

The Development of the School Trial Islamic Religious Instruction at Bavarian Public Schools

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Abstract

This article analyzes the formation and development of the school trial Islamic religious instruction at public schools in Bavaria. It aimed at finding out if the expectations – its nationwide introduction and transformation into a regular Islamic instruction – were fulfilled or not. The Bavarian trial was a pioneer project and was described as the nearest to the guidelines of the German Basic Law 7,3 compared to others. Meanwhile the Bavarian Islamic religious instruction has been tried for nearly 15 years. It has been evaluated positively for years, nevertheless its status of a school trial is ongoing. The school trial of Islamic religious instruction in Bavaria fell far short of the expectations. It has neither been introduced nationwide in Bavaria nor received the status of a regular religious instruction according to the Basic Law 7, 3 analog to the Jewish or Christian religious instruction. It seems that there was no political will in Bavaria to accept the existing Islamic associations as a religious community according to the Basic Law 7, 3. The unconstitutional status of the Islamic religious instruction will intensify the distrust of the Muslims into the Bavarian state.

Keywords: Bavaria, Islam, Islamic instruction, Muslim students, school trial

Introduction

Between 4,4 and 4,7 million Muslims lived at the end of 2015 in Germany, that means 5,4 % and 5,7 % of the population are Muslims (82,2 million people in total). Especially in 2014 and 2015, a big number of Muslim refugees arrived in Germany. Whereas in 2011, nearly two third of the Muslims in Germany were of Turkish origins, this percentage reduced to around 50% in 2015. Muslims were coming from Near East, especially from Syria, form 17% the second biggest group (Stichs, 2016). Given the growing diversity of ethnic origins of Muslims in Germany, the introduction of an Islamic religious instruction in German language at public schools has been an adequate step.

There are some publications dealing with Islamic religious instruction models in different German federal states. But there's no analysis evaluating the Islamic instruction model in the federal state of Bavaria and asking the question if the expectations were fulfilled. Bavaria was described as a pioneer in introducing Islamic instruction compared to other federal states. In this article I argue that two main expectations – firstly to expand the instruction nationwide in Bavaria and secondly to transform the school trial into a regular Islamic religious instruction according to the German Basic Law 7,3 have not been fulfilled for nearly 15 years now. For example, Mohr and Kiefer (2009) give an overview about the various models and their denominations. The German Islam Conference (in German: Deutsche Islam Konferenz, 2011) discusses the perspectives and challenges in a documentation of a conference with experts from February 2011. Schweizer (2017) critically

investigated in her dissertation the Islamic religious instruction model in the federal state of North Rhine-Westphalia. Bielefeldt (2003) outlines the challenges of Muslims living in a secular state and emphasizes that the introduction of Islamic religious instruction leads to a better integration of Muslims. But there was no analysis about the Bavarian school trial asking the question if its development is according to expectations of a nationwide introduction and transformation into a school subject suitable to the German Basic Law 7,3 or not.

In this paper, I used the expression of Islamic religious instruction for different kinds of Islamic religious instructions to avoid confusion: Firstly, for the Islamic religious instruction (in German: Islamischer Religionsunterricht) corresponding to the German Basic Law article 7, section 3 (abbr.: Basic Law 7,3), secondly, for the expression of Islam instruction (in German: Islamunterricht), which the Bavarian state used at the beginning to denominate its school trial and which did not correspond to the Basic Law 7,3 and thirdly for the Islamic Instruction (in German: Islamischer Unterricht), the ongoing school trial in Bavaria, which is not corresponded to the Basic Law 7,3. This way of simplification should not overlap the judicial differences and the differences related to the content. The information in this article was mainly taken from an unpublished Master's thesis with the title "*The School Trial Islam instruction in Erlangen – a way to the Islamic religious instruction according to the Basic Law 7,3 for Bavarian Schools?*" at the university of Bamberg in which secondary literature, grey literature as well as qualitative interviews with participants and responsible persons of the school trial were conducted (Yaşar, 2007). In conclusion, a promising future for the development of the Bavarian school trial is illustrated: As the respective evaluations are positive it can be introduced nationwide in Bavaria and its trial status can be changed into an Islamic religious instruction according to the Basic Law 7,3 as soon as possible (Yaşar, 2007). In addition to relevant secondary literature the homepages of responsible actors as the Bavarian Ministry of the Interior and the German Islam Conference were examined.

