

Wiener Beiträge zur Islamforschung

Ednan Aslan

Marcia Hermansen *Editors*

Religious Diversity at School

Educating for New
Pluralistic Contexts



Springer VS

Wiener Beiträge zur Islamforschung

Series Editor

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Wien, Austria

Die Buchreihe „Wiener Beiträge zur Islamforschung“ beschäftigt sich mit interdisziplinären Studien aus den Fachbereich der Islamischen Theologie und Religionspädagogik sowie der Religionswissenschaft und Philosophie. Die Forschungsschwerpunkte des Herausgebers, Professor Ednan Aslan, liegen auf Themen wie Islam in Europa, der Theorie der islamischen Erziehung in Europa sowie Fragen zu Muslimen an öffentlichen Schulen und Islamischer Theologie mit europäischer Prägung.

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Editors

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Introduction Religious Diversity at School

Ednan Aslan and Marcia Hermansen

With increasing migration and ethnic-religious diversity, accompanied by the associated challenges that these developments raise in societies and institutions, it is clear that political decision-makers are faced with new questions not previously encountered in their nation's history. In industrialized countries, religious pluralism has become a normal part of everyday life. For example, in a small country like Austria, 16 religious communities and churches are recognized by the state and are thereby entitled to offer religious instruction in public schools, while in other European countries not all religious communities are recognized by the state. Still, the situation in their schools is not all that different since these schools need to take different religions and their traditions into account in the course of everyday school life.

Academic perspectives are useful in observing and analyzing reactions to these new developments in societies. During the earlier phases of migration to Europe and other industrialized countries, studies in education spoke of a “pedagogy for foreigners,” which developed from around 1970 to 1980. Education for foreigners, even if this was not directly articulated, was always based upon the concept of an “other.” Therefore, pedagogy tried to define the specific characteristics of this “other.” In this case, the children of foreign migrants were initially perceived as being separate from the majority society due to their intrinsic differences. As part of this process, religion as a cultural feature was just one element in this difference

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that needed to be explored so as to facilitate the process of integration. The goal was to discover the unconscious features of these children that differentiated them and to make these accessible to the public. This gave rise to the notion that the task for the school was to correct these characteristics of difference through training, or to systematize and thereby address the problems arising from difference. In various studies it can be seen that the “education of foreigners” pedagogy perceived the differing characteristics of immigrant children i.e., their language and culture, as a burden on the educational process. Thus, religion was understood as part of the problem that needed to be fixed. When education for foreigners initially began to deal with Islam, the growing presence and social infrastructure of the European Muslim population, even in metropolitan areas, was still hardly noticeable. This discipline was more concerned with the countries of origin of the migrants than the growing local religious infrastructure.

With the further sophistication of academic perspectives and a greater openness to multi-culturalism, an “intercultural pedagogy” emerged, according to which otherness was no longer seen as a burden, but rather as a potential source of enrichment. According to this approach, religion was understood as a part of cultural identity. Assuming that society is comprised of different groups and is shaped by these multiple identities, intercultural education still dealt with cultural differences. However, the concept of intercultural pedagogy was now criticized in various studies out of a concern that all problems and tensions in society would be attributed to cultural factors alone. Thus, the cultural characteristics of immigrants, especially Muslims, were often seen as the source of social problems in society. In many current discussions in Europe Islam, the religion, has come to dominate all cultural characteristics, so that one can speak of the “Muslimization” of all school-based problems of immigrant children attending public schools. In a further development, a “migration pedagogy” that emerged after 2000 criticized the previous approach of intercultural pedagogy precisely because the latter used only culture as the attribute that could explain all differences. As part of this development, deeper awareness of the immigration experience and the need for teachers to have a better understanding of diverse worldviews and experiences that shaped pupils’ worldviews became integrated in teacher training programs.

All of these models, as well as other innovative approaches, are more about external attributions than self-descriptions. While religions, especially Islam, are presented in terms of varying definitions, which are formulated and employed from different perspectives, religion itself was often perceived as a single cultural feature, although the religious identities of individuals are characterized by complex references and nuances.

