

EIMAS – EUROPEAN INTERDISCIPLINARY MASTER AFRICAN STUDIES

African Issues in Austrian Schools: an analysis of Austrian textbooks and teachers' practices in secondary schools

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Master's thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master in EIMAS – European Interdisciplinary Master African Studies, supervised by Professor Luís Antunes Grosso Correia.

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Porto, 31.07.2024

Barbara Iglér

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Resumo

Os manuais escolares são um instrumento importante para as escolas enquanto instituição. Ajudam os professores a organizar as suas aulas e a trabalhar conhecimentos com os alunos. Esse conhecimento pode ser descrito como seletivo devido ao papel do Estado na produção de manuais escolares e também devido à compressão imposta. Os manuais escolares são, muitas vezes, o primeiro e único ponto de contacto para aprender mais sobre outros continentes e, por isso, contribuem consideravelmente para a forma como outras regiões do mundo são percebidas e encaradas. Na Áustria, o conhecimento sobre o continente africano é trabalhado principalmente através dos manuais escolares de Geografia. Para responder à pergunta de investigação “Como são apresentadas as questões africanas nos manuais escolares austríacos e como são percebidas pelos professores do ensino secundário na Áustria?”, foi efectuada uma análise de conteúdo qualitativa de nove manuais escolares de geografia de três níveis de ensino diferentes. As técnicas quantitativas, utilizadas para determinar a frequência de certas áreas temáticas, foram combinadas com técnicas qualitativas, que investigaram a forma como o conhecimento era apresentado e representado. As entrevistas qualitativas semi-estruturadas foram utilizadas para saber como os professores percebem e ensinam os conhecimentos sobre o continente africano. Os resultados apurados revelaram que o conhecimento transmitido sobre o continente africano pode ser classificado como predominantemente afropessimista. São raros os exemplos positivos que descrevem o continente, o que leva a que África seja retratada como uma massa homogénea caracterizada por problemas.

Palavras-chave: manuais escolares, análise qualitativa de conteúdo, divulgação de conhecimentos, África, Áustria

Abstract

Textbooks are an important tool for schools as an institution. They help teachers to organise their lessons and disseminate knowledge to pupils. The knowledge conveyed can be described as selective due to the role of the state in the production of textbooks and due to the enforced compression. Textbooks are often the first and only point of contact for learning more about other continents and therefore contribute a considerable amount to how other regions of the world are perceived and viewed. Knowledge about the African continent is primarily conveyed in Austrian geography textbooks. To answer the research question 'How are African issues presented in Austrian textbooks and how are they perceived by teachers in secondary education in Austria?', a qualitative content analysis of nine geography textbooks from three different school levels was carried out. Quantitative steps, which were used to determine the frequency of certain thematic areas, were combined with qualitative steps, which enquired into the way in which knowledge was conveyed. Qualitative semi-structured interviews were used to find out how teachers perceive and teach knowledge about the African continent. The data collected made it clear that the knowledge conveyed about the African continent can be categorised as predominantly Afropessimistic. Positive examples describing the continent are rare, which leads to Africa being portrayed as a homogeneous mass characterised by problems.

Keywords: textbooks, qualitative content analysis, knowledge dissemination, Africa, Austria

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1. Introduction

Textbooks are an important tool for schools as an institution. They enable pupils to familiarise themselves with content by learning with them in class, doing their homework at home and flipping through the book and looking at the pictures during the break. Textbooks are just as important for teachers. They need them to prepare their lessons, to conduct their lessons and to look up topics if they are unfamiliar with them. Due to their importance in the transfer of knowledge, this master's thesis deals with the representation of African issues in textbooks. The role of teachers in knowledge transfer is just as relevant as that of textbooks, which is why a focus is also placed on teachers' teachings on this topic.

Research question and objectives

The research question of this master's thesis asks: How are African issues presented in Austrian textbooks and how are they perceived and taught by teachers in secondary education in Austria?

The first objective is to analyse which topics relating to the African continent are predominant in Austrian Geography textbooks and how they are presented. The main focus is on the perspective from which content is conveyed. In addition, the second objective of this thesis intends to identify how teachers perceive these representations. The key issue here is whether teachers recognise stereotypical and discriminatory content as such and how they work with it. The focus here is on what information and therefore what image of Africa they want to pass on to their pupils and whether they succeed in doing so.

Answering this question should contribute to Austrian textbook research and help to learn more about how teachers perceive and deal with the content of textbooks.

Scope, justification, and significance of the study

The thesis deals exclusively with textbooks for the school subject of Geography and Economic Education, focussing on the three grades that contain the most global and international topics. Initially, the aim of this thesis was to also analyse textbooks in the

subject of History and Political Education, which would have exceeded the scope of a Master's thesis due to the limited time available. Three grade 8, 9 and 12 textbooks, which are used for teaching Geography in secondary schools, were therefore selected for the qualitative content analysis.

Qualitative content analyses of textbooks in German-speaking countries on the African continent are mainly limited to Germany and not to Austria. This could be because Germany, because of its colonial past on the African continent, sees a greater need to analyse textbooks in this respect. Despite Austria's imperial endeavours in the past, Austria is rarely associated with the African continent as no colonies were made on the African continent. Due to different historical entanglements, it is not sufficient to use content analyses of German textbooks for Austria.

The last analysis of Austrian geography textbooks on the representation of Africa was conducted seven years ago (Steinbauer, 2017), which makes it necessary to look at more recent editions of the textbooks. At the same time, this research provides an important contribution to the teachers' view of the textbooks and their representation of Africa. The main focus of these studies is usually on pupils and how they perceive the content of the books. In this context, teachers are usually only marginally asked how they perceive the content of textbooks in relation to Africa. Studies that also include teachers look at how teachers perceive racism at school and how they themselves reproduce it (Ehlen, 2015), but do not refer to textbooks and their use in the classroom. However, as teachers are an important link between textbooks and pupils, it is important in my research to focus on teachers and their strategies for teaching about Africa. In doing so, this study fills a gap in the existing literature and lays the foundation for future research on a larger scale. In addition, this study can make an important contribution for practitioners to become aware of their own knowledge transfer and to reflect on it.

Theoretical framework

Through the lens of postcolonial critical pedagogy, this study assumes that due to complex entanglements of the past with the present in today's educational institutions in Europe (Castro Varela, 2020; Torres, 2012), it is important to create a hybrid and

multiple consciousness in students to promote transnational and cosmopolitan attitudes (Üllen & Markom, 2016). What is needed for this are textbooks that work with transdisciplinary and competence-orientated thematic areas and support students in understanding and contextualising inequality in a global and historically constructed way. The textbooks currently used in Austrian schools are far from promoting these transnational and cosmopolitan actions. The racist representations that operate in today's textbooks are based on colonial-racist ideas that legitimise the crimes of the colonial era. Aníbal Quijano refers to this continuity of colonial racism in today's postcolonial societies as coloniality (Quijano, 2016). The coloniality of knowledge and power is therefore largely responsible for how modern forms of domination are structured and who determines the production of knowledge (Marmer & Sow, 2015). The example of Austria clearly shows that the Austrian state determines this knowledge production. The coloniality of knowledge and power can be found in all areas of life, including educational systems.

The perspective from which this study is dedicated to the depictions of Africa in Austrian textbooks, as well as the perspective from which the teachers' handling of these books is analysed, can be understood as a postcolonial perspective. In this context, 'postcolonial' refers to activist, anti-colonial perspectives as well as theoretical perspectives of linguistics, cultural studies and social sciences that analyse the continued impact of colonialism with the intention of criticising domination. What is special about these perspectives is that they focus on the interplay and close connection between knowledge and power (Bendix, 2015). This is because the connection between the construction of truth and knowledge production with the maintenance of inequality between the Global North and the Global South is emphasised. A postcolonial approach to textbooks makes implicit and explicit dominant orders of knowledge and Eurocentrism recognisable and questionable (Aping et al., 2022).

State of the art

The studies by Elina Marmer (2011, 2013, 2015) should be emphasised due to their actuality. Together with other African scholars, Marmer has published several studies on the representation of Africa in various German textbooks since 2011. Subjects for

which textbook analyses have already been carried out are Geography, History, German, Social Sciences, Politics and Music. The main focus is on which images of the African continent are conveyed. Marmer and her team are focussing on which stereotypes these images reproduce. At the same time, she is intensively concerned with how pupils, who are affected by these representations due to their origin, feel and works out the effects that these images have on the pupils (Marmer et al., 2011; Marmer, 2013; Marmer et al., 2015). The criticism described in all publications is that the African population is either devalued or presented as backward or that the way of life of the people is romanticised and exoticised. The fact that hardly any attempt is made to include perspectives other than the Eurocentric perspective and thus make differentiated portrayals possible is another point of criticism (Marmer et al., 2011; Marmer, 2013; Marmer et al., 2015).

In Austria, the works of Christa Markom are particularly significant. Markom does not only deal with the representation of Africa in textbooks, but also with other topics such as sexism, anti-Semitism or antigypsyism and the representation and treatment of the topic of migration. The textbooks analysed relate to the subjects of Biology, History and Political Education, as well as Geography and Economic Education (Markom & Weinhäupl, 2007; Markom, 2014). She also concludes that Eurocentric perspectives are predominant in Austrian textbooks, which leads to Africa being stereotyped and this leads to a homogenisation of the continent. She also analyses racialised and exoticised examples. In addition to Markom (2007; 2014), the master's theses by Katharina Hummer (2014) and Anna Steinbauer (2017) make an important contribution to the representation of the African continent in Austrian textbooks. Steinbauer (2017) also deals intensively with the perception of these representations by pupils and how they reproduce the learnt stereotypical knowledge. Teachers' perceptions are only dealt with marginally (Steinbauer, 2017).

Organisation of the thesis

The following two chapters form the theoretical part of this master's thesis. Firstly, the different methods used in curriculum research and how they are applied are discussed. The curriculum in Austria is presented, with a particular focus on the concept of

intercultural education, which characterises the Austrian curriculum. To understand the extent to which the African continent plays a role in the geography curriculum, this is examined in more detail. The second theoretical chapter deals with concepts that are prevalent in textbooks when it comes to the representation of Africa and African issues. The influence of language on these representations is first examined and then the concepts of Eurocentrism, racism, exoticism, Afropessimism and single stories are explored in detail to provide insights into textbook analyses that have already been carried out and to lay the foundation for my own analysis.

The empirical part begins with the chapter on methodology, whereby the data collection is described first, which is primarily made up of the selection of textbooks and the textbook analyses as well as the interviews conducted. The content analysis by Mayring (2022) and the image analysis by Martial (2005) and Pettersson (2010) are of particular importance for my analysis. The type of interviews is also analysed in more detail, as qualitative semi-structured interviews were used.

The textbook analysis begins by using quantitative data to show how much attention is paid to African issues in the selected textbooks and school levels. With the explanation of the categories and thus thematic areas, we find ourselves in the main part of this study, as examples are used here to show how African issues are presented and which thematic areas are addressed particularly frequently.

The chapter that deals with the second part of the research question and thus the teachers, forms the final part of the empirical section of this thesis. In order to understand how teachers perceive and, above all, teach the content of Africa, I first analyse how they prepare for and conduct lessons. One sub-chapter deals intensively with how teachers perceive African issues in the textbook, while another sub-chapter examines what the future of the textbook could look like. Three selected examples are used to show how teachers deal with African issues in the classroom and what they think of the selected examples. This is followed by an image analysis of the pictures from the selected examples.

In the conclusion, all the findings are summarised and discussed, and challenges during the research are mentioned. An outlook is given as to which studies may be relevant to this topic in the future.

2. Curriculum and textbooks: An introduction

2.1. Curriculum research

Multiple paradigms are known and present in educational research, the normative and interpretive paradigms have played a crucial role in education for decades (Cohen et al., 2007). A very well-known rationale for the curriculum comes from Tyler (1949) in which four questions are important:

1. What educational purposes should the school seek to attain?
2. What educational experiences can be provided that are likely to attain these purposes?
3. How can these educational experiences be effectively organized?
4. How can we determine whether these purposes are being attained? (Cohen et al., 2007: 31)

This view of the curriculum clearly shows that it is a view that sees the curriculum as controlled, controllable, and standardised. The rationale has a modernist origin and view of education and society. This perspective is dominated by the idea that ideologies and power are always unproblematic (Cohen et al., 2007).

But also, a critical theory made its way into the study of education to promote a paradigm completely different from the predominant ones – critical educational research. The paradigm of critical educational research is not unproblematic in many cases. However, this does not exclude the influence and importance that this approach has in some fields of educational research (Cohen et al, 2007). It is particularly important in research on curricula.

Critical theory has a completely opposite view of the curriculum and education and sees education as an opening process and recognises the curricula 'as being rich, relational, recursive and rigorous.' (Cohen et al., 2007: 31).

As can also be seen from the example of the Austrian curriculum for Geography and Economic Education, not all knowledge and information can be included in the curriculum. Habermas (1972) makes it clear that knowledge and the selection of

knowledge, i.e. determining which knowledge is considered worth knowing and important and which is not, can never be neutral and innocent. (Habermas, 1972). The composition of the curriculum is a selective process that is determined by a few powerful people and shows which ideologies are pursued and are important in the respective society (Cohen, 2007). The curriculum has a control and selection function, as it specifies which topics and content are 'relevant and important' for the school, which are not, and which teaching objectives are to be achieved. If curricula are drawn up by state institutions, they are a political control tool used by the state to direct schools and teaching (Wiater, 2006).

Critical theorists not only ask the question „what knowledge is important in curricula?“ but look more into the questions of whose knowledge is important in curricula as well as whose interests the curricula serve (Cohen et al., 2007).

When we investigate Habermas' three knowledge-constitutive interests (1972) we come across the emancipatory interest, which promotes social emancipation, equality, democracy, freedom and individual and collective empowerment (Habermas, 1972). Contemporary curriculum theory focuses exactly on this approach as it implies that control of knowledge is given to teachers and students (Cohen et al., 2007).

2.1.1. Curriculum in Austria

The Austrian curricula are so-called framework curricula, which means that they do not contain very strict, concrete instructions, but are kept very openly formulated and leave a lot of room for manoeuvre in terms of implementation (Hummer, 2014).

In Austria, each type of school¹ has its own curriculum. As this thesis deals with the teaching of Geography and Economic Education at general secondary schools, this

¹ In Austria, 9 years of schooling are compulsory. There are various options for a pupil's school career. There are general education schools and vocational schools. The first four school years are spent in primary school. This is followed by a transfer to a general secondary school or a middle school. These are attended until the end of year 8. After the 8th grade, students have the option of continuing at a general secondary school for another four years or transferring to a polytechnic school to complete the 9th grade and prepare for a possible career start. After the 8th grade, there is also the option of attending a vocational school. These include vocational schools, which are attended in connection with the

chapter will focus on the AHS² curriculum. The AHS school type also has different tracks that focus on different subjects. This division begins as early as grade 7. The AHS is divided into three different specialisations. These are the Gymnasium (Latin or a second foreign language), the Realgymnasium (more mathematics, geometric drawing, vocational education) and the Wirtschaftskundliches Realgymnasium (more chemistry, vocational education) (Bildungsdirektion Wien, n.d.). Despite this differentiation, the number of geography lessons is usually similar or even the same. The minimum number of geography lessons for the lower grades (5th to 8th grade) is at least 7 hours per week within these four years. This usually means that Geography and Economic Education are taught for two hours per week in the 5th, 7th and 8th grades, but only one hour per week in the 6th grade (Rechtsinformationssystem des Bundes, 2024a).

In the second half of secondary school (beginning with grade 9) there may be further differentiation. There are sports, music, IT and other specialisations that can be chosen. The minimum number of lessons to be completed between the 9th and 12th grade is 6 hours per week in the tracks known as Gymnasium and Realgymnasium. In reality, this is usually seven hours per week within these four years, as the subject Geography and Economic Education is taught two hours per week in 9th, 11th and 12th grades and one hour per week in 10th grade. The Realgymnasium for economics differs in that at least 8 lessons per week are required within these four years. These additional lessons focus on finance, banking, and economic matters (Rechtsinformationssystem des Bundes, 2024a). As a standardised final examination must be passed at the end of grade 12, the scope and content of geography lessons remains largely the same for all school types within the general secondary schools.

