will be available to discuss it with you further and answer any questions you may have. You can contact him on J.Sampere-Peacock@uea.ac.uk or +44 (0) 7392982769.

(10) Will I be told the results of the study?

You have a right to receive feedback about the overall results of this study. You can express your wish to receive feedback by providing a contact detail on the consent section of this information sheet. This feedback will be in

the form of summary of the findings, codes, notes and transcripts of the observations. You will receive this feedback in 2020 after the thesis completion. You will then be able to decide whether or not to accept including the data gathered for the thesis until its submission.

(11) What if I have a complaint or any concerns about the study?

The ethical aspects of this study have been approved under the regulations of the University of East Anglia's School of Politics, Philosophy, Language and Communication Studies Research Ethics Committee (G-REC).

If there is a problem please let James Sampere Peacock know. You can contact him via the following address:

James Sampere Peacock

School of Politics, Philosophy, Language and Communication Studies

University of East Anglia

NORWICH NR4 7TJ

J.Sampere-Peacock@uea.ac.uk

If you are concerned about the way this study is being conducted or you wish to make a complaint to someone independent from the study, please contact the Head of the School of Politics, Philosophy, Language and Communications Studies Professor Lee Marsden, at L.Marsden@uea.ac.uk.

(12) OK, I want to take part – what do I do next?

You need to fill in one copy of the consent form and hand it back to James Sampere Peacock, in person or via email J.Sampere-Peacock@uea.ac.uk, before the interview. Please keep the letter, information sheet and a copy of the consent form for your information.

This information sheet is for you to keep

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM (1st Copy to Gate keeper)

I, [PRINT NAME], agree to take part in this research study.

In giving my consent I state that:

- ✓ I understand the purpose of the study, what I will be asked to do, and any risks/benefits involved.
- ✓ I have read the Participant Information Statement and have been able to discuss my involvement in the study with the researchers if I wished to do so.
- ✓ The researchers have answered any questions that I had about the study and I am happy with the answers.
- ✓ I understand that being in this study is completely voluntary and I do not have to take part. My decision whether to be in the study will not affect my relationship with the researchers or anyone else at the University of East Anglia now or in the future.
- ✓ I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time.
- ✓ I understand that I may stop the interview at any time if I do not wish to continue, and that unless I indicate otherwise any recordings will then be erased and the information provided will not be included in the study. I also understand that I may refuse to answer any questions I don't wish to answer.
- ✓ I understand that personal information about me that is collected over the course of this project will be stored securely and will only be used for purposes that I have agreed to. I understand that information about me will only be told to others with my permission, except as required by law.
- ✓ I understand that the results of this study may be published, but these publications will not contain my name or any identifiable information about me.

Please keep my identity anonymous.

I consent to:

- **Audio-recording** YES NO
- **Reviewing transcripts** YES NO
- **I would like to receive feedback about the overall results of this study** YES NO
- **My right to withdraw my contribution** YES NO

If you answered **YES**, please indicate your preferred form of feedback and address:

Postal: _____

Email: _____

.....
Signature **PRINT name** **Date**

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM (2nd Copy to Participant)

I, [PRINT NAME], agree to take part in this research study.

In giving my consent I state that:

- ✓ I understand the purpose of the study, what I will be asked to do, and any risks/benefits involved.
- ✓ I have read the Participant Information Statement and have been able to discuss my involvement in the study with the researchers if I wished to do so.
- ✓ The researchers have answered any questions that I had about the study and I am happy with the answers.
- ✓ I understand that being in this study is completely voluntary and I do not have to take part. My decision whether to be in the study will not affect my relationship with the researchers or anyone else at the University of East Anglia now or in the future.
- ✓ I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time.
- ✓ I understand that I may stop the interview at any time if I do not wish to continue, and that unless I indicate otherwise any recordings will then be erased and the information provided will not be included in the study. I also understand that I may refuse to answer any questions I don't wish to answer.
- ✓ I understand that personal information about me that is collected over the course of this project will be stored securely and will only be used for purposes that I have agreed to. I understand that information about me will only be told to others with my permission, except as required by law.
- ✓ I understand that the results of this study may be published, but these publications will not contain my name or any identifiable information about me.

