

# **How Teachers Deal with Religious Plurality in Denominational Religious Education**

## **A Research Project in the Northernmost State of Germany**

### **1. The Reason for conducting the ReVikoR Study<sup>1</sup>**

Religious Education in Germany is subject to a peculiar twofold determination: On the one hand, German Basic Law classifies Religious Education as “part of the regular curriculum in state schools”. It “shall be given in accordance with the tenets of the religious community concerned” (Article 7,3). On the other hand, education at school as a whole is subject to the sovereignty of the federal states, which leads to legal exemptions. Furthermore, the phrase “in accordance with the tenets of the religious community concerned” leaves room for interpretation and paves the way for different models of Religious Education in Germany. Based on the traditional interpretation of the constitutional phrasing, Germany’s northernmost state, Schleswig-Holstein, is teaching classical denominational Religious Education, which means that, at least in theory, the subjects Protestant and Catholic Religious Education as well as the alternative subject Philosophy are being taught. Since the state’s socio-religious framework has to be taken into consideration, it should be noted that Schleswig-Holstein has a strong Protestant tradition. A noteworthy Catholic population emerged only after refugee movements following the end of World War II. At the same time there is a lower church membership rate, less active participation in church, and a lower social impact of the Churches compared to the southern states – even though Schleswig-Holstein is a predominantly rural state. Currently, 56% of Schleswig-Holstein’s population are Protestant, 7% are Catholic and 34% are without religious affiliation. 4% of the population is of Muslim faith (Fowid 2016).

There is a discussion taking place in Germany as to whether a denominational Religious Education, in which the Churches participate and which is required to be taught by church members is still appropriate in this day and age. Considering religious plurality on the one hand and the Churches’ loss of importance in society on the other hand, is this kind of instruction still the best way to answer the contemporary challenges of Religious Education? The public media’s answer to that question is often “no”, and in Schleswig-Holstein this topic is also intensely discussed at the moment. Often, however, outdated notions of an “evangelical instruction” through which the Church recruits its members affect the discussion and the changes in didactics since the 1960s are ignored (Kirchenamt der EKD 2014).

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<sup>1</sup> ReVikoR is an acronym for “Religiöse Vielfalt im konfessionellen Religionsunterricht” – in English: “Religious Diversity in Denominational Religious Education”.

On the one hand, the debate in Schleswig-Holstein is promoted because its neighboring state Hamburg teaches a Religious Education which focuses on interreligious learning. (The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Northern Germany – which is the *Landeskirche* [regional church] for both Hamburg and Schleswig-Holstein – interprets this kind of Religious Education as a variety of the denominational model with the Church’s participation.) On the other hand, a phrase in the red-green government’s coalition agreement from 2012 has sparked a debate. It says:

“In cooperation with the religious communities, we want to transform the denominational Religious Education into an inter-denominational Religious Education, in which all pupils learn together, regardless of their religious affiliation.” (lines 704–07)

In addition, Muslim organisations in Schleswig-Holstein express the desire for their religion to be present in the state’s public schools, which has received positive feedback from the large Churches.

## 2. The design of the ReVikoR Study

The critical requests from society, politics and religion motivated the empirical research project ReVikoR, which is funded by the North-Church. Since 2013 it has been conducted at the Theological Institute of the University of Flensburg (where the teacher training for primary and lower secondary education takes place) and the Faculty of Theology in Kiel (where the teacher training for lower and higher secondary education takes place). The project is coordinated by Johannes Woyke (Flensburg) and Uta Pohl-Patalong (Kiel). The study is conducted by research associates Stefanie Boll (Flensburg) and Antonia Lüdtkke (Kiel) as well as initiator Thorsten Dittrich; for the final stage now Claudia Richter has joined the team. The project aims to come to an empirically grounded perception of the organisational and especially the didactic handling of the pupils’ factual religious heterogeneity within Protestant Religious Education. There should be an attentive perception of the present situation before thinking about possible changes. With its research question “*How is religious heterogeneity in denominational Religious Education (in Schleswig-Holstein) dealt with?*”, the study follows both a qualitative (semi-structured qualitative interviews) and quantitative (standardised questionnaires) approach. Thereby it can generate new insights, interpretations and hypotheses and examine the teachers’ subjective perceptions, structures and strategies, while also gaining an overview of the reality of Religious Education regarding religious plurality in Schleswig-Holstein. Teachers as well as pupils were interviewed. The pupils’ perspectives are currently being evaluated. The teachers’ perspectives have been published already (Pohl-Patalong et al. 2016).

