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Representing Australia's Involvement in the First World War: Discrepancies between Public Discourses and School History Textbooks from 1916 to 1936

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Abstract • This article investigates discrepancies between narratives of national independence in public discourses surrounding the First World War and narratives of loyalty in school textbooks in Queensland, Australia. Five textbooks commonly used in schools from 1916 to 1936 are analyzed in order to ascertain how the First World War is represented to school students via the history curriculum. This article argues that, although public discourses were in a state of flux, and often viewed Australia as a country that was becoming increasingly independent of its colonial ruler Great Britain, textbooks that maintained a static view continued to look to Great Britain as a context in which to teach national history to school pupils.

Keywords • Australian identity, curriculum, First World War, history/culture wars, national history education, textbooks

Introduction

History is highly political, both as a discipline and in terms of the experience people have of it, especially when it comes to the collective remembrance of past and public events. This has been demonstrated in recent years by the debates commonly referred to as history or culture wars, which have proliferated in a number of nations. In Australia, these ongoing public debates (that were most prolific from 1994 to 2007) between historians, academics, journalists, commentators, politicians and other high-profile public figures, are concerned with the ideologies that underpin particular versions of Australian national history recorded and published and made accessible to the general population. The purposes of teaching national history in schools and the content selected to do so, have been at the forefront of many of these public debates. There can be difficulties in the relationship between history as it is understood by the public and history as taught in schools. John Slater observed that, "history is an often unsettling and sometimes uncomfortable subject. It is controversial and often very sensitive. There is some consensus about its importance in the school curriculum but much less agreement about what it is for."¹

Many of the issues have in recent years intersected, resulting in a multifaceted and ongoing debate regarding the nature of history and also regarding the nature of history taught in schools (and the associated political consequences of this). Some of the debates that have vigorously contested

previously entrenched views of the nature of history have included topics such as: the commemoration of the centenary of the First World War and its implications in a multicultural nation; national identity issues, highlighted arguably most dramatically by the Cronulla Riots of December 2005; and the focus on history as a school subject in the first draft of the proposed Australian national curriculum. Conclusions drawn from these debates by public figures who participated in them reflect different views about how history is and should be constructed.

This article acknowledges that representations of history change and adopts a post-structuralist view of historical research by exploring the way in which history is represented is in flux. However, it is apparent that many people struggle with the idea that history is a contested area of learning where multiple realities are presented, and in which one ultimate *truthful* answer to a question is not always apparent, appropriate or even possible to find. This struggle appears to be compounded by the simplified conservative “black or white” perspectives taken by popular news media.² This idea is taken up by Ann Curthoys and John Docker when they assert that the general public wants *truth* in history. They write that,

Public audiences want what historians to say to be true, and do not like it when historians disagree among themselves or suggest that a true answer may never be found. If the question is important, there must be a correct answer; to say there are many truths sounds like obfuscation, fence-sitting, and avoiding one’s public responsibility.³

In light of the differences between public discourses and school curriculum on specific historical events, this article provides an analysis of the school curriculum within a historical context on a topic of significance to Australia’s national identity. The article focuses on Australia’s involvement in the First World War, and specifically on the idea that Australia witnessed a “coming of age” by participating in this international event. This article examines the discrepancies between public discourses about the First World War and the ways in which the same topics were represented in school textbooks during the First World War and its immediate aftermath. The term “coming of age” is applied in an emotional sense, as Australia had the same legal ties to Great Britain as it did when the Federation occurred in 1901. The First World War was the first conflict in which Australia had participated as a federated nation. For the first time, soldiers and nurses served under the Australian rather than under a colonial flag. During the First World War, the “coming of age” discourse was promoted to the public energetically via the press. This was arguably used as a way to garner support for Australia’s involvement in this conflict, and to encourage more young men to enlist. Since this time, other historians⁴ and members of the general public have continued to see this event as pivotal in the development of a unique and personalized Australian national identity to the extent that facing and tackling adversity is now seen by its citizens as an exclusive Australian trait.

There is much sentimentality surrounding the assertion that Australia was “born” at Gallipoli (the first major campaign involving Australian troops) or that it “came of age” with the terms often used interchangeably in popular histories and by the press. This article does not focus on the veracity of this “coming of age” label, for there is ample evidence in public discourses both from the First World War and from contemporary media reports (particularly concerning the annual Anzac Day⁵), to indicate that the mythology surrounding Australia’s participation in the First World War has led many people to consider that this international event did in fact define Australia as a nation in its own right as distinct from Great Britain and the Empire. More importantly, it was brought together as a federated nation, which no longer upheld separate state interests. How representations of the First World War were realized in the history curriculum and how this reflected or diverged from dominant public discourses is the focus of this article. This historical analysis draws on extracts from school curricula and public documents during and immediately following the First World War.

Historical Context

With the centenary of the landing of troops at Gallipoli approaching in 2015, there has been renewed and sustained interest in the commemoration of this event by governments, community groups and individuals. Increasingly, over the past few decades, Gallipoli has been represented as a point of national pride and this sentiment enjoys wide support in the community. The current raised profile of the Anzac legend, in particular contextualized to the role of the infantry of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (Anzac) in Gallipoli, Turkey, during the First World War can, in part, be attributed to former Australian Prime Minister John Howard, as part of his “three cheers”, or celebratory, view of Australian history. This is evident in key activities undertaken by a growing number of Australians each year. For example, travelling to the battle sites of Gallipoli, which is increasingly portrayed as being a rite of passage or a type of pilgrimage for young Australians; and increased attendance at the annual Anzac Day events, services and commemorations, in particular the somber Dawn Service, all of which mark the importance of this day.

Participating in Anzac Day activities is increasingly viewed as a normal “Australian” way to demonstrate a broad patriotism, and not solely as a remembrance of Australian war service. The emotive language used to describe this broad patriotism which Australians are expected to connect with through Anzac Day was established and proliferated by John Howard, particularly in his 2003 Anzac Day address (below) and has continued in a bipartisan way with Kevin Rudd’s and Julia Gillard’s prime ministerships.

And I think as all of us marvel at the way in which the young of Australia in increasing numbers embrace the Anzac traditions. And we ask ourselves why is it that this great tradition has strengthened and cemented its

hold on the affections and the emotions of the Australian people ... It is about the celebration of some wonderful values, of courage, of valour, of mateship, of decency, of a willingness as a nation to do the right thing, whatever the cost.⁶

The period in Australian history that this article is concerned with is characterized by the rapid social and political change that occurred as a result of Australia's participation in the First World War. Dominant socio-political (and public) discourses included topics such as: debates about military conscription; issues of independence from Great Britain; equipping Australia with an effective military defense; Australia's participation as a nation in the international arena; Australia's repayments of war loans to Great Britain, and government support of the unemployed during the economic depression of the 1930s. This era was also significantly influenced by domestic affairs, namely the continued affective unifying of Australia in the years post-Federation. This period is extensively detailed by both contemporary historians of the period such as Ernest Scott⁷ and Charles_Bean,⁸ and by modern historians.⁹ The vast amount of research undertaken into this period of Australia's history is representative of the importance placed on Australia's involvement in the First World War as an influential and lasting factor in shaping the nation's cultural identity and history.

Although Australia's involvement in the First World War is commonly taught to pupils across all grade levels in primary and secondary school, and pupils' frequent participation in Anzac Day events such as marches and memorial services, visits to First World War sites overseas through school field trips and veterans being invited to school assemblies, there remains a deficit in research that examines how the First World War is represented in the school curriculum. This is an issue because this is often the first (and for many, the only) contact students have with learning history in a formal environment. What they learn in the classroom is therefore frequently all they know and this potentially impacts their views on events for years to come; only changing if they are motivated to learn more about history beyond the context of formal education. The disconnection some students have with learning history¹⁰ means that more research needs to be conducted into the type of national history taught to school students, and that the far-reaching consequences and post-schooling should not be ignored. With increasing moves to implement the fully drafted Australian national curriculum, this article provides a timely opportunity to examine assumptions about the history taught to school students in the past.

Educational Context

In Queensland during the era of this article's focus, history was placed within a larger subject area called "history, civics and morals". This demonstrates in a very clear way the expectation, held by the government's Department of Public Instruction, that history and civic studies should be viewed

in moral terms; highlighted in the preface of *The Children's Book of Moral Lessons, Third Series*, and which sets the tone for the ideological framework of the history curriculum in Queensland schools during this time, for, “the present series advances to a higher level of subjects. Our view is now geographical and historical, though frequent opportunities are afforded for making appeal to the young learner’s sense of personal duty.”¹¹

The preface of this textbook demonstrates that the history curriculum is constructed explicitly as a form of moral education in order to “appeal to the young learner’s sense of personal duty.”¹² Clearly articulating the values favored by the curriculum links the potentially abstract topic of moral lessons to tangible school subjects of history and geography. Almost twenty years after the publication of this textbook, the intersection of history and morality was still very much in favor, with history, civics and morals still written into one all-encompassing syllabus. The 1928 government report, *State Education in Queensland*, shows that issues of citizenship and morality were closely intertwined with history and literary narratives:

The primary school curriculum aims at laying the foundations of a sound education. While emphasis is given to the importance of the “three R’s”, the syllabus also includes British and Australian history, general geography (especially that of the British Empire) civics and morals, nature study, elementary science, drawing, music, needlework, and physical training.¹³

The education context of pre- and post-First World War Queensland in Australia can be seen as one of moral and political conservatism, and a context that promotes nationalistic sentiment and integrates various subject areas (including the elusive “morality” as a school subject) in its teaching of national history to school students. Due to the responsibility for school education coming under the jurisdiction of Australia’s separate states and territories each of these jurisdictions has a different education department, syllabus, curriculum and associated materials, including textbooks. In order to undertake a close analysis of the representations of the First World War only one state’s resources are analyzed, with Queensland being selected for this task.

The Selection of Texts and the Methodology of the Analysis

As detailed in the table below, five school curriculum texts have been selected for analysis from this era, and only two form the focus for analysis as three of the texts did not address the topic of the First World War at all (in spite of the fact that this topic was and is considered to be important for the Australian public. The texts were selected as representative samples of textbooks used in history classrooms in Queensland. Texts include *A Story of the Australian People*, written by school inspector and historian Karl Cramp,¹⁴ and the government endorsed *New Syllabus* history series written by Dunlop and Palfrey, published between 1932 and 1934. The authors were district inspectors of schools. This small number of textbooks can be attributed to the time it took for

curriculum change to take place after the First World War; that history as a distinct subject was not taught in the early years of primary school; and that few students studied history beyond the seventh grade. The publishers of the textbooks are all Australian, and the textbooks directly reflect the official curriculum of the time, that being the government produced syllabus. The *New Syllabus* history series was endorsed by the government of the day, and recommended to all schools for use in the classroom. Evidence of student and school names, library stamps and margin notes made by students and teachers obtained from multiple copies of the textbooks indicate that their use was common and geographically widespread across schools in Queensland. Some schools loaned or rented the books to their students, and some required their students to buy the books.

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Table 1. School Textbook Selection

The approach applied to the analysis of the textbooks is a historical methodology incorporating Wodak's discursive historical method.¹⁵ Although traditional historical studies still exist (and traditional historical studies are important as one component of the canon of historical knowledge) the move towards a decentering of the preferred historical narrative in other studies also makes valuable and insightful contributions to how the world is constructed in the present, based on events from the past. This directional change in history is described by Brian Hoepfer and Max Quanchi as follows.

In academia, the move is away from an objective, descriptive narrative and a past which can be known towards histories which are reflective, socially critical and self-interrogating. In the public domain, it is paralleled by a surge of interest in anything vaguely historical. The Australian community continues to demonstrate a popular interest in the past, not in history as a discipline, but history as an entertaining window on the past. National competitions, commemorations of special events, historic homes, heritage walks, antiques, vintage cars, history theme parks, historical drama, television documentaries and historical movies are increasingly entertaining and informing Australians about what it was like in the old days.¹⁶

The move away from traditional approaches to history methodology has attracted criticism and vehement debate¹⁷ that is not without its valid points. However, for the purposes of this article, the intersection of two methodologies strengthens the analysis, in particular because the focus on representations of the First World War is analyzed *within* the history curriculum and is connected with an identified historical era. The general criticism of a move from a traditional approach to history studies is that cultural, sociological and literary criticism has infiltrated history studies to such a degree that it has become a type of sophistry. Furthermore, opposition to integrating other methodological approaches to historical studies seems to be grounded in a resistance to allow a

perceived dilution of the purity of the discipline.¹⁸

Given that this article takes textbooks, as secondary sources, and makes them the object of a primary source analysis, it is appropriate to include an explicit analysis. Wodak's discursive historical method¹⁹ enables that to occur, primarily by enabling the power discourses evident in written language to be brought to the fore for analysis. Five questions were set for each textbook source, prior to incorporating an historical perspective for cross analysis and text synthesis. These five questions were:

1. How are individuals, events or groups of people named and referred to linguistically (that is, what is the language used to describe people and events, in relation to the First World War)?
2. What traits, characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them (that is, what language is used to describe the First World War, and how is ideology evident in the information selected to be included in the text)?²⁰
3. By means of what arguments and argumentation schemes do specific persons or social groups try to justify and legitimize the inclusion or exclusion of others?
4. From what perspective or point of view are these labels, attributions and arguments exposed?
5. Are the respective utterances overtly articulated, are they intensified or are they mitigated?²¹

Textbook research has its own history of investigating constructions of curricula. In their introduction to a collection of research essays on constructions of national identity in school history curricula across a number of nation states, Stuart Foster and Keith Crawford write that,

school history textbooks are examples of preactive curriculum documents that are socially constructed. The view of social constructionism adopted ... is based upon the notion that social action is the product of the manner in which individuals and groups create and sustain their social world. From this viewpoint, the setting, the participants, their motives and intentions and the socioeconomic, cultural and historical context are important variables in shaping meaning and behaviour ... Studying the construction of history textbooks and their use in school from a social constructionist viewpoint allows for the exploration of the views, values and interests involved in the making of curriculum, of the political maintenance of power and knowledge and, crucially, of the socio-historical context within which curriculum is constructed.²²

Conscription Debates in the Public Arena

As a recently federated nation, the issue of conscription was the first national debate that really divided Australia and one that was fought not in the name of former state colonial interests, but rather focused on Australia's interests as a unified nation. This is considered to be a very complex issue in post-Federation Australian society. In the public arena, there was fierce and emotive debate on the issue of conscription, and it is not an overstatement to say that this issue really divided people, a fact demonstrated, in part, by the closeness of the votes cast in the conscription referenda.

In total, two referenda were held. The first took place on 28 October 1916, when the vote was defeated with 1,087,557 in favor of conscription and 1,160,033 against. The second, which took place on 20 December 1917, was also defeated, this time with 1,015,159 in favor and 1,181,747 against. The results from both referenda demonstrate clearly the closeness of the vote, a reflection of the divisiveness the conscription debates caused among citizens.

Reacting to demands from Great Britain for increased troops, Prime Minister William “Billy” Hughes became a staunch supporter of a referendum to enact compulsory overseas conscription for military-age males. He brought both referenda to the Australian people for consideration, despite opposition from his own political colleagues, and with the defeat of the second referendum, Hughes was expelled from the Labor Party. With both referenda defeated, conscription was not enacted. Speaking on 18 September 1916, one month before the first conscription referendum, Hughes engages his audience with the following emotional plea:

Do you say that the state has no right to call on its citizens to defend it? By what right do they claim citizenship other than that they have ... obligations equal to their privileges? It is the duty of every citizen to defend his country, and it is upon his country that he depends for the protection of what he is pleased to call his rights ... Australians! This is no time for party strife. The nation is in peril, and it calls for her citizens to defend her. Our duty is clear. Let us rise like men, gird up our loins and do that which honour, duty and self-interests alike dictate.²³

One of the most well-known, and arguably most prominent, opponents of conscription was (Irish) Catholic Archbishop Daniel Mannix. He was against conscription on the grounds that it would be unfair to workers’ families and he believed that Australia, as an independent nation, should not kowtow to the Empire’s demands. In October 1917, he made the following statement, two months before the second referendum, likening conscription to slavery and emphasizing the Australian aspect of the debate:

It is only twelve months since the people here in Australia pronounced their emphatic verdict - not only the people here in Australia, but even the soldiers at the front - that Australia is a democratic country, and that there is no room here for slavery and conscription ... This question of conscription here is not a Catholic question, nor an Irish nor an English question; it is purely and simply an Australian question. When I speak from this platform on public questions ... I do not speak as a priest or as an archbishop, but simply as an honest, straight and loyal citizen of Australia.²⁴

Although Mannix bases his reasons for opposing conscription on a discourse of Australian loyalty, his views were indicative of the class and religious divide between Australians from middle class Protestants (British) backgrounds and working class Catholics (Irish) backgrounds and the view of the trade unions. Sectarianism was prevalent in Australian society at the time, which was a major contributing factor in the Labor Party split, as many Labor party members and supporters were of Irish origin and/or supported unionism. Such was the emotion connected to this topic, that

when the second referendum failed, the Labor Party split, expelling Hughes from the party. Hughes then formed his own party with fellow Labor supporters in order to remain in power as Prime Minister, which he did until 1923, his party later merging with the Commonwealth Liberal Party. This is a most unusual situation in Australian politics, and one that had not occurred previously, nor has occurred since.

On this topic, propaganda use was rife on both sides of the debate. Emotional topics were used by both sides to advance their cause with the public, with, for example serving and ex-soldiers, widows, mothers, and Australia's heritage and colonial connection to Great Britain used to highlight support or opposition to conscription. The poster below (see Figure 1), which includes the famous poem "The Blood Vote", is an example of the type of emotional theme that pervaded both sides of the campaign on the issue of conscription.

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Figure 1. The Blood Vote²⁵

Australian historian Manning Clark wrote of the emotional divide this had on Australia that,

The first two years of the war were momentous in the history of Australia. The tragedy at Gallipoli in April 1915, the split in the Labor Party over conscription, and the split in the community which emerged during the conscription referendum marked the end of an era in the history of the Commonwealth.²⁶

Conscription Debates in the History Curriculum

Although conscription is a contentious topic among Australians, it is not treated in detail in the history curriculum. It is not mentioned in Cramp's *A Story of the Australian People*²⁷ and is described only very briefly in one of the government endorsed textbooks, *New Syllabus History for Seventh Grade*, which states that,

No man was compelled to join the army. In 1916, and again in 1917, the people of Australia were asked to vote whether there should be conscription - that is, whether men should be forced to become soldiers and serve outside the Commonwealth. The majority of electors voted against conscription."²⁸

Here, the rejection of conscription is not contextualized in any socio-political sense or in terms of key stakeholders in the debates. Instead, the issue is presented in a detached, matter-of-fact way. Although Prime Minister Hughes was a controversial politician (with regard to his switching political parties and enthusiastic support of the failed conscription referenda), multiple perspectives of his leadership and actions are not included in the history curriculum. With *A Story of the Australian People* reading, "William Morris Hughes, who, as Prime Minister of four Governments

between 1915 and 1923, *represented Australia's interest in a most capable manner when he visited England.*"²⁹

The textbook fails to mention that Hughes was consistently criticized in Australia for being overly British, a point reaching a pinnacle with the defeat of the two conscription referenda he instigated. It is curious why history textbooks did not pay more attention to the debates and referenda over conscription, given that the referenda for federation is explained in detail, with opposing views presented and results detailed.³⁰ This demonstrates that the curriculum did in fact acknowledge that present issues are contentious. The conscription debates, as played out in the public arena, were in fact passionate and fierce, but reading textbooks of the period (for upper primary/lower secondary level), students would learn little about this aspect of Australia's very recent past.

Commemorating Anzac Day and the Anzac Legend

As the First World War was the first major conflict that Australia had participated in as a unified nation, there was no precedence for publicly commemorating, remembering or paying homage to war heroes. Charles Bean, Australia's official war correspondent, a journalist who later took on the mantle of First World War historian, filled the role of shaping public remembrance. It was largely Bean's reports back to Australia (and those of other war correspondents, but Bean's influence cannot be understated) that shaped the view of the Australian soldier or "Digger" as heroic and courageous. This idea of the brave Australian soldier became immortalized in Australian folklore, and was also used by the government as a recruitment strategy. For example, the first Australian to be awarded the Victorian Cross for bravery in the First World War, Albert Jacka, became a poster boy for an Australian-styled recruitment campaign, featuring in a number of posters and advertisements (see figure 2). Press reports routinely told of the bravery of Australian soldiers, using terms such as "Australian heroes," "wonderful grit and dash" and "epic of heroism"³¹ to describe the actions of Australian soldiers at Gallipoli. This is the origin of the mythology of the brave Australian soldier, which continues today.

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Figure 2. Enlistment Poster Featuring Albert Jacka (1917).³²

It is not an exaggeration to say that, in the years immediately following the peace treaty of 1919, every city, town, suburb and most localities built a memorial to the fallen soldiers of the First World War. There are street names, parks, bridges and suburbs named after people, battles and army titles involved in the First World War (such as Anzac Avenue, Soldiers Point, Chauvel Oval,

Birdwood Terrace to name only a few). The impact this has had on Australia's emotional psyche and perception of national identity (however inaccurate) cannot be underestimated. From the first anniversary of the landing of Australian and New Zealand troops at Gallipoli on 25 April 1915, this day has been publicly commemorated by both nations, and is still seen as an important national event. The day is filled with activities from dawn services, to veterans' marches in every city and major town and many suburbs, to laying wreaths at sacred sites of conflict. The enormity and importance of public commemorations of Anzac Day, and to a lesser degree, Remembrance (formerly, Armistice) Day, is very significant to the Australian people as a whole.

The Absence of Commemoration in the History Curriculum

Official First World War remembrance events were not included in the history curriculum. For example, Anzac Day was seen as a commemorative event, outside the academic school curriculum. And whilst Anzac Day commemorations are evident from 1916 onwards as an event that schools actively acknowledge, for example in the Anzac Day edition of *The School Paper: Anzac Day*³³ it is distinctly positioned as part of the British Commonwealth, and less as a part of a definitive *Australianness* that it has since become. This possibly explains why it is not included in history textbooks, even when the First World War is the focus.³⁴ This demonstrates a disjuncture between the public discourses and popular sentiment at the time of the First World War and the information presented to students through the history curriculum.

It is fair to state that Australia's involvement in the First World War, on an international stage and in comparison to other nations, was relatively small and arguably insignificant (with the exception of a few noted battles, for example at Villers-Bretonneux, France). The lack of detail about the war in the school curriculum can therefore be seen as a reflection of this fact. On the other hand, this also ignores the fact that the broader Australian population still considers that the First World War had (and has) much influence on national identity. In this case, the public discourses prevalent at the time were ignored in favor of a more sustained view of history, in which Australia is part of its colonial context within the larger history of Great Britain.

Australia's Allegiance to Great Britain Juxtaposed with the Emergence of an Independent Nation

The two topics explored above, conscription and commemorating Anzac Day have demonstrated, in part, the move of Australian citizens towards embracing a distinctly Australian national identity; one that not only moves away from Great Britain as a colonial power, but one that unites all Australians as a single entity. The fact that both conscription referenda were defeated demonstrates that Australia had already begun to move away from Great Britain. It was the pressure placed on Prime

Minister Hughes by Great Britain to increase the number of troops to be at their disposal that prompted the instigation of the 1916 referendum, and when it failed, the second referendum in 1917. The general populace knew that Great Britain wanted more troops to be sent. This is why the defeat of both referenda can also be viewed as defiance towards Great Britain. The elevation of Australian soldiers to home-grown war hero status (previously school history textbooks had used British war heroes as inspiration for students), created legends of soldiers who became household names (for example, Albert Jacka and later, the anti-soldier Simpson and his donkey), also shows that Australia had moved emotionally away from Great Britain and saw itself as unified across the continent, ready for common, national heroes. Government recruitment posters also moved more towards an Australia-centric perspective. While some still promoted Australia's place in the Empire, many were calling on men to join as a distinctly Australian act of heroism and duty. In the main, public discourses characterized Australia's participation in First World War as being definitively Australian.

This idea of the Australian soldier being an über-human finds its origins in press reports during battles of the First World War, for example the headline of *The Argus* reads "Australians at Dardanelles: Thrilling Deeds of Heroism" and in the article goes on to describe the Australian soldiers thus "The Australians, who were about to go into action for the first time ... were cheerful, quiet, and confident. There was no sign of nerves nor of excitement."³⁵ This mythology that originated at Gallipoli continues today, almost one hundred years later. Of this mythology, Stockings writes that,

The myth of an intrinsic Australian aptitude for soldiering is widespread and pervasive because, at its heart, it is intertwined with the social and psychological implications of the Anzac legend. Indeed, Australia's official historian of World War I, Charles Bean, went out of his way to make a link between national character and combat performance at Gallipoli and on the Western Front from 1915-1918. Bean's seeds found fertile ground and the Anzac legend, with all its attendant myths, grew strong. Even as the first casualties mounted at Gallipoli the home front was told that they country had attained nationhood or had come of age. With almost religious undertones, popular consensus agreed that Australia as an infant nation was "baptised" in blood.³⁶

Matters of Allegiance and Independence Represented in the History Curriculum

The textbook *New Syllabus History for Seventh Grade*³⁷ portrays Australian involvement as more of a footnote to the battles of the First World War, in a section on British history. Whilst it is important not to overstate Australia's contribution to this conflict, which in comparison to other nations was small, given the target readership of an Australian school audience it is not an unreasonable expectation for there to be more Australia-focused content. Taking care not to overstate Australia's

involvement in the First World War is a sentiment supported by Australia's official war correspondent at the time, Charles Bean³⁸ in the extract below:

From the point of view of the reader in other countries, a history of the part played by Australia in the Great War must inevitably be but a partial history ... As the historian of the British share in the Battle of the Marne may be in danger of making that share appear to have been the pivot of the whole campaign, so, and to an even greater degree, the Australian historian may run the risk of so constructing the entire conflict that it seems to centre upon that part of it with which he deals.³⁹

By placing this aspect of Australia's history within the section on British history, the author demonstrates the lasting connection between Australia and Great Britain (or, at least, the curriculum's sustained connection); particularly given that the syllabus that informed this textbook was introduced to Queensland schools in 1930, eleven years after the end of the First World War.

Prior to the First World War, a discussion of military allegiance is included in history textbooks as an abstract allegiance, with statements of potential future action such as "if need be, to aid in defending the honour ... of that Old Land."⁴⁰ From the First World War onwards, there was an opportunity for this military allegiance to be grounded in a practical example, being Australia's participation in the First World War. Even in the context of the military blunders of Gallipoli, Australia's military allegiance to Great Britain is expressed in the following passage:

The Australians lost 8,500 men killed and over 19,000 wounded at Gallipoli. *But it brought renown to Australia, for seldom before had the daring of our soldiers been equalled and never had it been excelled...the strength of each Australian was the strength of ten because his motive was pure. He fought, not just for glory, but to release the world from tyranny, to establish the cause of freedom and justice,* and to use the words of the President of the United States, to make the world safe for democracy. *The soldiers, who Germany had thought would renounce their allegiance to the British Empire as soon as war was declared, gave startling evidence of their loyalty to the Mother Land and their kinsmen throughout the world.*⁴¹

Despite the substantial loss of life, which represented a significant percentage of the Australian population, this loss is not mourned. Rather it is legitimized and accepted by justifying death as an honor. First and foremost as Australians, "the daring of our soldiers [had] been equalled and never had it been excelled"⁴² and second, as loyal British subjects via the statement, "The soldiers who Germany had thought would renounce their allegiance to the British Empire as soon as war was declared, gave startling evidence of their loyalty to the Mother Land and their kinsmen throughout the world."⁴³ The participation of Australian soldiers in this conflict, whilst "daring," contains the "strength of ten," "pure," "not just for glory," and "to release the world from tyranny,"⁴⁴ is also attributed to "their allegiance to the British Empire ... evidence of their loyalty to the Mother Land."⁴⁵ No other reason is given for Australians volunteering to enlist, and there were many. This is despite government advertising of the time suggesting the conflict as a way to see the world, as an adventure; and as a way to help out their fellow Australian mates. As seen in the extract

from the Cramp textbook, formations of the myth making of the Anzac legend, although not explicitly articulated are emerging. The positioning of Australia as loyal and committed to Great Britain via its participation in the First World War continues strongly through the history curriculum. For example, the textbook explains the involvement of Australia:

When England is at war, Australia is at war; so are all the British Dominions. The Prime Minister of Australia, *Joseph Cook*, realized the position at once, and offered all Australia's resources to England. A change of ministry placed Andrew Fisher in the position of Prime Minister, but this made no difference for he, too declared Australia would stand by England to the last man and the last shilling. He was succeeded by William Morris Hughes, who, as Prime Minister of four Governments between 1915 and 1923, represented Australia's interest in a most capable manner when he visited England.⁴⁶

That fact that Australia was a part of Great Britain, but not an equal part, is articulated in the phrase, "when England is at war, Australia is at war; so are all the British Dominions."⁴⁷ Australia's commitment to joining Great Britain in the First World War is represented *solely* through paraphrased statements made by the three wartime prime ministers, Joseph Cook, Andrew Fisher, and William Morris Hughes. Dunlop and Palfrey's textbook also explains Australia's involvement in a similar way, writing,

When Britain declared war on Germany on 4 August 1914, Australia, part of the Empire, also was at war. The response made by the Commonwealth ... was instant and remarkable."⁴⁸

This statement is then supported by describing the actions of two political leaders; first, the then-Prime Minister, "Joseph Cook, sent a cable to the British Government offering the whole of the ships of the Australian Navy and 20,000 soldiers, for any service that the Empire might require";⁴⁹ and Andrew Fisher, who "declared that Australia would support the Mother Country "to the last man and the last shilling'."⁵⁰ Both these descriptions illustrate Australia's loyalty to Great Britain. There is no mention of any dissenting views, such as those from Melbourne Archbishop Mannix and others who were prominent in public debates throughout the First World War.

Although often mediated through the experience of Great Britain, there are isolated sections whereby the discourse of an independent Australian nation is expressed. Here, specific references to Australian traits and leaders are used such as "magnificent heroism,"⁵¹ which articulate the beginning of an emergence of an *Australianness* hitherto not seen in the textbooks outside of an interior or domestic context (for example, through narratives of early exploration). Whilst the examples of phrases provided here are only minor this later developed into a stronger argument and as evidenced from the extract below, the First World War is overtly attributed to Australians creating a sense of unique nationhood. Here it is attributed not to the separation of Australia from its emotional ties to Great Britain, but rather because all the separate states (which only two decades previously had been separate colonies) became closer as a result of this conflict. The textbook

describes how, “It has been said that the Great War made Australia a nation. Before 1914, the majority of Australians were inclined to think of themselves as Queenslanders, or Victorians, or Tasmanians, and so on, rather than as Australians. The war changed that.”⁵²

Whilst Australian states came together to form a nation, the *Britishness* of Australians is still maintained in the history curriculum. The idea of the birth of a nation as a result of Australia’s participation in the First World War is given further weighting in an extract on the Gallipoli campaign (see figure 3).

PLACE FIGURE 3 HERE

Figure 3. Extract about Gallipoli from the *New Syllabus History for Seventh Grade*.⁵³

Here, due to participating in the First World War alongside Great Britain (and New Zealand) Australia is legitimized as an independent nation, with a day for commemoration declared as a consequence of arriving at “Gallipoli under a storm of shot and shell they established for themselves a reputation for *valour, sustained and made imperishable* by later deeds in France, Syria, and Palestine.”⁵⁴ The perspective here is that it is through military deeds that nationhood and pride is established. Although not articulated overtly, use of the word *valor* and accompanying poem at the end of the narrative legitimize this nationhood. However, it is still part of Great Britain, with the textbook finishing the narrative of Gallipoli with the following:

The 25 April is Anzac Day. On this day in the Commonwealth and the Dominion of New Zealand we pay homage to our heroic dead, who went forth voluntarily to save our hearths and homes and the free institutions of the British Empire.

On Fame’s eternal camping ground

Their silent tents are spread,

And Glory guards with solemn round

The bivouac of the dead.⁵⁵

With the exception of the poem, a very unemotional account of the First World War is provided. Considering this was the largest and bloodiest conflict ever experienced anywhere in the world, and involved a significant portion of the world’s population the “factual” and non-emotive way this conflict is reported in the textbook is surprising. This does not correspond to the socio-political discourses that were, at the time, very emotive on topics such as conscription, allegiance to Great Britain and supporting the conflict as an act of patriotism.

Conclusion

The extracts from the textbooks demonstrate that the history curriculum did not necessarily reflect the complexity of events and topics that were present in the wider community. While the history presented to students perhaps accurately reflects the place of Australia within the context of world history, it diverges significantly from the public discourses present in mainstream Australian society during the First World War. In the case of the analysis conducted in this article, this reveals a clear discrepancy between sociopolitical discourses of the First World War which preferred a narrative of national independence; and what students learn about this historical event on the basis of the school curriculum as a narrative of loyalty, even within a generation of it occurring. Clearly, there is a disjuncture between what is occurring in the public domain and what is represented to school students via the history curriculum, illuminating its static nature. Knowledge is presented as factual, complete and not open to any other interpretation. The facts selected and the ways in which historical events are described do not provide space for any other perspective or questioning by students or teachers; resulting in no evidence of critical use of sources in the textbooks of the representative sample selected. Whilst the nuances in constructing national identities and the foundations on which this identity is created are visible in general public discourses, school textbooks present things rather differently, very factually and often without emotion or more than one point of view. In fact, it is so far removed from the everyday lives and living contexts of the students that the potential educational value of the history narrative has the very real potential of not being realized.

Given that the textbooks analyzed are primarily for upper primary and lower secondary levels, students' age and stage of development needs to be taken into consideration. However, even allowing for this, the use of primary source documents in the textbooks is significantly flawed. Their inclusion is limited and when included as part of the narrative they are included in a way that is antithesis to the history discipline. They are rarely sourced and generally no mediation is provided for the student in order for them to locate the sources themselves. Nor is there any attempt to provide alternative views through primary source documents other than what is expressed in the narrative written by the textbook authors. This emphasizes the need to ensure that a school history curriculum *is* directly connected with the discipline of history, and not a course in the appreciation of literature or culture. It is apparent that students need to be provided with learning experiences to develop the skills of an historian, at an age-appropriate level. History curricula, at least in this era, taught an uncritical view of the nation's past, rather than one that actively engaged students in the learning of perspectives through content; an issue that the new Australian national curriculum should take into consideration.

Many works have already been published internationally dealing with national identity and representations of major conflicts in school textbooks. The way in which national and international conflicts are represented in school textbooks has been extensively researched, especially with regards to the Second World War and particularly in nations that have seen extensive conflict within their borders (for example, Japan and Germany), or where the Second World War was an event that dramatically shaped postwar politics (for example, USA and Israel). Less research has focused on the First World War, despite its importance on the world stage. However, little research has been conducted on representations of the history curriculum in Australia. Therefore, this article offers a new contribution to the field of school textbook research. It has demonstrated the disjuncture that can occur between the actuality of historical events and the aspects that are selected for history curricula. This topic is a timely addition to the new Australian curriculum, which will see a nationwide curriculum for the first time rather than separate, state-based, administered and implemented syllabuses. It will demonstrate past constructions of history curricula and the underlying ideologies that students will gain by learning about national history in the classroom.

