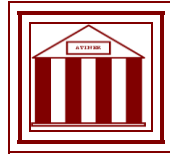# Athens Institute for Education and Research
ATINER

ATINER's Conference Paper Series
EDU2012-0022

Religion, Democracy and Schooling:
Orientations Concerning Educational Practices of
Austrian Religion Teachers

Ulrich Krainz
Research Assistant
University of Vienna
Vienna, Austria

An Introduction to
ATINER's Conference Paper Series

ATINER started to publish this conference papers series in 2012. It includes only the papers submitted for publication after they were presented at one of the conferences organized by our Institute every year. The papers published in the series have not been refereed and are published as they were submitted by the author. The series serves two purposes. First, we want to disseminate the information as fast as possible. Second, by doing so, the authors can receive comments useful to revise their papers before they are considered for publication in one of ATINER's books, following our standard procedures of a blind review.

Dr. Gregory T. Papanikos
President
Athens Institute for Education and Research

This paper should be cited as follows:

Religion, Democracy and Schooling: Orientations Concerning Educational Practices of Austrian Religion Teachers

Ulrich Krainz
Research Assistant
University of Vienna
Austria

Abstract

New developments in public religious life and the continuing 'vitality of religion' (Habermas, 2008) call for deeper discussion of the relationship between religion and politics in modern pluralistic societies. Currently in Europe strong anti-Islamic discourse blames Islam for having a fundamentally conflicting relationship with democracy. In this context, Islamic religious education in public schools is often the subject of controversial discussions characterised by a certain one-sidedness. To avoid this one-sidedness this paper focuses on the general tensions between religion and democracy within the research field of Catholic and Islamic religious education in Austrian public schools. Referring to a qualitative research project that follows the 'reconstructive social research perspective' (Bohnsack, 2008), the paper examines the educational practices of Austrian religion teachers and aims at detecting the ethical values and moral attitudes that are communicated in schools. The study reveals that Catholic and Islamic religious education show a lot of similarities, however they also differ in important aspects. Catholic religion teachers seem to be more and more affected by the process of secularisation, an orientation that constitutes individualized religious beliefs and practices detached from normative rules. Muslim religion teachers, on the other hand, are more oriented on collectivistic and prescribed religious principles and obligations in their in-class performances.

1. Background

Despite optimistic believes in scientific progress that predict a decrease of religiosity in general and the end of metaphysical beliefs in God or other divine authorities, religions still enjoy great popularity. The often quoted 'disenchantment of the world' (Weber, 1922/1993) did not live up to what it has promised and religion did not disappear from the world, nor does it seem likely to do so. This continuing 'vitality of religion' (Habermas, 2008: 34) calls for deeper discussion of the relationship between religion and politics in modern pluralistic societies.

One topic that seems almost left aside in this context is the role of religious education in public schools. However, this topic is a central question when following a philosophy of education that asks for goals and meaning of schooling in constantly changing pluralistic societies. Modern societies represent a variety of different conceptions and worldviews (religious and secular) wherefore an all-agreed value and moral-system cannot be taken for granted or without conflict. If at all, only Islam is discussed in this context. In 2009, an Austrian study about Islamic religious education (Khorchide, 2009) caused a socio-political excitement. Even though this study in question dealt with many aspects of Islamic religious pedagogy (teachers' motives, problems in school etc.), the media picked out one particular finding as the key result: The study claimed that one out of four Islamic religion teachers show an 'ambiguous relationship' towards democracy (Khorchide, 2009: 144).