The project is limited to Protestant Religious Education, which is the dominant form in Schleswig-Holstein. As we know from a questionnaire handed to school principals, Catholic Religious Education takes place at approximately 60% of the

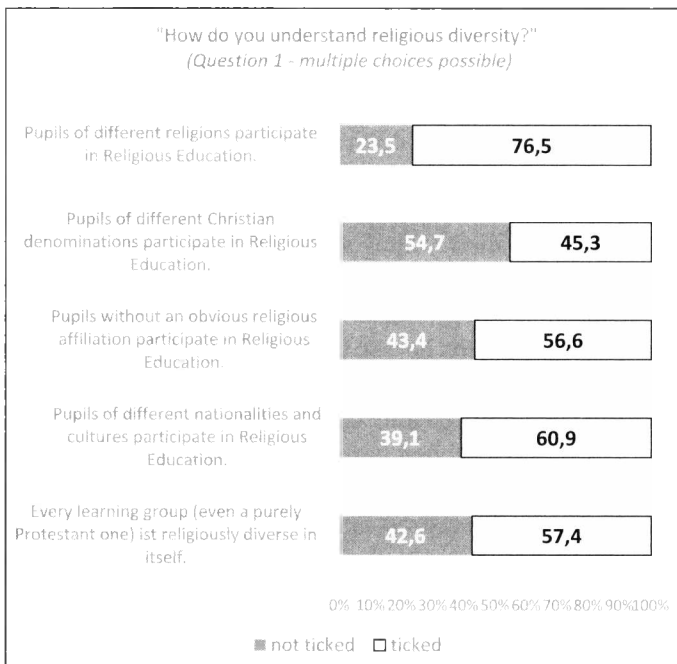
state's schools with approximately 700 different courses (for comparison: there are approximately 8700 courses of Protestant Religious Education, 1530 with a cooperative Protestant-Catholic alignment and 2570 in Philosophy). So, while there is Catholic Religious Education at school, it is often limited to certain grades and the classes are relatively small. (The figures come from a survey of all school principals in Schleswig-Holstein which had a response rate of 53%.) A denominational-cooperative culture as it is known from other German states is not very pronounced in Schleswig-Holstein, despite having a cooperation decree. In reality, Religious Education in Schleswig-Holstein is relatively often taught for the whole class. The alternative subject Philosophy often cannot be offered below the higher secondary level and the number of teachers who teach Religion despite not being properly trained for Religious Education is alarmingly high – especially in primary school, but also in secondary school to some extent.

Initially, 33 semi-structured interviews with teachers were conducted. The interviewees were selected based on criteria of age, sex, training (with or without special training for Religious Education), school type, location and current form of Religious Education (in class or in separate courses). The analysis is based on Christiane Schmidt's approach called "Kategorienbildung am Material" (= "developing categories from the materials") which may be seen as a middle ground between qualitative content analysis and grounded theory (Schmidt 1997 and Schmidt 2000). It allows for identifying patterns across the individual interviews. The entire material is sorted by categories which are generated in the course of evaluation and permanently modified and refined (for example: "Dealing with religious diversity"). Then, the entire material is encoded based on a coding guideline (Schmidt 1997, 555f.), which means that interview passages are matched with the categories. Content characteristics are identified for each category in order to fill the more formal categories with content (for example, "considering interreligious topics" or "backing away from the Christian-denominational profile"). This procedure, including the definition of the categories, anchor examples and coding rules, does not correspond strictly to the approach of Schmidt, but borrows from Philipp Mayring's qualitative content analysis (Mayring 2010). On this basis, the actual evaluation is written. In parallel with the evaluation, a questionnaire was developed which addressed various aspects about the teachers' perception and handling of religious diversity as well as their ideas about the future of Religious Education. It went out to all teachers of all school types who teach Protestant Religious Education in Schleswig-Holstein and was answered by 33.9% of teachers. Currently, the pupil survey – which again used both qualitative (group interviews) and quantitative (standardised questionnaires) methods – is being evaluated.

