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Between Glitter and Salvation

Exploring the Sacramental Logic of Fan Communities through the Example of Harry Styles

1. Introduction: "Treat People with Kindness"

"If it is the task of the Church to bring God's love into the world, Harry Styles currently seems more successful at doing so than we are." This thought occurred to me in July 2023 while attending a Harry Styles concert, where I shared an intense experience with approximately 40,000 people singing and dancing together.

In the weeks leading up to the concert, I had begun listening to his music more attentively and familiarising myself with his lyrics. My outfit, covered in glitter and complemented by a feather boa, was a deliberate expression of belonging. As our family prepared for the event, I suddenly realised that the last time we had prepared together for a celebration in such a way had been our daughter's First Communion. The religious analogy was further reinforced by the sense of being on a pilgrimage. Even before reaching the stadium, fans were easily recognisable: people dressed in colourful clothing with glitter on their faces. Once we had found a parking space, we joined a steady stream of cheerful concertgoers making their way towards the venue.

Inside the stadium, this sense of community intensified. The atmosphere was characterised by appreciation and respect; Harry Styles's frequently repeated maxim, *"Treat people with kindness,"* was visibly embodied by those present.

The concert was less a conventional performance in which a celebrity entertains an audience than a collective celebration co-created by everyone involved. Harry Styles's charisma contributed significantly to this experience. Between songs, he repeatedly addressed the audience directly, offering encouragement, expressing appreciation, and urging people to care for one another. We felt seen and accepted. For the duration of the concert, the stadium became a safe space in which vulnerability, joy, and belonging were given room to flourish.

From a theological perspective, the question arises as to how such an experience should be interpreted and what implications it may hold for ecclesial practice. Something occurred within this space that visibly strengthened, connected, and transformed people. It involved an experience of intense community, emotional density, and sustained belonging that cannot be adequately described as mere entertainment.

This question gains particular significance against the backdrop of contemporary processes of religious transformation. Membership ties to churches continue to weaken, yet this does not necessarily imply a diminishing desire for meaning, community, or transcendence.¹ Rather, people increasingly encounter experiences of community, recognition, and existential empowerment outside ecclesial settings. Notably, such experiences often emerge within cultural contexts such as music, popular culture, and fandom² communities.

This article explores what takes place within the fandom surrounding Harry Styles, why it may constitute a significant site of community, meaning, and existential empowerment for many people, and what theological insights can be gained from these observations. The argument is situated at the intersection of pastoral theology, ritual theory, and sociology. It draws on Wolfgang Beck's concept of a convivialist sacramental pastoral theology,³ while bringing it into dialogue with Victor Turner's concepts of liminality and *communitas*⁴ and Hartmut Rosa's theory of resonance.⁵

The reflections begin with my own experiences. Qualitative research has repeatedly emphasised that researchers are biographically, bodily, and professionally entangled with their subject matter, and that such involvement, when critically reflected upon, can become a valuable source of knowledge.⁶ Personal experience functions here as a heuristic resource: it sensitises the researcher to particular phenomena, generates questions, and opens initial interpretative perspectives that can subsequently be examined and deepened through theoretical reflection.⁷

2. A Convivialist Approach to Sacramental Theology: Sacraments between Gift, Grace, and Context⁸

The Second Vatican Council, particularly in *Lumen Gentium*,⁹ emphasised the close relationship between the Church and the sacraments. The Church is understood as a sacramental reality; the sacraments belong to the very essence of ecclesial existence and are inseparably linked to the self-understanding of the Catholic Church.

Within sacramental theology, however, this foundational insight has been interpreted in different ways. While sacraments can be understood as markers of ecclesial identity and belonging, Wolfgang Beck and Rainer Bucher¹⁰ develop a perspective that intentionally shifts the focus. They advocate an understanding of sacraments that does not begin with the preservation of ecclesial identity but with the grace-filled efficacy of sacramental practices. Bucher refers in this context to the Church's *principle of grace*.¹¹

From this perspective, sacraments appear not primarily as instruments of ecclesial self-assurance but as practices whose significance becomes evident wherever they strengthen, encourage, and empower people, opening new possibilities for action.