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- 1 John Slater, quoted in Stephane Levesque, "In Search of a Purpose for School History," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 37, no. 3 (2005): 349.
 - 2 See, for example, Andrew Bolt, "Class Revolution," *The Courier Mail*, 10 June 2000.
 - 3 Ann Curthoys and John Docker, *Is History Fiction?* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2006), 4.
 - 4 Phillip Knightley, *Australia: A Biography of a Nation* (London: Jonathon Cape, 2000).
 - 5 Anzac Day is held annually on 25 April. The Australian War Memorial describes it in the following way, "... [it] is probably Australia's most important national occasion. It marks the anniversary of the first major military action fought by Australian and New Zealand forces during the First World War. ANZAC stands for Australian and New Zealand Army Corps...Although the Gallipoli campaign failed in its military objectives of capturing Constantinople and knocking Turkey out of the war, the Australian and New Zealand actions during the campaign bequeathed an intangible but powerful legacy. The creation of what became known as the "ANZAC legend" became an important part of the national identity of both nations. This shaped the ways they viewed both their past and future." Australian War Memorial, 2009, 1, 3.
 - 6 John Winston Howard, *Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon. John Howard MP Address at Anzac Day Parade, Canberra* (April 25, 2003), <http://www.pm.gov.au/news/speeches/speech94.html>, accessed 31 August 2006.
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 - 12 Gould, *The Children's Book of Moral Lessons*, v.
 - 13 Department of Public Instruction, *State Education in Queensland* (Brisbane: Author, 1928), 14.
 - 14 Karl Reginald Cramp, *A Story of the Australian People: Queensland Edition* (Sydney: George B. Philip and Son,

- 1927).
- 15 See Ruth Wodak, "Critical discourse analysis," 63-94; Ruth Wodak et al, *Discursive Construction of National Identity*.
 - 16 Brian Hoepfer and Max Quanchi, *History in Years 1 to 10 Studies of Society and Environment Key Learning Area: Occasional Paper Prepared for the Queensland School Curriculum Council* (Brisbane: Queensland School Curriculum Council, 2000), 2.
 - 17 See in particular Keith Windschuttle, *The Killing of History: How Literary Critics and Social Theorists are Murdering Our Past* (Paddington: Macleay Press, 1996); Arthur Marwick, *The New Nature of History. Knowledge, Evidence, Language* (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2001).
 - 18 See in particular: Arthur Markwick, *The New Nature of History*; Ann Curthoys and John Docker, *Is History Fiction?*; Keith Windschuttle, *The Killing of History*.
 - 19 Ruth Wodak, "Critical Discourse Analysis"; Ruth Wodak, "The Discourse-Historical Approach"; Ruth Wodak et al, *Discursive Construction of National Identity*; Norman Fairclough and Ruth Wodak, "Critical Discourse Analysis."
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 - 31 Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett, "The First Report in Australia of the Landing at Gallipoli," *Hobart Mercury*, 12 May, 1915.
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 - 37 Edward Dunlop and Albert Palfrey, *New Syllabus History for the Seventh Grade*.
 - 38 Although, it must be made clear that it was Bean's press reports, his editorship of the twelve volumes *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918*, and his advocacy for the establishment of the Australian War Memorial (and the resultant public pedagogies surrounding the Australian War Memorial) that has contributed to a commonly held belief by Australians that Australia played a major role in the First World War.
 - 39 Charles Bean, *The story of Anzac*, xxv.
 - 40 Department of Public Instruction, *Queensland Readers: Book V* (Brisbane: Author, 1913), 44.
 - 41 Karl Reginald Cramp, *Story of the Australian People*, 218-219 (emphasis added).
 - 42 *Ibid.*, 218.
 - 43 *Ibid.*, 219.
 - 44 *Idem.*
 - 45 *Idem.*
 - 46 *Ibid.*, 215 (emphasis added).
 - 47 *Idem.*
 - 48 Edward Dunlop and Albert Palfrey, *New Syllabus History for the Seventh Grade*, 105.
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The Holocaust in the Textbooks and in the History and Citizenship Education Program of Quebec

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Abstract • This article analyzes the treatment of the Holocaust in Quebec's history textbooks, in view of the subject's potential and actual contribution to human rights education. Given that Quebec's curriculum includes citizenship education in its history program, it could be argued that the inclusion of the Holocaust has particular relevance in this context, as it contributes to the study of both history and civics, and familiarizes Quebec's youth with representations of Quebec's Jewish community, which is primarily concentrated in Montreal. This article demonstrates that the textbooks' treatment of the Holocaust is often superficial and partial, and prevents Quebec's students from fully grasping the impact of this historical event on contemporary society.

Keywords • curriculum, ethics, history and citizenship education, holocaust, textbooks

Introduction

Although Quebec's History and Citizenship Education (HCE) program (for secondary schools) clearly alludes to the Holocaust, many teachers¹ admit they neglect to teach it for lack of time or expertise, in the knowledge that it is not included in the *Progression of Learning in Secondary School*,² a document specifying the subjects to be covered on ministry exams. Other courses may offer opportunities to cover the topic as well, such as the Contemporary World (CW) program, taught in the last year of secondary school, as well as the Ethics and Religious Culture (ERC) program. However, each of these has a different approach to teaching the Holocaust. While the

HCE program broaches the event in its chronological context in World History, the CW program proposes its comparison to other genocides, and the ERC program calls for a reflection on specific ethical dilemmas.

This article is based on our study³ of the history of Quebec's Jewish community and its culture and religion as represented in Quebec's curriculum and in educational materials that feature the Holocaust.⁴ The authority accorded to written documents such as those that are reproduced in textbooks heightens the significance of this medium as an object of research. Passing the approval process for textbooks in Quebec constitutes a de facto official endorsement of a book's curricular content, which can be significant when not all teachers who use the textbooks are specialists in that particular subject.⁵

This article examines the way in which the Holocaust is treated in the Secondary Cycle One HCE program⁶ (for students who are approximately thirteen years old), and in the five HCE approved textbooks,⁷ as well as in one CW and two ERC textbooks that also cover the Holocaust. Given that all the HCE's textbooks cover all the program's cultural components at least once, a purely quantitative analysis of the Holocaust's treatment would prove inadequate. For that reason, a qualitative analysis is proposed that allows for an examination of the strengths and weaknesses of the Holocaust coverage in the different materials, so recommendations can be made for future representations of the Holocaust in Quebec's classrooms. To do so, two different analytical perspectives were used, the first outlining the cultural components found within the various programs, and the second looking at recommended approaches for teaching the Holocaust. These are briefly presented below.

Teaching the Holocaust in Quebec: Why and How?

While the importance of teaching the Holocaust is widely accepted by scholars around the world,⁸ its place in the curriculum is subject to endless debate and is influenced by the roles played by different societies in this historical event, their present political contexts, as well as by different pedagogical positions and objectives. While some teachers believe⁹ that it is a major historical event and dedicate many teaching hours to it, often in collaboration with teachers of History and Citizenship Education, French, English as a Second Language or ERC programs, others do not find the time to introduce it into their history classes at all. These teachers are often reluctant to cover the Holocaust, considering it a complex subject whose rather extreme scenarios

of racial discrimination can be difficult for learners to handle. Moreover, for such teachers, the topic has many associated complications in a multicultural classroom.

It is argued here that teaching the Holocaust is interesting and relevant from both the pedagogical and theoretical perspectives. The distinctiveness of the Holocaust, a genocide carefully organized and carried out by a democratically elected government, makes it a turning point in history. While its historical complexity represents a major difficulty for its teaching, this is also an important justification for it being taught, as it offers an experience of teaching history and of learning how to think about history and how it affects the present.¹⁰ Learners are invited to discover a social, political, and economic context that encompasses ethical, religious, and legal dilemmas, or, in Bauer's words, to reflect on everything that unites us as humans, rendering it a topic "of universal significance".¹¹

In the Quebec context, the teaching of the Holocaust can shed a different light on the local Jewish community, which was profoundly transformed by the arrival of a large number of survivors after the war.¹² It can also serve to change perceptions towards other ethnic minorities, while encouraging, as Eckmann suggests, learning about and understanding human rights.¹³

Some difficulties may be encountered nevertheless, mostly related to the growing temporal and cultural distance from this event. For example, candidly discussing the attitudes held by Canadians and Quebecers towards Jews in Canada and, in particular, towards those who sought asylum in the country before the Second World War, is often mentioned as an obstacle by teachers.¹⁴ The choice to teach the Holocaust as an example of genocide is even less obvious, as more recent genocides, notably the Rwandan genocide could be taught instead. This event seems to offer a more "local perspective," through the voices of young survivors living in Canada, as well as through Quebecer Romeo Dallaire's story, which was recently adapted for cinema, and recounts his UN tour of duty during that genocide.

Some recommendations, as presented by Lindquist,¹⁵ can help to minimize these shortcomings. The first is to have a frank discussion in the classroom about the various reasons for learning about the Holocaust, allowing students the opportunity to reflect on the importance of this lesson for them, and subsequently to personalize their own learning.

A clear historical definition of the event should be at the heart of any reflection, and should answer fundamental questions about it. What is the Holocaust? When did it occur, and where? How and why did it happen? By whom was it perpetrated, and against whom? Students

may then discover the varying perspectives on the event held by its diverse stakeholders, including the perspectives of perpetrators, victims or witnesses, as well as those of rescuers and bystanders. This would also serve to minimize the all too easy dichotomy between good and evil. And finally, what were its consequences? In this way, prevailing misconceptions about the Holocaust can be dispelled at the outset.

These teachings should also include the historical background, including Jewish life in Europe before the war. This would allow learners to better appreciate Jewish reactions to Nazi policies and interventions and give them an understanding of the massive impact of First World War on Europe in general, and on Germany in particular. The Nazi rise to power, the reactions of other countries to them, as well as the military consequences of deploying enormous army resources to carry out the “Final Solution”, will then assume their full meaning. Finally, the immediate effects of the War should also be considered in order to fully understand the Holocaust’s broader significance.

In light of these recommendations, we shall next analyze the treatment of the Holocaust in Quebec’s history textbooks, first by listing the cultural components included in the programs, and then by analyzing how the textbooks treat each of them.

The Holocaust in Quebec’s Secondary School Education Program

The Holocaust is included in the Secondary Cycle One HCE program that portrays world history as an “elsewhere” reality for students, and that is meant to “attune them to the change and diversity that characterize the present-day world. (254).¹⁶ It is incorporated in a chapter about the “Winning of Civil Rights and Freedoms,” in which students are encouraged to explore the development of different “movements for civil rights and freedoms,” including the feminist movement, struggles against racism, and decolonization. While First and Second World Wars are not mentioned here – undoubtedly a major omission – it is made clear that it is important for “students to realize that during the same period there was a *movement* to deprive European Jews of their *freedom and civil rights*” (322) (our emphasis). Not only does the program avoid naming the Holocaust, but it also offers a description of this massive genocide organized by the Nazi state that is highly problematic, defining the Holocaust as a “movement,” and the denial of the right to life for Jews as a deprivation of “freedom and civil rights”. And, unfortunately, the textbooks

based on this program do much the same, referring to this historical event without directly naming it.

Nevertheless, the program clearly addresses all the critical moments of the Holocaust. Reference to the book *Mein Kampf* introduces Nazi ideology, the Nuremberg Laws illustrate its transformation into state policies, and the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp and the 1942 Wannsee Conference are used to discuss the “Final Solution”. Finally, the perspectives of victims are introduced through the *Anne Frank Diary*, and resistance to the Nazi regime is echoed in the film *Schindler’s List*, as well as in a famous text from the French organized rebellion, known as *La Résistance*.

The Holocaust is also used to illustrate specific aspects in other programs. It is used as a reference to discuss ethical dilemmas in the ERC program, such as *human ambivalence* “when someone involved in carrying out genocide demonstrates good will toward those around him or her” (39), or the notion of *tolerance* through different examples of “massacres, declarations of rights, racism, etc.” (40). Focusing not on the event itself, but on what today’s society should learn from it, the ERC program’s approach interests a large number of educators. However, it is an approach that has also often been criticized. The ability of students to learn from an event, the complexity of which they do not understand, has been called into question, such that the approach is in danger of being over simplified.¹⁷ Since the theme of the Holocaust is occasionally represented in these other programs too, their treatment of the event will be used as a point of comparison. We refer to the ERC program’s representations of this event in a comparative approach.

The Holocaust in the Textbooks

Despite the program’s definition of the Holocaust as an “elsewhere” reality, it is incorporated into Chapter 12 of two HCE textbooks. The other textbooks each reserve a special section for the Holocaust between seven and twelve pages long, featuring framed paragraphs, accompanied by photos that are prominent in the overall presentation. All the textbooks cover the program’s cultural sources, and some even include aspects not specified by the program.

Nazi Ideology and Politics

All of the history textbooks explain Nazi ideology. Three of them do so via the presentation of the book *Mein Kampf*, written by Adolf Hitler in 1925, in which he expounds the Nazi thesis that Jews were impure and inferior and were the Nazi's main enemies (*L'Occident en 12 événements*, 414), and where he postulates that "in order to advance, the [Aryan] race should be purified" (*From Yesterday to Tomorrow*, 236). Some elaborate on this ideology of Aryan superiority by addressing the Nazi rejection of democracy and their denial of the sovereignty of other nations. However, only one textbook highlights the fact that, in spite of seemingly scientific assertions, the tenets of Nazi thought were no more than "an imaginary representation without any scientific foundation" (*History in Action*, 247).

The Nuremberg Laws are used in all the textbooks to illustrate the political means to which the Nazis resorted "in order to 'protect German blood' and to exclude Jews from German life" (*Réalités*, 310). Jews are seen to lose their citizenship and all associated civic rights (*History in Action*, 250), for example the banning of mixed marriages between Jews and Aryans. It is this last aspect that is generally used in the textbooks to illustrate the "final segregation of the Jewish population" (*L'Occident...*, 418). It is evoked, for instance, by a photo of a couple being humiliated in the street, as well as by graphs explaining these Nazi laws.

However, the Nuremberg Laws are not the only measures of anti-Jewish policy covered by the textbooks. With one exception (*Regard sur...*), all the textbooks address the ghettos and *Kristallnacht* (the Night of Broken Glass), even though they are not mentioned in the program. Descriptions are given of how, during the night of 9 November 1938, "thousands of shops [were] destroyed, synagogues [were] burned, dozens of Jews [were] killed and others arrested" (*L'Occident...*, 418). However, only one textbook (*Réalités*, 310) clearly notes the role of the German government in this pogrom, even though this fact is probably the most significant feature of the event, being the first organized attack by authorities within German territory.¹⁸

The three textbooks that refer to the Ghettos mainly write about the impossible living conditions found there (*History in Action*, 253), explaining that Jews were crammed together in small quarters in city centers (*L'Occident...*, 418), deprived of all their belongings, and submitted to forced labor (*Réalités*, 310). The last two textbooks also use this opportunity to present the yellow badge in the shape of the Star of David, which was used to identify Jews. Only one textbook specifically describes the famous Warsaw Ghetto, into which German authorities

“gather[ed] 550,000 Polish Jews” (*From Yesterday to Tomorrow*, 240). However, the ghetto is portrayed as being part of the “Final Solution”. This is somewhat misleading for students, as the ghettos were created earlier, and even though many died daily in the ghettos from famine and illness, these were never places of organized killing. Furthermore, as we will see below, the textbook does not use this opportunity to include the famous Jewish armed rebellion organized in the Warsaw Ghetto in 1943.

Three textbooks specifically discuss concentration camps. While two of them explain that these were intended to incarcerate not only Jews, but also other people designated as undesirable by the Nazi regime (*Réalités*, 311, *History in Action*, 247), the third (*L’Occident...*) discusses a longer history of concentration camps globally, starting with the first documented evidence of camps built by the English during the Boer Wars. The Soviet Gulags are also mentioned and even the Canadian internment camps for citizens of Japanese descent are included, concluding that “in times of war, many countries override human rights and freedoms” (416). Nazi concentration camps are not even mentioned here. While raising awareness among learners to the danger of any human rights violation in any country is undoubtedly important, this presentation seems to trivialize the practices of the Nazi regime. Admittedly, the Nazis did not invent concentration camps, but that regime did take the use of camps to a remarkable extreme.

Finally, it is worth noting that two HCE textbooks (*L’Occident...*, *From Yesterday to Tomorrow*) and an ERC textbook (*Tisser des liens*) mention Aktion T4 (Operation T4), the code name for the program used against physically and mentally handicapped Germans, which became a turning point in the history of the Holocaust when it exposed Hitler’s hatred of all human life considered to be inferior. However, the ideology that allowed such an operation to be carried out with relatively little criticism on the part of society is not explained, thus encouraging the association of the idea with an absolute (rather than a more human) imagination of evil.

The “Final Solution”

All the textbooks address the “Final Solution”, which rendered official the plan to exterminate Jewish people, dedicating up to 40 percent of their treatment of the Holocaust (an average of two pages) to this question. This subject’s popularity in textbooks, which is also observed in lessons about the Holocaust presented in other countries, such as France and the United States,¹⁹ can be explained by its spectacular nature, which is often mistakenly presumed to have a greater

pedagogical impact than other material. In reality, many authors²⁰ believe the contrary, arguing that provoking such a strong emotional reaction can actually disrupt learning, and they suggest that teachers should make more measured and empathetic connections to victims of the Holocaust.²¹

The complexity of this subject should also be noted, as the Nazi regime implemented different death camps throughout its extensive territory. In spite of this, or perhaps because of it, all the textbooks follow a suggestion in the curricular program to provide the example of Auschwitz-Birkenau as an emblem of the Holocaust (notably, following the example of the program, calling it the Auschwitz camp). Indeed, Auschwitz-Birkenau was not only a death camp, but also a concentration camp, and as such had survivors. That was not the case with other death camps (notably the Aktion Reinhard camps), which were destroyed once the targeted population had been exterminated. Their destruction left few survivors or proof of ever having even existed.²² It should be noted that one textbook (*Réalités*) does show a photo of the memorial site on the grounds of the Treblinka death camp.

The *Wannsee Conference* is also mentioned in the textbooks, as suggested in the program, but its treatment is often reduced to a photo of the building in which the conference was held, accompanied by a short caption explaining its importance. Maps and tables illustrate the existence of many death camps, listing the large number of people who perished in each or the number of victims from different communities. One textbook refers to the fact that “thousands of Jews were gassed by zyklon B” (*L’Occident...*, 420). This approach avoids the presentation of any controversial historical viewpoint, since many historians, such as Kershaw and Friedländer,²³ question whether the “Final Solution” was really decided at the Wannsee Conference.

Although the textbooks indicate that Auschwitz-Birkenau was also a concentration camp, they seldom use the opportunity to describe the living conditions and daily routines of those who were not immediately sentenced to die, thus limiting the potential for students to discuss the difficulty of survival in such a place, both physically and spiritually. The only direct reference to the camp prisoners is through pictures, the same used throughout each of the textbooks, which expose the shocking physical state of captives upon liberation. The risk of using such shocking images is that it may inhibit students from exploring such events in greater depth. Some textbooks (*From Yesterday to Tomorrow*, 240, *Réalités*, 312) seem to focus on the convoys of Jews sent by train to Poland, and the notorious selection process that followed such a journey.

The only exception to this is a description in one textbook (*Regards...*), which explains that “the prisoners [were] badly treated and malnourished. They caught many illnesses and had many infections... Every day hundreds of prisoners died from mistreatment” (263). The testimony of Rudolf Höss (notorious director of Auschwitz-Birkenau) at the Nuremberg trials of 1946 and an extract of a speech given in 1943 by Himmler (the head of the SS) are also displayed, allowing students to discover how the perpetrators viewed their own actions. However, since no explanation accompanies these extracts (a general problem that we find in this particular textbook), the important work of contextualization and possible interpretation of the troublingly racist discourse is left out.

These different examples demonstrate the importance of striking a delicate balance in the treatment of the “Final Solution,” as it is a subject clearly liable to provoke unease. Indeed, students should understand the means by which Jews were dehumanized, a process which only reached its most extreme form in the “Final Solution,” but without upsetting them to the point where they don’t want to listen any more.

Resistance and Personal Testimony

Life stories enjoy a growing place in the teaching of history, allowing learners to go beyond the statistics, and identify themselves with history’s heroes. This approach seems all the more important for the study of the Holocaust,²⁴ a period in which Nazis treated Jews as less than human.

As required in the program, personal testimony through literature and film is presented in all textbooks, which dedicate short paragraphs to the book *Anne Frank: the Diary of a Young Girl* and Steven Spielberg movie *Schindler’s List*, and to the stories behind them. However, while these two stories are “real” (that is, based on real life events), as sources they are of a very different nature. The first one, a personal diary of a young girl, relates the story of a victim who did not survive the War, and the second, a large Hollywood production, obviously adapted to fit the big screen, presents the spectacular story of a rich, German industrialist who refused to collaborate with the Nazis by turning in the Jews who worked for him.

Other cinematographic sources are listed in one of the textbooks (*L’Occident...*, 264): *Sophie Scholl: the Final Days* (2005) tells the story of the resistance movement in a German university, and *White Rose* and *Rosenstrasse* (2003) illustrate how German wives fought to save

their Jewish husbands from Nazi hands in 1943. While exposing learners to lesser known realities, it should also be noted that the frequent use of movies in the history classroom risks leaving students with a skewed vision of history, as shown by Wieviorka²⁵.

Other German resistance stories are also included in the textbooks. Bishop von Galen's fight against the T4 Operation is mentioned in one textbook (*L'Occident...*, 264), two textbooks present the famous poem penned by Pastor Niemöller, telling of his regret of not acting against evil when it did not touch him directly, and written while he was incarcerated in a concentration camp.

The textbooks also cover the French Resistance, a topic required by the program. All cite the *Instructions of the National Resistance Council*, circulated on 15 March 1944, and some add that resistance movements existed throughout Europe to oppose the invaders, and sometimes struggled to save Jews from deportation. By contrast, collaboration with the oppressors is only highlighted in two textbooks, both of which use the Vichy Regime as their main example, but without clearly defining the role of its leaders in the deportation of Jews from France.

In light of all this, it is regrettable that only one textbook presents the Jewish resistance, by showing a photo of "Jewish fighters during the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising". It explains that "Jews did not remain passive in the face of their oppression," even though their weapons were of poor quality and sometimes even homemade (*History in Action*, 255). This textbook also speaks of spiritual resistance, highlighting how Jews retained dignity and humanity in the Ghettos. One other textbook mentions the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising (*L'Occident...*, 418), but only briefly, thus missing the opportunity to address the Jewish resistance. Here Jews are mainly portrayed as victims, and their fight not only to survive, but also to take destiny into their own hands to win the war against the Nazis, is not even mentioned.

Beyond the Program's Cultural References

The textbooks cover several themes not mentioned in the program, notably the Second World War, Nazi propaganda, Jewish life in Europe before and after the War, and other consequences of this major conflict. However, some significant themes are still absent from the treatment of the Holocaust in these textbooks.

Contextualization: Before, During, and After the Holocaust

Despite the fact that the Second World War is not included in the Secondary Cycle One HCE program (instead, it is covered in the last year of secondary school), it (and to a lesser extent the First World War) is discussed in all the textbooks. This is essential to appreciating how the Holocaust was made possible. Indeed, contrary to its definition in the program, the Holocaust was not a “simple” confrontation between the Nazis and the Jews, but was part of a global conflict. In two of the textbooks (*Réalités, History in Action*), the Holocaust is presented as a part of the War, thus fostering continuity between the two themes, matching a timeline of major events with tables that indicate the number of victims from each nation. The other textbooks also acknowledge the war’s influence on this genocide, explaining, for example, the power that Hitler had in different European countries and thus over their Jewish citizens (*From Yesterday to Tomorrow*, 240). Nevertheless, these occasional references seem to fall short of developing a full understanding of the interdependency of the war and the Holocaust.

Jewish life in Europe before the war is only mentioned in two textbooks (*History in Action, L’Occident...*), and focuses on German Jews, who, it is explained, represented no more than 1 percent of the general population. “Bankers, small merchants, artisans and textile workers, mostly people from very modest backgrounds,” explains *L’Occident...* (417). Their families had lived in Europe since the second century and were “often very well integrated”, to the point that Jewish identity was seen to fade with mixed marriages. This same textbook also recalls that European Jews regularly endured pogroms throughout the nineteenth century, concluding that “anti-Semitism brought on violent acts that are sometimes difficult to explain” (417). The teachers’ guide adds that these repeated pogroms encouraged the birth of nationalist Jewish movements (Zionism), as well as a generalized Jewish emigration, though it fails to mention the consequential immigration to Montréal emerging from this reality. These kinds of details could help learners to understand why most Jews did not try to save themselves before the Holocaust, as they had believed that this too would pass.

All of the textbooks except one (*Regards...*) dedicate space to the consequences of the war. In three of them, the founding of the United Nations is portrayed as an important step towards building a more peaceful post-war world, and they make mention of the Declaration of Human Rights. In two textbooks, the creation of Israel as a state “for the Jewish people”

(*L'Occident...*, 420) is also described as a result of the Holocaust,²⁶ and this leads to a mention of the current Palestinian question.

Arguably, the Nuremberg Trials represent the most important aspect of the war's consequences. Indeed, four of the textbooks state that the Nazis were judged for acts that are clearly defined as "crimes against humanity". However, only one textbook emphasizes the symbolic importance of judging the perpetrators according to democratic values. The trials also conclude the discussion of the Holocaust in the ERC textbook *Tête-à-tête* (Secondary IV), that covers the Eichmann trial in Jerusalem in the chapter titled *Justice* (48), and which invites pupils to reflect on Hannah Arendt's theory of the "banality of evil". The textbooks explains that, according to Arendt, most people do not choose to be good or evil, but rather do not think about such choices at all, and concludes, in a rather unusual approach, by quoting a philosopher from Quebec who explains that radical evil is constantly within our reach, and therefore that critical thought is the only thing that protects us from it.

Education and Propaganda

Propaganda is also a theme widely addressed in the textbooks, in spite of its formal absence from the program. The importance of addressing this in teaching the Holocaust is twofold. First, Hitler's use of propaganda was essential to his success in installing a regime and in convincing the German people to follow his aggressive plans. Second, the way in which it targeted youth, in order to control them, can help raise awareness among students about the dangers of this media tool.

Except for one textbook (*Regards...*), that presents only a "propaganda poster" celebrating the Vichy Regime (267) without discussing its significance, all other textbooks specify the role that Nazi propaganda played in the education of youth. Indoctrination in schools, the integration of young people into the *Hitler Youth*, the use of sporting events and beautiful imagery to evoke the great potential of German society are all explained. There is also a reference to propaganda teachings which "do not encourage rational thought, but the blind obedience to a regime to which one should submit" (*L'Occident...*, 415). Censorship is also brought up, as it is noted that books written by dissidents of the regime or by Jews were prohibited and even burned. Yet, only one textbook (*History in Action*) demonstrates how the Nazis used propaganda to come to power. Here it mentions the "dissatisfaction among Germans following the Treaty of Versailles" (245),

and explains how this sentiment was exploited when coupled with imagery of the “perfect family” (248), so as to encourage German citizens to take pride in their identity.

Powerful illustrations for these explanations have been chosen for the textbooks. For example, one shows a page from a mathematics textbook published in Germany in 1933 that asks students to calculate the costs to society caused by Jews and the mentally ill, and the potential savings gained by eliminating such people (*From Yesterday to Tomorrow*, 238). Another picture from a 1936 textbook, which shows a Jewish teacher and his Jewish students being expelled from a school (239), highlights the physical characteristics attributed to Jews by Nazi propaganda. The picture is accompanied by specific questions that direct students to reflect on the meaning of such images.

Loud Silences

Largely absent from the textbooks, as well as from the program, is a historical definition of the Holocaust and a directed reflection on the reasons that justify teaching this event in Quebec today. Not only are these two elements essential to the comprehension of this historical event, they are also identified by teachers as major challenges in the teaching of the Holocaust in the classroom.²⁷

HCE textbooks seldom name the Holocaust. In two textbooks (*History in Action* and *Regards...*) the concept is completely absent, while in two others, the term is used without explanation. For instance, *L'Occident...* declares in its introduction that the “Shoah²⁸ is undoubtedly the worst massacre in twentieth century history” (420) and another textbook (*Réalités*) uses the term in a caption for the photo of the castle in Wannsee (where the “Final Solution” was reputedly devised), indicating that the site has become a “place to commemorate the Holocaust” (311).

The only textbook that offers any explanation of terminology (*From Yesterday to Tomorrow*, 236), does so by distinguishing the term Holocaust from the term Shoah, indicating that the latter is more commonly used in France. However, it does not specify why the book’s authors chose to use the term Holocaust (which is more commonly used in Quebec), and does not provide any clearer historical definition to specify what the term means.

This same textbook (*From Yesterday to Tomorrow*) is the only one which deals with the importance of teaching the Holocaust today, mentioning the “duty to remember” horrors as well

as the people who resisted these (242). It also emphasizes that, although such acts have been acknowledged as “crimes against humanity”, other genocides have been perpetrated since. It is also the only textbook to encourage students to visit the Montréal Holocaust Memorial Museum to learn more about this event (243).

None of the textbooks clearly refer to either the Quebec or Canadian perspectives of the Holocaust, or to the Holocaust’s influence on Quebec’s Jewish community, either past or present. For instance, the refusal of the Canadian government to welcome Jewish refugees before the war, the closing of the country’s borders during the war, antisemitic incidents in Quebec during the 1930s, and the significant number of Holocaust survivors who arrived in Canada and in particular in Montréal after the war, are all themes that could contribute to teaching the Holocaust in Quebec. And while one teachers’ guide (*L’Occident...*) suggests that students engage in a conversation about antisemitism today, it does not propose a specific incident to discuss. The Holocaust is briefly mentioned in Secondary Cycle Two HCE textbooks, which are dedicated to the history of Quebec and Canada, and where the Jewish community or the evolution of political ideas in Quebec are discussed. However, this offers little real continuity between events and processes.²⁹

Holocaust Instruction and Civic Education: Contrasting Approaches

While human rights education is not necessarily the goal for teaching the Holocaust, it can certainly benefit from such teaching, as Eckmann shows,³⁰ and its relevance in a society like Quebec’s can be reinforced. Teachers who were asked about their motivation to teach the Holocaust often mentioned its contribution, in their view, to discussions on human rights today. This perspective is not without its drawbacks, notably the risk of oversimplifying the event, especially if little effort is made to fully understand the event’s historical complexity. This is even more relevant in light of the often very limited time dedicated to teaching the Holocaust.

However, teaching the Holocaust can be a significant mind-opener for human rights’ education, as Eckmann proposes,³¹ through, for instance, analyzing different forms of racism in contemporary society, or reflecting on the sometimes subtle distinction between witnesses, resistance fighters, and collaborators. These are both themes that can be easily included in the civic education component of the Quebec History and Citizenship Education program. The fact

that these questions relate directly to the theme of the chapter “*The Winning of Civil Rights and Freedoms*,” that includes the Holocaust, reinforces their relevance.

Quebec’s history textbooks do not generally address human rights as part of their treatment of the Holocaust, except for some passing references to this theme. While one textbook invites students to think of instances of discrimination in contemporary societies (*Réalités*, 340), another examines possible ways to encourage equality for all (*History in Action*, 257). These examples remain quite general, and do not specifically question the reality in Quebec. By contrast, one ERC textbook (*Tête-à-tête*, 2nd cycle, 2nd year, 10-11) embraces this approach and insists on the Holocaust’s distinctiveness, highlighting the event’s systematic organization, as well as the dangers of racism for a society. The textbook links this to a reflection on Quebec society by showing a poster (8) from 2007 of Quebec’s organized action week against racism, an annual event that raises awareness about the ever-present danger of racism. The book explores an example of an antisemitic incident (14) that occurred in Quebec in 2004, as well as reactions within Quebec society. The Niemöller poem, mentioned earlier, is used here (13) to encourage students to reflect on their frequent indifference to such issues.

Another ERC textbook (*Tisser des liens*) mentions the Holocaust only once, using it as an example of a eugenic project, and explaining that Hitler sought “to eliminate the Semites and encourage the expansion of the Aryan race. Millions of Jews were exterminated during this genocide” (21, our translation). The textbook, presumably supposing prior knowledge of the Holocaust, which, as we have shown, is unjustified, considers it sufficient to dedicate only one sentence to the event.

The comparison with other genocides is another recognized approach, although it is also subject to numerous critiques, of including the Holocaust in a more general history and citizenship education course. Arguably, such a comparison should be clearly directed by an historical approach that avoids any direct comparison of suffering.³² Two of the HCE textbooks refer to other genocides. One (*L’Occident...*, 411) introduces the theme by explaining that genocide was first defined as the “extermination of Jews and Roma (Gypsies),” and that it was later recognized as any effort by one ethnic group to eliminate another. A timeline that identifies different genocides, and shows a picture of victims from the Rwandan genocide, emphasizes a comparative angle. Meanwhile, the teachers’ guide suggests bringing up more general themes in classroom discussions, such as racism, censorship, and anti-Semitism. The other textbook, *From*

Yesterday to Tomorrow, after discussing the Holocaust, refers more specifically to the Rwandan genocide, emphasizing the importance of intervening in such a situation (250), as well as the individual responsibility of each citizen to prevent such scenarios. The reference again to Niemöller's poem (the German pastor who regretted not acting sooner against Nazi injustices), allows comparison between the two genocides. The same approach is used in a Contemporary World textbook, *Immédiat*. In its coverage of "tensions and conflicts" (Chapter 4), one page (197) is dedicated to genocides. Here, the meaning of this term is explained, and the Rwandan genocide and Holocaust are both referred to. However, students are still not directly encouraged to engage in a comparison of these.³³

Conclusion

The fact that the Holocaust is incorporated into Quebec's History and Citizenship Education program, as well as being mentioned in the Ethics and Religious Culture program, is significant, especially when compared to its inclusion in the programs and textbooks of other Canadian provinces and those of the United States. Moreover, the HCE program is presented in a chronological framework and offers explicit guidelines for teaching the Holocaust, which is not always the case for history education programs elsewhere in the world.

The program fails to present several major aspects of the Holocaust that would ensure a more complete understanding of the event. However, the major problem appears to be that the Holocaust is neither named nor defined in the program. And, even though the HCE textbooks respect the program's requirements, and do add other important aspects to their treatment of the Holocaust, they also follow the program's example by neglecting to clearly name or define it. As a result, they portray the event as the sum of different historical anecdotes, and propose no reflection on its complexity or its distinctiveness. Indeed, treatment of the Holocaust in these textbooks suffers from the absence of any clear guidelines.

As demonstrated here, the topic is not used to teach major themes related to human rights or anti-racism, nor is its instruction linked to any clear historical approach. By reading the textbooks alone, it is unlikely that students would grasp the present-day historical significance of the Holocaust. Furthermore, partial representations of the Holocaust risk being as problematic as false ones, for both can lead to similar misunderstandings or encourage negative attitudes towards its victims. Finally, it is important to highlight the absence of any perspective on Quebec's

Jewish community, past or present. This relegates the Holocaust to an “elsewhere” reality and neglects to illustrate to students the direct influence that this event has had on their own society. These conclusions lead us to propose the development of a teachers’ guide presenting different approaches and activities that complement teaching about the Holocaust in Quebec’s secondary schools, and that also take into account teachers’ perceptions of the Holocaust and their need for initial and ongoing training.

