

Forschung • Entwicklung • Transfer

Nürnberger Hochschulschriften Nr. 31

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Religion, Migration and Educational Practice – Empirical, Postcolonial and Theological Perspectives

Forschung, Entwicklung, Transfer - Nürnberger Hochschulschriften

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Perspectives

Nürnberg, 2018

Winkler (2018): Religion, Migration and Educational Practice – Empirical, Postcolonial and Theological Perspectives. Forschung, Entwicklung, Transfer – Nürnberger Hochschulschriften, Nr.

31. Nürnberg: Evangelische Hochschule Nürnberg. doi: 10.17883/fet-schriften031.

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Introduction

Germany currently has the largest number of immigrants in Europe. This immigrant population represents a vast variety of ethnic and religious traditions. German society therefore, is currently facing urgent challenges presented by this very large, new, and diverse population. Issues such as enculturation, integration and participation into the "host" communities are at the forefront of the public debates.

The immigration of peoples of the Islamic, Christian or Yazidi faiths in recent decades up to and including the current movement of refugees to Europe calls for serious debate and reorientation in western secular society. People who have overcome international barriers bring their beliefs, their convictions and their religion with them, challenging Europe with questions of how secularisation relates to religion and where the boundaries between state and religion should be set. (Beyer 2006) Religion appears to be on retreat in Europe, for example, and yet features more significantly in public discourse as a result of the phenomenon of trans-national migration. This causes religion itself to go through a process of change which also changes European society. This takes place in the context of a secular self-perception that is not without conflict and compromise (Faist/Fauser/Reisenauer 2013; Polak/Reiss 2015). It is interesting to note here that the ethnic, cultural, linguistic, social and political conflict situations triggered by the transnational migration movements have been under investigation for quite some time, whereas the religious dimensions of migration and their effect on society, religious communities and education systems have been relatively little explored (Murao Permoser 2014). The reasons for this can be diverse but are almost certainly based on the European understanding of statehood and religion which views the concept of democracy and its fundamental rights as the central point of reference in the integration process. In contrast to the US context then, religious communities take on a somewhat subordinate role in the integration process. Despite the institutional demarcation between state and religion, the latter is perceived as both an important basis for ethical conduct and an important component of human social cohesion. This is particularly so as secular western societies become increasingly aware that their ethical foundations cannot be developed from within themselves and that they require the participation of civil society (Haller 2010; Czermak 2008).

In regard to church congregations and other religious communities this means that they can provide opportunities for a new focus in the process of integration that is parallel to the integration requirements of the state. For religious communities themselves displacement

and migration represent a special structural and substantive challenge which not only affects them externally but to a large degree questions, changes and transforms their internal structure. The driving force behind this religious transformation process can be understood as the contextual modalities resulting from the conditions and requirements in the host country. The stimuli for change emerge here as much from intrareligious and interreligious requirements and developments as from those arising from civil society and politics (Nagel 2018, 19-23). In the following article attention turns first to the different empirical aspects of the realities of migration, light is shed on the various theological meanings of religion in the context of migration and the challenges for education processes are opened up.

Empirical Findings and Insights on Religion and Migration

As people cross international borders, whatever may be the driving force behind their move, they carry with them also their faith, their beliefs and their religion (Pewforum 2012, Faith on the Move). Empirical studies show that religion is an essential reference point for migrant families and their children. Consequently, it is important to research the religiousness of refugees and their religious needs or attitudes. However, European host countries appear as largely secularized societies in which religious practice is private and people are indifferent towards religious questions in the public sphere (Stalsett 2018, 105-120). Current surveys also show that many agents and teachers in refugee support programs avoid religious topics or feel incompetent to deal with religious questions, especially from young migrants (Van Tubergen, F./Sindradóttir 2011, 272-288).

In this regard, the findings of migration research make clear that for people who have experienced voluntary or forced migration, the question of personal identity arises with greater intensity. We can almost speak of a need for self-positioning in which religion or religious faith plays *one* decisive role (Goldschmidt/McAlister 2004; Leonhard/Stepick et al 2005). Almost all the studies currently available come to the unanimous conclusion that people who have migrated to Germany demonstrate a *significantly greater degree of religious faith* compared with the native population (Halm/Sauer 2017). Religious identity and practices are, on average, more relevant to daily life for immigrants, particularly for those coming from Muslim countries, and these appear to remain stable from one generation to the next (Ohlendorf/Koenig/Diehl 2015; SVR-Migration 2016; Kalter et al. 2016).

