Sheffield Hallam University

Religion and higher education in Europe and North America : historical and contemporary contexts

STEVENSON, Jacqueline <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-3097-6763> and AUNE, K

Available from Sheffield Hallam University Research Archive (SHURA) at:

http://shura.shu.ac.uk/13456/

This document is the author deposited version. You are advised to consult the publisher's version if you wish to cite from it.

Published version

STEVENSON, Jacqueline and AUNE, K (2016). Religion and higher education in Europe and North America : historical and contemporary contexts. In: AUNE, K and STEVENSON, Jacqueline, (eds.) Religion and Higher Education in Europe and North America. Society for Research into Higher Education (SRHE) series . London, Taylor and Francis.

Copyright and re-use policy

See http://shura.shu.ac.uk/information.html

Sheffield Hallam University Research Archive
http://shura.shu.ac.uk

Introduction: Religion and Higher Education in Europe and North America: historical and contemporary contexts Jacqueline Stevenson and Kristin Aune

Introduction

This book explores how students and staff negotiate, express and wrestle with religion in higher education in Europe and North America. It illuminates the experiences of religious students and staff in the UK, France, the Netherlands, Canada and the United States, as well as of nonreligious students studying on a religiously-oriented campus. Drawing on new research from Europe and North America, we offer insights into the tensions and challenges faced by religious and non-religious staff and students as they navigate their different university environments. In doing so we evidence how religion is recognised, or fails to be recognised, in universities' agendas for equality and diversity, as well as how specific institutional contexts interact with religious expressions and activities and the effect and implications this has for organisational policy and practice. Through the book we seek to show how the tensions between religion and secularity, and between different religions, play out on campus and how these largely unresolved tensions can have profound implications for the day-to-day experiences of staff and students, for their identities, and for how they think about belonging and fitting in on campus.

This introductory chapter highlights the three key misconceptions or concerns which are returned to throughout the subsequent chapters. First, and a common misconception, is that universities are sites of secularisation. The reality is more complex; however the persistence of the 'secular' misconception has significant implications for staff and students. Second, and a concern, is that when and where religion is recognised on campus it is because it is perceived as a threat, for example through student fundamentalism, or because there have been instances of religious intolerance. This too has profound implications as religion becomes perceived, therefore, as requiring surveillance and control. Instead, universities should seek to understand, and work with, not against, the diversity of student and staff religious expressions. Third, and arising from the two preceding areas, we are concerned that institutional policy in relation to religion on campus is, therefore, being crafted without an adequate or accurate understanding of staff or students' actual on-campus experiences.

Our aim therefore, is to illuminate the religion-related experiences of staff and, in particular, students, not only to make visible their experiences but also to open up an intellectual space for reflection and discussion on what has often been an under-researched and under-theorised area of academic, policy and practice interest. We begin with a brief commentary on the historical shift from religious university to secular UK campus and how this is differently experienced across Europe and North America. We then discuss the changing nature of higher education before outlining some of the contemporary discourses around religion on campus. We end the chapter by offering an overview of the scope and structure of the book.

Religious foundations and the growth of secularity

A mass global higher education system, open to those from diverse ethnic, religious, social, economic backgrounds, as well as women, is a relatively new phenomenon. For almost six hundred years, European higher education was dominated by a small number of universities,

founded between the 11th and the 13th centuries and educating only men from elite Christian backgrounds (Bebbington 2011). Although forms of higher education had been delivered in monasteries (and to a lesser extent nunneries) prior to the 11th century, the earliest European universities were established in Bologna in 1088, Paris in the early twelfth century and Oxford in 1166. Other universities followed in relatively quick succession across Europe, for example the universities of Cambridge in the early 13th century, Toulouse in 1229 and Montpellier in (about) 1289. Operating as integral parts of the church, with academics and teachers being religious figures and lectures delivered rather like sermons (Clark 2006), these mediaeval universities educated the male, Christian elite of Europe. Within the Christian medieval university inner discipline, carried by the revealed Word (from God), was the condition for understanding and constructing the external, material World (Muller 2008). Thus, the Trivium, comprising grammar, logic and rhetoric, had academic priority and precedence over the Quadrivium, namely music, arithmetic, geometry and astronomy, since understanding the Word was a prerequisite to making sense of the World. Together, the Trivium and the Quadrivium comprised the seven liberal arts taught in the mediaeval and renaissance universities.

There were differences, however, in which disciplines dominated, with the northern European universities focussing on the arts and theology whilst the southern universities focused more on law and medicine (Bebbington 2011). This meant that the scholars and students of the medieval period were highly mobile, moving across Europe depending on their disciplinary interests (Knight and de Wit 1995). With southern Spain still under Muslim rule in the early part of this age, European scholars also accessed the Islamic colleges of southern Spain, for example those established in Granada and Cordoba, with Islamic seats of learning contributing to the development of the Christian universities. Indeed some academics have argued that Islamic universities actually preceded the Christian ones - although this is disputed (Makdisi 1981, 1989).

Just as the mediaeval scholars moved across Europe, Christian scholars and clergy were also amongst the earliest colonists of North America. A notable early aspect of colonisation, therefore, was the building of colleges of higher education, modelled on a highly northern European, Protestant model of the University. The first university in what would become the United States was Harvard University, founded in 1636 (although 'first university' status is claimed by more than one other institution, notably the University of Pennsylvania and The College of William and Mary). These early institutions were highly Christian in nature since their founders were tasked not only with educating the Christian sons of the colonists but also with bringing Christian beliefs to the indigenous populations. The College of William and Mary, for example, was established by royal charter as 'a perpetual College of Divinity, Philosophy, Languages, and the good arts and sciences' whilst Harvard's 'Rules and Precepts' adopted in 1646 stated:

> Let every Student be plainly instructed, and earnestly pressed to consider well, the maine end of his life and studies is, to know God and Jesus Christ which is eternal life (John 17:3) and therefore to lay Christ in the bottome, as the only foundation of all sound knowledge and Learning. And seeing the Lord only giveth wisedome, Let everyone seriously set himself by prayer in secret to seeke it of him (Prov. 2:3) (original spelling left intact).

