

Adolescents in the Religious Development Landscape: Ramifications for Religious Education Pedagogy

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ABSTRACT: *The paper reassesses the theories of Goldman's religious development and Piaget's cognitive development that provides a conceptual framework from which Goldman's theory is entrenched. Through a qualitative research approach, the paper examines the influence of religious development in adolescents' comprehension of religious concepts. The anticipation is to make educators more focused on their interaction with learners and re-orient them to think about learners' stages of religious concepts development in their teaching. The paper recommends that religious educators should be creative to keep learners' motivation, interest and morale high in the subject.*

KEYWORDS: *Cognitive development, Learner-centred methods, Religious constructs and Religious development*

I. INTRODUCTION

The problem of religious development in adolescents and its place in the curriculum has been, and still is, an area of increasing interest to many religious education stakeholders, such as the government, religious development theorists, educators, and religious education curricula designers especially in a multi-cultural context. Religious development in adolescents received little reflection over the years and specifically during the growth of the different branches of psychology, all of which contributed to a comprehension of human behaviour. And in the words of Peter L. Benson et al (1989:153), research in adolescent piety "... has tended to be the by-product of research in other areas, rather than an interest in itself." Therefore, religious thinking in relation to both secular and humanistic perceptions of behaviour has not been dealt with as broadly as other psychological manifestations. Religious experiences were sometimes examined, albeit as pathological occurrences. Rizzuto (1979, 1991) and Coles (1990) made an effort to explain religious phenomena from a psychoanalytical vantage point though they were very critical of its classical assumptions.

Though few, studies have been carried out in the area of religious development in adolescents in the second half of the 21st century. Religious constructs like religious thinking, religious judgment, religious identity, and faith (Goldman, 1964; Oser & Gmunder, 1991; Elkind, 1978 and Fowler, 1981) respectively have been done, but little is yet known about the background factors that influence the stages of religious development (Spilka, Hook and Gorsuch 1985, 75).

II. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The section discusses the background factors that influence the stages of religious development through analysing literature from published sources. The section highlights the contributions of Jean Piaget's Cognitive Development Theory and Ronald Goldman's Religious Development Theory.

2.1 Jean Piaget and the Cognitive Development Theory

The notion of development implies that human beings go through stages of maturation. A stage may be defined as a period or step in the development, growth or progress of something. No one so far has been more influential in our understanding of the intellectual component of this stage development than Jean Piaget (1896-1980). He characterised growth as a series of progressive and successive stages, each one being necessarily linked to the one preceding it. Each stage is marked by equilibrium, a point at which the worldview is in balance and is understood in specific ways, or what Bee & Denise (2004, 51) refer to as the "tendency to organise schemes to allow better understanding". New experiences are incorporated into this worldview and mental structures are

gradually changed in order to accommodate new experiences or information that does not quite fit. When there is so much change that old understanding does not suffice then disequilibria is said to exist, thus marking a transition to the next and necessarily higher stage of understanding.

The sensorimotor stage extends from birth to two years when children acquire understanding primarily through sensory impressions and motor activities. This means children are born with innate reflex mechanisms. Their mental life consists of exercising their reflexes and senses as they explore the environment – hence the label sensorimotor (Biehler and Snowman 1977).

One cognitive developmental milestone of this stage is the development of object permanence between the fourth and eighth month of this stage. Prior to this point, infants treat objects that leave their field of vision as if they do not exist anymore. When an object at which they are looking is covered, for instance, they simply stop searching for it. To the children, the object no longer exists when it is hidden since the child has not yet acquired object permanence – out of sight out of mind behaviour. During the same period, however, intentional search behaviours become increasingly apparent. The children are able to organize activities in relation to the environment (Piaget 1967, 9).

The thinking of children in the pre-operational stage (two – six/seven years) is centred on mastery of symbols such as words to represent people, places and events from past experiences. They also acquire the ability to conserve – that is, to recognize that certain properties stay the same despite a change in appearance or position (Biehler & Snowman 1977). However, they are not yet able to mentally reverse actions.

