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Memories of migration(s) in school

Abstract

History textbooks are often perceived as “national biographies” (Lozic & Hintermann, 2010, p. 33) of a country and are thus connected with issues of identity, belonging, and representations of us and them. This article focuses on the question of how pupils perceive the representations of migration in their textbooks. Drawing on evidence from eight selected school classes in Austria, it analyzes and challenges the role of school textbooks as sites of collective memories. Through the active participation of pupils in school-based workshops and the inclusion of multiple perspectives, such as forms of representation in textbooks, pupils’ family backgrounds, and classroom dynamics, in the analysis, the article identifies different ways pupils perceive and remember migration.

Keywords

History textbooks; Representations of migration; Collective memories; School workshops; Pupil participation

Erinnerungen an Migration(en) in Schulen

Zusammenfassung

Geschichtsschulbücher werden häufig als „nationale Biographien“ (Lozic & Hintermann, 2010, p. 33, own translation) der entsprechenden Staaten wahrgenommen und sind dadurch verbunden mit Fragen nach Identität, Zugehörigkeit, sowie der Repräsentation von wir und den Anderen. In diesem Artikel liegt die Konzentration auf der Migrationsgeschichte nach und von Österreich und auf der Frage, wie SchülerInnen die Repräsentation von Migrationsgeschichte wahrnehmen. Durch die Untersuchung von acht Schulklassen in Österreich wird die Rolle der Schulbücher als kollektive Erinnerungsorte analysiert und hinterfragt. Durch das aktive Miteinbeziehen der SchülerInnen in das Forschungsprojekt und die Beachtung unterschiedlicher Perspektiven und Kontexte bei der Analyse, wie beispielsweise der Repräsentation von Migration in Schulbüchern, den familiären

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Hintergründen der SchülerInnen, sowie der Dynamiken im Klassenzimmer, identifizieren wir unterschiedliche Wege, wie SchülerInnen Migration(en) wahrnehmen und erinnern.

Schlagworte

Geschichtsschulbücher; Repräsentation von Migration; Kollektive Erinnerungen; Schulworkshops; Aktive Teilnahme der SchülerInnen

1. Introduction

This article presents the results of the *Migration(s) in Textbooks – A Critical Analysis by Pupils, Teachers and Researchers* research project, which was carried out between 2011 and 2013.¹ It begins by presenting an overview of the theoretical framework and providing general information on the analyzed geography and history textbooks and the attitudes of teachers toward the topic of migration. The article then explains how pupils themselves define migration, how they judge the quantity and the quality of information on migration related issues in their textbooks, and which parts of history they identify as memorable. Finally, it concludes by summarizing how the history of migration to/from Austria is perceived by the pupils and assessing whether migration history can be seen as a part of Austrian collective memory.

2. Theoretical framework

School textbooks provide pupils with selected narratives and knowledge perceived to be important to those living within the respective society. History textbooks in particular are cited as a kind of “national biography” (Lozic & Hintermann, 2010, p. 33), or as “classical containers of national narratives” (Ohliger, 2010, p. 13), and primary indicators of socially accepted knowledge (Höhne, 2000) where the hegemonic image of national history is portrayed and imparted to pupils. Furthermore,

1 The project was funded by the Austrian Federal Ministry of Science and Research within the Sparkling Science research program. The active involvement of pupils of different ages in the research process is the main characteristic of this program. 170 pupils (from the ages of thirteen to nineteen) from eight different classes and two different Austrian cities (Vienna and Salzburg) were involved in the project, as well as eight teachers. Vienna and the city of Salzburg were chosen because of the high rates of multilingual pupils and pupils with migration biographies there in comparison with rural areas and other Austrian cities. In each city the project team chose one *Hauptschule* (also now *Neue Mittelschule* (NMS) or *Kooperative Mittelschule* (KMS)), one *Allgemeinbildende Höhere Schule* (with one class from Secondary Stage 1 and one from Secondary Stage 2), and one *Berufsbildende Schule* (school that provides vocational education from Grade 9 to 13). The rate of pupils with migration backgrounds within the classes varies significantly depending on the type of school and federal state. This was reflected in the numbers of pupils with migration biographies that participated in this project and shows the high social selectivity of the Austrian school system (Hintermann, Markom, Weinhäupl, & Üllen, 2014).

textbooks are seen as sources for the “*Zeitgeist*, particularly the collective memory” (Schissler, 2009, p. 205) and thus, are given relevance when it comes to (re)constructing, claiming, or rejecting group identities which are not free of contestation. Hintermann (2010) states that “processes of inclusion and exclusion are at work, when it comes to the selection of topics and the way they are depicted” (p. 61). Textbooks also transport images of the *Self* and the *Other*, designing collective identities and politics of belonging (Erler, 2011; Repoussi & Tutiaux-Guillon, 2010; Yuval-Davis, 2010; Torsti, 2007). According to this concept, constructing a collective identity is a product of „... narratives that create group cohesion. ... Narrating ‘us’, on the one hand, and differentiating the ‘others’, as a supposedly contrasting activity, are in essence two sides of the same coin” (Jonker & Thobani, 2010, p. 1). Thus, if we perceive textbooks as highly selective and influenced by political ideologies, whether they are suitable as a frame for collective identities and memories is questionable.