The beginning of the rise of science over the humanities from the seventeenth century onwards, however (Muller 2008) foretold the inevitable rise in secularity over religion on

campus, beginning in Europe and spreading west. The dawning of the European Age of Enlightenment offered a secular challenge to academe, with scholars increasingly exalting the power of reason over belief and becoming increasingly sceptical towards the doctrines of the church (Bebbington 2011). Whilst the Enlightenment's 'scientific revolution' from the seventeenth century is commonly seen as sounding the death knell for Christianity, as Brooke (2012) points out, for many leading scientists, including Newton and Darwin, religion and Christianity still remained necessarily intertwined, notwithstanding a progressively sceptical attitude towards traditional religious assumptions. The commencement of the English Civic University movement, however, sharpened the decline in the religiosity of higher education across the UK. The new universities were not only non-collegiate, but their focus on the teaching of science to help enhance the economic growth of colonial Britain (Jones 1988) further enhanced the primacy of the Quadrivium over the Trivium. The building of these new 'red brick' universities to meet the demand of the increasing middle classes (Ibid.) thus further led to the secularisation of UK higher education. However, whilst University College London was the first university in England to admit students regardless of their religious beliefs and (later) to admit women on equal terms with men, it wasn't until the passing of the University Tests Act in 1871 that religious discrimination in UK higher education was ended for non-theological courses (Gillard 2011).

Whilst both the Civic and the subsequent new 'new' universities of the 20th Century – notably the 1960s or 'Plate Glass' group initiated by the 1963 Robbins Report – were founded as secular organisations, however, UK higher education today is not, in fact, wholly secular (Gilliat-Ray 2000). Across many universities, Theology and Divinity courses continue to recruit and thrive, whilst Islamic Studies is now offered across a range of universities. In addition, some universities such as Oxford and Cambridge remain overtly Anglican in nature, with the chaplains and the chapels regarded as essential and the language of the academies infused with religious terminology: the names of the terms at Oxford University (Michaelmas, Hilary and Trinity) and Cambridge University (Michaelmas, Lent and Easter), for example, all have religious origins. More overtly, a group of sixteen UK universities that began in the nineteenth century as Anglican, Methodist or Catholic teacher training colleges have come together to form the Cathedrals Group, stating that their mission is 'a commitment to serving the public good that springs from our faith-based values'; and even within overwhelmingly secular universities, there are also disciplinary differences, with both the sciences and the social sciences predominantly secular whilst the arts and humanities are more mixed (Gelot 2009). In addition, the whole sector revolves around a Christian calendar with teaching on Fridays and term times broken up by Christmas and Easter holidays.

Although higher education in the USA remains, arguably, more religious than secular, there too the historically Christian universities such as Harvard underwent a secular revolution from the mid-nineteenth century. Although by the outbreak of the American Civil War there were 246 college and universities in America, with the overwhelming majority founded on Cristian principles, arguably the late nineteenth century saw an 'academic revolution' (Jenks and Riesman, 1968), with American academics gradually seeing their role less as one of preparing good citizens through the teaching of education, religion and moral philosophy, and more to one of seeking truth via scientific methods, challenging religion in the process. The decline in the religiosity of the North American campus was hastened in the 1960s, when those who were raised in the counter-cultural social movements swelled the ranks of staff and students. Indeed Marsden (1994) in his book The Soul of the University describes this as a move 'from Protestant establishment to established non-belief'. The prevailing notion that US higher education has become increasingly secular, however, is one that has been challenged.

Mayrl and Oeur's (2009: 272) analysis of a large number of published studies indicated that college students on US campuses 'have extensive religious and spiritual commitments, though for many students they may not be a priority during college. Religious practice declines during the college years, yet religious beliefs appear to be maintained'. Other work by Cherry, DeBerg and Porterfield (2001) and by Astin, Astin and Lindholm (2010) found that religion is thriving on USA campuses, whilst Smith and Snell (2009) also found that religion endured throughout students' their studies. Taking a slightly different view, however, Clydesdale (2007) has argued that most students actually 'stow away' their religious (and other) identities in an 'identity lockbox' when they start college, probably because they see them as irrelevant to their university experience. Moreover, research by Mayrl and Uecker (2011) evidences that students who are religious are no more likely to liberalise their views than students outside higher education. The USA university campus is not, therefore, either a secular space or a place of secularisation.

Whilst higher education across the US and the UK are complexly both religious and secular, however, France is often cited as the preeminent secular nation that fully, and legislatively, separates Church and State. Religion in France is relegated to the private sphere whilst the Constitution requires the state to put in place 'state-provided, free, secular, education at all levels'. However, as Fernando (2014) has argued, even in France education is not wholly secular: the academic calendar is organised around Catholic holy days and across the country the state subsidises private, mainly Catholic, religious schools. Moreover, in the region of Alsace-Moselle, reintegrated after the 1905 law which separated Church and State, religious education in Catholicism, Calvinism, Lutheranism, or Judaism is obligatory for public school students. However, Fernando and others also argue that the ongoing recognition of Christian, and to a lesser extent Jewish, religion does not extend equally to Islam. Indeed the contested place of Muslim students on the French campus is indicative of broader and more global concerns around how religion is or is not recognised or valorised as a legitimate form of difference on campus. This connects to the second concern we outlined earlier: that whilst the higher education system might be largely or partially secular, it is comprised of a religiously diverse staff and student body that deserves respect and recognition. Unlike other aspects of diversity, religion, a fundamental aspect of the cultural identity, values and practices of many staff and students, is rarely recognised or valorised on the UK or French campus, just as religions other than Christianity do not receive adequate understanding on the North American one. This raises significant questions about how diversity is perceived and valued.

Higher education in the 21st Century: a place of diversity?

Higher Education has grown in importance as the 'knowledge economy' has become increasingly central to national and global economies. Based on the data from the UNESCO Institute for Statistics the total global tertiary enrolments were approximately 170 million in 2009 and it is predicted that the number of students enrolled in higher education will reach 262 million by 2025 (Goddard 2012). These student populations are highly mobile. Nearly 4.3 million students were enrolled in university level education outside their home countries in 2013 (OECD 2013), studying, in descending order, in Australia, the United Kingdom, Switzerland, New Zealand and Austria. Asian students make up 53% of foreign students enrolled worldwide.