Throughout Europe, Islam becomes more and more associated with the topic of integration (Rohe, 2006; Tibi, 2007). In Austria the political discourse about integration even seems to be explicitly reserved for the Muslim community. The media is filled with reports about terrorist acts by radical Islamic groups all over the world, including Europe, the development of so-called parallel societies within European cities, the oppression of Muslim women etc. These reports, as well as the global outrage in some Muslim states in the year 2006 over the publication of satirical cartoons about the prophet Mohammed in a Danish newspaper in September 2005, intensify or 'heat up' the situation for local Muslim migrants. The local Muslim population is thus often unreflectedly brought into the centre of attention, when dealing with the issue of integration. In this sense, Islamic culture and Muslim religious beliefs are seen as a barrier for successful integration into a modern and western European society. These debates are further leading to the allegation that Islam may have an inherently conflicting relationship with democracy. This one-sided attention seems typical for the current integration debate, however it is disregarding one important fact. The exclusive focus on Islam and Muslim (religion) teachers does not only portrait such considerations as immanently Islamic, it further implies the idea that all other religions can stay undiscussed in their relation to democracy, equality, or individual freedom.

This paper tries to fill the gap and points out a consideration that is seen as the important 'missing link' in the current integration debate. It will therefore focus on the general tensions between religion and democracy, regardless of specific religious affiliations. Following a 'reconstructive social research perspective' (Bohnsack, 2008) this is done through a comparison of Catholic and Islamic religious education in Austrian public schools. Referring to a running qualitative research project that is conducted at the University of Vienna the paper presents research in progress and the reconstruction of orientations concerning educational practices by Austrian Catholic and Muslim religion teachers. It will explore similarities and differences found between the two school subjects.

2. Secularisation, Monotheism and Politics

Historical events, starting with crusades, inquisition etc., up to current attitudes and opinions of religious communities about the social change and new forms of social organizations and behavioural patterns (e.g., contraception, change in sex roles, homosexuality, abortion) prove that it is not just Islam to be discussed in this context. The principle of equality, ideals of autonomy and individual freedom do not naturally originate from religious orientations, rather

they are the result of a process of a societal change that started in the end of the 18th century with the French Revolution within Europe (Knoblauch, 1999). The age of enlightenment, or as the German philosopher Immanuel Kant pointed it out as the 'emergence from self-imposed immaturity' (Kant, 1784/2001: 53) was a historical and cultural movement that sought to mobilize the power of reason in order to (re-)form and organize society. It turned itself against superstitions, religious orientations and regulations not only for society as a whole but especially with regard to education and schooling. This further initiated a process of secularisation. First secularisation was a judicial term that meant the dissolution and takeover of church property through the modern national state (Sloterdijk, 1997). Today secularisation generally stands for a way of living and thinking that is no longer regulated by predominant religious institutions and normative orders. The spirit of secularisation is turned against any form of heteronomy, where moral attitudes or values in general are legitimised through God or another divine authority. The separation of church and state was and still is seen as the key element for modern constitutional states and liberal democracies, not only to ensure the neutrality of the state but also to create the essential preconditions for a peaceful religious and cultural pluralism (Habermas, 2005). Thus, the secularisation theory is often considered as the constitutive element of democracy and modernity, wherefore influences on society coming from religious associations and institutions are often viewed with some mistrust. Still, this societal change is not antireligious. The principle of equality enables the practice of different religious confessions (known as the 'freedom of religion'), however, these confessions are seen as individually chosen differences. In this sense, secularisation speaks of a privatization of religiosity, of individual decisions, where traditional religious beliefs are no longer conceived as obligatory and do not longer play a dominant role in public life or diverse aspects of decision-making.

All three monotheistic religions (Judaism, Christianity and Islam) are highly exclusive and therefore not only religious but also inherently political. In his theoretical framework Assmann speaks about the 'mosaic distinction' (Assmann, 2003), which he defines as a fundamental true-and-false scheme concerning the area of religiosity, a phenomenon that does not exist in polytheistic religions. The distinction between the one true religion and the other false religions, or between the one true God and the other false Gods, is a revolutionary innovation and essential characteristic of monotheism. All monotheistic religions represent a set of rules, particular ethical values and moral attitudes. They all have specific views about different social roles their adherents should fulfill. They involve particular orientations that impose commandments and prohibitions and they tell right from wrong. Despite all potential differences between the three monotheistic religions, they have one thing in common: they know their own trueness from the falsity of the others. In democracies, however, what is true or false is the result of negotiations in a participative political process. For that reason all monotheistic religions are described as inherently intolerant (Assmann, 2003: 26).[1] Following such considerations, it becomes clear that it is not just Islam that shows an ambiguous relationship towards democracy, as it is repeatedly claimed in the current integration debate. This topic has to be understood in a broader context that focuses on the general tensions between religion (top-down approach) and democratic orientations (bottom-up approach) and the consequences for pluralistic societies.