List of Textbooks Quoted

1. *History and Citizenship Education (Histoire et éducation à la citoyenneté)*

Christian Laville, Geneviève Therriault and Louise Sauvageau, *From Yesterday to Tomorrow* (Montreal: Chenelière, 2005).

France Lord and Jean Léger, *History in action* (Mont Royal: Groupe Modulo, 2005).

Hervé Gagnon and Michel Vervais (prepared under the direction of Line Lamarre), *Réalités* (Montreal: ERPI, 2005).

Charles-Antoine Bachand, Patrick Poirier and Julia Poyet (prepared under the direction of Alain Dalongeville), *Regards sur la société*, vols 1 and 2 (Anjou: CEC, 2005).

Claude Blouin and Jean Roby, *L’Occident en 12 événements* (Laval: Grand Duc, 2005).

2. *Ethics and Religious Culture (Éthique et culture religieuse)*

Denis Bélanger, et al., *Living in Society* (Anjou: CEC, 2008).

Isabelle Grenier et al. *Tête-à-Tête*, 2^e cycle, (Laval: Éditions Grand Duc, 2008).

Jean Grondin, Solenge Lefebvre and Daniel Weinstock, *Tête-à-Tête 1^{re} année du 1^{er} cycle*, Laval: Éditions Grand Duc, 2008).

Simon Deraspe, Pierre Després, Isabelle Fournier Courcy and Sylvie Tardif (chief editor, Jean Dansereau), *Weaving the World*, vol. 2, (Anjou: CEC, 2009).

¹ The study presented here of how the history, culture and religion of the Jewish community is treated in the curriculum took two forms. The first part analyzed the treatment of these subjects in the program and textbooks and the second analyzed the teachers’ perception of this treatment. This second part is more fully developed in a separate article.

² This document is updated annually and can be consulted via the following address : http://www1.mels.gouv.qc.ca/progressionSecondaire/domaine_univers_social/histoire/index_en.asp?page=reconnaissance (accessed on 28 November 2013).

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- ³ Sivane Hirsch, *Le traitement de l'Holocauste dans les manuels scolaires de langue française en histoire et éducation à la citoyenneté au Québec*, Research report, supervised by Marie Mc Andrew, http://www.chereum.umontreal.ca/pub_chaire.html, 2011 (accessed on 28 November 2013).
- ⁴ By comparison, other history programs in the rest of Canada or in the United States do not systematically introduce the Holocaust. See for example David Lindquist, "The Coverage of the Holocaust in High School History Textbooks", in *Social Education* 73, no. 6 (2009): 298-304.
- ⁵ Monique Eckmann, "Exploring the Relevance of Holocaust Education for Human Rights Education". *Prospects*, 2010, Vol. 40(1), pp7-16.
- ⁶ Québec's secondary school history program is divided into two cycles: cycle one, taught during the first and second year of secondary school, covers world history, while cycle two, taught during the third and fourth year of secondary school, discusses Québec and Canadian history. The history program in secondary V is dedicated to the study of the twentieth century.
- ⁷ Two of the history textbooks studied have been translated into English. These are *From Yesterday to Tomorrow* and *History in Action*. All quotations of other textbooks have been translated by the authors.
- ⁸ Among many others, as well as authors already cited, Jean-François Forges, *Éduquer contre Auschwitz. Histoire et mémoire* (3 ed.) (Paris: ESF Éditeur, 2004), Charles Heimberg, "Comparaison, périodisation, échelles, pluralité : une grammaire de la transmission d'une histoire de tous". *Revue Proteo Far Sapere et du Landis, Journée d'études à Bologne*, (2007, <http://www.didactique-histoire.net/IMG/pdf/heimberg-bologna-19.03.07.pdf>, 1-13 (accessed 20 December 2013), the two special issues of *Perspectives : Politiques et pratique de l'enseignement de l'Holocauste : perspectives internationales*. Vol.1; XXXX, 1/153, 2010 and vol. 2; XXXX, 2/154, 2010.
- ⁹ This statement is based on meetings with teachers for another study of the pedagogical impact on students from three secondary schools in Québec after visiting the Holocaust museum in Montreal.
- ¹⁰ Veronica Boix-Mansilla, "Historical Understanding: Beyond the Past and into the Present", in *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History. National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas and Sam Weinburg (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 390-418.
- ¹¹ Yehuda Bauer, *Rethinking the Holocaust* (New Haven : Yale University Press, 2001), 67.
- ¹² Morton Weinfeld, *Like Everyone Else, but Different: the paradoxical success of Canadian Jews* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2001).
- ¹³ Monique Eckmann, "Exploring the Relevance of Holocaust Education for Human Rights Education", *Prospects* 40, no. 1 (2010): 7-16.
- ¹⁴ Frédéric Guillaume Dufur and Mélanie Roy, "L'éducation de l'Holocauste et à l'antiracisme face au défi de l'hétérogénéité: analyse d'une formation pédagogique trinationale" *Canadian Jewish Studies. Études juives canadiennes* 15 (2009): 53-74.
- ¹⁵ David Lindquist, "Complicating Issues in Holocaust Education", *Journal of Social Studies Research* 34, no. 1 (2010): 77-93.
- ¹⁶ Québec Education Programme, History and Citizenship Education (HCE), Ministry of Education, Recreation and Sports (Québec: 2006).
- ¹⁷ Monique Eckmann and Charles Heimberg, *Mémoire et pédagogie. Autour de la transmission de la destruction des Juifs d'Europe* (Geneva: ies éditions, 2011).
- ¹⁸ Georges Bensoussan, *Histoire de la Shoah* (Paris: PUF, 2010).
- ¹⁹ Lindquist, "The Coverage of the Holocaust in High School History Textbooks," 298-304.

²⁰ See for example Boix Mansilla, “Historical Understanding. Beyond the Past and into the Present”; Alban Perrin, “Les voyages d’étude à Auschwitz. Enseigner l’histoire de la Shoah sur les lieux du crime”, *Revue d’histoire de la Shoah* 193 (2010) : 423-440.

²¹ Dominique Borne, “Faire connaître la Shoah à l’école. Quand les mémoires déstabilisent l’école. Mémoire de la Shoah et enseignement”, Jean-François Bossy, *Enseigner la Shoah à l’âge démocratique, quels enjeux?* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2007).

²² Iannis Roder, “Le prisme d’Auschwitz” in *Revue d’histoire de la Shoah: enseigner l’histoire de la Shoah, France 1950-2010* 193 (2010): 317-332.

²³ Ian Kershaw, *Hitler, the Germans, and the Final Solution* (Yale University Press, 2008); Saul Friedländer, *The Years of Extermination. Nazi Germany and the Jews, 1939-1945* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2007).

²⁴ Samuel Totten, Stephen Feinberg and William Fernekes, “Teaching and Studying the Holocaust” in *Teaching and Studying the Holocaust*, ed. Samuel Totten et al. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 2001), 1-23.

²⁵ Annette Wieviorka, “Consensuel!” *L’Histoire*, May 2010.

²⁶ This approach is critiqued by some scholars. For example, George Bensoussan shows in his book *Auschwitz en héritage? D’un bon usage de la mémoire* (Paris: Éditions Mille et une nuits, 1998) that, by not addressing the fact that Zionist ideology emerged at the end of the nineteenth century (before the Second World War) implies that the Holocaust was used for political gain.

²⁷ Charles Heimberg, “Comparaison, périodisation, échelles, pluralité”.

²⁸ Shoah, the Hebrew term for this historical event, means catastrophe. It is mostly used in France, especially since Claude Lanzman’s film *Shoah*(1985). However, in Quebec, the term “Holocaust” is more widely accepted in both English and French.

²⁹ Sivane Hirsch and Marie Mc Andrew, “La représentation de la communauté juive dans les manuels scolaires québécois”, *Nouveaux Cahiers de la Recherche en Éducation (NCRÉ)* 15, no. 2 (2013): 34-63.

³⁰ Monique Eckmann, “Exploring the Relevance of Holocaust Education”.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Sabrina Moisan, « Naviguer entre mémoire, histoire et éducation. Le périple d’un musée d’histoire de l’Holocauste au Québec ». *Le Cartable de Clio* 11 (2011) : 101-108.

³³ The Montreal Holocaust teaching tool, “A Century of Genocides” is adapted to this specific program, and compares the Cambodian genocide and the Holocaust on the basis of differences and similarities. See <http://www.mhmc.ca/en/pages/resources> (accessed 28 November 2013).

What Stories are Being Told? Two Case Studies of (Grand) Narratives from and of the German Democratic Republic in Current *Oberstufe* Textbooks

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Abstract • Much like history textbooks, literature textbooks produce a grand narrative, telling a nation's story via its literature. This article examines the presentation of literature of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) in upper-level secondary (*Oberstufe*) textbooks published in Germany in 2009 and 2010. Twenty years after German unification, literature textbooks are largely divided into two groups in accordance with their handling of literature from the failed socialist state: some focus on ideological criticism of the GDR, and some choose to avoid politics as much as possible. Both options result in a simplistic, even reductionist (grand) narrative of GDR literature. Case studies on Christa Wolf and Günter Grass reveal a consistent, positive portrayal of West German literature and a polarized representation of GDR literature.

Keywords • Christa Wolf, East German literature, grand narratives, Günter Grass, literature textbooks, post-unification

Textbooks reveal much about what a society values. As vehicles of “official knowledge”, school textbooks “play a major role in defining whose culture is taught.”¹ Textbook authors, editors and publishers select essential sources, facts, and analysis in line with specific age groups and present them as “highly structured, didactically reduced and nationally legitimized knowledge.”² Intentionally or not, this process often reinforces a “grand narrative” – an overarching story of a nation's character, values and ideals. In some respects, this grand narrative is also the projection of a wish-fulfillment, that is, the story of what a country desires to be. American history textbooks often focus on ideals such as freedom, equality, and opportunity, even though most adult readers realize that these represent our national ideals more often than they represent reality.³ When books (even inadvertently) present simplistic, patriotic grand narratives to pupils, however, there is the danger that pupils may not recognize the omission of facts, events, or

attitudes that challenge the “distilled” grand narrative. By painting in broad brushstrokes, textbooks often remove many of the nuances inherent in any (hi)story, actually narrowing the horizons they are aiming to expand.

The events of 1989 and 1990 radically challenged the established grand narrative of German textbooks. The fall of the Berlin Wall and German unification served as an opportunity for German textbooks to create a new narrative, to reconsider and recast previous depictions of events. It also brought with it the temptation to more firmly establish existing pro-West German narratives, since democratic capitalism could so clearly be portrayed as the victor over East German socialism. Because of the historic rupture of the *Wende*,⁴ the depiction of GDR history in post-1989 German history textbooks and the resulting pupil knowledge of GDR history have received a good deal of scholarly attention in recent decades. Some studies decry the lack of pupil knowledge on the topic,⁵ while others seek to establish an overview of the situation and provide suggestions for improving curricula and instruction.⁶ Still other scholars consider that there is no such thing as *one* GDR history;⁷ that grand narratives are by their very definition limited and limiting. As historical documents continue to come to light, and as the German collective experience and memory develop and change, history books are set to remain in the spotlight of German textbook research.⁸

History, however, was not the only subject affected by German unification. Literature textbooks, especially those for the final stage of academic secondary education (*Oberstufe*, *Sekundarstufe II*)⁹ with their focus on literary history, also reflect societal attitudes toward particular epochs, genres and authors. Literature textbooks present a unique challenge and opportunity for textbook authors and researchers because of the very literary material they present. While literary texts possess many of the same characteristics as historical documents, they also incorporate creative and aesthetic elements, adding a layer of complexity to their interpretation. At the same time, however, literature and history, and indeed literature and politics, are inherently connected. Creative texts are products of a particular moment in history, and frequently support or protest political events and viewpoints. Literature can both reflect and shape its historical and political context.

Literature textbooks for upper secondary level (the *Oberstufe*) therefore necessitate a dual focus on the aesthetic and the ideological. Ideally, they will present pupils with materials which help them recognize and appreciate the aesthetic, creative elements inherent to any text while

also identifying and understanding its specific political and ideological context. Ultimately a balance is necessary to prevent literature textbooks from becoming either history books with poems or literary anthologies with timelines. This is particularly true, and problematic, in the case of GDR literature. Certainly the enormous effect of the cultural policy pursued by the GDR's ruling party, the Socialist Unity Party (SED), on the life and work of many GDR authors must be recognized, but equally we cannot ignore the creative accomplishments of these authors, the emotional impact of their works, or their mastery of the craft of writing.

It must be acknowledged that authors of textbooks face many pressures, ranging from budgetary concerns and copyright issues to constraints imposed by state curricula or pupil reading abilities. All these factors contribute to a certain level of simplification and omission. However, even within these limitations, authors can choose to emphasize or downplay the concept of nuance. Each literature textbook creates its own grand narrative of German literary history, but some narratives leave more room for interpretation or even challenge. Even textbooks with similar works as content can construct markedly different representations of GDR literature; this indicates that it is not the works themselves which create a grand narrative, but the way in which they are presented. Chapter titles, historic overviews and questions set to pupils all serve to create an image of the GDR and its literature. I would posit that a literature textbook which gives credence to the concept of nuance would include several key elements: broad inclusion of GDR literature both within and outside of a specific GDR context, opportunities for pupils to see connections between East and West German literature, questions that ask pupils to develop their own text-based ideas rather than leading them to the "right" answer, and a dual focus on the aesthetic and ideological aspects of literature in the GDR. Textbooks must be balanced and open-minded if their ultimate goal is to produce impartial and open-minded readers, pupils, and citizens. Many of the textbooks in this study contain individual elements of the above description of a nuanced textbook, but no single book incorporates them all.

How then is GDR literature being presented in current *Oberstufe* textbooks? This study attempts to begin answering this question and to identify potential consequences of the manner of presentation via case studies around two well-known authors. My argument is that rather than featuring a dual focus on aesthetics and ideology, textbooks generally focus on either aesthetics *or* ideology. Many textbooks participate in the construction of an FRG-centric narrative of post-war German literature (one biased towards the Federal Republic of Germany or FRG) that often

reduces GDR literature to little more than a reflection of GDR politics. Aesthetic elements of literature are given little attention, and historical and political critiques in specific works find themselves subsumed into general ideological criticism of the GDR (or the SED). Other books focus almost exclusively on aesthetics, omitting key events in the literary history of the GDR. Even twenty years after unification, the (grand) narrative of GDR literature as it appears in textbooks is conspicuously polarized and simplistic.¹⁰

Presenting GDR Literature

Literature textbooks for upper secondary level lend themselves well to research on the representation of the GDR because nearly all of them include an overview of German literary history in preparation for the final secondary-school examinations and university entrance qualification (the *Abitur*). Most textbooks are organized both thematically and chronologically, devoting attention to topics such as love poems as well as providing a chronological look at German literary history that generally takes up 50 percent or more of the book. I am focusing here on textbooks issued by major publishers in 2009 and 2010, twenty years after the *Wende*. The six textbooks that form the central focus of this article were chosen because they are representative on a national level. Several of them are approved for use in multiple German states, and each federal state is covered by at least two textbooks.¹¹ Four of the books – *Blickfeld Deutsch, deutsch.ideen* and both versions of *Texte, Themen und Strukturen* – are intended for use during all years of the *Oberstufe* and include literature from the Middle Ages to the present. The two textbooks from Bavaria, *Deutsch 12* and *Deutschbuch 12*, are obviously for use in grade twelve and include literature from 1900 to the present.¹² Five textbooks (all except *deutsch.ideen*) include a chapter or chapters covering literature from 1949 to 1989, making comparative analysis possible. Together, these books provide a representative sample of textbooks two decades after German unification.

One textbook, *deutsch.ideen*, presents a marked departure from the usual organizational scheme along thematic and chronological lines. Less than one third of the book is devoted to literary history, which is presented in reverse chronological order. Further, the book does not include a chapter about literature from 1949 to 1989, instead including GDR and FRG literature in a chapter called “Contemporary Literature”. Because there are only four works from the GDR in the entire book, I have not included *deutsch.ideen* in the more detailed sections of my analysis.

It is included in the corpus because it is used nationally and contrasts markedly with “traditional” textbooks for this stage of schooling. It remains to be seen whether other publishers will adopt this format.

FIGURE 1 HERE (Caption: Figure 1. Textbooks in the Corpus)

This corpus reveals how textbooks struggle to find a balance between ideology and aesthetics in their inclusion, depiction and evaluation of GDR literature. At one end of the spectrum are textbooks which seem to aggressively push an ideologically-driven evaluation of GDR literature and social history and contribute to a simplistic grand narrative of “West beats East”; at the other are textbooks that present information in a more neutral manner and urge pupils to draw their own conclusions, perhaps even to challenge popular attitudes about the GDR and its literature, but which also potentially ignore uncomfortable historical realities.

FIGURE 2 HERE (Caption: Figure 2. Comparison Grid)

The x-axis of the grid represents the textbooks’ focus on aesthetics vs. ideology.¹³ All five textbooks in the main analysis present information about cultural policy in the GDR, but *Deutsch 12*, *Deutschbuch 12* and *Blickfeld Deutsch* place much more emphasis on it. There is often a strong connection between a focus on ideology and an apparent “mission”, in which the textbook aims to teach pupils how bad the GDR (or more specifically the SED) was. Books are positioned along the x-axis based on elements described in more detail in the next section. The y-axis represents questions for pupils and the extent to which they encourage multiple viewpoints and open interpretations as opposed to leading pupils to a predetermined answer. Unsurprisingly, most textbooks fall roughly along a diagonal line of “ideological focus/leading questions” and “aesthetic focus/open questions”.¹⁴

One aspect of my argument is that the norm within this corpus is to present extremes, since grand narratives seem to leave little room for nuance. This emphasis on extremes in the treatment of GDR literature can be found throughout textbooks; I will illustrate it representatively via case studies on the treatment in the books of two well-known German authors, Christa Wolf and Günter Grass, one from each side of the German-German divide. These case studies implement a textual analysis of the focus and questions contained in the

textbooks. Since many textbooks contain the same texts, the underlying differences only become apparent upon closer examination of how works and authors are presented (ideological or aesthetic focus) and analyzed (leading or open-ended questions).

First Impressions: The Power of Extraliterary Chapter Elements

Because literature textbooks for upper secondary pupils serve as an overview of German literary history, much emphasis is placed upon presenting literary texts within their historical context. This is achieved by organizing works by time period and by providing historical overviews, author biographies and descriptions of literary movements. While it is beyond the scope of this article to fully examine these elements, a brief discussion can begin to reveal their role in the portrayal of GDR literature in textbooks. Let us turn our attention to first impressions: text groupings, section titles, introductory historical information, and texts used as openers for sections or topics.

Both of the books for Bavaria, *Deutsch 12* and *Deutschbuch 12*, present GDR literature separately from West German, Austrian, and Swiss literature. *Deutsch 12* actually has a completely separate chapter for GDR literature rather than a section within the “1949 to 1989” chapter. *Blickfeld Deutsch*, approved for use in all other states, also includes a separate section for early GDR literature, but then includes both GDR and FRG literature in the section “‘Art Is Always Opposition to What Exists’ (Schütz) – Discussing Facets of Opposition in Selected Literary Examples”, although even here, texts are separated into subsections for West and East. Both of the *Texte, Themen und Strukturen* textbooks present FRG and GDR literature within the same chapter and section, although the version for North Rhine-Westphalia is the only textbook in the corpus to present FRG and GDR texts side by side and to include questions directly asking pupils to compare them.

Some textbooks, therefore, follow a practice of presenting East and West German literature as completely separate entities, making it difficult for pupils to see the effect that authors and works on both sides of the German-German divide had on one another. One could argue that separating East and West is educationally effective, allowing pupils to immerse themselves in the literature of one Germany before turning their attention to the other. This, however, does not explain why West German literature is generally presented together with Austrian and Swiss literature, suggesting a connection between “western European” literatures

written in German that does not extend to East German literature. But since both East and West German literatures were produced during the same time period, often as a response to the same events, presenting each essentially in a vacuum makes a deep, connected understanding of FRG and GDR literature less probable. This is likely to be the reasoning behind the textbooks that do “mix” East and West German works, although even here it is worth noting that all textbooks but one (*TTS-NRW*) still segregate texts within sections. Often there will be two to three FRG texts with questions followed by two to three GDR texts with questions, but no questions which require pupils to think about all four to six texts as one group. GDR literature is presented, overtly or subtly, as something isolated from other literature in German. Taking this fact together with the lower overall inclusion rate of GDR literature,¹⁵ we might argue that it is also presented as less valuable or less worthy of study than West German literature.

Perhaps more obviously affecting the portrayal of GDR literature than its (partial) segregation from FRG texts are the initial texts in the chapters or sections dealing with the GDR. What is presented within the first few pages of a chapter reveals much about the project of a textbook. The most ideologically focused textbooks emphasize the SED’s cultural policies and their impact on GDR literature. Other books address the aesthetic qualities of the works.

Blickfeld Deutsch and *Deutschbuch 12* are the most openly ideologically focused of the textbooks, which is obvious even in the section titles “Stages of Literature in East Germany – Decreed Cultural Policy” (*Deutschbuch 12*)¹⁶ and “Writing Between Partisanship and Critical Distance – Examining Reactions to Political Guidelines and Events in GDR Literature” (*Blickfeld Deutsch*). Although these titles do leave open the possibility for a focus on the aesthetic qualities of GDR literature, they are immediately followed by introductory informational text which again emphasizes the way in which the SED government attempted to exert total control over literary production:

Every type of culture in the GDR was confronted with precise directives that the state enacted against artists by any means necessary, because the regime saw culture as having an ideological mission to fulfill. In the “Bitterfeld Way” (1959-1964), for example, the state requested authors to acquaint themselves with life in industrial production.¹⁷

As early as 1950, literature in the new state was assigned a political role in the development of the socialist state. For authors and literature, the principle of partisanship applied; this was the imperative to identify themselves with the Party and therefore to show their solidarity with the working class. Only in this way

could literature fulfill its role in class warfare. Authors were to give central places in their works to “positive heroes” who fight for socialism. Critical confrontation with social realities, by contrast, was not desired.¹⁸

Deutschbuch 12 follows up this informational paragraph with a decidedly ideological text, an excerpt from Kurt Hager’s 1963 speech “The Partisanship and Connection to the People of Our Literature and Art” (“Parteilichkeit und Volksverbundenheit unserer Literatur und Kunst”). The authors’ decision to let the first reading passage be the voice of a member of the Central Committee of the SED, who hugely influenced cultural and educational policy in the GDR and was often called the party’s “chief ideologist”, immediately places more focus on politics than on aesthetics. This text is then followed by Peter Huchel’s poem “The Garden of Theophrastus”, which caused a literary scandal when it was published in 1962 in the last edition of the literary journal *Sinn und Form* under Huchel’s editorship before he was forcibly removed by the government. Pupils are introduced to GDR literature largely in the context of how it was shaped and limited by politics. Even the questions that follow focus exclusively on SED policy and its effects on authors, at the expense of aesthetic/literary analysis.

This is not to argue that textbooks should ignore the role of SED politics in the literature of the GDR. Pupils need to be made aware of how the state abused its control over cultural production, especially in its early years. This must be balanced, however, with attention to the aesthetic elements of these works. Politics and ideology clearly are a part of GDR literature; this notwithstanding, they are not its only hallmark. Ignoring aesthetic or other literary aspects means painting an inaccurate picture of the role of GDR literature in German literary history.

On the opposite end of the spectrum are two editions of *Texte, Themen und Strukturen*, which divide their chapter on 1945 to the present somewhat differently, essentially defining 1945-1960 as post-war literature. This allows a slightly different focus on early GDR literature, placing it in sections such as “Taking Stock and New Beginnings” (*TTS-Ost*) or “Evaluation and Point of Departure – Literary Orientation Attempts” (*TTS-NRW*). Both editions choose Johannes R. Becher’s lyrics to the GDR national anthem “*Auferstanden aus Ruinen*” (Risen from the Ruins) as the first GDR text and provide essentially the same brief informational statement, that, “The following poem by Johannes R. Becher also marks a new beginning, albeit in a very different way. It is a new national anthem, commissioned by the GDR state to replace ‘Deutschland, Deutschland über alles’, which had fallen into disrepute.”¹⁹ The lack of an

ideologically focused informational text and the context of “new beginnings” (or even “literary orientation attempts”) provide a dramatically different starting point for pupil interaction with GDR literature. This is underscored by the texts presented alongside those of Becher, which are Bertolt Brecht’s “I have this, you have that” (*TTS-Ost*) or Günter Eich’s “Inventory” (*TTS-NRW*). Both texts reinforce the theme of new beginnings, with all their promise and challenge. We also note, however, that pupils are already being taught to find connections between two GDR texts (Becher and Brecht) or to extend the making of connections to East and West (Becher and Eich). Even in books with a more aesthetic focus, GDR literature is not necessarily always granted a place within the grand narrative.

Comparative Case Studies: Christa Wolf and Günter Grass

The ideas incorporated in the comparison grid above are perhaps most vividly illustrated via case studies. These will focus on the extreme examples of the ideology-focused *Deutsch 12* and the aesthetics-focused *Texte, Themen und Strukturen* series, while also drawing on examples from all five main textbooks. I have chosen two well-known authors who are indisputably part of the textbook canon, Christa Wolf and Günter Grass. These two authors are of particular interest because they are known not only for their writing, but also for the controversy that has sometimes surrounded them. Christa Wolf, one of the best-known and most celebrated authors in the GDR, was caught up in the German-German literary dispute (*Literaturstreit*)²⁰ of the early 1990s after publishing her autobiographically-influenced narrative of a woman under Stasi observation, *What Remains (Was bleibt)*. Günter Grass, who has long considered himself the conscience of FRG literature, was also at the center of a literary scandal after publishing his autobiography *Peeling the Onion* in 2006, in which he admitted to being a member of the Nazi Waffen-SS after decades of disclosing that he had been a anti-aircraft artillery helper (*Flakhelfer*). Both authors, therefore, enjoyed long careers in their respective Germanies, followed by literary scandals arising from by their own publications (and reputations).

Including the West German author Grass as a case study provides greater context for arguments and conclusions about the presentation of GDR literature. Both Grass and Wolf are strong subjects for case studies because they appear in nearly every textbook, often with multiple texts, and their texts often appear outside a specific East/West context, in chapters on classicism, the role of memory, or writing interpretive essays. In these contexts, there is no discernable

difference in attitudes toward the authors, and emphasis is placed on the literature rather than on the authors themselves. When not viewed through the narrow lens of FRG and GDR, Wolf and Grass are both presented as creative and critical writers, and textbooks clearly include Christa Wolf's texts as part of German literature as a whole. What will become apparent after further analysis, however, is that the depiction of Grass is extremely consistent and positive across textbooks, while Wolf's portrayal varies quite markedly.²¹

These differences in presentation quickly become noticeable in chapters specifically dealing with East and West German literature. Christa Wolf is represented in two textbooks (*Deutsch 12* and *Blickfeld Deutsch*) by her early novel *Divided Heaven* (*Der geteilte Himmel*), a well-known but formulaic party-line example of the "literature of arrival" (*Ankunftsliteratur*) emerging in the GDR at the time. Her later, more politically and aesthetically nuanced novels, such as *Patterns of Childhood* and *The Quest for Christa T*, appear in only one textbook (*Blickfeld Deutsch*), and neither are in the chapter on the GDR. *Kassandra*, Wolf's mythic novel about the Cold War, appears in three textbooks (*Deutschbuch 12*, *TTS-Ost*, *TTS-NRW*), two of which (*TTS-Ost*, *TTS-NRW*) present extensive excerpts in a non-GDR chapter. While the high overall inclusion rates for Wolf suggest that there can be a place for GDR literature within the grand narrative of textbooks, her portrayal *as a GDR author* is largely based upon an early novel – and then upon her narrative *What Remains*. Grass, on the other hand, is quickly and clearly established in the textbooks as a provocative, moralistic writer, one of the "most important authors of German post-war and contemporary literature."²² His groundbreaking 1959 novel *The Tin Drum* is excerpted in the three more ideologically focused textbooks (*Deutschbuch 12*, *Deutsch 12*, *Blickfeld Deutsch*), and his importance in the *Gruppe 47* is frequently mentioned.²³ Grass' role as a creative and formally innovative author within West Germany is established much more strongly than Christa Wolf's equivalent role in the GDR.²⁴

It is the treatment of Wolf and Grass in relation to *What Remains* and *Peeling the Onion*, however, which most clearly illustrates the difference in how these authors are portrayed. *What Remains* is nearly always situated in the context of the related literary dispute.²⁵ The three ideologically focused textbooks, *Deutschbuch 12*, *Blickfeld Deutsch* and *Deutsch 12*, also include additional resources such as book reviews, a timeline, or an interview with Christa Wolf, all of which keep the focus on the controversy surrounding the narrative. By contrast, *Deutsch 12* is the only textbook to include any part of Grass' *Peeling the Onion*, situating a six-line passage

directly after an excerpt from *The Tin Drum* in a section entitled “‘Memory Loves the Hiding Games of Children’ – Confrontation with the Past and Politicization.” The focus is very much on the collective Nazi past of German society. While Grass’ personal past is mentioned, one could argue that the textbook’s authors here are themselves enjoying a “hiding game” with the facts. A biographical note about Grass on the same page contains the statement that, “The novel *The Tin Drum* established Grass as a moral authority and as the conscience of German society, a role that was called into question by Grass’ late disclosure of his behavior at the end of WWII. In 1999 Grass won the Nobel Prize for Literature.”²⁶ We notice that Grass’ membership in the Waffen-SS is simply termed “behavior”, giving pupils little insight into the matter. Sixty years of denying the truth of his past are neatly euphemized, and pupil attention is turned back to Grass’ literary accomplishments. We might contrast this to the introductory paragraph for *What Remains* from the same textbook.

Christa Wolf’s narrative *What Remains* [...] caused a heated literary debate. Reviews by Frank Schirmmacher in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and Ulrich Greiner in *Die Zeit* marked the beginning of this debate over the method and scope of any rehabilitation of the GDR culture industry. Many believed the narrative revealed the unsuccessful attempt of a state author of the GDR and propagandist of the socialist system to declare herself a victim after the fact.²⁷

The focus is immediately placed not on the text itself, but on Wolf and her role as “state author”. Pupils are alerted to the political and ideological tensions surrounding the text, but are not encouraged to read it for what it also is, that is, the literary depiction of a woman under observation by the Stasi. They also are not reminded of Christa Wolf’s contribution to literature or the many literary awards she received. *Deutsch 12* passes a clear moral judgment on Wolf, while carefully playing down Grass’ sixty years of silence with words of praise and concentration on his literary success.

The less ideology-focused *Texte, Themen und Strukturen* books choose a different approach, both including a section about Grass’ novel *Crabwalk*, whose characters are victims of the Second World War rather than perpetrators of the Second World War. Authors of the textbook version for Eastern Germany chose to include a short biographical text about Grass in addition to excerpts from the novel and a newspaper interview with the author. The biographical text consists of two paragraphs, which state that, “Grass volunteered for the Wehrmacht at age fifteen [...]. At the age of seventeen, he was drafted into a unit of the Waffen-SS. Grass

informed the public of his membership in the Waffen-SS more than sixty years later (2006) in his autobiography *Peeling the Onion*".²⁸ The text ends, however, with a reminder that Grass is one of the most important contemporary German authors and that he is a "moralist and politically active author with close ties to the [German Social Democratic Party] SPD",²⁹ turning attention away from potentially uncomfortable scrutiny. Pupils using this textbook in North Rhine-Westphalia are not provided with *any* mention of Grass' actions in the Second World War, in fact, the only mention of events of his life is a collection of laudatory quotations from other authors on the occasion of Grass' eightieth birthday. However, this lack of focus on sensitive aspects of West German literature is much more to be expected in this book series due to its overall decision to downplay politics and ideology. It is worth noting that this series also omits any mention of the dispute surrounding Christa Wolf. All in all, the depiction and contextualization of Grass is very consistent among books; the difference is found in choices made about the GDR author Christa Wolf.

The Role of Questions

The marked differences in the portrayals of Wolf and Grass are particularly evident in the questions which follow texts. Along with focus and extra-literary chapter elements, questions play an important role in creating a textbook's grand narrative. All textbooks use initial questions to check pupil comprehension and literary analysis skills. But many other questions reveal as much about a textbook as about the literary text itself. For example, questions about the problematic elements of Grass' life and writing are kept brief and muted where they are included at all. Only two of the textbooks include follow-up questions to the biographical information about Grass (*Deutsch 12*, *TTS-Ost*). *TTS-Ost* has pupils read a newspaper interview with Grass and an informational text about his life. They are then asked to "Read the biographical note about Günter Grass. How do you assess the late provision of the information about his membership in the Waffen-SS against the background of the preceding interview?"³⁰ *Deutsch 12*, the only text to include an excerpt from *Peeling the Onion*, largely focuses questions on the social criticism found in the excerpt itself. Grass' life is only addressed in an enrichment question, one that many pupils may not be required to complete, in contrast to the intense, extended focus on the controversy surrounding Christa Wolf. It is, however, interesting that

books at both ends of the spectrum ask pupils to grapple with the personal ethical choices of the author Grass, albeit in a very understated way.

The focus of questions on *What Remains* soon shifts to the ideological, such that *Deutsch 12* presents the most critical stance towards the GDR. The textbook presents a surprisingly large number of questions, including the following,

Assignment: “ ‘What Remains’ calls itself a narrative and therefore should be literature; fiction that we should not confuse with a truthful report” (Ulrich Greiner). Discuss – in the light of this statement about Wolf’s text – the question of whether authors have the right to “artistically” process injustice suffered in a dictatorship.³¹

Instead of focusing on the text and how it fits into the context of GDR literature, pupils are now being asked to focus on something rather different, that is, how and if this text can even be considered literature, and whether Christa Wolf had a “right” to work through her oppression under a dictatorship in literature. Secondary school pupils with no personal experience of the GDR, or perhaps even with making difficult moral decisions, are being asked to defend or condemn the choices and work of Christa Wolf in a much more direct manner than any book treats Günter Grass.

After several questions about the Greiner quote, pupils are presented with a one-and-a-half-page excerpt from his book review and are asked to analyze its content, argument, and style before turning their attention back to the accusations he raises. The final assignment is to produce an essay which responds to the topic above. While the quantity and breadth of questions included about *What Remains* are impressive, pupils are only provided with one response to the text and not with any of the other voices raised during the controversy. Presenting one GDR text and one highly negative (West German) critic makes it extremely difficult for pupils to develop a deep understanding of this work and its place in German literary history. *Deutsch 12* once again fails to do more than provide the most negative viewpoint on the GDR. Both *Deutschbuch 12* and *Blickfeld Deutsch*, also quite ideology-focused, deal with this issue in a more nuanced way by including multiple excerpts from book reviews and asking pupils to draw conclusions based on multiple points of view. *Blickfeld Deutsch* is also the only textbook to suggest any parallels between the controversies surrounding Wolf and Grass, in the form of a marginal note and follow-up assignment suggestions on the “harsh public criticism” that Grass faced after the

publication of *Peeling the Onion* placed next to an interview with Christa Wolf.³² The focus of attention, however, is on Wolf and the controversy surrounding her text.