The curriculum for Geography and Economic Education is divided into a curriculum for lower secondary level and upper secondary level and is then presented in several sub-categories. It contains a section on the general educational and teaching purpose of this

completion of an apprenticeship, as well as vocational middle and high schools, which last one to five school years depending on the type of school and are completed with different diplomas.

² AHS is the abbreviation for „Allgemeinbildende Höhere Schulen“ which is the general secondary school in Austria lasting for 8 years.

subject, in which it is emphasised above all that current topics are addressed in this subject and that pupils should be enabled to find their way around the complex world in which they live. The focus at lower secondary level is on physical geography as well as social and economic studies (Rechtsinformationssystem des Bundes, 2024a).

2.1.2. Geography curriculum

This section presents subject-specific concepts that should characterise geography lessons across these four school levels. The individual school levels are then discussed in more detail. Each school level is assigned an overarching area of competence. For grade 5, this is 'Life and Economy', for grade 6 'Sustainable Life and Economy', for grade 7 'Life and Economy in Austria' and for grade 8 'Life and Economy in a Globalised World'. Sub-areas and application areas provide more precise information on the exact topics to be learnt. It is striking that the examples used to teach these topics are not specified. Teachers are therefore free to decide in what way and with which examples to teach these topics to pupils (Rechtsinformationssystem des Bundes, 2024a).

At the end of lower secondary school, there are several competences that students should be equipped with through Geography and Economic Education lessons. The emancipatory interest (Habermas, 1972) becomes clear. Children and teenagers should be able to bring their own life realities and biographies into the classroom, as well as understand the background of these experiences and be able to contextualise them in the world. At the same time, they should also appreciate these different experiences in others and be able to identify stereotypes, (foreign) attributions and clichés as well as recognise, question, and oppose exclusionary, racist and sexist statements and behaviour (Rechtsinformationssystem des Bundes, 2024a).

The curriculum for the subject of Geography and Economic Education states that humans are at the centre of teaching at upper secondary level and that current and future events in particular are brought to the fore. The aim is to examine and analyse the background and consequences of human activity in society, the environment, and the economy. The focus of the curriculum lies on the independent and critical development of subject areas, including case studies, and is only defined based on basic

concepts. Examples of these basic concepts include 'Interests, conflicts and power' and 'Sustainability and quality of life'. It is up to the teachers themselves to decide which examples they use to approach these concepts. In addition, each grade of upper secondary school falls under a specific thematic area, although these also provide scope for customisation. For grade 12, for example, the topic area 'Local - regional - global: networks - perceptions - conflicts' is mentioned (Rechtsinformationssystem des Bundes, 2024a).

While analysing the curriculum for Geography and Economic Education, it becomes clear that no continents or countries, except for Europe and Austria, are mentioned explicitly. It is therefore not clear whether and how much importance is attached to the African continent or individual African countries and, if the aim is to deal with African topics, from what perspective these are approached.

It is evident that great importance is attributed to intercultural learning, particularly at upper secondary level. This is reflected in the fact that a separate educational area has been created for intercultural education, with the aim of teaching skills in socially relevant topics. In addition to Geography and Economic Education, intercultural education is present in six other subjects (Rechtsinformationssystem des Bundes, 2024a). Intercultural education has been anchored in the Austrian curriculum since 1992. Since 2017, there has been a policy decree which precisely defines intercultural education in teaching and in the classroom (Bundesministerium Bildung, Wissenschaft und Forschung, 2017). The Austrian government defines intercultural education as a framework term for conducting debates on inter-, trans- and multiculturalism and describing an open and diverse concept of culture. The main aim of the concept of intercultural education is to enable pupils to deal with diversity in a multifaceted society.

At the same time, however, the pupils themselves are also challenged to get involved and the programme builds on the pupils' previous experiences and perspectives and uses biographical, linguistic, and other suitable approaches to deal with the diversity of cultures, biographies and life paths. By including intercultural education, the state aims to fulfil its responsibilities under the UN Sustainable Development Goals and the UN 2030 Agenda (Bildungsministerium für Bildung, Wissenschaft und Forschung, 2017).

The Austrian curriculum tries to incorporate the emancipatory interest as much as possible. Reading through the different subjects, including Geography and Economic Education, taking students' life realities into the classroom, and working with their experiences is highlighted multiple times. Student's interests play a major role in the curriculum as well as the freedom for teachers to decide which case studies, regions, or perspectives to pick when it comes to certain topics (Rechtsinformationssystem des Bundes, 2024a). The curriculum seems to be very open when it comes to ideologies or decision-making, meaning that power and knowledge production is taken away from politicians and people in power and given to students and teachers.

The question now arises if this emancipatory interest is only worked with in a written form as part of the curriculum or also in practice. For this purpose, we have to look into the textbooks provided by the state, as these are the main tools used in class, and into the way of teaching to get a more holistic understanding of the implementation. The actual implementation of aspects of intercultural education also plays a role here, which is why the extent to which these approaches find their way into practice must be investigated.

2.2. Textbooks and textbook research

To begin with, the question arises as to what a textbook is and what type of books and teaching materials are understood within this term. There is no universal definition for textbooks and different approaches since the 1990s found various possible definitions (Novotny, 2014; Hummer, 2014). The shift towards internet media also makes it difficult to define the term which is why features and characteristics of textbooks are included in definitions to enable a narrower definition. However, there is no all-encompassing and widespread definition (Novotny, 2014).

Nevertheless, there is a general understanding of what textbooks are. Textbooks are characterised by the fact that they usually refer to a school year or educational level, are differentiated according to school type, are distributed on a mass scale, are linked to a subject and their approval is publicly controlled (Rauch and Wurster, 1997). This very

basic and broad definition contains all the characteristics which are important for this thesis.

The Austrian government does not define what is understood as a textbook in Austria but specifies what is considered teaching material and can therefore be used during lessons and beyond in the School Teaching Act: „§ Paragraph 14. (1) Teaching materials are tools that serve to support or master subtasks of the lesson and to ensure the teaching outcome.“³ (Rechtsinformationssystem des Bundes, 2024b). As demonstrated in the study of the Austrian curriculum earlier, it is noticeable that the definition of teaching materials and thus also textbooks is very open and therefore creates a lot of freedom for teachers to organise and structure their lessons.

2.2.1. Textbook research

Textbooks fulfil a central function. They not only pass on knowledge, but also provide information about what kind of knowledge states and socially relevant and influential interest groups want to pass on to young people. The competences with which these groups want to educate pupils can also be determined based on the textbook. Furthermore, analyses of textbooks open up a way to research identification processes as well as models of inclusion and exclusion and thus provide insight into the ideological orientation of the state with regard to multiculturalism and integration (Fuchs et al., 2018).

Among other things, textbook research examines the fulfilment of the functions of textbooks and contributes to the realisation of these functions with the help of scientific studies. Textbooks and textbook research should help pupils to successfully deal with the cultural, intellectual and socio-political components of life and enable them to step out of the role of passive recipients of knowledge (Olechowski, 1995).

Research on textbooks in German-speaking countries has been conducted primarily since the post-war period. In the 1950s, it was particularly important to examine and

³ Original: “Unterrichtsmittel sind Hilfsmittel, die der Unterstützung oder der Bewältigung von Teilaufgaben des Unterrichtes und zur Sicherung des Unterrichtsertrages dienen.”

research the content of textbooks to remove wartime ideologies and reorient the content. This work was largely characterised by the revision of textbooks (Banerjee and Stöber, 2010). But even before that, since the 19th century, there had been work on textbook revision, which was mainly driven by the international peace movement, as it demanded that teaching should take place under the guiding principle of peace, which made a revision of textbooks necessary (Fuchs et al., 2018). During the first World Peace Congresses, the topic of peace was examined from a pedagogical perspective, which is why textbooks were used. After the First World War, the League of Nations set up two committees to deal with textbook revision.

Initially, the focus was primarily on history textbooks, as the armed conflicts they contained hindered an intellectual dialogue between different countries and societies. The first tasks of the textbook revision were to eliminate these ideologies (Fuchs et al., 2018). However, implementation proved to be difficult, as most states categorised educational issues as a national matter and did not implement the proposals of the League of Nations Commission. Instead of comprehensive and international textbook revisions, the focus at this time was mainly on bilateral and multilateral agreements. Examples include the agreement between Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Iceland on the revision of history textbooks in 1919 and the 1933 agreement between Argentina and Brazil on the revision of history and geography textbooks (Fuchs et al., 2018). Since the 1950s, the Georg-Eckert-Institute has played a major role in textbook research in German-speaking countries in which the revision of history textbooks was the main focus (Fuchs et al., 2018).

Only since the 1970s can one speak of systematic textbook research as an independent field of research. This often involves textbook analyses. In this process, texts, images or work tasks in the textbooks are analysed and examined to determine whether they meet certain criteria or what type of information is taught on certain topics (Fuchs et al., 2018).

Wiater (2003) explains that there are several sub-areas in today's textbook research and that the focus can be set differently. Textbook research can be seen as part of cultural-historical research, as part of media research, as text analysis research or as part of historical research into sources. The research methods depend on the respective

research areas and can be divided into historical, systematic, and comparative research (Wiater, 2003).

The approach of cultural-historical research, which has been pursued since the 2000s, opens up a critical perspective that locates textbook research in a broad and complexly entangled societal, social, political, cultural and economic context. Important topics include transnational history, questions of conflict, human rights, the environment and religion (Fuchs et al, 2018).

Empirical research methods are not yet at the forefront of current approaches, and embedding textbooks in the social and socio-political context must also be promoted. The context is of particular importance here (Fuchs et al., 2014). Just as the curriculum is a political instrument of control and knowledge transmission, the textbook is also a highly political and societal instrument and therefore clearly shows which views on certain topics are desired by the state.

Empirical research methods could be useful when focusing on the interaction between teachers, their lessons, and textbooks. How teachers use textbooks in the classroom needs to be analysed in more detail in an attempt to fill this research gap. The evaluation of new teaching materials and their importance and impact on lessons, as well as their influence on teachers and pupils are also research areas within textbook research that need to be given special attention in the future (Fuchs et al., 2014).

2.2.2. Textbooks in Austria

The procurement of textbooks for all public and private schools with public rights in Austria is regulated by the "Schulbuchaktion" (textbook campaign). It has been in place in Austria since the 1970s. This scheme, introduced by the Austrian government, provides free access to all textbooks for all pupils. The pool of this campaign covers all school subjects and a total of several thousand teaching materials, most of which consist of textbooks, but also include e-learning access (Bundesministerium Bildung, Wissenschaft und Forschung, n.d.).

All teaching materials that are part of the textbook campaign have been approved by the Ministry of Education. This means that they are presented to a specific commission,

which assesses whether the books can and may be used in the classroom. The members of this evaluation commission are appointed by the responsible federal minister for a period of four years and may be responsible for the teaching materials of one or more school subjects and one or more school types. The commission members elect a chairperson who assigns each manuscript to one or more reviewers. A report is prepared by the members and presented to the commission. Following the presentation, a decision is made, which must be approved by the majority of the committee members (Rechtsinformationssystem des Bundes, 2024c).

Teams of two people are formed to review and analyse the manuscripts. These people analyse the content of the books for accuracy, readability for children and teenagers and compatibility with the skills and educational objectives defined in the curriculum (Rechtsinformationssystem des Bundes, 2024c; Steinbauer, 2017). The report provides information on whether inclusion in the textbook campaign can follow. Different outcomes are possible. For example, the commission can directly recommend printing and thus distribution in Austrian schools. The committee can also advise the publisher and textbook authors to rework some parts of the textbook and then make an immediate recommendation. However, the most common outcome after the commission has met, is that the publisher and textbook authors must revise the submitted manuscript and submit it again. Only after another round of reviewing does the commission make its recommendation (Steinbauer, 2017). The Federal Ministry of Education, Science and Research decides on the final admission of a book to the textbook campaign, which usually accepts the recommendation of the Textbook Commission (Steinbauer, 2017).

During this process, it is possible to consult experts on certain topics. One example for this are workshops organised by various associations and institutions. Offers are mostly addressing publishers and their authors and try to open new perspectives on certain topics. AEWTAASS (Advancing Equality within the Austrian School System) is such an organisation. In seminars, publishers and authors are taught how a positive approach to Africa and African topics can look like and how these can be integrated into textbooks

(AEWTASS, 2024). Members of the textbook commission can also consult such experts in case of doubts about the accuracy of certain information.

After this approbation process, the books are included in the textbook campaign and can be ordered all headmasters of the various schools for their pupils. For the 2023/2024 school year, books for all subjects are available to the AHS school type in a 400-page textbook campaign document. All schools are entitled to a certain budget for the purchase of textbooks depending on the number of pupils and the school level. The maximum amount per pupil for pupils at AHS upper secondary level is 170 euros (Bundeskanzleramt, n.d.). Headmasters are free to choose which books they want to use for which grade and which subject. If books are to be purchased that are not part of the textbook campaign, this is also possible. However, the percentage of these books may not exceed 15%. Most of the books pass into the possession of the pupils once they have been purchased by the school and at the end of the school year, pupils can decide whether they want to keep the book or give it to the school for further use (Schulbuchaktion, n.d.). Contracts with the textbook publishers and the textbook retailers enable a transparent pricing system. In addition, a price limit was agreed with the partners to guarantee an adequate supply (Bundeskanzleramt, n.d.).

There are currently over 120 books available for the subject of geography and economic education in the school type of AHS. It is noticeable that there are significantly more textbooks available for lower secondary grades than for upper secondary grades. Most of the books are serialised volumes. This means that the book series is available for several grade levels. Some book series are available for the entire 8 years of AHS (Schulbuchaktion, n.d.).

3. The African continent in textbooks: concepts and perspectives

This chapter begins with looking at language in connection with Africa, which is found in the form of texts in textbooks. Various concepts are presented that are found not only in textbooks, but also in our daily lives, in our society and institutions, and which characterise them. Textbooks are an important part of the institution of school and, therefore, have a multi-layered effect. Contributions from textbook research that are also centred around these concepts are presented here.

The concepts of exoticism and racism and their origins are explored to understand and analyse their significance in textbooks today. The use of concepts such as single stories and Afropessimism are omnipresent in Austrian geography textbooks but are often not recognised as problematic and, therefore, need to be examined in detail. This theoretical discussion and exploration of these concepts are particularly important for the empirical part of this thesis, as these concepts played a significant role in my analysis.

3.1. Africa specific language in textbooks

Perspectives on language in connection with concepts such as racism or exoticism can be very different. If one has never or very little dealt with racism, then it can be uncomfortable for people who are privileged by racism to realise that one is continuously racist through linguistic actions (Nduka-Agwu and Lann Hornscheidt, 2013). This is because speaking creates the illusion that language is only used to reproduce content, that it is used to name something that is beyond language. This subchapter is intended as an invitation to reflect on and scrutinise one's own statements and to show which concepts are present in Austrian textbooks and thereby reproduce racist views and ways of thinking. This is because racism is continuously produced and consolidated through language and, therefore, largely operates in language (Arndt and Hornscheidt, 2004).

Why is it important to look at the language used in textbooks? The knowledge conveyed to pupils through textbooks is selective. This selective knowledge influences how

students perceive the world and what views they project onto the world. Language in general, its production and reproduction as well as the language, in which knowledge is articulated, play an important role here. This is because language makes knowledge understandable (Nduka-Agwu and Lann Hornscheidt, 2013; Romanowski, 1996). The fact that textbooks have a certain position and power in terms of knowledge transfer has already been discussed. This is also the case with language in textbooks. The textbook, in its printed and bound form, exudes authority (Romanowski, 1996). So do the terminologies used in it.