Please keep my identity anonymous.

I consent to:

- **Audio-recording** YES NO
- **Reviewing transcripts** YES NO
- **I would like to receive feedback about the overall results of this study** YES NO
- **My right to withdraw my contribution** YES NO

If you answered **YES**, please indicate your preferred form of feedback and address:

Postal: _____

Email: _____

.....
Signature **PRINT name** **Date**

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM (3rd Copy to Researcher)

I, [PRINT NAME], agree to take part in this research study.

In giving my consent I state that:

- ✓ I understand the purpose of the study, what I will be asked to do, and any risks/benefits involved.
- ✓ I have read the Participant Information Statement and have been able to discuss my involvement in the study with the researchers if I wished to do so.
- ✓ The researchers have answered any questions that I had about the study and I am happy with the answers.
- ✓ I understand that being in this study is completely voluntary and I do not have to take part. My decision whether to be in the study will not affect my relationship with the researchers or anyone else at the University of East Anglia now or in the future.
- ✓ I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time.
- ✓ I understand that I may stop the interview at any time if I do not wish to continue, and that unless I indicate otherwise any recordings will then be erased and the information provided will not be included in the study. I also understand that I may refuse to answer any questions I don't wish to answer.
- ✓ I understand that personal information about me that is collected over the course of this project will be stored securely and will only be used for purposes that I have agreed to. I understand that information about me will only be told to others with my permission, except as required by law.
- ✓ I understand that the results of this study may be published, but these publications will not contain my name or any identifiable information about me.

Please keep my identity anonymous.

I consent to:

- | | |
|---|--|
| • Audio-recording | YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/> |
| • Reviewing transcripts | YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/> |
| • I would like to receive feedback about the overall results of this study | YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/> |
| • My right to withdraw my contribution | YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/> |

If you answered **YES**, please indicate your preferred form of feedback and address:

Postal: _____

Email: _____

.....
Signature **PRINT name** **Date**

Appendix 31 – French class observations consent form

M. James Sampere Peacock

Étudiant au doctorat

Faculty of Humanities

School of Politics, Philosophy, Language and
Communication Studies

University of East Anglia

Norwich Research Park

Norwich NR4 7TJ

United Kingdom

Email: J.Sampere-Peacock@uea.ac.uk

Tel: +44 (0) 7392982769

Web: www.uea.ac.uk

Enseigner les faits religieux dans les établissements scolaires d'enseignement secondaire publics

DÉCLARATION D'INFORMATION AU PARTICIPANT POUR LE DÉPARTEMENT D'HISTOIRE-GÉOGRAPHIE ET EMC

Observation structurée

(1) Objet de l'étude

Vous êtes invité à participer à une étude de recherche sur « L'enseignement de l'Islam dans les établissements scolaires d'enseignement secondaire publics britanniques et français : une comparaison politique fondée sur l'étude de cas de l'enseignement du fait religieux non confessionnel, multi-religieux et cohésif vis-à-vis de la communauté entre 2005 et 2020 ». Cette recherche tente d'analyser d'une part, comment les religions, et en particulier l'Islam, sont enseignées dans les établissements scolaires d'enseignement secondaire publics ainsi que la tentative du gouvernement d'utiliser les religions comme un moyen pour lutter contre la radicalisation, favoriser la cohésion communautaire interreligieuse et d'autre part, comment la position sociale changeante de l'Islam au XXI^e siècle, en tant que deuxième religion la plus importante en Grande-Bretagne et en France, est tenue en compte dans l'éducation en matière de religions dans les établissements scolaires d'enseignement secondaire. Cette Déclaration d'Information au Participant vous explique l'étude de recherche. Avoir connaissance de ce dont il s'agit vous aidera à décider si vous voulez participer à l'étude. Veuillez lire attentivement cette fiche et posez des questions sur tout ce que vous ne comprenez pas ou ce dont vous souhaitez en connaître plus. La participation à cette étude est volontaire. En donnant votre consentement à participer à cette étude, vous nous dites que vous :

- ✓ Comprenez ce que vous avez lu.
- ✓ Acceptez de participer à l'étude de recherche décrite ci-dessous.
- ✓ Acceptez l'utilisation de vos renseignements personnels tels que décrits.