The necessity of Islamic religious instruction

The introduction of Islamic religious instruction was already under discussion in the 1970s. The intention then was to support the children to reintegrate into their native countries, e.g. to Turkey, when they go back. In the 1990s German politicians realized that the so called guest workers and their families would stay in Germany and a rethinking in the educational policy started. Different models of Islamic religious instruction were introduced in several federal states (Yavuzcan, 2017). After a presence of Muslims in Germany for more than 50 years now, Islamic religious instruction and Islamic theology are slowly becoming part of the educational landscape within a contemporary integration policy of the German state.

Islamic religious instruction has an important symbolic value (Halm, 2013). From a legal point of view, it serves to test the cooperation quality between the Islamic communities and the German state. It asks the question if and to which extent the (church) law in Germany is applicable to Islamic communities. In a more and more pluralizing German society, it should be asked if the church law could be transformed into a more open religious constitutional law (Bielefeldt, 2003). From an educational point of view, Islamic religious instruction serves to hand over Islamic religious knowledge to the next generation. According to the qualitative research of Uslucan (2011), the feedback of the students taking part in an Islamic instruction in German language and their parents is highly positive. The students

improve their German language competences and are able to exchange ideas about their religious identity with their fellow students (Uslucan, 2011).

Traditional places of teaching, like the mosque, are not broadly used by students. It is estimated that maximum 15% of the Muslim students have ever visited a mosque (Sauter, 2016). Only 11,4% of Muslim students in Germany have the option to take part in an Islamic instruction at public schools (Yavuzcan, 2017). The big majority of students grow up without getting Islamic education. Only very few parents are able to teach their children in Islamic religion in an adequate way. There is an education lack which can be in the worst case filled by radical Islamist movements. One of the main reasons why the German state supports the nationwide introduction of Islamic instruction at public schools is to hinder the uncontrolled teaching of Islam.

The German state has various reasons to support the introduction of a religious instruction which takes place under the responsibility of the respective religious community. Thus, the state does not need to create by itself new offers in religious issues. It is important that the religious needs of people are considered at the same way as the needs of non-religious people (Bielefeldt, 2003).

Legal frame of Islamic religious instruction

The German state is secular, protects the freedom of people to profess a religious or philosophical creed and to practice it in an undisturbed way by the Basic Law article 4 (Bundestag, 2010). The state is not allowed to interfere in religious matters. To offer religious instruction at schools the state must cooperate with a respective religious community (De Wall, 2012) according to the Basic Law article 140, which integrates articles 136-139 and 141 of the Weimar Constitution of 1919 (Bundestag, 2010). However, there is no strict separation between state and religion as e.g. in secular France. The German state has a so-called friendly attitude towards religion and supports people to get their constitutional rights (Rohe, 2012). The kind of cooperation between the German state and religious communities is sometimes described as "limping" as the separation of state and religion is not fulfilled rigorously, but for Bielefeldt (2003), secularity means not the absence of a relation between the two institutions. State and religious communities cooperate in various social spheres as in pastoral care, church tax, as well as in religious instruction (Bielefeldt, 2003).

According to the Basic Law, people have the possibility to form organizations at different degrees: First, the Basic Law article 136 emphasizes that there is no state church and guarantees people the freedom of forming religious societies in a non-formal way. They get the right to organize their affairs independently from the state or civil community. Secondly, people can register their religious associations and apply for recognition as a non-profit charitable organization. This status gives them some privilege, e.g. they are released from tax fees. Nearly all of the Islamic associations in Germany have this status. Thirdly, they can strive for getting the status of a religious community, which enables them to take the role of a cooperation partner of the state especially to provide public schools with religious instruction according to the Basic Law 7,3. The fourth and highest degree is that of the status of a corporation under public law (in German: Körperschaft des Öffentlichen Rechts). The respective federal state decides if a religious association fulfills the requirements of a corporation under public law or not (Bundesministerium des Innern, n.d; Hofhansel, 2010).