The fact that language is important is also shown by the fact that changes in language are often met with disapproval and rejection. The internalised form of expression that was considered normal is suddenly challenged (Nduka-Agwu and Lann Hornscheidt, 2013). One example of this is the N-word. For centuries, it was part of the language used by many people most of them white. The ongoing call for several decades to ban the word from linguistic expression and the rejection that has accompanied it and is still accompanying it shows how important language is and how difficult it is, especially for privileged people, to give up on that.

Particularly striking in Austrian geography textbooks is the way in which the African continent is written about, especially when compared to writing about other continents or countries. In many cases, Africa is described as a homogeneous mass and the impression is given that it is one person. Africa is linguistically stylised as a country, while the fact that it is a continent is ignored (Kuria, 2013). Krämer and Schommer (2012) describe that what is special about the linguistic treatment of the African continent is that it does not represent a geographical location, but rather an idea and a notion of difference. This leads to othering and by removing the geographical level, it becomes possible to skilfully ignore the socio-political and cultural realities of the continent. This process makes it possible for Africa to be conceptualised as a homogenous unit (Krämer & Schommer, 2012). A homogenous image of Africa also serves to conceal historical and current injustices and to justify violence. People who participate in this injustice and violence are exonerated by the homogenisation of the continent (Bendix, 2015).

In addition to the homogenisation of the continent of Africa in Austrian textbooks, Markom and Weinhäupl (2007) describe the particularly violent language used in connection with African crises, conflicts and wars. They argue that negative realities must not be downplayed, but that at the same time, positive linguistic examples must be used in other thematic areas that include Africa in order to counteract the violent language (Markom & Weinhäupl, 2007).

In the following, two examples that are frequently used in Austrian textbooks will be analysed in more detail. These terms were chosen deliberately as they do not appear to be problematic at first. This was also confirmed in the interviews with the teachers. However, a closer look at the terms reveals the problematic nature of their use.

One term that repeatedly appears in Austrian geography textbooks in connection with African societies is 'tribe'. It is striking that this term is only used for population groups in the Global South, especially on the African continent. Population groups in North America or Europe are not described with the term 'tribe'. 'Tribe' is a term that has been used at least since the 8th to 11th century and was understood to refer to a tree trunk. The term experienced a revival during colonialism, as Europeans refused to describe colonised societies with terms that were common for European societies. This helped to legitimise colonial and imperial ambitions. Instead, new terms were invented or terminologies that were used to describe European populations of the past were projected onto colonised societies in order to emphasise 'inferior' development. This concept continues to this day and conveys the idea that societies of African states are 'different' and, therefore, inferior to Western societies (Arndt, 2021b).

The term 'developing countries' for African states in textbooks also needs to be questioned and criticised. The definition of which countries are labelled as 'developing countries' reflects a Eurocentric view. The pejorative meaning is closely linked to the evolutionist way of thinking, which assumes an inevitable 'development' towards something 'higher'. The situation of African countries, and all other countries in general, cannot be described by terms such as 'developing countries'. The use of such terminology does not lead to a clear dissociation of stereotypes; on the contrary, they are reproduced (Markom & Weinhäupl, 2007).

3.2. 'us' and 'the others' and Eurocentrism

Important concepts that play a role in Austrian school textbooks are the division of 'us' and 'the others' as well as Eurocentrism. They are largely responsible for the emergence and perpetuation of stereotypes. It is important to understand that the division of 'us' and 'the others' is something natural. The world we live in is complex and this categorisation of individuals and groups makes it easier for us to understand it. This is a process that can be found all over the world in various societies (Markom & Weinhäupl, 2007). This categorisation also plays an important role in the formation of identity, as it allows belonging to be defined. Hall (2001) describes that identity always involves exclusion, as the 'us' is often formed to differentiate from 'the others' (Hall & Maharaj, 2001). Both terms, as well as the concept of identity, are not rigid and fixed, but flexible. This means that both 'us' and 'the others' can vary depending on the context. Stereotypes are an important component of this dualism. These attributions are used to include people in the 'us' or to define them as 'the others' (Markom & Weinhäupl, 2007). It becomes problematic when stereotypes are assigned characteristics or categorise people. This is because this categorisation does not reflect reality.

In practice, there are usually not only simple distinctions between 'us' and 'the others', but also a valorisation of the 'us', which is linked to a devaluation of 'the others'. What is noticeable in the differentiation between 'us' and 'the others' is that mostly only 'the others' are described and thus brought to the fore. A discussion of 'us' is often left out (Markom, 2014). The problem here is that the division of the 'us' and 'the others' of the Europeans and later the USA has prevailed due to their position of power. This has led and continues to lead to judgement and attribution from a European perspective. (Markom & Weinhäupl, 2007).

Elina Marmer has been working intensively on the representation of Africa in German textbooks since 2011 and her studies show that stereotypes about Africa that are found and taught in textbooks are reproduced by children and young people and applied to everyday life which results in racist behaviour (Marmer et al., 2011). Pöggerle (2004) explains that textbooks have always contributed to what is seen as 'foreign' and

‘different’. Which population groups were and are seen as ‘the others’ changed over time. Until the 18th century, the ‘heathens’ were seen as ‘the others’; today it is predominantly Muslim people and population groups from continents other than Europe and North America (Pöggerle, 2004).

Eurocentrism is a specific form of ethnocentrism. It places one's own society at the centre of thought and action and classifies all others in terms of these perceptions. In the process, what is constructed as ‘different’ is downgraded and one's own group, which is seen as ‘better’, is valorised. This creates a hierarchy (Scherschel, 2006). In the case of Europe and thus of Eurocentrism, this view was used as legitimisation to pursue colonialism and imperialism and to label people who did not belong to one's own group with bad characteristics, which led to the denial of their humanity (Markom & Weinhäupl, 2007).

It could now be argued that it is normal for a Eurocentric perspective to appear consistently across a European textbook, as in most cases an Asian perspective will be found in an Asian textbook. The problem of the Eurocentric perspective, as described above, in contrast to other ethnocentrisms, is the associated position of power. For European textbooks, including Austrian textbooks, it is important to become aware of this position of power, to address it in the textbooks and to begin to deconstruct it.

3.3. Racism and Exoticism

Racism as a concept is certainly familiar to many, as it is omnipresent in our society and different types of discrimination are often (falsely) described as racism. To understand racism as a concept, the definition by Fredrickson (2004) is used here:

„But racism as I conceive it is not merely an attitude or set of beliefs; it also expresses itself in the practices, institutions, and structures that a sense of deep difference justifies or validates. Racism, therefore, is more than theorizing about human differences or thinking badly of a group over which one has no control. It either directly sustains or proposes to establish a racial order, a permanent group

hierarchy that is believed to reflect the laws of nature or the decrees of God.”
(Fredrickson, 2004: 6).

With this definition, it becomes clear that racism is not only based on individual or collective beliefs but permeates all areas of life in the world. If racism is anchored in our institutions, as described by Fredrickson (2004), and school is defined as an institution, then it can subsequently be stated that the textbook, which is an important educational tool of this institution, is permeated by racism.

Although the term racism was only popularised in the 18th century, the view and the concept behind it had already been around for several centuries (Fredrickson, 2004; Markom & Weinhäupl, 2007; Marmer & Sow, 2015). The fact that a concept can influence the realities of life of all people on this planet over such a long period of time is due to the two important components of this concept, which Fredrickson (2004) describes in more detail:

„My theory or conception of racism, therefore, has two components: difference and power. It originates from a mindset that regards ‘them’ as different from ‘us’ in ways that are permanent and unbridgeable. This sense of difference provides a motive or rationale for using our power advantage to treat the ethnoracial Other in ways that we would regard as cruel or unjust if applied to members of our own group.” (Fredrickson, 2004: 9).

A phenomenon in German-speaking countries in relation to racism is that racism is still mainly seen in combination with National Socialism and racist behaviour is therefore often not recognised as such. Both on an individual level, as well as collectively and across institutions, this strategy makes it easy to categorise oneself or structures as non-racist (Arndt, 2021). Especially in conversations with white people, black people are afraid to express racism. This is because it is ultimately associated with a right-wing extremist attitude and a willingness to use violence. The reaction of white people when addressing racism is therefore particularly negative, which results in it being addressed less frequently by black people (Marmer & Sow, 2015).

Arndt (2006) describes how, since the 1970s, racism has primarily manifested itself in the construction of supposedly irreconcilable differences between cultures. This cultural racism often makes it difficult to recognise it as such, as it is then expressed less explicitly. In addition, it becomes interlinked with other forms of discrimination, which makes it more difficult to dismantle (Arndt, 2006). Aßner et al. (2012) even go as far as to describe how the former concept of 'races' is now replaced by the concept of 'culture' and the categorisation into races is hidden behind culture (Aßner et al., 2012). This shift from biological racism to cultural racism can also be found in Austria and in Austrian textbooks. As a result, racism, which used to be found primarily in biology and history textbooks, can now also be found in geography textbooks in the form of cultural racism (Markom, 2014).

The textbook analyses conducted for this purpose describe this shift precisely. Textbook analyses of Austrian textbooks have shown that biological racism no longer plays a role (Markom, 2014; Markom & Weinhäupl, 2007), but cultural racism is widely used especially in the subjects of geography and history. Markom (2014) describes biological racism as categorising people according to their biological characteristics, such as skin colour, structure of the hair or head shape. Cultural racism, on the other hand, uses cultural and social features and characteristics to distinguish people and evaluates them according to its Eurocentric perspective (Markom, 2014). Macgilrichst and Müller (2012) also work on this topic and note that this change means that this explicit racism no longer exists in textbooks, but that it is expressed implicitly, which is no less dangerous (Macgilrichst & Müller, 2012).

When one thinks of something 'exotic', many white people associate it with positive connotations. 'Exotic' fruits, for example, are particularly popular in Europe, while 'exotic' landscapes are associated with secluded white sandy beaches or tropical rainforests. In dictionaries, the term 'foreign' or 'alien' is often used as a synonym for 'exotic'. This terminology thus refers to something non-European, something 'other' (Hayn & Lann Hornscheidt, 2013). Hence, the differentiation already described occurs, which in the case of Eurocentrism is characterised by hierarchisation and power. This clearly shows that even if 'exotic' primarily means something positive, it can never be

positive because it is an important component of racism (Bendix & Danielzik, 2021). Exoticism is by no means limited to Europe and Europeans. It is certainly possible, for example, for a white person to experience exoticism on other continents. What is important here, however, is the position in which this white person finds themselves, because being white automatically gives the person a higher position of power in society than the person by whom they are exoticised (Markom & Weinhäupl, 2007).

As early as 1992, Guggeis addressed the exoticisation of the African continent. She repeated her studies with more recent textbooks and came to similar conclusions than she had more than 20 years earlier (Guggeis, 2004). Her textbook analysis shows that when talking about African societies, a lot of emphasis is placed on visual appearance. This means that clothing, for example, is dealt with much more intensively than socio-cultural or political topics (Guggeis, 2004).

Poenicke (2001) comes to similar conclusions and analyses that population groups such as the Masai or Tuareg are covered disproportionately. The lifestyles of these societies are highlighted, giving the impression that this is the dominant way of life on the African continent (Poenicke, 2001). In addition to a homogenisation of the continent, this results in a distorted and exotic image being conveyed. In recent textbooks, exoticisation is mainly associated with the word 'nature'. Terms such as 'natural religions' can still be found in textbooks in the context of Africa. Nature is initially associated with positive attributes, but if one then recalls the 19th century dichotomy of 'nature' and 'culture', it becomes clear that a hierarchy is also being established here, and by placing 'nature' in front of these religions, they are positioned at an earlier 'stage of development'.

3.4. Afropessimism and single stories

Regardless of the areas in which you come across depictions of Africa, they usually look like this: Crises, disasters, poverty, disease, debt and corruption. This contrasts with the aid provided by the white Global North (Weicker & Jacobs, 2021). The frequent occurrence of this narrative makes it necessary to find a name for this phenomenon - Afropessimism. (Aping et al., 2022). Afropessimism postulates white agency over black

inability (Gordon et al. 2017). An important aspect of Afropessimism is the static component because afropessimistic representations and images describe the impossibility of change. (Aping et al., 2022).

It is easy to prove that these depictions are characterised by one-sidedness and ignorance. This is because historical backgrounds and context are not illuminated in this type of representation, and the homogenisation of an entire continent is at the centre of the depictions (Weicker & Jacobs, 2021).

Single stories can be seen as a process in which one story becomes the single story of many people, regions or states. A single narrative is disseminated that appears to affect the whole country or even the whole continent. The effects are one-sided images and perceptions (Aping et al., 2022). It is important to understand that these single stories are characterised by power imbalances and stereotypes, as they are usually not told by the people affected themselves but are told about them by others. This means that the stories are often untrue, but above all incomplete. The diversity, but also the differences between African ways of living are therefore ignored when these stories are told (Adichie, 2009).

Romanowski (1996), in relation to textbooks, describes that “by the careful choice of what facts to include or exclude, it is possible to construct arguments that can be wholly one-sided, yet can be asserted to ‘fit the facts’”. (Romanowski, 1996: 170). This means that these single stories do not necessarily have to be false, but that very careful attention is paid to which story one wants to tell and thus make it the only story. Aping et al. (2022) describe the inclusion of the concepts of Afropessimism and single stories in their textbook analysis of Austrian geography and history textbooks. The examples they present show that, in many cases, the language chosen by the textbook authors is designed in such a way that the violence, poverty or similar negative aspects described seem to affect the entire population of an African country or even the entire continent. The negative situations are described as if there was no way out for the people, as if they had to resign themselves to their fate and as if they were not active players in their field (Aping et al., 2022). It is striking that the context of the situations described is not addressed. This means that an entire region or state is described as ‘poor’ with only one

example, all people must be 'poor', there is no way out of this 'poverty', but at the same time, it is not explained why this 'poverty' has arisen (Aping et al., 2022). The authors argue that this depiction of the continent contributes to the formation of stereotypes and that Black children and young people do not feel represented due to such depictions (Aping et al., 2022).

Recognising Afropessimism and single stories in school textbooks is not easy and is not initially as noticeable as explicit racism. However, this does not make the use and the associated formation of stereotypes and prejudices any less dangerous (Romanowski, 1996).

4. Methodology

In this chapter, the methods that were used during the textbook analysis and empirical data collection that accompanied the research process are explained with the help of relevant literature. The focus here is on qualitative content analysis, analysing images and conducting and analysing qualitative interviews.

4.1. Data Collection

For the textbook analysis, I first looked closely at the curriculum for Geography and Economic Education as well as the curriculum for History and Political Education and tried to find out in which school levels the African continent could be thematically considered. In both cases, the curriculum is written in a very implicit way and as already explained in the chapter on curriculum and textbook research, states and continents are not mentioned, except for Austria and Europe. It quickly became clear that the African continent and topics relating to Africa could play a role in Geography and Economic Education at almost every school level and in History and Political Education classes at every school level. This is why an initial review of three textbooks per school level was carried out which confirmed my assumption. History and Political Education topics which include Africa appear to be taught at every school level. For the scope of my work, however, it would not have been possible to deal with both subjects and all school levels in History and Political Education, which is why I decided to focus exclusively on the school subject of Geography and Economic Education.

While reviewing the corresponding textbooks for Geography and Economic Education, I realised that the African continent is always dealt with when the curriculum provides for dealing with global topics. In Geography, this applies to grades 5, 8, 9 and 12, whereby grade 5 deals almost exclusively with climate in relation to Africa. I therefore decided to focus on grades 8, 9 and 12 and selected three textbooks per grade for the analysis.

To get insights about how teachers teach when it comes to the African continent qualitative interviews were used. I created a guideline in advance, which was divided

into subject areas that were to be addressed during the interview. 54 headmasters of schools in Vienna of the school type “AHS” were contacted via email and a total of nine teachers replied and were willing to be interviewed, five of whom teach History and Political Education, as well as four teachers who teach Geography and Economic Education. Due to the very low number of replies, there was no special selection criteria. Three out of the nine teachers are men, six are women. Three teachers have less than ten years of teaching experience, and 6 teachers have more than ten years of teaching experience.