Some selected results of the teacher survey will be presented below.

### 3. Religious plurality as a natural part of denominational Religious Education

One important result of the study is that religious plurality is indeed perceived in denominational Religious Education and teachers deal with it actively and consciously. Even the entry question in the qualitative interviews, “What is your understanding of religious diversity?”, was consistently not answered on an abstract level, but based on the teachers’ specific learning groups. On the content level, it is interesting to see which aspects teachers consider as criteria for “religious diversity” and in which numerical distribution they occur.



Mostly associated with religious diversity are – unsurprisingly – pupils of different religions and cultures. But the teachers then also perceive the variety of the pupils’ personal religious attitudes as religiously heterogeneous. Pupils who do not belong to any religious community and/or who do not share any religious beliefs also fall into that category. Under today’s conditions, however, the denominational distinction which originally represented the decisive guiding difference in the establishment of Religious Education is less often perceived as part of religious diversity.

Breaking down the responses by looking at the different combination of answers, it becomes obvious that most often all five variants were ticked – more than twice as often as any other combination. Thus, the concept of religious diversity is already defined by the teachers as extremely heterogeneous in itself and its different aspects are clearly perceived.

So it is not surprising that teachers perceive their learning groups predominantly as religiously heterogeneous: 77.9% perceive their own learning groups as heterogeneous, 22.1% as homogeneous. For a state in which less than 5% of the population belong to non-Christian religious communities, this is a striking result. The interviews also showed that this diversity can be very different among the different learning groups. Religious diversity itself is a very heterogeneous phenomenon – and the vast majority of teachers at school perceive it as such. This challenges and encourages different strategies in the didactic handling of religious plurality.

#### **4. Didactic strategies in dealing with religious plurality**

In both the qualitative and quantitative survey, teachers were asked whether the didactics of their teaching, using the example of their lesson preparation, change when they teach religiously heterogeneous learning groups. Quantitatively, this is affirmed by 75.1% of the teachers.

The qualitative interviews show how their lesson preparation is influenced by the religious composition of the learning groups. Two broad directions that are closely related to the perception of religious diversity can be observed: Some teachers assume there is a pluralisation of both religious affiliations and religious views and they try to adapt their didactics to this plurality. Other teachers rather perceive the decline of Christian or any religious backgrounds and beliefs as a consequence of religious diversity and respond didactically.

##### **(1) “There is a common ground” – An increased consideration of topics which apply to more than one religion**

Religious diversity may be primarily understood as the presence of different religious communities. One didactical “strategy” to deal with this situation is planning the lessons so that more topics which apply to more than one religion are considered. While “Abraham”, for example, is not an exclusively Christian learning topic, it still is a classic topic in Protestant Religious Education. When this topic is discussed in a group with Muslim students, it is experienced as productive for the entire study group:

“With the stories of the patriarchs there is a common ground. There is always this moment when suddenly someone says, ‘Huh, I know that from somewhere! It’s pretty different, but somehow [...]’ It’s really interesting and it makes you look in other directions as well.” (Henning 9.15–19)

Pupils can be surprised and be reminded of traditions from their own religions. They can detect similarities and differences which make Religious Education more attractive for everyone (including the teacher!). In addition to “Abraham” and the stories

of the patriarchs and matriarchs, topics such as creation or religious festivals are seen as a way to deal with the various pupils and their backgrounds.