According to the Basic Law 7, 3, the infrastructure for the religious instruction is provided by the state. The teachers at public schools are state employees. By doing so, the

state keeps its right to supervise the teaching contents which must be in accordance with the Basic Law. The religious community is responsible for creating the religious contents as the secular state is not allowed to interfere in it. Up to now, there are only two accepted Islamic religious communities in the Hessen state: The Ahmadiyya Community and the Alevi Community which are accepted both as a cooperation partner of the Hessen state and have introduced Islamic religious instruction according to the Basic Law 7,3 (Yavuzcan, 2017). The Alevi Community defines itself as an independent religious tradition within the Islamic religion. In some federal states, they are accepted as a religious community according to the Basic Law 7,3 and give Alevi religious instruction (Mohr & Kiefer, 2009).

As the necessary Islamic religious community according to the Basic Law 7,3 is missing, several federal states have established round tables consisting of selected Muslims and representatives of Islamic associations to start pilot projects in Islamic religious instruction at public schools, so in Bavaria.

Paving the way for Islamic religious instruction: The Christian Islamic working group

In 1996, the Christian Islamic Working Community (abbr.: CIAG) was founded by eight persons, four Christians and four Muslims in Erlangen: a university professor, the former mayor of Erlangen, a representative of the Islamic religious community, as well as representatives of the Catholic and Protestant religious communities, a municipal councilor, a representative of the local foreigner council. The CIAG discussed issues of the everyday life between Christian and Muslims. They preferred to get rather practical solutions than debating on religious principles. Already in the beginning the CIAG supported the introduction of Islamic religious instruction at public schools in Erlangen. They invited experts such as Prof. Dr. Lähnemann from the Friedrich-Alexander-University of Erlangen-Nuremberg to get information and pursued their goal in a professional manner (Yaşar, 2007).

In 1999/2000, the local foreigner council of Erlangen ordered a study in cooperation with interested institutions to find out, if and to which extent there is a necessity for Islamic instruction at public schools in Erlangen. The advocators of an Islamic religious instruction wanted to get data before applying at the Bavarian ministry of education for its introduction. The study was carried out in three steps by Meltem Rudolph: firstly, the number of Muslim students at public schools in Erlangen and their ethnic origins were found out; secondly, the prospects of different school representatives, teachers, parents and Islamic religious associations were investigated; finally, three schools were chosen, in which theoretically Islamic religious instruction could be introduced and teachers were contacted, who could teach Islamic religious instruction personal communication personal communication (Yaşar, 2007).

It was detected that the majority of Muslim students in Erlangen consist of Turkish students. Two primary schools already received Islamic religious instruction in Turkish, as the majority of Muslims were at those schools. However, non-Turkish Muslim students being nearly as numerous as the Turkish students were automatically excluded from this instruction as they did not know Turkish. According to the results of the study, Muslim parents as well as school representatives would support the introduction of Islamic instruction. Only the teachers being responsible for lessons of Islamic religious instruction in Turkish language, who were delegated by the Turkish state, emphasized the unity of religion and culture and insisted on continuing the Islamic religion instruction in the Turkish language. In their eyes, an instruction in German could be a model for other Muslim migrants in Germany except for

Turkish students. Supporters of an Islamic religious instruction in German underlined, that this step leads to an acceptance of Muslims in Germany, reduces prejudices against Muslims and gives Muslim students an equal religious instruction to that of the Catholic and Protestant students (Yaşar, 2007).

Initiating Islamic religious instruction: The Islamic religious community of Erlangen

The above mentioned study proved in a sufficient way the necessity of an Islamic religious instruction in German in Erlangen and enabled its supporters to continue with further steps. The CIAG applied to the State Institute for School Quality and Education Research in Munich (abbr.: ISB) for preparing curricula for an Islamic religious instruction. This couldn't be done as the adequate Islamic cooperation partner of the Bavarian state was not yet existing. The necessity for an Islamic religious instruction alone was not sufficient for its introduction. On December 12 1999, the Islamic Religious Community of Erlangen (abbr.: IRE) was founded under the chair of Remzi Güneysu and with the judicial support of Prof. Dr. Mathias Rohe from the Friedrich-Alexander-University of Erlangen-Nuremberg (Yaşar, 2007).