(2) Qui dirige l'étude ?

L'étude est dirigée par le chercheur M. James Sampere Peacock, étudiant au doctorat à l'École d'Études de Politique, Philosophie, Langues et Sciences de la Communication à l'Université d'East Anglia.

(3) Quelle sera mon implication dans cette étude?

Votre participation impliquera donner le consentement à l'observation structurée par le chercheur des réunions générales et des cours d'histoire et de géographie, le cas échéant. Elles auront lieu à l'intérieur ou à l'extérieur des locaux scolaires au moment qui vous conviendra le mieux et les observations seront enregistrées et transcrites sur

papier pendant chaque séance d'observation. Cette méthode de recherche est appliquée à l'étude pour analyser les approches adoptées dans chacune des écoles où l'Islam, et aussi d'autres grandes religions, sont majoritairement enseignées tout au long des différentes années scolaires, pour vérifier si elles sont regardées d'un œil critique, pour réviser le matériel utilisé en classe pour enseigner aux élèves la religion et évaluer si les cours et les réunions générales d'enseignement religieux sont productives dans la promotion des stratégies de tolérance et de respect interreligieux élaborées par le Ministère de l'éducation et les gouvernements régionaux et locaux.

(4) Combien de mon temps l'étude prendra-t-elle ?

Il est prévu que chacune des observations structurées dure 60 minutes, une heure de classe ou de réunion générale visant à intégrer, si possible, des différents groupes d'âge d'entre les 11 et les 18 ans. L'on espère qu'un total de quatre séances soient réalisées dans chaque école.

(5) Dois-je participer à l'étude ? Puis-je me retirer de l'étude une fois que j'ai déjà commencé ?

La participation à cette étude est complètement volontaire et vous n'avez pas à en prendre part. Votre décision de participer n'aura aucune incidence sur vos relations actuelles ou futures avec les chercheurs ou toute autre personne à l'Université d'East Anglia. Si vous décidez de prendre part à l'étude et vous changez d'avis plus tard, vous êtes libre de vous retirer à tout moment pendant l'observation structurée. Vous pouvez le faire en le communiquant à James en personne, par courrier électronique (J.Sampere-Peacock@uea.ac.uk) ou par téléphone au +44 (0) 73 92 98 27 69. Sauf si vous indiquez que vous souhaitez que nous les gardions, tous les enregistrements seront effacés après la fin des transcriptions des interviews. Si vous décidez plus tard de vous retirer de l'étude, vos informations seront retirées de nos dossiers et elles ne seront pas incluses dans les résultats. Si vous ne souhaitez pas participer à la recherche ou si vous désirez retirer votre contribution, veuillez-vous assurer d'en informer le chercheur, James Sampere Peacock. Si vous désirez retirer votre contribution après la finalisation de la thèse, vos informations pourront être utilisées dans la thèse, tout en respectant des règles et de strictes directives pour maintenir l'anonymat de tous les participants, mais elles ne seront pas utilisées pour des recherches et des projets futurs.

(6) Y a-t-il des risques ou des coûts liés à l'étude ?