## **(2) “That you think about what values these religions pass on” – World religions as a topic**

In addition to the topics just mentioned, the different religions as such are made a topic in heterogeneous learning groups. This can be done in terms of a “didactics of world religions” which tries to break down prejudice and promote understanding through a differentiated, detailed and rather “neutral” knowledge about the great non-Christian religions.

“[...] repeatedly there are conflicts between the pupils because of their religious diversity and we simply would like to educate them and therefore we also focus on world religions in our lessons.” (Sabrina 1,25–28)

Religious Education is tasked with raising awareness of the different religions with the aim of a better coexistence. Teachers focus particularly on the differences and similarities between the Abrahamic religions or on ethical aspects.

## **(3) “Then I could always rely on insider knowledge” – Interreligious and inter-denominational learning**

Moreover, an interreligious learning is practiced, which takes its starting point in personal encounters and aims for a dialogical learning. For example, synagogues, mosques or Buddhist centers are visited (15% of the teachers did this last year with at least one learning group) or official representatives of other religions are invited to class (often practiced by 10.9%, rarely at least by 53.5% of teachers). Much more often, however, the everyday religious experiences of the pupils are included in the lessons: 86.4% of teachers report that they frequently do this; 12.2% say that they do so infrequently.

“I once had a class with many Muslim pupils. And yeah, that was great because then I could always rely on insider knowledge. I had my experts who brought objects from home and who could recite things in that particular language and so on.” (Tanja 3,9–18)

Denominational Religious Education, therefore, allows for authentic religious experiences of other religions. It is no coincidence that in the reported quote the focus lies on objects and experiences rather than theological content knowledge because it is questionable how much expertise in their own religion the pupils really have and how much of it can be generalised.

If the difference between Protestant and Catholic is more dominant in the learning groups, an inter-denominational learning can take place in a similar manner. That

way, pupils gain insight into the denominational imprints, experiences and traditions of their classmates.

#### **(4) “To get the others on board” – Religious multi-perspectivity**

Another strategy to incorporate the growing religious diversity into the didactics of Religious Education is to consistently discuss the various topics from the perspectives of different religions. Some teachers aspire to include these different perspectives in *each and every* topic.

“I am constantly thinking about how I can relate and refer to the other faiths. [...] So afterwards there must always be a way to refer to the others in order for them to feel involved in the classroom; that’s very important, indeed.” (Cornelia 4,18–22)

While in this example the religious multi-perspectivity is created by the teacher, there are also cases in which multi-perspectivity arises from the discussion among the pupils:

“Well, in my classes it’s very positive that they are also asking each other. In 12th grade we’ve just dealt with medical ethics and also discussed organ donation and preimplantation genetic diagnosis; and several times the three Muslim girls were asked, ‘Well, what do you say to that?’ ‘What is your position – and do you have an organ donor card or is it different for you?’ So they ask back and forth and also the Muslim pupils then ask, ‘Well, what’s it like in Christianity? Baboon’s heart – yes or no? Pig’s heart – yes or no?’” (Karla 3,22–28)

#### **(5) “So you just always have to start from scratch” – Religious Education and religious literacy**

When religious diversity is primarily perceived as “breaking with tradition” and when the focus lies in particular on pupils without religious affiliation, it affects the didactics of Religious Education differently. Religious Education can become a subject for teaching the basics of Christianity and take on the task of achieving religious literacy.