As the student population has grown larger and more mobile, its constituencies have also diversified, moving from being dominated by economically and racially privileged males to a more diverse constituency in relation to ethnicity, gender, sexuality, class, religion, health

and other factors. However, while much has been written about how these features of diversity shape the university experience, and how being at university shapes the life chances of its more diverse members, very little has been written about religion; and yet by any measure, the majority of the world's population identify as religious, as do the majority of students. The Pew Research Center's study of over 2,500 population surveys, censuses and population register reports that, as of 2010, 84% of the world's population identify as religious: 32% are Christian, 23% Muslim, 15% are Hindu, 7% are Buddhist, 5% are folk religionists, 0.2% are Jewish, 0.8% belong to other religions and 16% have no religious affiliation (Pew Research Center 2012a). Religious patterns vary widely globally, of course, with the vast majority of Hindus, Buddhists, adherents of traditional or folk religions, members of other world religions and those of no religion located in the Asia-Pacific religion. Indeed more Muslims live in the Asia-Pacific region than anywhere else, although significant numbers of Muslims also live in Africa. Christians are more evenly distributed in Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean, sub-Saharan Africa and North America, whilst most Jews live in either North America or the Middle East and North Africa (almost all of them in Israel). Of these populations, nearly three-quarters of religious people live in places where they are the religious majority; the rest live as religious minorities, with some religions - Jews, Buddhists, folk religionists and those of other religions in particular - especially likely to live as religious minorities.

These figures do not just matter in the abstract, however. They also point to the problem with a major assumption about religion in universities: that it is a concern for only a minority of people. The opposite is in fact true: religion is, to different degrees, part of the lives and identities of the majority of people in the world. In addition, as indicated above, religious students, both home and international, are present on campuses throughout the world and yet their presence is often unrecorded. This may arise in part from the fact that religion is often regarded not as a relational system, but as an affiliation category that can be easily divested or strategically shaped by actors according to context, rather than a status category (such as race/ethnicity, gender and class). In consequence, however, and as Barber (2010: 2) argues:

> the saliency of race, class, and gender….has relegated religion to the realm of the "etc.". The common disappearing of religion into the "etc." can give the impression that religion is somehow less deserving of the analysis given to race, class, and gender, or that it is somehow different.

The assumption that religion is (or should be) a minority concern within universities, coupled with the notion that higher education has become a secularised space, further renders religious staff and students largely invisible. And yet the invisibility of religion on campus operates, for instance at times when religious students become linked with global political crises, parallel to the sudden foregrounding of certain religious students when they are deemed to pose a threat to safety and security, or when there are instances of religious intolerance.

Tensions on campus

Across the globe, according to the Pew Research Center (2012b), the number of countries with high or very high levels of social hostilities involving religion reached a six-year peak in 2012, with a third of 198 countries experiencing a surge in the high level of religious hostilities, from 20% in 2007 to 29% in 2011. Of particular note is the increase in abuse of religious minorities, violence, harassment of women over religious dress, religiously-

motivated mob violence, religion-related terrorist violence and sectarian violence. The higher education campus is a microcosm of the global situation: in the UK for example, the Chief Rabbi, Ephraim Mirvis, recently suggested that religious intolerance towards Jewish students is at such a level that Jewish students are being routinely 'vilified' on campus, with vice-chancellors failing to address 'Jew hatred' (Sherwood, 2016). A survey of 925 UK-based Jewish students by the Institute for Jewish Policy Research found that one fifth said they had been subjected to anti-Semitism that academic year, and a further third had witnessed an anti-Semitic incident on campus (Graham and Boyd 2011: 49-52). Jewish students are, however, not alone in being the victims of religious prejudiced incidents in the UK. Christian, Sikh, and Pagan students have reported, variously, criticism and censure in attempting to undertake legitimate religious activities, threats of violence and anti-religious sentiment (NUS 2011; ECU 2011). In addition, Islamophobic attacks have risen sharply both on an off-campus - figures for London's Metropolitan police (2016) show an increase of over 50% in Islamophobic crimes in the 12 months to April 2016 with incidences in some areas of London up by over 150% following a spate of Islamic fundamentalist terrorist atrocities in France, Belgium and elsewhere. Indeed much of the contemporary discourse around religion on the UK campus draws on a post-9/11 'moral panic' relating to the growth of fundamentalism and global terrorism. Ever-increasing guidance is being provided to universities on how to tackle violent extremism on campus, particularly through compulsory engagement with the Government's anti-radicalisation strategy, Preventing Violent Extremism, part of the UK Counter-Terrorism and Security Act of 2015. Guidance from the Home Office (2015) sets out specific responsibilities on higher education institutions (amongst other public sector organisations) designed to prevent people being drawn into terrorism and includes the surveillance and monitoring of staff and students.

It is notable, however, that religious hostilities have increased in every major region of the world except the Americas (Pew Research Centre, 2012b). In her 2012 book The New Religious Intolerance: Overcoming the Politics of Fear in an Anxious Age, Martha Nussbaum ascribes lower rates of religious intolerance across the USA to three practices (though also noting that these are variably adhered to): protecting the greatest possible freedom of conscience compatible with public order and safety and where possible guaranteeing religious freedom of speech as well as the right to freely exercise religion; the maintenance and adherence to an impartial and consistent civic culture and a long-standing respect for religious differences, dating back to the seventeenth century when Roger Williams founded Rhode Island which afforded religious liberty for all. This is not to say, however, that religion hatred on the US campus does not exist: the 2014 National Demographic Survey of American Jewish College Students, for example, found that 54% had experienced or witnessed an anti-Semitic incident on their campus that academic year (Kosmin and Keysar 2015). Moreover Nussbaum (2012) also draws attention to a range of religiously-motivated incidences in the USA but suggests that the fear of Muslims, post-9/11, is the main trigger in both the USA and across Europe. Indeed concern around Islam is particularly keenly evident in France, where much of the debate around religion on campus has centred on the wearing of Islamic clothing. Indeed the French Prime Minister, Manuel Valls, recently argued for Muslim headscarves to be banned on campus, commenting that the majority of French people do not believe the values of the French Republic are compatible with Islam (Liberation, 2016). These controversies have sharpened intensely following the 2015 and 2016 terrorist atrocities in France and Belgium.

Religious students are perceived, therefore, variously as either the victims of racially motivated incidences or positioned as contributing to the causes of it. We argue that this

binary is unhelpful as the reality for most students is significantly more complex and nuanced; to challenge it, however, means illuminating the daily, micro-level experiences of religious students. To date, however, there has been little research which has done exactly that. This is an omission that we aim to correct through this book.