The *Texte, Themen und Strukturen* series represents the other extreme in this context. *TTS-NRW* does not include *What Remains* or any mention of the dispute surrounding it, and *TTS-Ost* includes it only in its 1979 context, that of the year of its original writing, not even hinting at the controversy that the text later caused. While I generally applaud the clear focus on literature and aesthetics in this series, in this instance I see it more as a weakness. Politics cannot be ignored when studying contemporary literature. By its near-complete omission of political and historical events, the *Texte, Themen und Strukturen* series also presents a reduced view of GDR literature, creating its own problematic grand narrative.

Conclusion

Christa Wolf and Günter Grass are only two examples of East and West German authors in literature textbooks, and their cases could perhaps be considered “extreme”. I would argue, however, that they are representative cases, that the extremes are actually the norm in many textbooks. The portrayal of West German literature contributes to a positive, patriotic, FRG-focused grand narrative, while textbooks seem divided on their treatment of GDR literature, which is either viewed through a narrow lens of political and ideological criticism or presented with little historical and political context. Both extremes do a disservice to pupils, suggesting to them that there is little nuance to contemporary literary history and no middle ground. Current textbooks tell varied stories of GDR literature, but a balanced narrative is yet to be written.

The ramifications of such polarized representations of GDR literature are troubling. For many pupils, these textbooks serve as their first extended encounter with GDR literary history.³³ The process of the composition, selection and approval of textbooks results in pupils being presented with markedly differing versions of this era. Textbooks which focus on ideological criticism of the GDR can easily give the impression that GDR literature is of little value or relevance today. Textbooks which ignore the social and historical reality of the GDR deprive pupils of the chance to see the powerful interplay of literature and politics. Both alternatives stand in contrast with a uniformly positive portrayal of FRG literature, suggesting that *these* works are the literature (still) worth reading.

Perhaps (grand) narratives of GDR literature as they appear in textbooks will become more balanced and nuanced over time. As younger generations of textbook authors and teachers, born after the fall of the Berlin Wall, replace those who came of age in a divided nation, personal histories may no longer burden GDR literature with the baggage of the Cold War years. Changing national attitudes takes time. One can also argue, however, that twenty years is more than enough time for textbooks to have learned how to balance ideology and aesthetics. If the leading textbook publishers have not achieved this yet, perhaps they never will. Only time will tell.

¹ Michael W. Apple, *Official Knowledge. Democratic Knowledge in a Conservative Age* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 46.

² Georg-Eckert-Institut für internationale Schulbuchforschung, “Vom Input zum Output – von Inhalten zu Kompetenzen. Was bedeuten Bildungsstandards für Schulbücher?,” Georg-Eckert-Institut, <http://www.gei.de/aktuelles/veranstaltungen/termindetails/article/vom-input-zum-output-von-inhalten-zu-kompetenzen-was-bedeuten-bildungsstandards-fuer-schulbuech.html>, accessed 25 August 2012.

³ National grand narratives obviously also exist outside the realm of textbooks. For a concise, insightful overview of the concept of grand narratives within German history, see Konrad Jarausch and Martin Sabrow, “‘Meistererzählung’ – Zur Karriere eines Begriffs,” in *Die historische Meistererzählung: Deutungslinien der deutschen Nationalgeschichte nach 1945*, Konrad Jarausch and Martin Sabrow, eds. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2002), 9-32.

⁴ Literally “turning point”, this term encompasses the events of 1989/1990 relating to German unification.

⁵ Monika Deutz-Schroder and Klaus Schroeder, *Soziales Paradies oder Stasi-Staat? Das DDR-Bild von Schülern – ein Ost-West Vergleich* (Stamsried: Vögel, 2008) and Monika Deutz-Schroder and Klaus Schroeder, *Oh, wie schön ist die DDR. Kommentare und Materialien zu den Ergebnissen einer Studie* (Schwalbach am Taunus: Wochenschau-Verlag, 2009). While perhaps the most well known study, *Soziales Paradies* has also been criticized by many scholars for its overly rigid definition of “correct” answers and its openly ideological tone. See Martin Sabrow, “Macht über das Wissen. DDR-Geschichte im Unterricht,” *Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung*, 4 February 2009.

⁶ Jens Hüttmann, Ulrich Mählert, Peer Pasternack, eds., *DDR Geschichte vermitteln: Ansätze und Erfahrungen in Unterricht, Hochschullehre und politischer Bildung* (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2004) and Ulrich Arnsward, Ulrich Bongertmann, Ulrich Mählert, eds., *DDR-Geschichte im Unterricht: Schulbuchanalyse, Schülerbefragung, Modellcurriculum* (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2006).

⁷ Martin Sabrow, “Warum DDR-Geschichte im Unterricht?” (paper presented at the conference “Meine, Deine, Unsere Geschichte? Friedliche Revolution und Deutsche Einheit in der schulischen und außerschulischen Bildung,” 2008).

⁸ There is little textbook research to be found on GDR literature. Most sources focus on the teaching of GDR literature and/or pupil attitudes, such as Gesine von Prittwitz, “Die jungen Deutschen und die DDR-Literatur: Ein etwas anderer Nachtrag zur sogenannten Christa Wolf-Debatte,” *Weimarer Beiträge* 39, no. 2 (1993): 299-307; Heinz-Jürgen Kliewer, “Von den Schwierigkeiten, DDR-Literatur zu vermitteln,” *Deutschunterricht* 47, no.12 (1994): 608-613; Klaus-Michael Bogdal, Bert Bresgen and Tanja Wegenast, “Vorbei und vergessen? Eine Umfrage über die Rezeption von DDR-Literatur bei westdeutschen StudentInnen,” *Der Deutschunterricht* 48, no. 2 (1996): 85-92; Ralf Schnell “Vom Umgang mit der Literatur der DDR,” *Der Deutschunterricht* 55, no. 6 (2003): 78-85. Several federal states and state media outlets also have online resources for teaching the GDR, some of which include GDR literature. See Peter Bräunlein, “Die DDR im Deutsch-Unterricht,” Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Baden-Württemberg, <http://www.ddr-im-unterricht.de/literatur0.html>, accessed 26 August 2012; Mitteldeutscher Rundfunk, “‘Leseland DDR’-Literatur,” MDR, <http://www.mdr.de/damals/eure-geschichte/themen/kultur-sport/literatur/index.html>, accessed 26 August 2012. The topic of teaching GDR literature is also being addressed in university courses such as “DDR- und Wendeliteratur im Unterricht der

Sekundarstufen” (Technische Universität Braunschweig, winter term 2011/2012) or “DDR’-Literatur im Deutschunterricht” (Universität Münster, summer term 2012).

⁹ The *Oberstufe* (literally “upper level”) is the last two to three years of secondary schooling that prepare pupils for higher education (*Gymnasium*). Roughly one third of pupils are admitted to *Gymnasium*. Because of educational reforms in Germany, most states have switched, or are switching or are returning to a twelve-year system. This means that the *Oberstufe* includes levels 11-13, 12-13, or 11-12. It is sometimes also referred to as the *Sekundarstufe II*, or secondary level II.

¹⁰ It is beyond the scope of this article to analyze the way in which these textbooks (and texts) are presented or received in the classroom. It is quite possible for teachers and pupils to read “against the grain” of the grand narratives created in textbooks; this article attempts to show that such narratives exist.

¹¹ Wolfgang Aleker et al, eds., *Blickfeld Deutsch* (Braunschweig: Schöningh im Westermann, 2010); Margret Fingerhut and Bernd Schurf, eds., *Texte, Themen und Strukturen – östliche Bundesländer und Berlin* (Berlin: Cornelsen, 2009); Bernd Schurf and Andrea Wagener, eds., *Texte, Themen und Strukturen – Nordrhein-Westfalen* (Berlin: Cornelsen, 2009); Wilhelm Matthiessen and Wieland Zirbs, *Deutsch 12 Oberstufe Bayern: Arbeits- und Methodenbuch* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2010); Kurt Finkenzeller and Bernd Schurf, eds., *Deutschbuch 12: Texte und Methoden – Bayern* (Berlin: Cornelsen, 2010); Günter Graf, ed, *deutsch.ideen – Kursstufe* (Braunschweig: Schroedel, 2009). This selection was made from approximately nine relevant textbooks.

¹² These textbooks cover the second half of the literary history begun in grade eleven textbooks.

¹³ Textbooks are positioned relative to one another in a “more than / less than” scale, not quantitatively.

¹⁴ *Deutschbuch 12* is an outlier, with a clear political focus but more open questions. While this textbook will not be the main focus of this article, it is an intriguing case for several reasons. It is the only textbook in the corpus to present a scholarly text about GDR literature, although this is immediately followed by a chart showing GDR authors who defected to the West. It also includes some questions asking pupils to think critically about West German society. Finally, it includes a relatively high number of questions for GDR texts focusing solely on literary analysis, as well as politically-focused questions that do not seem designed to lead to a “right” answer. For example, in a section about Wolf Biermann, pupils are asked to discuss his 1976 expulsion from the GDR from three different points of view. While the focus is still on GDR ideology, pupils here consider some of the nuances so often missing from grand narratives.

¹⁵ Inclusion rates for GDR literature range from 5 percent of all literary works in a textbook (*deutsch.ideen*) to 17% (*Deutsch 12*), while FRG inclusion rates range from 18 percent (*deutsch.ideen*) to 25 percent (*Deutschbuch 12*).

¹⁶ In the German original, the word translated as “decreed” is *verordnet*.

¹⁷ *Deutschbuch 12*, 264.

¹⁸ *Blickfeld Deutsch*, 412.

¹⁹ *Texte, Themen und Strukturen – östliche Bundesländer*, 411.

²⁰ The dispute known as the *Literaturstreit* called into question the right of successful GDR authors, or at least Christa Wolf, to portray themselves as victims of the SED regime. The sides were not as neatly split along East-West lines as the term might imply. To give some sense of the lasting impact of the dispute, it was mentioned by Günter Grass and Daniela Dahn in their public eulogies for Wolf after her death in December 2011. See Ulrike Baureithel, “Zum Abschied von Christa Wolf,” *Der Freitag*, 14 December 2011, <http://www.freitag.de/kultur/1150-zum-abschied-von-christa-wolf>, accessed 26 August 2012.

²¹ Although it is beyond the scope of this article, the role of gender in the treatment of Wolf and Grass raises intriguing questions.

²² *Texte, Themen und Strukturen – östliche Bundesländer*, 449.

²³ The *Gruppe 47* (Group 47) was a group of young, progressive authors established in 1947. Its influence on German literature remained strong for decades.

²⁴ These case studies are examples of broader observations regarding the presentation of FRG literature as more creative and experimental and GDR literature as traditional and derivative. While not completely false, this is a simplistic view of the literature of the two Germanys, especially in later decades.

²⁵ The exception to this is *TTS-Ost*, which includes *What Remains* in the historical context of the actual events described in the text and the date of its initial composition (1979).

²⁶ *Deutsch 12*, 217.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 264.

²⁸ *Texte, Themen und Strukturen – östliche Bundesländer*, 448.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 449.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 228.

³¹ *Deutsch 12*, 267.

³² *Blickfeld Deutsch*, 467.

³³ It is common for textbooks covering levels 5 to 10 to include some GDR texts, perhaps even a unit on a particular GDR author or literature of the *Wende*. There is, however, no systematic coverage of the years 1949 to 1989.

Decoding the Visual Grammar of Selected South African History Textbooks

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Abstract • Since the 1990s researchers have explored the design features of instructional texts from a Vygotskian sociocultural perspective. This article draws on their work in order to formulate analytical questions. Selected examples from four South African eleventh grade history textbooks are analyzed in an attempt to understand how the application of design principles, or the lack thereof, affects the potential mediating function of the text for historical learning as a whole. The relationship between visual processing and analytical and affective thinking is introduced to the discussion. The article concludes by commenting on the sociocultural context of textbook production.

Keywords • caption, historical knowledge, layout, mediation, textbook analysis, visual design

Historical Background and Gaps in Research and Understanding

The textbook as a printed medium or technological artifact has been an object of study since the end of the First World War as a part of peace-building efforts. Such efforts originated in the United States and in Europe when it was recognized that historical images were manipulated for nationalistic purposes. Slowly such research was established as an interdisciplinary scholarly endeavor with a particular focus on history, geography and social science textbooks. The aim was to compare, identify and promote ways in which students could learn that their history and their perspectives have an impact on other peoples. To this end, comparative textbook research was prominent, focusing on identifying and eliminating factual errors, obvious prejudices and deliberate omissions and distortions.¹ Current textbook research continues to highlight, among other things, issues and practices that could be seen as indoctrinatory, alienating, hostile or damaging to groups within and across nations. It is this

kind of aim, together with a more open exploration of history texts that the study reported on here² wishes to pursue through its specific focus on visual design.

An under-researched area in textbook studies is that of visual analysis as applied to instructional texts³. This is confirmed by Rob Wittig⁴ who claims that compared to the highly developed understanding of how reading works, there is a very minimally developed language concerning how visuals work. Partly this is because “literary cultures have systematically suppressed means of analysis of the visual forms of representation.”⁵ Another reason for the gap could be that, at least up until the early 1990s, research carried out in the USA found that, “one of the most remarkable things about illustrations in textbooks [was] that the work of the research community has [had] little impact on either publisher policy or on educators who use illustrations as an important selection criterion.”⁶ Arthur Woodward⁷ cites Harvey Houghton and Dale Willows’s research, which, although somewhat dated (1987), found that instructional text design was guided by intuition, prior practice, trial and error approaches, and marketability considerations.

In South Africa, there is limited research addressing the factors that inform instructional text design. There are, however, some studies that concern themselves with the end result of such design, from a user’s perspective. A notable example is a study⁸, which examined race-patterns as portrayed in pictures by counting the numbers of black and white subjects depicted in nine history textbooks for grades four to six. In addition, the researchers also analyzed their data qualitatively to determine what the illustrations revealed about the “sense of self” and the “sense of others”. Findings showed that race representation is heavily skewed towards blacks to the exclusion of whites. The author concludes that “South African historiography is still struggling to cope with the past and has, despite good intentions, not matured sufficiently during the past decade to offer a balanced report on the past.”⁹

Studies of South African history textbooks tend to be concerned with the political transformation of the curriculum. For example, Elize van Eeden¹⁰ examined the theme of globalization in nine twelfth grade textbooks. She found that they do not fulfill the curriculum’s aim of engaging students in debate and encouraging them to come to their own conclusions by undertaking historical investigations. This was because their narratives did not incorporate multiple voices and perspectives. There is also an example of a feminist post-structuralist analysis of South African school history texts,¹¹ but such studies are generally not

concerned with analyzing the visual grammar of history textbooks as carried out in this article.

This article builds on existing theoretical knowledge in order to analyze visual representations in four sampled textbooks, which were selected from the overall sample of ten textbooks examined in the larger study (see list below). The sample for the larger study represented all the officially approved textbooks available for state-run schools to select from and thus they represent the official discourse of the time. 2008 statistics revealed that 84.1 percent of South African school pupils attended public state schools.¹² The four textbooks used for this article typify the range of patterns observed in the larger study.

I will firstly outline the overall theoretical orientation of this paper and then briefly review the foundational contributions and ongoing work by Günther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen,¹³ James Andrew LaSpina,¹⁴ and Alain Choppin,¹⁵ and others, towards a theory of visual design analysis of textbooks. I take central tenets of their various theories, which are all grounded in Vygotskian sociocultural theory, and derive analytical questions for the analysis of the data that follows. The bulk of the paper is spent discussing specific examples from the findings, drawing on relevant and comparable literature. In the discussion section I consider the implications for historical scholarship more broadly and conclude by taking a glimpse into the sociocultural context of textbook production in South Africa.

Theoretical Anchors: Contributions to Decoding Visual Grammar

Despite the gaps in the development of visual analysis methods for educational materials, groundbreaking work has been done by the authors mentioned above, namely Kress (UK), van Leeuwen (Netherlands), and LaSpina (USA),¹⁶ whose work is often cited. Choppin (France) has also laid down some foundational principles of how aspects of textbook design can be understood and applied in practice. Staffan Selander (Sweden) has also devoted much attention to understanding learning designs and knowledge formations in didactics. His background is in history textbook analysis and his work is often cited by others. I will present a brief review of this body of work in an attempt to show how it has shaped the development of the analytical categories that I apply to samples of four eleventh grade history textbooks that are currently in circulation. The broad topic is that of “fascist regimes” and “race theories and their impact on the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.” Grade eleven was

chosen because it is the only grade at which this topic arises within the disciplinary study of history.

Before reviewing the selected literature, it is important to mention that the overall perspective adopted in this paper is a Vygotskian one. This means that the textbooks are viewed as mediating artifacts between the subjects and the objects: the subjects being the producers or authors of textbooks including their editors and publishers, and the object being history teaching and learning in grade eleven in South Africa, including all curricular influences. These mediating artifacts operate within specific culturally-historically situated contexts¹⁷ and this assumption seems to underpin the work of the selected authors.

More specifically, the focus on visual grammar stems from an application of Lev Vygotsky's argument, concerning the psychology of art: that an inquiry must start with the art object.¹⁸ Vygotsky was influenced by Formalism, which is a school of literary criticism and theory that concerns itself with structural purposes of a particular text. Formalists argued that "everything that an artist finds as readymade elements suitable for his or her craft, such as words, sounds, stereotypical images, verbal clichés, and even the ideas developed in a given work – all of them belong to the material of art. The arrangement of this material in a given work is its form."¹⁹ This arrangement is called technique or artistic device, and it mediates aspects of the aesthetics associated with learning history.

Research Questions and Procedures

Using this theory I was able to develop the overall analytical question of how the materials of art stand in relationship to the form of art (textbooks). What are the physical features (form) of the textbooks and what does this imply about the relationship to the content (material)? The premise in this case is that aesthetic coherence can add value to the learning opportunity offered by the books. This is particularly so for historical texts, with their focus on time, if one accepts John Dewey's conception of art, in this case the textbooks, as that which "renders men aware of their union with one another in origin and destiny."²⁰ The same could be said about history texts in that they attempt to join temporal dimensions of life, connecting past with present and future, and in the process appeal to a sense of national identity.

Another reason that it is important to consider images in textbooks is that modern trends in textbook production work on the premise that "graphics don't just explain the text, they are

the text.”²¹ There is a concern that the “trend in typography is clearly toward a destruction of narrative texts, with images (and other graphics) increasingly responsible for carrying the content.”²² This has led to a situation whereby a degree of animosity has developed in education towards the visual as the text has been perceived to have lost its power to excite student interest.²³ By implication, the visuals are to blame. It is for this reason that LaSpina and his colleagues set out to challenge the cultural assumption that visual information is inherently vacuous and deceptive and that images are without content. His research explores the relationship between, and coherence of, image and language text and the creative possibilities which this offers. This insight has informed the research currently presented.

LaSpina²⁴ and his colleagues constantly compare and explore the similarities and differences between the two semiotic modes of language and images. They do not see the meanings of language as “conscious” and the meanings of images as “unconscious.” They argue that “visual language is not - despite assumptions to the contrary - transparent and universally understood; it is culturally specific.”²⁵ LaSpina provides a “roadmap” for deconstructing the socially and culturally specific systems of meaning with which the use of images has developed historically and in particular contexts. He also provides terminology with which to unpack the subject matter. Terms include the “design of information,” “visual architecture” and the “aesthetic move to spatialize text.”²⁶ This move in particular represents a shift, however slight, towards the virtual dimension of three-dimensional computer graphics. The key to this lies in creating inseparable connections between images and narrative elements so that readers find themselves in coherent, multi-dimensional “storyspaces.”²⁷

Choppin²⁸ operationalizes the dovetailing possibilities between the written text and illustrations. He posits five such functional possibilities: 1) *motivation* function such as drawing attention, which is recognizable in use of color,²⁹ size and blank space; 2) *decorative* function whereby pictures are chosen for aesthetic and not educational purposes; 3) *information* function whereby the picture has a separate and complementary role to play in relation to the text; 4) *reflection* function whereby the picture is used in conjunction with an activity or exercise; and 5) *exemplary* function whereby the picture gives an example or is paraphrasing the text, serving as a cultural reference. The analysis will consider these different possibilities. What is the fit between discursive text and images?

Another exceptional work that can contribute to a thorough understanding of how visual semiotics operate is the book *Reading Images – the Grammar of Visual Design* by Kress and van Leeuwen.³⁰ Here the authors, basing their work on Michael Halliday’s linguistic theory and Roland Barthes’s literary and semiotic theory, provide an array of conceptual tools with which to unpack the process of encoding and decoding visual information and thus the meaning of images. The central assumption is that images, as a resource of representation, like language, display regularities that can be made the subject of relatively formal description or “grammar.”³¹ For example, van Leeuwen and Selander³² have shown, by analyzing Australian and Swedish history textbooks, how images and layout structures may contribute to the structuring of historical knowledge and pedagogic activity. Here visual layout elements are understood as a “semiotic ensemble of meaning potentials.”³³

One relevant example would be the use of negative and positive spaces in layout structures. LaSpina points out that positive (occupied) and negative (empty) spaces on the pages are “information spaces” and are part of the same semiotic system. They are thus both part of the “design for the transmission and acquisition of knowledge.”³⁴ An example of good design “requires the expert guidance of a well articulated layout and plan in which clarity and complexity, as Edward Tufte maintains, are not mutually exclusive.”³⁵ The question arising from this is: How do textbooks make use of the “ensemble of meaning potentials” in terms of balancing positive and negative space?

Another important design element to consider when linking text and image is the functional importance of captions. Woodward³⁶ emphasizes that from an instructional design point of view, creating a strong text-illustration link should facilitate the student’s ability to make connections between expository texts and pictures, reinforcing student learning. LaSpina³⁷ also stresses that the role of the caption in the design of a textbook involving a wealth of visual information cannot be overestimated:

Appropriately designed and worded captions are meant to name, identify, describe, and explain the visual presented. In short, captions provide the verbal frame, which sets the proper boundaries of the visual frame; a conceptual template through which the teacher can assist the student to understand what is seen.

Choppin³⁸ explains that two methods frequently employed to reduce the polysemy (the possibility of many interpretations) of images are anchoring and montage. *Anchoring* is the

use of headings, a key, a commentary or a caption to establish one meaning out of all the possible meanings. Language used to complement the image directs the reader in a certain way and thus provides an anchor. *Montage* is the mounting of sequential series of fixed images. Through the effects they have on each other, the meaning of pictures is modified so that the interpretation is narrowed to exclude possibilities were an image shown in isolation. On the basis of this we may enquire into the way in which textbooks make use of anchoring and montage.

To recap, the analysis was framed by four central and overlapping questions:

1. What is the main function of images?
2. What is the fit between discursive text and images?
3. How is the “ensemble of meaning potentials” used in terms of balancing positive and negative space?
4. How do textbooks make use of anchoring and montage?

In the discussion section I focus on particular examples to show how these questions can be answered using a selection of materials. I do not attempt to answer them individually since they are interrelated, which will become evident in the way the findings are discussed. Two main themes emerged from the findings, namely “optimum or inferior use of the information space,” and “anchoring, montage and the (mis)fit between discursive text and images.” A third sub theme was identified, namely “sensory experiences” which is more of a contemplation of possibilities than a collection of findings as such. These three are each discussed in turn.

Optimum or Inferior Use of the Information Space

Figure 1 here

In this example we can clearly discern the cluttered layout or lack of negative space, the excessive use of boxes, the poor quality of images, the various fonts and the absence of a flowing narrative text. Some of the source material is not authenticated by dates and/or author information and none is properly contextualized. The images on the left hand side are good examples of the particular way montage has been used. The two top pictures show “German Jews being classified,” presumably at the point of entry onto the cattle carts transporting them to their deaths and at the point of arrival at a concentration camp. The third picture is an image of a black South African showing a “dompas” (pass), the carrying of which was compulsory

for black Africans for the purposes of random and instant identification by the authorities. The two histories are very explicitly linked through this montage, thereby focusing the reader's attention on the historical concept of (racial) *classification*. Other interpretations and connotations are thus excluded. This would be an example of poor use of montage as the forced link seems to compromise history learning through trivializing both histories by superficially reducing them to the concept of classification.

In terms of the function of these images, it could be argued that they are used in an illustrative fashion, that is, they illustrate, or at least mean to illustrate, the concept of classification. But they are also used decoratively because they have little relationship to the textual elements presented on these pages and hence they are not educational (in terms of history) in this context. They are depicting different time periods and nations, and none of them match sources E and F which talk about civilized labor and the "British race," or sources A and B which are about American eugenics and England's perceived destiny to perfect the world. It would not be unfair to say that these images and the way they are used are in fact vacuous.

Moreover, on the right hand side the sources continue to provide kaleidoscopic fragments towards the subject matter, ranging from Aboriginal children to excerpts from Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, to German aristocracy, all the way to the redemptive utterances by Franz Boas. These sources are decontextualized, superficial and unconnected. The possibility for historical investigation is minimal. How is a young reader supposed to make sense of this semiotic chaos without any narratives and with rather leading or confining questions in Activity 2? The text reads as follows: "When the Europeans colonized new places they could make one of two choices: they could admit that they were treating the local peoples badly and so acknowledge that they were doing wrong, OR they could manipulate the situation and try to justify their actions'. In most cases Europeans chose the latter option. Why, in your opinion, did the Europeans choose the second option?" (*book 1*, p. 201) The sources and images were not about European colonization and hence the question does not fit here.

This is very similar to a study examining Finnish history textbooks in which the visual texts were not primarily used as a means to increase understanding of the situation mentioned in the text³⁹. Woodward⁴⁰ asserts that if the design elements that surround expository prose

are nonessential or do not serve an instructional purpose, then space is being wasted that could otherwise be devoted to expository prose. The example in figure 1 is the opposite of what “envisioning information” should be, which is “escaping the flatland” of the communicative two-dimensional surface in which readers and image-makers operate.⁴¹ The boxes create a rather flat or disrupted space because of the disconnected elements in the semiotic ensemble. More depth could have been created by filling the space with images connected to each other and also to the text. An example of how this could be achieved is the layout choices made by the designers of *book 2* as shown in figure 2.

Figure 2 here

Figure 2 shows a consistently applied two-column format (this is the only book in the larger sample of ten that chose this format), which gives it a journalistic tabloid appearance, and the feel of a magazine. Such a design provides “a strong structure from which all the images could break out of but one that connect[s] the text to image.”⁴² In this case, the “doing history” section also clearly stands out from the rest; and the primary source information is clearly shaded in grey so as to indicate a different textual category. Such design features help to weave a safe and contained environment for the reader, easing her or him into the navigation of a controversial and difficult territory. Overall, it is a “clean design”, including generous negative space and the use of images for reflection and information. For example, both the graph on the left page showing increased unemployment and the Nazi election poster on the right are clearly referred to in the “doing history” section – students have to use these sources in reflective ways to answer the questions. Moreover, the narrative corresponds with these images, it talks about the relationship between economic distress (unemployment), the failure of democracy and the promise of a better life through “work, freedom and bread”. There is a clear correlation between the images and the text so that the function of the images is also informative, meaning that the pictures and text have separate yet complementary roles. Finally, the images are accompanied by detailed commentary on what is being portrayed, from which time period they date and what their context is. These are excellent examples of anchoring that help readers to establish meaning. It also gives the sense of moving through a multidimensional “storyspace” as mentioned earlier.

The example in figure 2 shows fairly generous use of negative space, which in publishing is regarded as a “sign of aesthetic quality.”⁴³ Moreover, there are other visual, design elements used in the combination of images and text that can create not only a sense of virtual space, but also recover the personal dimension of the past through visuals that can trigger empathy and compel the viewer/reader to make connections. By using images with a reflective and informative purpose, as outlined by Choppin⁴⁴ earlier, the reader can get a more coherent message about the topic under study. In this example the message is also balanced with the perspective of a “perpetrator,” explaining why he and his mother found the Nazi Party appealing. Hence a sense of empathy is developed for the reader.

Anchoring, Montage and the (Mis)fit between Discursive Text and Images

An example of poor montage has been discussed in figure 1 and strong anchoring in figure 2. Here I focus on an example of the incongruence between narrative and image and poor anchoring, as shown in figure 3 below.

Figure 3 - here

This image features in the unit about Germany’s economic recovery plan in the chapter about fascist states. The narrative is about the economic interventions made by Germany in the 1930s such as increasing production of raw materials and controlling prices and wages. The picture in figure 3 in the textbook is placed to the right of this narrative and the reader assumes that it is an illustration of what is happening in the text. But it is an image of the Nuremberg Trial, which was not part of the narrative. There was nothing to indicate that injustice had been done to anyone (the Holocaust and related crimes were not mentioned at all), so this trial does not belong here. Putting a picture here serves to disorientate readers and almost causes them to “fall off” the edges of the flatland created by the visual design. There is no sense of moving through a coherent, multi-dimensional “storyspace”.

In this instance the photograph serves a decorative function in that it does not illustrate or bear any relationship to the text nor to the images on the rest of the page, nor in fact to the activity questions later on. Moreover, the caption of the Nuremberg Trial in figure 3 is inaccurate. There is one particular, unnamed, individual sitting at the trial, but no “Nazis” in

general. The two standing men in the picture are probably security guards. Dates and source references are omitted. Hence this image cannot serve any function other than a decorative one. It could perhaps, at a stretch, also be interpreted as serving a motivational function in terms of attracting or sustaining attention. There is something illicitly appealing about being able to stare at the face of a war criminal or seeing justice prevail.

Another example of mismatched pictures and caption can be found in *book 3* (figure 4).

Figure 4 here

In this illustration the image of the Aboriginal hunter has nothing to do with “suffering under racist policies,” as the caption suggests. The image serves both a decorative and motivational function. It is decorative because it bears no relationship to the text, which talks about racial oppression by western European nations and outlines what students can expect to learn by the end of the chapter. The image of the hunter evokes a sense of the quintessential, romanticized and unchanging world of a hunter-gatherer society. It would have been more appropriate to select an image depicting how such cultures have been ravaged by Western racial oppression, or civilization, as the text suggests. The image of the hunter also serves a motivational function in that its iconographic connotation draws the viewer’s attention. It has been reproduced frequently and has thus become familiar. Such images, according to Judith Keilbach,⁴⁵ are often removed from their specific context and, in this case through the use of the caption, they come to signify abstract concepts such as “evil”, which in this example is represented by suffering under racism.

The poor usage of anchoring and montage in the examples shown thus far (with the exception of *book 2*) are probably a result of the traditional and artificial separation between the work of the art director and that of the editor so that “the techniques of production instead of the information conveyed have been given precedence”⁴⁶ even though “words and images belong together.”⁴⁷ The danger with this approach is that the illustrations are used to present a certain position, because the power of the visual can seem to make it more authentic or “real” than written text. Indeed some of the textbook authors seem to have collected images and then “stumbled across the propitious moment to use them.”⁴⁸ A good example of this can be found in *book 4* (figure 5).

Figure 5 here

Here three images from unidentified periods and contexts are put together in order to illustrate changing attitudes of artists towards African subjects. The pictures are a “vase of an African woman’s head,” a “Greek statuette of a young black boy” and a “French poster depicting the African Jazz Dancers.” In this specific use of montage the incorporation of a sequential series of fixed images creates a specific message to satisfy “the sign-maker’s interest,”⁴⁹ which in this case seems to be to *show* how “racist” nineteenth century French thought was. Other interpretations are excluded.

The first two images are drawings of the actual objects. An activity question asks readers to “explain the changes in attitude that happened between Greek times and the 1900s.” (*book 4*, p. 122). When the “Greek times” were is assumed knowledge. The teacher guide explains that,

the vase and the statue are products of Greek culture. The attitude was not that of racism, nor was it judgmental in any negative way. These artifacts show respect and admiration for the subject and they are portrayed as white people were portrayed. The French poster suggests that black people are different, exotic and somehow subject to a different moral system than the artist or onlooker (*book 4* teacher guide, p. 127).

The underlying message is that once upon a time Africans were respected and admired just like whites were, but then something went wrong and suddenly blacks were portrayed as morally inferior. However, even though morality, in this case sexual morality, was not a simple black and white matter, the montage in figure 5 does not encourage such exploration.

The example of how montage is used in figure 5 shows how illustrations can be specifically tailored to the needs of the authorities who set selection criteria, which, in this case, may have been to “find visual evidence for the ‘fact’ that racism is a nineteenth century European phenomenon.” Moreover, these pictures were not supplied with source references. It is not possible to trace their origin or authenticity, which are two central briefs of a historian. One major consequence of selecting images this way is that the images are subsequently inappropriately connected to (and thus manipulated to fit) their textual reference. This is particularly problematic for historical source images when “no distinctions are made between

images contemporary to the period they are talking about, or images done (sic.) later,”⁵⁰ as the case seems to be in figure 5. A way to solve this problem would be to constantly aim for a partnership between images and words and to seek their complementary union.

Sensory Experiences?

This kind of complementary union between image and word aims to create such a link between caption and visual that one could not be understood without the other. In other words, it would involve using words for elements in the picture that cannot be seen, for example, to add other sensory information such as smell, taste, sound, and to not repeat with words what is obvious to the eye. There are certain features of images that are obvious to the eye because, as David Perkins⁵¹ explains, the “intelligent eye” is reasonable without reasoning. This means that “perception reaches reasonable conclusions based on evidence, but without the extended process of deliberation implied by the word *reasoning*.” This is the kind of process that the use of montage relies on.

Connecting image and text in history learning is only possible if the aim of the history textbook is to convey a sense of story by narrating focused, sequential events with all the drama intact. For example, on the topic of Nazism, the sensory elements of conducting candlelit rallies at twilight, the sound of voices adulating Hitler in unison, or the smell of burnt organic material coming from the concentration camps cannot be captured with images, but the images could be reinforced through the use of extended captions or narrative elements that complement the “visually reasonable.” It would add to an understanding of the success of Nazism. However, if the message is that “Aborigines in Australia suffered under racist policies,” then the image like that in figure 4 is not complementary and is in a sense meaningless.

Bruce Uhrmacher⁵² documents how aesthetic learning experiences can have positive outcomes for learner engagement. One of the key features of such experiences is sensory encounters. If the senses are engaged in an experience, then episodic memory can increase, and in turn perceptual knowledge may also increase, together with understanding. While a textbook as a mediating artifact can hardly be expected to provide a full multi-sensory encounter, it is nevertheless possible, through the use of visual design, to include text that invokes the senses and complements the images, as suggested above. This could lead to

improved perceptivity,⁵³ which, unlike recognition that has to fall back on some previously formed scheme or stereotype,⁵⁴ demands an active engagement from the receiver. This in turn can lead to increased receptiveness to new and unfamiliar experiences; arguably a desirable trait in historical learning. The point is that textbooks have the potential to create aesthetic learning experiences by making considered choices when uniting images and text, which can contribute in many ways to making learning more fun, lasting and meaningful.