“Well yes, of course I have to consider the pupils’ different backgrounds and act accordingly by beginning to explain what a prayer even is [...]. Then I look at the whole group, like what do they already know, what don’t they know – and this group doesn’t know anything and in my experience, it becomes less and less, so you just always have to start from scratch.” (Veronika 6,1–8)

Interestingly, a significant majority of teachers find this basal task to be more challenging for their Religious Education than the presence of different religions: 32% fully agree and 47% agree somewhat. While some teachers find it troublesome that they “always have to start from scratch” (Veronika 6,6), others see potential opportunities in that situation:

“They are just – that’s how I experience it anyway – open, friendly children and adolescents who do not already come with something and say, ‘This is what you’ve got to deal with’. [...] In terms of religion, they are rather [...] inexperienced, unburdened, easygoing, relatively open and interested.” (Peter 3,4–8)

With regard to Religious Education, there is an interesting convergence between non-religious pupils and pupils of other religions, insofar, basic knowledge of Christianity can then be newly imparted to all pupils.

### **(6) “I really just make sure not to get too biblical and too Protestant or Christian” – Holding back on the Christian denominational profile**

There is another strategy, which is also based on the decline of Christian socialisation. Confronted with religious diversity, this strategy comes to the conclusion to back away from the Christian-Protestant profile and to address all religions equally.

“Well, I do try to focus more on general education. [...] Of course, sometimes I say things like, ‘Well yes, actually it’s like this and the Bible says this’ but I always try to involve the Koran as well and to focus more on history or general education. [...] So, I really just make sure not to get too biblical and too Protestant [...] or Christian, but rather to stick to a more general level so that anyone can relate”. (Andrea 3,36–4,6)

Christian topics such as biblical stories are not avoided. However, Religious Education is supposed to be based on general education without a recognisable particular profile. The aim is to cater to different students who should all be able to relate on different levels. Sometimes, Protestant contents are not even identified as such, but rather treated as socio-ethical approaches. The aim of this strategy is to avoid that non-Protestant students protest or are pulled out of Religious Education.

“Especially in 9<sup>th</sup> grade I have to be careful how I put things. If I immediately started with a biblical topic, then there would be 15 parents calling me and saying, ‘I want my child to be pulled out.’ [...] I have to be more subtle about how I put things so that afterwards the pupils say, ‘Oh, it really isn’t that bad to look at it from that angle’ but I cannot be so open about it from the beginning. So yes, it has already changed my teaching style as I no longer just walk into a classroom and say, ‘We’re doing religion now. We’re talking about Amos’ or something like that. Instead, I think long about how to approach a topic and how to word it so that the 9<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup> graders won’t immediately cry, ‘But I don’t want that!’” (Maria 5,23–34)

In this example, the teacher perceives reservations about engaging with the Christian tradition and reacts by not introducing it openly and directly anymore but in a veiled manner. The aim is to keep pupils from being pulled out of Religious Education. At the same time, there is hope that because of their plausibility, the openness towards the religious contents grows over time.



## **(7) “I have to teach them the same topics” – Lesson planning without considering religious diversity**

But how do those teachers who do not let their lesson preparation be influenced by the religious diversity of their learning groups justify their behavior? After all, it is what one quarter of the teachers answered. In the qualitative survey, the teachers self-critically admit that they simply do not do it due to a lack of time. But on a content level it was also argued that the same topics must be taught in each repeating grade because of the curriculum.

“But I hardly change my lesson preparation because I have to teach them the same topics. And since the baptised pupils do not necessarily know more about what’s in the Bible and so on, I often have to start from scratch, so therefore it doesn’t really make a difference.” (Tanja 3,14–18)

This strategy corresponds with the one above in that the foundations of Christianity have to be taught in every learning group in Religious Education anyway. This implies that the knowledge *about* different religions and religious traditions is the teachers’ main focus when considering a study group’s religious diversity.

Mostly it turns out, however, that because the study groups have become more heterogeneous, Protestant Religious Education has changed didactically and it probably will continue to do so. The teachers seek different ways to deal with this situation and sometimes in ways that can be criticised from the perspective of religious education theory. This indicates an increased need to convey didactic approaches for dealing with religious heterogeneity at university and in trainings – and to do so more intensely than before. Although it is sometimes stated that the didactics of Protestant Religious Education were specifically aimed at Protestant learning groups, it should be noted that most of the time religious diversity is a topic that is being noticed and dealt with intensely and in many different ways.