In addition to these academic debates and discussions, the expectations held regarding diverse religions vary widely. On the one hand, religions may be seen as a source of social problems, civil wars, and other conflicts. On the other hand, there have been growing efforts to recognize how religions can be part of the solution to society's challenges.

The introduction of Islamic religious education in public schools in various European countries is further due to awareness that the religious education of Muslim children in public schools can make an important contribution to the integration of these children into local societies. In addition to such views, we increasingly find state authorities and other institutions holding political and other social expectations of Islamic religious education.

Under current conditions, both globally and in the west, the religious education of children is of paramount importance. For example, Muslims who grow up in the west must not only learn to develop their own religious attitudes towards societal diversity, but also to critically explore their own religiosity. In this regard, in addition to their acknowledgement of internal Islamic plurality, the pursuit of pluralistic approaches to Islamic education and strategies can combat threats of extremism and fundamentalism and thereby decisively contribute to the process of creating a home for Islam and Muslims in Europe.

School is not only a place of learning for children, but also a space where they encounter new cultural, religious, and other worldviews. Regardless of family and social background, children cannot avoid this diversity. It challenges them to acquire competencies for reflecting on and processing this plurality. This is not simply a task for religious education, but rather it is an educational goal for broader private or public schools that aim to enable children and adolescents to deal with plurality, an endeavor for which the component of religious education is especially suited.

In this process, religious education has the particular task of introducing children to religious and cultural diversity and challenging them to form their own opinions. Cognitive, psychological, and ideological factors play an important role in this process. By integrating such factors, teachers can guide pupils out of a passive, observer-consumer attitude and into the role of becoming active learner-participants, thus incorporating plurality into a transformative educational paradigm. This process enables pupils to realize that plurality is not simply a given, but rather an adaptable and integral feature of their individuality that challenges them to make decisions by critically reflecting on themselves and society to formulate reasoned justifications for their choices and opinions. It is also possible that students will continue to make new decisions along the way and look at the world again and again from different perspectives. This should be

considered a human quality and a sign of maturity, because without these competencies, plurality would remain a buzzword; an empty pronouncement to which no action corresponds. Plurality requires capacities for dealing with and processing diversity, otherwise the ultimate result may be relativism, passivity, or even extremism.

The question of how an individual and dynamic religious identity can emerge must be answered in such a way that a healthy and balanced identity develops only after serious examination of one's own faith tradition, one's environment, and oneself. Religious education should, therefore, offer an appropriate atmosphere in which pupils can learn to process not only concurring, like-minded, and compatible views but also competing and divergent narratives and histories of religions and, on that basis, seek, discover, and pursue their own individual orientation.

Ultimately, full participation in a democracy requires respect for religions. An education without religious competencies is not complete and cannot count as a general education. We know from European experiences that the exclusion of religions can lead to tensions within societies. Furthermore, religious education in the public arena encourages religions themselves to dialogue and further promotes mutual understanding.

That being said, religions find themselves stretched in new ways as they undertake the task of emerging from their traditional spheres and presenting themselves as partners of the state in the center of societies. Islam, in particular, is affected by this challenge because this religion has always been considered as being at the margins of European societies. Muslims have learned to identify themselves with this marginalized position and even to defend themselves as victims in society. Muslims must now find ways to educate their next generations in a religious way that, at the same time, fits within a broadly shared European context so that Islam is perceived as a mainstream faith and is no longer excluded as a foreign or strange religion in Europe.

Introduction to the Volume's Contents

Marcia Hermansen

Religious Diversity at School: Educating for New Pluralistic Contexts contains a total of 25 chapters organized into three sections:

1. Educating for pluralism and religious education in plural settings.

2. Challenges and responses to religious diversity and pluralism in the classroom.
3. A total of 13 regional case studies that cohere around the themes of Islam, Muslims, and religious education in plural settings.