Recent studies of children and young people indicate that a high degree of religious faith can be identified not only in young people of the Muslim faith but also in young immigrants of other faiths or other Christian denominations (Shell Youth Study 2015; 2016; Calmbach et al 2016; World Vision Study 2010). Families who have experienced migration find themselves in a difficult life situation. They live under pressure to conform culturally and, whether they are Muslims or orthodox Christians, they find themselves in the position of a religious minority. In such a critical situation the following developments of religious faith and the functions of this religious faith for the life situation and the integration and education process for immigrants can be ascertained: The significance of religion can increase, particularly as a result of the 'Diaspora effect', or it can diminish or become private in the light of new life plans within the context of the society of the host country. Viewed from a functional perspective religion can prove to be a beneficial resource for coping with integration and life generally (Hirschman 2004; Ebaugh/Chafetz 2000) or it can develop into a life-impairing risk factor that inhibits integration.

There is empirical evidence to suggest that if religion as a resource is part of the migration process, then religion provides helpful strategies for coping with life and achieving psychological stability. According to Hirschmann, actively practising religion constitutes a kind of inner refuge for migrants that reinforces their sense of belonging (Hirschmann 2004). In this context, Keval speaks of religion as a 'portable home'; a resource that can go with migrants throughout the migration process as a resource for life (Keval 2003; Keval 2010). At the same time, religious practice enables migrants to reconnect with their culture of origin and their own previous identity (Pargament et al 2013). This knowledge corresponds to the general findings of religious psychology, according to which religious faith can provide generally helpful coping strategies for coping with life. In order to put critical life experiences such as migration and displacement into some sort of context and develop a sense of coherence, the practice of a religious faith appears to be a supporting factor on arrival in the host country (Streib/Klein 2018; Masters/Hooker 2013; Laurencelle/Abell/Schwartz 2002). Religious communities can take on a stabilising role by providing immigrants in a strange environment with opportunities for stability and for increasing their sense of identity. Such bonding within the religious community can be understood in this context as an ability to establish long-term, stable links to people and groups that has been developed within this environment. This internal integration is an obvious benefit for the host society as long it leads to bridging and

not to partitioning and isolation, and as long as it enables people to move beyond the boundaries of their own community and establish relationships and social contacts outside it. In Germany, this can be observed in mosques, synagogues and churches, both in young Muslims of Turkish or Arab origin and in Jewish or Christian young people from Eastern Europe and the CIS states (Antes 2018, 3-18). National and international studies of the potential safety factors for the psychological well-being of refugees have shown that religious faith can be seen as a potential safety factor. Religious communities which act as centres of religious practice and affiliation provide help in orientation through financial as well as through psycho-social support (Bosch-Stiftung/ SVR-Migration 2016; Schouler-Ocak 2015).

In light of these empiric findings, the question has to be asked as to the extent to which these findings have an effect on *school as well as extracurricular educational processes* and the significance to the integration process of the role played by religious education. Special significance must first and foremost be attributed here to the aspect of interreligious and intercultural communication and formation of competence in the cooperation between religious communities and educational institutions.¹

However, religion or religious faith can have not only a stabilising effect but also a negative influence on the integration process. If it takes on life-restricting, extreme or radicalised characteristics religion can be assessed as a risk factor. From the religio-psychological perspective it can be said that negative concepts of God (punitive-controlling, unpredictable, cynical) can lead to marked psychological and medical disorders (Masters/Hooker 2013; Park/Slattery 2013). Similarly, psychological destabilisation due to extrinsic religious faith learned in the course of socialisation or through negative coping is to be expected, which manifests itself in symptoms of depression or anxiety disorders. The effects of these attitudes can be exacerbated in the host country under the conditions of migration and displacement and can lead to unstable personality structures in the integration process (Schouler-Ocak 2015; Simich/Andermann 2014). In the same way there is a risk of negative effects in the context of migration and displacement if the support by religious communities turns into social pressure and membership leads to social isolation. The findings of migration research show that contact with one's own cultural or religious origin group can be characterised by religious conflicts which either originate in the country of origin or which intensify in the host country (Haines 2010). Religious communities can exercise particularly strong social pressures