In his work on collective memories, Maurice Halbwachs (1985) distinguished between history, autobiographical memory, and collective memory. For him, history is “dead past” (Cattell & Climo, 2002, p. 4) which we know only through historical records. Collective memory and autobiographical memories are more active, and include personal experiences shaped by multiple social frameworks. Halbwachs has been widely criticized for creating an opposition between history and memory and for reifying and essentializing the view of history. Nevertheless, he also stressed that individual memories are always shaped by different social frames (*cadres sociaux*), such as the family, a peer group, or a school class. There are always intersecting belongings to different social frames and therefore always a plurality of collective memories. Nowadays, researchers are examining the development of collective memories as a process, one that is also “constructed and reconstructed by the dialectics of remembering and forgetting, shaped by semantic and interpretive frames, and subject to panoply of distortions that make accuracy and truth major issues” (Cattell & Climo, 2002, p. 23). In this perspective, memories are seen not only as determined by the social frame as in Halbwachs’s conception, but are viewed as a discursive and narrative constructions that integrate past, present, and future, and in doing so help to shape personal and group identities (Cattell & Climo, 2002). Consequently, memory is not simply a matter of recalling past experiences; it is “a complex and continuing process of selection, negotiation, and struggle over what will be remembered and what forgotten” (Natzmer, 2002, p. 164). As noted above, textbooks must be seen as a product of political discourses and socio-demographic changes which seek, according to Williams, “to incorporate, or ignore, emergent groups in the national portraiture and in the stories countries tell their children about themselves” (Williams, 2012, p. 4).² Although they

2 Since the 19th century, citizens have been socialized by the educational system of their nation states: „A centralized education system has systematically been used to foster national identity, to homogenize the members of the nation state beyond existing differences of class, gender, religion, language, etc., and to ascertain their loyalty of state power“ (Koulouri, 2011, p. 60).

are reductive and highly selective, school textbooks play an important role within the production of collective memories and, according to Bettina Alavi, belong to the memory of the society (see Alavi, 2004; Williams, 2012). Rainer Ohlinger (2010) even argues that “[w]hat is taught and learned at school is supposed to have a long-lasting effect on historical memory”, but that this often remains a “wishful thinking on part of educators” (p. 19).

School textbooks thus represent a source of remembered collective pasts which have an impact on the present because they are taught and discussed in schools. As they are oriented towards a national memory of a country they represent an accessible source of evidence for researching the collective memory of a country. But the nation, as a frame for national and thus collective narratives and remembrance, is increasingly being contested. Daniel Levy and Natan Sznaider (2002) suggest that a new form of memory is emerging, the so called “cosmopolitan memory” (p. 88). This form of memory is not constrained by the borders of a nation but is deterritorialized, going beyond national and ethnic boundaries. They argue, however, that national memories are not being erased but transformed in an era of globalization where “different national memories are subjected to a common patterning” (Levy & Sznaider, 2002, p. 89). Yet, as different studies in Europe and the US have shown (Grever, Pelzer, & Haydn, 2011; Hawkey & Prior, 2011; Eppstein, 2006; Carretero, Jacott, & López-Manjón, 2002), history teaching is still focused primarily on the national story, often ignoring the fact that school classes are shaped by migration.

As noted above, the construction of a collective memory of a nation is often connected with issues of identity, belonging, and representations of *us* and *them* (Torsti, 2007). Therefore, if history textbooks are viewed as sources of collective memory and pieces of master narratives, is it not necessary to examine how pupils of different backgrounds perceive the history of migration represented in their schoolbooks? Is the history of migration seen as an integral component of Austrian collective memory or as a sort of supplementary history? In the Austrian case, migrants are often depicted as *foreign* or as *other Austrians* in textbooks and pupils with immigrant backgrounds³ remain excluded “from the Austrian ‘we’”

3 The population with a migrant background includes all persons whose parents were born abroad, regardless of their nationality. In 2012, approximately 1,579,000 people with a migrant background lived in Austria. This represents 18.9 % of the total population with the proportion of people with a migrant background living in Vienna twice as high as in the rest of the country. Among this population are 1,167,000 *first generation-migrants* – those individuals that were born abroad and have moved to Austria. The remaining nearly 412,200 people, referred to as *second-generation migrants*, were born in Austria and are the offspring of parents who were born abroad (STATISTIK AUSTRIA, 2013). According to estimates by the Austrian Foreign Ministry, approximately half a million Austrian citizens live abroad. The resulting demographic, cultural, and religious heterogeneity of Austrian society is reflected in the composition of classes in schools, particularly in Vienna and other major cities. More than half of all pupils in public primary schools in Vienna in the 2009/2010 school year had a first language that was not German. The category *immigration background* in comparison to other sociodemographic categories states that it is part of a differentiating system with classifying hegemonic orders that provide an understanding of the social world. Perchinig and Troger (2011). argue that such dichotomous distinctions create a hierarchy of identity positions by operating with an exclusive logic of *othering*.