Additionally, the children are principally and intellectually egocentric in thought, word and deed. They are unable to see things objectively. They find it complicated to take and perceive things from another person's perspective. They cannot decentre to look at things from somebody else's viewpoint (Piaget and Inhelder 1969). Their world is "entirely centred on self" and assumes that others see things the same way they see them (Travers, Elliot and Kratochwill 1993, 65). Therefore children in this stage have difficulty in solving tasks that require logical reasoning because they focus on one aspect of a task at a time (perceptual centration), they cannot reverse a sequence of steps in order to find the starting point of a problem (irreversibility) and cannot think of different ways of defining and solving problems (egocentrism) (Biehler & Snowman 1977).

Between the seventh and eleventh year, concrete operations stage commences. Children are capable of mentally reversing actions and group objects into classes (Travers et. al. 1993). It is worth to note that in this stage operational thinking is limited to objects that are actually present or that children have concrete and direct experiences of, and not on verbal statements – hence the label concrete operations. Accordingly, they generalise only from concrete experiences. The reversibility of thought allows certain forms of balance in mental operations. Some operations at this stage are classifying, manipulating numbers, dealing with concepts of time and space, and distinguishing reality from fantasy; logical thinking begins (Biehler & Snowman 1977, 43).

Formal operations stage extends from approximately eleven/twelve years and beyond. Adolescents in this stage transcend the sphere of the concrete operations period and places reality in a group of possible transformations (Piaget 1967, 130). During this period, the adolescent demonstrated the ability to reason realistically about the future and consider possibilities that they actually doubt (Travers et. al 1993, 72). They are now able to respond to the form of a problem rather than its content and to form hypotheses. As a result, they begin to think in abstract concepts such as fairness, justice, peace, and human rights (Bruce & Meggitt 2002, 97). They can deal with hypothetical situations, solve problems systematically, and engage in mental manipulations. However, it is worth to note that, Piaget did not write directly about the religious development of children, but many others related to Piaget's theories of cognitive development to children's religion. The most well-known application is that of Ronald Goldman to which this paper now turns.

2.2 Ronald Goldman and the Religious Development Theory

Ronald Goldman commenced with the assumption that "religious thinking is no different in mode and method from non-religious thinking" (Goldman 1964, 3) and therefore, follows the same cognitive developmental stages as proposed by Piaget. From this premise, he analysed the responses he got when asking children about drawings with religious connotations as well as questions about Bible stories. He found out and concluded that religious thinking does indeed develop in the fashion similar to cognitive development as propounded by Piaget. Furthermore, Goldman noted that religious thinking usually develops later than ordinary thinking. Perhaps this is indicative of the fact that religious thinking demands a richer socio-cultural experience before religious language could be used and understood. According to Goldman (1965), religious development has three stages, and these are pre-religious stage (5-7 years), sub-religious stage (8-10 years), and the religious stage (11 + years).

The pre-religious stage (which corresponds to Piaget's early childhood stage) is when the child has no real insight into a religious view. Goldman (1965, 80) argued that though there is interest in religion among the five to seven-year-olds, there is no indication that they think in religious terms. He argued that the children at this stage have a limited comprehension of religious concepts such as faith, spirit, the virgin birth, resurrection, or ascension. Thus, they are intellectually egocentric. They cannot think in abstract terms nor conceive of spiritual existence as being something independent of physical matter. Their perception of God is of one who is fearful and punishing God. From the study he conducted, Goldman found the features of intuitive thinking: distracted by irrelevant details, literal, distorted, and often misunderstood (Goldman 1965, 81). To Goldman, the child is mono-focal in his thinking. The child is only able to deal with one fact at a time, and relational thinking develops gradually. The children at this stage thus make generalisations; they can concentrate only on one fact or idea at a time. This is the kind of reasoning that characterise children in Piaget's pre-operational stage. This means that at this stage, educators should not introduce too many learning materials in their lessons, as they would confuse pupils.

The sub-religious stage follows and comprises of children whose ages range from seven/eight – eleven/twelve years. It is characteristic of the middle childhood stage and adopts a new mode of thinking, after the pre-school years. Children are less egocentric in their thinking. They are moving from pre-operational to a concrete operational mode of thinking. Therefore, religious ideas take on a materialistic and physical expression. They begin to move towards a more realistic view of experience (Goldman 1964, 103). Abstract ideas such as spirit, holiness and love frequently used in religious education teaching are still very confusing and often completely misunderstood.

Concrete limitations continue in late childhood and pre-adolescence. It is clear that:

...children begin to recognize the problem of God being everywhere and at one place at a particular time. To overcome this problem God must be conceived of as a spirit, not bound by physical limitations, but the child's natural concrete form of thinking makes this concept difficult for him to grasp (Goldman 1965, 132).