2.1 Sacraments as Markers of Ecclesial Identity

Wolfgang Beck speaks of a *deformed sacramental theology*¹² when sacraments are reduced to mere boundary markers of confessional identity. Their grace-filled efficacy becomes overshadowed by admission procedures, discourses of worthiness, and implicit mechanisms of exclusion.

Whenever sacraments are instrumentalised and appear not as liberating gifts but as mechanisms of control, they lose both existential plausibility and their capacity to connect with people's lived realities. In contrast, Beck understands sacraments as performative actions and speech acts that do not simply confirm existing orders but transgress boundaries and create new collective realities.

Their efficacy lies not in securing ecclesial structures but in their capacity to establish relationships, transform them, and open new spaces of possibility.

2.2 Gift and Grace as a Theological Lens

To provide a theological foundation for this understanding, Beck draws upon theories of gift. In Jacques Derrida's¹³ thought, gift and transformation are inseparable. Once a gift becomes visible as a gift, it changes; it dissolves into an act of self-giving. It never remains without consequences but affects both giver and recipient alike. A gift is not a static possession but a dynamic process that creates relationships and enables transformation.

Similarly, Marcel Mauss's¹⁴ concept of gift transcends utilitarian and market-based logics.¹³ Gift appears as a constitutive element of social relationships, enabling cooperation and presupposing trust. It is fundamentally ambiguous, often recognisable as a gift only in retrospect, and always accompanied by the risk of being misunderstood. Gift requires openness, courage, and a willingness to embrace uncertainty.

Within this perspective, sacraments appear as forms of gift that cannot be controlled or calculated. Rather, they place themselves, often riskily, at the service of strengthening and encouraging human beings. Their efficacy lies not in predictability or security but in openness to transformation, failure, and unexpected outcomes.

According to Beck, the discourse on gift reaches its specifically theological culmination in the concept of grace. While gift remains embedded within social systems of expectation, grace fundamentally disrupts such logics. Grace escapes every form of reciprocity, calculation, and moral accounting.

Veronika Hoffmann¹⁵ argues that God's involvement in human gift relations profoundly disturbs the "normal rules" governing gift exchange.¹⁴ Grace cannot be instrumentalised; instead, it places human beings into freedom. Similarly, Ansgar Kreutzer¹⁶ describes grace as a movement beyond gift toward pure gratuity. Grace expects no return and therefore cannot become a means of pressure or control.

For sacramental theology, this means that sacraments cannot function as rewards, confirmations of moral conformity, or instruments of ecclesial regulation. They are enactments of grace whose efficacy lies in enabling freedom and opening new possibilities for action.

2.3 Convivialist Sacramental Theology

Against the backdrop of this understanding of sacraments, shaped by both grace theology and gift theory, Wolfgang Beck¹⁷ develops the concept of a convivialist sacramental pastoral theology. Convivialist¹⁸ thought serves here not as an external criterion but as a resonant framework for genuinely theological categories such as gift, grace, and community. The decisive question is whether the Church, understood as the People of God, can be conceived as a convivialist collective whose practice is oriented not toward the preservation of identity but toward selfless attentiveness to others.

Within this horizon, sacraments serve not merely individuals but contribute to the strengthening of community and the common good.

Convivialism is a political philosophy concerned with the art of living together. It seeks forms of flourishing beyond an economic system driven by limitless growth and attempts to reconcile individual freedom, social relationships, conflict competence, and ecological limits. Building on Ivan Illich's critique of modern technology and institutions, convivialism values social and technical structures that enable people to act autonomously rather than rendering them dependent on expert systems or large-scale organisations.

Applied to sacramental theology, this perspective implies that sacramental practice always expresses a particular ecclesiological self-understanding. Wherever sacraments appear as regulated goods, access to which depends upon conditions, notions of worthiness, or membership status, the Church fails to embody the character of sacramental gift.

If sacramental gift is always also self-gift, the Church is constituted not through boundary maintenance but through a practice of openness that consciously renounces the security of fixed and clearly defined identities.