Implications of Design Features of Textbooks for Other Functions of Historical Learning

While analyzing the texts contained in the sample textbooks I was mindful that the “design of information” or “visual architecture” is a form of art and that it is important to consider its arrangement in relation to its form. Therefore, although we tend to think of art as a primarily visual phenomenon, looking at art (and thus the visual architecture of a textbook) actively engages many kinds and styles of cognition: visual processing, analytical thinking, posing questions, testing hypothesis, verbal reasoning and more.⁵⁵

This echoes findings by Choppin⁵⁶ that a textbook’s typography plays a part in the didactic message because features such as font, layout, styles, and use of space work to isolate and differentiate between sections of the text, which have each been allocated a different status. In this way, these elements of the semiotic ensemble can be considered as relating to a broader sense and purpose of history learning. Such purpose includes scientific concept formation or generating personal historical knowledge, based on evidence and investigation; learning empathy and affective responses to historical events; and learning to identify ideological stances with which all history writing is inevitably imbued.⁵⁷ Each of these is briefly discussed.

Scientific concept formation is an example of the higher psychological tools that Vygotsky⁵⁸ worked with. Such focus looks at the opportunities offered by pedagogic texts to students, enabling them to make reasoned judgments based on evidence (including visual evidence) and giving them the ability to deconstruct the biases inherent in them. In addition, there is a relationship to yet another aspect of history education, namely that of learning empathy because “affective aspects are always one with, and act continuously as a ‘modality’ on, cognitive semiotic processes.”⁵⁹ An example of this is the design of a seventh grade social studies textbook from the USA, *A Moment in Time*, as described by LaSpina.⁶⁰ This book is

the result of implementing instructional design principles that closely integrate words and images so that each is dependent on the other. LaSpina⁶¹ explains that in this way historical empathy can be mediated because young students are connected to real people in history through sensory verbal information (like smell and taste), in conjunction with vivid and detailed visuals.

Analysis of the design features of history textbooks will also be influenced by the ideological messages contained in the texts. Kress and van Leeuwen show that visual structuring does not simply reproduce the structures of “reality” but, on the contrary, it produces “images of reality which are bound up with the interests of the social institutions within which the images are produced, circulated and read. They are ideological.”⁶² LaSpina explains that, given our viewing position, we bring to images what Barthes calls our own “culture, morality and imagination,” or our “baggage.”⁶³ The examples used in figure 5 have shown how the use of images can reveal the author’s ideological position.

These relationships can also be traced out using Uhrmacher’s theory of aesthetic learning experiences, which stipulates that there are at least four possible reactions to art: emotional, sensorial, intellectual and communicative⁶⁴. It could thus be argued that by examining the aesthetic or artistic features of textbooks, or any other mediating artifact, an understanding about other facets of the learning and pedagogic experience can also be gleaned because of this close relationship.

Conclusion

I conclude by noting that most of the textbooks examined here do not seem to have taken this close relationship into consideration, possibly because there was no realization of the power and potential of designing aesthetically rich artifacts. Barbara Johannesson⁶⁵ attributes the poor overall quality of South African history textbooks to the fact that commercial publishers have lost sight of quality, and that authors, at the time of transformation in the 1990s, were no longer encouraged to write well but to write fast as government budget allocations for textbooks decreased. She adds that “the retrenchment of experienced publishing staff ... has meant that so much outsourcing takes place that very few projects are taken from conception to bound copies by one person. Authors get treated with little respect in the process.”⁶⁶

This then is the cultural-historical context of textbook production in South Africa. It affects every aspect of the final product, not least the design features because these are perhaps the least considered or understood aspect. The fragmentation of the textbook writing process through outsourcing goes against sound principles documented by LaSpina. These centre on the creation and maintenance of a close dialogue between textbook authors, editors and designers throughout the writing and production process. But if Johannesson's observations are accurate (we can reasonably assume they are as she is involved in the process and speaks from an author's perspective) such a dialogue remains wishful thinking.

If such dialogue is not possible, my hope is nevertheless that future textbook designs can and will learn from the mistakes of their predecessors and from the examples of well designed books like *book 2*. My specific recommendations to South African textbook authors and publishers would be that the topic of race and racism, in a country plagued by a racist past and still living in its wake, should be addressed in a more creative and less perpetuating way. This could be achieved if the focus were more on narrating history and less on stitching together fragments of evidence to suit a particular theme or ideological position. Such an assertion really calls for a renewal of the socio-cultural *Zeitgeist* in which curricula and their resultant textbooks are constructed, negotiated and implemented.

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Debating Migration in Textbooks and Classrooms in Austria

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Abstract • This article deals with the question of how the topics of migration, cultural diversity and discrimination are depicted in current Austrian school textbooks and discussed and perceived by pupils of different age groups and attending different types of schools. The discussion will concentrate on three main issues: the representation of migration as problematic, the use, critical or otherwise, of specific terms, and the question of whether the history of migration to and from Austria is represented and perceived as part of a common Austrian history. Alongside the findings of the textbook analysis, we will show how the involvement of pupils in textbook and migration research can contribute to the production of scientific knowledge in this area.

Key words • Austrian migration history, migration research, national narratives, participatory research, representations of migration, textbook research

Introduction

Although some studies have been done on the representation of migration¹ and diversity² in Austrian textbooks, research projects thus far have concentrated on textbooks as products and neglected their target groups, pupils and teachers.³ Work with pupils and teachers was an integral element of the design of the research project “Migration(s) in Textbooks – A Critical Analysis by Pupils, Teachers and Researchers”, which was carried out by the authors between

2011 and 2013.⁴ Accordingly, the findings on which this article is based cover not only representations of migration and diversity in Austrian textbooks, but also the discursive production and reproduction of these topics by Austrian school pupils.

Austria has a long tradition as a country of immigration and emigration. According to estimates by the Austrian Foreign Ministry, about half a million Austrian citizens live abroad.⁵ Almost 1.6 million people living in Austria, nineteen percent of the total population, are from migrant backgrounds, with the proportion in Vienna twice as high;⁶ more than one-quarter of these 1.6 million were born in Austria.⁷ 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 which was not German.⁸

Regardless of this situation, Austria's national self-perception is still one of a homogenous and monolingual society. Even the linguistic rights of the autochthonous minorities in Austria which are protected by Article seven of the Austrian Constitution and the "Law on Ethnic Groups" (*Volksgruppengesetz*) of 1977 are not undisputed. For instance, the right of the Slovenian minority in the province of Carinthia to bilingual place-name and similar signs was a source of conflict until as late as 2011.⁹ German language skills are one of the key issues in the public and political debate on migration and cultural diversity in Austria and are generally viewed as the single most important prerequisite for a successful process of integration into Austrian society. Immigrants who fail to provide evidence of their knowledge of German after a certain period of time face non-renewal of their residence permits. The reluctance expressed in these and other circumstances to conceive of and imagine Austria as a plural and heterogeneous migration society is also in evidence in the Austrian law on citizenship, which is still solely based on the principle of *jus sanguinis* and is one of the most restrictive in the European Union.¹⁰

The hegemonic discourse on the topic in the media and the political sphere has for a long time been generally characterized by a representation of migration and cultural diversity as a problem and a threat to the majoritized¹¹ Austrian society, its social system, security and economic stability.¹² This goes hand in hand with the prevalence in this discourse of objectifying depictions, paternalistic attitudes or simplified views of immigrants as perpetrators or victims and the construction of immigrants as "others". While, for example, Austrian emigration is largely disregarded by public debate, immigrants and other minorities are widely seen as a problem. Moreover, the more recent history of migration to and from

Austria has no natural and undisputed place in the constitutive post-Second World War narratives of the country, especially with regard to the history of labor immigration and emigration.¹³ This marginalization of the topic is also reflected in school textbooks, where migration has only gradually begun to be included after decades of neglect.¹⁴

Textbooks are of particular significance in this regard, as they can be read as “national biographies”.¹⁵ They have long been regarded as the “preferred instruments of civic education and national instruction”¹⁶ and in most countries impart state-approved and thereby authorized and canonized knowledge. Those used in Austrian schools have to undergo an authorization procedure conducted by the Federal Ministry for Education, the Arts and Culture. A list of approved textbooks is issued by the ministry every school year, and only books on this list can be ordered free of charge by schools. Textbook content is highly selective and represents what Thomas Höhne calls “hegemonic representational knowledge” (*hegemoniales Repräsentationswissen*).¹⁷ In this sense, we understand textbooks as significant documents representing the dominant political and social thinking and discourse of a given time. Along with other teaching materials, they influence self-perceptions and perceptions of the “other” in a society, map social norms and reflect existing stereotypes.¹⁸ This is particularly true for history, geography and social studies textbooks.¹⁹

Teachers often rely on textbooks when preparing and organizing lessons, as confirmed by the findings of a survey²⁰ among teachers of all grades and subjects in Austria, conducted as part of our study. Forty-two percent of respondents always use textbooks for scheduling the school year, and forty-one percent often use them for this purpose. Altogether, 88 percent of the teachers in the sample always or often prepare their lessons with the aid of textbooks. Only a negligible proportion, barely one percent, never uses a textbook in this context. Textbooks are of lesser importance when it comes to the actual work in class, although here more than fifty percent of teachers often use them when giving instructions and for pupils’ independent work.

As indicated above, one of the principal issues with current textbook research in general concerns its preferential focus on textbooks as products, rather than on their use and potential effects.²¹ Neither teachers nor pupils are routinely included in research on textbooks, despite the fact that they are the ones these media primarily address. A number of studies have shown that pupils are perfectly capable of evaluating their textbooks.²² A study by Bodo von Borries, for instance, illustrates that pupils tend to be much more critical than their teachers when evaluating the same textbooks, especially with regard to issues such as

comprehensibility or their potential to motivate pupils.²³ In the present study, pupils and teachers were actively involved in the research process, as we will outline below.

One of the crucial findings of our study is the difference in perceptions of Austrian migration history between majoritized Austrian pupils and pupils with an immigrant background. Whereas the former do not think that migration and its history have anything to do with them at all, the latter feel that migration and its history concern them because of their family background. Both groups share the attitude that migration history is solely the history of migrants, that is “foreigners”, and not a shared element of Austrian history as a whole.

In what follows we will first introduce the methodological approach that we used in the study. Basing our viewpoint on our textbook analyses and an investigation of the material gathered during the workshops we ran with pupils, we will then argue that the tendency visible in textbooks to depict Austria’s migration history not as shared history affecting all, but as the history of a specific and separate group within society, supports and reproduces pupils’ perceptions and attitudes. We further argue that, instead of challenging the hegemonic discourse we have described, textbooks reproduce stereotypical images of immigrants and adopt the approach, prevalent in current discourse, of portraying immigration and cultural diversity as problematic. These representations not only perpetuate constructions of “us”, Austrians without immigrant backgrounds, as opposed to “the others”, but also contribute to the idea that migration “has nothing to do with me [as part of the majority] personally”. In the concluding section, we will propose recommendations on how these perceptions and stereotypical representations can be challenged in textbooks and classroom discussions.

Methodological Approach

Action research, as it was conducted in our study, stands out in academic research by its proximity to real-life practices. It focuses on individual instances of such practices, including, in relation, for instance, to schools, school-based interactions, a child’s or teacher’s life situation or story, a specific lesson, or interactions within a group such as a class or informal study group. To extend the single-case perspective, this type of research creates links between the particularities of individual cases and its knowledge of generally operating structures and processes.²⁴ This was the fundamental approach underlying our study.

The analysis we conducted of textbooks was based on content analysis according to Mayring,²⁵ in combination with critical discourse analysis as developed by Jäger.²⁶ For an initial test analysis of fifty textbooks, we applied a global analysis approach following Legewie.²⁷ The sample was based on the textbooks in use by the participating classes at the

time of the project's field phase. This sampling strategy enabled us to include new textbooks with innovative approaches, often chosen by the teachers involved, as well as almost all the most frequently used geography and history textbooks in Austria. A detailed analysis was carried out on twenty-two geography and history textbooks, focusing on the following research questions:

1. Which histories of migration to and from Austria are narrated in current Austrian textbooks? Is migration history represented as a constitutive part of Austrian history or as a separate, an additional story?²⁸
2. How are immigrants and people with a migrant background represented in the textbooks? Are they discursively constructed as part of the national/European self, or as outsiders or "others"?²⁹

Direct work with pupils was an integral component of our study. 170 aged between thirteen and nineteen, from eight different year groups and two Austrian cities, Vienna and Salzburg, were actively involved in the project, as were eight teachers.³⁰ The cities of Vienna and Salzburg were chosen because of their high rates of multilingual pupils and pupils with migrant backgrounds in comparison with rural areas and other Austrian cities.³¹ In each city the project team cooperated with classes from the following types of schools:³² the more generally and vocationally oriented New Secondary School (*Neue Mittelschule* or *Kooperative Mittelschule*), the school types which prepare pupils for university entrance, Academic Secondary School Lower Level (*Allgemeinbildende Höhere Schule – Unterstufe*) and Academic Secondary School Upper Level (*Allgemeinbildende Höhere Schule – Oberstufe*), and the College for Higher Vocational Education (*Berufsbildende Schule*). The percentage of pupils with migrant backgrounds in each school varies considerably depending on the type of school and the federal state in which it is located.³³ This is also true for the proportion of pupils with migrant backgrounds who took part in of the project,³⁴ and is a circumstance which demonstrates the substantial extent of the Austrian school system's tendency to afford opportunity based on socioeconomic background.³⁵

Three half-day workshops were conducted with each class to ensure our analysis of textbook examples which was focused on the principal questions of the research across all sample groups included in the study. The workshops were structured in the same way for all the classes, but were specifically adapted to particular requirements, such as students' language skills or perceived needs to include or exclude specific topics, after consultation with the teachers in each case. The first workshop was interactive and aimed at covering the pupils' everyday experiences of migration in general, as well as the role of textbooks and their

representational impact in general. Austrian migration histories and their visibility or otherwise in both society and textbooks were the focus of the second workshop; in particular, we used it to reflect on the construction and inclusiveness or exclusiveness of history. In the third workshop, pupils had the opportunity to practice the basic methodological skills required for the analysis of textbooks. In a learning circuit and in small groups, they analyzed textual and graphical examples from their textbooks together with the researchers. This work was guided by a precompiled list of questions about the text. What emerged from this analysis proved useful in terms of our interrogation of the tendency in academic research into textbooks to privilege such processes of analysis. Accordingly, we gave greater analytical weight to the group discussions which took place at intervals during the workshops. We strategically chose varying sizes for the groups, ranging from whole-class to small groups, for the purpose of making internal group hierarchies more visible and allowing voices to contribute which might normally struggle to be heard. We ensured that the group discussions took place in an atmosphere in which the voicing of all kinds of opinions was permitted and not sanctioned. The researchers moderated discussions and intervened only if the discussion failed to take account of arguments the researchers considered important.

All workshops were audio-recorded and photo-documented, and on occasion video-recorded. Some of the video material was analyzed using the documentary method,³⁶ while most of the photographs and some videos were used as supplementary material to the audio documentation, making it possible to identify pupils during different discussions. The audio-recorded material was transcribed and analyzed using thematic coding.³⁷ Special attention was given to differences between individual classes and to special group dynamics within classrooms and between different working groups, recognizing the influence of small cohesive groups within the classroom setting on the expressed beliefs and behavior of pupils.³⁸ The analysis of the workshop material also focused on hierarchies and power relationships within the different classroom settings. The findings regarding power relationships were also discussed with the teachers in each case and the outcomes of these discussions were included in the analysis. Additionally, we conducted participant observation³⁹ during the workshops. After each workshop, the researchers met to reflect on the workshop, their own positions and their influence on classroom dynamics. These reflections were also recorded and analyzed to reveal the impact of the interventions conducted by the researchers during the workshops.⁴⁰

The following sections will chiefly present selected findings of the workshop analysis while also referring briefly to findings from the textbook analysis.

The Timeline: Whose History Is It?

As other studies have shown,⁴¹ migration history in textbooks is often represented as an additional story from, but not as a constitutive and essential part of a country's history. This was also one finding that emerged from our current study. It also became evident that it is common practice in educational and textbook discourse to concentrate on a few selected topics and histories relating to migration and to disregard others. One striking example is the manner in which more recent Austrian emigration histories are ignored, with the implicit consequence that certain movements of migration are consistently depicted as being undertaken by "others" rather than by "us". This is accompanied by the marginalization of transmigration and remigration processes, and a resulting static and one-directional image of migration which sometimes gives an inaccurate impression of the actual numbers involved, with such an impression particularly in evidence with regard to Austria's role as the principal country offering asylum to those forced to emigrate after the Hungarian Uprising of 1956 against Soviet control. This historical event is one of the main sources on which Austria draws in its depiction of itself as a welcoming reception country for refugees, a self-image which is also represented in the textbooks. The fact that the majority of Hungarian refugees only used Austria as a transit country is hardly ever mentioned.

The perception that migration is something "others" do was often encountered among majoritized Austrian pupils in the workshops, who apparently did not think that Austrian migration history had much to do with them. The aim of one of the three workshops was to present and discuss the history of migration to and from Austria and to reflect on whether this history was perceived as part of Austrian history in general or, instead, as "another" story which does not necessarily need to be included in the overarching national narrative. According to Rainer Ohliger, migration history is "[...] an inherent part of history as such" and the representation of it is "[...] an essential part of how (national) societies construct themselves".⁴² One of the aims of history education in schools is to tell the story of "our state" during different periods of time, although this does not always imply the inclusion of migration. In order to discuss this issue with the pupils, we prepared a timeline ranging roughly from 1900 to the present day and covering important milestones in Austria's migration history.⁴³

In all the classes we worked in, general interest in migration and migration-related issues was quite high. Knowledge of issues around migration differed according to the level of education at which the pupils were, and whether or not they were interested in hearing and

learning more about certain periods of migration history. However, it should be stressed that migration history in its ‘entirety’ was not always of interest to them. From the discussions that ensued, and from the answers to our question on which migration issues pupils felt should be included in textbooks, it was clear that the topics the pupils found most interesting were those concerning racism and discrimination against migrants and people with migrant backgrounds, issues which, we further found, most textbooks failed to include. For example, the death of the Nigerian asylum seeker Marcus Omofuma during a deportation flight in 1999⁴⁴ was thoroughly discussed by most pupils, who showed particular interest in the questions “How could this happen?” and “What can we do to stop discrimination?” The “Sea of Lights” (*Lichtermeer*, 1993),⁴⁵ a large-scale demonstration against racism and discrimination, was also evaluated by the pupils as important, especially those without migrant backgrounds, because it showed, in their view, that not all Austrians are xenophobic. As one pupil observed, “not all the 300,000 people [there] were foreigners.” Other energetically discussed historical periods included the National Socialist era, labor migration to Austria in the 1960s and 1970s, and a political campaign launched in 2006 by the right-leaning Austrian political party FPÖ (Austria’s Freedom Party) and entitled “Home(land), not Islam” (*Daham statt Islam*).⁴⁶ The wars in former Yugoslavia (1991-1995 and 1998-1999) and the associated refugee movements to Austria were of special interest in the two classes with pupils who, or whose parents, originated from this region due to their first-hand experiences. These pupils were pleased that their knowledge and experiences were recognized; however, the discussion of these issues gave rise to tension between pupils from the different ethnic groups from former Yugoslavia.

Although the pupils were interested in certain periods of history, their approaches and attitudes to the question of whether the history being discussed concerned them specifically, a question posed within the project diaries pupils were asked to complete as well as in group discussions and feedback sessions, often depended on whether the pupils had a perceived or actual migrant background themselves. For many of the majoritized Austrian pupils, that is those who did not have an migrant background or did not regard themselves or their parents as migrants, the typical answer to the question “In what way/How did the workshop affect you?” was: “As I don’t have migrant background, this workshop didn’t mean anything personal to me”. Many of the majoritized Austrian pupils were not aware that the history of migration was an important part of Austrian, and thus their own, history. Their understanding of the past, their identity, feelings of belonging, and the way in which they constructed historical narratives depended on their own experiences and memories.⁴⁷ From this

perspective, Austrian history remains a field of exclusion, of which migrants and their histories are not regarded as an inherent part.⁴⁸ However, one interesting fact we uncovered is that especially for these pupils, the periods and events on the timeline relating to discrimination and racism, such as the *Lichtermeer*, Marcus Omofuma, or the recent cases of the deportation of asylum seekers, were important issues. The *Lichtermeer* was mentioned frequently, because, as one pupil in Vienna stated, it “was very beautiful and it showed the solidarity among the population”. The importance of opposing the xenophobic tendencies in society by highlighting actions against discrimination, and in doing so relieving the Austrian majority, was visible in many classes with majoritized Austrian pupils. These students set great store by emphasizing the fact that they were against discrimination and racism, although in some of the discussion groups and classes, prejudices and skepticism toward immigrants were clearly in evidence and given voice too.

On the other hand, most of the pupils with migrant backgrounds stated that the workshop spoke to them personally because either they themselves or their parents were migrants. As Josefine Raasch has shown in her study on pupils with migrant backgrounds in Germany, this group of pupils often uses history to engage with their own and their families’ histories in order to locate themselves within society.⁴⁹ This was also the case in the current study, where some of the pupils used their family’s story to interact with specific events on the timeline. “It has something to do with me because I have an immigrant background [...]” was a typical response here. Some of these pupils recognized themselves and features of their lives on the timeline, and also appreciated it as “their” history. In many of the classes with pupils from former Yugoslavia, some of the stories we presented about the wars in the 1990s proved very emotional. Some pupils told us that after hearing the stories, they understood why their parents did not want to talk about the past. Another pupil said 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”, thus demonstrating that she had made connections between her own story and the wider global context. From this point of view, migration is perceived as a historical continuum rather than as an isolated phenomenon. Nevertheless, the following question remains: do pupils with a migrant background see the history of migration to and from Austria as a part of Austrian history or not?

The pupils often claimed that they were faced with discrimination as a result of their immigrant background. During the workshops many of them seemed to be positively surprised about our interest in their stories and the opportunity to talk about them and make them visible. Based on discussions with the pupils, we recognized that many of them did not

identify themselves as Austrians or as part of Austrian society. Rather they defined themselves as “foreigners”, and perceived the history of migration as a history of “foreigners”. When asked “what is the history of migration?” the answer was “it is the history of foreigners”. Thus, although the timeline described essential parts of “their” history, it was not necessarily perceived as part of the history of Austria.

It should be stated at this point that there were different attitudes within the groups, and that the role of a migrant background when considering the history of migration cannot be generalized. Some majoritized Austrian pupils saw migration as an inherent part of Austrian history. This was especially clear in one class in Salzburg, where several majoritized pupils stated that migration “concerns us too”. On the other hand, there were also some pupils with migrant backgrounds who during the workshops favored assimilation of migrants into Austrian society and also Austrian history, without highlighting migration.

While having a migrant background affects pupil’s perceptions of the history of migration, it is not the only significant aspect in this regard. Individual attitudes toward migration and integration or assimilation also play an important role; these attitudes are influenced by family and social backgrounds, media and particularly peer groups.⁵⁰ It emerged from the reflection diaries the pupils wrote as part of the project, and the small-group discussions, that the students’ view of migration and integration is influenced by hierarchies in the classroom and in society at large. Having or not having a “migrant background” was an important factor in deciding how the history of migration to and from Austria was perceived. The national narrative about migration history taught in schools and personal experiences of migration were also decisive points. From the perspective of pupils with both migrant and non-migrant backgrounds, it would seem that textbooks and the way migration is taught in schools leave little room for inclusive historiographies. There is still a need to critically engage with the question of how the history of migration should be integrated into school curricula.

Problematizing Migration

A recurring finding of textbook analyses on the representation of migration in various European countries is the depiction of immigration and diversity as a problem.⁵¹ The present analysis confirms these findings. Examples such as the following passage from an Austrian textbook are representative: “Migration is one of the most important factors of population development and one of the essential problems [*eines der Zentralprobleme*] facing the economy and society, politics and culture, in the past and today.”⁵² In the same textbook,

linguistic diversity in the newly enlarged European Union is also portrayed as problematic.⁵³ This style of depiction is accompanied by the representation in these textbooks of only certain groups of immigrants and few countries of origin. Especially when it comes to pictorial representations, Muslim immigrants and people from African countries prevail, alongside rather marginal representation of other immigrant groups, such as Germans and immigrants from other long-time EU member states. This leads to a distinct problematization of certain groups, with the integration of Muslim immigrants into society depicted as particularly problematic in some books.

This treatment of the issues was clearly in evidence within classrooms as well. Words and phrases such as “discrimination”, “homesickness”, “deportation”, “being left alone”, “humiliation”, “poverty”, “war”, “crime”, “no friends”, “racism”, “to assimilate someone”, “unemployment”, “segregation”, and “terrorism” were mentioned by pupils from a total of eight school classes when asked for their initial ideas on the topic of migration.⁵⁴ In most of these brainstorming sessions, the negative or problem-laden aspects of the topic predominated. It was therefore clear from the beginning that it was not only textbooks that treated migration as a problem, but that most pupils likewise saw migration from a problem-focused perspective.⁵⁵

The discourse of migration as a problem surfaced on several different occasions during the workshops, and especially in the moderated discussions in the third workshop in each class. Within a learning circuit, pupils, after forming small groups, were shown pictures from textbooks illustrating the topics of migration, integration and/or diversity⁵⁶ and were asked to free-associate. Most of the discussions in the small groups focused on two topics, both of them highly problematized. The first topic was multilingualism, with the discussions triggered by a picture of bilingual road signs. The second topic was the social self-segregation of Muslims, which was triggered by pictures of Muslim women wearing headscarves. In one picture a woman is writing the word “integration” on a blackboard, two other pictures show women with children in a playground, and two more feature Muslim women in shopping areas.

Regarding multilingualism, most classes overall, although not all the pupils in those classes, put forward the view that Austria is and should be a monolingual German-speaking country, and said that they regarded multilingualism as a problem rather than a positive phenomenon. A problem emphasized by the pupils was the impossibility of “doing justice to all language groups”, as can be seen in the following excerpt from a discussion that took place in an Academic Secondary School Upper Level (Sek 2):⁵⁷

Pupil A: For me this is not OK, because you can't please everybody. If you make a road sign where you translate one [line of text on it] into Turkish, the other into Croatian [...] then *those* [other language groups] feel disadvantaged and so on.

... Facilitator: Are there other opinions on this? Do you also think one can't please everybody anyway? Is it better to *only* have the signs in German?

Pupil B: I do think, well, if you see your own language somewhere in a foreign country, then you feel [...] at ease. Thus, I do feel like this if I read [my first language] somewhere [...]. Maybe this also leads to a better atmosphere.

Pupil C: However, but I think you don't have to go over the top, because in principle, *no* country does it [putting up multilingual road signs] and is as bloody cumbersome with it as Austria. (Sek 2, 10 February 2010)

As these statements illustrate, some of the pupils were in favor of bilingual road signs, while a few others, such as Pupil B cited above, with a Western European immigrant background, commented on identification through language. However, aside from these rather personal and emotional arguments, very few points in favor of multilingualism were expressed during these discussions. Altogether, the participants showed little or no knowledge of indigenous national minority groups in Austria and their rights. This is exemplified in the following quotation of a statement made by a pupil at an Academic Secondary School Upper Level, whose reference to bilingual road signs in the context of the Slovenian minority in Carinthia revealed a perception of Slovenians as migrants rather than as a minority group with special rights in the Austrian constitution:

I do not demand that if I live there [in a foreign country], everything should be in German. I adapt to the country in which I find myself and here [in Austria] the national language is German and here it is written in German, so [...] (Sek 2, 29 February 2012)

As Austrian society is perceived as monolingual German, the "problem of multilingualism" formulated by many of the pupils is also connected to the perceived failure of "integration" of minority groups into Austrian society. Here, the pupils evidently mistake integration for cultural assimilation, and a task to be completed only by the "others" with regard to language. In most of the groups that discussed this topic, the argument for a monolingual Austria was passionately presented and knowledge of German was seen as a fundamental means for integration: "For integration [it] makes more sense if they speak German. [...] Among [immigrants] themselves it's still no problem [to speak their own language], but [...]" (Sek 2, 29 February 2012).

Multilingualism was viewed especially strongly as a problem by pupils with a majoritized Austrian background or a non-stigmatized migration background such as German. That said, also a considerable number of pupils with a minoritized immigration background vehemently defended the notion of a German-only environment and criticized other pupils for

using their first language in public. Furthermore, in some classroom environments, multilingualism was also regarded as a problem for the pupils themselves; some of the monolingual German pupils claimed they felt excluded whenever multilingual pupils used their first language to communicate. Further, some pupils, among them pupils with migrant backgrounds, thought it “rude” for immigrants to speak their native language when they were not understood by all present. English, and sometimes also Spanish, was not seen as a problem, but rather as an “important” or “beautiful” language, and was clearly distinguished from the “stress”-creating language of Turkish. When referring to this distinction, one pupil stated: “Turkish is not that beautiful because everybody is complaining about Turkish” (Sek 1, 20 December 2011).

As we can observe here, the majority of the pupil participants in our study without and a substantial proportion of those with migrant backgrounds regarded multilingualism, in terms of migrant languages in Austria, not as positive, an opportunity or a resource, but rather as a problem in relation to the integration of migrants into Austrian society. This stance viewed not knowing or not speaking German as the primary reason for the de facto segregation of migrants within society, in-grouping and failed integration. Pupils spoke of this particularly in connection with Turkish, but also more generally in relation to all languages spoken by immigrants from eastern and southern European countries. By contrast, languages such as English, and to some extent Spanish, were regarded as necessary or beautiful.

This problematizing approach to multilingualism and migration in general emerged clearly during the discussions about the textbook pictures showing Muslim women with headscarves in a rather shabby playground with graffiti. Most pupils associated self-segregation of specific groups within society with these pictures, and linked such patterns of separateness to a lack of proficiency in the German language, immigrants’ supposed desire to keep to themselves, or gender regimes that forced segregation.⁵⁸ By contrast, other pupils criticized the pictures, arguing that they stereotyped migrants and foreigners in a negative way. Criticism of the pictures and the problematization of migration and integration often arose at the same time in the discussion, as the following excerpt from a discussion at an Academic Secondary School Upper Level shows:

Pupil A: “Well, I don’t think so, but if you looked [at the pictures] for the first time, you could perceive it that way, that they [the Muslim women] are just making groups [among themselves] and not integrating themselves [...] Everything is very run-down, because they are sitting in the playground [...] and [...] the women are only [...] hanging around [...] and occupying the parks and the playgrounds. And [...] therefore maybe people won’t send their children there because they are afraid that they might be doing something [...] “

Pupil B: “Well, I also saw this immediately, that they are kind of ... lumping [themselves] together or so. [...] And that they probably do not want to integrate themselves. [...] And that is how it mostly is. Because if you go to a park, like in the 11th [district of Vienna], then you basically see these Turkish families or so. They just sit there at a table the whole day, talking to each other [...] and not saying anything to other Austrians. Often most of them also can't speak any German, I don't know if they don't want to or so.” (Sek 2, 15 December 2011)

During the workshops it became evident that pupils with a minoritized immigrant background in particular found it difficult to advance arguments which might strengthen positive or alternative ways of thinking about migration, but also many pupils with majoritized Austrian background and a positive attitude toward migration expressed their desire to be able to have recourse to such. This emerged in the third workshop, where the pupils were first asked to critically engage with problem-centered quotations on the topic of migration in their textbooks and then think of positive arguments for migration. Only a few were able to suggest such positive arguments and alternative views. However, at the third stage of this task, when they were asked to select from a list aspects of migration that they thought should be included in textbooks, they chose a variety of different aspects, such as cultural and language diversity, and motives for migration, such as love, curiosity and education; these aspects were selected alongside or even above issues relating to the advantages of migration for Austrian society. Although focal areas differed widely among the groups and classes in the study, it nevertheless became apparent that pupils both with and without migrant backgrounds, along with many teachers, need additional information in order to question the prevailing discourse of migration and integration as problems.

Issues Concerning Terms

From an academic point of view, the definition and explanation of terms connected to the issues of migration and integration in textbooks needs more attention and also improvement. In most of the textbooks we analyzed in detail, the term “migration” is briefly defined, as is, in part, the notion of integration. That said, only two geography books use a comparison of definitions as a way of showing that the notion of integration is a controversial issue in academia and often lacks clear definition. Only one of these books refers explicitly to academic approaches to the terms. Moreover, terms now generally considered problematic are still quite common in Austrian textbooks and would require, at the very least, a differentiated explanation regarding their usage and history. “Black Africa” (*Schwarzafrika*) which is a German term originating from colonial times and referring essentially to sub-Saharan Africa, and “cultural area” (*Kulturkreis*) are examples of such concepts, whose use runs the risk of

reinforcing pupils' existing stereotypes. Where problematic terms, such as "Gypsy" (*Zigeuner*) or "colored", are explained, the explanation often lacks a clear and understandable historical context, meaning the background of the term and the reasons for its now problematic status remain unclear and pupils are unable to understand why certain terms should no longer be used.

It became clear during the workshops that pupils are very interested in the definition of terms and discussions on definitions. In accordance with this finding, we recommend including different definitions of the same term in textbooks. Such an approach would enable textbooks to feature multi-perspective views on the topic of migration and integration and stimulate discussion in class. One of the most common questions posed by pupils during the exercise on controversial concepts conducted during the workshops in schools was: "so what's the correct term?" "Correct", for the pupils, was linked to debates in academia and the media about "political correctness".⁵⁹ Some of the pupils did not want to discriminate against minorities in general, or insult people in their lives who had migrant backgrounds. Quite a few pupils viewed it as essential that they were able to use non-discriminatory terms for their future careers, for instance, or out of a sense of general responsibility. For a few, it was important to use terms that were acceptable to both majorities and minorities. Those with Eastern European migration backgrounds, for example, were often interested in how to refer to "Africans" or "Asians". Others were interested in academic argumentation on textual criticism. Notwithstanding these differences in motivation, all the pupils shared a fundamental interest in scrutinizing terms critically. We did not encounter much resistance to the idea of adapting terms to societal circumstances, as we had found in the course of delivering adult education⁶⁰ on "language and discrimination". The pupils seemed to be markedly open to this view of language as a dynamic entity. When the facilitator the small-group discussions asked whether critical engagement with terms was important or rather annoying to them, one pupil said: "For me, the concepts are important because how would we learn them if not from textbooks?" Students also showed critical interest in general changes in terminology. Some even extended the discussion in relation to specific terms, arguing whether they were adequate for their purpose or whether their use depended on the tone in which the word or phrase was used.

During the workshops we discussed some of the different terms that are linked to migration (such as "black" or "colored", "cultural area", "asylum seeker", "Third World" and "developing country"). Due to their history and relevance to Austria, we have chosen the

terms “foreigner” (*Ausländer*) and “race” (*Rasse*) to elaborate on typical discussions within school classes and their significance in the context of their approaches to textbooks.

“Foreigner” [*Ausländer*]

At the outset of our work with the pupils in schools, we all agreed on a common usage of terms regarding migrants and people with an immigrant background. Some of the younger pupils were uncertain about using the term “immigrant”, and wondered whether it was an insult. Others had already realized that, in some contexts, the term “person with a migrant background”⁶¹ is less derogatory than *Ausländer*. In a few cases, majoritized Austrian pupils supported the use of *Ausländer*, but several others, some with a migrant background and some without, intervened because they regarded the term as discriminatory and as an expression of social exclusion. Many pupils believed that *Ausländer* referred only to certain groups, with one commenting: “For us, the *Ausländer* are only [those] from the former Yugoslavia who cannot behave.” Others suggested that “*Ausländer* in the negative sense are actually the Turks”. At the same time, they also agreed that neither the French nor the Americans could be described as *Ausländer*.