According to Goldman, many people stop to develop religiously at a level corresponding to a mental age of approximately ten years. This is because children would have developed a two-world mentality - the theological world where God exists and is active, and the logically scientific world where God does not exist (Goldman 1964, 242).

Thirteen years of age and above is the abstract or religious stage. It represents a marked watershed in religious thinking. The stage is the age of religious awakening, during which time people either become converted or decide to abandon the faith of their childhood if they had one. Religious thinking becomes less literal and more abstract (Benson et al 1989: 161 citing Elkind 1971; Nelsen et al 1977; Potvin et al 1976). Learners in this stage are adolescents and have the ability to think in abstract terms. Thus, they are able to think critically such that some of the concepts, which were developed at early stages of learning, be rejected or accepted and consolidated. In fact, most of them move forward into more adult thinking about religion (Goldman 1965, 13). Goldman pointed out that since formal operational thought would not have been fully developed, abstract religious thinking occurs more slowly than in other areas of cognitive functionality (Benson et al 1989: 161). However, most adolescents would have attained an intermediate stage enough to begin to think in terms of propositions, ideas and relationships in more abstract terms (Goldman 1964, 239). Consequent upon this development, religious language would be easier to comprehend (Goldman 1965, 162). Cognitively, concrete modes of thought begin to disintegrate and consequently statements about religion and biblical stories or any religious stories for that matter are perceived in less literal terms. Most learners at this stage have the ability to conceive "of God in symbolic, abstract and spiritualised ideas" (Goldman 1964, 239). Goldman pointed out that learners could essentially think of God as unseen and one who cannot be seen since he is a spirit and therefore omnipresent (Goldman 1964, 239, 240). They can recognize, comprehend, and interrogate metaphorical, poetic and symbolic language to get its meaning. Sense of time also develops and as a result comprehension of historical sequence and continuity is simple (Goldman 1965, 163). This is an essential conceptual development as it aids comprehension of religious history. For instance, learners would be able to understand the growth and development of the early church as it is presented in the Acts of the Apostles and the Pauline letters. They would be able to understand the historical developments of other religious formations such as Islam or Hinduism.

The development of this higher form of cognition, for instance, about God, evil, and prayer means that adolescents would move away from childish thinking about religion and develop a desire to move forward to more adult concepts. Loukes cited in Goldman (1964) pointed out that pupils at this stage have a tendency to see

much of previous religious teaching as “childish” and reject it as primary school material not acceptable at their level. This means that how they are taught is as important to them as what they are taught. They are no longer children and need to be perceived and taught as such. What then are the implications for development for religious education pedagogy?

III. METHODOLOGY

The research by Goldman was purely qualitative and, random sampling was used where research on the developmental course for an aspect of religious understanding was intended, and yet participants had different levels of commitment to their religious beliefs. Sometimes research was conducted with lay subjects and based on worldly conjectures. It is thus worthy to note that most of these studies lacked sufficient empirical support. Notwithstanding that, the present study commences with a brief reappraisal of Piaget’s theory of cognitive development from which the religious development theory evolved. Piaget’s work on cognitive development provides a theoretical framework, which was adopted and applied in the field of religious development first and foremost, by Ronald Goldman, and several others such as Fowler, (1981), and Elkind (1978), who were influenced by his work. The present study adopted a content analysis research design as it attempted to establish the links or impact of Piaget’s cognitive development theory content to Goldman’s religious development model. Piaget is recognised in this study for providing important insights and helping to shift views of adolescent conduct, ‘from the realm of the bad’; to that of behaviour typical for this age group (Elkind, 1978). This work is an attempt at a trajectory of religious development in adolescents and its ramifications for religious education pedagogy in secondary schools.

IV. IMPLICATIONS FOR RELIGIOUS EDUCATION PEDAGOGY

Religious Education is a tool to transmit knowledge and values pertaining to all religious trends, in an inclusive way, so that individuals realise that they are being part of the same community and learn to create their own identity in harmony with identities different from their own (Amor 2001). The Scottish Office Guidelines regards Religious Education as concerned with the development of the understanding of religion as a significant area of human experience. It is also an aspect of personal growth enabling the individual to explore questions concerning the meaning of life and the value of the individual interpreted in relation to that which is beyond man (SOED 1992, 2).