At this stage of data collection, the focus was not yet solely on the subject of Geography and Economic Education. For this reason, not only extracts from the geography teachers are included in the analysis of the interviews, but also those of the history teachers. In the interviews with the geography teachers, all parts of the interview were taken into account for the analysis and interpretation. In the interviews with the history teachers, only those parts that deal with general perspectives on teaching about African topics are included in this work. Specific text passages and images from the geography books were discussed and jointly analysed in all interviews conducted with geography teachers and will be used for detailed analysis and interpretation at a later stage.

4.2. Classic content analysis

Content analysis is a methodological approach that is used in many different scientific disciplines and is, therefore, very versatile and multifaceted. Media and communication scientists, political scientists, educationalists, sociologists and literary scholars, for example, use this method. This method is primarily used for communication content that is written down. Any type of written material is generally suitable for content analysis. Interview transcripts, documents or media content are all equally suitable for this method of analysis (Cohen et al., 2007).

Kuckartz (2014) regards Max Weber as the founder of this research method in 1910 (Kuckartz, 2014). However, the first book of methods published on content analysis dates back to 1952 and contains a much-quoted definition by Bernhard Berelson, who

at the time focussed primarily on the quantitative orientation of this method: 'Content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication.' (Berelson as cited in Fröh, 2017: 29). Today, this definition is often criticised as it leaves no room for qualitative analysis. In later definitions, for example in Fröh (2017), terms such as 'objective' or 'quantitative' are omitted.

Content analysis methods are often used when the complexity of the analysed material needs to be reduced regarding the research question (Schreier, 2014). The researcher does not analyse the entire text, but only those sections of the text that are relevant and interesting for the research question and, therefore, for the research. Furthermore, in a next step, similar text sections are summarised into categories and can thus be organised (Fröh, 2017; Schreier, 2014).

A characteristic of content analysis is that it not only focuses on the meaning of the context of the document in addition to linguistic and linguistic features, but also that it is "systematic and verifiable [...], as the rules for analysis are explicit, transparent and public" (Cohen et al., 2007: 475). Repeated analyses are also possible thanks to the written form. The systematic approach is evident throughout the work steps, but especially at the beginning. At the beginning of the analysis, the entire material must be reviewed, although it is most likely that not everything is relevant to the research. This has the advantage that sections of the text are not overlooked or only passages that match existing ideas are taken into consideration (Schreier, 2014).

Due to the steady progression of qualitative aspects in this research method, there is a debate as to whether content analysis should be quantitative or qualitative. Both are possible, but there is a growing call for a combination of both methodological approaches to work more effectively (Mayring, 2022). According to Fröh (2017), a strict separation between qualitative content analysis and quantitative content analysis is not even possible (Fröh, 2017). Mayring (2022) points out that both qualitative and quantitative approaches must be used in order to arrive at a meaningful result (Mayring, 2022). According to Kuckartz (2014), the use of 'mixed methods' in relation to content

analysis is on the rise and more and more researchers are specifying in combination of both approaches (Kuckartz, 2014).

4.2.1. Qualitative content analysis

In contrast to traditional quantifying content analysis, qualitative content analysis attempts to consider and interpret the deeper meanings of texts. Hermeneutics, the 'theory of interpretation', is therefore considered to be highly relevant when it comes to analysing and interpreting qualitative data. Hermeneutics was already known in Greek mythology and has been continuously developed ever since, resulting in the establishment of many different approaches (Mayring, 2022). In relation to qualitative content analysis, hermeneutics can be seen as an orientation aid that provides rules for action. The conditions under which the analysed material was created are highly relevant, which is why they need to be addressed. Questions such as where and why the text was created and who the authors and recipients of the text are must be asked (Kuckartz, 2014). The 'hermeneutic circle' is also relevant for understanding and interpreting qualitative data. This means that the researcher approaches the text with a certain amount of prior knowledge and expands this prior knowledge by reading the text, which, in turn, changes the understanding of the text. This circular process leads to an ever better understanding of the analysed material. The whole becomes more comprehensible from the individual and the individual from the whole (Hummer, 2014; Mayring, 2022).

What distinguishes qualitative content analysis from hermeneutic text interpretations is the underlying system. As with the classical content analysis described above, qualitative content analysis is a method of systematic interpretation that uses clearly defined analysis rules and analysis steps to carry out a systematic and verifiable analysis of the respective material (Hummer, 2014).

Once the initial questions have been clarified, the next step is to address the process of the analysis. There is no model that can be regarded as universally valid, as the process should always be adapted to the data material and the research question (Mayring, 2022). However, Mayring (2022) describes a model that can be applied in a variety of

ways and can be specified individually depending on the research topic and researcher. It involves going through nine stages of analysis:

1. defining the material: What is the total volume of the material to be analysed and which parts of it are relevant to the research interest?
2. analysing the situation in which the material to be analysed was created: Under what conditions was it created? Who is the author? When, where and how was the material written or produced? What is the socio-cultural framework?
3. formal characterisation of the material: How is the material presented? This stage is particularly relevant for analysing interviews.
4. direction of the analysis: the researcher should now determine which direction the interpretation of the material which will be analysed should take.
5. theory-based differentiation of the research question: Previous research on the selected topic must be considered and taken into account when formulating the research question.
6. determination of the analytical technique: The question of which specific technique of content analysis should be used is posed.
7. definition of the unit of analysis: It must be decided which characteristics a text passage must have in order to be assigned to a category.
8. analysing the material: This step can be customised and depends heavily on the research question, topic and data material.
9. interpretation: The final stage is the interpretation of the results with regards to the research question (Mayring, 2022)

Qualitative content analysis according to Mayring is used to analyse Austrian geography textbooks for this thesis. Once the analysis has been completed, the resulting findings must be interpreted. According to Kuckartz (2014), this interpretation can be carried out in seven different ways:

1. category-based analysis along the main themes

2. analysing the relationships between the subcategories and the main category
3. analysing the relationships between categories
4. cross-tabulations - qualitative and quantitative
5. graphical representations
6. case studies
7. in-depth interpretation of individual cases (Kuckartz, 2014)

A mix of interpretation options was used to evaluate the following textbook analysis. The focus here is on 'graphical representations', 'in-depth interpretation of individual cases and category-based evaluation along the main themes'.

4.2.2. Coding in qualitative content analysis

Coding can be seen as the centrepiece of content analysis (Reinhoffer, 2008; Schreier, 2014). During coding, parts of the material are assigned to predetermined categories that are part of the coding frame (Schreier, 2014). It is possible that 100 or more categories are created during this step. Kuckartz (2014) ascribes a particularly high relevance to the formation of categories and explains that the formation of categories is strongly dependent on existing knowledge of the research subject (Kuckartz, 2014). When forming categories, it is important not to focus on specific details of the selected text passages, but to categorise the meaning of the text section. This is particularly important when combining different text passages into one category (Schreier, 2014). Furthermore, care must be taken to choose categories that are clearly formulated and distinguishable from the other categories (Reinhoffer, 2008).

The categorisation process can be carried out inductively or deductively. If the deductive approach is chosen, categories are formed based on the researcher's preliminary considerations. This enables a distinctly systematic process, but, at the same, time restricts the open nature of the research (Reinhoffer, 2008). In an inductive approach, categories are first created while the material is being examined. An open approach is supported here, but the systematic nature of the analysis may be subject to weaknesses.

For this reason, Reinhoffer (2008) suggests a combination of both approaches to achieve both a systematic and an open approach (Reinhoffer, 2008).

During the process of category building, at least some passages of the texts are reviewed twice. As a result, the material is also categorised twice, which can be understood as double coding (Schreier, 2014). This represents a further step with which systematisation can be achieved during the analysis.

4.3. Image analysis

Before images can be analysed, they must first be collected. In research, this can generally be done in three ways. A collection of images produced by the researcher themselves can be carried out. Another possibility is to invite the participants to produce their own photos and images for the research in which they are participating. A third option, and this is the one that also applies to my research, is to collect images that were produced for other purposes (Eberle, 2018).

This raises the question of why images are needed in addition to written text. Images play an important role for humans in every context, because while our perception is multimodal, perception precedes language. Images, therefore, play a very important role in the formation of our consciousness. Human visual perception is also linked to our individual knowledge and biography (Eberle, 2018). For this reason, images play an important part in my research.

For my research, the images displayed in the textbooks must be analysed, and image analysis can help with this. Image analysis can be seen as a part of qualitative content analysis, as it does not explicitly exclude images. Image analysis is particularly important for my work because images are frequently used in geography textbooks, as the empirical part of the thesis will show.

Images are often used to make it easier for pupils to familiarise themselves with new topics (Niegemann et al., 2008). In addition, the visual channel is served, which means that many pupils memorise images better than what they have read or heard (Novotny,

2014). Images have many didactic strengths in that they can illustrate and problematise facts, act as stimuli and raise questions. At the same time, images are now often used disproportionately in school textbooks, which means that they take on the sole role of conveying knowledge and textual information is pushed into the background (Kühberger, 2010).

The fact that illustrated texts are beneficial to the learning process has already been proven in numerous studies (Martial, 2005). However, it is important to note that images only support learning if they relate to the written content. There needs to be a link between illustration and text, otherwise images cannot be processed together with the written information (Martial, 2005). If images are used purely for decorative purposes and without captions, they have little informational value and can even be seen as a source of disruption to learning. In these cases, it is important that teachers pick up on these images and pay special attention to them (Pettersson, 1994; Pettersson, 2008).

Three steps can generally be identified when analysing images. The first step is description. This involves describing the image and everything that is visible on it. In the next step, a semantic analysis is carried out in which the social meanings of the image are reconstructed. The final step in the process is interpretation. This enables connections to be recognised that were not perceived in the first two steps (Astheimer, 2016). To a significant extent, the interpretation depends on the chosen theoretical perspective. With the help of this process, structural elements can be uncovered, and historical, social and cultural correlations can be established (Astheimer, 2016).

For the analysis of the images in the geography books, the approaches of Martial (2005) and Pettersson (2010) are used, as these seem particularly suitable for textbooks. When analysing and assessing images, the following questions should therefore be asked (Martial, 2005; Pettersson, 2010):

- Does the image contain information relevant to the current topic?
- Is the image simple and sparingly designed?
- Does the image distract from the actual topic?

- Does the picture concentrate on the essentials?
- Are there explanations for the picture?
- Is the potential for colourful design used?
- Are the pupils able to understand the picture?

These questions should help to understand whether the images used are relevant to the students' learning process or whether they are so-called decorative images.

4.4. Qualitative interviews

Interviews are a tool that can be used to collect data generated through conversations between people. It can be seen as an exchange between people who share common interests and places human interaction at the centre. Therefore, “interviews enable participants [...] to discuss their interpretations of the world in which they live, and to express how they regard situations from their own point of view.” (Cohen et al., 2007: 349). Nevertheless, the interview should not be compared to an everyday discussion or conversation, as it pursues a specific goal or has a specific reason for discussing this particular topic. It is a strongly question-based conversation, which is rather rare in an everyday conversation and is constructed in most cases and not a naturally occurring conversational situation (Cohen et al., 2007).

In addition, interviews can vary greatly depending on the type and the context in which they are used: ‘Interviews are not one monolithic, predictable type of encounter that is equally familiar to everyone everywhere’ (Koven, 2007 as cited in Roulston & Choi, 2018: 234).

Interviews were preferred to quantitative data collection for the reason that interviews offer the opportunity to open up access to the emic perspective and enable a construction of reality from the perspective of the actors. Conducting qualitative interviews also constructs a subjective sense of meaning (Schlehe, 2008). Another argument in favour of conducting interviews is that the texts produced are particularly suitable for evaluating and interpreting data (Lamnek & Krell, 2016). As the information

provided by the teachers is particularly important regarding the textbook analysis, the analysis of the data is of particular importance.

In order to gain insight into how teachers organise their lessons when topics relating to the African continent are discussed and how the geography textbooks are used in this process, qualitative one-on-one interviews are used. These were prepared as semi-structured interviews. Cohen et al. (2007) distinguish between four types of interviews: the structured interview, the unstructured interview, the non-directive interview and the focussed interview. Other authors, such as Bogdan and Biklen (1992), describe the semi-structured interview as a separate type or add further interview types (Cohen et al., 2007).

Roulston and Choi (2018) describe the semi-structured interview as a separate interview form but point out that it operates in a similar way as a structured interview in which questions are worked through in a specific order and are the same in all interviews. In semi-structured interviews, there are themes that form the basis of the questions and are asked in all interviews. However, how the questions are structured in detail and which topics are discussed in depth depends on the interviewees and the direction in which they guide the interview (Roulston & Choi, 2018).

Focus groups or interviews with several teachers were initially planned as the second type of interview. In the end, however, this type of interview was not used, as the aim was to prevent any possible comparisons between the teachers themselves and to concentrate on individuals. The advantages offered by focus groups and group interviews were not relevant to my research question and my research project, as these often serve to reveal conversational dynamics and are used to (re)produce social conditions and relationships (Froschauer & Lueger, 2020).

Expert interviews are another common type of interview that was initially considered. These are particularly suitable when the aim is to find out more about institutional contexts and specific processes. The interviewer considers the person to be particularly competent in certain fields and sees the interview as an opportunity to find out more (Schlehe, 2008). Expert interviews belong to the group of investigative interviews and,

within this, to the subgroup of informational interviews. The information flows unilaterally from the interviewee to the interviewer (Lamnek & Krell, 2016). The most suitable experts would have been people who work as textbook authors or in textbook publishing houses.

However, in order not to deviate too far from the actual research project, the expert interviews were ultimately discarded. Very spontaneously and surprisingly, an interview was conducted, which can be categorised as an expert interview. A teacher was interviewed and at the beginning of the interview, it turned out that the teacher presented himself as an expert due to his decades of experience as a textbook author, but at the same time reported from the perspective of a teacher. This interview, therefore, represents an individual case and can be seen both as an expert interview and as a semi-structured qualitative interview.

The majority of the interviews conducted can be understood as semi-structured guided interviews. These are particularly helpful if the person is only interviewed once, or the interviewer is confronted with uncertainties. How open or closed this type of interview is depends on various factors. In general, the use of a guideline is helpful because it contains the most important aspects to be addressed in the interview and provides specific questions. However, if the interviewer stubbornly works through the guide, strictly follows the sequence of topics and questions and ignores the possibility of opening up new topics, the guide can quickly become an obstacle during the interview (Schlehe, 2008). This can lead to a rigid focus on the guideline, which results in the interviewee increasingly resorting to closed questions (Froschauer & Lueger, 2020).

It is also important to consider how openly the guidelines should be displayed during the interview. Placing the list of questions between the participants can lead to a situation where special attention is paid to the paper during the interview, resulting in a loss of eye contact and constant flicking through the guide. One way to prevent these problems is to keep the guidelines in mind and thus enable a more flexible approach (Schlehe, 2008). During my own interviews, I realised that a flexible approach toward the order of the topics was necessary to give the interviewed teachers the option to move the conversation in a different direction on their own. The guideline was placed

on the table but was not within sight of the participants. This made it possible for me to organise the interview as freely as possible, but at the same time to keep an eye on whether all the topics I had selected were mentioned and at least partially discussed in the interviews.

Another important aspect of the interviews, but also of the textbook analysis, is the language. All interviews were conducted in German, as this is the official language in Austria and the language in which the interviewees felt most comfortable. The examples in the textbooks are also written in German, as this is the language of teaching in most Austrian schools. The language of this work is English, which means that the language of the collected data and the language of analysis and writing about the data are not the same.

As Resch and Enzenhofer (2018) explain, it often happens that little to no references are presented when talking about the language of data collection. The impact of working with more than one language also often remains unmentioned. This results in 'language (in)visibility' (Temple & Young, 2004 as cited in Resch & Enzenhofer, 2018). As Resch and Enzenhofer (2018) mention, during the past few years several authors started to deal with language issues in qualitative research. These include Halai (2007), Shklarov (2007), Lauterbach (2014), Temple and Young (2004), Flick (2014), and Littlig and Pöchhacker (2014). Nevertheless, there is currently little interest in this topic. Particularly with regard to the challenges that this type of research entails and the development of quality standards for translations, there is still significant work to be done. Translation studies and social sciences could and should work closely together on these points (Resch & Enzenhofer, 2018).