(Hintermann, 2010, p. 74). Sometimes, pupils with immigrant background are used as “teaching material to exemplify content and messages” (Hintermann, 2010, p. 74) but are not mentioned in textbooks. In their study on “High school students’ views on history”, Grever et al. (2011) identified five different profiles of historical interest among high school students in the Netherlands, the UK, and France. They demonstrated that there are differences between native and non-native students in their perceptions of the “general and personal meaning of history” (Grever et al., 2011, p. 225). In this study, students showed variation, for example, in relation to their valuation of two profiles: *Pride and connection with Dutch (English and French)*, and *Connection with history of migrants*. The first profile was appreciated more highly by native students, and the latter by non-native students. Nevertheless, the non-native students also saw the history of migration as part of Dutch (English or French) history (ibid., pp. 221–225). In their article on history and remembrance of migration in Germany, Motte and Ohliger (2004, p 13) discuss divided memories on both sides: migrants often know little about the historical perception (*Geschichtsbild*) of Germans; while Germans know little about the history of migration to their own country. In this context, the authors identify a double memory gap and point out that history of migration is not clearly positioned within the collective remembrance of German society. Viola Georgi and Rainer Ohliger (2009, pp. 12–13) state that young people use history in many different ways, and that the building of a historical consciousness is not a linear process.

According to Peter Seixas, historical meaning making is an ongoing process in which family, media, and the peer-group play an important role alongside school education (Seixas, 1993). As Slavin stresses, “group and individual processes operate all the time” (Slavin, 2002, p. 5) and this was clearly visible during the workshops undertaken in the schools. In some classes, intensive group dynamics where pupils occasionally changed their mind according to the prominent ideas of the group were observed. Nesdale and Lawson (2011) point out that children have “a fundamental need to be accepted and to belong” (p. 1594) and their attitudes are accordingly influenced by identification with certain groups and their wish to belong to them. This conclusion is not revelatory – for decades researchers have emphasized the influence of small cohesive groups within classrooms on the conduct and beliefs of pupils (Slavin, 2002). Consequently, group-dynamics within the school class were also taken into consideration in the research process, alongside the assessment of migration knowledge contained in textbooks and their interpretations by pupils.

3. Approaching pupils through active participation

Textbook research has faced much criticism for being one-dimensional in its methodological approach, and for focusing primarily on the content of the textbooks themselves (Heinze, 2010; Hintermann, 2010). Repoussi and Tutiaux-Guillon

(2010) now identify a “slow change” (p. 155) that is shifting the focus away from the textbook as a product and towards issues of its use and perception. Researchers increasingly question the correlation between production and content on one hand, and use and perception on the other. Accompanying this shift is the introduction of new methods into textbook research, such as observations, participation, qualitative interviews, and others borrowed from social sciences (Repoussi & Tutioux-Guillon, 2010, p. 155). Anthropological fieldwork, as a flexible and multi-stranded strategy (Gupta & Ferguson, 1997), was applied in this research project to diversify the understanding of how pupils perceive and interpret the representations of migration(s), and how they use their textbooks in general. This participatory and multi-perspective methodology also included, alongside an analysis of textbooks and an online survey⁴, extensive participant observation⁵ during workshops organized at every involved school. The specific approach taken in the project was to actively involve pupils in the research process in order to obtain different forms of knowledge available from different social locations. Therefore, three half-day workshops were organized within each class to facilitate discussion and analysis of the text, images and content of the selected textbooks by the pupils. The online survey indicated that only 1 % of the pupils regularly expressed (according to information provided by teachers) criticism of their textbooks during lessons without prompting. 25 % sometimes voiced criticism, while 74 % rarely or never did so. This corresponds to the barometer of opinion⁶ undertaken in the first workshop, in which pupils barely (approximately one pupil in each class) expressed any doubt with regard to the accuracy of the content of textbooks. Workshops⁷ were structured in the same way for all classes, but were specifically adapted to particular require-

- 4 The online survey was sent to all administrators of primary and secondary schools in Austria. In total, 2,299 teachers returned the completed semi-standardized questionnaire. Aside from collecting a range of data on the individual respondents, questions focused on following issues: The usage of textbooks and other educational material by teachers; the inclusion of migration-specific content in textbooks used by teachers; and pupils’ attitudes toward their textbooks. The online questionnaire of teachers indicated that textbooks are still the dominant teaching resource used in Austria: 82 % of the teachers stated that they use textbooks in the classroom and 87 % stated that they used them in order to prepare their lessons.
- 5 Following Joanne Passaro (1997), participation and observation were conceptualized as “elements in dialectical tension” (p. 156) which draw attention to multiple perspectives, both from the research team and the pupils, in order to produce adequate descriptions and analysis.
- 6 The research team prepared controversial theses based on the use of textbooks to which pupils would respond to by indicating whether they *accept* or *reject* them. A line was marked on the floor with tape, dividing the classroom lengthwise. At the extreme ends of the line, cards with “0 %” and “100 %” were fixed. One person from the research team read the first thesis out loud – “We don’t really need textbooks” – and asked the group to position themselves according to their degree of agreement or disagreement along the line. When everyone had taken their positions along the line, the positions could be justified through discussion and debate. Positions could also be changed according to the discussion and arguments made. A second person from the research team listed key points for further work. At least two members of the research team were present at every workshop, moving along the participant-observant continuum throughout.
- 7 Audio and video of the workshops were recorded and later transcribed and analyzed by the research team.

ments, such as the language skills of participating pupils or the perceived need to include or exclude specific topics, following consultation with teachers.

