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Migration, Subaltern Thinking and Religious Literacy – Challenges for Education

Education institutions in European immigration societies must struggle with a lot of challenges. About one-third of the refugees are school-age children and youth. Every third child has a migration biography and many of the refugee and displaced children and youth come from Arabic countries. They bring along their various religious affiliation and culture into secular societies formerly molded by Christianity. This situation requires a lot of special accommodations for *educational institutions* like schools, kindergarten, and religious communities. Besides language barriers and being mindful of their traumatic experiences, educational actors need to be sensitive in particular with intercultural and interreligious conflict situations, anti-Semitic or Islamophobic positions and radicalization tendencies of cultural and/or religious identity.

The background for this topic is provided by the experiences of children and youth, who give us an insight into the *clash of different religions and cultures in immigrant educational systems*, into *the significance of faith*, the *complexity of hybrid identities*, but also the *experience of being subaltern*. That there is the *importance of religious literacy* for coping with the impacts of migration in educational work in schools, churches and religious communities will finally be discussed.

Migration – Voices from a High-School

“I have two homes! My first home is Iraq, my second home is Germany. But I am Iraqi first, not German...”

“Even though I was born here and have a German passport, my homeland is Chechnya!”

“I am a Turk and I am a Muslim. That’s where I belong! Here in Germany, I somehow don’t belong.”

On these interview statements, which students of a high school gave me (Winkler 2021), it becomes clear: not only empirically, but also narratively, Germany is a country of immigration that is in a process of transformation. There is a strong tension between belonging, identity, participation and equal opportunities. And the process of negotiating who belongs and in what way is in full progress.

Against this background, places of education are to be understood as *liminal spaces* in which a permanent confrontation with the diverse and complex conditions of migration,

culture and religion takes place. As social places of transition between 'what was' and 'what will be', they are in a continuous negotiation and actualization or change of social relations and power conditions. (Zobl/Huber 2016). Children and youths with migration biographies experience that they are in an ambiguous state and that neither the resources of the country of origin nor those of the host country are fully available for them. Following Victor Turner's notion of 'liminality', their situation appears as a kind of 'in-between existence' that can be described as 'betwixt and between' (Turner 1964). Due to the resulting tasks in the context of migration and education, educational institutions are faced with the daily challenge of coping with the consequences of migration experiences of children and youth, such as linguistic, social or cultural-religious barriers, but also traumatic experiences. In this context, it seems important to consider the meaning of religion and faith in the context of migration and integration.

Religion and Resilience

In Germany every third child has a migration biography and many of the refugee and displaced children and youth come from Arabic and African countries. They bring along their various religious affiliation and culture also their faith and *their beliefs* into secular societies formerly moulded by Christianity. *Empirical studies show* that religion is an essential reference point for migrant families and their children.

The 2020 World Vision study on Refuge, Religion & Resilience (World-Vision-Study 2020) provides key insights into the significance of religion for the resilience of refugee children: Refugee children and youths of Christian, Muslim and Yezidi faith were interviewed. Even though the interviewed children belong to various religions and practice their religion with very different intensity, it is evident that they describe similar relationships to Allah, God or Xweda. So, they assume that they are loved by God and that God wants them to be fine. In particular for children who are aware that they had to leave behind relatives, friends and neighbors in their contexts of origin, often under the most difficult living conditions, this positive belief is of great importance in order to be able to start a new life in the host country. Believing in a loving Allah, God or Xweda helps them to think positively about the future and remain able to act.

Elham, 9 years old, Muslima said: 1. "When we came to Germany, we have to get into such a balloon [inflatable boat], so small. There were many people and eh, there were also bad people, sometimes they do that the ship sinks, then. Yes, there God protected us, protected my mother and me."

Hoger, 12 years old, Yezidi: It was very exhausting. We prayed. We prayed to God, and we said 'Please, dear God, save us' and that we arrive in a safe place in Germany. Because there are human rights there. That we arrive there in safety there."