In the preamble of its founding charter, the IRE underlines its loyalty to the German and Bavarian constitutions and to practice the Islamic religion in accordance with the laws. The IRE advocates the common welfare and the interfaith dialogue. It has more aims than introducing an Islamic religious instruction – it supports in general the integration of foreigners into the German society. The members of the IRE are only natural persons. Every Muslim being in full age, contractually capable and living in Erlangen can be a member. In 2007, only 80 out of 3 500 Muslims in Erlangen were members; mostly with Turkish origins. They had different Islamic backgrounds, e.g. Sunni and Shia as well as different ethnicities e.g. Albanian, Turkish and Arabs. Thus, the IRE reflected a broad spectrum of Muslims in Erlangen. For the representatives of the Bavarian school authority the number of the IRE members was sufficient to make the steps (Yaşar, 2007).

A commission for Islamic religious Instruction was founded, consisting of the IRE management in cooperation with representatives of the Bavarian ministry of education and public authorities to prepare and follow up the introduction of an Islamic religious instruction. The curriculum as well as the guidelines for school lessons, teachers and schoolbooks needed to be prepared. But the commission did not start working. The chairman of the IRE, Remzi Güneysu, went alone to meetings with the state authorities. The Bavarian ministry of education accepted the IRE as an official cooperation partner for the school trial of Islamic instruction at the primary school Brucker Lache. Four representatives of the IRE were officially appointed as consultants in the commission of the ISB to prepare the curricula for the Islamic religious instruction, which was officially accepted for the school year 2003/04 (Yaşar, 2007).

The IRE was responsible to legitimate the education of teachers and the curricula of Islamic religious instruction in front of the parents of Muslim students. It was playing the role of an official representative, as an Islamic cooperation partner, in front of the Bavarian state. According to Güneysu, the support of the state played an important role for Muslims as the IRE had not enough educated experts e.g. for preparing the curricula. The IRE applied for the introduction of the Islamic religious instruction as a school trial and a regular school subject at those schools which have a high percentage of Muslims. This idea was supported from

diverse sides, especially from local council representatives, local politicians as well as from representatives of the churches (Yaşar, 2007).

The Islamic religious community of Bavaria: Its founding and failure

The applying date of the IRE for the introduction of an Islamic religious instruction on December 12, 1999 and the start of the school project at the school year 2003/04 passed nearly 3 years. The reason for this is to be explained further. The Bavarian ministry of education reacted first positively to the application of the IRE because it aimed to introduce Islamic religious instruction as a school trial. Obviously, an Islamic religious community at the local level was not enough. The ministry searched rather an Islamic cooperation partner at the state level. Therefore, in 2001, the Bavarian ministry of education, playing the role of a moderator, invited Islamic religious associations to come together at a round table (Hofhansel, 2010).

DITIB was invited but did not take part and the Alevi representatives applied for an Alevi instruction as the differences with the other participating Muslims (Sunni) were irreconcilable big. In August 2001, the Islamic Religious Community of Bavaria (abbr.: IRB) was founded. Important Islamic religious associations in Bavaria, except of DITIB, were represented. The IRE took part, too. On February 12 2002, the IRB applied for an introduction of Islamic religious instruction at Bavarian public schools. The ministry of education refused the application on October 30, 2002, saying that the organization of the IRB was not fully developed, as it was founded fast and therefore not sufficient for the requirements of the Basic Law 7,3. The IRB accused the Bavarian state and went to court, as it thought, that the introduction of an Islamic religious instruction was a duty of the Bavarian state. In 2003, the judicial proceeding was finished with a compromise: The IRB took back its application for the introduction of an Islamic religious instruction and the Bavarian state its refusal letter (Yaşar, 2007).

The start and status quo of the school trial Islamic religious introduction

In 2002, the Bavarian state parliament decided to introduce Islamic instruction in Erlangen or in Munich as soon as the requirements were fulfilled. As the application of the IRB was rejected in 2002, the application of the IRE for Islamic religious instruction from the year 1999 was left. The breakthrough for the IRE came in January 2003. After a meeting with the representative of the ministry of education Monika Hohlmeier, the preconditions of the IRE were declared as sufficient and the school trial Islamic religious instruction at the primary school Brucker Lache was approved (Yaşar, 2007).

Already in October 2002, the Interdisciplinary Center for Islamic Religious Teaching (abbr.: IZIR) started to prepare the training for the internship of teachers for the school trial Islamic religious instruction at the primary school BruckerLache (Türkmenoğlu, 2012). In the academic year 2005/06 the IZIR received its first appointed professor. The development has been evaluated scientifically and the curricula, which has been prepared by the IRE, in cooperation with the state ministry and the academic personal from the Friedrich-Alexander-University of Erlangen-Nuremberg. (Zengin, 2008; Yavuzcan, 2017). An information lecture was held on October 2 2002 at the respective primary school. The parents received information letters with which Muslim parents could register their children at the Islamic religious instruction. 47 students were enrolled. Their teacher was Ali Türkmenoğlu, a man of

Turkish origin, having a diploma from the al-Azhar-University in Cairo and a Master from a German university (Yaşar, 2007).