Anthropological fieldwork is very much dependent on the presence of the fieldworker where, due to the method of participant observation, the researcher has influence on the encounter (Gupta & Ferguson, 1997; Okely, 2012). The hierarchical structures between teachers and pupils also play an important role with regard to the ability of pupils to express individual opinions, and therefore special attention was placed on providing opportunities for pupils to give their perspectives on textbooks. For this reason, the workshops were held without the presence of the teachers and workshop content was not related in any way to the grading of pupils or the extent of their knowledge. While working with the pupils, the project team positioned itself primarily as researchers interested in answering an empirical question. In specific moments, typically following intense discussions, exercises were implemented that utilized an activist or *just for fun* motif in order to loosen up the atmosphere within the workshop. These were primarily relevant for the interpretation of group dynamics.

In each class there were one or two pupils, whether migration stories played a role in the biographies of the project team was an important factor. In one case the migration background of a researcher facilitated an atmosphere of trust as was reflected in the workshop protocol.⁸ Some pupils therefore felt encouraged to reflect their own immigrant background during the discussions, while others were simply curious about the reasons for the research team's interest in this topic.

Every workshop had a different focus, but all aimed to facilitate interaction with pupils. The first workshop was concerned with the pupils' understanding of migration and their everyday experiences of it. Before and during this workshop pupils were required to analyze their own textbooks and find examples of migration and migration related issues, which were then discussed with the project researchers. Several exercises implemented in the first workshop also aimed to discover what the pupils thought about their textbooks and their usage in class in general.⁹ The second workshop was oriented towards the history of migration to/from Austria and the question of the inclusivity or exclusivity of official history writing. By creating a timeline of the Austrian history of migration together with the pupils, the team attempted to determine pupil opinions in relation to history and whether or not the history of migration should form part of national historiography. In the third workshop, pupils were organized in small groups according to different topics, such as term criticism, visual representation of migrants, correct wording etc. During this workshop pupils were encouraged to analyze examples from the textbooks utilizing simplified scientific methods appropriate for the respective age groups. Finally, pupils participated in a future workshop in which they were asked

8 Experience showed that the way in which activities are explained, the selection of exercises, discussions, and methods used were perceived to be more important by pupils than the migration background, age, or gender of the researchers.

9 Such as the aforementioned barometer of opinion (see Footnote 6).

to consider what action should/could be taken to advance human rights and foster the integration of migrants within society.

In order to break down the in-group preference in workshops (Nesdale & Lawson, 2011), classes were regularly divided into small groups. This proved especially fruitful in one class that was characterized by a prominent leading group. In smaller groups the shyer pupils expressed their ideas more readily, and the previously dominant homogenous argument of the class (“We are all friendly with migrants”) was challenged. The focus on group dynamics provided important insights into the complex network of what Richardson (1956) refers to as “emotional forces” (p. 162) in classrooms. By dividing the larger groups into smaller ones, changes and ruptures within collective identity narratives were made visible.

The research team conducted an initial test analysis of the fifty textbooks currently used by the participating classes using the global analysis methodology outlined by Legewie (1994). In the next step, 22 selected textbooks (which included history/social studies and geography/economics textbooks) were analyzed by the team utilizing Mayring’s (2007) structuring and explicating method of qualitative content analysis. Additionally, selected passages were subjected to detailed analysis through the use of elements of Siegfried Jäger’s (2009) critical discourse analysis.

The arguments in this article are primarily derived from the findings of the workshops conducted in schools, focusing on Austrian migration history and its representation in textbooks. Firstly, an analysis of the textbooks was conducted together with the pupils to generate enthusiasm for the use of scientific methods to analyze text and images. Secondly, the opportunity for pupils to express their interpretations and views on the topic was provided by taking the classroom context and group-dynamics into consideration. Thirdly, the research team attempted to attract critical attention to the representations of migration related issues in textbooks. Reflecting on pupil user behavior of textbooks during regular class did not comprise an objective of the project within the framework selected. Although the pupils described how they used the books, no participant observation or other ethnographic work was undertaken during regular class. Hence, there are no results on how teachers and students interact in using textbooks. The findings are concerned with: the analysis of textbooks; analysis of participant observations and group discussions on the relevance of migration in textbooks during the workshops; and the statements of teachers within the scope of the online survey.

4. History textbooks and memory

With regard to the heterogeneous¹⁰ classes analysed within the project, crucial questions were: “How is Austrian history represented in textbooks?” and “Who is regarded as part of Austrian history?” Through the use of content analysis, the research team analysed what was highlighted and what was marginalized, or even