For Beck, this openness is not a deficiency but a constitutive feature of ecclesial existence. A convivialist ecclesiology is intentionally destabilising insofar as it repeatedly interrupts ecclesial self-certainties and thereby prevents sacramental practice from being instrumentalised for the purpose of identity preservation.

The Church thus appears not as a social form dedicated to fixing identities but as a dynamic relational space capable of enduring difference, uncertainty, and contingency. Precisely in doing so, it points beyond itself.

This understanding has significant implications for sacramental practice. Sacraments are not primarily acts of ecclesial self-maintenance but liminal spaces in which people may experience signs of God's unconditional love. Their significance lies not in stabilising ecclesial order but in opening transitions through which new relationships and new possibilities for action can emerge.

Most importantly, sacramental significance is not confined to the internal life of the Church. Sacramental events are oriented toward effectiveness within the concrete contexts of human experiences of suffering, violence, joy, and hope. Sacramental significance may therefore emerge even where no ecclesial sacrament is celebrated, not as an equivalent to sacramental rites, but through a structural affinity that strengthens, connects, and opens new horizons of possibility.

Convivialist community remains intentionally fragile and risky because it renounces the reassurance of fixed boundaries and guaranteed effectiveness. Yet precisely this openness constitutes the precondition for solidarity and authentic sociality.

3. Liminality and Communitas: Liminal Spaces between Ritual and Transformation

Following the concept of convivialist sacramental pastoral theology, the question arises as to how such a perspective may be further grounded within cultural and social theory. An important contribution is offered by Victor Turner's ritual theory,¹⁹ which analyses transition, community, and transformation as constitutive elements of ritual practice.

Turner's²⁰ work enables us to understand liminal spaces as distinct social and experiential spaces.

Building upon the classical theory of rites of passage, Turner radicalises the discussion by focusing on the liminal phase itself. Liminality²¹ refers to a condition of being "*betwixt and*

between,"²² a state in which established roles, statuses, and hierarchies are suspended. Individuals are neither in their previous state nor fully incorporated into a new one. Instead, they inhabit an open in-between space.

Such liminal spaces are characterised by ambiguity, openness, and indeterminacy. Turner famously describes them as a "*realm of pure possibility*"²³ in which alternative understandings of self, community, and social order may be explored. Liminality is therefore not merely a transitional stage but an autonomous experiential realm with transformative potential.

Closely connected to liminality is Turner's concept of *communitas*. *Communitas* designates a form of community that may emerge within liminal situations and differs fundamentally from structured social arrangements.

It is a form of anti-structure²⁴ in which people encounter one another not primarily as bearers of social roles or status positions but as equals. Such community is characterised by emotional intensity, mutual recognition, and shared symbolism.

Although *communitas* is temporary, its effects may endure far beyond the liminal moment itself. Turner emphasises that *communitas* is not dependent upon institutions. Rather, it emerges eventually wherever people cross a liminal space together.

For Turner, both liminality and *communitas* must ultimately be understood in relation to transformation.²⁵ A transition is successful when the meanings, relationships, and possibilities discovered within the liminal phase continue to shape everyday life. Transformation manifests itself not within the exceptional moment itself but in the altered practices and relationships that follow.

Turner's work demonstrates that experience of liminal spaces, community, and transformation are fundamental structures of human existence. Liminality and *communitas* therefore provide an important conceptual bridge to sacramental theology. Fandom communities can be interpreted as liminal spaces in which individuals encounter themselves, others, and the world in new ways.

4. Resonance as a Mode of Experience

Interpreting Subjective and Intersubjective Experience

Having explored the social conditions that enable transformative experiences through Turner's ritual theory, the question remains how such experiences are subjectively and intersubjectively lived. Why do participants experience liminal spaces such as fandom communities as meaningful, sustaining, and life-giving?

Hartmut Rosa's theory of resonance offers a valuable interpretative framework for addressing this question.²⁶

For Rosa, resonance²⁷ is not merely a feeling or emotion but a fundamental mode of relating to the world. Resonance occurs wherever individuals allow themselves to be addressed by something, are capable of responding to it, and are transformed through this process of response.