---

[1] This point is probably the most controversial argument in Assmanns' theory. In this context, the social dedication and help of religious institutions and communities are often mentioned to proof the opposite. It is true that care for homeless, elderly care, asylum and immigration services etc. are mainly done by religious institutions. However, this commitment does not deny the inherent potential for conflict Assmann is talking about. Inevitably, the claims of monotheistic religions to exclusively possess the truth lead to a clear differentiation of right and wrong.

3. School and Religion: The special case of Austria

In Austria, as well as internationally, there has been much debate about religion and religious education in public schools. Promoters refer to the importance of religious values and virtues for individual identity formation and social cohesion. Opponents argue against religious education because of presumed and unwanted political motivations. A symbol that became typical for this controversy is the Christian cross in the classrooms of public schools in many European countries, a constantly recurring discussion that refers to the close entanglements and interconnections of religion and state.

Religious education in Austria is especially interesting in this context, mainly because of two reasons. The first one is the Austrian concordat, a specific legal regulation between the Austrian Republic and the Vatican dating from the year 1933. This law ensures the specific rights for the Catholic Church in Austria, including the general right to teach religion in public schools. It is a compulsory school subject with the (paradox) possibility to unsubscribe, interdependently with the age of fourteen years old, before that only with the consent of the parents. The subject provides confessionally-based ethical values and moral attitudes. It is not education *about* religion(s), it is education *in* a specific religion in order to live accordingly. The Church has the right to elect and deploy religion teachers independently and the privilege to set up own curricula. (Other granted privileges in the public sphere include the right for pastoral care and spiritual guidance in national institutions like prisons, hospitals and the military.) However, the religion teachers are paid by the state.

The second reason is the legal status of Muslims in Austria, the second largest religious community. Since 1912 Islam is a state recognized religion. In the year 1979 the Islamic religious community in Austria (IGGiÖ), the official association of Islamic religious interests was formed. On that account the Austrian Muslim community can demand the same rights and privileges as any other state recognized religious community. This constitutes a unique situation in Europe (Aslan, 2009).

International research has convincingly demonstrated that teachers' religious orientations should receive more attention in the conceptualization of multicultural educational research (White, 2009; Hartwick, 2009). White (2009) shows that teachers' personal religious orientations can impact their practice in public schools and classroom management structures. The study shows that teachers who adhere to a stricter religious belief (e.g., heaven and hell, consequences for sin) are more inclined to implement an authoritarian discipline style. Teachers with a not-so-strict mindset are more likely to use democratic discipline structures. In her study, the interviewed teachers identified themselves as religious, however they were 'ordinary' and not religion teachers. Shown that even private religious orientations matter, religious education becomes even more interesting in this context. Since all monotheistic religions are characterized by exclusivity (Assmann, 2003), this may also affect religion as a school subject. Religious education is not operating from an impartial perspective, religion teachers always speak from a particular confessional point of view and operate in a general theological framework.

It is further the only school subject that separates students with different cultural and religious backgrounds in class for educational reasons. This concept of separating is problematic for modern democratic and pluralistic societies and has already been criticised a long time ago. In 1908 John Dewey argued in favour of non-confessional and non-separating religious education in American public schools (Dewey, 1908), since this would strongly contradict his understanding of democracy as 'a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience' (Dewey, 1916/2000: 121). Dewey did not (only) understand democracy as a form of government or political process, rather he considered it as a social idea, a way of living together, wherefore he rejected any form of religious instructions in school and a segregation of students in the classrooms. For contemporary European societies and due to the increasing migration in the recent years, these classical considerations become significant again.