Goldman (1964) submits that religious development is not separate from the rest of a child’s development. It is dependent upon all other stages of development as advocated by Piaget. Therefore, religious educators, first and foremost, need to know these stages of moral development, and by knowing them they would be armed to select appropriate methods and approaches for use in teaching religious education.

Therefore, when dealing with the adolescents, (thirteen years old and beyond), major themes of the Bible as directed by the syllabus, could be selectively explored to show how man grappled with the mysteries of suffering, sin, salvation, death, love and justice (Goldman 1964, 245). For that reason a life-themes approach could be used to teach such themes as forgiving and reconciling, caring and sharing (at Form 1-2/Grades 8-9 or Junior level), Jesus’ healing miracles, the Kingdom of God and any other issues of religious significance as determined by the syllabus (from Form 3-6/Grades 10-12 or Senior levels). Goldman contends that the themes religious educators choose should not be used to teach the Bible or any other religious literature, but to teach from them. The selected themes should be comparable in some way to the level of thinking and experience of the adolescent, that is, teaching from the known to the unknown. Cambridgeshire, in Goldman (1964) argued that no attempt should be made to present religious ideas, which are beyond the pupils’ power of comprehension. This corroborates the view that religious truth cannot be seen as relevant if it deals with experience foreign to the student to whom it is to be taught. Personal experience and relevance must go hand in hand. To corroborate this view Hamilton cited in Goldman (1964, 244) clearly states:

It is in the real life of his [*the student’s*] everyday life that he must be able to recognise the truth of what he is taught. No knowledge of obscure periods of history or stories of far off events can avail, unless he is helped to come to terms with his own experience The past and the present must be seen to be continuous or the past has no authority in that world of here and now in which every child lives.

Therefore, the content to be taught should, in some way, be proficiently linked with the real-life experiences and needs of adolescents. Consequently, a variety of instructional methods could be used to ensure that both the adolescent’s intellectual and emotional needs are satisfied and secured. If learners do not comprehend what is behind a religious concept, it would be wise for the educator to select stories, which would suit the religious developmental level of the learners better. For instance, it would be highly improper for the educator to teach

stories about cruel people to pupils at pre-religious and sub-religious stages because they have not yet reached the stage of being critical. Thus, the teaching of the harassment and crucifixion of Jesus or the persecution of early Christians by Saul and of the disciples by the authorities should be delayed until an appropriate time. Such stories would distort the concepts of love and care associated with the elderly in society. Educators should teach stories that inculcate generosity, humility and altruism, for example, *Jesus' Feeding of the Five Thousand* (Luke 9: 10-17) or *Healing of the Gerasene Demoniac* (Luke 8: 26-39), or *Parable of the Good Samaritan* (Luke 10: 25-37).

From surveys conducted, the common complaint of adolescents about Religious Education teaching in secondary schools is that they are being subjected to non-adult forms of teaching and that too much thinking is done for them. As a result, the need for greater freedom to express and explore their religious ideas is not pursued (Goldman 1964, 245). Consequently and in response, learner-centred methods should be used for their benefit, for instance, debate, drama, simulation, role-playing and discovery (Gundani & Ndlovu 2000). The rationale underlying this suggestion is that self-initiated or directed learning, once begun, develops its own momentum. Role-playing could be used in teaching the *Call of the First Disciples* (Luke 5:1-11), while the debate method could be used to teach the *Prodigal Son* (Luke 15:11-32).

Furthermore, since adolescents could think in abstract terms, educators could use verbal materials in their lesson instruction. Subsequent to the presentation of the basic facts about, for example, the arrest and trial of Jesus to a Form 4 class, learners could adopt pro and con positions about the actual causes of the arrest and trial. The educator may also set up debating teams where they could debate about the fairness of Jesus' arrest and subsequent trial before both the Jewish Council and Pilate, may have learners simulate the actions of the Jewish Council, Herod or Pilate of the times (Luke 22:47-23:25).