Translation is an important part of qualitative studies that work with several languages. It is the core element in many steps, from the planning of the research project to the analysis and the final product. When it comes to translation, we must not forget that: 'Translation does not enable us to say exactly the same thing in another language; however, it helps us to say "almost" the same thing.' (Resch & Enzenhofer, 2018: 140). This also applies to my research. As translations are used both in the interviews and

when analysing the textbooks, it is important to note that it is never possible to express exactly the same thing as in the original text.

When it comes to using two or more languages in the process of qualitative data collection and analysis, transparency is important. It must be clear where the data comes from, how the data was collected and by whom it was collected. How the translation(s) took place and who is responsible for these translations must be made clear (Resch & Enzenhofer, 2018).

Reflecting on one's own position in the field should always be part of empirical research. In my case, this reflection began before and during my initial research and it remains an important part of my work to this day. In this case, it was also particularly important for me to learn about the background of my interviewees in order to understand which questions could be asked in the interview and to understand the linguistic jargon used during the conversations (Roulston & Choi, 2018). Especially as a white person in this context, it is particularly important for me to be aware of my position in this field. This means that I have to critically engage with my whiteness and question the structures that it creates for me (Arndt, 2006), as the perspectives presented in this thesis result from a white, privileged position.

5. Textbook analysis

5.1. Presentation of the textbooks

As already described in the context of the textbook campaign, each school can choose independently which books are to be used. For this reason, when selecting the textbooks, I made sure that they were published by different publishing houses in order to provide the widest possible range of perspectives on the African continent. Availability also played a decisive role in the selection process, as care was taken to use the latest available editions of the textbooks. In addition, attention was paid to using textbooks that could be used for several school levels and thus represented a textbook series. These factors resulted in a selection of the following books:

- 8th grade:
 - Mayrhofer, G., Posch, R. & Reiter, I. (2020). GEOProfi 4: Geographie und Wirtschaftskunde für die 8. Schulstufe. Veritas.
 - Fridrich, C., Kulhanek-Wehlend, G., Chreiska-Höbinger, C., Sonnleitner, J. & Steinhart, C. (2022). Unterwegs 4: Geographie und Wirtschaftskunde. ÖBV.
 - Hofmann-Schneller, M., Graf, F., Scheidl, W. & Steiner, K. (2017a). Durchblick 4 kompetent: Geographie und Wirtschaftskunde. Westermann Verlag.
- 9th grade:
 - Hofmann-Schneller, M., Atzmanstorfer, P., Derflinger, M., Menschik, G. & Rak, P. (2017b). Durchblick 5 kompetent: Geographie und Wirtschaftskunde. Westermann Verlag.
 - Germ, A., Hochreiner, F., Mayrhofer, G. & Part, F. B. (2022a). GEOspots 5 bis 6. Geographie und Wirtschaftskunde für die AHS. Veritas.
 - Hitz, H., Kowarz, A., Kucera, A. & Malcik, W. (2019). Meridiane 5/6: Geographie und Wirtschaftskunde. Ed. Hölzel.
- 12th grade:

- Hofmann-Schneller, M., Derflinger, M., Menschik, G. & Rak, P. (2020). *Durchblick 8 kompetent: Geographie und Wirtschaftskunde*. Westermann Verlag.
- Germ, A., Hochreiner, F., Mayrhofer, G. & Part, F. B. (2022b). *GEOspots 7 bis 8. Geographie und Wirtschaftskunde für die AHS*. Veritas.
- Hitz, H., Kowarz, A., Kucera, A. & Malcik, W. (2021). *Meridiane 7/8: Geographie und Wirtschaftskunde*. Hölzel Verlag

During my interviews with teachers, it turned out that all teachers were familiar with the respective textbooks and were using them for their lessons in the current school year or had already used them in previous years.

As already explained in the chapter on my methods, I began with a general review of the books to determine which topics included an engagement with the African continent. In the next step, which I incorporated before the formation of categories, I collected quantitative data in the form of numbers. I counted the pages that contained text, graphics or images about the African continent and carried out a word count. I focussed on the words that read 'Africa' or 'African' and on the mentioning of African countries. I counted nouns and adjectives. Graphs, maps, and images that depict the African continent or people were also counted.

The following was found:

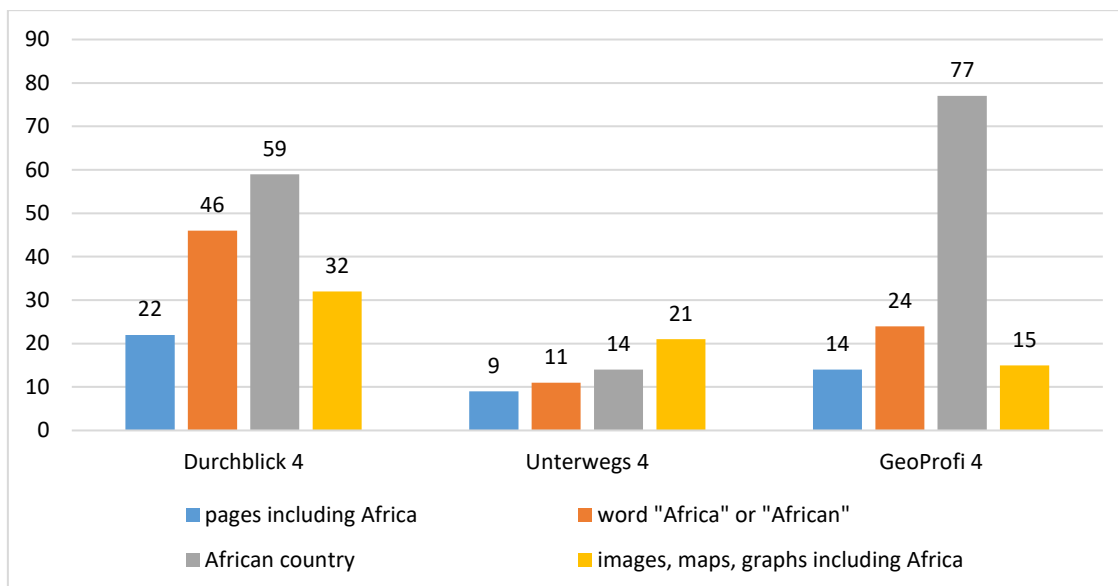
Durchblick 4: The *Durchblick 4* textbook consists of 133 pages, 22 of which include the continent of Africa thematically. The words 'Africa' or 'African' are used 46 times and African countries are mentioned 59 times. 32 images, maps and graphs relating to the African continent are counted in this book (see Graph 1).

Unterwegs 4: This book has a total of 87 pages, with the African continent being associated with selected topics on 9 pages. The words 'Africa' or 'African' appear 11 times, African countries 14 times. There are 21 images, maps, and graphs depicting topics related to the African continent (see Graph 1).

GeoProfi 4: The African continent is mentioned on 14 of the 125 pages of the textbook. The words 'Africa' or 'African' are counted 24 times in the main text, in captions and on

maps and graphs, and African countries are mentioned 77 times. 15 images, maps, and graphs containing information about the African continent are found in the book (see Graph 1).

Graph 1: The African continent in textbooks for grade 8 (Durchblick 4, Unterwegs 4, GeoProfi 4)



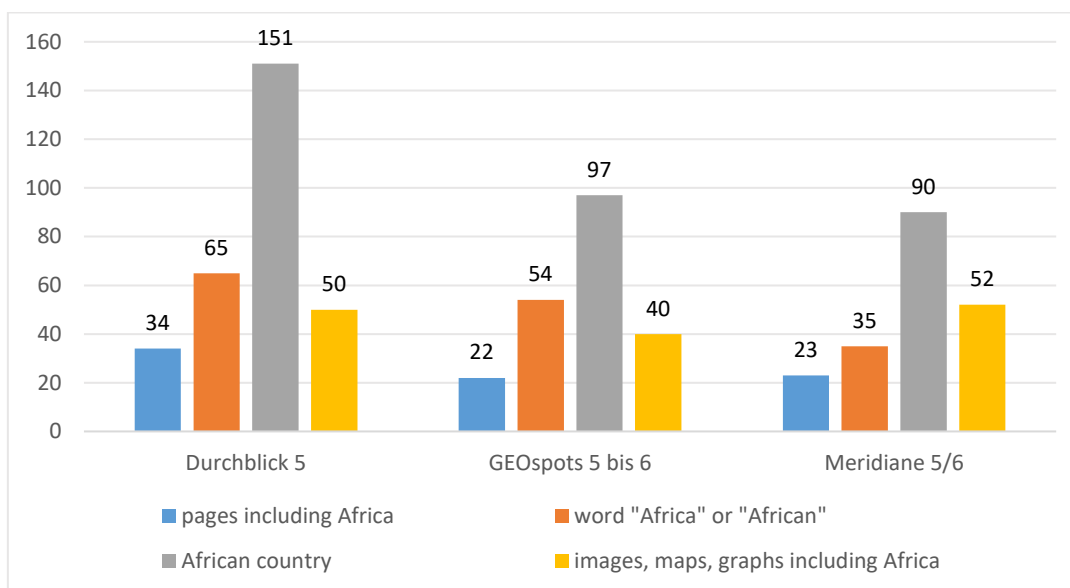
Source: Author's textbook analysis

Durchblick 5: The African continent is mentioned on 34 of 180 pages. The words 'Africa' or 'African' are counted 65 times. African countries are mentioned 151 times. 50 images, maps, and graphs depict information on the African continent (see Graph 2).

GEOspots 5 bis 6: The GEOspots 5 textbook consists of 121 pages and 22 pages deal with topics that include the African continent. On these pages, 'Africa' or 'African' is mentioned 54 times. At the same time, African countries are mentioned 97 times. In this book 40 images, maps, and graphs depict information on the African continent (see Graph 2).

Meridiane 5/6: The African continent is covered on 23 of the 157 pages of the textbook, with the words 'Africa' or 'African' being used 35 times and 90 references to African countries. Images, maps, and graphs containing information related to the African continent are counted 52 times (see Graph 2).

Graph 2: The African continent in textbooks for grade 9 (Durchblick 5, GEOspots 5 bis 6, Meridiane 5/6)



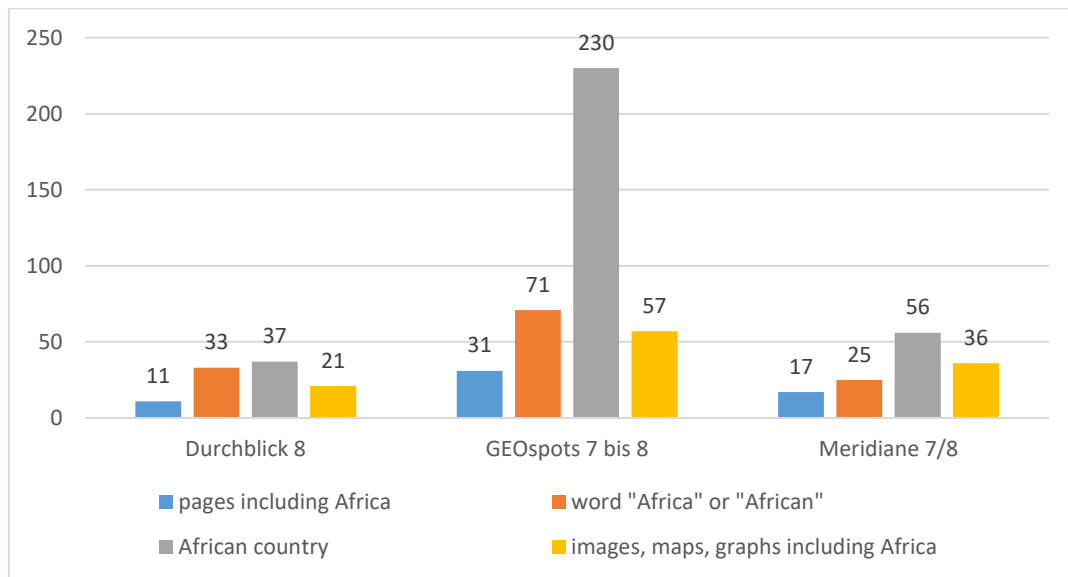
Source: Author's textbook analysis

Durchblick 8: 11 pages deal with topics relating to and including the African continent. The entire book has 184 pages. The words 'Africa' or 'African' appear 33 times, African countries 37 times. In this textbook 21 images, maps, and graphs depict topics about the African continent (see Graph 3).

GEOspots 7 bis 8: African topics are mentioned on 31 of 150 pages in this textbook. The words 'African' or 'Africa' are counted 71 times. African countries are mentioned 230 times. There are 57 images, maps, and graphs illustrating facts and figures about the African continent (see Graph 3).

Meridiane 7/8: This textbook deals with the African continent on 17 of its 156 pages. The words 'African' or 'Africa' can be found 25 times and African countries are mentioned 56 times. 36 images, maps, and graphs illustrate topics about the African continent in this textbook (see Graph 3).

Graph 3: The African continent in textbooks for grade 12 (Durchblick 8, GEOspots 7 bis 8, Meridiane 7/8)



Source: Author's textbook analysis

As can be understood from the graphs, the textbooks deal with African topics to varying degrees, which is related to the fact that the curriculum hardly specifies which regions or countries the class should deal with. As a result, some textbooks address the African continent more intensively, while others favour other continents. At the same time, the review of the textbooks also revealed that thematic areas are dealt with without going into exemplary countries which results in neither mentioning African countries nor other countries.

The pages relevant to the analysis were then scanned and printed out to make it easier to work with the text passages. After the first quantitative step, which involved counting the words and pages, a qualitative step followed. To form the categories, a deductive approach was combined with an inductive one. Initial categories were formed on the basis of existing textbook analyses and the thematic areas described in the curriculum. At the same time, the entire material was reviewed in detail before the actual analysis began, in order to broaden the perspective and add further categories. The category system was adjusted several times during the process and after the last adjustment, all text passages were evaluated once again to ensure that they were assigned to the

corresponding category and subcategory. This was followed by a brief step-by-step summary of all books and the categories and thematic areas they contained, as well as the creation of a table in which the frequency of each category and subcategory was quantitatively recorded.

5.2. Textbook analysis by categories

The following nine main categories, each with two to six subcategories, were specified in the process of the analysis and finalised in a further revision:

- Private life and household
 - religion, traditions, customs, role allocation, daily life
 - Food/nutrition

- Public life and society
 - Education and school system
 - Demography
 - Health
 - Infrastructure

- Economy
 - Work and income
 - Land grabbing
 - Trade, export, import
 - Agriculture
 - Tourism
 - Debt

- Development
 - (Under)development/disparities
 - Classification of the world

- Development aid
 - Fairtrade
- Crises
 - Conflicts, wars, and violence
 - (natural) catastrophes
 - Flight and migration
- Politics
 - Form of government
 - Policies and regulations
 - Global politics
- Globalisation
 - World Trade
 - Regional and International unions and organisations
- Nature
 - Resources and raw materials
 - Climate
 - Landscape
- Urban spaces and countryside
 - Life in cities
 - Life in the countryside

It was found that the categories and subcategories differed both between the grades and between the textbooks. This means that the focus on which topics relating to the African continent are dealt with depends not only on the school level, but also on the textbook.

The subcategories that occurred most frequently in the 8th grade were: Flight and migration, Work and income, Development aid, (Under)development/disparities, Health, Infrastructure

In the 9th grade, the subcategories Climate, Demography, Trade, Export, Import, Landscape, Conflicts, war and violence, Agriculture, Resources and raw materials were the most common.

The subcategories that appeared most frequently in the 12th grade textbooks were World Trade, Form of Government, Conflicts, war and violence, Life in cities, Tourism.

If we now look at the entire data material and the most frequently occurring categories, the following emerges: The subcategory of flight and migration is most intermittently addressed in the nine textbooks selected. The second most common category is the subcategory of conflicts, wars and violence. Form of government and landscape were both addressed equally frequently in the books and are in third place. The subcategories Trade, Export, Import and Demography share 5th place among the most frequent categories.