Such a relationship is reciprocal, transformative, and fundamentally beyond complete control.

Resonance therefore differs fundamentally from instrumental or alienated modes of world-relation. Wherever the world is approached merely as an object to be controlled, utilised, or

managed, resonance remains absent. Resonance emerges instead where individuals engage with something that exceeds their full command and availability.

The liminal spaces described by Turner can be understood as particularly resonance-friendly constellations. Within liminal spaces, everyday functional logics such as efficiency, performance, utility, and instrumental rationality, are temporarily suspended. This interruption increases people's capacity to be affected and opens new possibilities for relationship.

Liminality creates conditions in which individuals may step outside habitual patterns of self-understanding and world-relation and become newly receptive to what addresses them.

Communitas intensifies this dynamic because resonance is experienced not only individually but collectively. Resonance becomes socially shared, emotionally amplified, and communally embodied. People experience themselves not as isolated individuals but as participants in a responsive network of relationships.

Rosa's theory helps explain why liminal experiences are remembered not merely as pleasant or exciting but as meaningful and life-changing. It illuminates how experiences acquire the density and depth that participants often describe as empowering and life-giving.

For Rosa, resonance is always linked to transformation. Whoever is genuinely touched by resonance does not remain unchanged. Such transformation is neither predictable nor controllable. Resonance resists functional planning and often reveals its effects only retrospectively.

This temporal dimension is particularly important for understanding fandom communities. Resonant experiences extend beyond the moment itself. They shape self-understandings, dispositions, and relationships to the world. People remember them as resources to which they can return in later phases of life.

Rosa therefore understands resonance as a form of successful world-relation. As an analytical category, it helps explain why many individuals experience participation in communities such as the Harry Styles fandom as meaningful, healing and life-giving without itself offering a theological interpretation of those experiences.

Resonance thus functions as a mediating category between social experience and theological reflection. It explains how such experiences occur, though not yet why they may ultimately matter theologically.

5. Can the Harry Styles Fandom Be Understood a Site of Sacramental Significance?

A Theological Interpretation of the Harry Styles Fandom

Wolfgang Beck's convivialist understanding of sacramentality²⁸ allows social and cultural spaces beyond ecclesial institutions to be interpreted as sites of sacramental significance. When this perspective is applied to the Harry Styles fandom, it becomes possible to view the fandom not primarily as a space of identity formation or fan self-affirmation, but as a liminal space in which people experience recognition, belonging, and existential empowerment. According to Beck, the significance of such spaces lies not in stabilising social order or reinforcing collective identity but in interrupting functional logics and opening transitions through which new relationships and new horizons of possibility may emerge.

For Beck, this interruption is not merely a social phenomenon but an expression of a theological logic of grace. Sacraments are not instruments for maintaining ecclesial identity; rather, they are events of grace that disrupt exchange relationships, performance expectations, and moral calculations. Grace is unconditional gift. It transcends all logics of achievement, worthiness, and reciprocity. Wherever functional and normative orders are suspended, a space emerges in which gift can genuinely occur.

Against this background, the liminal character of fandom communities may be understood as a social condition that enables this sacramental logic to unfold. Drawing on Victor Turner's work, a concert can be interpreted as a liminal situation in which everyday logics are temporarily suspended²⁹ and social roles, performance expectations, and hierarchies recede into the background. Turner's concept of *communitas* describes the communal dynamics of the interruption that Beck understands as constitutive of sacramental experience.

Hartmut Rosa's theory of resonance further illuminates how this interruption is experienced subjectively and intersubjectively.³⁰ Resonance helps explain why liminal spaces such as fandom communities are experienced as meaningful, sustaining, and transformative. Participants feel emotionally addressed, recognised, and strengthened in their relationships to themselves and to the world. This constitutes an essential dimension of what is understood here as salvation.

The transition from resonance to theological interpretation becomes possible where such experiences prove transformative. Transformation refers not merely to emotional intensity or temporary enthusiasm but to enduring changes in a person's relationship to self and world. Following Turner, transformation becomes visible wherever liminal experiences extend beyond the liminal moment and shape everyday life. This dynamic can be observed within fandom communities whenever experiences of recognition, belonging, and encouragement continue to exert influence long after the event itself.