¹ cf. Point 4: Perspectives for Religious Education and Pastoral Practice

and controls on women, which can escalate in the host country (Treibel 2009, 103-120). From the perspective of displaced people, a further risk factor in connection with religious allegiance is evident in the form of their experience of discrimination in the host country. Numerous studies attest to a clear anti-Muslim attitude in a significant proportion of the German population (SVR-Migration 2016, 70). The international study carried out by the Pew Research Center (2008, 16) indicates that 50% of the German population have an anti-Muslim attitude. The 2013 and 2017 religion monitor comes to the conclusion that, in contrast to Christianity and Buddhism which tend to be viewed as enriching, Islam is viewed by the majority as a threat (Pollack/Müller 2013; Halm/Sauer 2017).

In critical circumstances the resulting gulf between indigenous inhabitants and Muslim immigrants can lead to the radicalisation of cultural and/or religious identity which is usually accompanied by the denigration of out-groups and the enhancement of in-groups, restriction of the former social environment and orientation to a so-called clear group ideology that functions as a social support system. The understanding of the radicalisation process as a multifactorial, non-linear and multimodal process in youths and young people provides a significant point of access in this context. Research into extremism frequently cites personal crisis situations or disruptions to education or career, an accumulation of individual problems, precarious familial environments, experience of social discrimination and the search for a point of reference and personal identity in difficult times as triggers for radicalisation processes. At the same time, not only individual but also group-related power factors and ideological claims to totality are reflected in the radicalisation process. "Consequently, instances of radicalisation are primarily related to imagined communities, networks, group processes and narrative constructions with religious connotations." (Logvinov 2017, 111). All these different triggers for radicalisation processes cannot be understood in isolation but demonstrate through their amalgamation that they should always be interpreted in the context of the specific life story of young people in association with ideologised communities and against the background of developments in global politics and society (Logvinov 2017; Khosrokhavar 2016; Dorsch/Kemmesies 2010). Particularly in insecure phases of life such as those triggered by experiences of migration or displacement, radical groupings appear attractive because they seize on and exploit the unsatisfied emotional needs of young people by offering them stability, identity and orientation while at the same time shaping their propaganda to target their age group. It is also clear in this regard that ideology, religion and politics have a subordinate role in the first instance and that the extremist milieu functions at first more as a social than an idealistic support system. It also appears to be the case that those who are prepared to use violence and who have fundamentalist tendencies frequently have a background of social difficulties and individual patterns of behaviour that may be closely related to religious orientation (Lützinger 2010, 21-35). It is important to bear in mind that: "Although it transpires that religion is one of the most important factors in the radicalisation process, many fields of activity engaged in prevention and de-radicalisation do not engage in a comprehensive examination of the role of religion. Such an examination is necessary, however, in order to be able to include the effect of this specific theology on individuals in prevention programmes. Religious sources which serve as a basis for the legitimacy of violence must be critically scrutinised regarding their impact at the present time." (Aslan/Akkilic/Hämmerle 2017, 268). What the European context lacks with regard to prevention measures are robust empirical research programmes capable of countering this multi-causal phenomenon, particularly in the educational context (Sageman 2016; 2017). A further phenomenon that has attracted increased attention in the wake of the flood of refugees into Germany in 2015/2016 is an anti-Semitic attitude in young refugees from predominantly Arab and North African countries. In 2017 and 2018 there were instances of anti-Semitism, particularly in schools but also in urban spaces in Berlin, raising the question of possible religious motivation (AJC 2017). Current studies indicate that the extent to which these anti-Semitic attitudes can actually be attributed to religious affiliation or to political socialisation in the countries of origin is unclear (UEA of the German Parliament 2017). What is known is that anti-Semitism is widespread and has a substantial presence in countries which are characteristically Islamic. It is frequently a normal component of socialisation in the home, the school and the media. "The conflict in the Middle East plays a particularly significant role in the legitimisation of Israel-related anti-Semitism, although classic anti-Semitic stereotypes and conspiracy theories also have their place" (UEA of the German Parliament 2017, 214). At the same time the findings reveal major differences between refugees from different countries each of which has a different manifestation of anti-Semitic socialisation. They also underline the role played by collective religious, national and ethnic identities. Other studies also make it clear that anti-Semitic attitudes, which are frequently not coherent, represent an unmistakeable problem area in some groups of refugees (Mansel/Spaiser 2013; Jikeli 2012).