Many of the children interviewed have a special ability that might be called *diversity competence*: At the same time, they can draw a positive identification and self-value from their own religious affiliation, but also appreciate the religion of others. They are able to develop close friendships with children from other backgrounds or religions and can easily overcome linguistic, ideological, and practical differences.

Thus, *Maya, 15 years old, Muslima*, feels a deeply felt and emotional affiliation with Islam and at the same time cultivates friendships with young people who belong to a different religion or to no religion at all: “Yes, I have the Muslim religion, and feel very connected to it. I have no problems with my religion or with another religion and talking about it with friends.” In her opinion, religion should not be misused to draw social boundaries: “By God, all people are one because there is no separation- no matter if they are Muslims or Christian or something, with God all people are one, there is no difference.”

This study clearly shows that their faith is an important resource and base for educational tasks in multicultural societies.

Subaltern Thinking

At the same time, however, it can be seen that a large proportion of the children interviewed had already had experiences of religious or ethnic discrimination. This can come from strangers (mostly adults) in public spaces, adults in educational institutions (teachers, educators, etc.) or from other students. These attacks are mainly verbal and have a significant impact on the emotional well-being of the children, but in some cases refugee children and their parents also feel threatened in terms of their physical safety. From the preceding perspectives it is necessary to consider attributions and discriminating structures in European host societies. *Post-colonial perspectives* facilitate the deconstruction of discriminatory and oppressive structures in relation to religion and migration and to disclose asymmetric relationships between dominant and minority cultures in the host country.

As before, the difference category ‘migration background’ in Germany can be understood as a so-called ‘concept metaphor’, which shows its effectivity in particular in the educational context. Through them, the imaginary ‘purity’ of a nation is secured, exclusion in the name of the nation is made possible (cf. Castro Varela 2013), and a discriminatory as well as dichotomous juxtaposition of modern, Western Christian, and traditional Eastern Islamic concepts of life is communicated.

Historical relations of power and inequality that already exist before the observed pedagogical interactions are reinforced in the context of migration and religion and correspond to Western *constructions of the subaltern Other*. (Spivak 1992; Bhabha, 2010; Said 2003): In the words of postcolonial Thinker Gayatri Spivak: “...everything that has limited

or no access to the cultural imperialism is subaltern – a space of difference” (Spivak 1992, 45).

From these postcolonial perspectives, the impact of migration experience can be seen from two sides:

On the one hand, there are experiences of exclusion of children and youth, which become apparent in hybrid self-locations, as named at the beginning. They point to the fact that they do not feel accepted in Germany with their origin, so that they develop a strong origin-related identity as a counter-reaction, even if this is mostly generated from their parents’ narratives, but increasingly also in Internet platforms. They experience their family origins from Eastern European, Arab, or African countries as a stigma that is associated with devaluation and mostly negative stereotyping. They find themselves in the paradoxical situation of two systems: In the family system with specific religious and cultural values to which they feel obligated to be loyal, also because of the social and historical degradation. And in the system Germany, which is represented by the education system, and which often (re-)produces the constructions of the subaltern Other.

On the other hand, empirical studies on youth-related migration research (DJI 2020; Jugert/Leszczensky/Pink 2017; BMFSFJ 2016) show that children and youth with migration biographies often describe themselves and their place in the world as being in-between. Their national, geographic, but also cultural and religious self-locations indicate the multiple lines of conflict resulting from their own or their family’s migration experiences. They shape post-migrant identities, which sometimes present themselves in form of hybrid life patterns and can be expressed in ‘shifted affiliations’: as commuters between the worlds, as everywhere at home and nowhere arrived, as not really German and not really Turkish, Iranian, or Romanian or as citizens of the world (Reisenauer 2020; Strasser 2012).

In this way they create cosmopolitan everyday practices that transcend ethnic, national, and religious boundaries, and which are defined equally by both local and global circumstances. Thus, young migrants generate what in post-colonial theory is referred to as what Homi Bhabha called ‘Third Space’: A negotiation space in which it is possible to create new meaning in the tension between identity and difference, and in which alternative ways of thinking can be developed (Bhabha 1990).