From this perspective, it becomes clear why Beck refuses to restrict sacramental experience to the institutional sphere of the Church. Sacramental significance is oriented toward concrete human experiences of suffering, violence, joy, and hope within society.³¹ In this sense, the Harry Styles fandom may be understood as possessing sacramental significance, not as a substitute for ecclesial sacraments, but through a structural affinity with them.

Where functional logics are interrupted, liminal spaces are crossed, resonance becomes possible, and transformation is initiated, salvation occurs in a fragmentary, provisional, and relational manner. The fragility and contingency of such communities are not weaknesses but integral aspects of their sacramental logic.

Such an interpretation must be critically examined with regard to accessibility and social inclusivity. The Harry Styles fandom cannot be reduced to concert attendance or economically exclusive experiences. Rather, it encompasses a wide range of accessible forms of community that continue beyond individual events. The values embodied within these communities, mutual respect, acceptance, encouragement, and care, often extend into everyday life and contribute to the cultivation of relational and solidaristic practices.

6. Outlook: A Church That Learns

Fandom communities present a challenge to the Church.³² They make visible that experiences of community, transformation, and salvation are taking place in locations that lie beyond

traditional ecclesial settings. The Church may choose to ignore these experiences, or it may attend to them and take them seriously.

The latter requires recognising fandom communities not as deficient substitutes for religion but as social spaces possessing their own integrity and significance.³³

Ecclesial practice remains shaped by what might be called a logic of provision. Programmes are designed, target groups are identified, and conditions for participation are established.

Implicitly, this logic often assumes that meaning, community, and salvation emerge primarily where the Church provides opportunities for them.³⁴

Fandom communities call this assumption into question. They demonstrate that existentially meaningful experiences emerge not where belonging is administratively organised but where people feel seen, addressed, and supported.³⁵

For theology and pastoral practice, this implies a shift in perspective. The primary task is no longer to create meaning but to perceive where meaningful experiences are already taking place.

Perception (attentiveness) therefore becomes a central theological competence.³⁶ It involves more than detached observation; it requires an attentive and respectful engagement with the lived realities of others. Such perception acknowledges the value of what is already happening without immediately seeking to evaluate, correct, or appropriate it.³⁷

The experiences found within fandom communities possess an intrinsic value of their own. They are neither preliminary forms nor deficient versions of ecclesial practice. They involve genuine experiences of belonging, recognition, healing, and salvation. Fandom communities enable experiences of salvation without confessional pressure, moral preconditions, or institutional membership. This challenges ecclesial practice to reflect critically upon its own relationship to unconditional acceptance, openness, and belonging.

The Church can learn from fan communities that community becomes sustainable where it does not have to be earned, and that meaning emerges where people freely act, feel, and hope together.

Recognising meaningful experiences outside the Church does not diminish the importance of the sacraments. For believers, the sacraments remain central places where they encounter meaning, grace, and salvation. At the same time, fan communities show that experiences that follow a similar sacramental logic can also occur beyond the boundaries of the Church.

This observation may also help the Church to reflect more deeply on its sacramental practice. Sacraments are most powerful when they are experienced as gifts rather than as markers of belonging or instruments of control. They become life-giving when they communicate care, encouragement, and healing in ways that are freely offered and freely received. Fan communities are not competitors to the Church. Rather, they act as a mirror, reminding the Church of its own promise.

A Church that learns from fan communities understands itself less as a provider of religious services and more as a companion to people in their everyday lives. It pays attention to where people experience community, meaning, and healing today, while remaining open to its own transformation.

From this perspective, the challenge for pastoral practice lies not primarily in developing new programmes but in cultivating a different attitude. The Church becomes a learning community

that recognises that experiences of healing and transformation can occur in many places, including places where the Church itself is not present or actively involved.

Epilogue: “Kiss All the Time, Disco Occasionally”

As I am writing these final lines, Harry Styles has reappeared after more than two years of public absence. A new album has been announced, tour dates have been released, and the first single is out. The fandom has responded with palpable excitement. We celebrate together, speculate, wait, and share memories.