"It is, however, clear that the indiscriminate labelling of refugees as people who hold anti-

Semitic views is unreasonable and counter-productive" (Kiefer 2017, 37). This represents an educational challenge, particularly in the education sector, which must make it a priority to communicate to immigrant societies values that are critical of anti-Semitism (Mendel/Messerschmidt 2017).

Theological Reflections on Migration

Against the background of these empirical insights from the European context, which are an indication of the interconnectedness of cultural and religious experiences in the migration process and of the associated social challenges, the question must be asked: How does migration reality change social context, religious identity and theological thoughts and actions in the host country? What are the new responsibilities that arise as a result, seen from the Christian perspective? And not least: What are the resulting challenges for inter-religious education in both formal and informal settings? Present developments are highlighted below from various hermeneutical perspectives.

The clash of different cultural and religious traditions together with their global structural links in the migration process call for critical reflection from both an educational and theological point of view. Post-colonial perspectives facilitate the deconstruction of discriminatory and oppressive structures in relation to religion and migration and to disclose asymmetric relationships between dominant and minority cultures in the host country. Hidden factors such as interests, power influences, cultural, religious or gender specific attributions and stereotyping can be decoded as part of a 'hermeneutic of suspicion'2, and their effects can be revealed in a critique of ideology. In the European context this also includes the deconstruction of dichotomies arising from the integration process such as: Christian-Muslim, western-eastern, civilised-primitive, advanced-regressive, democratic-undemocratic, enlightened-unenlightened, emancipated-patriarchal (Castro Varela/Dhawan 2015²). They arise in connection with the floods of refugees from predominantly Islamic countries of origin and manifest themselves, as Bridget Anderson puts it, as a 'crisis of European identity' (Anderson 2017). In the convergence of Islam and Christianity in Europe this becomes a serious problem of identity, particularly for children and young people from an immigrant background. Religion in regard to Islam often becomes stylised in both formal and informal

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² Paul Ricoeur developed his critical hermeneutic subsequent to the hermeneutic of suspicion by Nietzsche, Freud and Marx.

educational contexts as a key differentiating category that accompanies national / ethnic / cultural attributions. In working with children and young people as well as in school, attitudes can become ingrained in both educational employees and teaching staff that construe Muslim children and young people who have experience of being immigrants as being 'the Other' in contrast to the European 'We', thus branding the antithesis of mainstream society as irreconcilable. In connection with gender attributes, young male Muslims are characterised as patriarchal and identified as having violent tendencies, whilst young female Muslims are described as subjugated and reactionary (Boos-Nünning 2015; Riegel 2011). The effects on young migrants manifest themselves in their essentialization as Muslims and as a consequence in multiple disadvantages and discrimination in both formal and informal education systems (Attia 2009; Mecheril/Thomas-Olalde 2011, Gomolla/Radtke 2007).

As social recognition represents a key requirement in the identity and integration process, the problems of discrimination, marginalisation and educational disadvantage in children and young people with an immigrant background are particularly serious. Yildiz points out that construed differences make a significant contribution to the allocation and establishment of an ethno-religious identity and young people from immigrant backgrounds are forced into a rigid pattern of ethno-national classification (Yildiz 2013).

At the same time hybrid patterns of living are to be expected under the conditions of globalised everyday life, and these will flout imputed differences and develop multiple identities from multiple realities. (Smith/Leavy 2008). This repositioning of identity happens primarily with second or third generation young people who have no personal experience of migration but who bring with them a background of migration out of personal knowledge and collective memory. They develop post-migration identities (Foroutan 2015, Foroutan/Schäfer 2009, 11-18), which present as hybrid patterns of living and which express themselves in 'shifted affiliations' (Strasser 2012). "This entails cultural overlaps, border areas and intermediate spaces, cross-overs and simultaneous affiliations. In addition to this, the reality of life of post-migrant groups indicates that they know how to deal creatively and subversively with the ethnic sorting allocated to them. In this way they create cosmopolitan everyday practices that transcend ethnic and national boundaries and which are defined equally by both local and global circumstances" (Yildiz 2013, 144). Thus young migrants generate what in post-colonial theory is referred to as 'Third Space': A negotiating space in which it is possible to

reappropriate meaning in the zone that holds in tension identity and difference and where alternative ways of thinking can be developed (Bhabha 1994; Bhabha 1990).