These categories are now examined in more detail, illustrated with examples and analysed in terms of how these topics are presented.

5.2.1. Public life and society: Demography

The topic of world population plays an important role in the three books selected for grade 9. Overpopulation is discussed and the African continent as a whole and individual African countries are used as examples. The books for grade 8 and grade 12 also mention overpopulation on the African continent in individual cases. Overall, however, the topic plays a minor role in these two grades.

Unterwegs 4 deals exclusively with the consequences that population growth could have: "In sub-Saharan Africa, the population is set to double, despite fears of millions of deaths from natural disasters, disease and malnutrition. Social problems are increasing, especially in the cities of Africa, Asia and South America. This large number of people will be one of the many difficulties facing the countries of the Global South in the

future."⁴ (Fridrich et al., 2022: 80). More precise population figures are not given. Causes are also not mentioned.

GeoProfi 4 deals with population growth and the high birth rate in the Sahel region in connection with least developed countries, using Niger and Chad as examples and explaining that the high population growth is worsening the situation of the people (Mayrhofer et al., 2020).

Durchblick 5 provides information on demography using selected country examples. Examples from Uganda, Mauritius and Egypt are used: "Uganda is one of the poorest countries in the world. One in five girls becomes pregnant as a teenager, in almost all cases unintentionally. The country has one of the highest birth rates in East Africa: 43 per thousand. Almost 50 per cent of the population is already under the age of 15. Around 7 per cent of 15 to 24-year-olds are infected with HIV, and the average life expectancy at birth is 63 years."⁵ (Hofmann-Schneller et al., 2017b: 32). Mauritius is described as a positive example of a successful population policy, and it is explained that family planning programmes have led to a decreasing birth rate. The subchapter "Egypt - from advanced civilisation to developing country"⁶ (Hofmann-Schneller et al., 2017b: 77) describes how Egypt's population explosion undermined any progress the country had made. The population figures for 1800 and 2020 are compared (Hofmann-Schneller et al., 2017b).

The GEOspots 5 to 6 textbook takes an in-depth look at population development worldwide, including population growth on the African continent. The birth rates from Niger and Chad are used in graphs and tables to illustrate population growth, age

⁴ Original: "In den afrikanischen Staaten südlich der Sahara wird sich die Bevölkerungsanzahl verdoppeln, obwohl Millionen Tote durch Naturkatastrophen, Krankheiten und Unterernährung befürchtet werden. Vor allem in den Städten Afrikas, Asiens und Südamerikas steigen die sozialen Probleme. Diese große Anzahl an Menschen wird in Zukunft eine der vielen Schwierigkeiten der Staaten des Globalen Südens sein."

⁵ Original: "Uganda gehört zu den ärmsten Ländern der Welt. Jedes fünfte Mädchen wird bereits als Teenager schwanger, in fast allen Fällen ungewollt. Der Staat hat eine der höchsten Geburtenraten Ostafrikas: 43 Promille. Schon jetzt sind fast 50 Prozent der Bevölkerung unter 15 Jahren. Rund 7 Prozent der 15- bis 24-Jährigen sind mit dem HIV-Virus infiziert, die mittlere Lebenserwartung bei der Geburt beträgt 63 Jahre."

⁶ Original: "Ägypten – von der Hochkultur zum Entwicklungsland"

pyramids from Nigeria and Botswana graphically illustrate the age structure of societies and the continent's high birth rates are mentioned on several pages (Germ et al., 2022a).

In the chapter on population and society, the Meridiane 5/6 textbook is dedicated to the topic of world population. Africa's high growth rate is compared with that of Europe. The mortality rate and infant mortality are also mentioned, as is the high birth rate in Niger. The fact that children are regarded as a "provision for old age" is seen as one of the causes. In a work assignment, the population pyramids of Canada and Chad are compared and should be interpreted by the pupils.

The African continent is always associated with the subcategory of demography when textbooks address the topic of overpopulation. The examples given clearly show that only negative aspects are discussed and taken into account. Positive aspects of a young society are not addressed. No reasons are given for the high population growth, and at the same time there is a lack of contextualisation and explanation of historical connections. Although Niger and Chad are mainly chosen as examples of population growth, the texts read as if the fertility rates of the two countries affected the entire continent. This leads to a homogenisation and a generalisation of this topic to the entire continent. Other regions of the world or continents are only briefly mentioned in graphics, but are not cited as examples of overpopulation, which is why it seems as if the African continent is the only continent whose population is growing. Comparisons are mainly made with Europe, whereby a contextualisation that would make the different development of the population understandable is completely missing.

5.2.2. Economy: Trade, Export, Import

This subcategory is dealt with and thematised intensively in the grade 9 books and is explored in various topics. Trade and export goods of the respective regions are explained in connection with climatic conditions. The subcategory trade, export, import is also discussed in grade 12. Here, especially in connection with different economic systems. This topic hardly plays a role in the grade 8 textbooks.

The Meridiane 5/6 textbook explains the influence that the climate can have on different forms of economic activity using the example of the city of Abéché in Chad: "Due to its

location, Abéché is an important regional trading centre and serves as a marketplace for livestock, dates, salt and indigo in particular. The most important companies in the secondary sector of the economy are weaving mills."⁷ (Hitz et al., 2021: 42).

Another example that is brought in the course of climatic conditions can be found in Durchblick 5, which deals intensively with the Sahel region and the climatic conditions prevailing there. Under the heading "Hunger - a political problem?"⁸ (Hofmann-Schneller et al., 2017b: 137), the following is written: "Since independence from the colonial powers, cotton has been the main export product for the four Sahel states of Burkina Faso, Mali, Chad and Sudan. On average, these countries export between 280000 and 330000 tonnes of cotton per year in the last regular harvest years. According to the FAO, the area that used to grow this product in recent years has totalled around 770000 hectares."⁹ (Hofmann-Schneller et al., 2017b: 137). Subsequently, it is explained that people could grow grain instead of cotton on this land and thus feed the population which would result in grain imports no longer being necessary. This example clearly shows that the situation presented is taken completely out of the context of international world trade and only a small fraction of the situation is highlighted. The fact that it is explained at the beginning that this situation has only existed since the independence of these countries gives the Global North the opportunity to escape responsibility. It is presented as if it were a situation caused by the countries of the Sahel themselves.

The chapter "The dual economic systems of the developing countries" in Durchblick 8 deals with different economic systems that can coexist in one country. To illustrate this, an example is given of the Dogon in Mali: "While millet is the main source of food, vegetables are sold in the local markets. In this way, the Dogon are gradually being

⁷ Original: "Abéché ist aufgrund seiner Lage ein wichtiges regionales Handelszentrum und dient als Markttort v.a. für Vieh, Datteln, Salz und Indigo. Die wichtigsten Unternehmen des sekundären Wirtschaftssektors sind Webereien."

⁸ Original: „Hunger – ein politisches Problem?“

⁹ Original: "Baumwolle ist seit der Unabhängigkeit von den Kolonialmächten für die vier Sahelstaaten Burkino Faso, Mali, Tschad und Sudan das Hauptexportprodukt. Die genannten Länder führen im Durchschnitt der letzten normalen Erntejahre zwischen 280000 und 330000 t Baumwolle pro Jahr aus. Laut FAO machte die Fläche für den Anbau dieses Produktes in den letzten Jahren etwa 770000 ha aus."

integrated into the market economy. The revenues are used, for example, to buy salt from the Tuareg, which they extract in the Sahara."¹⁰ (Hofmann-Schneller et al., 2020: 106).

An example in which the economy of a state is described in connection with an exemplary country case is the division of Sudan in GEOspots 5 to 6: "The People's Republic of China is by far Sudan's most important trading partner, accounting for around two-thirds of all exports. It was no secret that the former government of the still united Sudan purchased weapons for oil in this way."¹¹ (Germ et al., 2022a: 20).

It is striking that examples from rural regions predominate when it comes to trade. The trade and market behaviour of small towns and villages is described, while large cities and the trade within them are completely ignored. Large trading centres on the coasts of the Atlantic or Indian Ocean play no part. Trading between African countries is not mentioned in any of the books. Societies such as the Tuareg or Dogon are mentioned in the examples, but there is no contextualisation of where exactly these groups live or what their everyday lives look like. The example of exports in Sudan shows the negative aspects of exports and imports, positive aspects are missing. The African state and China are held responsible. The fact that EU states are also involved in arms deals with Sudan does not seem to play a role.

5.2.3. Crises: Conflicts, Wars, and Violence

The subcategory conflicts, wars, and violence is particularly prevalent in the grade 12 books. This is mainly in connection with the topic of 'fragile states', for which only African examples are used. Conflicts and violence are also repeatedly addressed in the grade 9 books and are integrated into different topics. In the grade 8 books, no particular importance is attached to this subcategory.

¹⁰ Original: "Während Hirse als Hauptnahrungsmittel dient, wird das Gemüse auf den Märkten der Umgebung verkauft. So werden auch die Dogon nach und nach in die Marktwirtschaft eingegliedert. Mit den Erlösen wird zum Beispiel das Salz von den Tuareg gekauft, welches diese in der Sahara gewinnen."

¹¹ Original: "Die VR China ist mit etwa zwei Dritteln aller Exporte der mit Abstand wichtigste Handelspartner des Sudan. Es war kein Geheimnis, dass sich die einstige Regierung des noch geeinten Sudan auf diese Weise Waffen gegen Öl besorgte."

In all textbooks, every country case study that deals with an African state, reports in some way on conflicts, wars, and violence. There is no example that avoids this subcategory.

In GEOspots 5 to 6, the division of Sudan and the emergence of the world's youngest state are discussed in the chapter "The organisation of the earth"¹²: "A conflict that has been going on for over 50 years is causing problems that many other African states along the Sahel are also struggling with. [...] Strong tribalism and ethnic and religious diversity have contributed to conflicts degenerating into civil wars. [...] An estimated 2 million people became victims of the merciless war, and more than 4 million people became refugees. The fact that peace was only concluded in 2005 was also due to the fact that the People's Republic of China and Russia repeatedly prevented the UN from intervening."¹³ (Germ et al., 2022a: 21).

GEOspots 7 to 8 focusses intensively on countries on the African continent. An example of the subcategory conflicts, war and violence can be found in the country example on Egypt: "Radical Islamist groups see tourism and the associated cultural exchange as a threat to the typical social order. In the past, they have therefore repeatedly tried to cause great damage to the tourism industry with terrorist attacks."¹⁴ (Germ et al., 2022b: 169). The example of South Africa also includes mentions of violence: "In 2012, a miners' strike broke out in South Africa, which ultimately culminated in serious riots and a brutal crackdown by the security forces. In August 2012, police opened fire on striking miners in Marikana (north-west of Johannesburg), resulting in several deaths."¹⁵

¹² Original: „Die Gliederung der Erde“

¹³ Original: : "Ein seit über 50 Jahren andauernder Konflikt zeitigt Probleme, mit denen auch viele andere afrikanische Staaten entlang der Sahelzone zu kämpfen haben. [...] Stark ausgeprägtes Stammesdenken, ethnische und religiöse Vielfalt trugen dazu bei, dass Konflikte zu Bürgerkriegen ausarteten. [...] Geschätzte 2 Mio. Menschen fielen dem erbarmungslosen Krieg zum Opfer, mehr als 4 Mio. Menschen wurden zu Flüchtlingen. Dass es erst 2005 zu einem Friedensschluss kam, lag auch an der Tatsache, dass die VR China und Russland immer wieder ein Eingreifen der UNO verhindert haben."

¹⁴ Original: "Radikale islamistische Gruppierungen sehen den Tourismus und den damit verbundenen kulturellen Austausch als seine Bedrohung für die typische Gesellschaftsordnung. Mit Terroranschlägen haben sie in der Vergangenheit deshalb immer wieder versucht, der Tourismusindustrie großen Schaden zuzufügen."

¹⁵ Original: "Im Jahr 2012 kam es in Südafrika zu einem Bergarbeiterstreik, der schließlich in schweren Ausschreitungen und einem brutalen Durchgreifen der Sicherheitskräfte gipfelte. Im August 2012

(Germ et al., 2022b: 213). The case studies on South Sudan, Somalia and Mozambique are also characterised by examples and explanations that focus on violence and conflict. What becomes clear when reviewing and analysing this subcategory is the lack of discussion of the causes of these conflicts. The current situation is always addressed, but why these conflicts and the violence could arise is not mentioned in any of the examples. Which other parties play a role to the conflict is not considered, nor are the effects of centuries of exploitation, foreign domination and colonial border drawing. The conflicts described are portrayed as completely self-inflicted. As can be seen from the example of South Sudan, China and Russia are held responsible. The actions of European states and the USA are ignored. The fact that violence and conflicts have to be addressed in every single case study gives the impression that all African countries and societies are characterised by violence. This gives an incomplete and very one-sided portrayal. This representation can thus be understood as a single story, as conflict seems to be the only thing on the African continent that prevails everywhere. At the same time, there is also an unconscious homogenisation. Even if different countries are cited as examples, the same stories are told, and the problem seems to occur everywhere in Africa. The lack of positive examples, such as how war and violence could be overcome, makes it seem as if there is war everywhere.

5.2.4. Crises: Flight and migration

Flight and migration are the main topics of interest in grade 8 when it comes to topics including the African continent. All three selected books deal intensively with this topic and assign it great importance. With regard to the African continent, this topic is the most dominant in grade 8. Flight and migration also play a role in grade 9. In the grade 12 books, the topic is covered rather marginally. Here it is only discussed in connection with labour migration and the brain drain on the African continent.

Unterwegs 4 thematises flight and migration on several pages. It deals with the personal story of Hany, a boy from Somalia: "My name is Hany. The war in my home country of

eröffnete die Polizei in Marikana (nordwestlich von Johannesburg) auf streikende Bergleute das Feuer, es gab mehrere Todesopfer."

Somalia has taken everything away from us. First, our house, where I was born eight years ago, was destroyed. Our maize field was burnt down. My mother and uncle were killed during the attack. Faisal, my older brother, has been missing ever since. I had to leave the village with my father that very night."¹⁶ (Fridrich et al., 2022: 40). The picture next to the text shows the face of a child looking wide-eyed into the camera. Global refugee flows and routes are thematised as well. War and persecution, poverty and natural events are cited as reasons for flight. This is followed by a list of African and Asian countries that are affected (Fridrich et al., 2022).

Migration and flight are also addressed in GeoProfi 4. It describes the refugee flight across the Mediterranean to Europe for people from the African continent. At the same time, the history of migration flows is also explained, and it is noted that Europeans have also been fleeing for centuries. Habiba, who fled to Dadaab (Kenya), explains what life is like in a refugee camp (Mayrhofer et al., 2020).

What the examples from grade 8 have in common is that this category is always linked to a personal story. The textbooks use fictional stories of children and young people who are given a voice and who describe the hardships of flight and talk about their everyday lives. Violence is an important category that is also included. In two of the three books, the topic of flight is only described using examples from the African continent. Durchblick 4 mentions Asia as another continent with lots of migrants and refugees but none of the books draw on examples or stories from other regions or continents, which gives the impression that the topic of flight is only present in Africa. Flight and migration in particular are highly debated topics in Austria, which are mainly associated with negative aspects. In combination with the violent narratives about flight from the African continent to Europe and within Africa, these examples contribute to an Afropessimistic perception.

¹⁶ Original: "Mein Name ist Hany. Der Krieg in meiner Heimat Somalia hat uns alles weggenommen. Zuerst wurde unser Haus, in dem ich vor acht Jahren geboren wurde, zerstört. Unser Maisfeld wurde abgebrannt. Meine Mutter und mein Onkel kamen während des Angriffss ums Leben. Faisal, mein älterer Bruder, wird seither vermisst. Noch in derselben Nacht musste ich mit meinem Vater das Dorf verlassen."

It is particularly noteworthy that this subcategory is illustrated particularly frequently in all of the selected books across all school levels. Images are primarily used for this and images of refugee boats and refugee camps are extremely common. These are used above all in the books of the 9th and 12th grade when the actual topic is not about flight and migration but is mentioned as a secondary aspect.