Section one: Educating for pluralism and religious education in plural settings

Many of the chapters in section one involve the application of social science methods and approaches to document and analyze the changing dynamic in today's plural classrooms. In this first section of the volume, we therefore find education considered from multiple perspectives: those of pupils, those of teachers, and, in some cases, those of parents and the broader society. All are stakeholders in the educational sphere. In the case of religion, individual state relationships with religious communities vary for clear historical reasons. Distinct forms of secularism in the range of modern nation states, from hard to softer versions, also impact whether religious education can become part of the state educational curriculum or whether it must be restricted to private religious institutions. In fact, there are further negotiations and complications in the overlap between the two. Another arena of complexity is the interface between the confessional, theological teaching of religion from a faith-based perspective, and academic approaches that study religion as part of human historical experience, i.e. studying "about" religion rather than having religion inculcated as part of the educational experience. Some contemporary systems have offered a further option for the non-confessional study of religion through offering courses based on ethics or other comparative humanistic alternatives to a religious curriculum geared to students from particular faith communities.

It is also important to recognize the concern that in recent years religion, specifically Islam, has been problematized in nativist politics and policies. Negative stereotypes about Islam specifically have been reinforced due to the actions of violent Islamist groups that have received intense media and popular scrutiny and alarm. The threat of youth radicalization has, in some instances, led to initiatives to offer Islamic religious education in state-organized, public schools as part of a strategy to promote engaged citizenship, moderation in interpretation, and pluralism.

As Sabine Hermisson and Perman Gochyyev's chapter on "Adolescents' views on religion(s) and on non-religious worldviews" notes, religious education classes and broader school environments now need to take into account not only diversity across faith positions, but also the perspectives of the growing number of students who espouse no religion. As part of this research, the authors conducted exploratory qualitative interviews, a survey employing the Acceptance of

Religious and Worldview Diversity (ARWD) instrument, and interpretative qualitative interviews to study adolescents' attitudes towards the three world religions Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, as well as towards nonreligious worldviews. One striking finding is that the social distance between religious and nonreligious students exceeds the social distance between the adherents of the individual Abraham faiths. While most of the surveys were administered to students in the San Francisco Bay area, some of the follow up interviews were conducted in Vienna, thereby including both American and European components.

As indicated earlier in this introduction, a more nuanced understanding of the religiosity of students can allow instructors, and even the general public, to understand that while religion may be an important aspect of individual pupil's worldviews, its importance and significance can certainly vary across individuals. Especially in cases involving students from immigrant backgrounds this represents an evolution in pedagogy from constructing foreigners as "others" driven by different religions that were construed in monolithic and even totalizing ways, to more complex perspectives, and finally to a more holistic and pluralistic strategy of educating for the plural societies of the future.

The concern with understanding religiosity is evident in the chapter by Manfred Pirner and Julia Bradtke on the "significance of the religiosity and educational backgrounds of young refugees in Germany: results from an empirical mixed-methods study." As part of the research for this study, refugees from Muslim majority countries were interviewed to discover how religion had played a role in shaping their current worldviews.

The authors initially note that in German public discourse the religiosity of refugees seems to be both overestimated and underestimated. While the religiosity of refugees may be overestimated as a fear-generating factor, for example, assumptions that Muslims may bring extremist attitudes with them, religiosity is also underestimated in terms of its potentially positive effects on life coping and integration. This chapter explores nuanced and complex dimensions of religiosity among refugee populations including religious conversion after arriving in Germany and the distinctions across religious tolerance when imagined among acquaintances vs. potential marriage partners.

In the case of very young primary school children, educationist Asligül Aysel, using observation and interviews with selected children and their parents, provides insights into the perceived value and acceptance of religion education classes among Turkish migrant families in Germany. The several families documented in her cases are themselves diverse in their religiosity as well as in their expectations of the religious instruction offered at public school. This topic, while explored in a preliminary way, is important because it discloses that while experiences

and expectations of such education on the part of pupils and their parents may differ, the same Islamic religious education course may offer positive content while simultaneously satisfying diverse needs.

Following this chapter, Ina ter Avest's work on "teachers' multi-voiced identity" considers children in a slightly older cohort, namely ages 9–10. Using actual classroom examples and quoted dialogue from classes in the Netherlands, Ter Avest demonstrates how religious difference can present "teaching moments" that stimulate both teacher and pupils to genuine encounter and reflection. The conclusion is that "faith development" and "moral formation" are processes of maturation in which religious education can play a vital role during childrens' formative years.