4. Methods and Methodological Approach

This report refers to a qualitative research project that follows the reconstructive social research perspective (Bohnsack, 2008). The aim of this methodological approach is the process- and sequence-analytical reconstruction of implicit practical knowledge. This specific type of knowledge is not explicitly available for a subject in a conceptual form, since it is embedded in concrete and immediate actions (Mannheim, 1980). Since it is implicit and embedded in social practice, subjects cannot directly provide information about these orientations. Therefore this approach does not primarily focus on what someone says or means (the manifest content); rather it is concerned with the structure of meaning that is underlying someone's actions. It aims at the 'modus operandi' or habitus (Bourdieu, 1982) that constitutes social practice and other social matters. It is all about habitual knowledge and it wants to reconstruct this knowledge from narrations and descriptions of someone's actions and everyday practice.

In this study seventeen narrative interviews with Austrian Catholic and Muslim religion teachers were conducted and analysed within the frame of the 'documentary method of interpretation' (Bohnsack, 2008). Altogether, the aim of this interpretation is not to describe the participants' reality 'as it is', but rather how this reality is construed through communication. To do so, the analysis differentiates between two levels of meaning. The first level is the immanent or literal meaning ('what is said'); the second level is the documentary meaning ('how is it said' and what orientation thereby documents itself).

5. Intermediate Results

Since the research is still in progress, this paper has to be understood as a discussion of intermediate results, rather than a rigorous and final analysis of the whole study. The data from the narrative interviews with Catholic and Muslim religion teachers reveal that both school subjects do have a lot in common, however they also differ in various important aspects. First I will explore the similarities, after that I will discuss two different orientations in the teaching practice of Austrian religion teachers, one focussing on an individualized the other on a collectivised religious orientation. In the sense of ideal types (Weber, 1920/2005) they seem to be highly important to characterize the relation of religion and politics regarding teaching practice and to better understand what is going on in the classrooms.

5.1. Similarities

Both teacher samples narrate that they operate without pressure (threatening to give bad marks), since this would result in an increasing and unwanted tendency to unsubscribe from religion classes. To keep students in class, the own teaching and schooling is described as open and relaxed, abstaining from tests or exams with a stronger focus on the needs and interests of the students.

However, both groups are still inherently convinced of the importance of their own school subject. Muslim religion teachers describe religious education as a subject where students learn 'what is right or wrong in life' (M1)[2], it is seen as 'something important and serious, a subject that should not be taken too lightly' (M5). Catholic religion teachers characterize it in a similar way as the only subject where 'the fundamental values are imparted' (C4). What is shared is the conviction that religion is indispensible for social coexistence and the conception that (religious) virtues and values can actually be communicated in class in order to live accordingly. The interviews reveal exclusivity, where only religious education is seen as

---

[2] M = Interviews with Muslim religion teachers, C = Interviews with Catholic religion teachers. All interviews were translated by the author. The numbering refers to the number of interviews that were conducted.

adequate to enable an engagement with moral and ethical topics as well as to promote social cohesion and social commitment on the part of the students.