## **5. How do teachers picture the future of Religious Education?**

Finally, I would like to present how teachers, who actually conduct the lessons and interact with the pupils, picture the future of the subject. Should Religious Education – as it is done in Schleswig-Holstein’s neighboring state Hamburg – be taught for the whole class so that religious diversity can be dealt with in a context of coexisting religions and beliefs? Or should the learning groups – as it is done in the classic denominational model – be separated according to religious affiliation so that religious diversity can be encountered through differentiation within the pupils? This question is currently gaining importance considering the discussion about Islamic Religious Education for Muslim pupils. In Schleswig-Holstein the trend is surprisingly clear: The vast majority, namely 87.1%, do not want the learning groups to be

separated by religions and denominations regardless of whether such a separation has been previously done at their schools or not. When asking this question in the perspective of Religious Education especially for Muslim pupils, the consent rate is slightly higher with 30.3%; but more than two-thirds of the teachers, i. e., 69.7%, still reject the idea to separate the learning groups. When taking a closer look at the different school types, it can be seen that, interestingly, a separate Islamic Religious Education has a less than average approval rate at comprehensive schools – 28.5% – and even a significantly lower approval rate at vocational schools – 14.3% – even though these are the types of schools that statistically have a higher proportion of Muslim pupils. With an increasing religious plurality, apparently, a separation of the pupils according to religious affiliation becomes even less plausible than it already is in the teachers' perspectives.

However, there is less agreement regarding the question of whether Religious Education should remain “Protestant” (although elsewhere it has become clear that teachers can mean very different things when they talk about “Protestant Religious Education”). 51 % of the respondents answered in favor of a Protestant profile, while 49% did not. However, only 32.2 % perceive the growing religious diversity among pupils as a contradiction to the denominational profile of Religious Education.

I: Do you perceive the religious diversity to be a contradiction to the denominational profile of Religious Education? [...]

M: As a contradiction? No! No, that's a challenge, yes. It's a challenge but it isn't a contradiction. Well, I think it can be stimulating and interesting. It doesn't make it easier of course but I don't see it as a contradiction.” (Maria 8,24–34)

A possible interpretation could be that teachers think they are didactically capable of using the above mentioned strategies for dealing with religious plurality. In the broader context, however, they no longer feel that the denominational profile – at least in its current form – is plausible. It should not be neglected, however, that half of the teachers would also like to stick to the label “Protestant”.

We also specifically asked the teachers what they think about changing the profile of Religious Education so that it would be more “neutral” as it is implemented in the state of Brandenburg. Quantitatively, the result is extremely heterogeneous: 18.4% fully support a “neutral” orientation, 31.2% support it somewhat, 27.8% rather not support it and 20.6% do not support it at all. There is almost the same number of teachers who have a (rather) positive or a (rather) negative attitude, respectively. A majority does not have a clear opinion on this issue. This uncertainty among teachers shows a need for action in education and training – especially since the rate of those in favor of this model is significantly higher among teachers who did not study the subject at a university.

In the interviews, however, it is noticeable that the perspective of “neutral” Religious Education is rejected vehemently and emotionally several times.

“I wouldn't be okay with ‘neutral’ Religious Education; that would be a pity. It wouldn't be this special anymore [...] and my own background would no longer be present. I'd have

to say things like, ‘[...] There’s this and they pray five times and we pray seven times or whatever’. And then it’s only about knowledge but knowledge doesn’t really move or challenge people and I think especially in this day and age we need something that moves and challenges people and this is what carries us. [...] My faith does not carry me because I know that, let’s say there was a council so-and-so many years ago in a place called so-and-so, or things like that, but because my relationship with God carries me. And since I have experienced this, I would also like to pass it on. Religion ... I think is one of the most important things in one’s life ... that you can enter into a relationship. You don’t have to but you can. And this is only possible within my denominational profile because I can provide information about it.” (Britt-Marta 11,5–19)

This teacher believes that a “neutral” Religious Education based on knowledge would be a significant loss for her pupils since only authentic and lived religion really “moves” and “carries” one because of the “relationship with God”. Instead, she considers the teachers’ religious orientation to be essential because they can only then “provide information” since teachers can only “pass on” what they know or have experienced in their own relationship with God.