The school trial of Islamic religious instruction was firstly introduced at the primary school Brucker Lache in Erlangen in Bavaria in the school year 2003/04. It was organized parallel to the hours of the Protestant and Catholic religious instruction lessons, 10 hours a week, for the classes 1-4 (Zengin, 2008). According to the field report in 2003 of the priest Dr. Holger Forssmann the school trial had a positive impact at different spheres. For example, the ethic classes were more effective when Muslim students received their own Islamic religious instruction. The teachers observed a growth of the self-confidence of Muslim students, as they felt more accepted at school by getting their own religious instruction. The atmosphere at the school in general improved positively. The teacher for Islamic religious instruction had the role of a bridge between the teachers and those Muslim parents, which could not be reached before. Some children showing deviant behavior before, changed and started to accept the rules at school, as someone coming from the same Islamic culture informed about the importance of school rules as punctuality (Yaşar, 2007).

Until the school year 2008/09 there were three instruction models for Muslim students at public schools in Bavaria: Firstly the religious education of Turkish students with Islamic belief in Turkish language, secondly the Islamic education in German language and thirdly the Islamic religious instruction according to the model of Erlangen. In the school year 2009/10 the ministry of education took the model of Erlangen for whole Bavaria and abolished the other two (Seiser, 2011).

In 2011, around 250 schools took part, from primary school to secondary school. According to the responsible state minister at that time Dr. Spaenle, the Islamic religious instruction is not a confessional one, but an instruction, which teaches religious competence. Practical religion and prayers have their place as well. The nationwide introduction of this model in Bavaria depends on the fact, if an adequate Islamic cooperation partner of the state will be formed or not (Spaenle, 2011; Kader Zengin, 2008).

In 2016 around 260 schools offered Islamic religious instruction. In the school year 2016/17 the Bavarian project was introduced at 400 public schools and is actually used by 11.500 Muslim students. Around 60.000 Muslim students visit public schools in Bavaria, thus only 19% of them have the opportunity to get Islamic religious instruction. Its status as a school trial is going to be maintained until 2019 (Bayerisches Kultusministerium, 2016).

Discussion

From the beginning of the school trial Islamic religious instruction in Erlangen until now the expectation of the participants is to expand its nationwide (Kiefer, 2011; Yaşar, 2007). The majority of Muslims accepts this model of Islamic religious instruction but doesn't understand why it still continues to be a school trial (Türkmenoğlu, 2012) and doesn't conform with the Basic Law 7,3. The school trial in Erlangen has been approved should be transformed from a model status into a regular one with the respective participation of - Muslims (Rohe, 2016).

The president of the Bavarian Teacher Association (abbr.: BLLV) Simone Fleischer criticizes in her speech in the meeting of Islam teacher in February 2017 in Munich, that only a small minority of the Muslim students receive Islamic religious instruction (Fleischmann, 2017). She resumes the deficits of the Islamic Instruction in Bavaria beyond others in the following points: The Islamic religious instruction should be regular at all schools in Bavaria

as the status of a model is not a durable solution. The education of the teachers at the Friedrich-Alexander-University of Erlangen-Nuremberg is not sufficient, more education places must be created. The working conditions for teachers must be improved. Experts of Islamic religious instruction are needed in the ministry of education as well as in respective controlling and advising points (Fleischmann, 2017). Female teachers of Islamic religious instruction in Bavaria are restricted in wearing their headscarf in opposite to other German federal states (Rohe, 2016).

The change in the naming of the school trial in Bavaria illustrates the unease with its judicial status. In the beginning the Islamic religious introduction in Bavaria was called Islam instruction (in German: Islamunterricht). In March 2009, the Bavarian parliament changed its naming to Islamic Instruction (in German: Islamischer Unterricht). Still it is not an Islamic religious instruction (in German: islamischer Religionsunterricht) according to the Basic Law 7,3.