Another distinct similarity is the conception of religious education as being important for one's identity formation. The data show that religion teachers consider it as crucial that students get to know their own religion first (i.e. religious background and beliefs) in order to be competent to get in contact with other foreign cultures or religions ('If I want to respect other cultures, more than ever I first have to be familiar with my own culture. […] Then I don't have to be afraid and it is easier for me to walk towards others more openly.', C9). In a similar way, Muslim religion teachers also narrate that religious education is important for a student's identity, since they do not only learn about their own religion, they further get to know 'that they are really Muslims' (M7). Being Muslim becomes a quality in itself and this is seen as the prerequisite for intercultural and interreligious contacts ('If someone doesn't know his own religion you get serious problems to understand other religions anyway […] and of course you would then face the whole thing more critically.', M1). It becomes apparent that being critical with one's own religion is not a pedagogical aim, neither for Catholic nor for Muslim religion teachers. Rather students should have a firm understanding of their own religion before intercultural contacts and communications are even considered as being possible. In this sense, the 'other' or 'foreign' can only be understood or encountered without fear and reservation, if the students show enough acquaintance with their own denominational background. This conviction is shared by both religion teacher samples, unimpressed by social scientific research that maintains the idea of relational and intersubjective aspects of identity formation (Taylor, 1994, Goffman, 1975). In this sense, the understanding of one's identity (how you see yourself) is not independent from others (how you are seen by them). It develops from interactions, relationships, experiences and mutual expectations etc. It can never be defined alone.

Muslim teachers further narrate that they 'prefer being with believing Christians than with infidels who do not believe in a thing' (M1). Catholic teachers refer to the 'inferiority of atheism' (C4), since atheists have no one to turn to in times of need. What seems important for both teacher samples is that – despite specific religious affiliations – at least the belief 'in something' is shared, an orientation that clearly differentiates them from non-believers or secular worldviews. The teachers further narrate that in order to promote tolerance students should learn more about the similarities of religions rather than its differences ('These similarities! We do share a lot and a common base.', C1). This is how one Muslim teacher puts it: 'We all originate from Adam and Eve. This is something the Catholic teachers says as well, also the Jew who is teaching Judaism. It's all the same.' (M3) In almost every interview, this is a constantly recurring figure of explanation. However, this argument seems paradox, since separation as an educational approach is aimed for and preferred by all interviewed teachers. Only segregation enables a stronger engagement with the own specific topics and interests. As a result, these claimed similarities are not discussed with each other, the discussions remain within the in-group of the specific religious community.

5.2. Differences

Despite these similarities, the data show two clear different orientations, one reconstructed from interviews with Catholic, the other reconstructed from interviews with Muslim religion teachers. Whereas Catholic religion teachers seem to be more and more affected by the process of secularisation, an orientation constituting individualized religious beliefs detached from normative rules, Muslim religion teachers are more oriented on collectivistic and prescribed religious principles and obligations in their in-class performances. On that account both school subjects also differ in terms of the discussed and covered topics: on the Christian side we find not necessarily religious issues like the prevention of alcohol and drugs, environment protection, tuition fees and mobbing in schools, on the Muslim side we find more explicit religious topics like Islamic dress codes and gender roles, praying times or the preparation of food with respect to Islamic rules.

The data from Catholic religion teachers reveal a radical change in religious life that modern sociology of religion describes as 'unchurching' or 'de-institutionalizing' of religious beliefs (Knoblauch, 1999: 8; Luhmann, 2002: 279), i.e. a reduction of church attendance and adherence to prescribed rules and rituals and an orientation geared towards individualized religious practices. In this sense, secularisation does not mean a decrease of religiosity in general, it is rather changing in its typical and traditional form where people decide for themselves what they want to believe, how and what they want to practice and what they consider as adequate and important in their lives (Luckmann, 1991; Beck, 2008). In all interviews the teachers narrate that they cannot teach the rules and proclamations of the Church uncritically, since they do no longer adequately match with their own personal worldviews and beliefs. They cover topics in a way that even strongly contradict the official doctrine of the Church, especially when it comes to sexual morality and contraception ('For me this is a tremendously important topic. [...] I introduce all the contraceptive methods that I know [...] and I do not align myself with the position of the Church, since I include the problem of AIDS in this context.', C5). Another teacher narrates that it is his job to present the official doctrines, however he clearly states that it is not part of his job 'to convince the students that this may still makes any sense' (C2). These statements show a critical orientation towards prescribed religious rules and a preference of personal decisions, however, being religious still remains important. All interviewed teachers claim that students are no longer socialised in their own religion at home, wherefore religious education in school cannot build on upon any prior religious knowledge. It is complained that the students are 'not even familiar with the basic concepts of their own religion' (C1), an attitude that is further connected with some concern for the coming future. Because of the experienced 'irreligion' of the students and their personal beliefs, the teachers dissociate from distinct Catholic contents and turn to more general ethical topics.[3] This is seen as an adequate way to 'still reach the students' and to 'pick them up, where they are' (C4).