Austria is a country in which such religious education is well established, including faculties for teacher training in Islamic religious education. Şenol Yağdı, in his chapter "The religious educational habitus of Islamic religion teachers: a reconstructive study of collective frameworks of orientation in the context of inter-religious education" provides a discussion based on an ongoing research project into the self-concepts, frameworks of orientation, and behavioral patterns of Islamic religion teachers in Austria. In this research, Yağdı draws on Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus as part of his project of trying to elucidate what it is that guides the teachers of Islamic religious education in their approaches to religious and interreligious learning. In Europe, such teachers are increasingly encouraged to take on local, European attitudes and approaches to religious education in contrast to the older model of imported attitudes, instructional materials, and pedagogical approaches. It is clear that the challenges and possibilities of this transformation need to be evaluated by means of academic consideration and analysis.

In the next chapter, German educationist Henrik Simojoki also draws our focus to the role of the instructor, even in contexts such as vocational education, where the presence of religion in the classroom may arise due to students' strong religious views and commitments. In his study of "Religious sensitivity and teacher professionalism in the field of school-based refugee education: empirical findings and conceptual perspectives," Simojoki observes how, unlike RE teachers who are specifically trained to address the religious dimension in education, teachers of other subjects are, in many instances, instinctively responding based on their own experiences and perspectives. The chapter draws on a qualitative study conducted in 2017–2018 as part of a broader, state-funded pilot project on vocational education for refugees in Bavaria. The conclusions offer a more nuanced appreciation of the need for historical and conceptual considerations of "religious sensitivity" as a feature of teacher professionalism in culturally and religiously diverse

societies. For example, Simojoki recommends that such teachers be empowered and encouraged to engage in self-critical clarification of their own personal religious or worldview-based standpoints as part of their pedagogical training. The insights thus achieved will enable more productive educational interactions with their diverse pupils, who are often recent immigrants. Furthermore, such self-reflexivity is a prerequisite for the instructor to communicate his or her own position authentically, while respecting that of the student.

Four researchers from Finland, Arniika Kuusisto, Liam Gearon, Saija Benjamin, and Pia Koirikivi, authored “Re-conceptualizing radicalization: the educational research context of counter-extremism through the prism of worldviews and value learning.” This chapter reviews the results of a study aiming to deepen the understanding of elements in young people’s lives that have been significant in the development of their worldviews and, in certain cases, their being drawn to fundamentalism or radical interpretations of values and lifestyles. Particular emphasis is given to the role of educational institutions in the lives of children and young people. These institutions transmit values since the schools’ curricula, ethos, and peer communities are important elements shaping young people’s worldviews. Unlike countries such as France and the UK, Finnish schools and universities do not follow strict and abiding anti-radicalization or counter-terrorism programs and practices. At the same time, this chapter does report on the 2020 Finnish National Action Plan for the Prevention of Radicalization and Extremism. The authors conclude by emphasizing the importance of pedagogical measures to develop student resilience through encouraging reflexive and critical thinking and learning, as well as by strengthening organizational practices that engage students in cooperating and learning with and through each other.

Section 2. Challenges and responses to religious diversity and pluralism in the classroom

The six chapters in this section of the volume are grouped together due to their consideration of religious education in the light of specific challenges.

Austrian Muslim theologian and educationist, Zekirija Sejдини, in “The fundamentals of Christian-Islamic dialogue from an Islamic perspective,” sets out an Islamic theology of interreligious cooperation based on interpreting Qur’anic passages regarding other Abrahamic religions. The analysis and discussion focuses on three referential points in the qur’anic text, namely recognition of previous prophets, accepting salvific elements of other religions, and the differentiated consideration of members of other religions. This chapter is therefore positioned as a resource for Islamic religious educators who are preparing pupils for engaging with pluralism from a Muslim perspective, or alternatively for educators in plural

religious education classes investigating positive Islamic teachings in this regard. The implicit challenge posed here is the need to counter stereotypes about Islamic extremism through provided resources on Islamic pluralistic teachings to both Muslim and other religious educators.