Moreover, adolescents have the ability to gather as much information as possible about a problem because of the stage of cognitive development they are in. Consequently, learners could be asked, for example, to examine the major causes of Jesus' arrest, the vacillation of his trial between Pilate and Herod, and why the former failed to free him despite finding him not guilty of any offence (Luke 23:1-25). Subsequently, learners could be then asked to relate Jesus' trial to the judiciary system in their own country. Furthermore, learners could also be asked to discuss moral decadence (for instance the sexual abuse of the young children), intolerance to divergent religious and cultural beliefs and practices and corruption that are rampant in today's world and solutions thereon. Such teaching and learning methods do not only ensure participation by the learners, but they also stimulate their imagination and boost their confidence in creativity and communication skills. They encourage co-operation through co-ordinated activities and also assists them to remember the learnt material. Furthermore, the lessons would make Religious Education to be relevant and applicable to the student's present worldview.

Religious concepts could be interpreted as crudely and concretely. Thus, real-life experience or outdoor methods could be used when developing religious concepts. Learners, for instance in Forms 1 and 2, may not understand concepts such as love, God, honesty, ascension and others. When teaching, say about love, the educator may take the class to either an orphanage or an Old Peoples' Home and help them with cleaning the premises or donating groceries and discuss the visit soon afterwards. By involving learners in practical lessons like that, such concepts as love, altruism, humility and others could easily be developed. Learners would be active rather than passive; educators would be facilitators of learning rather than transmitters of knowledge. The method is beneficial to learners in that they construct knowledge as they attempt to bring meaning to their experiences. In other words, learners construct knowledge themselves on the basis of subjective experiences, are not reproducing anyone else's knowledge. Conversely, the educator as a facilitator of learning needs to keep in mind that instruction would vary depending on the learner's prior knowledge, current interest and level of involvement (Chaille and Britain, 1991).

Once learners have been exposed to new knowledge, the process of understanding it starts. Educators can assist in this development by providing many experiences that motivate learners to explore this new knowledge and have them communicate their interpretation of it. Research indicates that communicating knowledge is essential for understanding (Fensham and Gunstone, 1994).

Biehler and Snowman (1977:474-475) demonstrates the need for learner-centred methods from student's comments. It is worth to note that adolescent learners do not enjoy lessons that are conducted using the lecture method. This is because, though the educator may cover a more extensive amount of content in the syllabus, the method assigns an inactive role to the learners; it is educator-centred. The method is particularly boring if it is not buttressed by carefully thought out questions and visual aids. Religious education lessons must not be passive occasions where pupils merely sit and listen to real physical experience using concrete objects and

variable facts. In teaching the *Ascension of Jesus*, for instance, the educator could make use of a balloon, where it is filled with air and then is let loose. When it rises into the atmosphere, the educator then capitalises on its buoyancy to teach the concept of ascension to the class.

This may be indicative of the fact that learners enjoy lessons when they make arguments on certain points, and debate about other issues to get nearer to the truth. Therefore, the use of group activities, debates and problem-solving methods could arrest learners' restlessness and boredom during the Religious Education lessons. For instance, in teaching Form Three learners about the *Prodigal Son* (Luke 15:11-31), the educator may divide the learners into four manageable groups, and each one of them asked to answer questions on work cards. The questions may request them to provide a lively summation of the story, discuss the attitudes of both the father and the elder brother to the wasteful son, and deducing moral lessons that might be learned thereon. Learners would be part of the learning process as they would be actively involved in the lesson.

Through group activities, for instance, role-plays and drama, simulations, and group discussions, the adolescents would learn to communicate effectively, co-operate, be creative, and engage in teamwork sharing knowledge with one another. They also learn to become good and reflective listeners to other's opinions, work and play in a harmonious way, and appreciate each other's different religious background. It is worthy to note that in a discussion the student would seek to establish a sense of commonality or relatedness with other learners. It is more useful when learners work in small groups, for instance, in brainstorming or solving assigned tasks, than when they work alone. They have the opportunity to constantly voice ideas, and receive feedback (Chaille and Britain, 1991). Therefore, the educator who wishes to use this teaching method profitably should thoroughly prepare so that s/he would have the right facts at the blink of an eye. The educator should be very clear about what s/he wants to cover, and then seek, by any means necessary, to engage the interest and participation of her/his pupils. Lack of preparation might lead to student's boredom and the lesson might subsequently fail to realise its intended objectives.