Muslim religion teachers on the other hand do more stick to explicit religious topics and prescribed religious rules. Only a few interviewed teachers distance themselves from teaching normative regulations and refer to spirituality or other qualities that they believe their religion has to offer. The majority narrates that they teach religious commandments and instructions in class, however they always stress that there must not be any compulsion involved. The rules themselves are seen as given and generally regarded as right and correct ('Revelation is revelation, there is no need for debate.', M7). In order to proof and underline these regulations the teachers refer to hadiths and surahs of the Koran. Teachers narrate that students should generally obey their parents and teachers in order to show good behaviour, as required by Islam. Referring to Islamic dress codes it is narrated that women should cover themselves, since they would attract unwanted attention of men otherwise. One teacher tells that not everyone has to wear a headscarf, however, it remains important that students should at least feel that it is an obligation for Muslim women ('She has to feel inside of her that it is an Islamic rule. So she doesn't reject it, she is just to weak to comply.', M6). Never questioned in this context is the normativity and authority involved. Following a very conservative notion of religious belief, Islam is presented as the right and preferred conduct of life, a notion that is not critically discussed or scrutinised in the classroom ('This is how it is in our life. If Islam says no I have to say okay, I do accept.', M8).

---

[3] Therefore the interviewed teachers often state that they actually teach Ethics instead of Catholic religious education. However, more general and open discussions about life views that abstain from catechistic beliefs should not rashly be misunderstood as Ethics education. Ethics as one of the sub-domains of philosophy involves a consequent engagement with occidental philosophy, a tradition that sees morality as a matter of reason and not as a matter of transcendent belief. In this sense, Ethics education should be understood as a form of applied philosophy, for which a philosophical education, training and qualification would be the essential prerequisite (see Liessmann 2011).

6. Discussion

What we can see from the data is that Austrian Muslim religion teachers teach religion as it is meant to be and how it is written down in prescribed curricula coming from the official religious institution. In doing so, teachers are following a collectivised orientation. Catholic religion teachers on the other side increasingly abstain from catechistic and institutionalized beliefs. They follow more individualized orientations and discuss more general ethical topics in class, not because Catholicism is less normative and prescriptive, but because of personal convictions and the encountered situation of their students, not being involved in any kind of church life. Since more general and not specifically religious issues are dealt with there is a contradiction between structure and content of Catholic religious education. A segregation of students into homogenous groups seems not absolutely necessary in this context. For the Muslim sample, on the other hand, the exact opposite is correct.

Even tough the traditional secularisation theory needs updating, this theory like no other captures an important part of what is going on in public religious life. 'Secularisation is a tendency, not an iron law' (Norris & Inglehart, 2004: 5) and it leads to a more individualized orientation concerning religiosity and decision-making. Relating to the political potential of religions, it seems that this tendency may further lower or defuse the potential for conflict that religions inherently entail (truth claims, exclusivity, either-or-orientations etc.). In this sense, individualized orientations show a more relaxed handling about ways of life and individual decisions (following an as-well-as-orientation) constituting ambiguity tolerance, highly relevant for pluralistic and constantly changing societies.

However, the differences found have further to be discussed in regard to the social situation of the samples, e.g. the dynamics that come from a minority or majority status. Teachers' religious orientations, be they individualized or collectivised, bring about various considerations and questions for schooling in modern pluralistic states, including aims, purpose and need for separation as an educational approach. So far educational research has hardly started to assess and evaluate this issue.

7. References

Aslan, E. (2009). *Islamic Education in Europe*. Böhlau Verlag.