10 In terms of age, school type, and the percentage of pupils with migration background.

neglected, in the selected textbooks. As noted above, the aim of the project was to find out what pupils think is relevant: How they define migration; which parts of history they define as important; what they think about the representations of these histories in their textbooks. Who, in pupils' opinions, can be a part of the collective and who is – occasionally or permanently – excluded from the narrative (Kölbl, 2009)? While there have been perceptible changes in Austrian history and geography textbooks over the last 20 years with regard to representations of the *Self* and the *Other*, Austria still perceives itself largely as a stable and homogenous society (Hintermann, 2010). References to migration were made in all 22 history and geography textbooks analysed for this project, but with significant differences in quantity and forms of representation. Largely, the topic of migration was marginalized. Some books had special chapters on migration (*Spezialseiten*), while others mentioned migration in different chapters throughout the books (*Querschnitt*). In almost all books there was a tendency to problematize migration, for example by naming migration as one of the “central problems for the economy and society” (Gutschner & Rohr, 2010, p. 148), or presenting it as a threat and a danger (Huber, 2010; Derflinger, Menschik, Hofmann-Schneller, Tutschek, & Atmanstorfer, 2007). In books that took this approach aspects such as multilingualism and intercultural competence were neglected. Migration was presented as caused primarily by economic factors. With the exception of one textbook Fassmann, Pichler, Reiner, Dobler, Matzka, & Wurm, 2009), clear definitions of migration and migration-related terms were absent. The books also offered a rather static notion of migration. Just two textbooks (Fridrich & Wehlend, 2010; Fassmann et al., 2009) of the 22 mentioned remigration and transmigration. However, immigration to the country played a far more prominent role in the texts, especially in reference to refugees settling in Austria after the uprising in Hungary 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968. In this context, Austria and its citizens were presented as offering a warm-hearted welcome to the refugees. The fact that the majority of refugees used Austria as a country of transit was largely ignored in the texts. On the other side, the history of emigration from Austria, as well as women and their migration stories, were largely neglected. Again, only one book identified and discussed emigration as a relevant national process (Fassmann et al., 2009). In sum, while every textbook made reference to migration, its representation was often accompanied by stereotypes and problematization. Furthermore, both migrants and autochthonous Austrians were portrayed in more than half of the books as homogenous groups with no internal differences. Dichotomies of *us* vs. *them* were constructed through essentializing arguments, presenting migrants as “culturally different” (Hintermann, 2010, p. 73). Very few school textbooks – in this study only one – offered a more differentiated and sophisticated picture (Markom & Weinhäupl, 2013).

4.1 On the importance and visibility of migration in textbooks, or: “What is migration actually?”

The main arguments developed in this article are derived from the analysis of the workshop discussions with, and analysis of, pupils at Austrian schools. Furthermore, one of the objectives of the project was to survey the attitudes of teachers towards migration. 80 % of teachers responded to the online survey question “Is it necessary to include more information on migration in textbooks?” with the answer “no” or “No, there is already enough!” The predominant justifications for these answers were: “No, because we just have two or three migrants in class” and “No, top-down constraints stoke the rejection of the subject. An individual thematization is much better.” Teachers that answered “no” never did so on the basis of historical perspective, but instead emphasized that they rejected the inclusion of more information on migration due to the lack of migrants in their class or the fact that there is “already enough to learn.”

The other 20 % of teachers, however, stated: “Yes – Austria has always been a multi-ethnic country, and something positive has been created out of it. It is enough if the politicians stoke fear to their benefit.” In another response to the question whether there should be more migration related themes in textbooks, one teacher emphasized: “In any case! The whole history of Austria is influenced by the migration.” Some also addressed the issue of the negative portrayal of migration, arguing that “that depends on how it is addressed. Stigmatization of migrant children is not dependent on the existence of a textbook. Negative attributions can already be found on the school playground, in parents meetings, and partly amongst the teaching staff.” Those teachers who concern migration as positive in textbooks argue against discrimination and often include the historical component of the multi-ethnic state into their considerations.

Although interest in migration issues was quite high in all classes examined, there was variation between pupils with regard to their perception of how much migration history is needed in textbooks and how this relates to one’s own personal history, regardless of their background. In the first workshop, pupils discussed a variety of theses on the role of textbooks and their representations of migration related issues. The pupils often had completely different definitions of what migration meant to them, but it was clear that in many cases migration was connected to having a different religious background – “He [the migrant] has to have another religious background” (Secondary Stage 2, Salzburg, Feb. 2012) – or citizenship – “For me, migration is somehow connected to the citizenship. I have Austrian citizenship and if I go from here to there I still have Austrian citizenship. One remains Austrian” (Secondary Stage 2, Salzburg, Feb. 2012).

When asked whether a peasant moving from a village to the city was a migrant, all but two pupils in one secondary undergraduate school in Vienna raised their

red cards¹¹, indicating “no”. The two pupils that raised green cards stated: “Yes, he is migrant, because his living conditions changed completely” and “Yes, because in the city, he is uninformed and he is a newcomer” (Secondary Stage 1, Vienna, Nov. 2011). Others identified migration as being “only when a person moves from one country to another, when he crosses the border” (Secondary Stage 1, Vienna, Nov. 2011). Crossing the border was considered a key characteristic of migration and a migrant is, according to the majority of pupils, somebody who comes from another country. Just two or three pupils in each class, however, stated that migration simply relates to movement and that an individual does not necessarily have to cross a border to be a migrant. What perspectives both groups had in common, regardless of whether crossing or not crossing the border was considered a decisive factor, was that migrants are regarded as newcomers, persons who are required to find their way in the new environment because they come from somewhere else.