Il n'y a aucun risque physique associé à être dans l'étude. Cependant, les recherches sur la religion et l'ethnicité sont considérées comme des sujets sensibles en Grande-Bretagne et en France. En conséquence, vous serez informé de la façon dont tous les participants seront anonymisés. Si vous souhaitez le faire, vous pouvez fournir vos coordonnées afin que je puisse vous envoyer les transcriptions de chaque observation et un résumé des conclusions de la thèse. Cela sera fait en 2020 après avoir fini la thèse. Sur la base des informations fournis, vous pouvez alors décider d'accepter ou de refuser d'utiliser vos données dans la thèse. Comme est expliqué plus en détail dans ce document, vos informations, votre identité et votre école seront tous anonyme.

(7) Y a-t-il des avantages liés à l'étude ?

Votre apport contribuera à une analyse transversale de l'évolution du rôle des différentes croyances dans les systèmes éducatifs britannique et français et servira pour verser plus de lumière sur la nouvelle définition politique du rôle de la religion et les stratégies utilisées en différents en particulier en ce qui concerne la radicalisation et les communautés fermées ou les non.

(8) Qu'arrivera-t-il avec mes renseignements personnels recueillis au cours de l'étude ?

En donnant votre consentement, vous acceptez que nous recueillions des renseignements personnels vous concernant aux fins de cette étude de recherche. Vos renseignements ne seront utilisés qu'aux fins décrites dans la présente Déclaration d'Information au Participant, sauf indication contraire de votre part. La gestion des données sera traitée dans le respect de la Loi sur la Protection des Données de 1998 et la Politique de Gestion des Données de Recherche de l'Université d'East Anglia (2013). Vos renseignements seront gardés en toute sécurité, et votre anonymat ainsi que vos renseignements personnels seront rigoureusement assurés. Les résultats de l'étude pourront être publiés, mais vous resterez anonyme dans ces publications; seulement votre poste d'enseignant, si vous êtes un éducateur, et votre sexe y figureront. Dans ce cas-là, les données seront gardées en toute sécurité pendant une période de 10 ans, puis détruites. Aucun des élèves présents pendant l'observation structurée sera nommé dans la thèse ou aucun futur travail.

(9) Que faire si je souhaite des renseignements plus approfondis sur l'étude ?

Lorsque vous aurez lu cette information, James Sampere Peacock sera à votre disposition pour en discuter avec vous et pour répondre à toutes vos questions. Vous pourrez contacter avec lui en personne, par email (J.Sampere-Peacock@uea.ac.uk) ou téléphone (+44 (0) 73 92 98 27 69).

(10) Serai-je informé des résultats de l'étude ?

Vous aurez le droit de recevoir des commentaires sur les résultats globaux de cette étude. Vous pourrez me communiquer si vous souhaiteriez recevoir lesdits commentaires en me fournissant vos coordonnées dans la section de consentement de cette fiche d'information. Le retour de ces commentaires sera sous la forme d'un résumé des résultats de l'étude, des codes, et des transcriptions de chaque observation structurée en 2020 après avoir fini la thèse. Vous pourrez ensuite décider d'accepter ou non l'inclusion des données que vous avez fournies pour la thèse.

(11) Qu'arrive-t-il si j'ai une plainte ou des inquiétudes au sujet de l'étude ?

Les aspects éthiques de cette étude ont été approuvés par le Comité Éthique de Recherche (G-REC) de l'École d'Études de Politique, Philosophie, Langues et Sciences de la Communication de l'Université d'East Anglia.

S'il y a un problème, je vous prierais de le faire savoir. Vous pourrez contacter avec James Sampere Peacock *via* l'Université à l'adresse suivante :

James Sampere Peacock

School of Politics, Philosophy, Language and Communication Studies

University of East Anglia

NORWICH NR4 7TJ

J.Sampere-Peacock@uea.ac.uk

Si vous êtes soucieux de la façon dont cette étude est menée ou si vous souhaitez déposer une plainte auprès d'une personne indépendante de l'étude, veuillez contacter le professeur Lee Marsden, Chef de l'École d'Études de Politique, Philosophie, Langues et Sciences de la Communication au L.Marsden@uea.ac.uk.

(12) D'accord, je veux participer. Que dois-je faire par la suite ?