The *raison d'être* is that adolescence can be a turbulent and trying time, the so-called "identity crisis" period as put forward by Erikson (1968). It is a stage when they want to pose questions, express doubts, discuss and explore religious and cultural ideas for themselves (Goldman 1965, 184). Therefore, this eagerness must be tapped and used, not repressed, so that a personal confrontation with religious truth can be made. Religious experiences expressed in many Biblical passages are often very abstract, non-concrete, and frequently depend upon subtlety. There should be the concrete, sensory and tangible approach to the teaching of religious education. As a result, whatever content being taught, it is clear that learner-centred methods must play a significant part in the way the religious Education educator delivers his/her lessons.

An inevitable part of Religious Education lessons is relating to other religions, thereby employing the multi-faith approach (Nondo 1991). The approach involves the appreciation of other religions besides the principal one. The teaching should be pluralistic; this enables adolescents to be tolerant and to respect others whose religious beliefs and practices differ from theirs. Woodward (1982) points out that this approach entails a sound, sympathetic and accurate description of the religion, an evocative approach that educes insights; and a reflective element that encourages the learners to cogitate on deeper issues at as serious a level as they could manage. The rationale is that schooled persons should be exposed to religions other than their own.

Adolescents may enquire about other religions and an environment should be conducive in the classroom to discuss them. This may be due to the development of more complex cognitive abilities, which leads to more abstract thought, and "existential experiences". These developments lead to a time of examining for the adolescent that could, later on in life, lead either to the solidification of faith in their religion, or departure from it (Azorak 1989). This is religiously healthy as the adolescents are afforded the chance to explore and learn other religions. The educators' roles are altered when dealing with adolescents; they become guides and co-explorers and, as Goldman (1964) puts it, educators are not all knowing or fountains of knowledge. This would infuse a spirit of tolerance and appreciation of other religions. The ultimate aim of educators should be to nurture the aforementioned skills to the extent that pupils do not need the educators at all in order to practice them. This is a lively and personal way of seeing religion as a living faith, not as straw-religion (Goldman 1965, 183). Pupils are therefore granted the opportunity to analyse issues in Religious Education from a socio-cultural milieu. Educators should, therefore, draw as many examples as they could from other religions in their lessons especially those that are dominant in the area where the schools are located. This would assist those pupils to authentically feel religiously equal to others from different religious backgrounds, thereby discouraging the development of religious extremism tendencies.

In addition, most Religious Education educators should be creative in their teaching. They just have to! Pupil's boredom threshold is likely to be much lower in Religious Education than, for instance, Science or Accounts which society tells them is an important and worthwhile subject. And yet, society the world over needs engineers, accountants, chief executives and managers who are honest, and morally upright. This could be achieved, perhaps, if religious education is accorded the seriousness it deserves. Educators, therefore, should constantly devise new teaching methods to make Religious Education more interesting and relevant to learners' religious and cultural experiences.

It is therefore critical for religious educators to know the stages of religious concept development so that different methods of teaching may be used at different stages. Specific instructions, concrete experiences and tangible factual materials should be used, for instance, in teaching the junior classes. The use of abstract ideas will lead to difficulties, simply because concrete elements tend to dominate the pupils' thinking.

V. CONCLUSION

This paper has presented a resume of the theory of cognitive development as propounded by Piaget. The theory is cardinal in as far as it provides the conceptual framework from which the theory of religious development is hewn.

The paper argues that religious development occurs in stages that correspond to the development of cognition. Like Goldman (1965) the paper corroborates that thirteen years is a decisive age in terms of religious development; concepts, ideas, and relationships can be thought of in more abstract terms, making religious language easy to comprehend. Adolescents are able to think abstractly and as a result, they can understand some religious constructs.

It has also shown that religious development theory influences religious education pedagogy. The theory informs the teaching and learning methodologies. Educators would choose appropriate teaching media and methods for a given content as they relate these to the religious development level and experience of learners. The level of the religious development of the learners normally should determine what and how they are taught. The paper recommends that Religious Education educators should, in addition to thoroughly prepare for their lessons, be inventive and make use of outdoor and discussion methods in their teaching. Such learner-centred teaching and learning methods ensure that learners are involved in the learning process.

Competing interests

The authors declare that they have no financial or personal relationship which may have inappropriately influenced them in writing this article.

Authors' Contribution

J. Marashe drafted the original manuscript, acquired and analysed the data and made the interpretation. D.Chimeri guided the methodology and theoretical framework and critically revised the manuscript. H. Mgovorevised, edited and approved the manuscript for publication.

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