Three different categories of significance could be identified in pupils’ responses when asked how important they feel migration in their textbooks is, ranging from a total rejection of migration related issues in textbooks, to a wish for more information. One group of pupils suggested there was absolutely no need to read about migration issues in their textbooks and indicated they believed it is a topic that can be discussed in the classroom:

- “I do not really think that migration is necessary in textbooks” (Secondary Stage 1, Vienna, Nov. 2011).
- “It’s not really needed in books: you can talk about it in the classroom” (Secondary Stage 1, Vienna, Nov. 2011).

Other pupils stated their view that reading about migration in history and geography books is sufficient and addressing the topic in other textbooks is unnecessary because “[i]n history there is always enough about refugees” (Secondary Stage 1, Vienna, Nov. 2011). Other statements made by pupils support this view, emphasizing that:

- “Migration does not always have to be addressed” (Secondary Stage 2, Salzburg, Feb. 2012);
- “There are few books in which it should be addressed” (Secondary Stage 1, Vienna, Nov. 2011);
- “I do not need migration in the math book, and in geography there is always enough [on migration] in the books” (Secondary Stage 1, Vienna, Nov. 2011);

11 For this exercise pupils were first given red and green cards (red meaning “no” and green meaning “yes”). One of the research team members read aloud questions on migration related issues and pupils were required to answer by raising their card in order to make their opinion visible. The questions were e.g.: “Is somebody moving from Salzburg to Vienna a migrant?”; “Is somebody moving from Italy to Austria a migrant?”; “Is somebody who moves to another country, but is going to return to his country of origin in five months, a migrant?” Every time pupils raised their cards the other member of the research team member took a photograph in order to enable the subsequent analysis of the pupils’ opinions. Furthermore, following the exercise a short debriefing session was held with pupils, in which they discussed their opinions.

- “We should learn about it in history and geography and that’s enough” (Secondary Stage 1, Vienna, Nov. 2011);
- “In the books I’ve looked at, there really is enough about migration” (Secondary Stage 1, Vienna, Nov. 2011).

In these examples, the responses suggested that pupils believe migration is something which should be restricted to certain books and that it is not really necessary to read about the topic in others. As stated above, there was an interest in migration issues but the pupils were not able to connect the history of migration to national or local history and understand how migration has shaped the environment in which they live. There was a lack of historical knowledge about migration, and as a consequence an inability for pupils to express historical empathy.

Just one or two pupils in each class expressed a wish to learn more about the history of migration, and regarded it as a part of Austrian history. As one girl in Salzburg stated: “We are also affected by the migration in Austrian history. Therefore, I think it is very important to read about it in the books” (Secondary Stage 2, Salzburg, Feb. 2012). Others commented that they would like to know more about migration because it is addressed randomly in the textbooks and it would be good to develop a better understanding of the topic. Another pupil in Salzburg noticed that “the word migrant is never mentioned in the textbooks ... it is more about persecution, slavery, and so on. But the specific term as such is not used in the book” (Secondary Stage 2, Salzburg, Feb. 2012).

When asked what they thought about the representation of migrants in textbooks, the answers provided typically pointed to the multi-perspectivity or neutrality of the images and texts:

- “The representation of migrants is ok, it’s always different, it is presented from different angles and perspectives, and it is quite versatile” (Secondary Stage 1, Vienna, Nov. 2011).
- “It is actually always illustrated neutral” (Secondary Stage 1, Vienna, Nov. 2011).
- “If it is not ok, then I really do not think that this was meant on purpose” (Secondary Stage 1, Vienna, Nov. 2011).

The pupils rarely perceived the representations of migrants and migration as problematic, in contrast to the findings of the project team (Hintermann et al., 2014). Even when something worthy of discussion was identified, justifications were made by pupils for these problematic representations, as the last quote above demonstrates.

The analysis showed that although there is an interest in migration, pupils judge the need to learn about it from their textbooks very differently. Teachers also have different opinions on whether migration issues should be addressed more fully in textbooks. This may also be a consequence of different perceptions of what migration actually is. Internal migration was generally not regarded to be migration and this topic was ignored by most of the textbooks analyzed. Temporary migration, such as student mobility or working abroad and then returning to the home country after a few months, was also not considered migration, because one returns to his/her own country. The other difficulty in judging migration aris-

es from the fact that the pupils are also confronted with many different forms of movement and many different wordings (“persecution”, “flight”, “*Einwanderung*”, “foreigner”, “refugee”, “*Zuwanderer*”) and are thus left confused. Therefore, while they generally did not call for an increase in the extent to which migration issues are addressed in their textbooks, pupils did express their desire for more discussion and information on migration in the classroom.

4.2 Having or not having an immigrant background

The theme of the second workshop was migration narratives as represented in textbooks. The purpose was to discuss migration history to and from Austria from 1900 until the present day and reflect upon how this history relates to the pupils. The aim was to investigate to what extent pupils acknowledge the history of migration as an integral part of Austrian history and to reflect upon the constructed nature of history, challenging the view of history as true and objective.