5.2.5. Politics: Form of Government

The subcategory form of government plays an important role in the three books selected for grade 12. By using examples of countries such as Mozambique, South Africa and Mauritius, the way in which these countries are governed is thematised. This subcategory also takes on an important role in connection with 'failed states' and 'fragile states'. In grade 9, the topic is also briefly addressed from time to time but plays a much minor role than in grade 12. In the books for Year 8, the topic is only dealt with marginally.

In the Meridiane 7/8 textbook, a double page deals with Mauritius and its "good governance" as an example. The stable democracy is emphasised, as well as the "exemplary social security system"¹⁷ (Hitz et al., 2021: 269) and the state-funded healthcare and education system, which is free of charge (Hitz et al., 2021). The example of Mauritius and the country's policy is dealt with in Meridiane 7/8 in the subchapter "Development - Underdevelopment"¹⁸ and is intended to show how an underdeveloped country can achieve development, which is why the example presented can be found under the heading "Good governance as a driver of development - the example of Mauritius"¹⁹ (Hitz et al., 2021: 268). The double-page takes an in-depth look at the country's economic changes and the key role played by politics. Mauritius is described as a pioneer on the African continent.

Durchblick 5 is also focusing on the country example of Mauritius and states the following about the government: "Mauritius has a democratically elected government

¹⁷ Original: "vorbildliche Sozialversicherungssystem"

¹⁸ Original: „Entwicklung – Unterentwicklung“

¹⁹ Original: "Good Governance als Entwicklungsmotor – das Beispiel Mauritius"

through which all population groups are represented. There is hardly any corruption, so that long-term planning of social and economic measures is possible."²⁰ (Hofmann-Schneller, 2017b: 47). The role of politics is included in this example, as it concerns the family planning policy of the African state. It is seen as a positive example of what a successful population policy can look like.

GEOspots 7 to 8 uses a number of country examples (Egypt, Mozambique, Namibia, Somalia, South Africa, South Sudan) in different chapters. Tourism on the African continent is familiarised to pupils using examples from Egypt and Namibia. The safety situation in Egypt for tourists is also explained and, in this context, the political situation in the country: "The military has regained political control over Egypt, with President Abd a-Fattah as-Sisi, former commander-in-chief of the Egyptian armed forces, becoming the new powerful man of the state on the Nile. The military is seen as a guarantor of stability by many Egyptians, and President as-Sisi is thus assured of the approval of a considerable proportion of the population."²¹ (Germ et al., 2022b: 169). In the subchapter "Republic of South Africa - the difficult legacy of apartheid" (Germ et al., 2022b: 212), which is part of the chapter "Political and economic systems in comparison", there is an intensive examination of the politics and form of government in South Africa. It is analysed historically from the end of the 19th century to the present day. In the same chapter, a sub-chapter deals with 'fragile states', using South Sudan and Somalia as examples. Only violence and crises are mentioned, and Somalia's political situation is described as follows: "No democratic state emerged, but rather a complete collapse. The entire country disintegrated into 'clan fragments', controlled by regional warlords, tribal leaders who took over military and political power."²² (Germ et al.,

²⁰ Original: "Mauritius hat eine demokratisch gewählte Regierung, durch die alle Bevölkerungsgruppen repräsentiert sind. Es gibt kaum Korruption, sodass eine langfristige Planung von sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Maßnahmen möglich ist."

²¹ Original: "Das Militär hat die politische Kontrolle über Ägypten wieder zurück gewonnen, neuer starker Mann des Staates am Nil wurde Präsident Abd a-Fattah as-Sisi, ehemaliger Oberbefehlshaber der ägyptischen Streitkräfte. Das Militär gilt vielen Ägyptern als Garant für Stabilität, entsprechend ist Präsident as-Sisi die Zustimmung eines beachtlichen Teil der Bevölkerung sicher."

²² Original: "Es entstand kein demokratischer Staat, sondern es erfolgte der völlige Kollaps. Das ganze Land zerfiel in "Clan-Parzellen", kontrolliert von regionalen Warlords, Anführer eines Stammes, die die militärische und politische Macht übernommen haben."

2022b: 230). What is striking about this textbook is that political systems and forms of government are always thematised in connection with violence and insecurity. Governments are not explicitly blamed for violence, but it is made clear that there seems to be a strong connection.

GEOspots 5 to 6 features a double-page on the world's youngest state - South Sudan. It also looks at the form of government: "The population in the south experienced the government as a foreign power that wanted to impose a foreign order on them. The result was a civil war that ended provisionally in 1972 with the granting of autonomy to the south."²³ (Germ et al., 2022a: 21). As in GEOspots 7 to 8, there is also a connection between violence and form of government.

What constitutes a good government according to the textbooks is only shown using the example of Mauritius, which gives the impression that this is the only positive example for the African continent. This completely ignores the fact that the parameters that make up a successful form of government are strongly linked to European concepts. Examples that appear positive at first glance or that thematise positive changes are nevertheless always linked to the topic of violence and war. All other examples are primarily orientated towards negative examples and failed attempts to form a government. The causes and the question of why political insecurity is a predominant issue on the African continent are not addressed. In this subcategory, it is particularly significant that terms are used that are characterised by a European perspective. The books and text examples do not question where terms such as 'developing country' or 'fragile states' come from and what implications such terminology can have for states. The fact that European concepts of politics, state formation or form of government cannot be applied in the same way everywhere in the world and for every context is not addressed. The examples make it clear that the general perception is that problems and

²³ Original: "Die Bevölkerung im Süden erlebte die Regierung als fremde Macht, die ihr eine fremde Ordnung aufzwingen wollte. Die Folge war ein Bürgerkrieg, der 1972 mit der Gewährung einer Autonomie für den Süden vorläufig endete."

crises in politics are exclusively self-inflicted and exclude a connection with the Global North or do not even consider a possible connection with the Global North.

5.2.6. Nature: Landscape

Landscape plays an important role, especially in grade 9, as it involves an intensive examination of climatic conditions and, in this context, different landscapes around the world. Landscape also plays a reoccurring role in grade 8 and grade 12 books. Especially when it comes to examples of countries on the African continent and the landscape of the respective country is described. All books strongly rely on pictures. These show different landscapes, but also the people who live there and the way they make a living. The most common landscapes shown for the African continent are savannahs, deserts and the rainforest.

Landscape is thematised in GeoProfi 4 using Kenya as an example and described as follows: "The country has an extremely diverse natural environment; some of the most beautiful national parks in Africa, such as Tsavo or Amboseli, are located here. Kenya is famous for its abundance of animals, including elephants, rhinos, buffalos, zebras and antelope species that can be observed in the wild."²⁴ (Mayrhofer et al. 2020: 84). In a work assignment, the national parks of Kenya are to be presented by the pupils.

The rainforest is discussed on several pages in Durchblick 5. The forests of the Congo Basin are addressed, and information is provided about protection projects in some African countries that contribute to the conservation of forests. The Sahel region and the predominant landscapes there are dealt with on more than six pages in Durchblick 5 and are provided with a variety of work tasks for the pupils (Hofmann-Schneller et al., 2017b).

²⁴ Original: „Das Land verfügt über einen überaus vielfältigen Naturraum, einige der schönsten Nationalparks Afrikas wie der Tsavo oder der Amboseli befinden sich hier. Kenia ist für seinen Tierreichtum berühmt, unter anderem können Elefanten, Nashörner, Büffel, Zebras und Antilopenarten in freier Wildbahn beobachtet werden.“

GEOspots 5 to 6 is dedicated to the Sahel region in the chapter "Habitats of the Earth"²⁵. With the title "Sahel zone - hunger pre-programmed?"²⁶ (Germ et al., 2022a: 59), it quickly becomes clear that the focus here is not on landscape related content, but on hunger and poverty, which are projected onto an entire region. In terms of content, there is little about the landscape itself.

In the subchapter of the GEOspots 7 to 8 textbook "Tourism as a development opportunity"²⁷, Namibia and the prevailing safari tourism there is presented as an example. Three of the six paragraphs deal with the country's landscape. The Namib Desert is discussed and various animal species living in Namibia are presented: "The sand dunes in the heart of the Namib Desert, which are up to 300 metres high, are among the highest in the world. In addition, this arid land delights visitors with its extraordinary abundance of wildlife."²⁸ (Germ et al., 2022b: 169). The Etosha National Park is also described in detail and animal observations are reported. The exemplary chapter on South Africa also deals with the state's landscape as an introduction to the chapter: "The border regions with Namibia and Botswana are sparsely populated, with semi-deserts and thorn bush savannahs predominating. The most varied landscape in the state is undoubtedly the Cape region with mountain ridges, embedded plains and inland bays."²⁹ (Germ et al. 2022b: 212).

What is striking about this subcategory is that it is often found at the beginning of a country example of an African state. Dealing with the landscape of a country to gain a rough overview and understanding of the country can certainly be seen as positive. However, when reviewing the books, it became clear that this method was not used for examples of other countries, such as China or Japan. Only in the examples for African

²⁵ Original: „Lebensräume der Erde“

²⁶ Original: "Sahelzone – Hunger vorprogrammiert?"

²⁷ Original: „Tourismus als Entwicklungschance“

²⁸ Original: "Die bis zu 300m hohen Sanddünen im Herzen der Namib-Wüste gehören zu den höchsten der Welt. Außerdem begeistert dieses so karge Land seine BesucherInnen durch seinen außergewöhnlichen Wildreichtum."

²⁹ Original: "Die Grenzregionen zu Namibia und Botswana sind dünn besiedelt, es überwiegen Halbwüsten und Dornbuschsavannen. Die abwechslungsreichste Landschaft des Staates ist zweifelsfrei die Kapregion mit Gebirgrücken, eingelagerten Ebenen und ins Land eingreifende Meeresbuchten."

countries the landscape is discussed. It is also noticeable that landscapes that are not prevalent in Austria or Europe are thematised. Mountains, arable land, and grass lands on the African continent, for example, are hardly mentioned. National parks with an abundance of wildlife are given a great deal of attention in all the country examples mentioned (Kenya, Namibia, South Africa). This reinforces the idea that there is wildlife everywhere on the continent. Showing these 'foreign' landscapes reveals a certain exoticism. The continent has much more to offer than savannahs, deserts and rainforests, yet these landscapes are still in the spotlight. At the same time, it also contributes to the dichotomy between 'us' and 'the others', because it seems as if 'our' landscapes do not exist in Africa.

6. Interview analysis

6.1. Lesson preparation

To understand how teachers incorporate African issues into their teaching, how they perceive the textbooks and the topics presented in the textbooks, it is necessary to look at the organisation of preparation and follow-up, research activities and then the way in which teaching takes place. These questions were attempted to be explained with the help of the interviews (see Appendix 4).

As already briefly explained in the chapter on the curriculum, the organisation of lessons and the choice of key topics is largely left to the teachers. Teacher D, who is also a textbook author and lecturer at the University of Vienna in addition to his work as an AHS teacher, compares the freedom of Austrian teachers in terms of their lesson design with other countries worldwide and concludes that only the Netherlands have a similarly open concept of lesson design.

Nevertheless, there are steps that teachers must stick to when planning lessons. Teacher F describes them as follows:

„So basically the first preparation I do is my annual planning. So I have to do that, legally speaking. For me, it's a kind of guide as to when I should do what, so that everything works out the way I want it to, which in reality never works out the way I want it to anyway. [...] During the preparation I usually look for a major chapter and then how I want to prepare it, how I want to get it through. So some topics are suitable for group work or research work, others are a bit drier, so I have to go into teacher-centred teaching a bit. So I usually plan, let's say, two or three weeks in advance, but I always have to make adjustments.“³⁰
(Teacher F, 21.03.2024: lines 21-32).

³⁰ Original: „Also grundsätzlich die erste Vorbereitung, die ich mache, sind meine Jahresplanungen. Also die muss ich auch machen, rechtlich gesehen. Das ist für mich ein bisschen so eine Art Leitung, wann ich was erledigen sollte, damit sich alles so ausgeht, was sich in der Realität aber eh nie so ausgeht, wie man will. [...] Die Vorbereitung grundsätzlich schaue ich mir meistens an einem Großkapitel und dann wie ich das vorbereiten will, wie ich es durchbringen will. Also manche Themen bieten sich eben für Gruppenarbeiten oder Recherchearbeiten an, andere sind ein bisschen trockener, da muss ich ein

It is noteworthy that the choice of tools used to prepare and organise lessons is very diverse. Two teachers emphasised the importance of documentaries, others rely primarily on internet research while others use a variety of different textbooks to prepare for lessons.

Teacher F explains the importance of documentaries for her lessons as follows: „I'm a big fan of documentaries, simply because when I explain something to the children, I like to describe it visually. [...] So I'm a big fan of documentaries. I'm often like, an overview documentary and then I usually pick out a specific thing that I can deal with in more detail.“³¹ (Teacher F, 21.03.2024: lines 389-395). Teacher C also explains her use of documentaries in her own lesson preparation to acquire knowledge that is not taught in the textbooks, but also on the inclusion of documentaries in lessons. During the interview, she refers to various documentaries that deal with topics relating to Africa such as fair trade, water scarcity, resources, China's investments on the African continent, palm oil and exploitation in agriculture. She mentions the names of the documentaries and producers, as well as the content of the films many times during the interview, which gives the impression that she uses them regularly. She describes several examples of how she uses these documentaries in class and how students react to what is shown. Regarding the topics discussed in these documentaries, she adds: „But it's true, it's somehow more difficult for me with Africa. There are also fewer documentaries with positive parts. Of course, it's easier to pick out the negative things.“³² (Teacher C, 12.03.2024: lines 592-595). She clearly identifies that it is difficult to show positive aspects of the African continent because most topics revolve around

bisschen in den Frontalunterricht reingehen. Also da plane ich meistens, sag ich mal, zwei, drei Wochen vor, muss aber das auch immer wieder anpassen.“

³¹ Original: „Ich bin ein großer Fan von Dokumentationen, einfach weil ich gerne, wenn ich den Kindern etwas erkläre, es bildlich beschreibe. [...] Also ich bin ein großer Fan von Dokumentationen. Bin oftmals so, eine Überblickdokumentation und dann suche ich meistens eine spezifische Sache raus, also die ich näher behandeln kann.“

³² Original „Aber es stimmt, mit Afrika fällt es mir irgendwie schwieriger auch wirklich. Es gibt auch weniger Dokumentationen mit positiven Teilen. Natürlich kann man sich leichter die negativen Sachen rauspicken.“

negative thematics. Without realising it, she addresses the Afro-pessimism that permeates the documentation she uses.

The interviews reveal that the structure of lessons dealing with African topics can vary greatly. Teacher C describes that the students' participation is very important to her. In the higher classes, presentations play a crucial role during lessons. Lecture-based teaching is also a popular teaching tool in the context of teaching about Africa. Teacher B reports that lecture-based teaching is particularly suitable as the pupils often do not yet have an opinion on these topics and input from her side is therefore essential. Afterwards, there is the opportunity to discuss the topics presented by her together with the pupils, for which worksheets and summaries of other texts are used. Teacher F also points out that she likes to use lecture-based teaching for unfamiliar topics, but then favours group work in which the pupils can contribute to determining the exact focus of the topic.

The involvement of the pupils in the choice of topics and the organisation of the lesson is particularly evident in teacher E's case. He explains the beginning of his lessons as follows: "In general, my lessons look like this that I often ask at the beginning of the lesson whether there are any recent questions. Whether anyone has heard or read anything in the news that they would like to have information on [...]"³³ (Teacher E, 13.03.2024: lines 129-132). He gives an example of this approach in which a pupil recently asked questions about the situation in the Democratic Republic of Congo. As the teacher knew nothing about this, he promised to do some research and provide information in the next lesson. Because the lesson topic covered the tropical rainforest, he used the Democratic Republic of the Congo as an example of a tropical country and topics relating to raw materials, exploitation and civil war were discussed.