According to Seiser the contents of the actual Islamic religious instruction is something between an instruction according to the Basic Law 7,3 and an informative instruction about Islam. Islamic religious instruction is more than a religious neutral Islamic teaching, as it has religious contents which go in direction of educating a creed (Seiser, 2011). This way of vague definitions shows the unease concerning the contents of the Islamic religious instruction.

The actual Islamic religious introduction is not conforming to the Basic Law 7,3, as the Islamic cooperation partner of the state is still missing. To balance this deficit the Bavarian state includes Muslim parents into the procedure of curricula designing (Kiefer, 2011). The IRE has only a consultative function in the ministry of education (Schweizer, 2016). Nevertheless the Bavarian ministry of education assumes that there is a consensus between the Muslims in Bavaria as the curricula doesn't mention the inner Islamic differences (Seiser, 2011) e.g. between Sunni and Shia. But this kind of equalization doesn't reflect the reality within the Muslim community neither in Bavaria nor nationwide in Germany.

Nearly all social protagonists wish the integration of Islam into the school life by introducing Islamic religious instruction at public schools. But Muslims have different motives than state representatives (Mohr & Kiefer, 2009). The parents of Muslims students expect from the Islamic religious instruction e.g. that their children get power of endurance and become more successful in their educational way. The education of the Islamic creed is not their priority rather they wish a critical discussion of Islamic contents (Sauter, 2016).

The German state wishes to control Islamic contents to prevent Islamism – it is a part of its security policy. This was made obvious in the goals of the German Islam Conference. For the Bavarian state their model even „imparts a genuine knowledge about creed contents”. (Bayerisches Kultusministerium, 2015). The aim of the state to prevent extremism is visible in the contents of the Islamic religious instruction. This has a negative impact, as none of the Christian and Jewish religious instructions is seen as an instruction for integration, so Uçar (as cited in Yavuzcan, 2017).

Islamic associations doubt if the German state is reliable, although the federal states try to do their best to find a solution with the help of different model projects (Ohlms, 2011). Muslims have reservations against the Islamic religious instruction in Bavaria as they ask for transparency in details as the education of Muslim teachers. A tight cooperation between the ministry of education, Muslim associations and the Muslim advising council should prevent misunderstanding. Islam can support the integration of children into the German society by e.g. enabling them to express religious feelings in German (Kader Zengin, 2008), but it

shouldn't be seen as a medium for integration only, it should rather be seen as an enrichment (Türkmenoğlu, 2012).

The temporary arrangement for Islamic instruction in Bavaria doesn't correspond to the guidelines of the Basic Law 7,3. While Heckel underlines that the actual school trials are near to the aim of the Basic Law and better than nothing, Oebbecke emphasizes that these are unconstitutional. Experts in constitutional law agree on the fact, that the school trial status is problematic from the judicial prospective and cannot kept in the long run. Representatives of Islamic associations describe the situation as a discrimination against Muslims (Bielefeldt, 2003).

Conclusion

The school trial Islamic religious instruction of Erlangen was a pioneer in the beginning. The first professorship for Islamic religious teaching was established at the Friedrich-Alexander-University of Erlangen-Nuremberg (Rohe, 2016). In the meantime other federal states have overtaken it. For example in Hessen the Ahmadiyya Community and the Islamic Community DITIB both have introduced Islamic religious instruction conforming to the Basic Law 7, 3 being equivalent to the Christian religious instruction. The political will in the respective state is significant in the definition of what an Islamic cooperation partner for the state should be and what not.

The aim of this study was to find out if the expectations of a nationwide introduction and transformation into a regular Islamic instruction of the school trial Islamic religious instruction in Bavaria have been fulfilled or not. The promising pilot project Islamic instruction in Bavaria fell far short of the expectations. The extending of the school trial status for the Islamic religious instruction for nearly 15 years now serves as an alibi for the Bavarian state: for the lacking Islamic cooperation partner of the state and the lacking political will of the state to proceed as e.g. in Hessen. The Bavarian state wishes to keep the highness about the contents of the Islamic religious instruction, Muslims and Islamic associations have an advisory function only, which is not conforming to the Basic Law. More than 80% of Muslim students don't even receive the option to visit Islamic religious instruction. The unsettled future of the status of the Islamic religious instruction in Bavaria will intensify the mistrust of the Muslims into the Bavarian state.

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