It should therefore be the task of any educational theory and practice to create space for meaning and possibility in order to encourage this potential for development to unfold in children and young people. Both formal educational spaces, such as schools, and informal learning spaces such as official, organizational, or church/religious children’s and youth groups contribute to the creation of these spaces that sit between the boundaries of reality and possibility. As well as facilitating formal opportunities for learning, their prime

function is to provide informal educational processes in which social allegiance through community in peer groups can be experienced and social integration through engaging with a variety of democratic values and religious literacy can be learned.

Global Learning and Religious Literacy

As an educational reaction to the developmental truth of global society and changed learning requirements in the wake of globalization and migration, the concept of Global Learning makes use of both, the objective and subjective sides of globalization, to think about the transformation of worldviews, lifestyles, and concepts of (religious) meaning in both the local and global sense and to develop solutions for living together. The objective for Global Learning that arises from an awareness of these requirements is to introduce children and young people to the increased reflexive demands of global society, and to enable them to shape their lives within the contradictions and ambivalences associated with this without having to resort to populist simplifications. Against this background, it seems central to foster religious literacy in the context of global learning. This involves the ability to recognize the fundamental interweavings of religion in social, cultural, and global contexts through different perspectives and to develop a basic understanding of religion and its role in human experience. As Diane L. Moore from Harvard Divinity School points out: "Religious literacy is the ability to discern and analyze the role of religion in personal, social, political, professional and cultural life." (Moore 2015, 30–31) For educational contexts and global learning, this means:

1. Perceive religion as a resource for refugee children!

Refugee children who have come to Germany/Europe in recent years mostly come from contexts of origin in which the majority of the population is religious. Religion can make a significant contribution to the resilience of refugee children. For this reason, they must be supported in practicing and developing their faith.

2. Respect the fundamental right to freedom of religion

Many research findings highlight, that children develop an individual relationship with God and are freely choosing how to practice their religion. Religious practices such as diets, fasting periods, or clothing styles are extremely complex, as they can be an expression of a devotion to faith or group affiliation, personal self-articulation, or habit, and have high relevance to well-being and personal boundaries of shame. Children have the right to freedom of religion in Germany and may not be discriminated because of their religion. In particular in the school and church context, which is framed by the educational goal of tolerance, religious diversity must be made possible.

3. Ensure basic interreligious education and profound intra-religious education

Various research studies show that refugee children and their families have a great interest in school or out-of-school education in relation to their own religion as well as other religions. Persecution and religious conflicts in the countries of origin of the refugee children can also cause mistrust between or toward religious communities in the host country and be mobilized for fundamentalist attitudes. To prevent this risk, inter- and also intra-religious dialogue skills must be promoted already at school, but also in religious communities, by increasing religious literacy and practicing a basic understanding of different forms of faith.

Provide learning spaces

When schools and religious communities provide such learning spaces, children and youth bring to the surface *powerful and moving narratives* that reveal the implications and intersectionality of faith, identity, belonging, and family loyalty. In the sense of Paul Ricoeur, their narratives can be seen as “weavings of narrated stories”, which have identity-forming importance (Ricoeur 1991, 396). If educational places are designed as such *houses of narratives*, children, and youth with and without migration experience can bring up their experiences of loss and exclusion in the context of migration, religion and identity and productively engage them as a resource for shared learning. Impressively, the philosopher Homi Bhabha calls it: The right to narrate. It stands for the right to be heard, to be recognized and represented. Bhabha said: “Freedom of expression is an individual right; the right to narrate, if you will, is a right of expression – the dialogic right to address and be addressed, to signify and be interpreted, to speak and to be heard, to make a sign and to know that it will receive respectful attention.” (Bhabha 2014, 184).

And this is an important impulse to understand migration as a sign of the times and a new locus theologicus!

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