Researching religion and higher education

In the US research on the higher education campus is a more established part of mainstream theological, social scientific and educational research. This is in large part due to the higher profile of religion in the United States compared with Europe. Until recently, this body of research was almost exclusively Christian-related, theological, and concerned with Christian-based universities (e.g. Anderson 2004; Astley, Francis and Walker 2004; Henry and Beaty 2006; Higton 2012). However, the beginning of the 21st century has seen an upsurge of social scientific research on the variety of religion on US campuses. Mayrl (2007) attributes this to: a wider 'resurgence of public religion'' (Mayrl 2007: 1) from religious people no longer content with confining their faith to the private sphere as well as debates about religion and freedom of speech increasing on campus; the growth of religious diversity due to immigration; academic disenchantment with the secularisation thesis (which had held that modern societies were becoming less religious and saw the university as an example of this); a new concern with 'spiritual development' amongst those working in student affairs, and a renewed interest in the experiences of religious students on campus from the scholarly, some of whom had begun studying adolescent religion (supported by generous funding from the 1990s by major philanthropic foundations), and began asking what happened to those students when they entered college. The first national longitudinal study of students' spiritual growth, for example, was funded by the prestigious John Templeton Foundation for seven years from 2002 (Astin, Astin and Lindholm 2010). In addition, an online bibliography of literature on student religion in American universities has been run by the Social Science Research Council since 2007[1], its series of essays by key scholars in the field a useful resource for scholars and practitioners[2]. Questions posed by the American literature on religion and higher education have included: how can universities committed to liberal, critical education engage with religion; how can religions' challenge to the modernist 'scientific' knowledge upon which universities are based be integrated into student learning; and can college engage with religion in a way that promotes responsible citizenship?

In contrast, in Europe, the place of religion and belief on the university campus is rarely discussed, with research into the experiences of religious students or staff notably absent from prevailing discourses relating to higher education policy and practice. In the UK, although there has been some research with funding from government research councils, the Higher Education Funding Council for England and government higher education equality body the Equality Challenge Unit, there remains a relative absence of studies exploring staff and students' experiences on campus, particularly compared to those exploring race, gender, age or disability. Research exploring religion on campus in other parts of Europe has similarly been largely absent from discourses about higher education. This means that, outside the USA, academics and policy makers know little about whether, in an apparent age of 'secularity', religion and higher education are at odds with each other or how this plays out within the lives of religious students or staff in 'secular' institutions; how the university

---

[1] 'Religious engagement among American undergraduates', see http://religion.ssrc.org/reguide/

2 http://religion.ssrc.org/reforum/

experience affects religious, or other, beliefs or practices; how religious students and staff are accepted, or not, by their non-religious peers or by those from religions different from their own; or how students and staff are able to undertake religious activities within specific institutional contexts, as well as the effect this may have in terms of organisational policy and practice. And yet policy makers continue to develop policy and practice centred on religious students and staff despite this dearth of information. No other institutional policy making has been, or continues to be, based on so such a limited evidence base. The final aim of this book therefore is to help provide well-researched and well-theorised evidence to help better inform both policy and practice. The book therefore features research which is applied, providing an evidence base for academics and policymakers working within this and related fields.

Scope of the book

The volume features research spanning different academic disciplines – including sociology, education, social policy, theology and religious studies – and different faith and belief groups (including atheism, humanism and non-belief). The language of 'religion', 'spirituality', 'faith' and 'belief' is contested and changing; for instance, the upsurge of language about 'spirituality' and 'spiritual development' (a more diffuse, individualised and less tradition-specific formulation than 'religion') appears now to be receding, and youth attachment to religion is increasingly to tradition-based religious identities (see Bender 2007) – applied, of course, in multiple ways according to context and interpretation. 'Spirituality' language has been most prominent in the USA, where the 'spiritual but not religious' discourse has been especially popular since the 1970s, in line with the counter-cultural rejection of tradition and a trend towards neo-liberal individualism (Mercadante 2014). In opting for 'Religion in Higher Education', rather than 'religion and belief in higher education', 'faith in higher education' or 'spirituality in higher education', this book does not just solve the problem of ambiguous phrasing ('faith in higher education' implies someone putting trust in higher education itself), but also reflects what we observe as an empirical phenomenon: that taken as a collective category, 'religion', in the form of the major world religions of Judaism, Sikhism, Islam, Christianity, Buddhism and Hinduism, attracts the largest number of students, notwithstanding the many students who identify with diffuse forms of spirituality, with agnostic, atheistic or atheist viewpoints, or who profess no religion (this latter group is growing). Religion, as this book illustrates, is diverse, its expressions both tradition-specific and context-specific: even when there are common themes, such as the Muslim headscarf debate in the UK and Turkey, or anti-Semitism in Canada and England, the histories, doctrines and practices of the religion and the reactions of others to that religion change as they are brought into contact with different national, socio-political and economic contexts.

Structure of the book

The book is divided into three sections:

1. Patterns and trends: insights from survey research
2. The religious student experience: learning from qualitative studies
3. The place of policies, structures and curricula

The first section presents quantitative research on university members' alignment with religion and non-religion in the United States and the United Kingdom. This survey research provides evidence that enables us to generalise across institutions and to respond to assumptions about universities being secularizing environments that were often based on

little or flimsy evidence. More quantitative data is needed, as Weller and Hooley argue, 'to support evidence-based policy and practice in HE.' If, for instance, policymakers discover that the majority of university students identify as religious, this provides evidence for them to take religion more seriously as an issue of diversity requiring, at the very least, accommodation.

Hill's chapter directly tackles the question of secularisation: does higher education in the United States secularize students? His chapter uses representative survey data to extend recent research on higher education and student religious faith. The findings he presents echo other research: although higher education institutions tend to be secular in ethos and structure, this secularity often does not extend to their students. Comparing young people attending university with those who do not, there is little difference in the university students' affiliation, practice or belief, apart from in two areas. First, higher education is associated with an increase in identifying with and participating in mainstream religious institutions. This may seem to be strong evidence that university achieves the opposite of secularisation and sacralises students; yet Hill argues that their increased participation in religious institutions says more about the students' class position than about their religious commitment, as religion 'is just one part of the middle class package'. The second difference from their non-student peers suggests some secularisation: university attendees show a small decline in belief in superempirical entities and occurrences (e.g., angels or miracles). Yet Hill points out that most students are not very religious to start with, and even the few most devoted do not demonstrate evidence of weakened faith. That said, students attending evangelical colleges are the most likely to retain higher levels of religious commitment. Hill's analysis of survey data from the 1960s and 70s then shows something else important: the idea that college secularizes students was borne out by evidence in previous decades, but it is no longer true. University had a greater secularizing influence in the past than it does for American students today.