Ausländer, is a term that has negative connotations in Austria, although it is still applied in legal and statistical fields, and therefore used in some textbooks in these contexts. In other areas and contexts, quotation marks are often placed around the word. Austria has developed a sharp distinction between citizens and *Ausländer* in terms of legal status, although this distinction has come in for increasing criticism since the 1980s.⁶²

A focus on a person’s descent which could be construed as racist is a key trope of Austrian political and societal discourse.⁶³ This focus on descent was reflected among the pupils we talked to. The following discussion between three pupils in one of the workshops at a College for Higher Vocational Education is typical, and shows the various facets of the discussion.

Pupil A: Only the bad things about foreigners stick out and the good are not mentioned.

Pupil B: Society doesn’t change any more.

Pupil A: Honestly, the nice foreigners are the exceptions.

Pupil B: But it is true that a foreigner must prove that he is a nice person.

Pupil A: Appearance plays a big role, and theirs is often negative.

Pupil C: Most of them are born in Austria, but don’t behave like that.

Pupil B: I think it is their environment.

Pupil C: Or social class.

Pupil B: I think it’s the fault of the parents.

Pupil A: But sometimes it seems that the younger ones are worse than their parents.

Pupil B: One hears prejudices all day and with time you simply believe them.

Pupil A: I've not been brought up that way, but still I have the stuff in my head.

Pupil B: I really want change, because if I'm walking through Salzburg in the evening, there are two groups, foreigners and nationals. I dare not pass those foreigners, because I will be subjected to abuse every time. I don't even want to get to know them anymore. Although I understand their aggression, but it just makes no sense any more to me. (Sek 2, 10 December 2012)

In this example it is obvious that the pupils, even those who are positive toward migration, view "the others" and minorities as a problem, and barely take into account that they themselves, perceived as majorities with the power of definition, also have a role to play in this system. They want change for their own good, but fail to reflect on their own part in the situation. In some classes, even the pupils with migrant backgrounds did not reject these ideas, whereas in other classes pupils with and without migrant backgrounds sometimes resisted these ascriptions made to *Ausländer*.

In many of the discussions the pupils searched desperately for a general term for certain groups of people with specific markers. This need for labeling⁶⁴ sometimes resulted in them referring and deferring to their peers in this matter, as the following discussion at a New Secondary School shows.

Pupil A: I have an immigrant background, but nobody calls me that. Or have you ever referred to me as a person with an immigrant background? I was born here.

Pupil B: You've got the Austrian [citizenship], haven't you?

Pupil C: No, he's Czech.

Pupil B: What would you like to be called?

Pupil A: Preferably by my name. (Sek 1, 11 November 2012)

Many pupils suggested referring to people's individual countries or regions of origin, or, even better, using people's names, where they were known, as a differentiated alternative. During the workshops, we reflected explicitly with the pupils upon reasons for avoiding generalizing and hierarchizing terms. After the workshops, only a few participants were still convinced that there was a desperate need for generalizing concepts.

"Race" [Rasse]

The vast majority of scientists currently agree that *homo sapiens* cannot be divided into so-called "races". The conditions necessary for the subdivision of detectable biological criteria are not given, meaning the term lacks any validity in terms of people, as opposed to animals. Although the term "race" has been obsolete since the 1970s in Austria, and some scientists maintain that it has disappeared from mainstream Austrian society,⁶⁵ it is still found in everyday discourse⁶⁶ and textbooks.⁶⁷ The concept of "race" was by far the most difficult of the concepts we discussed, and also caused pupils consternation in some of the classes. At

least one pupil in a class, but usually several, and in one class all the pupils⁶⁸ were of the opinion that biologically distinct “races” existed.

When we asked “What do you mean by the word ‘race’?”, many pupils referred to the phenotype, giving rise to statements such as: “Different looks!”; “For example, a white man and a black man that are different races”; “Races that means people are different, they all look different and are from somewhere else”; “Everybody has a human race, for example, blue eyes”. Some also referred to national origin: “When a person comes from a country then he has his own race”; “Foreigners have different races”; “People from different countries are of separate species”, while others resorted to biological explanations: “There are different human and animal races”; “Some people are of pure races”. In many groups, comparisons with animal breeds were made, some in a confirmatory way: “Animals also have their own races, why not people”. One pupil tried to list the different “races”: “I think there are not only five races, there may be more than that”; “There are Indians, Africans, Americans, Chinese”. Other pupils did not accept the concept behind “races” and tried to deconstruct it: “There are no human races”; “I believe no-one should make any subdivision by color or race”; “Each person is different”; “I think the concept is not good, it sounds like animal breeds and it reminds me of the Nazis”. While many pupils associated the term “race” with Nazism and the Second World War and therefore rejected it, responses to the term that pointed to “race” in the context of discrimination, like “racist” or “racism”, were rare.

After discussions about the history of the term “race” in the Austrian and European context, pupils were rather shocked to discover that the term can still be found in their textbooks. They tried to find excuses for the authors and explanations for their ignorance: “Perhaps they didn’t know it themselves”, or “I’m sure they were probably just careless”, or “perhaps it [the concept] is scientifically unclear”.

When it came to critical engagement with concepts, what pupils understood least of all was the fact that there is no consistency in the use of terms. Even when they began to accept this, for many the question remained: “But why can’t we find critical examinations of terms in textbooks so that we can form our own opinions?” The pupils expressed their desire for the inclusion of contexts and historical derivations in textbooks, and the possibility of discussing the pros and cons of certain terms. Where details were important, such as in the timeline described above, the pupils were most interested in the people behind the histories, and the emotional and personalized aspects of the event or phenomenon in question.

Summary

Heterogeneous schools and classrooms with multilingual student bodies are characteristic properties of societies throughout Europe which feature significant migration. The coexistence within one society of a multiplicity of narratives and “stories” is another one. The central aim of our project *Migration(s) in Textbooks* was not just to analyze textbooks with regard to their representations of migration and societal diversity, but also to meet one of the main criticisms leveled at textbook research by actively involving pupils, with all their different biographies and backgrounds, in this analysis. This approach made it possible to integrate heterogeneity and multiperspectivity into the project work itself.⁶⁹

The findings of the textbook analysis have led us to argue that there is still a tendency in current Austrian textbooks to produce and reproduce prevalent stereotypical pictures of migration and migrants commonly accepted in Austrian public discourse and to portray the history of migration in Austria as a supplementary story and not as an integral part of Austrian history *per se*. In our work with the pupils it emerged distinctly that these depictions are strongly reflected in school students’ perceptions and discourses regarding the topic. Differences between majoritized Austrian pupils and those with migrant backgrounds are evident here and need to be taken into account. We have also argued that the discourse in textbooks generally supports the view of most pupils that migration history is solely the history of migrants and not a part of Austrian history as a whole. To underline this argument, we highlighted three issues: the “selective representation”⁷⁰ of Austrian migration history in textbooks, the omnipresent discourse of migration as a problem, and the importance of the definition and criticism of terms.

The findings of our textbook analysis show that selected stories have found their way into textbooks and hence Austrian cultural memory, while others around both immigration to and emigration from Austria continue to be neglected and marginalized. Our work with the pupils revealed that their interest in migration issues is generally high, but that it is also selective when it comes to migration history. Pupils are in favor of an approach to the history of migration that includes biographical elements and everyday history, because this makes it easier for them to link up the knowledge they acquire with their own memories and experiences. We also found a strong desire among the pupils to learn more about racism and discrimination, structural and otherwise, in connection with migration and to discuss what has been done, and what they themselves can do, to counteract such discrimination. However, as we also observed, this interest in particular issues does not necessarily imply that pupils with majoritized Austrian background feel that migration history “has something to do with them”.

Emphasizing inner-Austrian migration and past and present Austrian emigration history in textbooks and workshops could be one way of challenging this perception and might make it easier for majoritized pupils to see migration as a possible event in their own lives and not just something that “others” do. At the same time, this would permit pupils in whose lives migration has featured to see migration history not only as their history, but as part of a broader Austrian and world history. Highlighting the heterogeneity of Austrian society, together with the related issues of discrimination and racism, might be another way of illustrating the fact that we live in a society shaped by migration, the result of a long and rich history of migration movement; a society in which equal opportunities and rights concern everybody, regardless of their social, cultural or religious backgrounds.

The representation of migration as a problem surfaced not only in the textbooks analyzed, but also at various points during the workshops. Multilingualism, and an assumed self-segregation of Muslims, either came in for criticism by pupils with and without migrant background who held a positive stance toward migration and diversity or were problematized, especially by pupils with a majoritized background. Both issues are found in public and media discourse, in which knowledge of German is deemed the most important factor for “successful integration” into Austrian society, to the extent that language skills have been made a legal prerequisite for the extension of residence permits for so-called third country nationals and for naturalization. The discussions in the workshops and the textbook analysis allow us to draw the conclusion that there is a need for alternative, and more positive, ways of thinking and talking about migration and depicting migration issues. We also see a need for additional information that helps pupils and teachers alike to challenge and counter the prevailing discourse of migration as a problem, and feel that it is the role of academic research to provide this information in comprehensible formats.

Research and textbook authors are additionally called upon, we feel, to engage actively with the criticism and definition of terms in the wider context of migration. In their daily lives, pupils are constantly confronted with categorizations and pejorative expressions and language in relation to these issues, while simultaneously being aware of debates around “political correctness” and struggling with the question of which terms are socially acceptable. What they fail to find in textbooks, and have, in our study, called for, is a critical examination of terms and concepts, together with more contextual and historical information that would enable them to understand why certain terms and concepts are discriminatory and have the power to exclude groups of people and individuals from a common narrative and society. The inclusion of such critical definition of terms in textbooks would enable pupils to

develop their own opinions and argue their positions. Such inclusion might be accomplished by integrating biographical elements about migrants into textbook narratives and using examples that critically scrutinize stereotyped identities. Another strategy, which emerged generally from our workshops with the pupils, is the importance of free discussion and debate. Many pupils long for open discussion⁷¹ without fear of sanctions for expressing particular opinions and for the opportunity to express and exchange their opinions freely, to learn how to formulate an argument and to deal with different beliefs and points of view.

¹ Christiane Hintermann, “‘Beneficial’, ‘problematic’ and ‘different’: Representations of Immigration and Immigrants in Austrian Textbooks,” in *Migration and Memory. Representations of Migrations in Europe since 1960*, Christiane Hintermann and Christina Johansson, eds. (Innsbruck/Vienna/Bozen: Studienverlag, 2010), 61-78.

² See Markom/Weinhäupl 2007 on racism, antisemitism, heteronormativity and homophobia: Christa Markom and Heidi Weinhäupl, *Die anderen im Schulbuch. Rassismen, Exotismen, Sexismus und Antisemitismus in österreichischen Schulbüchern* (Vienna: Braumüller, 2007); also Markom/Weinhäupl on the topic of Islam in textbooks: Christa Markom and Heidi Weinhäupl, “‘Der Islam’ im Schulbuch,” in *Islamophobie in Österreich*, John Bunzl and Farid Hafez, ed. (Innsbruck: Studienverlag, 2009) and Weinhäupl/Markom on textbooks’ representation of Africa: Heidi Weinhäupl and Christa Markom, “‘Afrika’ in österreichischen Schulbüchern: Geschichtslos und voller blutiger Kriege,” in *Lagebericht: Schwarze Menschen in Österreich. Jahresbericht 2010* (Vienna: Black European Publishers, 2011); Susanne Heine, *Islam zwischen Selbstbild und Klischee. Eine Religion im österreichischen Schulbuch* (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau, 1995).

³ On the production of discourse in publishing and editing, see Felicitas Macgilchrist, “Global Subjects: An Ethnographic Study of Educational Media Production and Forms of Subjectivation,” *Pragmatics* 22, no. 3 (2012): 417-445.

⁴ The project was funded by the Austrian Federal Ministry of Science and Research within its research program *Sparkling Science* (<http://www.sparkling-science.at/en/>). The principal characteristic of this program is the active involvement of pupils of all age groups in research processes. In this context we would like to thank the partner schools involved in our project: BG XI Geringergasse, KMS Herzgasse and SZU Schulzentrum Ungargasse in Vienna, BG/BRG Christian-Doppler-Gymnasium, NMS Lehen and BHAK 1 Johann-Brunauer-Straße in Salzburg. Our special thanks go to all the pupils involved, without whom the project could not have been realized.

⁵ <http://www.austriansabroad.at/> (accessed 13 December 2013).

⁶ For a brief discussion of the term “people with a migrant background”, see endnote 61.

⁷ Statistics Austria:

http://www.statistik.at/web_de/statistiken/bevoelkerung/bevoelkerungsstruktur/bevoelkerung_nach_migrationshintergrund/index.html (accessed 13 December 2013).

⁸ Barbara Herzog-Punzenberger and Anne Unterwurzacher, “B2: Migration – Interkulturalität – Mehrsprachigkeit. Erste Befunde für das österreichische Bildungswesen,” in *Nationaler Bildungsbericht Österreich 2009, Band 2, Fokussierte Analysen bildungspolitischer Schwerpunktthemen*, Werner Specht, ed. (Graz: Leykam), 161-182.

⁹ Article seven of the Austrian Constitution protects the linguistic rights of the Croatian and Slovenian minorities in Burgenland, Carinthia and Styria. Beside the right to erect bilingual topographical signs, article seven also includes the right to teaching in the minority language. The *Volksgruppengesetz* of 1977 issued stipulations on which municipalities had the right to bilingual road signs, although this became a source of conflict in the province of Carinthia until 2011, when 164 localities in 24 municipalities were defined.

- ¹⁰ Application for Austrian citizenship is as a rule only possible after a minimum uninterrupted stay of ten years in the country; only those with a high income, high proficiency in German and/or a three-year track record of voluntary work, and spouses of Austrian citizens, are allowed to apply after six years. A legal right to citizenship, and therewith formal inclusion into the national “we”, can only be claimed after thirty years of residence in the country. See Sarah Wallace Goodman, “Naturalisation Policies in Europe: Exploring Patterns of Inclusion and Exclusion” (2010), <http://eudo-citizenship.eu/docs/7-Naturalisation%20Policies%20in%20Europe.pdf> (accessed 13 December 2013).
- ¹¹ Majoritization and minoritization are processes in which people or groups are *made* into a majority or minority due to certain characteristics and historical circumstances. Part of this – in our case ethnic - construction, is a certain distribution of power.
- ¹² See, for example, Alexander Joskowicz, “Austria (OE),” in *Racism and Cultural Diversity in the Mass Media. An overview of research and examples of good practice in the EU Member States, 1995-2000 on behalf of the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC)*, Jessica ter Wal, ed. (Vienna: European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia 2002), 311-326.
- ¹³ One piece of evidence for this marginalization of the topic was the jubilee exhibition “90 Years of the Austrian Republic” which was shown in the Austrian parliament in 2008. In the companion volume to the exhibition, which had over 600 pages, 12 lines were dedicated to the history of Austrian labor migration. See Gabriele Stieber, “Migration und Zwangsmigration in Österreich,” in *Österreich. 90 Jahre Republik. Beitragsband der Ausstellung im Parlament*, Stefan Karner and Lorenz Mikoletzky, eds. (Innsbruck/Vienna/Bozen: Studienverlag, 2008), 101-113.
- ¹⁴ Hintermann “‘Beneficial’, ‘problematic’ and ‘different’”, 61-78.
- ¹⁵ Christiane Hintermann and Vanja Lozic, “Textbooks, Migration and National Narratives – An Introduction,” in *Migration & Memory: Representations of Migration in Europe since 1960*, Christiane Hintermann and Christina Johansson, eds. (Innsbruck/Vienna/Bozen: StudienVerlag, 2010), 33.
- ¹⁶ Simone Lässig, “Textbooks and Beyond: Educational Media in Context(s),” *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 1, no. 1 (2009): 2.
- ¹⁷ Thomas Höhne, *Fremde im Schulbuch. Didaktische Vorstrukturierung und Unterrichtseffekte durch Schulbuchwissen am Beispiel der Migrantendarstellung*, Interkulturelle Studien iks Querformat, no. 3 (Münster: Universität Münster, 2000), 3.
- ¹⁸ Markom and Weinhäupl, *Die Anderen im Schulbuch*, 4. Cf. also: Hanna Schissler and Yasemin Nuhoglu, *The Nation, Europe and the World: Textbooks and Curricula in Transition* (Oxford/New York: Berghahn, 2005).
- ¹⁹ Pilvi Torsti describes in her studies on Bosnian history textbooks how constructions of “us” and “them” have changed after the Bosnian war and how stereotypes have been used in order to construct the “other” as an enemy. Martina Clemen illustrates in her study on Spain how different history textbooks discursively construct the notion of “nation” and thus the division between the Spanish state and the autonomous provinces of Catalonia, the Basque country and Galicia. One of her conclusions is that history textbooks are often used to instrumentalize “regional-nationalistic” forces and are highly disputed due to the competing ideological perspectives of those who interact with them. See Pilvi Torsti, “How to deal with a difficult past? History textbooks supporting enemy images in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina,” *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 39, no. 2 (2007): 77-96, and Martina Clemen, “Im Spannungsfeld von Regionalismus und nationaler Identität – zur Deutung und Vermittlung von Geschichte in katalanischen Schulbüchern,” *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 3, no. 2 (2001): 113-136.
- ²⁰ The online survey was sent to all administrators of primary and secondary schools in Austria; 2,299 teachers returned the completed semi-standardized questionnaire. Next to personal data of the individual respondents, the questions concentrated on the following issues: the usage of textbooks and other educational material by teachers; the inclusion of migration-specific content in textbooks the teachers use, and pupils’ attitudes to their textbooks. We would like to thank the Austrian Federal Ministry for Education, the Arts and Culture for their kind support for the survey.
- ²¹ See Knecht and Najjarová, “How Do Students Rate Textbooks?” 1-16. See also Maria Repoussi and Nicole Tutiaux-Guillon, “New Trends in History Textbook Research: Issues and Methodologies toward a School Historiography,” *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 2, no.1 (2010): 154-70.
- ²² Knecht and Najjarová, “How Do Students Rate Textbooks?,” 1-16.

- ²³ Bodo von Borries, "Das Geschichts-Schulbuch in Schüler- und Lehrersicht. Einige empirische Befunde," *Internationale Schulbuchforschung* 17, no 1 (1995): 55-58; cited in Knecht and Najvarová.
- ²⁴ Annedore Prengel, Freiderike Heinzel and Ursula Carle, "Methoden der Handlungs-, Praxis- und Evaluationsforschung," in *Handbuch der Schulforschung*, Werner Helsper and Jeanette Böhme, eds. (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2008), 181-197.
- ²⁵ Philipp Mayring, *Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse: Grundlagen und Techniken* (Weinheim: Dt. Studien Verlag, 2007).
- ²⁶ Siegfried Jäger, *Kritische Diskursanalyse: eine Einführung* (Münster: Unrast, 2009).
- ²⁷ Legewie, Heiner, "Globalauswertung von Dokumenten," (TU Vienna, 1994), http://www.ssoar.info/ssoar/bitstream/handle/document/1454/ssoar-1994-legewie-globalauswertung_von_dokumenten.pdf?sequence=1 (accessed 13 December 2013).
- ²⁸ Lozic, *The Story about Them*, 41.
- ²⁹ The third main research question includes a topical and a methodological dimension insofar as we considered not only our own views as researchers on textbooks but also sought to include pupils' perspective as well and searched for a way to combine the different approaches and to develop a useful analytical tool. We do not discuss this research question in this contribution.
- ³⁰ We would like to thank all the teachers (Karin Dobler, Paul Donner, Kerstin Kordorvsky-Schwob, Herbert Pichler, Sabine Ratzer, Veronika Richter, Christina Schwarz, Evi Stadlmann) for their support and input during the project.
- ³¹ According to Statistics Austria, about 12 percent of all pupils in the federal state of Salzburg and about twenty percent in Vienna in the 2008/09 school year had non-Austrian citizenship; about seventeen percent in the federal state of Salzburg and forty-five percent in Vienna spoke a first language other than German. In both cities, the composition of classes differs significantly according to city district and school type.
- ³² For more information on the structure of the Austrian education system, see the website of the Austrian Federal Ministry for Education, the Arts and Culture: <http://www.bmukk.gv.at/enfr/school/index.xml> (accessed 13 December 2013).
- ³³ In general secondary schools in Vienna, about 59 percent of all pupils had a first language other than German, while in the federal state of Salzburg this was the case for 18 percent (Austrian Ministry of Education, Bm:uk: *SchülerInnen mit einer anderen Erstsprache als Deutsch. Statistische Übersicht Schuljahre 2000/2001 bis 2007/08. Informationsblätter des Referats für Migration und Schule Nr. 2/2009*).
- ³⁴ While in the participating class of the Viennese New Secondary School, all pupils had a migrant background, as did nearly 70 percent of the pupils in the New Secondary School class in Salzburg, only about 35 percent (Vienna) and 20 percent (Salzburg) of the pupils at Academic Secondary School Upper Level had a migrant background. At the Academic Secondary School Lower Level, the proportion was higher: 52 percent in Vienna and 60 percent in Salzburg. In the participating class from the College for Higher Vocational Education in Vienna, whose pupils were focusing on technical education, the proportion was 26 percent, while it was 16 percent in the class of the College for Higher Vocational Education in Salzburg with a business orientation.
- ³⁵ Barbara Herzog-Punzenberger and Michael Bruneforth, "Der Nationale Bildungsbericht Österreich 2012," in *Jahrbuch Schulleitung 2013*, Stefan Huber, ed. (Cologne: Carl Link Verlag, 2013), 444-457; see especially chapter 6: Barbara Herzog-Punzenberger and Philipp Schnell, "Die Situation mehrsprachiger Schüler/innen im österreichischen Schulsystem – Problemlagen, Rahmenbedingungen und internationaler Vergleich," https://www.bifie.at/system/files/buch/pdf/NBB2012_Band2_Kapitel06_0.pdf (accessed 13 December 2013).
- ³⁶ Ralf Bohnsack, *Qualitative Bild- und Videointerpretation. Die dokumentarische Methode* (Opladen & Farmington Hills: Verlag Barbara Budrich, 2009).
- ³⁷ Uwe Flick, *Qualitative Sozialforschung. Eine Einführung*. (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuchverlag, 2002).
- ³⁸ Roberta L. Slavin, "Operative group dynamics in school settings: structuring to enhance educational, social and emotional process," *Group* 26, no. 4 (2002): 297-308
- ³⁹ Kathleen M. Dewalt and Billie R. Dewalt, "Participant Observation," in *Handbook of Methods in Cultural Anthropology*, Bernard Russel, ed. (Walnut Creek/New York/Oxford: AltaMira Press, 2000), 259-300.
- ⁴⁰ On the necessity of the "observation of participation", narrative ethnography und auto-ethnography, see Barbara Tedlock, "Ethnography and ethnographic representation," in *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, eds., (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2000), 455-484.
- ⁴¹ Lozic, *The Story about Them*, 41.

- ⁴² Rainer Ohliger, “Immigration, Museums and Textbooks in Europe: Towards Inclusion and Diversity as Normalcy?,” in *Migration and Memory. Representations of Migration in Europe since 1960*, Christiane Hintermann and Christina Johansson, eds. (Innsbruck: StudienVerlag, 2010), 14.
- ⁴³ The pupils were provided with photographs, short life histories and articles about different migration movements such as Austrian emigration from the Habsburg monarchy and forced migration during National Socialism, and life histories of labor migrants or refugees from former Yugoslavia. The material did not reveal any concrete historical details, such as dates. The pupils were then asked to relate the materials to the correct decade on the timeline, talk about the material and the results in facilitated group discussions and then present the outcomes of their discussions to the other groups.
- ⁴⁴ Marcus Omofuma died on 1 May 1999 of asphyxiation caused by having his mouth and parts of his nose taped during the deportation flight. After his death, and the mild sentences given to the police officers involved, many anti-racism demonstrations were organized. In 2003, an Omofuma memorial stone was erected in remembrance of his death and the struggle against racism and xenophobia.
- ⁴⁵ The *Lichtermeer* was a demonstration organized by the NGO “SOS Mitmensch” which took place on 23 January 1993. The demonstration was against the xenophobic referendum “*Österreich zuerst*” (Austria First) organized by the Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ). Almost 300,000 participants demonstrated against xenophobia and for solidarity with immigrants by carrying torches or candles through Vienna.
- ⁴⁶ The campaign, led by the FPÖ, took place around the National Assembly election of 1 October 2006; <http://www.demokratiezentrum.org/wissen/bilder.html?index=1934> (accessed 13 December 2013).
- ⁴⁷ Compare, for instance, Viola B. Georgi, *Entliehene Erinnerung. Geschichtsbilder junger Migranten in Deutschland* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2003).
- ⁴⁸ Elisabeth Boesen points out that migration is often left out of official state narratives. She stresses the importance not only of acknowledging that the history of migration is a part of national narrative, but also of exploring the memories of migrants themselves by focusing on the transmission of memories within migration and not only memories of migration. See Elisabeth Boesen and Fabienne Lenz, *Migration und Erinnerung. Migration et mémoire. Konzepte und Methoden der Forschung. Concepts et méthodes de recherche* (Berlin: LitVerlag, 2010), 4.
- ⁴⁹ Josefine Raasch, “Using History to Relate: How teenagers in Germany use history to orient themselves between nationalities,” in *History, Memory and Migration. Perceptions of the past and the politics of incorporation*, Irial Glynn and J. Olaf Kleist, eds. (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2012), 68-84.
- ⁵⁰ Peter Seixas, “Historical Understanding among Adolescents in a Multicultural Setting,” *Curriculum Inquiry* 23, no.3 (1993): 301-327.
- ⁵¹ See, for instance, Hintermann, “‘Beneficial’, ‘problematic’ and ‘different’”, or Lozic, “The Story about Them”, in Hintermann and Johansson 2010: 40-60. If positive aspects of immigration processes are mentioned in textbooks, this is often accompanied by the question of whether immigrants are needed or not, whether they are beneficial to a country’s economy or demographic development. Such depictions neglect the social and cultural enrichment experienced by a diverse society, and might mean that questionable distinctions are made between different groups of immigrants.
- ⁵² Peter Gutscher and Christian Rohr, *Geschichte.aktuell 2, Bd. 1* (Linz: Veritas-Verlag, 2010), 148; translation from German by the authors.
- ⁵³ Gutscher and Rohr, *Geschichte.aktuell*, 77.
- ⁵⁴ All the associations were either collected by the workshop team during the introduction of the project to the classes (Vienna) or by the teachers (Salzburg), and were subsequently documented.
- ⁵⁵ There is evidence for these tendencies toward problematization and ethnification in classes also in other studies; see, for instance, the discussions in Sabine Mannitz, “Auffassungen von kultureller Differenz: Identitätsmanagement and diskursive Assimilation,” in *Staat – Schule – Ethnizität. Politische Sozialisation von Immigrantenkindern in vier europäischen Ländern*, Werner Schiffauer, Gerd Baumann, Riva Kastoryano and Steven Vertovec, eds. (Münster/New York/Munich/Berlin: Waxmann, 2002), 255-320; the findings in Júlia Szalai, “Contested Issues of Social Inclusion through Education in Multiethnic Communities across Europe,” *Edumigrom final study* (2011), https://www.edumigrom.eu/sites/default/files/field_attachment/page/node-23788/edumigromfinal-study.pdf (accessed 13 December 2013); and Susanne Binder, *Interkulturelles Lernen aus ethnologischer Perspektive. Konzepte, Ansichten und Praxisbeispiele aus Österreich und den Niederlanden*

(Vienna: Lit. Verlag, 2004). These tendencies also influence the learning careers and lives of young people with and without migration backgrounds (see, for instance, Barbara Herzog-Punzenberger, “Differenzachsen und Grenzziehungsmechanismen – zum Verständnis des Einflusses gesellschaftlicher Prozesse auf SchülerInnen mit Migrationshintergrund,” in *Zwischenräume: Migration und die Entgrenzung von Kulturen und Identitäten*, Getraud Marinelli-König, ed. (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2011), 55-78, and Angela Wroblewski and Barbara Herzog-Punzenberger, “Wann kommt die Vielfalt endlich in den Köpfen an? Eine Bestandsaufnahme zum Umgang mit sprachlicher und kultureller Vielfalt im österreichischen Schulwesen,” in *Integration in Österreich. Sozialwissenschaftliche Befunde*, Herbert Langthaler, ed. (Innsbruck: StudienVerlag, 2010), 105-122. There is also a strong tendency among European publics to problematize migration and diversity; see, for instance, Ruth Wodak and Martin Reisigl, “Discourse and Racism,” in *Racism at the Top. Parliamentary Discourses on Ethnic Issues in Six European States*, Ruth Wodak and Teun A. van Dijk, eds. (Klagenfurt/Celovec: Drava, 2000), 31-44, and Maria Sedlak, “You Really Do make an Unrespectable Foreigner Policy... Discourse on Ethnic Issues in the Austrian Parliament,” in *Racism at the Top*, 107-168; Christa Markom, “Anti/Rassismus als Gruppenphänomen. Eine sozialanthropologische Analyse sozialer Netzwerke in Österreich” (PhD diss., University of Vienna, 2011). The construction of migration as problematic has also found its way into Austrian media discourse; see Joanna Dorer and Matthias Marschik, “Medien und Migration. Repräsentation und Rezeption des ‘Fremden’ im europäischen Kontext,” *Medienimpulse. Beiträge zur Medienpädagogik* 55 (March 2006), http://www.mediamanual.at/mediamanual/themen/pdf/identitaet/55_Dorer_Marschik_Medien_und_Migration.pdf (accessed 13 December 2013). This also holds true for other European countries; for Germany, see Christoph Butterwegge and Gudrun Hentges, eds., *Massenmedien, Migration und Integration* (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2006) and Joachim Trebber, *Ethnische Minderheiten, Massenmedien und Integration. Eine Untersuchung zu massenmedialer Repräsentation und Medienwirkungen* (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2009), and for a European comparison Jessika ter Wal, ed., *Racism and Cultural Diversity in the Mass Media. An overview of research and examples of good practice in the EU Member States, 1995-2000* (Vienna: European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia, 2002).

⁵⁶ We chose pictures from the textbooks used by the classes wherever possible, and only reverted to other textbooks in the sample where necessary.

⁵⁷ The *Sekundarstufe* one (Sek 1, Academic Secondary School Lower Level) includes grades five to eight, while the *Sekundarstufe* two (Sek 2, Academic Secondary School Upper Level) includes grades nine to twelve or thirteen.

⁵⁸ Beside this problem-oriented approach, there were also a few completely different views, such as that of a pupil in an Academic Secondary School Upper Level: “I know that this picture confirms the prejudices of some people, but for me those are totally normal people in the playground with their children. Like my parents in the playground with my sister. In the background there is a lot of ‘hardcore ghetto graffiti’. [...] And *modern people* [emphasized] of course don’t associate graffiti with *ghettos* [emphasized] any more, but with art” (29 February 2012).

⁵⁹ Detailed arguments around the phenomenon of “political correctness” can be found in Katrin Auer, “Political Correctness – Ideologischer Code, Feindbild und Stigmawort der Rechten,” *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* 31, no. 3 (2002): 291-303; Dietrich Diederichsen, *Politische Korrekturen* (Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1996); Marc Fabian Erdl, *Die Legende von der Politischen Korrektheit. Zur Erfolgsgeschichte eines importierten Mythos* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2004).

⁶⁰ The project team has been conducting seminars for teachers and other interested stakeholders on the subject of racism, discrimination and language for a number of years.

⁶¹ Bernhard Perchinig and Tobias Troger (2011) have dealt with the question of the explanatory value of the category “person with a migration background” in comparison to other sociodemographic categories, stating that the category “person with a migration background” is part of a differentiating system with classifying hegemonic orders that provide an understanding of the social world. Such dichotomous distinctions create a hierarchy of identity positions by operating with an exclusive logic of “othering”. See Bernhard Perchinig and Tobias Troger, “Migrationshintergrund als Differenzkategorie. Vom notwendigen Konflikt zwischen Theorie und Empirie in der Migrationsforschung,” in *Zukunft. Werte. Europa. Die Europäische Wertestudie 1990-2010. Österreich im Vergleich*, Regina Polak, ed. (Vienna: Böhlau, 2011), 283-319.

⁶² Rainer Bauböck, *Transnational Citizenship. Membership and Rights in International Migration* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 1994).

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- ⁶³ Perchinig and Troger, "Migrationshintergrund als Differenzkategorie," 283-319.
- ⁶⁴ Zetter uses the term "labeling" to describe how ascriptions made to refugees are part of a process of stereotyping and clear-cut categorization. He refers to it as a practice of designation, involving judgment and distinction. See Roger Zetter, "Labelling Refugees: Forming and Transforming a Bureaucratic Identity," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 4, no.1 (1991): 39-62.
- ⁶⁵ Andre Gingrich, "Concepts of Race Vanishing, Movements of Racism Rising? Global Issues and Austrian Ethnography," *Ethnos* 69, no. 2 (2004): 165-176.
- ⁶⁶ Christa Markom, "Anti/Rassismus als Gruppenphänomen. Eine sozialanthropologische Analyse sozialer Netzwerke in Österreich" (PhD diss., University of Vienna, 2011), 45.
- ⁶⁷ "The common term 'mongolism' is not the best one, because the disease is not related with the membership of the mongoloid race." Cited in a passage on Down Syndrome in Manfred Driza and Georg Cholewa and Leo Holey, *Leben und Umwelt Kompakt Band 4* (Vienna: Ed. Hölzel, 2003), 11.
- ⁶⁸ In this class the concept of "race" was taught in biology lessons and the textbook referred to "europid, negroid and mongloid" "races".
- ⁶⁹ During this process we avoided "labeling" pupils with an immigrant background as "others".
- ⁷⁰ Christiane Hintermann, "Gedächtnislücke Migration? Betrachtungen über eine nationale Amnesie," *zeitgeschichte* 3, 40. Jahrgang (2013): 149-165, 154.
- ⁷¹ Such discussions should preferably be held in small groups, since the dynamics and power hierarchies in classrooms tend to lead to the silencing of certain positions and the advancement of others.

Mobile Learning in History Education

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Abstract • Mobile devices enable pupils to decode edificial remains and symbols by spontaneously accessing additional information electronically. This article provides guidelines for mobile learning in history on the basis of mobility and enquiry- and design-based learning. The authors explore ways in which pupils may use their mobile devices to create innovative forms of collaboratively generated products like digital stories or geocaches. By drawing on social networks in order to promote discussion and publications, such products entail social participation and commitment. Mobile history learning also helps students to understand public debates about history, memory and identity.