Vous devrez remplir une copie du formulaire de consentement et la remettre à James Sampere Peacock en personne, par courrier électronique (J.Sampere-Peacock@uea.ac.uk) avant l'entrevue. Veuillez conserver la lettre, la fiche d'information et la 2ème copie du formulaire de consentement pour votre information.

Cette fiche d'information est pour vous

FORMULAIRE DE CONSENTEMENT DU PARTICIPANT (1ère copie pour le participant)

Je soussigné..... [Écrivez votre nom en toutes lettres] accepte de participer à cette étude. Tout en donnant mon consentement, je déclare que :

- ✓ Je comprends le but de l'étude, ce que je vais être invité à faire, et tous les risques et avantages associés.
- ✓ J'ai lu la Déclaration d'Information au Participant et j'ai pu discuter, si j'ai souhaité le faire, de mon implication dans l'étude avec les chercheurs.
- ✓ Les chercheurs ont répondu à toutes les questions que j'ai posées au sujet de l'étude et je suis satisfait des réponses.
- ✓ Je comprends que la participation à cette étude est totalement volontaire et je n'ai pas à y participer. Ma décision de participer à l'étude n'affectera pas ma relation avec les chercheurs ou toute autre personne à l'Université d'East Anglia maintenant ou dans l'avenir.
- ✓ Je comprends que je peux me retirer de l'étude à tout moment.
- ✓ Je comprends que je peux interrompre l'entrevue à tout moment si je ne souhaite pas continuer et que, sauf indication contraire, les enregistrements seront effacés et les renseignements fournis ne seront pas inclus dans l'étude. Je comprends également que je peux refuser de répondre aux questions auxquelles je ne souhaite pas répondre.
- ✓ Je comprends que mes renseignements personnels qui sont recueillis au cours de ce projet seront gardés en toute sécurité et ne seront utilisés qu'aux fins que celles que j'ai acceptées. Je comprends que mes renseignements personnels ne seront communiqués à d'autres personnes qu'avec ma permission, à moins que la loi ne l'exige.
- ✓ Je comprends que les résultats de cette étude peuvent être publiés, mais ces publications ne contiendront ni mon nom ni aucun renseignement personnel qui permettrait de m'identifier.

Veuillez préserver mon anonymat

Je consens à ce que :

- **Enregistrement audio** OUI NON
- **Vérification des transcriptions** OUI NON
- **Je souhaite recevoir les commentaires sur les résultats globaux de cette étude** OUI NON
- **Mon droit de retirer ma contribution** OUI NON

Si vous avez répondu **OUI**, veuillez indiquer votre moyen de retour préféré et votre adresse

Adresse Postale : _____

Adresse Électronique : _____

.....
Signature **Écrivez votre nom en toutes lettres** **Date**

FORMULAIRE DE CONSENTEMENT DU PARTICIPANT (2ème copie pour le portier)

Je soussigné..... [Écrivez votre nom en toutes lettres] accepte de participer à cette étude. Tout en donnant mon consentement, je déclare que :

- ✓ Je comprends le but de l'étude, ce que je vais être invité à faire, et tous les risques et avantages associés.
- ✓ J'ai lu la Déclaration d'Information au Participant et j'ai pu discuter, si j'ai souhaité le faire, de mon implication dans l'étude avec les chercheurs.
- ✓ Les chercheurs ont répondu à toutes les questions que j'ai posées au sujet de l'étude et je suis satisfait des réponses.
- ✓ Je comprends que la participation à cette étude est totalement volontaire et je n'ai pas à y participer. Ma décision de participer à l'étude n'affectera pas ma relation avec les chercheurs ou toute autre personne à l'Université d'East Anglia maintenant ou dans l'avenir.
- ✓ Je comprends que je peux me retirer de l'étude à tout moment.
- ✓ Je comprends que je peux interrompre l'entrevue à tout moment si je ne souhaite pas continuer et que, sauf indication contraire, les enregistrements seront effacés et les renseignements fournis ne seront pas inclus dans l'étude. Je comprends également que je peux refuser de répondre aux questions auxquelles je ne souhaite pas répondre.
- ✓ Je comprends que mes renseignements personnels qui sont recueillis au cours de ce projet seront gardés en toute sécurité et ne seront utilisés qu'aux fins que celles que j'ai acceptées. Je comprends que mes renseignements personnels ne seront communiqués à d'autres personnes qu'avec ma permission, à moins que la loi ne l'exige.
- ✓ Je comprends que les résultats de cette étude peuvent être publiés, mais ces publications ne contiendront ni mon nom ni aucun renseignement personnel qui permettrait de m'identifier.