The survey data on the UK presented by Weller and Hooley is of a different kind. Hill analyses several large data sets from surveys carried out by others. Weller and Hooley showcase data from their own snowball-sample survey of just under 4,000 students and just over 3,000 staff in over 100 universities. The survey was designed to explore how religion or belief impacts on the ways in which students and staff gain access to Higher Education and how their religion or belief frames their participation. While a snowball survey sample is not designed to be representative of the whole university population, it generates interesting data on religious affiliation: of those who completed the survey, the majority identify with a religion. Given that Europe is often regarded as a prime site of secularisation, this degree of religious affiliation is noteworthy. Additionally, the authors find that although the majority of students and staff are content with how their institutions treat their religious students and employees, some feel their perspective is not accommodated sufficiently in the formal curriculum, social settings (for instance the ubiquitous presence of alcohol at social events) or assessment (for instance scheduling exams on religious holidays).

Weller and Hooley point out that recent UK religious equality law is framed in terms of 'religion and belief', and that '"belief" denotes 'non-religious' life orientations of sufficient cogency, seriousness, cohesion and importance to function in ways similar to religion'. This is not the same elsewhere, and the study of non-religion has historically been neglected in the sociological study of religion, although it has recently attracted attention, as seen by the flourishing of the Nonreligion and Secularity Research Network (NSRN), an international

and interdisciplinary network of researchers[3]. Bowman's chapter makes an excellent case for why it is important to include work on 'non-religion' in this volume. The non-religious form part of the patchwork of university life, they are a discrete group with some notable commonalities and their numbers are growing in the United States (as they are in Europe). Moreover, as Bowman argues, in a US context where religious students (or certain constituencies of religious students) numerically dominate campus life, it is important not to overlook them. Some religiously unaffiliated students feel marginalised in universities governed by the Christian calendar, although Bowman importantly notes that all religion-related groups tend to see their group as being marginalised by others, and universities should 'work to promote inclusion and cooperation across diverse groups'. While non-religious students are heterogeneous in their non-religion – some atheist, agnostic, secular, humanist or non-religious – as well as in factors such as ethnic background and gender (although males are more non-religious), they share some traits; for instance, they are less socially conservative and volunteer less. Overall, religiously unaffiliated students 'tend to fare equal to or worse than religiously affiliated students', with rates of wellbeing being low especially, yet they nonetheless do experience spiritual growth, and their academic achievement is comparable with religious students'.

As is clear from each of these chapters, although survey research has many benefits, measuring religious commitment among students is complex and no one measure is adequate: there are many options, for instance by mapping affiliation, attendance at a place of worship, assent to doctrinal statements, attitudes or private religious practices. It is possible to score high on one but not on another: a student may pray every day in their dorm room but never attend a religious service or pray with others. This is a problem for all sociologists of religion so is not unique to studying students. Religion is a slippery concept, and understanding religion in higher education is similarly complicated.

The second section of the book showcases qualitative research on students and religion from the UK, Canada, and France. It begins with studies of single faith groups (Christianity, Islam, Judaism and Sikhism) and broadens out to address the multi-faith context and debates amongst different religious groups as well as some of the tensions experienced on campus. The themes in this section show that the religious student experience shows both commonalities between different faith groups, and differences. Global politics, and the representation of global political events in media and public discourse, shape students' experiences, especially when they belong to a faith group that has been stigmatised or whose group is engaged in global conflicts related to religion. The Israel/Palestine conflict is a particular case and comes up in Sheldon's chapter on the UK, Schaillié's on Jewish students in Canada and Reid's on Christian, Muslim and Jewish students in the UK. The spectre of Islamic extremism casts a shadow over universities everywhere, leading to Muslim students being viewed with suspicion, as many of the authors discuss or at least allude to.

The section begins with Aune and Guest's chapter on UK-based Christian students' perceptions of how friendly to faith their universities are. 75 Christian students were interviewed for the study, and the authors find that most students see their universities as relatively faith-friendly. Provision of campus-based religious activities and freedom of religious expression are important to students. Students who thought their faith was viewed with hostility described the classroom and organised student social activities as areas of

---

[3] https://nsrn.net/

tension. Institutional ethos influences Christian students' perceptions: Christian students view Christian-foundation universities as the most friendly to faith, and the modern 'post-1992' universities as the least friendly. Aune and Guest consider the implications of these findings, especially the finding that some students would like faith to be more prominent in the public spaces of university rather than secluded within chaplaincies and Christian student societies. They conclude: 'This new moment, where public and political anxiety about campus religion is accompanied by new research evidence about faith on campus, gives universities a new opportunity to comprehend the religious commitments of their students and staff and decide whether this requires accommodation of privatised faith or, rather, a deeper structural transformation.'

Virkama's ethnographic essay on the daily practices of Moroccan Muslim students studying in French universities demonstrates the problems with current representations of Muslim students in public discourse. The rise of Islamic-related terrorism in Europe has led to Muslims being perceived only through the radical/secular binary – they are seen as either, we might say, 'good Muslims' who adapt to a secularised environment, or 'bad Muslims' who become extremists. In reality, Muslim students are diverse in their beliefs and practices. The chapter deconstructs certain Islamic practices such as fasting, wearing a headscarf or eating halal meat, and explores how these practices are negotiated in respondents' everyday life on campus. By focusing on their agency, this chapter shows how different factors intersect in the construction of Muslim identity in everyday life in Europe.

Global religion-related stereotypes and prejudice affect the Jewish-Canadian students in Schallié's chapter. The focus group research revealed that cultural, ethnic and religious prejudice and racialized language have a significant impact on Jewish students' identity formation both inside and outside the classroom. The politics of identification with Israel as a homeland and as a nation-state proved to be the most challenging for the students' sense of identity on campus: on the one hand it created a sense of identity and solidarity in a global religious community, but on the other, identification with Israel provoked stereotyping and anti-Semitism by others and some students feared that their revealing their identity would be negatively received.