"It is that Third Space, though unrepresentable in itself, which constitutes the discursive conditions of enunciation that ensure that the meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity; that even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricized and read anew" (Bhabha 1994, 37).

The post-colonial reflections just examined subsequently challenge theological positioning. From a *theological perspective* various orientations occur under the conditions of globalisation and migration which may contribute to shaping the relationship between religion, migration and education in the public arena. For stakeholders in religious education as part of community youth and children's work as well as in the school context, this provides an aid to orientation when dealing with religious and cultural plurality.

Post-colonial theologies play a part in sustaining diversity and in calling for and practising a change of perspective. This includes the examination of one's own implicit values and theological prerequisites for a way of thinking. It also includes becoming aware of processes of religious identity stereotyping and essentialisation. At the same time they shed light on the transformation of religious traditions in the context of migration, minority and marginalisation (McGarrah Sharp 2013; Rivera 2007). They support engagement with political, economic, cultural and religious interconnections, dependencies and power structures that have developed as a result of colonial attitudes and which affect the migration process up to and including the present day. From a Christian perspective this also includes questioning how one should speak about God and humankind, how the relationship between the various religions can be shaped and which subconscious power structures within them need to be decolonised. In the context of migration, post-colonial theologians point out how religious reasoning strategies reinforce a western Eurocentric viewpoint, who is excluded from the discourse from the beginning, which memories are reinforced and which knowledge is suppressed or forgotten (Daggers 2013; Chung 2016). The points of reference for religious educational processes in schools, communities and church congregations lie first and foremost in the fact that they raise awareness of exclusive mechanisms and make marginalisation immediately apparent. Under the conditions of migration and globalisation this also includes the recognition that changes in perspective cannot simply be 'learned' but must unfold narratively and must be negotiated discursively. "Freedom of expression is an individual right; the right to narrate, if you will, is an enunciative right – the dialogic right to address and be addressed, to signify and be interpreted, to speak and to be heard, to make a sign and to know that it will receive respectful attention." (Bhabha 2014, 184).

In an extension of this, more recent approaches to *Contextual Theology* place important emphasis on giving a voice to people of all ages who have experience of migration. In the zone that holds in tension the local and the global, Contextual Theology sees socio-political, religious, cultural and economic contingencies as the formational context of narrative theology. Through its location in the specific socio-cultural environment it conceives the present time as a place in which theology evolves and where answers can be found to contemporary questions. This includes the urgent need to give a voice to people's experiences of migration and to connect the ambivalence of these experiences to the aspiration of the Christian faith. "The Stories of these lives are often not recorded in history books written by victors but must be retrieved from the forgotten and oppressed past to form the 'dangerous memory' (Johann Baptist Metz) by which the stimulus for social transformation may be nourished and sustained. (...) Through stories, the narrator acknowledges her or his inescapable social, political, and economic location and implicitly affirms the validity of his or her experience" (Phan 2013, 192).

Biographical narratives revealed in the context of migration experiences are consequently not only to be interpreted contextually but first and foremost interculturally. *Intercultural theology(ies)* view their strategic objective as revealing in them the inter-denominational, intercultural and inter-religious dimensions of the Christian faith and making them fruitful for thinking and acting (Gruber 2018). In accordance with Homi Bhaba's concept of translation, both cultural and religious hybridities and differences are taken into account, and symbols or social constructs are revalued and renegotiated. This process of transformation can result in conscious reinterpretations of symbols and ideas which do not correspond to the 'original' cultural context. They point out that cultures and the religions within them do not represent closed systems but generate new meanings and interpretations along their borders and edges (Bhabha 2012). Arising from this within a migration society is the task of negotiating religious identity in the zone that holds in tension the local and the global. The particular significance of this for approaches to intercultural theology(ies) is to reflect on religious plurality from a Christian perspective and to re-think mutual recognition between one religion and another (Phan/Ray 2014; Phan 2017). With an eye to interreligious communication requirements and