Keywords • didactics of history, educational technology, field trips, history education, history teaching, mobile learning

Introduction

While the debate about the character of history learning and the turn to skill-based approaches in teaching intensified after the results of PISA 2000 in Germany, which showed that German pupils' level of knowledge and competencies in core subjects was relatively mediocre, recent surveys and enquiries into the digital equipment owned by young adults between twelve and nineteen show that nearly every adolescent has a mobile telephone.¹ These devices are an integral part of youth culture. The devices emerged as the static internet was partly replaced by the more dynamic and flexible mobile devices used in the first decade of the twenty-first

century.² In general, pupils are highly skilled in using different functions of these accessories appropriately, albeit not those functions that are necessary for learning purposes. Instead of talking about the educational assimilation of this technology-driven development, many schools and teachers have responded to this reality by banning digital devices from the classroom without acknowledging their educational utility. Nevertheless some teachers and institutions have been quick to adopt mobile technology in education, as revealed in empirical research.³ Henderson and Yeow focused on the usage of iPads in a New Zealand primary school.⁴ They found that, contrary to the potentials of mobility, teachers recognized the benefit of adopting mobile devices for web research and classroom presentations. Likewise, Amy Hutchison and others have pointed out that tablet computers may promote reading skills and literacy.⁵ In sum, these studies show that mobile devices are used in the classroom, not outside of it. However, no one has yet developed concepts that are applicable to mobile learning in history teaching and learning.

The aim of this article is to identify initial conceptual ideas on how mobile learning can help foster interest and creativity in history lessons. Traditionally, history lessons take place in the classroom and are based mainly on written sources. In this article, we develop ideas for inquiry- and design-based learning using mobile devices such as smartphones or tablet computers; our aim is to demonstrate how these multifunctional learning tools can facilitate learning in history, especially outside the classroom setting. These devices combine a range of gadgets and tools that had only been accessible separately in the past. They offer functions including the ability to take notes and photos, record audio comments and videos, or edit documents. So-called applications (apps) widen the range of possibilities to discover, examine and appropriate the world around us. Most devices are able to access information from services such as GPS (Global Positioning Services), Wifi and cell towers, which enable them to pinpoint the exact location of a user. Additionally, mobile devices offer access to the web almost regardless of where their user is. This article will demonstrate ways in which these functions can be used in history teaching to aid historical learning.

Mobile Learning in History Lessons and Historical Culture

A constructivist approach

The authors of this article view learning as a process of interaction and construction in a specific context.⁶ Brown et al. have argued that meaningful learning will only take place if it is embedded in the social and physical context within which it will be used, and that formal learning is often quite distinct from authentic activity, or ‘the ordinary practices of the culture’.⁷ Continuing, Brown et al. suggest that many of the activities undertaken by students are unrelated to those performed by people in the world of work. To the end of achieving authenticity in teaching, they proposed the model of “cognitive apprenticeship”, a method designed to “enculturate students into authentic practices through activity and social interaction”.⁸ The concept of situated learning,⁹ which has also been quickly adapted to learning in computer-based environments and the use of social media in education,¹⁰ can equally be applied to mobile learning as learner-centered, social and constructivist learning.¹¹ The idea of “interaction” in this context is drawn from a number of points which find extensive discussion in the fields of human-computer interaction,¹² technology-enhanced learning¹³ and computer-supported collaborative learning:¹⁴

1. First of all, interaction in mobile history learning means a serious examination of one’s surroundings. Learners interact with different real objects, including places, paintings, ruins, buildings, and monuments, for example.
2. Interaction in this context implies the use of a mobile device and its functions for learning purposes. Learners interact with their surroundings with the help of a gadget and the range of functions provided. Mobile devices thus have to be understood as tools for learning and not only for entertainment.
3. Interactivity can also be understood in the context of creating and sharing content in the manner of the “Web 2.0” and the practices of social media; mobile devices support modes of communication such as short message services (SMS, texts), for email, instant messaging (IM) functions integrated within social media communities such as Facebook, and microblogging services like Twitter. They also provide clients for bulletin boards or the use of learning management systems.
4. Finally, the use of mobile devices can also foster and deepen face-to-face-communication. Recently, Bachmair¹⁵ demonstrated that these devices, used in formal learning settings, might act

as bridges and connectors for communication and conversation between learners and between teachers and pupils.

The learning scenarios and settings we are referring to here are formal history lessons in the lower and upper phases of secondary education. This said, we do not wish to neglect the complementary processes of informal learning happening in everyday life, both within and outside school. Informal learning is defined as non-intentional, non-structured and implicit learning without formalized record or outcome.¹⁶ The use of mobile devices by learners has increased the significance of informal learning processes within formal education. Using mobile devices in history learning gives students the opportunity to think, research, document, share and discuss their ideas and results beyond the boundaries of their peer and learning group, making social interaction an important part of the learning process.

The media theory of Marshall McLuhan suggests that media should also be seen as “extensions of the body”.¹⁷ From this point of view, mobile devices and their range of functions augment, broaden and enrich our senses. As early as the mid-1960s, McLuhan argued that “[d]uring the mechanical ages we had extended our bodies in space. Today, after more than a century of electric technology, we have extended our central nervous system itself in a global embrace, abolishing both space and time as far as our planet is concerned.”¹⁸ Here, McLuhan argues that the development of media has led to the loss of space and time, an indicator of a commencing process of the loss of history itself. However, with regard to mobile devices and the possibilities they afford for learning about history, it becomes apparent that the opposite is true.

As tools for learning, mobile devices can help students to actively explore their environments as historically distinct landscapes and perceive everyday phenomena such as buildings and monuments as visible signs of the past and interpretations of history. In this way, students learn to perceive their surroundings as a cultural space within which historical heritage is to be found at every turn.

Mobile history learning addresses a number of different dimensions of historical consciousness, fostering primarily the spatial, but also the temporal dimension and the connection between the two; this creates an awareness of the historicity of places.¹⁹ In mobile historical learning, students “go beyond the acquisition of knowledge relevant to issues encountered in the world but also [...] shape their knowledge out of their own sense of their world”²⁰. Students need to develop a historical awareness²¹ which could also be seen as an

essential skill for the perception of historical developments.²² Perceiving the historical dimensions of an object or a place is often very difficult for them, although activity-centered methods in particular can be highly conducive to the emergence of this skill.²³ Connecting past events, structures and lives with real places can help raise students' awareness of historicity and their ability to perceive historical change.²⁴

Referring to Peter Seixas' concept of historical thinking, we can say that mobile history learning can help learners discover the effect of historical notions of continuity and change in their everyday lives: "One of the keys to continuity and change is looking for change where common sense suggests that there has been none and looking for continuities where we assumed that there was change. Judgments of continuity and change can be made on the basis of comparisons between some point in the past and the present, or between two points in the past."²⁵

Mobile learning is not as yet a common practice in history lessons, though it is widespread in students' leisure-time activities in general, even where they relate to history. Examples of the latter might be activities such as geocaching or guided tours of towns, castles, museums or other places of interest. In his handbook for planning history lessons, Horst Gies states history as a subject in schools presents a particular challenge due to the fact that past events or processes cannot be retrieved or repeated.²⁶ Access to the past is never immediate, only being possible via media. The use of mobile gadgets and tools for learning in history reminds us of this fact, and yet provide a link between traces of the past and the modes of communication with which we shape our present.²⁷

While conventionally conducted history lessons in schools are generally based on written or visual documents, the use of mobile devices potentially transforms every location into an artefact for learning, extending this function beyond the overtly educational spaces already in existence, such as museums or memorials. These devices enable the study of the development of the site in time, including structural or architectural, changes which may point to its various uses by inhabitants or authorities.²⁸ In other words, mobile history learning may facilitate the decoding or deciphering of the symbolic purpose of a location through time, and calls for students to (re)construct historical meaning, involving them in a process of meaning-making for themselves.²⁹

Whereas didactics research has produced a reasonably extensive range of educational and methodological approaches to school field trips and out-of-school learning locations,³⁰ the educational issues around using mobile devices for learning history have yet to be developed. Mobile devices may be used for history learning on the move in a number of different ways:

1. First, mobile devices can enhance a visit to a real place by providing additional information via the web. The use of Quick Response codes (QR codes) attached to an object is a case in point. When a QR code is scanned, special applications open long URLs in the device's browser, which allow the user to access additional materials including text, as well as sound files, images, videos or interactive quizzes, tasks or exercises. By acquiring these materials via the web pupils may obtain information about the properties and the history of an object or a historically distinct landscape.

2. To develop the use of mobile devices in history learning, it seems reasonable to look at their technological functions and the basic configurations of mobile devices in general. Smartphones and tablet computers provide tools such as photo cameras, voice recorders, and digital memo pads for taking notes, functions which many pupils are able to handle quite intuitively, yet which few of them associate with learning; nevertheless, the functions of a mobile device may be used as instruments to foster historical learning and research. Pupils, for example, might document a walk by analyzing and exploring historical places using audio or video recording functions; students may be able to take notes and pictures at the same time.

3. Small applications, known as apps, widen the range of possible learning scenarios. They establish connections to social networks and provide instruments for the annotation of pictures and the telling of stories, combining the developments of the Web 2.0 and mobile learning by creating a space for user-generated content on mobile devices.³¹

4. GPS signals and digital maps are particularly key to the spatial dimension of teaching and learning in history. Mobile devices facilitate orientation in outdoor environments. The tools referred to above can help students locate, identify and perceive places and buildings in their historical and actual surroundings. By using the GPS function of a mobile device, students can measure distances and discover relationships between different locations, buildings or institutions which are now obscured. In the classroom, finally, the records made in outside environments represent self-made learning materials to be analyzed and used.

5. In an empirical and exploratory study of students' map-reading skills,³² Michael Sauer found that many students are lacking in the required competencies for accuracy. This should be kept in mind when planning lessons. An activity-oriented approach to learning in history, integrating mobile devices and their functionalities into teaching, could additionally be used to foster the development of map-reading and orientation skills. Additionally, the creation, for example, of digital maps by learners in and/or out of the classroom could be also a good way to strengthen their mapping skills by means of an active and constructivist approach. Some services, such as Google Maps, OpenStreetMap or Stepmap, provide such functions. In a learning scenario planned along these lines, students would use mobile devices while learning about different types of maps, their design and information value, and how maps and their legends are created and annotated, digitally or otherwise.

The Spatial Turn and Location-based Learning

Orientation in space, or, more precisely, the idea of spatial concepts is a central category of historical thinking which seems particularly important when talking about mobile history learning.³³ “No matter how space may be experienced in current time, the experience of historical space is always a matter of the individual imagination.”³⁴ It is undeniable that the discovery and exploration of space in time call for a multidisciplinary approach using different methods and different subjects, particularly history and geography; historiography has already benefited from such a combination of disciplines. The cultural and linguistic turns were followed by what is known as the “spatial or topographical turn”, first as a paradigm shift in cultural studies, commencing in the 1980s, that renewed methods used by the historians who worked with the French journal *Annales*, one of whose contributors, Fernand Braudel, had already looked at the influences of climate and landscape on society and people when investigating the Mediterranean area.

A consequence of the spatial turn was that space was no longer conceived as an essentially physical place for people and cultures, but rather understood as emerging from social interactions. From this it follows that space cannot be reduced to a given environment, but is always established in different ways of perceiving and constructing that and other environments. Thus space has transcended its status as an object of research, becoming a different way of thinking on how to approach and analyze any subject matter.

These approaches have recently been taken up by educationalists and transferred to learning in history. The theory of history teaching in Germany currently features a number of quite different approaches to the spatial dimension of history and history learning, using combinations of topics and methods.³⁵ All these approaches share their focus on out-of-class learning, activities at particular locations, and field trips.

One aspect that has yet to be discussed is how mobile devices can be used in this context and how mobile learning can help to promote students' orientation in historic spaces, enabling them to discover the "historicity" of places which in the usual run of things are not necessarily perceived as historical ones. This is where the concept of "location-based learning", as a variation of situated learning, comes in. The boom in location-based services began in the advertising industry, which combined apps on mobile devices with GPS locations to provide advertisements and commercial offers wherever their target audience is. Concepts on using these tools in learning scenarios began coming into being from around 2005.³⁶ One of the first location-based leisure-time activities which spread quickly worldwide was geocaching. The first caches were hidden in 2000. Nevertheless, it took some years before the educational value of geocaching in learning scenarios was discovered, and this is an extremely recent development in Germany, especially in the context of history learning.³⁷

Games "seem to be excellent tools for facilitating and supporting situated learning [...] and [...] meaningful learning of pupils, merging out-of-school and in-school learning"³⁸. The idea of location-based learning was very quickly connected with gaming. Students prefer games which demand a high degree of creativity and imagination.³⁹ Given that playing and creativity are often seen as two sides of the same coin, we would do well to take a close look at their role in the discipline of history and in learning in the subject. In this spirit, we will now go on to discuss imagination as a central aspect of history learning.

Imagination in History Writing and Learning

The educational theory of history teaching focuses on reflection around theoretical, empirical and pragmatic aspects of teaching, learning and thinking in history. In this debate, the idea of historical consciousness (*Geschichtsbewusstsein*), introduced by Karl-Ernst Jeismann at the beginning of the 1980s, is the principal construct for the analysis of historical learning processes.

Jeismann emphasized that historical consciousness is embedded in processes of cognition: Historical thinking examines objects in the present and/or objects in the past. It establishes historical significance and attempts to comprehend the actual political, social and economic situation, identify continuity and change, analyze cause and consequence, take a historical perspective on the issue at hand, and make factual as well as ethical judgments. Historical consciousness becomes intersubjectively comprehensible through acts of communication, i.e. the narration of history.⁴⁰

Imagination has a multiple role in the academic discipline and learning of history: it is needed for research to find primary sources, to solve problems and establish connections between traces of the past and between representations of history. It is also required for the creation of narratives in the form of historical representations such as books, scientific or journalistic articles, films or other forms of media; and it is the basis of historical thinking.⁴¹ In other words, imagination and creativity play an essential part in the development of historical thinking skills and are necessary in order to solve problems.⁴²

The work of historians is frequently still perceived as an isolated, studious business, while the creation of films, games and exhibitions about history for a broad public is accepted as being a cooperative or collaborative, social and project-oriented activity. History as a school subject has traditionally been, and sometimes still is, based on the academic idea of history and not on public history. If history teaching in the future comes to focus more closely on the latter, creativity in history teaching will be treated as an act of collaborative inventing, and imagining and creating will play a far more important part in the history classroom in the near future than it had previously. Students will be asked not only to read sources and answer questions from their textbook, but also to write stories, to make films and work with other types of media.

We see, then, that imagination is currently assuming greater importance in the process of history learning. It has been described as the central premise for historical thinking alongside cognition,⁴³ and it allows historical reconstructions based on sources as traces of the past. “Imagination”, here, is not used to mean fantasy-based free associations. Instead, it is crucial to the process of absorbing and understanding representations of history. This applies to texts as well as to photos and videos. The imagination of the individual enables them to envision the past.

On a collective basis, imagination also plays an important role in the development of identity. It allows the individual to relate him- or herself to the narrative given to him or her.

Imagination alone enables individuals to appropriate historical issues and thereby put themselves in the position of historical figures, as imagination is the basic requirement for individuals to create a sensitive awareness of the other and to empathize with others' points of view. Historical empathy, then, is a necessary skill for students to acquire if they are to make sense of history.⁴⁴

Using Mobile Devices in History Lessons

The discussion above has demonstrated that mobile devices can help promote the development of historical imagination and facilitate activities around the process of historical thinking and learning in and outside the classroom. This article has aimed at detailing the potential uses of mobile devices to support historical thinking in four different ways:⁴⁵

1. When visiting a location of historical interest, mobile devices can allow students to access information from the web, which might include documents such as historical maps, old photographs and sound files relating to places and historical sites. In thus providing learning materials such as primary and secondary sources, mobile devices act as a support to learners' processes of inquiry.
2. Mobile devices are multifunctional gadgets. They can serve as writing tools, help to create audio or video records, and locate sites of interest. These technologies foster students' historical research, and their analysis, understanding and validation of historical sources, in a new and creative way. Mobile technologies offer powerful tools for the development of an imagination of the past, for the creation of narratives of history and the telling of stories.
3. Using mobile devices in formal learning settings enables students to learn about the technology they are using, which empowers students to employ them purposefully in order to express themselves.
4. Mobile devices enhance perception and deliver new, accessible and shareable forms of archiving, documentation and publication. They can be understood as extensions of our senses. In this way, mobile devices help create a new environment for thinking and learning which dispenses with the restrictions students are used to in their conventional work with pen and paper.

Each of these ways in which mobile devices can support learning in history, separately and combined, foster students' creativity by widening their ability to access, understand, explain and interpret traces of the past and to present their findings in individually and collaboratively.

Mobile devices promote student creativity by facilitating the sharing of ideas, intermediate and final results, by opening up new ways of doing research and tools for this purpose, and by enlarging the range of products of learning that students might generate. Using mobile devices enables students and other non-professional historians to decode edificial remains, symbols, and traces of commemorative cultures through giving access to additional information, documents or interactive activities. In other words, mobile devices enrich and augment reality. They reveal the historical value of places, spaces and surfaces and their changes over time. Furthermore, mobile history learning offers opportunities for learners to perceive links between different locations; these perceptions may arise from interest and research or be produced by students in what we might call learning trails, whose scope includes such activities as mobile storytelling.

[picture 1 here]

Picture 1: Conceptual reflections on mobile history learning

Practical Ideas for Creativity in Out-of-Class History Lessons Using Mobile Devices

All these ideas are appropriate for use in lower and upper secondary school classes. The time required for each activity depends on the manner of its integration into the lesson and can range from a few minutes to a series of lessons.

[Table 1 here]

Learning History 2.0: Changing History Lessons with Mobile Learning

Although there is still a lack of empirical research in the field of mobile history learning, we consider that the conceptualization presented here contains ideas that could be useful for further work in the area. The ideas given above show that learning in history lessons using mobile devices is particularly suitable for creative approaches in inquiry- and design-based learning scenarios. In such contexts, learning is highly situated and location-based, and the use of mobile devices in these contexts helps link the process of learning to students' living and working environment.

A constructivist approach to mobile history learning understands learning as an active process undertaken by a subject, a process which, by undergoing specific experiences, attaches importance or meaning to the development through time of an object found in the subject's environment.⁴⁶ In this context, the use of mobile devices can play a significant part in project-based learning (PBL).⁴⁷ Lisa Rosa has coined the term "Learning 2.0", meaning project-based learning in the age of and using the tools of the web 2.0 as a basis for the development of skills which will be called for in the twenty-first century.⁴⁸ The four principal features of this new learning culture for the digital age, as outlined by Rosa, are the self-determined, personalized, collaborative, and (cross-) linked nature of the learning it facilitates.

Mobile devices can help support this shift in learning culture, and technology-assisted PBL may be highly productive for history learning in schools.⁴⁹ The digital revolution calls for a change in the nature of the history curriculum from an essentially national canon to ideas and information of individual and collective historical significance, explored through skill-based learning.⁵⁰ Mobile devices have the potential to be an important catalyst in this process, as they make it possible to individualize the approach, the tools and the information used in the process of encouraging historical thinking.

The use of mobile devices in the history classroom is more of a mindset than a prescriptive instructional technique. It requires an approach to teaching and learning unlike that conventionally seen in schools. . The products students might potentially create from mobile history learning, which could include innovative forms of individually or collaboratively generated narratives about history such as geocaches or digital stories, can help initiate peer-to-peer discussions about history as well as allowing students to participate in their surroundings

and enabling them to develop a sense of commitment to them. Further, and crucially, the spread of mobile history learning may enable students to better understand public debates on history, politics, culture, memory and identity. While moving through the places and streets of their home town, equipped with mobile technology, students could start learning in the present for the future from the past.

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Wie lassen sich Wertaussagen in Schulbüchern aufspüren?
Ein politikwissenschaftlicher Vorschlag zur quantitativen Schulbuchanalyse
am Beispiel des Themenkomplexes der europäischen Integration

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Abstract • Das Aufdecken und Analysieren von normativen Wertungen ist eine wichtige Aufgabe der Schulbuchforschung, der es jedoch bislang an geeigneten Verfahren mangelte, um reliable und valide Ergebnisse hervorzubringen. Allzu oft sind Schulbuchanalysen deskriptiv und subjektiv. Dieser Aufsatz erörtert das Potenzial der computerunterstützten quantitativen Inhaltsanalyse, um dieses Problem zu beheben. Basierend auf politikwissenschaftlichen Untersuchungen argumentieren wir, dass sich vor allem das Softwarepaket "Wordfish" als Verfahren für die Analyse von Autorentexten hierfür anbieten würde.

Keywords • computerunterstützt, europäische Integration, Inhaltsanalyse, Politikwissenschaft, politische Bildung, Schulbuchanalyse, Wertaussagen

Kontroversität vs. Erziehung zu Werten

Im Politikunterricht sind drei elementare Prinzipien zu berücksichtigen, die als Beutelsbacher Konsens einen Meilenstein der politischen Bildung in Deutschland darstellen. Erstens ist es nicht erlaubt, Schülerinnen und Schüler im Sinne erwünschter Meinungen zu überrumpeln. Denn dadurch würde die Gewinnung eines selbstständigen Urteils verhindert und die Grenze zur Indoktrination überschritten werden. Indoktrination ist nicht vereinbar mit dem grundlegenden Ziel der Mündigkeit der Schülerinnen und Schüler. Zweitens müssen Themen, die in der Wissenschaft kontrovers diskutiert werden, auch im Unterricht kontrovers behandelt werden. Schülerinnen und Schüler müssen drittens dazu befähigt werden, eine politische Situation

und ihre eigenen Interessenslagen zu analysieren sowie die vorgefundene Lage gemäß ihrer Interessen zu beeinflussen.¹

Trotz dieser drei Grundsätze heißt es beispielsweise in einem Beschluss der Kultusministerkonferenz vom 8. Juni 1978, der im Jahre 2008 noch einmal neu gefasst wurde, zum Thema "Europabildung in der Schule": "Ziel der pädagogischen Arbeit an Schulen muss es sein, in den jungen Menschen das Bewusstsein einer europäischen Identität zu wecken und zu fördern. Hierzu gehört auch die Vorbereitung der jungen Menschen darauf, ihre Aufgaben als Bürgerinnen und Bürger in der Europäischen Union aktiv wahrzunehmen."² Massing bringt den Kern dieses Passus auf den Punkt: "Erziehung zu Europa"³. Vor dem Hintergrund des Beutelsbacher Konsenses bewegt sich die Absicht, eine europäische Identität zu wecken, laut Massing hart an der Grenze zur Indoktrination.⁴ Richter geht gar noch einen Schritt weiter. Schülerinnen und Schüler an Europa heranzuführen sei zwar akzeptabel; sie halte es jedoch für unzulässig, im Sinne einer bestimmten Identität bilden zu wollen – sei es auch im Sinne einer europäischen. Denn das Ziel, Schülerinnen und Schüler für Europa begeistern zu wollen, stelle eine Bevormundung dar, die keinen freien Entscheidungsraum biete und dem Beutelsbacher Konsens widerspreche.⁵

Ganz offensichtlich scheint zwischen dem Beschluss der Kultusministerkonferenz und den Einschätzungen der Politikdidaktiker eine unterschiedliche Meinung darüber zu herrschen, wie das Thema "Europa" im Politikunterricht behandelt werden sollte: eindeutig pro-europäisch oder doch wertneutral? Diese diskrepante Haltung gegenüber dem für den Politikunterricht wichtigen Themenkomplex "Europa" impliziert eine Spannung bei der Konzeptionalisierung von Schulbüchern. Denn auf der einen Seite wird jedes Schulbuch durch das jeweilige Kultusministerium einer Prüfung unterzogen, bevor es in deutschen Schulen zugelassen wird (vgl. hierzu den Abschnitt "Schulbücher und Schulbuchforschung"), und auf der anderen Seite sind es gerade Politikdidaktiker, die ein Schulbuch als Autoren konzipieren und verfassen.⁶ Da das Schulbuch auch heute noch trotz der Entwicklung neuer Medien eine überragende Rolle im Politikunterricht einnimmt⁷ und es schließlich auch im Gegensatz zu vielen anderen Lehrmitteln nicht den Status einer "Wegwerfware" besitzt⁸, kann die Analyse von Schulbüchern Aufschluss darüber geben, wie die Praxis des Politikunterrichts dem Thema "Europa" begegnet und welche Wertung den Schülerinnen und Schülern über das Schulbuch vermittelt wird.

Die zentrale Frage, mit der sich dieser Aufsatz exemplarisch auseinandersetzen wird, ist daher: Anhand welcher Verfahren kann im Rahmen einer Schulbuchanalyse mit dem Ziel

reliabler und valider Ergebnisse ermittelt werden, wie Schulbücher die Europäische Union bewerten?

Anhand einer Literaturbesprechung wird im Rahmen dieses Beitrags mit Hilfe von Wordscores und Wordfish, zwei der momentan prominentesten Textanalysepakete im Bereich der Politikwissenschaft, geprüft, ob sich die computerunterstützte quantitative Inhaltsanalyse für die Schulbuchanalyse eignet. Das Ergebnis dieser Arbeit soll als Anknüpfungspunkt weiterer empirischer Forschungsvorhaben dienen. Um den Forschungsgegenstand zunächst herauszukristallisieren, wird sich der folgende Abschnitt mit dem Schulbuch als Medium sowie mit Intentionen und Methoden der Schulbuchforschung im Kontext politischer Bildung befassen. In dem daran anschließenden Abschnitt "Computerunterstützte Inhaltsanalyse" werden Wordscores und Wordfish als zwei der wichtigsten computerunterstützten quantitativen Inhaltsanalyseverfahren vorgestellt, die bislang meist dafür eingesetzt wurden, die Position politischer Parteien auf z.B. einer Links-Rechts-Skala zu bestimmen.⁹ Im vierten Abschnitt "Wordscores vs. Wordfish" werden Probleme und Chancen beider Verfahren aufgezeigt und ihre Eignung für die Schulbuchanalyse überprüft. Der letzte Abschnitt fasst abschließend die wichtigsten Erkenntnisse zusammen und gibt einen Ausblick auf weitere Forschungsmöglichkeiten.

Schulbücher und Schulbuchforschung

An dieser Stelle wird zunächst definiert, was unter einem Schulbuch für den Politikunterricht verstanden wird, um es von anderen Lehrmitteln abzugrenzen. Daraufhin werden zentrale Intentionen, Typen und Methoden der Schulbuchforschung unter Einbezug eines Analysemodells für die Politikdidaktik erläutert. Dieser Abschnitt schließt mit einer exemplarischen Betrachtung einer Schulbuchanalyse zum Thema "Europa", um grundlegende Probleme hinsichtlich der Methodenwahl offenzulegen.

Ganz grundsätzlich erfüllen Schulbücher drei Funktionen. Hinsichtlich einer schulfachbezogenen Funktion konkretisieren und implementieren sie Lehrpläne und Richtlinien. Des Weiteren erfüllen Schulbücher eine unterrichtsbezogene Funktion, indem sie den Unterrichtsinhalt wie auch den Unterricht selbst didaktisch und methodisch strukturieren. Zu guter Letzt haben Schulbücher auch eine wirtschaftliche Funktion, denn die Verlage streben durch die Veräußerung der Schulbücher an, Gewinne zu erwirtschaften.¹⁰

An die schulfachbezogene und unterrichtsbezogene Funktion anknüpfend lässt sich ein Schulbuch für den Politikunterricht wie folgt definieren: "Schulbücher lassen sich im Kontext der politischen Bildung als gedruckte, didaktisch vorstrukturierte Arbeitsmittel bezeichnen,

die für die Hand der Schülerinnen und Schüler gedacht sind und die politische Lernprozesse inhaltlich und methodisch anleiten (sollen)."¹¹ Eine Struktur erhalten Schulbücher, indem sie bestimmte Elemente miteinander kombinieren. Kernelemente sind Autorentexte, Quellen, Handlungsaufträge und Methodenleitfäden. Autorentexte begleiten Schülerinnen und Schüler und komprimieren Sachinformationen, während Quellen die politische Wirklichkeit vergegenwärtigen sollen. Handlungsaufträge dienen zur inhaltlichen Auseinandersetzung mit einem Thema und Methodenleitfäden beschreiben komplexe Lehr-Lern-Arrangements, um die Methodenkompetenz zu fördern. Ergänzt werden diese Bestandteile des Schulbuchs durch Peripherieelemente, zu denen Auftakt- bzw. Impulsmaterialien sowie Verweise (z.B. auf zusätzliche Quellen) zu zählen sind.¹²

Ein wichtiges Merkmal fehlt zur Definition eines Schulbuchs jedoch noch: die kulturministerielle Prüfung. Einmalig unter allen schulischen Medien durchlaufen Schulbücher eine Prüfung und gewähren damit, dass sie den Lehrplänen entsprechen und die Lerninhalte richtig abbilden.¹³ Wiater bezeichnet daher das Schulbuch als indirektes Mittel der staatlichen Beeinflussung. Das Zulassungsverfahren mache eine politische Funktion unverkennbar.¹⁴

Auf das Bisherige aufbauend lässt sich ein Schulbuch als Informatorium, Pädagogicum und Politicum charakterisieren. Durch eine Auswahl von Inhalten bildet es als Informatorium Strukturen und Dimensionen der Welt ab. Es fungiert als Pädagogicum, indem es als pädagogisches Hilfsmittel schulische Informations- und Kommunikationsprozesse unterstützt. Als Politicum gibt es Auskunft darüber, was von Seiten des Staates als lehr- und lernwürdig betrachtet wird und was nicht.¹⁵

Schulbücher sind deswegen viel mehr als nur Träger von Informationen, die über Sachverhalte aufklären sowie Zahlen und Daten liefern. Sie sind abhängig vom jeweiligen politisch-gesellschaftlichen Entstehungskontext, tradieren Werte und Normen und können daher politisch instrumentalisiert werden.¹⁶ Gerade Schulbücher stehen damit immer wieder in Verdacht, ein einseitiges Bild der Gesellschaft zu repräsentieren.¹⁷ Eine besondere Rolle kommt in diesem Punkt den Autoren zu. Sie konstruieren und interpretieren die Wirklichkeit durch die Gestaltung eigener Texte oder durch die Auswahl der Materialien. Diese Konstruktion beeinflusst wiederum den Lernprozess und die Urteilsbildung der Schülerinnen und Schüler, die mit den Schulbüchern konfrontiert werden.¹⁸

Autoren und damit auch die Schulbücher erzeugen also ein gewisses Bild von Politik, das prinzipiell politisch ausgewogen zu gestalten ist. Der Anspruch, dem jedes Schulbuch genügen muss, besteht folglich in einer adäquaten Darstellung des Politischen.¹⁹ Auch das Schulbuch muss sich wie der Unterricht selbst an den Prinzipien des Beutelsbacher Konsenses

messen lassen. Daher sind sämtliche Texte, Quellen, Abbildungen, etc. bei der Schulbuchkonzeption daraufhin zu prüfen, ob sie den Ausschnitt der politischen Wirklichkeit einseitig darstellen oder etwa Vorurteile und Stereotypen transportieren und damit dem Prinzip der Kontroversität widersprechen.²⁰ Als ein Minimalkonsens europäischer Schulbuchforscher können folgende Eigenschaften gelten, mit denen ein Schulbuch als "gut" eingestuft werden kann. Ein Schulbuch sollte demnach (1) den Ergebnissen der jeweiligen Fachwissenschaft entsprechen, (2) dem didaktischen Standard nachkommen (z. B. dem Kontroversitätsprinzip), (3) frei von Vorurteilen sein, (4) die Vorannahmen und Perspektiven des Autors zum Ausdruck bringen, und (5) kein einseitiges und manipulatives Bildmaterial besitzen.²¹

Diese Merkmale beziehen sich stark auf die politisch-ideologischen Absichten²² eines Schulbuchs, womit bereits die Brücke zur Schulbuchforschung geschlagen werden kann, da die Analyse der den Büchern zugrunde liegenden politischen und normativen Ausrichtungen eine wesentliche Intention der Schulbuchforschung darstellt.

Größtenteils konzentrieren sich sowohl die bisherigen als auch die aktuellen Schulbuchanalysen auf die produktorientierte Schulbuchforschung.²³ Der Inhaltsaspekt steht also in der Schulbuchanalyse klar im Vordergrund. Auch der vorliegende Aufsatz versteht sich als ein Beitrag zur produktorientierten Schulbuchforschung, geht es doch bei der Frage, welche Position ein Schulbuch in Bezug zu Europa einnimmt, klar um inhaltliche Aspekte. Für die politische Bildung fehlen allerdings umfassende Analysemodelle, an denen sich die produktorientierte Schulbuchforschung orientieren kann. Anknüpfend an die Strukturmomente des Unterrichts²⁴ entwirft Langner anhand von Leitfragen einen Vorschlag für ein solches Modell:

Insert table 1 here

In diesem Modell wird die Fokussierung auf die Inhaltsebene der Schulbücher deutlich. Auch ein Bezug zu den erforderlichen Eigenschaften eines Schulbuchs ist erkennbar, die anhand des vorliegenden Modells überprüfbar gemacht werden sollen. Die sich nun stellende Frage ist, mit welcher Forschungsmethode der Inhalt erschlossen werden kann, damit Ergebnisse der Schulbuchforschung nach allgemein wissenschaftlichen Verfahren gesichert werden können und den klassischen Gütekriterien Reliabilität und Validität entsprechen.²⁵ Im Rahmen dieses Aufsatzes wird die Verwendung der Inhaltsanalyse im Gegensatz zu einem deskriptiv-analytischen Vorgehen präferiert. Dies hat zwei Gründe: Zum einen wird die Inhaltsanalyse im Rahmen der Schulbuchforschung als geeignetes Instrumentarium empfohlen²⁶, zum anderen ist die heutige Schulbuchforschung durch ein überwiegend inhaltsanalytisches Vorgehen charakterisiert²⁷: "Die Inhaltsanalyse ist eine empirische Methode zur systemati-

schen, intersubjektiv nachvollziehbaren Beschreibung inhaltlicher und formaler Merkmale von Mitteilungen [...]".²⁸ Systematisch heißt in diesem Zusammenhang, dass eine bestimmte Untersuchungsfrage zunächst in eine Forschungsstrategie umgesetzt und diese Strategie daraufhin auf das zu analysierende Material konsequent angewendet wird. Ferner sollen die Ergebnisse der Inhaltsanalyse intersubjektiv nachvollziehbar sein und damit das Kriterium der "Objektivität" erfüllen.²⁹ Oft wird dabei zwischen einem quantitativen und einem qualitativen Ansatz unterschieden.

Bei der quantitativen Analyse wird versucht, den Text durch Messungen zu erfassen. Bezüglich Schulbuchanalysen empfiehlt Uhe die Raum- und die Frequenzanalyse, da beide ein hohes Maß an Intersubjektivität bieten.³⁰ Der Raumanalyse liegt die Annahme zugrunde, dass die Bedeutung eines Themas für den Autor an dem Raum erkannt werden kann, der dem Thema zugewiesen wird. Die Frequenzanalyse basiert auf der Auffassung, dass die Häufigkeit bestimmter Wortnennungen Aufschluss über deren Bedeutung gibt.³¹ Gilt die quantitative Inhaltsanalyse nur als Zählung oder Messung, wird in der qualitativen Analyse versucht, Zusammenhänge zu rekonstruieren, "die auch die latenten Sinnstrukturen oder emotionalen Untertöne erfassen".³² Dabei wird allerdings der Boden der Objektivität leicht verlassen.³³ Ein Problem besteht daher in der Intercoder-Reliabilität, die vor allem bei differenzierten und umfangreichen Kategoriensystemen auftritt.³⁴

Eine rein quantitative oder qualitative Analyse wird in der Schulbuchforschung für nicht ausreichend gehalten, um konkrete Antworten auf eine vorher formulierte Fragestellung zu erhalten, so dass quantitative und qualitative Verfahren miteinander kombiniert werden sollten.³⁵ Eine derartige Kombination der Analyseverfahren unternimmt Natterer in ihrer Dissertation *Europa im Schulbuch*, anhand derer im folgenden Abschnitt exemplarisch ausgewählte Ergebnisse aus beiden Analyseverfahren erläutert werden. Dabei werden auch Probleme, die sich aus der bisherigen Methodik zur Schulbuchanalyse ergeben, erarbeitet.