In order to achieve this, the team prepared a timeline with pictures, newspaper articles, and texts taken from the history and geography textbooks used by the school classes in question. The timeline covered major events in migration history to and from Austria, such as: the Austrian emigration from the Habsburg monarchy; forced migration during the Anschluss and the Second World War; acceptance of refugees from former Yugoslavia; life stories of labor migrants in the 1960; and life stories of asylum seekers today. The workshop was divided into three phases. In the first phase, pupils were separated into small groups and provided with texts and photos from their textbooks and newspapers, but without any reference to the time period of the content. Pupils were required to discuss the examples and organize them according to decades on the timeline. In the second phase, the results were presented to another group in a moderated group discussion. In the final phase, pupils were asked which periods of the history of migration they found most interesting and following the workshop were required to answer the question “What did the workshop have to do with you?” in their reflection diaries.

The findings indicate that there was variation in the levels of interest in different topics of migration history (relating to different periods on the timeline) among the pupils. The discussions and ratings provided by the pupils after the presentation of the results of the timeline show that they were most interested in topics related to racism and discrimination.¹² The discussions on “What can we do to stop discrimination?” were afforded great importance by nearly all pupils, as they believed these debates important in order to show that not all Austrians are racists.

¹² Pupils were intrigued by the death of Marcus Omofuma, a Nigerian asylum seeker who died of asphyxiation, caused by having his mouth and parts of his nose taped on 1st May 1999 during a deportation flight. After his death large anti-racism demonstrations were organized. Another important issue the pupils discussed was *Das Lichtermeer* (The sea of lights), a demonstration organized by the NGO *SOS Mitmensch* which took place on 23rd January 1993. Almost 300,000 participants demonstrated against the xenophobic referendum of the Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ) *Österreich zuerst* (Austria First).

The era of National-Socialism was another period from the timeline that engendered great interest and discussion among the pupils, and is an era which is still contested in some textbooks.¹³ Almost all pupils were exceptionally interested in this period and were eager to obtain additional information which went beyond that contained in their schoolbooks. The wars in the former Yugoslavia (1991–1995 and 1998–1999) were also discussed intensively in two classes, because some pupils (or their parents) had personal histories impacted by these events.

How did pupils react to the question of whether the history of migration was relevant to them or not? The findings indicate that *having an immigrant background or not* was the decisive factor in answering this question. After the workshop pupils were asked questions about the activity and were required to provide written answers. One of the questions put to the pupils was: “What did this workshop have to do with you?” Two out of three pupils without an immigrant background responded: “The history of migration has nothing to do with me, I am an Austrian” or “It has nothing to do with me, my parents are Austrian.” Arguments made by participants during a discussion held with a class of fifteen male pupils aged seventeen to nineteen from the economic school in Vienna also reflected these answers. Due to the prevalence of the *migration does not affect me* argument expressed in the reflection diaries of this group, one of the project team members attempted to discuss the *our history versus their history* topic once again the following day. The pupils did not understand why and how migration history forms part of their own history. They commented that “it’s okay if migrants get information, so that they know their own past better, but for the majority of the Austrians it has no relevance” (Economic School, Vienna, Nov. 2011). Another undergraduate class in Vienna displayed similar attitudes, stating that “the workshop today had nothing to do with me because we have mainly talked about history and only focused on migration in the past” (Secondary Stage 1, Vienna, Nov. 2011). Pupils without an immigrant background were largely unaware that the history of migration forms part of Austrian history. They associated the history of migration to/from Austria with personal migration experience (or that of their parents or grandparents) and did not perceive the history of migration as their own, but as *their* (the migrants’) history. The picture is not entirely homogenous however. In one class in Salzburg, three-quarters of the class stated that “history of migration is important, yes, because all of us migrated once.” Another pupil in the same class expressed: “It is normal that the migration history is part of Austrian history” (Economic School, Salzburg, Feb. 2012). These pupils were aware of the fact that migration “concerns us too” and explicitly criticized the marginalization of the theme.

13 In her research into how victimhood and complicity in Post-Waldheim Austria were represented in history textbooks, Ina Markova (2011) states that for a long time there was no “exhaustive reflection upon crimes committed by members of one’s own collective” (p. 69) and that the negotiation of Austria’s “‘master narrative’ about National Socialism is still in progress” (p. 70). Still today, the problematic role of the former Austrian president Kurt Waldheim during the National Socialist Era is ignored in some books.

In contrast to their counterparts without an immigrant background, apart from two exceptions pupils with immigrant background agreed that the workshop affected them, stating that “it has to do with me, I’m a migrant.” To discuss and gain a better understanding of their (hi)story was of great importance to them, as the following examples demonstrate. In the reflection diary, which pupils were required to complete after the workshop, one pupil wrote: “The workshop had something to do with me because I have a migration background and the reason for my parent’s flight from Bosnia were mentioned in the timeline” (Secondary Stage 1, Vienna, Nov. 2011). The same pupil had shared her story during the workshop when the pictures of refugees from former Yugoslavia were shown on the timeline. Her provision of personal insights moved her peers who asked the pupil questions in order to gain a better understanding of her story and the story of other refugees from former Yugoslavia. The narrative about her migration biography and the memory about it evolves through communicative memory. Interactions and communication with family members may serve as a frame for building historical knowledge and interpreting the collective narratives represented in textbooks.