Singh's chapter focuses on Sikhs in the UK, a small but significant religious community (0.8% of the population of England and Wales in 2011) that grew rapidly due to migration from the Punjab in the 1950s and 60s and from East Africa in the 1960s and 70s. The chapter examines the evolution, role and impact of Sikh student societies in British universities. These societies began in the 1990s, Singh explains, as students began increasingly identifying themselves with their religion rather than their South Asian ethnicity (a trend evident among Hindus and Muslims too). As the university sector doubled in the 1990s due to polytechnics (the higher education sector where the most Sikh students were located) becoming universities, there were suddenly many more Sikh students in British universities. Recently, as student societies have become more regulated and receive less funding, numbers have declined. The societies differ by location and religious composition (for instance, some have close ties to particular local gurdwaras) but remain effective vehicles for transmission of the Sikh religion and places for young Sikhs to find community.

Sheldon's essay uses a public debate about the academic boycott of Israel to illustrate the way secular norms of free speech as propositional, polarised and impersonal are created and maintained by privileged older male academics, and marginalise religious students. In place of this unsatisfactory situation, Sheldon proposes, based on her interviews with Muslim and

Jewish students, an 'ethics of speech' based upon minority religious students' perspectives that would reject the impersonal secular mode and instead foreground dialogue between those who are in relationship with each other. It would involve 'Not merely a juridical space concerned with protecting the rights of autonomous agents to demonstrate their knowledge - but rather a pedagogic community in which we come to know ourselves and speak in our own voices from within the context of ethical relationships', she argues.

The final chapter of the section, by Reid, addresses the multi-faith context of today's universities. A case study of one university from the 'red brick' university sector, founded in England's major cities at the turn of the twentieth century and contrasting from their predecessors in being more overtly secular, the chapter uses data from interviews with students involved in Jewish, Muslim and Christian student societies or chaplaincies. While a few students treated the university in an instrumental way, seeing it just as a means to get a qualification to facilitate a good career, most saw the 'humanistic' qualities of higher education and welcomed the opportunity (and challenge) to wrestle with their faith during academic study. Involvement in religion-based clubs and societies has positive and negative effects, Reid finds: although some students find friendship and belonging in those groups, conflicts relating to Israel/Palestine and LGBT issues and marginalisation by some religious students of others in their group who they consider not to be sufficiently religiously committed lead to alienation and misunderstanding.

The experiences of students of faith are shaped by the policies and structures of their own universities, the university sector as a whole and, wider still, government. These are the contexts the authors of Section 3 address. The curriculum is the object of investigation in two essays. Cheruvallil-Contractor and Scott-Baumann examine developments in Islamic Studies since the 2007 Siddiqui Report's proposal for curricula that position the lived realities of Islam as an inherent part of British society. Reflecting on current provision, it considers the difficulties and possibilities of developing new approaches to the study of Islam in the face of neo-liberal pressures, exaggerated dichotomisation between the secular and sacred, securitisation agendas, persistent orientalism and the relative absence of women's voices. Islamic Studies is being shaped by agendas that are not just about the furtherance of knowledge about Islam but also about control, exoticisation and surveillance of Islam, the authors argue. To be fit-for-purpose in a globalised and interconnected world, Islamic studies must be multi-disciplinary, include currently marginalised voices and develop higher education to transform today's young adults into tomorrow's citizens.

Van Saane's essay on theology and religious studies education advocates a multi-faith approach. A secular, outsider-only perspective on religion is not desirable, van Saane argues. Theology and Religious Studies education is most effective when it balances a strict academic outside perspective and a personal committed perspective on religion. This is what happens at Van Saane's university in the Netherlands, where religious practitioners teach alongside the university's academics in theology and religious studies programmes. This requires a highly professional teaching team, able to transfer knowledge as well as to function as a role model for students. A multi-faith context is a constructive way to foster interreligious debate. These forms of education are strengthened by dialogical assignments, forcing students to reframe their meaning systems. These education practices flourish in academic environments characterized by intense forms of supervision, self-directed learning strategies and development of personal leadership. In these environments, learning is not simply the learning of ideas, but it is 'a process of transformation, of change'. Moreover, it

equips students not just with a degree, but with 'personal leadership' skills they can use to participate in inter-religious dialogue in wider society.

Sabri's essay also explores the role of religion in learning and teaching in higher education, using a broad approach not focused specifically on religious studies courses. Religion, she proposes, should be seen as one aspect of educational development facilitated by higher education; it should not be ignored. Religion has been overlooked within research on educational development, national policy and institutional-level policy and practice, except in general terms: religious diversity is seen as requiring some accommodation, for example prayer facilities. But this approach is limited. It paints religious identities as fixed and unchallengeable, Sabri argues, limiting the opportunities the classroom should provide for intellectual development in religion-related thinking. Religion is 'a social practice which may grow, recede or fluctuate over time', she explains, and this process should be facilitated at university. In the last decade, the UK government has turned its attention to religion in only one way: now, (Muslim) students are considered to be vulnerable to ideological radicalisation towards extremism. This exaggerated attention to Muslim students is not helpful either. Instead, she advocates, 'By bringing our intellectual curiosity to this issue, the place of religious belief in the learning process can begin to be seen less as an implacable problem and more as an opportunity for new forms of collaborative intellectual inquiry which remind us of the very purpose of higher education.'

Dinham comes to a similar conclusion. His chapter also expresses frustration with some university stances towards religion, and he was behind the 2009 establishment of the Religious Literacy Leadership Programme, funded by the government's Higher Education Funding Council for England to equip universities to better understand and work with religion on campus. Dinham identifies the problem of religious illiteracy in universities: universities tend to be secular organisations who do not know how to talk about religion, despite the fact that many of their constituents (indeed, a majority, if the UK Census figures are to be believed) are religious. Secularity is often cast as neutrality, but it tends to involve neglect of religion or suspicion of certain forms of it – namely, concern about religious extremism. 'I have observed', he writes, 'a lamentable quality of conversation about religion: at the same time, a pressing need for a better quality of conversation in order to avoid knee-jerk reactions which focus only on "bad" religion.' In talking to staff across the university sector, Dinham identified four university stances towards religion: the first two were secular, 'soft neutral' and 'hard neutral'. A third stance, named 'Repositories and Resources', was evident among universities who saw themselves as friendly to religious diversity. A fourth, 'Formative-Collegial', often present in those few institutions with religious foundations, held that providing for students' religious and spiritual development was part of their educational role. Religious literacy is needed, Dinham shows, perhaps for some universities more than others. How can it be developed, and how can university staff become religiously literature? Dinham, who himself runs religious literacy training workshops, proposes four things. First, religion should be understood and interrogated as a category (what is religion? what does it include? where does spirituality fit in?). Second, we should ask: what are the dispositions, emotions and assumptions that university members bring when thinking about religion? Third, what do we need to know about religion (for example, course directors of degree programmes in medicine and social work will want to know different things to help them engage with religion on their courses)? And finally, how can we improve our skills at practically relating to, or engaging with, religion – for example how we speak to students and staff who we know to hold religious beliefs?