In this collective anticipation, much of what this article has sought to describe theologically becomes visible. Fan communities are spaces of shared joy, expectation, hope, and healing. People notice one another, encourage one another, and carry one another through difficult times. Community emerges here as gift: relational, unplanned, and not driven by utility or achievement.

The excitement surrounding what comes next is more than a matter of popular culture. It is a space in which people experience resonance, share meaning, and find strength in one another. Perhaps it is fitting that this article ends precisely here—in an open and joyful moment of expectation.

By the time these words are published, I will have listened to Harry Styles’ new album, seen him at concerts, and once again been reminded of how wonderful and healing it is to be a fangirl.

Notes:

1. See: Loffeld, Jan: Der nicht notwendige Gott. Die Erlösungsdimension als Krise und Kairos des Christentums inmitten säkularen Relevanzverlustes, Würzburg: Echter 2020 und Loffeld, Jan: Wenn nichts fehlt, wo Gott fehlt. Das Christentum vor der religiösen Indifferenz, Freiburg i. Br.: Herder 2024. Vgl. Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland (Hg.), Wie hältst du’s mit der Kirche? Zur Relevanz von Religion und Kirche in der pluralen Gesellschaft. Erste Ergebnisse der 6. Kirchenmitgliedschaftsuntersuchung (KMU 6), Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt 2023.
2. See Duffett, Mark: Understanding Fandom. An Introduction to the Study of Media Fan Culture, New York: Bloomsbury Academic 2013. Duffett describes fandom as a performative community that requires no institutional preconditions, creates collective identities through shared rituals, and draws on imagined memories as a source of meaning, belonging, and healing. And see Jenkins, Henry: Textual Poachers: Television Fans and Participatory Culture, New York: Routledge 1992. Jenkins argues that fan communities should be understood as active and participatory producers of meaning rather than as deficient forms of cultural practice. See: Hills, Matt: Fan Cultures, London: Routledge 2002. Hills analyses fandom as an affective form of communal practice in which belonging, recognition, and biographical meaning-making play a central role.
3. Beck, Wolfgang: Ohne Geländer. Pastoraltheologische Fundierungen einer risikofreudigen Ekklesiogenese, Ostfildern: Matthias-Grünwald-Verlag 2022, S. 262-272.
4. See: Turner, Victor: The Ritual Process. Structure and Anti-Structure, Chicago: Aldine 1969.
5. See: Rosa, Hartmut: Resonanz. Eine Soziologie der Weltbeziehung, Berlin: Suhrkamp 2016.
6. Flick, Uwe: Qualitative Sozialforschung: Eine Einführung, Hamburg: Rowohlt 2017, insbes. die Ausführungen zu Subjektivität und Reflexivität der Forschenden S. 142–153.