However, not all pupils with migration biographies orient themselves toward their country of origin. One pupil in an undergraduate class in Vienna with a Hungarian family background stated that the workshop did not concern him at all, even though he has a migration biography. He saw no way of bringing the content of his family’s historical experience into the textbook and school experience and thus, adopted the dominant collective interpretations and constructions of history. Nevertheless, in the same class other pupils reflected different approaches towards the history of migration: One pupil connected her own story with the larger global context stating that “the workshop showed me why I am here, where I could have been and how I could have lived, if certain historical events had not happened” (Secondary Stage 2, Vienna, Dec. 2012).

It is important to emphasize that the role of immigrant background cannot be generalized. There were differences within the classes in relation to what extent pupils perceived themselves to be concerned by the history of migration. As shown above, different attitudes were observable during the workshops. One attitude corresponds to what Georgi and Ohliger (2009) call “transmitted historical consciousness” (p. 12) the concept that that young people, through stories they hear at home and within their family, continue to value the historical traditions of their country of origin. “Receptive historical consciousness” (Georgi & Ohliger, 2009, p. 13) in relation to the history of migration was also reflected by one pupil with an immigrant background in the study, and is sometimes supported by textbooks with assimilationist tendencies. In the last example from the Secondary Stage 2 in Vienna mentioned above, the pupil perceived migration as an historical continuum rather than as an isolated phenomenon. In doing so she avoided what Georgi and Ohliger (2009) call “historical vacuum”: a “memory-free” (p. 13) space in which young people with migration biographies can find themselves if they lose their frame of reference or if that biography is excluded from the national history.

The importance of presenting and discussing stories of individual lives with the pupils became evident during the workshops, as it enabled them to locate themselves and their own histories on the timeline, and gave them a sense of belonging and connection to their respective group.

5. Conclusion

Textbooks in Austria remain dominated by national histories and function as a mechanism of inclusion and exclusion where little room is left for inclusive historiographies. Thus, migration history is not presented as part of the collective memory of the country in the majority of the analyzed textbooks. This reflects pupils' general attitudes towards the history of migration and the question of whether the history of migration forms part of the Austrian national narrative. The valuation of migration history by individual pupils varied according to factors such as general interest in history and biographical background. It was clear that in most cases pupils used their (non) migration background as a foundation from which to orient themselves towards the official narrative. As we have seen, many pupils with immigrant backgrounds approached history through the frame of their own family history and appreciated the opportunity to hear about and tell their own story. Furthermore, hearing about migration history related to them or their families helped some to understand the place in which they live or the place that they come from. In contrast to the findings of Grever's study on "High school student's views on history" in the Netherlands, the UK and France, pupils with migrant backgrounds in this study did not see their history as part of Austrian history. From this perspective, this study accords with the arguments advanced by Motte and Ohliger (2004) that the historical perception of migration in Austrian textbooks is characterized by divided memories, and that Austrian history remains a field of exclusion in which migrants and their histories are not regarded as a fundamental constituent element.

By gaining greater knowledge and a better understanding of how and why pupils use history differently, history curricula can be adapted in order to better meet the diversity of pupils' needs and also "the intentions that are implied in teaching history to them" (Raasch, 2012, p. 83). What approach can be taken to achieve this? An important insight from the work with the pupils is that the inclusion and recognition of diversity in textbooks (by including primary sources like letters, stories, or reports by migrants), in order to recognize and foster hybrid or multiple historical consciousness where young people build a transnational collective memory composed of different historical consciousness, is important. An example of a transnational, cosmopolitan representation of history found at school level is provided by a common textbook produced by German and French authors. The explicit goal of this project was to write a shared history, including German and French perspectives on the past, particularly on the Second World War (Soysal, Bertilotti,

& Mannitze, 2005; Auswärtiges Amt & Ministère des Affaires étrangères, 2015) In this sense, history lessons can become a place where divided memories can be transformed into shared memories (Meyer-Hamme, 2009; Motte & Ohliger, 2004) and consequently “‘crack the container’ of the nation-state as ‘memory-holder’” (Macdonald, 2013, p. 189). As discussed above, textbooks can be seen as a memory site, but it must be acknowledged that the textbook has to strike a balance between being “student-friendly” and “didactically-true” (Repoussi & Tutiaux-Guillon, 2010, p. 157; Christophe, 2009). Although reflexivity about presentations of the history of migration is becoming more prevalent, processes of othering, framed by the nation-state as an active agent, remain prominent. Textbooks that exclude or marginalize migration do not support pupils (with or without migration biographies) to develop their historical empathy or construct hybrid and multiple historical consciousness. Thus, history education must perceive migration and globalization as inherent parts of today’s society, a fact which has yet to be fully realized (Kölbl, 2009). Kölbl (2009) refers to “intercultural historical consciousness” (p. 71), which includes intercultural competences (such as language awareness), history which expands beyond national borders (cosmopolitan memories), and history of the majority as well of migrants and their relation to each other. Imparting this kind of sophisticated presentation of history is a task which textbooks alone are unlikely to be able to fulfill. The challenge is not to solve the issue of the textbook as a memory site on its own, but to open up space for discussion and individual biographies in classrooms. As the study indicated, story-telling, which is part of communicative memory, is appreciated by pupils, as without it history remains dead past with no connections to the individual. As memories are connected with many mnemonic practices such as things, places, language, bodily practices, museums etc., classrooms can become memory sites, integrating and reflecting upon intersections of collective and individual memories and different backgrounds.

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