Towards a religiously-inclusive university: recommendations

It would be tempting to conclude that policy change is the answer to improving the experiences of religious students in higher education, but it is just one answer. Policy changes such as religious equality legislation have aided students and staff seeking facilities for prayer or religious diets. Conversely, policies held by some universities that require visiting speakers to be 'vetted' for signs of extremism are quite possibly increasing religion-related animosity, so relaxation of these policies would quite possibly ease religion-related tensions. Policy implementation is also important, as policies can be interpreted and implemented in very different ways in and by different institutions.

The findings from these chapters suggest a range of 'answers' to the problem of universities' lack of engagement with religion:

1. Statistical recording of data on student and staff religious affiliation to inform policy
2. Government and university policies on religion to be shaped by research evidence
3. Institutional religious diversity policies
4. Religious literacy training for university staff
5. Religious diversity committees and working groups (parallel to those that exist for gender, 'race', sexual orientation and disability)
6. Involvement of religious practitioners in teaching religious studies
7. Inclusion of religious perspectives in class discussions
8. Philosophies of learning that prioritise whole-person and spiritual development
9. A dialogue-based approach to learning and communication based on relationship rather than on debating ideas
10. Understandings of religion as something that is lived and practiced and not just an idea to be studied
11. Greater engagement by university staff and managers with the perspectives of students themselves, and
12. Advocacy by students of diverse religious and non-religious positions, via student unions and societies, for religious perspectives to be taken seriously.

A final note

In this chapter we have argued that religion is present and active in universities throughout the world and that religion deserves new attention in universities (as it does everywhere), not because it is problematic, but because it is a feature of human diversity that deserves recognition. At the least, we are arguing for greater inclusion of and respect for religious perspectives in universities. At most, we are arguing for those perspectives to be allowed to transform the structures and practices of higher education, such that religion is no longer marginalised and privatised, made to hide in prayer rooms and religious societies, but has a respected place at the table of every university committee and every classroom discussion. However, this call for a greater place for religious perspectives in higher education is not to deny that religion gives rise to conflicts, even violence. It can and it does. Many wars, conflicts and acts of violence are perpetrated in the name of religion, and this occurs at universities as it does elsewhere – we might think of the militant group Al-Shabaab's 2015 killing of 148 Christian students at Garissa University College, Kenya. Religious students, as in this example, find themselves on the receiving end of violence or prejudice by others. However, there is also an argument that religion gives rise to social progress and progressive

social change (Silvestri and Mayall 2015; Davie 2016); moreover, it is a significant aspect of the identity of millions of university students, and for many is more important to how they think about themselves as students than their age, gender, race, ethnicity or social class. Recognising, debating and researching religion and higher education can, and does, polarise opinion. However, religion is incontestably present on campus and, therefore, whatever their personal beliefs and opinions, scholars and universities need to engage with it.

References

Anderson, C. (2004) Teaching as Believing: Faith in the University, Baylor University Press

Astin, Alexander W., Astin, Helen and Lindholm, Jennifer A. (2010) Cultivating the Spirit: *How College can Enhance Students' Inner Lives*, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Astley, J., Francis, L. and Walker. A. (eds) The Idea of a Christian University: Essays on Theology and Higher Education, Carlisle: Paternoster

Barber, K. (2010) Intersectional analyses of religion. Paper presented at the American Sociological Association Annual Meeting, Hilton Atlanta and Atlanta Marriott Marquis, Atlanta, GA, Aug 14, 2010.

Bebbington, D. W. (2011) Christian Higher Education in Europe: A Historical Overview, Christian Higher Education, 10 (1), pp. 10-24.

Bender, C. (2007) Religion and Spirituality: History, Discourse, Measurement, Essay Forum on the Religious Engagements of American Undergraduates, Social Science Research Council, 4th January http://religion.ssrc.org/reforum/Bender.pdf (accessed 14 April 2016)

Brooke, J. H. (2012) Science and the Christian Tradition: A Brief Overview, in David Marshall (ed.) Science and Religion: Christian and Muslim Perspectives, Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, pp.7-21.

Cherry, C., DeBerg, B.A. and Porterfield, A. (2001) Religion on Campus, Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, 316 pages.

Clark, W. (2006) Academic Charisma and the Origins of the Research University Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Clydesdale, T. (2007) Abandoned, Pursued, or Safely Stowed? Essay Forum on the Religious Engagements of American Undergraduates, Social Science Research Council, 6th February, http://religion.ssrc.org/reforum/Bender.pdf (accessed 14 April 2016)

Davie, G. (2016) 'Global challenges: the contributions of social science', Lecture delivered as part of The Cadbury Lectures 2016: Religion in Public Life: Levelling the Ground, University of Birmingham, 10th March. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jPguEvOHaSU (accessed 29 May 2016)

Equality Challenge Unit (ECU) (2011), Religion and Belief In Higher Education: The Experiences of Staff And Students, London: ECU.

Fernando, M. L. (2014), The Republic Unsettled: Muslim French and the Contradictions of Secularism, Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Gelot, L. (2009), On the Theological Origins and Character of Secular International Politics: towards Post-secular Dialogue, PhD thesis, Department of International Politics, Aberystwyth University.

Gillard, D. (2011), Education in England: a brief history. Available online at www.educationengland.org.uk/history. Accessed 24 May 2016.

Gilliat-Ray, S. (2000), Religion in Higher Education: the Politics of the Multi-faith Campus, Aldershot: Ashgate.

Goddard B. (2012). Future perspectives: Horizon 2025. In David D., Mackintosh B. (Eds.), Making a difference: Australian international education (pp. 398-414). Sydney, Australia: UNSW Press.

Graham, D. and Boyd, J. (2011) Home and Away: Jewish Journeys towards Independence: Key findings from the 2011 National Jewish Student Survey London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research

Henry, D.V. & Beaty, M.D. (eds) (2006) Christianity and the Soul of the University: Faith as a Foundation for Intellectual Community Baker Books

Higton, M. (2012) A Theology of Higher Education, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Home Office (2015) Prevent Duty Guidance: for higher education institutions in England and Wales, London: Home Office, https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/445916/Prevent_Duty_Guidance_For_Higher_Education__England__Wales_.pdf ; accessed 25 May 2016

Jenks, C. and Riesman, D. (1968) The Academic Revolution, Garden City: Doubleday.