Assmann, J. (2003). *Die Mosaische Unterscheidung. Oder der Preis des Monotheismus*. München, Wien: Carl Hanser Verlag.

Beck, U. (2008). *Der eigene Gott. Friedensfähigkeit und Gewaltpotential der Religionen*. Verlag der Weltreligionen.

Bohnsack, R. (2008). *Rekonstruktive Sozialforschung. Einführung in qualitative Methoden*. Opladen: Leske und Budrich.

Bourdieu, P. (1982). *Die feinen Unterschiede. Kritik der gesellschaftlichen Urteilskraft.* Frankfurt: Suhrkamp.

Dewey, J. (1908). 'Religion and our Schools.' In: J. A. Boydston (ed.). *The Middle Works of John Dewey, Volume 4, 1899-1924.* Southern Illinois University Press.

Dewey, J. (1993). *Demokratie und Erziehung. Eine Einleitung in die philosophische Pädagogik.* In: J. Oelkers (ed.). (original 1916).

Goffman, E. (1975). *Stigma. Über Techniken der Bewältigung beschädigter Identität*. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp.

Habermas, J. (2005). *Zwischen Naturalismus und Religion. Philosophische Aufsätze*. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp.

Habermas, J. (2008). 'Die Dialektik der Säkularisierung.' In: *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik*. (4): 33-36.

Hartwick, J. M. M. (2009). 'Public school teachers' beliefs in and conceptions of God: What do teachers believe, and why it matters?' Paper presented at the AERA 2009, Annual Meeting, San Diego, CA.

Kant, I. (2001). 'Beantwortung der Frage: Was ist Aufklärung?' In: W. Weißschädel (ed.). *Schriften zur Anthropologie, Geschichtsphilosophie, Politik und Pädagogik 1. Werkausgabe XI.* Frankfurt Suhrkamp: 53-61. (original 1784).

Khorchide, M. (2009). *Der islamische Religionsunterricht zwischen Integration und Parallelgesellschaft. Einstellungen der islamischen ReligionslehrerInnen an öffentlichen Schulen.* Wiesbaden: VS/GWV.

Knoblauch, H. (1999). *Religionssoziologie.* Walter de Gruyter. Berlin. New York.

Liessmann, K. P. (2011). ,Ethikunterricht im Spannungsfeld zwischen Religionsersatz und säkularer Moral'. Parlamentarische Enquete des Nationalrats, 4. Mai 2011, Österreichisches Parlament.

Luckmann, T. (1991). *Die unsichtbare Religion.* Frankfurt: Suhrkamp.

Luhmann, N. (2002). *Die Religion der Gesellschaft.* Frankfurt: Suhrkamp.

Mannheim, K. (1980). *Strukturen des Denkens.* Frankfurt: Suhrkamp.

Norris, P. & R. Inglehart (2004). *Sacred and Secular. Religion and Politics Worldwide.* Cambridge University Press.

Rohe, M. (2006). *Perspektiven und Herausforderungen in der Integration muslimischer MitbürgerInnen in Österreich.* Sicherheitsakademie des Bundesministeriums für Inneres. Executive Summary.

Sloterdijk, P. (1997). 'Chancen im Ungeheuren.' In: W. James, *Die Vielfalt religiöser Erfahrung.* Insel Taschenbuch 1784: 11-34.

Taylor, C. (1994). *Multiculturalism. Examining the politics of recognition.* Princeton University Press.

Tibi, B. (2007). *Die islamische Herausforderung. Religion und Politik im Europa des 21. Jahrhunderts.* Primus Verlag.

Weber, M (1995). *Wissenschaft als Beruf.* Reclam Verlag. (original 1922).

Weber, M. (2005). *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft. Grundriss der verstehenden Soziologie.* Meltzer Verlag. (original 1922).

White, K. (2009). 'Community, forgiveness, and the golden rule: The impact of teachers´ religious identities on classroom management structures.' Paper presented at the AERA 2009, Annual Meeting San Diego, CA.