7. See: Schütz, Alfred / Luckmann, Thomas: Strukturen der Lebenswelt, Stuttgart: utb 2017 zur Bedeutung lebensweltlicher Erfahrung als Ausgangspunkt von Sinnverstehen.
8. This chapter follows Wolfgang Beck's proposal of a convivialist sacramental pastoral theology, W. Beck, Ohne Geländer, S. 262-272.
9. Lumen gentium. Dogmatische Konstitution über die Kirche, in: Karl Rahner / Herbert Vorgrimler (Hg.), Kleines Konzilskompendium. Sämtliche Texte des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils. Freiburg i. Br.: Herder 2008.
10. See: Bucher, Rainer: „Caring church. Einige Überlegungen zu Macht und Pastoral in kapitalistischen Zeiten“, in: Reiner Gronemeyer/Patrick Schuchter/Klaus Wegleitner (Hg.), Care-Vom Rande betrachtet. In welcher Gesellschaft wollen wir leben und sterben?, Bielefeld: transcript 2021, S. 229-242.
11. R. Bucher, Caring church, S. 239. Vgl. W. Beck, Ohne Geländer, S. 262.
12. W. Beck, Ohne Geländer, S. 263.
13. Derrida, Jacques: Falschgeld. Zeit geben 1, München: Wilhelm Fink 1993, S. 25. Vgl. W. Beck S. 263.
14. Mauss, Marcel: Die Gabe. Form und Funktion des Austauschs in archaischen Gesellschaften, Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp 1994, S. 157. Vgl. W. Beck, Ohne Geländer, S. 264.
15. Hoffmann, Veronika: „Rück-Gabe? Weiter-Gabe? Gott in unseren Gabeverhältnissen“, in: Hoffmann, Veronika (Hg.), Die Gabe-ein »Urwort« der Theologie?, Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang 2009, S. 145–163, S. 151-153. Vgl. W. Beck, Ohne Geländer, S. 265.
16. Kreutzer, Ansgar: Arbeit und Muße. Studien zu einer Theologie des Alltags, Wien: Lit Verlag 2011, S. 168–171. Vgl. W. Beck, Ohne Geländer, S. 266.
17. W. Beck, Ohne Geländer, S. 262-272.
18. Convivialism is a political philosophy of living together that seeks to envision a good life beyond an economy oriented towards unlimited growth. It aims to reconcile individual freedom, social relationships, the capacity to engage constructively with conflict, and ecological limits, while challenging the primacy of economic values in favour of renewed understandings of wealth, prosperity, and democracy.
Drawing on Ivan Illich, who coined the concept of conviviality through his critique of modern technology and institutions, convivialism understands convivial structures as social and technical arrangements that enable people to act autonomously rather than rendering them dependent on expert systems and large-scale organisations. This understanding of conviviality constitutes an important theoretical point of reference for Frank Adloff's and Claus Leggewie's *Convivialist Manifesto*.
Vgl. Illich, Ivan: Selbstbegrenzung. Eine politische Kritik der Technik, München: C. H. Beck, 1975 und Adloff, Frank/Leggewie, Claus (Hg.): Das konvivialistische Manifest. Für eine neue Kunst des Zusammenlebens, Bielefeld: transcript, 2014.
19. See: Van Gennep, Arnold: Übergangsriten, Frankfurt a.M./New York: Campus 2005. Van Gennep's three-stage model provides the classical foundation for Turner's concept of liminality, which further develops the transitional phase of rites of passage. It is also rooted in the sociological insight that communities are constituted through ritual itself and that rituals generate forms of collective effervescence., vgl. Durkheim, Émile: Die elementaren Formen des religiösen Lebens, Frankfurt a.M./Leipzig: Verlag der Weltreligionen 2007.
20. V. Turner, Ritual Process.
21. Ibid., S. 94-111.
22. „Liminal entities are neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between.“ Ibid. S. 95.

23. Turner, Victor: „Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in Rites de Passage“, in: Turner, Victor: *The Forest of Symbols*, New York: Cornell University Press 1967, S. 340.
24. V. Turner, *Ritual Process*, S. 96.
25. V. Turner, *Betwixt and Between*, S. 338.
26. H. Rosa, *Resonanz*.
27. *Ibd.* S. 246-327.
28. W. Beck, *Ohne Geländer*, S. 262-272.
29. V. Turner, *Ritual Process*, S. 95-111; bes. S. 111.
30. H. Rosa, *Resonanz*.
31. W. Beck, *Ohne Geländer*, S. 271.
32. See: M. Duffett, *Fandom*.
33. See: H. Jenkins, *Textual Poachers*.
34. See: J. Loffeld, *Wenn nichts fehlt*, S. 21-24.
35. See: M. Hills, *Fan Cultures*.
36. See: Theobald, Christoph: *Christentum als Stil. Für ein zeitgemäßes Glaubensverständnis in Europa*, Freiburg: Herder 2018. Theobald advocates a listening and learning approach to pastoral practice, characterised by attentiveness to people's lifeworlds and by a sensitivity to signs of meaning, healing, and transformation.
37. See: *Fresh Expressions of Church*, z.B. Moynagh, Michael: *Church for Every Context. An Apostolic Approach*, London: SCM Press 2012, bes. S. 197-221 und Moynagh, Michael: *Church in Life. Innovation, Mission and the Local Church*, London: SCM 2017, S. 44-47.