One high-school teacher argues similarly:

“What would be lost in this case is, I think, [...] that there is someone standing at the front saying, ‘Well, I’m a Lutheran Christian. This is what I stand for’. And especially in the lower grades [...] I see this as the main trump card [...] of Religious Education and we risk losing that. Of course there might be [...] a few Protestants, Catholics and Muslims who could provide information about their own world, but [...] I think it’s better the way it is right now because the interfaith thing that we would gain, we actually already have that, I think.” (Dirk-Michael 10,21–34)

In his argument of a productive positionality of the teacher, this interviewee then calls for the training of Muslim teachers with whom he would like to work together in Religious Education.

Overall, a majority of respondents argues in favor of having Muslim teachers. Compared to the question of a separate Islamic Religious Education, the number of respondents who approve is significantly higher. This indicates that in Schleswig-Holstein a religious differentiation of the teachers is more plausible than the separation of pupils. 53.9% can imagine that a state-certified Muslim teacher takes on their study groups at times to teach Religion from a Muslim perspective. (This question was inspired by a model of Religious Education which was developed in the context of this research project and whose aim is to keep the class unit together and to employ teachers of different religions and denominations to teach the entire study group in different phases). The approval increases to 68% when asked if they would team-teach Religious Education together with a state-certified teacher of a non-Christian religion.

In the qualitative interviews, one argument in favor of this team-teaching is the expertise of potential Muslim colleagues concerning their religion, which Christian teachers do not have in this form. In addition to expert *knowledge*, the respondents also emphasised the stronger emotional embeddedness in one’s own religion.

“Of course, one can just feel it better. It’s not only a fact but also a feeling. And if you had someone who is a trained teacher of Islamic Religious Education, you could collaborate even more closely.” (Sabrina 10,18–21)

Being rooted in a religious tradition is stated as didactically relevant. A variety of religious roots among the colleagues would strengthen cooperation and enrich the lessons. This would strengthen the “denominational” character of Religious Education, if that term is understood in contrast to “neutral” Religious Education based on knowledge.

“A Muslim Religious Education that is open for everyone would be my first choice. [...] When I imagine now that we had someone here who could do something like that and who was also communicative, that’s something that I would like very much and I think my work, my teaching would benefit from that [...] It goes along the lines of what I have just mentioned – if there is someone at the front who says, ‘I am a Muslim. This is what I stand for’, then that is incredibly fruitful for the pupils.” (Dirk-Michael 11,13–12,2)

This passage illustrates very clearly the idea of an interreligious and at the same time positional Religious Education.

Those who refuse to cooperate with Muslim teachers mainly give two different reasons. On the one hand, they argue based on their understanding of religious identity, which they think has to be formed in a protected space first before one can enter into a dialogue. On the other hand, they argue pragmatically that the effort would be too high.

“Yes, that’s something I could imagine, but I think the effort would be so high that I don’t think I’d be up for that [...] In principle it would be nice but there are so many other things [...] so it’s difficult to actually do this [...] because we would have to prepare every lesson together – I think that’s unrealistic.” (Veronika 15,17–21)

## 6. Conclusion

The ReVikoR study provides an insight into the beliefs and didactic approaches of teachers between the poles of the denominational orientation of Religious Education and its actual religious plurality. The first impressions gained from the survey with the pupils draw a very similar picture and highlights: There is a great need for reflection in terms of an equally reasonable and meaningful model of Religious Education in public schools.

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