Veuillez préserver mon anonymat

Je consens à ce que :

- | | |
|---|---|
| • Enregistrement audio | OUI <input type="checkbox"/> NON <input type="checkbox"/> |
| • Vérification des transcriptions | OUI <input type="checkbox"/> NON <input type="checkbox"/> |
| • Je souhaite recevoir les commentaires sur les résultats globaux de cette étude | OUI <input type="checkbox"/> NON <input type="checkbox"/> |
| • Mon droit de retirer ma contribution | OUI <input type="checkbox"/> NON <input type="checkbox"/> |

Si vous avez répondu **OUI**, veuillez indiquer votre moyen de retour préféré et votre adresse

Adresse Postale : _____

Adresse Électronique : _____

.....
Signature **Écrivez votre nom en toutes lettres** **Date**

FORMULAIRE DE CONSENTEMENT DU PARTICIPANT (3ème copie pour le chercheur)

Je soussigné..... [Écrivez votre nom en toutes lettres] accepte de participer à cette étude. Tout en donnant mon consentement, je déclare que :

- ✓ Je comprends le but de l'étude, ce que je vais être invité à faire, et tous les risques et avantages associés.
- ✓ J'ai lu la Déclaration d'Information au Participant et j'ai pu discuter, si j'ai souhaité le faire, de mon implication dans l'étude avec les chercheurs.
- ✓ Les chercheurs ont répondu à toutes les questions que j'ai posées au sujet de l'étude et je suis satisfait des réponses.
- ✓ Je comprends que la participation à cette étude est totalement volontaire et je n'ai pas à y participer. Ma décision de participer à l'étude n'affectera pas ma relation avec les chercheurs ou toute autre personne à l'Université d'East Anglia maintenant ou dans l'avenir.
- ✓ Je comprends que je peux me retirer de l'étude à tout moment.
- ✓ Je comprends que je peux interrompre l'entrevue à tout moment si je ne souhaite pas continuer et que, sauf indication contraire, les enregistrements seront effacés et les renseignements fournis ne seront pas inclus dans l'étude. Je comprends également que je peux refuser de répondre aux questions auxquelles je ne souhaite pas répondre.
- ✓ Je comprends que mes renseignements personnels qui sont recueillis au cours de ce projet seront gardés en toute sécurité et ne seront utilisés qu'aux fins que celles que j'ai acceptées. Je comprends que mes renseignements personnels ne seront communiqués à d'autres personnes qu'avec ma permission, à moins que la loi ne l'exige.
- ✓ Je comprends que les résultats de cette étude peuvent être publiés, mais ces publications ne contiendront ni mon nom ni aucun renseignement personnel qui permettrait de m'identifier.

Veuillez préserver mon anonymat

Je consens à ce que :

- **Enregistrement audio** OUI NON
- **Vérification des transcriptions** OUI NON
- **Je souhaite recevoir les commentaires sur les résultats globaux de cette étude** OUI NON
- **Mon droit de retirer ma contribution** OUI NON

Si vous avez répondu **OUI**, veuillez indiquer votre moyen de retour préféré et votre adresse

Adresse Postale : _____

Adresse Électronique : _____

.....
Signature **Écrivez votre nom en toutes lettres** **Date**