Wolfgang Weirer, in “Religious fundamentalism as a challenge for inter-religious education,” examines both perceptions and actualities of rising religious conservatism among some pupils in the Austrian context, whether Muslim or Christian. The chapter initially presents the temptations of fundamentalism for children and young people and then proposes aspects of a pedagogy of inter-religious education that can confront fundamentalist tendencies in the classroom and thereby make contributions to deradicalization and the prevention of fundamentalism. The argument is advanced that a pedagogy of religion that is capable of integrating pluralism can help pupils to discover, in the diversity of religion(s), a resource for their own orientation and formation.

The next paper in this section also deals with the situation of Muslims in Austria, this time with a focus on the experience of refugees. Zsófia Windisch and Martin Rothgangel’s work on “Combatting prejudice and discrimination: challenges for religious education in the case of refugees” pairs nicely with the chapter by Manfred Pirner and Julia Bradtke in the previous section of the volume that primarily considered Muslim refugees in Germany. The contribution of Windisch and Rothgangel is based on their research project, “Religion in working with refugees.” After demonstrating how refugees in Austria experience various forms of prejudice and discrimination, the authors offer six theses from a religious educational perspective that could form the basis for a more humane and supportive approach. The research involved not only the perspectives and experiences of refugees but also of those who counsel and assist them. Religious misunderstandings and tensions in these encounters, the authors argue, can to a large extent be mitigated by religious educational strategies. While religion may not even be the most salient issue in the environment of refugee assistance, the research did find that tensions and problems arise due to religious prejudices and stereotypes, both among the refugees themselves and those designated to offer them assistance.

The final contributions to this section of the volume take us beyond continental Europe to Cyprus and the United States.

Areti Demosthenous assesses resources for pluralism found in traditional religious, in particular, Orthodox Christian teachings, and suggests how these might be integrated in religious education curricula in her chapter “Religious education as a location for encountering pluralism and for developing identity.” The author observes how this project is more necessary than ever in light of the new

challenges resulting from the fact that since 2000, European schools have increasingly accepted refugees and asylum seekers from other countries and have had to modify their teaching methods so as to make them more appropriate for culturally diverse school populations. The challenge for religious education and educators is how to make the classroom a site for encountering pluralism and for developing pupils' identities so as to facilitate creative, new forms of coexistence in countries with heterogeneous populations that may espouse different values.

In the final chapter of section two, Almeda M. Wright of Yale University looks at the question of vocation as it can be addressed and cultivated by religious educators. While this essay primarily draws on research on vocation and religious education in the United States among African American youth, the "Children and youth re-imagining their future in troubling worlds" in this article may be more broadly envisioned as those growing up in a world where they cannot take for granted a stable future based simply on selecting the right career path. In our current time of precarity, many young people have to re-imagine what their futures might look like and whether they will even live to see their futures. Wright alerts us to the challenge that educators need to pay attention to the diverse and troubling experiences of youth while offering resources and strategies to help them re-imagine their futures in a supportive, meaningful, and less narrow and instrumental manner.

The third and final section of the volume gathers thirteen regional case studies that consider aspects of Islam, Muslims, and Islamic Religious Education in plural settings.

The case study chapters in this final section present instances of religious education of, and about, Muslims, whether in Muslim majority or minority settings.

As an opening overview, the diversity of models for delivering Islamic religious education across European nations is charted by Holger Daun in his review of "Islamic education in four European countries: England, the Netherlands, Russia, and Sweden."

The next three chapters consider cases where states have carved out a place for Muslim children to be educated about their own faith tradition. More regionally focused studies are offered by Yasar Sarikaya, who focuses on "Teacher training programs for Islamic education in the German state of Hesse," and Mehmet Hilmi Tuna who looks at "Pluralistic religious education in Austria."

A further study of Islamic religious education in the Austrian context is Michael Kramer's chapter on "Islamic Religious Education in Austria and its