Jones, D. R. (1988), The Origins of Civic Universities: Manchester, Leeds and Liverpool, London: Routledge.

Kosmin, B. A. and Keysar, A. (2015) National Demographic Survey of American Jewish College Students 2014: Anti-Semitism Report, Washington, DC: The Louis D. Brandeis Center for Human Rights Under Law and Hartford, Connecticut: Trinity College https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/anti-semitism/trinityantisemreport.pdf ; accessed 25 My 2016.

Knight, J. and de Wit, H. (1995) Strategies for Internationalisation of Higher Education: Historical and Conceptual Perspectives. In H. de Wit (ed.), Strategies for Internationalisation of Higher Education, Amsterdam: European Associate for International Education Publications, pp. 5–32.

Liberation (2016), Manuel Valls: Depuis plus de trente ans, on me demande si je suis de gauche, Liberation, 12th April 2016; http://www.liberation.fr/france/2016/04/12/manuel-valls-depuis-plus-de-trente-ans-on-me-demande-si-je-suis-de-gauche_1445774; accessed 25 May 2016.

Lindholm, J. A. (2013) The Quest for Meaning and Wholeness: Spiritual and Religious Connections in the Lives of College Faculty Jossey-Bass

Makdisi, G. (1981) The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 105-152.

Makdisi, G. (1989), Scholasticism and Humanism in Classical Islam and the Christian West, Journal of the American Oriental Society, 109 (2), pp. 175-182.

Marsden, G. (1994) The Soul of the University: from Protestant Establishment to Established Non-Belief, New York: Oxford University Press.

Mayrl, D. (2007) Introduction, Essay Forum on the Religious Engagements of American Undergraduates, Social Science Research Council, 20th April http://religion.ssrc.org/reforum/Mayrl.pdf; accessed 14 April 2016.

Mayrl, D. and Oeur, F. (2009) Religion and Higher Education: Current Knowledge and Directions for Future Research, Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 48 (2), pp. 260-275.

Mayrl, D. and Uecker, J. E. (2011) Higher Education and Religious Liberalization among Young Adults, Social Forces. 90(1), pp. 181–208.

Mercadante, L. A. (2014) Belief without Borders: Inside the Minds of the Spiritual but not Religious, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Metropolitan Police (2016) Crime Figures. Latest Crime Figures for London http://www.met.police.uk/crimefigures/# ; accessed 29 May 2016

Muller, J. (2008) 'Forms of knowledge and curriculum coherence', paper presented to the ESRC Seminar Series, Seminar 2: Epistemology and the Curriculum, University of Bath, 26–27 June.

National Union of Students (2011), *Hate crime interim report: exploring students'* understanding, awareness and experiences of hate incidents. http://www.nus.org.uk/Global/NUS_HateCrimeReport_web.pdf. Accessed 25 May 2016.

Nussbaum, M. C. (2012), The New Religious Intolerance: Overcoming the Politics of Fear in an Anxious Age, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

OECD (2013), How many students study abroad and where do they go? in Education at a Glance 2013: Highlights, OECD Publishing. Available online at http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/eag_highlights-2013-12-en; accessed 20 May 2016

Pew Research Center (2012a) The Global Religious Landscape; online webpage available at http://www.pewforum.org/2012/12/18/global-religious-landscape-exec/; accessed 23 May 2016.

Pew Research Center (2012b), Religious Hostilities Reach 6 Year High, online webpage available at http://www.pewforum.org/2014/01/14/religious-hostilities-reach-six-year-high/; accessed 24 May 2016.

Silvestri, S. and Mayall, J. (2015) The Role of Religion in Conflict and Peace-Building London: British Academy.

Sherwood, H. (2016) Chief Rabbi: 'Zionist-bashing on campus has gone unchallenged', in The Guardian, 8th May 2016, available online at http://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/08/chief-rabbi-ephraim-mirvis-zionist-bashing-university-jewish-students

Smith, C. and Snell, P. (2009) Souls in Transition: The Religious and Spiritual Lives of Emerging Adults, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Stevenson, J. (2013), Discourses of inclusion and exclusion: religious students in UK Higher Education, Access and Widening Participation, Journal of Widening Participation and Lifelong Learning 14 (3), Winter 2012/13, pp. 27-43.

Stevenson, J. (2014) Internationalisation and religious inclusion in UK higher education, Higher Education Quarterly, 68 (1), pp. 46–64.

However, the concept of western Europe and a European identity is constantly transforming because many countries from central and eastern Europe hope to join the EU in the coming years and are also committed to a European dimension in education. Educational Roots. The European educational tradition traces its roots directly to the establishment of universities toward the end of the Middle Ages. Toward the end of the twentieth century, the different political forces in Europe began moving away from an emphasis on social justice and toward individual choice and economic advantage. The social-democrat position had attempted to be more inclusive of the needs of disadvantaged groups, including women, immigrants, and the poor, stressing cultural imperatives. Finally, describing the situation with religious education in The Netherlands, the third part of the article provides an overview of the Pluralist model. Conclusion of the article underlines the importance of a correlation of the model of religious education in particular state to its national religious components and juridical legislations. Schools: From Abstentionist Laïcite to a Return of Religion to Public Education, in "Religion and Education in Europe: Develpments, Context, and Debates", Robert Jackson, Siebren Miedema, Wolfram Weisse, JeanPaul Willaime, eds, series Religious Diversity and Education in Europe, Cok Bakker, Hans-Gunter Heimbrock, Robert Jackson, Geir Skeie Wolfram Weisse, eds., vol 3 (Münster, New York; München, Berlin: Waxman, 2007), 87. Muslim Communities in Europe and North America: A Transatlantic Dialogue on Contextualized Religion. Conveners: Peter Mandaville and Dilwar Hussain. T. his Working Group paper explains the nature and significance of a key problem facing Muslim communities in Europe and North America: the challenge of achieving a contextualized understanding of their religion that is suited to the unique circumstances, challenges, and opportunities that face religious minorities in contemporary Western societies. Culture, religion and society in Britain, Europe and north America in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. By YatesNigel. Pp. ix + 324 incl. This policy brief examines differences in Muslim integration between North America and Western Europe with an eye toward crafting policies to improve integration. View full-text. Article.