Natterers zentrale Frage ist, inwieweit die europäische Einigung nach 1945 in Schulbüchern berücksichtigt wird. Die Autorin untersucht hierbei Schulbücher aus dem Geschichts- und aus dem Politikunterricht und setzt sowohl quantitative als auch qualitative Verfahren der Inhaltsanalyse ein. Exemplarisch sei an dieser Stelle für jedes der beiden Verfahren ein festgestelltes Ergebnis angeführt, wobei eine Einschränkung auf die Ergebnisse der Schulbücher für den Politikunterricht stattfindet.³⁶

Als quantitatives Analyseinstrument nutzt Natterer die Raumanalyse, um die jeweiligen relativen Anteile des Autorentextes sowie des Bild- und Quellenmaterials zu ermitteln. Diese Ergebnisse sollen einen Überblick darüber geben, welches dieser drei Elemente in den

Schulbüchern favorisiert wird.³⁷ Sie kommt zu dem Ergebnis, dass der Schwerpunkt auf den Textanteilen liegt. Der Autorentext nimmt mit 44,4 Prozent den größten Teil des Raums ein. Quellen nehmen 18,3 Prozent des Raums ein. Der Bildanteil beläuft sich auf die restlichen 37,3 Prozent, ist aber nach Ermessen der Autorin keineswegs als zu klein einzustufen.³⁸ Dieses Ergebnis unterstreicht die hohe Bedeutung der Autorentexte, die das Lernen der Schülerinnen und Schüler beeinflussen.

Im Rahmen der qualitativen Analyse geht Natterer unter anderem der Frage nach, ob die europäische Einigung eine positive, neutrale oder negative Erfahrung erlebt. Die untersuchten Schulbücher geben gemäß der Autorin ein eher wertneutrales Urteil über die europäische Einigung ab. Einige Politikbereiche werden sogar positiv hervorgehoben; darunter fällt jedoch nicht die Agrarpolitik, der Kritik entgegengebracht wird.³⁹

Die von der Autorin durchgeführte Schulbuchanalyse ist sehr umfangreich und generiert wichtige Erkenntnisse. Dennoch scheint es einige Probleme bei der Analyse zu geben, die aus der manuell durchgeführten Inhaltsanalyse resultieren. Exemplarisch sei etwa die Frage nach den Werturteilen der Schulbücher hinsichtlich der europäischen Einigung aufgegriffen. An keiner Stelle belegt die Autorin, wie sie die Einschätzung der einzelnen Werturteile vorgenommen hat. Sie verweist nur auf ihren Anhang, in dem eine tabellarische Aufstellung der Einschätzungen zu finden ist.⁴⁰ Genau an dieser Stelle wird das Problem der Intercoder-Reliabilität offensichtlich, da ein anderer Kodierer zu gänzlich anderen Ergebnissen kommen kann. Eine computerunterstützte quantitative Inhaltsanalyse, etwa mittels der Verfahren Wordscores oder Wordfish, könnte dieses Problem beheben und zu reliablen und validen Einschätzungen führen. Bevor jedoch diese Frage ausgiebig behandelt wird, werden die beiden Verfahren im nächsten Abschnitt vorgestellt.

Computerunterstützte Inhaltsanalyse

Die Verfahren Wordscores⁴¹ und Wordfish⁴² wurden ursprünglich dafür verwendet, die politische Position von Parteien anhand derer Programme zu bestimmen. Beiden Verfahren liegt dabei die Annahme zugrunde, dass die Wortwahl politischer Akteure nicht auf Zufall beruht, sondern ganz bewusst gewählt ist. Daher wird davon ausgegangen, dass allein aufgrund der relativen Worthäufigkeiten eine Position bestimmbar ist. Beide Verfahren basieren also prinzipiell auf einer Frequenzanalyse und verstehen sich als eine Alternative zur arbeitsintensiven Handcodierung von Texten,⁴³ wie sie – ebenfalls zur Bestimmung politischer Positionen – im Comparative Manifestos Project eingesetzt wurde⁴⁴. Im Folgenden werden beide Verfahren erläutert. Dabei wird angesichts des Umfangs dieses Beitrags nur auf die grundsätzliche Funk-

tionsweise beider Verfahren Bezug genommen. Auf eine detaillierte Beschreibung beispielsweise der den Verfahren zugrunde liegenden Algorithmen und Berechnungen verzichten wir hier. Im letzten Teil dieses Abschnitts wird als exemplarischer Beleg der Reliabilität und Validität von Wordscores und Wordfish der kürzlich veröffentlichte Artikel von Klüver zu den politischen Zielen von Interessengruppen vorgestellt.⁴⁵

Wordscores vergleicht zur Einschätzung einer politischen Position zwei Textarten miteinander. Zum einen werden Texte benötigt, deren politische Position z.B. durch Expertenbefragungen bekannt ist.⁴⁶ Diese Texte werden als "Referenztexte" bezeichnet. Diesen Referenztexten und damit auch jedem einzelnen in dem Text genutzten Wort wird ein Referenzwert zugewiesen, der sich aus der Expertenbefragung ergibt. Zum anderen werden Texte benötigt, deren politische Position unbekannt ist, aber ermittelt werden soll. Die Worte, die in diesen zu analysierenden Texten enthalten sind, werden daraufhin – und das ist der Kern des Wordscores-Verfahrens – mit den Worten aus dem Referenztext verglichen. Indem die politische Position eines Referenztexts mit der berechneten Wahrscheinlichkeit kombiniert wird, erhält jedes Wort einen numerischen Wert. Diese Werte werden daraufhin mit der relativen Häufigkeit der Worte im zu analysierenden Text gewichtet, so dass sich letztendlich ein "Score" für den kompletten Text ergibt, der mit den bereits bekannten Scores der Referenztexte verglichen werden kann.⁴⁷

Von großer Bedeutung ist die Auswahl geeigneter Referenztexte, die grundsätzlich drei Voraussetzungen erfüllen sollten. Erstens sollten die Referenztexte den gleichen Wortschatz wie jene Texte benutzen, die analysiert werden sollen. Politische Programme eignen sich beispielsweise also nur als Referenztexte für die Untersuchung anderer Programme und nicht etwa für die Analyse politischer Reden. Zweitens sollten die Referenztexte die ganze Spannweite hinsichtlich eines zu untersuchenden Politikfeldes abdecken. Für das Anliegen dieses Artikels heißt das, dass die Referenztexte das Thema Europa möglichst von sehr positiv bis sehr negativ bewerten. Ist diese Voraussetzung unzureichend erfüllt, enthalten die Referenztexte keine Informationen, anhand derer man politische Positionen unterscheiden kann. Drittens sollten die Referenztexte so lang wie möglich sein und damit eine Vielzahl verschiedener Worte beinhalten. Denn die Inhalte der zu analysierenden Texte werden nur in dem Rahmen untersucht, der durch die Anzahl der Worte aus den Referenztexten vorgegeben wird. Je seltener also in den zu untersuchenden Texten Worte zu finden sind, die nicht in den Referenztexten enthalten sind, umso besser.⁴⁸

Die Vorteile von Wordscores liegen unter anderem darin, dass sprachblind vorgegangen wird. Folglich kann dieses Softwarepaket in jeder Sprache angewendet werden. Daneben

ist das Verfahren reliabel, weil die Überprüfbarkeit des Verfahrens gewährleistet ist. Außerdem kann mittels Wordscores eine große Menge an Text in relativ kurzer Zeit analysiert werden.⁴⁹ Darüber hinaus bietet die Software die Möglichkeit, mehr als eine politisch-ideologische Dimension abzubilden.⁵⁰

Diesen Vorteilen gegenüber stehen aber auch einige Probleme. So kann beispielsweise das durch die Referenzwerte vorgegebene Intervall nicht unter- bzw. überschritten werden.⁵¹

Ferner können weitere Probleme mit der Wordscore-Methode auftreten, zum Beispiel bei der Einschätzung von häufig genutzten Worten wie "und" oder "aber". Ebenfalls kann es zu Verzerrungen kommen, wenn die Schnittmenge zwischen den Referenztexten und den zu begutachtenden Texten zu gering ausfällt.⁵²

Ein Nachteil ist auch, dass der zeitliche Rahmen generell beschränkt bleiben muss, da sich etwa Wortschatz oder die Bedeutung von Worten im Zeitverlauf verändern, dies jedoch von Wordscores nicht berücksichtigt werden kann.⁵³ Darüber hinaus bestehen Schwierigkeiten in der korrekten Einschätzung von politischen Positionen über mehrere Zeitperioden hinweg, wie Budge und Pennings anhand der Veränderungen in den USA Anfang der 1990er Jahre zeigen konnten.⁵⁴

Das ebenfalls sprachblinde Verfahren Wordfish hingegen ermöglicht Zeitreihenanalysen (unter der Voraussetzung, dass sich der Sprachgebrauch nicht ändert) und die Einschätzung der Bedeutung bzw. Wichtigkeit aller Worte in den zu analysierenden Texten. Zudem werden im Vergleich zu Wordscores keine Referenztexte benötigt, weil andere statistische Verfahren eingesetzt werden.⁵⁵ Der zugrunde liegende Algorithmus basiert auf der Annahme, dass die Worthäufigkeit einem Poisson-Prozess unterliegt, also einem bestimmten stochastischen Verfahren. Dieses Modell wurde wegen seiner Einfachheit genutzt, da es nur einen einzigen unbekannt Parameter, λ , gibt, wie die folgende Darstellung zeigt.⁵⁶

$$y_{ij} \sim \text{Poisson}(\lambda_{ij})$$

$$\lambda_{ij} = \exp(\alpha_i + \psi_j + \beta_j * \omega_i)$$

y_{ij} ist die Häufigkeit eines Wortes j in einem bestimmten Text i . α bezeichnet einen fixen Effekt, der die unterschiedliche Länge von Texten berücksichtigt. ψ bezieht sich analog dazu auf einen fixen Wort-Effekt, da einige Worte grundsätzlich viel häufiger genutzt werden als andere (z.B. Präpositionen). Durch das Wortgewicht β wird die unterschiedliche Bedeutung bzw. Wichtigkeit eines Wortes zur Unterscheidung von politischen Positionen eingeschätzt. ω gibt letztlich die Einschätzung der politischen Position des Textes an. Die unbekannt Parameter werden durch ein iteratives Verfahren, dem expectation-maximization-Algorithmus, berechnet.

Wie bereits erwähnt, benötigt Wordfish keine Referenztexte. Dafür werden aber an die Texte, die analysiert werden sollen, gewisse Anforderungen gestellt. Zunächst einmal müssen genügend Texte vorliegen, da in die Berechnung der Wort-Parameter alle Texte mit einbezogen werden und es bei nur geringer Anzahl von Texten zu Problemen mit der Stabilität der Ergebnisse kommen kann.⁵⁷ Ganz ähnlich verhält es sich, wenn die Texte sehr kurz sind, denn dann basiert die Einschätzung der politischen Position auf zu wenigen Worten.⁵⁸ Des Weiteren lässt sich mit Wordfish immer nur eine Dimension gleichzeitig analysieren. Wenn jedoch mehrere Dimensionen bzw. Politikfelder untersucht werden sollen, ist ein Text entsprechend der Politikfelder in mehrere Teile zu zerlegen. Diese Teile können dann nacheinander analysiert werden. Dieses Vorgehen beherbergt eine mögliche Fehlerquelle, denn der Anwender bzw. die Anwenderin muss sehr präzise bei der Einteilung vorgehen. Daher empfiehlt es sich, transparent zu verfahren und die Dimensionen bzw. Politikfelder im Vorfeld zu definieren.⁵⁹ Schließlich könnten andere Forscher/-innen zu ganz unterschiedlichen Ergebnissen kommen. Generell stellt Wordfish an den Anwender bzw. die Anwenderin einige Anforderungen. Neben der Textauswahl entsprechend der Politikfelder, die untersucht werden sollen, muss entschieden werden, welche Worte unnötig für die Analyse sind und daher entfernt werden können (z. B. Eigennamen). Außerdem wird empfohlen, Worte aus dem Datensatz zu entfernen, die nur sehr selten bzw. einmalig in einem einzigen Text enthalten sind, da diesen Worten ansonsten eine sehr hohe Bedeutung beigemessen wird. Des Weiteren ist zu entscheiden, ob sehr ähnliche Worte auf einen gemeinsamen Wortstamm reduziert werden. Dabei ist stets bei allen Veränderungen des ursprünglichen Textes darauf zu achten, dass keine Informationen verloren gehen.⁶⁰ Bei korrektem Vorgehen lässt sich aber auch Wordfish bescheinigen, dass reliable Ergebnisse hervorgebracht werden können.⁶¹

Nachdem nun die beiden Verfahren Wordscores und Wordfish vorgestellt worden sind, wird ihre Verwendung exemplarisch anhand des Artikels "Measuring Interest Group Influence Using Quantitative Text Analysis" von Klüver aus dem Jahr 2009 erläutert. Damit soll aufgezeigt werden, dass die Ergebnisse der computerunterstützten Inhaltsanalyse nicht nur reliabel sind, sondern vor allem auch ein hohes Maß an Validität aufweisen. Die Auswahl gerade dieses Textes erfolgte aus folgenden Gründen: Zunächst einmal ist er relativ aktuell und weist einen Bezug zum Thema "Europa" auf. Noch wichtiger ist jedoch, dass Wordscores und Wordfish in Kombination miteinander verwendet und mit der Handcodierung verglichen werden. Außerdem werden die Verfahren nicht zur Links-Rechts-Bestimmung politischer Positionen von Parteien eingesetzt, sondern zur Identifizierung einer Pro- bzw. Contra-

Haltung von Interessengruppen. Eine solche Pro-Contra-Dimension ist für die Analyse von Werturteilen in Schulbüchern zum Thema Europa von großem Belang.

In ihrer Fallstudie empfiehlt Klüver die computerunterstützte quantitative Textanalyse, um den Einfluss von Interessengruppen auf politische Entscheidungen zu messen. Hierzu vergleicht sie die Präferenzen der Interessengruppen auf einer Pro-Contra-Dimension bezüglich des Umweltschutzes mit dem tatsächlichen Ergebnis des politischen Entscheidungsprozesses, um so Gewinner und Verlierer zu bestimmen.⁶² Die Autorin bezieht sich in der Fallstudie auf eine Online-Konsultation aus dem Jahr 2007, in der es um die Reduzierung von CO₂ ging und die für alle Interessenten offen stand. Die politische Positionierung der Interessengruppen wurde anhand der veröffentlichten Vorschläge bzw. Änderungswünsche vorgenommen, die Positionierung der Europäischen Kommission anhand veröffentlichter Dokumente erfolgte vor und nach der Konsultation (z. B. durch Pressemitteilungen).⁶³ Bei der Pro-Contra-Einschätzung per Hand-Codierung stellte sich heraus, dass sich die Kommission nach Abschluss der Konsultation klar in Richtung der traditionellen Automobilindustrie bewegte, sie sich also durch die Automobilindustrie zu einer weniger ausgeprägten Positionierung für den Umweltschutz beeinflussen ließ.⁶⁴

Im Anschluss an die Handcodierung nahm Klüver die Einschätzung der Positionen per Wordfish vor. Die Ergebnisse zwischen diesen beiden Verfahren weisen eine hohe Korrelation und damit auch eine hohe Kreuzvalidität auf, denn Wordfish zeigt ebenfalls den Einfluss der Automobilindustrie auf die Kommission deutlich auf.⁶⁵ Da Wordscores Referenztexte benötigt, diese aber nicht vorlagen, nutzte die Autorin dieses Verfahren dazu, die Ergebnisse, die sie mittels Handcodierung und Wordfish erhalten hatte, zu überprüfen, indem die jeweiligen Einschätzungen als Basis für Wordscores dienten. Die Einschätzungen, die per Wordscores ermittelt wurden, korrelierten stark mit den Wordfish-Ergebnissen und wiesen immerhin noch eine relativ hohe Korrelation mit den Ergebnissen aus der Handcodierung auf.⁶⁶

Zusammenfassend kann festgehalten werden, dass es Klüver gelungen ist, den Nutzen der computerunterstützten quantitativen Inhaltsanalyse auch außerhalb der Parteienforschung aufzuzeigen – zumindest den Nutzen von Wordfish. Während es für den Einsatz von Wordscores noch keine Möglichkeit zur Verwendung gibt, solange Referenztexte und die damit verbundenen Referenzwerte fehlen, bewies sich Wordfish als überaus nützlich und brachte nicht nur reliable, sondern vor allem auch valide Ergebnisse hervor.⁶⁷

Wordscores vs. Wordfish

Um an dieser Stelle bereits eine Teilantwort auf unsere Ausgangsfrage zu geben: Eine allumfassende Schulbuchanalyse im Rahmen des Beutelsbacher Konsenses kann durch keines der beiden Verfahren gewährleistet werden. Beispielsweise können weder mit Wordscores noch mit Wordfish die didaktisch-methodischen Aspekte eines Schulbuchs untersucht werden. Auf Fragen, ob etwa das Prinzip der Handlungsorientierung in den Aufgabenstellungen beachtet wird oder ob die Lehr-Lern-Arrangements sinnvoll eingesetzt werden, können beide Verfahren keine Antwort finden, weil sich die Analyse solcher Aspekte nicht auf Worte (und deren Häufigkeiten) stützen kann, die sich auf einer Links-Rechts- bzw. Pro-Contra-Dimension verorten lassen. Vielmehr ist im Hinblick solcher Fragen die Komplexität der Lernsituation, die Steuerung des Lernens durch eine logisch aufgebaute Sequenzierung oder das Erreichen der Lernziele zu prüfen. Für eine solche Überprüfung leisten Quantifizierungen nichts. Darüber hinaus lässt sich das Bildmaterial mittels einer computerunterstützten quantitativen Inhaltsanalyse nicht untersuchen. Schließlich bestehen Abbildungen oder Fotos (meist) nicht aus Worten. Da aber der Bildanteil fast 40 Prozent des Raums in Schulbüchern einnimmt und die Bildrhetorik ein wichtiges Kriterium eines guten Schulbuchs ausmacht, ist die Bildanalyse ein bedeutender Bestandteil einer umfassenden Schulbuchanalyse. Trotz dieser Einwände kann die computerunterstützte quantitative Inhaltsanalyse – in diesem Artikel repräsentiert durch Wordscores und Wordfish – für die produktorientierte Schulbuchforschung von großem Nutzen sein.

Zieht man das von Langner entworfene Modell heran, bezieht sich eine wesentliche Leitfrage auf den Wertaspekt eines Schulbuchs.⁶⁸ Welche normativen Entscheidungen sind in einem Schulbuch erkennbar, und sind diese zulässig? Die Wertaussagen eines Schulbuchs spielen für den Themenkomplex Europa eine zentrale Rolle, worauf bereits in der Einleitung aufmerksam gemacht wurde. Für die Ermittlung einer solchen Wertung kann die computerunterstützte quantitative Inhaltsanalyse einen großen Beitrag leisten. Denn wie etwa anhand des von Klüver veröffentlichten Artikels gezeigt werden konnte, lassen sich politische Positionen von Texten mit Wordscores und Wordfish auf einer Pro-Contra-Dimension bestimmen. Daraus lässt sich schlussfolgern, dass sich auch Schulbücher, die wesentlich aus Texten bestehen, in einer Pro-Contra-Dimension bezüglich einer Wertung Europas verorten lassen müssten – nämlich durch die Analyse der Autorentexte. Eine solche Dimensionierung kann anhand der Autorentexte allerdings nicht abschließend sein, schließlich müssten auch Bilder mit in die Analyse einbezogen werden. Doch eine klare Tendenz in Richtung Pro, Neutral oder Contra

in der Europafrage zeichnet sich durch die Textanalyse sicherlich ab. Ob sich beide Verfahren gleichermaßen eignen und welche Voraussetzungen der Einsatz einer Computerunterstützung erfüllen müssen, ist jedoch noch zu klären.

Sowohl Wordscores als auch Wordfish basieren auf einer Frequenzanalyse und sind sprachblind. Prinzipiell sind also beide Verfahren für die Analyse deutscher Schulbücher geeignet. Allerdings benötigt Wordscores Referenztexte. Diese Referenztexte sollten den gleichen Wortschatz besitzen wie die Texte, die analysiert werden sollen, die Spannweite der politischen Positionen und eine Vielzahl verschiedener Worte abdecken. Überdies müssen die Referenztexte einen Wert aufweisen, mit Hilfe dessen die zu analysierenden Texte eingeschätzt werden können. Genau an solchen Referenztexten mangelt es jedoch in der Schulbuchforschung. Numerische Referenzwerte existieren nicht für analysierte Schulbücher – und selbst wenn diese vorliegen würden, wäre die Aussagekraft dieser Werte angesichts der problematischen Intercoder-Reliabilität, die durch oftmals deskriptive und subjektive Analysen verursacht werden, zweifelhaft. Dieses Argument führt unweigerlich zu dem Ergebnis, dass Wordscores als Verfahren zur (originären) Schulbuchanalyse weniger geeignet ist.

Anders gestaltet sich die Sachlage im Hinblick auf Wordfish. Für die Anwendung dieses Verfahrens werden keine Referenztexte benötigt. Wordfish benötigt jedoch – ganz ähnlich wie Wordscores – möglichst viel Textmaterial, um stabile Ergebnisse zu produzieren. Diese Voraussetzung ist ein Nachteil und eine Chance für die Schulbuchforschung zugleich. Zum einen bieten sich (repräsentative) Stichproben einzelner Schulbücher – das in der Regel gängige Vorgehen – nicht an, weil die Textlänge zu gering wäre. Eine Chance bestünde darin, alle in einem Bundesland bzw. in ganz Deutschland zugelassenen Schulbücher für das Fach Politik zu untersuchen. Von diesem Vorgehen wurde bislang stets abgesehen, da der Aufwand einer manuellen Analyse zu hoch gewesen ist. Da Wordfish jedoch eine große Textmenge in relativ kurzer Zeit verarbeiten kann und zugleich Scanner das Einlesen von Texten erheblich vereinfachen (sofern die Schulbuchkapitel nicht in elektronischer Form von den Verlagen erhältlich sein sollten), reduziert sich für die Analyse einer großen Anzahl von Büchern die investierte Zeit um ein Vielfaches. Eine hohe Textmenge, die Wordfish einfordert, sollte also durch die Aufnahme vieler Schulbücher, z.B. differenzierend nach Schularten und Bundesländern, aufgebracht werden können.

Eine weitere Schwierigkeit ergibt sich in der Vorbearbeitung der Autorentexte. Zwar stellt die Auswahl der richtigen Texte für eine Einschätzung des Wertaspekts in Bezug auf Europa kein großes Problem dar, da gängigerweise Europa thematisierende Kapitel eine entsprechende Überschrift tragen. Aber die Frage, wie und ob überhaupt einzelne Worte aus dem

Datensatz eliminiert oder auf einen gemeinsamen Stamm reduziert werden müssen, scheint Probleme aufzuwerfen, da Erkenntnisse über den Wortschatz in Schulbüchern noch nicht vorliegen und daher die Auswirkungen solcher Bearbeitungen unbekannt sind. Auch hier besteht noch Nachholbedarf.

Abschließend sei noch angemerkt, dass die Tatsache, dass Wordfish nicht multidimensional eingesetzt werden kann, für die Erforschung der Wertung Europas in Schulbüchern keine wesentliche Rolle spielt. Schließlich soll anhand der Kapitel, die Europa thematisieren, nur eine Pro-Contra-Dimension abgebildet werden.

Es lässt sich festhalten, dass Wordscores zwar für die Schulbuchanalyse ungeeignet scheint, jedoch in Wordfish eine viel versprechende Alternative besteht. Anhand der hier angestellten Überlegungen stellt sich Wordfish als eine Methode dar, durch die eine Pro-Contra-Positionierung von Schulbüchern hinsichtlich der Haltung gegenüber Europa ermöglicht wird. Da Wordfish, wie Klüver in ihrem Aufsatz zeigen konnte, nicht nur reliable, sondern auch valide Ergebnisse hervorbringt, ist festzustellen, dass es einen hohen Beitrag für die Schulbuchforschung leisten kann, indem es ermöglicht zu ermitteln, wie Schulbücher den Europäischen Integrationsprozess bewerten.

Zusammenfassung und Ausblick

Zwischen Politikdidaktikern und der Kultusministerkonferenz herrscht keine Einigkeit darüber, ob es angesichts des Beutelsbacher Konsenses zulässig ist, eine europäische Identität bei Schülerinnen und Schülern anhand einer eindeutig pro-europäischen Ausrichtung des Unterrichts wecken zu wollen. Die Politikdidaktiker halten dies für zweifelhaft und lehnen es teilweise ab; die Kultusministerkonferenz wirbt eindeutig dafür, indem sie den Beschluss "Europabildung in der Schule" stetig erneuert. Welche Wertung in der Praxis des Politikunterrichts tatsächlich vorgenommen wird, kann anhand von Schulbuchanalysen aufgrund der weiten Verbreitung von Schulbüchern und deren hervorgehobener Stellung als Unterrichtsmedium ermittelt werden. Denn Schulbücher enthalten immer mehr als nur Informationen, sie transportieren politische Werturteile. Das Aufdecken und Analysieren dieser normativen Ausrichtungen ist eine wichtige Aufgabe der Schulbuchforschung, der es jedoch bislang an geeigneten Verfahren mangelte, um reliable und valide Ergebnisse hervorzubringen. Allzu oft sind Schulbuchanalysen deskriptiv und subjektiv. Kann die computerunterstützte quantitative Inhaltsanalyse dieses Problem beheben?

Auch wenn weder mit Wordscores noch mit Wordfish, die in diesem Beitrag die computerunterstützte quantitative Inhaltsanalyse repräsentierten, ein Schulbuch umfassend analy-

siert werden kann, weil etwa didaktische Komponenten oder das Bildmaterial nicht untersucht werden können, lässt sich diese Frage positiv beantworten. Wie gezeigt wurde, bietet sich Wordfish als Verfahren für die Analyse von Autorentexten an, besonders weil keine Referenztexte benötigt werden. In diesem Softwarepaket steckt für die Schulbuchforschung momentan viel ungenutztes Potenzial.

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- ² Kultusministerkonferenz, "Europabildung in der Schule. Empfehlung der Ständigen Konferenz der Kultusminister der Länder in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (Beschluss der Kultusministerkonferenz vom 8. Juni 1978 i. d. F. vom 5. Mai 2008)," http://www.kmk.org/fileadmin/veroeffentlichungen_beschluesse/1978/1978_06_08_Europabildung.pdf [Zugriff am 20. September 2011], 2008, 7.
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- ⁴ Massing, "Bürgerleitbilder," 154.
- ⁵ Dagmar Richter, "'Doing European' statt 'Europäische Identität' als Ziel politischer Bildung," in *Europa verstehen lernen. Eine Aufgabe des Politikunterrichts*, Georg Weißeno, Hrsg. (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2004), 172-184, 177.
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- ⁸ Hermann Giesecke, *Politische Bildung. Didaktik und Methodik für Schule und Jugendarbeit* (Weinheim/München: Juventa, 2000), 206.
- ⁹ Vgl. z.B. für das deutsche Parteiensystem: Marc Debus, "Parteienwettbewerb, Regierungsbildung und Ergebnisse der Koalitionsverhandlungen nach der Bundestagswahl 2009," in *Die Parteien nach der Bundestagswahl 2009*, Oscar Niedermayer, Hrsg. (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2011), 183-197.
- ¹⁰ Langner, "Schulbuch," 2007, 146 f.
- ¹¹ Frank Langner, "Schulbuch," in *Handbuch Medien in der politischen Bildung*, Anja Besand und Wolfgang Sander, Hrsg. (Schwalbach/Ts.: Wochenschau, 2010), 432-443, 432.
- ¹² Langner, "Schulbuch," 2010, 433.
- ¹³ Detjen, "Das Schulbuch," 183.
- ¹⁴ Werner Wiater, "Das Schulbuch als Gegenstand pädagogischer Forschung," in *Schulbuchforschung in Europa – Bestandsaufnahme und Zukunftsperspektive*, Werner Wiater, Hrsg. (Bad Heilbronn: Klinkhardt, 2003), 11-21, 13.
- ¹⁵ Gerd Stein, "Schulbücher in berufsfeldbezogener Lehrerbildung und pädagogischer Praxis," in *Pädagogik. Handbuch für Studium und Praxis*, Leo Roth, Hrsg. (München: Oldenbourg, 2001), 841f.
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- ¹⁷ Peter Weinbrenner, "Grundlagen und Methodenprobleme sozialwissenschaftlicher Schulbuchforschung," in *Schulbuchforschung*, Richard Olechowski, Hrsg. (Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 1995), 21-45, 33.
- ¹⁸ Detjen, "Das Schulbuch," 193
- ¹⁹ Langner, "Schulbuch," 2010, 434.
- ²⁰ Karl Peter Fritzsche, "Schulbuchforschung und Schulbuchbeurteilung im Disput," in *Schulbücher auf dem Prüfstand. Perspektiven der Schulbuchforschung und Schulbuchbeurteilung in Europa*, Karl Peter Fritzsche, Hrsg. (Frankfurt am Main: Diesterweg, 1992), 9-22, 18 ff.
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- ²⁴ Paul Heimann, *Didaktik als Unterrichtswissenschaft* (Stuttgart: Klett), 153 ff.
- ²⁵ Weinbrenner, "Grundlagen und Methodenprobleme," 41.
- ²⁶ Horst Koch, "Inhaltsanalyse – Methodische Überlegungen zur Untersuchung von Schulbüchern," in *Schulbuchanalyse und Schulbuchkritik*, Gerd Stein und Horst Schallenberg, Hrsg. (Duisburg: Verlag der Sozialwissenschaftlichen Kooperative, 1976), 9-20, 10.
- ²⁷ Thomas Höhne, "Über das Wissen in Schulbüchern – Elemente einer Theorie des Schulbuchs," in *Das Schulbuch zwischen Lehrplan und Unterrichtspraxis*, Eva Matthes und Carsten Heinze, Hrsg. (Bad Heilbronn: Klinkhardt, 2005), 65-93, 71.
- ²⁸ Werner Früh, *Inhaltsanalyse* (Konstanz: UVK, 2007), 27.
- ²⁹ Urban Lissmann, *Inhaltsanalyse von Texten – ein Lehrbuch zur computerunterstützten und konventionellen Inhaltsanalyse* (Landau: Verlag Empirische Pädagogik, 2008), 17.
- ³⁰ Ernst Uhe, "Quantitative Verfahren bei der Analyse von Schulbüchern," in *Studien zur Methodenproblematik wissenschaftlicher Schulbucharbeit*, Horst Schallenberg, Hrsg. (Kastellaun: Aloys Henn Verlag, 1976), 74-93, 92.
- ³¹ Uhe, "Quantitative Verfahren," 75 f., 84.
- ³² Alexandra Natterer, *Europa im Schulbuch. Die Darstellung der europäischen Einigung in baden-württembergischen Schulbüchern für Geschichte und Gemeinschaftskunde der Sekundarstufe I* (Grevenbroich: Omnia, 2001), 56.
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- ³⁴ Philipp Mayring, *Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse. Grundlagen und Techniken* (Weinheim/Basel: Beltz, 2008), 110.
- ³⁵ Uhe, "Quantitative Verfahren," 92; Koch, "Inhaltsanalyse," 13.
- ³⁶ Natterer, *Europa im Schulbuch*, 11 f.
- ³⁷ Ebd., 149.
- ³⁸ Ebd., 155.
- ³⁹ Ebd., 216 ff.
- ⁴⁰ Ebd., 299.
- ⁴¹ Michael Laver, Kenneth Benoit und John Garry, "Extracting Policy Positions from Political Texts Using Words as Data," *The American Political Science Review* 97 Nr. 2 (2003): 311-331.
- ⁴² Jonathan B. Slapin und Sven-Oliver Proksch, "A Scaling Model for Estimating Time-series Party Positions from Texts," *American Journal of Political Science* 52 Nr. 3 (2008): 705-722.
- ⁴³ Laver, Benoit und Garry, "Extracting Policy Positions," 311 f.; Slapin und Proksch, "A Scaling Model," 705.
- ⁴⁴ Vgl. für ausführlichere Informationen u. a. Hans-Dieter Klingemann et al., *Mapping Policy Preferences II. Estimates for Parties, Electors and Governments in Eastern Europe, European Union and OECD 1990-2003* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).
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- ⁴⁶ Vgl. hierzu u. a. Kenneth Benoit und Michael Laver, *Party Policy in Modern Democracies* (London: Routledge, 2006).
- ⁴⁷ Laver, Benoit und Garry, "Extracting Policy Positions," 313 ff.
- ⁴⁸ Ebd., 314 f.
- ⁴⁹ Klüver, "Measuring Interest Group Influence," 547.
- ⁵⁰ Vgl. für das deutsche Parteiensystem Thomas Bräuninger und Marc Debus, "Der Einfluss von Koalitionsaussagen, programmatischen Standpunkten und der Bundespolitik auf die Regierungsbildung in den deutschen Ländern," *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 49 (2008): 309-338.
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- ⁵² Will Lowe, "Understanding Wordscores," *Political Analysis* 16 (2008), 356-371, 365.
- ⁵³ Debus, "Die programmatische Entwicklung," 48.
- ⁵⁴ Ian Budge und Paul Pennings, "Do they work? Validating computerised word frequency estimates against policy series," *Electoral studies* 26 (2007): 127.
- ⁵⁵ Slapin und Proksch, "A Scaling Model," 708.

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- ⁵⁶ Vgl. im Folgenden Slapin und Proksch, "A Scaling Model," 709 ff.; Proksch und Slapin, "Wordfish Manual," <http://www.mzes.uni-mannheim.de/cms/wordfish/system/files/u2/Wordfish%20Manual.pdf> (Zugriff am 25. September 2011), 2009.
- ⁵⁷ Slapin und Proksch, "A Scaling Model," 720.
- ⁵⁸ Proksch und Slapin, "Wordfish Manual," 12 f.
- ⁵⁹ Slapin und Proksch, "A Scaling Model," 711 f.
- ⁶⁰ Proksch und Slapin, "Wordfish Manual," 5 ff.
- ⁶¹ Klüver, "Measuring Interest Group Influence," 547.
- ⁶² Ebd., 536.
- ⁶³ Ebd., 539.
- ⁶⁴ Ebd., 540.
- ⁶⁵ Ebd., 542.
- ⁶⁶ Ebd., 544 f.
- ⁶⁷ Ebd., 547.
- ⁶⁸ Langner, "Schulbuch," 148.