educational tasks, Wrogemann formulates further questions as a way of attempting to provide answers: "Can religious realities be captured without being trapped in the own perspective? (...) Can a religious approach be developed, that facilitates the understanding of other religious traditions, so that they are pre-interpreted as little as possible according to the own categories? (...) Can a religious approach be established that makes it possible for people of another religion or with a different world view not having to see themselves as standing outside truth, revelation and salvation? (...) What does the fate of people of another religious affiliation or orientation mean for one's own concept of God/understanding of ultimate reality? (...) Can a religious approach be developed that makes it possible for people of different religious traditions to meet with as much mutual respect and cooperation as possible? (...) Can a religious approach be developed that makes it possible on the one hand to maintain the comprehensive effectiveness of one's own tradition while on the other hand respecting the freedom of the other to hold a different religious viewpoint?" (Wrogemann 2015, 38). The necessary theological consideration as to whether and to what extent religions can establish a relationship without their dialogue inevitably breaking down due to their own claims to truth should be adopted as a pre-condition of inter-religious communication in schools, communities and church congregations. It will become apparent from such efforts that each perception of one's own religion and other religions is both a contextual and perspective-based impression which may alter and differentiate itself through dialogue.

Whatever answers are revealed by inter-religious discourse, a decisive question arises which goes beyond claims to truth: Which civil society responsibilities should religious communities take on in migration societies? Approaches made by public theology(ies) therefore enquire about the responsibility of actors and institutions in relation to socio-ethnic questions in the context of globalisation and migration processes. They look at both local and global developments from the perspective of the theological tradition of positive religions and introduce them into public discourse about a fair civil society (Kim 2011; Graham 2013). As opposed to Civil Religion and Political Theology, particularly in the USA context, the following conditions can be identified for the European context: Public Theology concerns a reflection of the potential efficacy of religion in the public sphere. On the one hand it is about forms of community life and the possibility for change within that. Within this setting, Public Theology asks questions about attitudes, motivation and solidarity in human community life and points out options for public involvement. On the other hand, Public Theology has the ethical

perspective in view. It is concerned with a restructuring of ethical, moral and legal guidelines that help to provide orientation and find solutions in conflict situations (Bedford-Strohm 2008).

In addition to that, questions arise as to the role of churches in the integration processes for immigrants. What are the possible forms of coexistence and the common rules governing them? (Stackhouse 2007). What is the function of Christian values such as solidarity, human dignity, and justice for public engagement (Bedford-Strohm 2008)? Social-philosophical approaches ask whether and to what extent religion is a source of value orientation and common good for democratic societies and institutions. Is it possible to achieve a so-called overlapping consensus between different religious and world-view communities (Rawls 1993/2005)? Rawls explains that an overlapping consensus on principles of justice can occur despite "considerable differences in citizens' conceptions of justice (Rawls 1993/2005). What does this mean for the religious and world-view communities to agree to freedom, equality and human rights from their own perspective? In what manner could these circumstances be meaningful for educational processes in formal and non-formal education?

According to Charles Taylor, these considerations should be focused on common values like community spirit, charity and solidarity, which can be identified e.g. in Christianity, Islam and Judaism. These guaranteed rights correspond with an obligation that individuals have to give back to the communities in which they live. At school and in youth work, children and young people can learn how to take responsibility for these commitments. Taylor argues that religious and worldview communities could support democratic societies in building politics of recognition. He believes these cultural and social institutions, through Multiculturalism, should be engaging in a dialogue within the Public Sphere (Taylor 1992).

Perspectives for Religious Education and Pastoral Practice

In a synopsis of theological considerations and empirical knowledge gained it can be first stated that: In both social and media discourse migration is viewed less as a learning opportunity and more as a problem generator; in fact as a cause of social problems and conflicts. This is not solely the result of the European history of immigration and immigration policy which has allocated to the majority of immigrants the position of an economically disadvantaged, under-qualified demographic group which is excluded from political representation. This perspective is in fact much more contingent upon institutionalised

perspectives and schools of thought, founded upon the persistent and influential concept that in an ideal case, societies should very largely be homogeneous national communities with a common history, language and culture. Social, cultural and religious differences between population groups are considered to be the main disruptive elements or hazards which it is acceptable to fend off. The incomers in this context are seen as apparently homogeneous social groups which are differentiated from majority German society (Hormel/Scherr 2004), and in the current European context this means that the demarcation line drawn around the 'Islam' category appears to be particularly dominant (Dahinden/Moret/Duemmler 2011). Consequently, migration processes present immense inter-religious and inter-cultural learning challenges to formal and informal education that need to be examined under a strong spotlight:

- 1. Against the backdrop of migration and a globalised religious landscape the tense coexistence of different religions is currently the focus of attention as they encounter each other in immigrant communities in varied but invariably specific constellations, enriching as well as obstructing each other. This situation is revealing its particularly explosive nature specifically in the field of education. For in no other setting is a clearer image of society revealed than in a school or in children and youth work, so that we can indeed speak of a microcosm of society and a type of melting pot for the correlation of culture and religion, provoked by migration and globalisation. As an educational reaction to this developmental truth of global society and changed learning requirements in the wake of globalisation, the concept of Global Learning makes use of both the objective and subjective sides of globalisation to think about the transformation of worldviews, lifestyles and concepts of (religious) meaning in both the local and global sense and to develop solutions for living together (Robertson 1992; Gaudelli 2016; Klein 2017). The cultural and religious dimensions of globalisation go hand in hand in this and highlight the fact that in the wake of globalisation, religions in particular are asking questions afresh about the meaning and purpose of life and where the world is heading. The objective for Global Learning that arises from an awareness of these requirements is to introduce children and young people to the increased reflexive demands of global society, and to enable them to shape their lives within the contradictions and ambivalences associated with this without having to resort to populist simplifications.
- 2. It should therefore be the task of any educational theory to create space for meaning and possibility in order to encourage this potential for development to unfold in children and

young people. Both formal educational spaces, such as schools, and informal learning spaces such as official, organisational or ecclesiastical/religious children's and youth groups contribute to the creation of these spaces that sit between the boundaries of reality and possibility. As well as facilitating formal opportunities for learning, their prime function is to provide informal educational processes in which social allegiance through community in peer groups can be experienced and social integration through engaging with a variety of values and norms can be learned.

- 3. In particular schools as social spaces can be understood as 'contact zones', in which different cultures and religions meet, clash and grapple with each other. Mary Louise Pratt uses the term 'contact zone' to discuss the classroom space in terms of discussing power and oppression, but also finding new possibilities. "All the students in the class had the experiences...of having their cultures discussed and objectified in ways that horrified them." But in between "there were exhilarating moments of wonder and revelation, mutual understanding, and new wisdom—the joys of the contact zone" (Pratt 1991, 39).
- 4. Schools in immigrant societies should provide *space for intercultural and interreligious learning*. In contrast to the US context,³ European countries offer religious education as a subject at school. Legal framework for Religious Education regarding *'Bildung'*⁴ is incorporated to allow discussion about orientation of life and certainties from the perspective of religion. On the other hand, there is the necessity to consider religious convictions and to deal with religious fundamentalism and extremism (Whitlock 2018, 185-200) together with processes of radicalization (Khosrokhavar 2014).
- 5. In conversations about Islam but also Judaism and other religions and worldviews, it is important to *negotiate common values* at schools. Religious Education as a subject at school

³ There are a lot of reasons why the situation is different in the US compared to Europe: "In addition to polarization along political and religious spectrum, there is a conflating of spiritualty with religion, a lack of education about children's spirituality, overinterpretation of the First Amendment and case law surrounding it, fear of litigation, as well as simple public relations concern for parental and local community response." In: Trousdale, Ann (2014): Pluralism and Polarity. Spirituality and Education in the United States, in: Watson, Jacqueline/De Souza, Marian/Trousdale, Ann: Global Perspectives on Spirituality and Education, Routledge New York/London, 244

⁴ *Bildung* refers to the German tradition of self-cultivation, wherein philosophy and education is tantamount to the process of both personal and cultural maturation. This maturation is described as the harmony of the individual's mind and heart, and in a unification of selfhood and identity within the challenges of a broader society. *Bildung* does not simply accept the socio-political status quo, but rather it includes the ability to engage in a critique of one's society, and to ultimately challenge the society to actualize its own highest ideals.

provides such opportunities: "RE offers a space like no other: for encounter, explanation, and empathy; for expression, interpretation, and imagination; for interrogation, questioning, and reflection. It protects a space that equips students to interrogate, negotiate, and dialogue with conflicting interpretations *within* a particular faith tradition. It facilitates encounters *between* faith traditions. It takes properly into account suspicions of, hostility to, and resentments of religious traditions" (Sullivan 2017, 7).

6. In the context of Religious Education and Pastoral Practice, it is important to introduce *into the public* theological considerations of 'inter-hope', 'inter-hospitality', 'inter-human' and living together with a sense of transparency and sensitivity of other faiths. (Graham 2013). Public debates about migration, culture and religion could be developed and complemented in formal and non-formal education at schools and in religious communities.

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