Teacher E also gives another example of involving pupils in lesson implementation. In the textbook the thematic area "Political and economic systems in comparison" in grade

³³ Original: „ Generell, mein Unterricht sieht so aus, dass ich sehr häufig am Anfang der Stunde einmal frage, ob irgendwelche aktuellen Fragen bestehen. Also ob irgendjemand etwas in den Nachrichten gehört, gelesen hat, wozu sie gerne Informationen hätten [...]"

12 deals with around 10 different country cases, including African countries. Teacher E asks the pupils to vote on which cases should be covered in class and explains how one of his classes decided in favour of Russia, South Africa and 'fragile states'. He then tries to link these and shows cross-connections between these examples, which leads to a focus on Russia's military involvement as part of the Wagner Group in West African states such as Mali or Niger. With this method, the teacher ensures that Africa is always mentioned, even if it is not directly mentioned as an area of interest by the pupils. However, his examples also make it clear that these are primarily issues that represent the negative sides of the continent. He thus contributes to a one-sided transfer of knowledge.

Another important point described by three of the interviewed teachers is that pupils should be involved not only in the choice of topics, but also in the transfer of knowledge. Teacher C, teacher E and teacher F report on how they involve pupils with a migration biography from the African continent in the transfer of knowledge, as they assume that their pupils already have prior knowledge which they can share with their classmates.

6.2. The teachers' view of the textbooks

When asked which topics predominate the textbooks covering the African continent, a largely homogeneous picture of answers emerges. Climatic and landscape topics are mentioned first. These include the tropics and the rainforest. Related to this, topics such as resources and agricultural exploitation often follow. All the teachers interviewed went on to say that the African continent is always associated with war and other crises, and that development cooperation plays a major role. It can, therefore, be seen that almost exclusively topics with a negative connotation are mentioned. Topics that show a positive side of the continent are hardly referred to. Teacher B summarises the topics that the textbook presents on the African continent:

"There are perhaps a few positive things, but generally the picture is rather negative. It's about disasters, it's about overpopulation, it's about the exploitation of raw materials. It's about poverty, it's about the status of a developing country, you always

take Africa. And there are positive things, positive things like tourism. But that is totally underrepresented."³⁴ (Teacher B, 11.03.2024: lines 503-508).

When asked about the way in which the textbooks present topics relating to the African continent and how the teachers perceive this, two clear perceptions, in particular, became apparent during the interviews, which I will discuss in more detail below. The first perception is that the continent is presented in a very simplified and generalised way. At the same time, and thus the second perception, the teachers interviewed noticed that the African continent is given rather little treatment in the textbooks, and in some cases none at all. Two teachers also mention a Eurocentric perception of superiority which, according to them, is conveyed in the books.

During the interview, teacher E repeatedly speaks of simplification and generalisation when it comes to the African continent in geography textbooks. He expresses this perception particularly clearly in the exemplary text passages selected by me, which are discussed together. Teacher B addresses the generalisation of the continent with a comparison to Europe and explains that the European continent is not described as a continent in Austrian geography textbooks, but rather with examples of individual countries. She does not notice this approach for the African continent and points out that individual countries are summarised into a homogeneous mass.

Teacher C describes the knowledge conveyed by the textbooks for geography as follows: "I believe it displays that Africa needs support. That Africa is still lagging behind in terms of development. It doesn't have to be true, but I think that still comes across. And that Africa is politically insecure."³⁵ (Teacher C, 12.03.2024: lines 395-397). Here it becomes clear that the topics of development cooperation and crises mentioned at the beginning of the chapter are paired with the generalisation of an entire continent. The same

³⁴ Original: „Es gibt vielleicht schon paar positive Sachen, die, aber in der Regel ist das Bild eher negativ. Es geht um die Katastrophen, es geht um Überbevölkerung, es geht um Ausbeutung von Rohstoffen. Es geht um Armut, es geht um den Status Entwicklungsland, da nimmt man sich immer Afrika. Und da gibt es halt mal irgendwas Positives, Positives wie der Tourismus. Aber das ist total unterrepräsentiert.“

³⁵ Original: „Ich glaube immer noch das, dass Afrika Unterstützung braucht. Dass Afrika mit Entwicklung immer noch hinterherhinkt. Muss ja gar nicht stimmen, aber ich glaube, das kommt schon noch rüber. Und dass Afrika politisch unsicher ist.“

teacher recalls that she was taught about the diversity of the African continent during her studies and that, in her perception, the continent has many facets and, therefore, a lot to offer. When asked whether she finds this diversity in the books, she strongly denies it and points out that even within thematic areas, specific parts are taken out and the entire thematic area is never fully explored.

When asked what the textbooks want to teach the pupils, one teacher replies:

"If I had to break it down, I would say pity. If I were to summarise it all, the message is that life there is not as easy as it is here. And relatively few concrete aid measures or opportunities to change that. It's basically a kind of "be grateful" and relatively little, or almost certainly very, very little from the African perspective itself. I don't think other parts of the world have that either, but in principle it's just a Eurocentric picture."³⁶ (Teacher E, 13.03.2024: lines 640-647).

Another teacher describes how the books represent the way we feel as a society: "And I think we feel much better as Europeans. [...] We often, I think, only see the bad things about other continents and countries. [...] I think we are also quite proud of the fact that these differences exist."³⁷ (Teacher F, 21.03.2024: lines 629-636). Both teachers address a very Eurocentric view expressed by the textbooks. They argue that the knowledge transferred by the textbooks is based on a sense of superiority. Without naming the concept of 'us' and 'the others', both teachers address it indirectly by emphasising that the book is not just intended to show presumed differences, but also to make a particularly strong distinction between these two categories.

The second aspect raised by several teachers during the interview is that the African continent is often not included, even though it would be thematically relevant, and it would be possible to establish a connection with the topic presented. Teacher C assumes

³⁶ Original: „Wenn ich es jetzt ganz herunterbrechen müsste, würde ich sagen Mitleid. Wenn ich das alles zusammenfasse, ist es die Nachricht, dass dort das Leben nicht so lässig ist wie bei uns. Und relativ wenig konkrete Hilfsmaßnahmen oder Möglichkeiten das zu ändern. Sondern im Prinzip ist es eine Art von „sei dankbar“ und relativ wenig, oder ziemlich sicher sehr sehr wenig aus der afrikanischen Perspektive selbst. Die haben andere Erdteile glaube ich auch nicht, aber im Prinzip ist es halt ein eurozentristisches Bild.“

³⁷ Original: „ Und ich glaube als Europäer fühlt man sich auch sehr viel besser. [...] Wir sehen oftmals, glaube ich, nur das Schlechte an anderen Kontinenten und Ländern. [...] Ich glaube wir sind auch ganz stolz darauf, dass diese Unterschiede sind.“

that the textbook authors lack suitable materials that deal with the continent and the topics to be dealt with. Teacher B has a similar assumption: "Well, I don't know why Africa isn't mentioned. There are probably, I don't know, maybe not so many documents with examples."³⁸ (Teacher B, 11.03.2024: lines 346-348). Teacher D also thematises the absence of the African continent in the textbooks. He sees this as a deliberate omission of the continent in Austrian textbooks. He argues: "Everything that is out of Austria and Europe is always good. Away from Eurocentrism."³⁹ (Teacher D, 13.03.2024: lines 442-443). By not engaging with Africa, he thus sees an increasing focus on Eurocentric topics. He also considers the historical entanglement of Europe and Africa to be highly relevant, which is why not engaging with Africa is also fatal for topics that concern Europe. Conveying knowledge about other continents and regions of the world is an important step that textbooks need to take. The teacher's assumption that Eurocentric perspectives will disappear from textbooks as a result is unlikely, as textbooks, their authors and publishers would first have to realise that this perspective exists in their books. In reality, a stronger focus on non-European areas would tend to reinforce Eurocentrism.

During the process of analysing the textbooks, I repeatedly came across terms that I considered to be problematic or racist. I highlighted these terms and then checked and analysed them for their racist connotations with the help of academic literature. As it was reasonable to assume that pupils would adopt these terms from the textbooks into their common parlance if there was no clarification from the teachers, I asked how the teachers perceived these terms. It turned out that, apart from teacher D, who also works as a textbook author in addition to his profession as a teacher and had already completed workshops on the topic of "Africa in textbooks", none of the teachers interviewed had noticed racist terminology in Austrian textbooks in the context of Africa.

³⁸ Original: „Na ja, ich weiß nicht, warum Afrika nicht vorkommt. Wahrscheinlich gibt es vielleicht, ich weiß nicht, möglicherweise nicht so viele Unterlagen zu exemplarischen Beispielen.“

³⁹ Original: „Alles was raus ist aus Österreich und Europa ist immer gut. Weg vom Eurozentrismus.“

Teacher E reported cases in other thematic areas where he had noticed linguistic discrimination and explained how he then asked the pupils to cross out this word in the textbook and write another one instead. Teacher B and teacher C also speak of no noticeable incidents but are of the opinion that racist terms are more likely to be noticed by pupils than by teachers. Teacher C is also convinced that the attempt to make language non-discriminatory is already being exaggerated. Teacher D takes a similar view. He even speaks of censorship when it comes to linguistic aspects of African topics in the textbook. He considers it a problem that terms that used to be perceived as neutral are now categorised negatively. He also points this out to his pupils in class: "That means I always tell the pupils that they have to be careful. Be careful, if they read a text now that is perhaps older, then it was just state of the art back then to write it without the author thinking anything negative." ⁴⁰ (Teacher D, 13.03.2024: lines 237-240). He thus draws his students' attention to the problematic nature of some terminologies, but at the same time relativises the racism behind it by saying that it used to be okay. The fact that it was not okay in the past, just as it is today, but that there was simply no or too little engagement with the material, is ignored in this argument.

Teacher F sees the slow process of change towards non-discriminatory language, especially in relation to the African continent, as being caused by distance. She compares racist language with terminologies from the Second World War and National Socialism and argues that many people had and have a connection to this historical event and that it is therefore easier to change and adapt linguistically. In relation to the African continent, on the other hand, people tend to think: "It's so far away anyway. What should I do?" ⁴¹ (Teacher F, 21.03.2024: line 493). The (mental) distance between Austria and the African continent is therefore decisive for one's lack of engagement with racist terms in Austrian textbooks.

⁴⁰ Original: „Das heißt, das sage ich bei den Schülern immer, dass man aufpassen muss. Vorsicht, wenn sie jetzt einen Text lesen, der vielleicht älter ist, dann war das damals halt state of the art, das zu schreiben, ohne dass sich der Autor, die Autorin, da was Negatives gedacht hat.“

⁴¹ Original: „Das ist eh so weit weg. Was soll ich machen?“

All teachers acknowledge that the African continent is largely portrayed negatively in geography textbooks. But what could be the consequences of this depiction and if teachers are aware of this negativity, why do they continue to work with the books? Teacher F sees a lack of reflection as one of the problems, as textbooks are often adopted word for word. But there is also: "Ignorance and possibly also a bit of laziness to deal with it. And for many, I believe that racism should not be underestimated among teachers."⁴² (Teacher F, 21.03.2024: lines 585-587). This leads to teachers taking textbooks as the basis of their teaching without examining them. Additional research is a rarity and is only carried out by a few teachers. Teacher D confirms this view and adds that many teachers still have the images of the African continent in their heads that influenced them in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s and, according to teacher D, these are poverty and hunger.

For Teacher D and Teacher F, working critically with teaching materials, including the geography textbook, is a central task that teachers should endeavour to take on. Both report that teachers need critical perspectives, especially when it comes to African topics. Pupils need support, especially at the beginning, in critically challenging the content of textbooks and not taking it for granted. When asked what image of Africa pupils would leave school with if no critical perspective was included in the lessons, teacher F replied:

*"I think if I did it like that, they would imagine the whole continent as a mud pit where there are only poor people. There are no roads, no electricity, it's just chaos, war. [...] I don't have the right word, but it's almost a dirty picture. [...] And if you then also blindly reproduce terms without anything, then I believe that racism, which still prevails one hundred per cent, will simply be reproduced again."*⁴³ (Teacher F, 21.03.2024: 598-611)

⁴² Original: „Unwissenheit und eventuell auch ein bisschen Faulheit, sich damit auseinanderzusetzen. Und bei vielen, glaube ich, ist es nach wie vor den Rassismus darf man auch nicht unterschätzen bei Lehrern.“

⁴³ Original: „Ich glaube, wenn ich das so machen würde, würden sie sich den gesamten Kontinent als eine Schlammgrube vorstellen, wo nur arme Menschen sind. Es gibt keine Straßen, keine Elektrizität, es ist nur Chaos, Krieg. [...] Ich habe nicht das richtige Wort, aber fast schon ein schmutziges Bild. [...] Und wenn man dann halt auch Begriffe reproduziert, die blind, ohne irgendwas, dann glaube ich, wird sich halt auch der Rassismus, der hundert Prozent nach wie vor herrscht, einfach wieder reproduzieren.“

The view described by this teacher is a thoroughly Afropessimistic picture that homogenises the entire continent and presents negative attributes as the single story. Not passing on this image but encouraging students to think beyond the textbook requires time, which both are willing to invest. After all, one of the most important tools, they want their students to leave school with, is the ability to form their own opinions by questioning and analysing the textbook content.

The consequences of these representations in the textbook and the teachers' presentation and reception of precisely these representations have an impact. The majority of the teachers interviewed agree with this. However, there is no consensus on exactly what these effects look like. Two teachers see the impact that textbooks have on pupils as rather small. Although they believe that it influences the pupils in a certain way, they are unable to name it and do not attribute any particular importance to it. Teacher C does not believe that textbooks have a significant influence on the perception of the African continent, but the teacher's attitude and views do. If one now assumes that the teacher takes the textbook as the basis for teaching about Africa, it can, therefore, be said that the textbook can very likely have an influencing effect on pupils and that these representations are later reproduced.

At the same time, Teacher C defends colleagues who reproduce a very one-sided and negative image of Africa by saying that they cannot simply change who they are and must also share their opinions with pupils. Whether the teacher's opinion should have a voice in the classroom is a pedagogical question that should be addressed elsewhere. Teacher E is also certain that the omission of Africa-related or Africa-specific topics can have an impact:

*"It's missing from the pupils' mental maps. You basically only think about what you've heard about. And if I don't hear much about something, then it's subconsciously stored in my head as being less relevant. And as a result, if I hear less about something, I perceive it as less relevant."*⁴⁴ (Teacher E, 13.03.2024: lines 111-115)

⁴⁴ Original: „Er fehlt auf den mentalen Landkarten der Schüler*innen. Man denkt quasi dann nur an das, wovon man gehört hat. Und wenn ich von etwas wenig höre, dann ist es unterbewusst als wenig relevant

It is therefore not only the negative portrayal that plays a major role, but also the omission of topics relating to the African continent can have an impact on the pupils' perspective.

6.3. Possible changes and the future of the textbook

Toward the end of the interviews, all teachers were asked how they would change the geography textbook in terms of African issues if they had the opportunity to do so. The answers were incredibly varied. Teacher B and teacher C emphasised the importance of exemplary country examples throughout the interview. They argued that this would allow the positive side of African countries and societies to be presented and that several country examples could be used to emphasise the diversity of this continent, but at the same time could also highlight the negative aspects and problems of these countries. Teacher C repeatedly points out that the African continent can only realise its full potential if countries of the Global North withdraw from the African continent. In this context, she talks about the need to show what Africa can achieve and accomplish. The introduction of positive examples is therefore a priority for these two teachers. The GEOspots textbooks are already a good example of this proposal, as they contain many exemplary case studies. However, as these case studies deal almost exclusively with negative aspects of the African continent, they do not do much to emphasise the diversity of the continent as suggested by the teachers.

Diversity is not only addressed by teacher C, but also by teacher D, who would like to see more diversity and therefore more examples relating to Africa, particularly in connection with the natural environment and climate. During the interview, Teacher E repeatedly linked topics relating to Africa with political and economic issues in the EU. It is, therefore, hardly surprising that he would like to see more topics covering this thematic field. For him, the main focus should be on trade agreements, which should

in meinem Kopf gespeichert. Und das ist dann eine Folge, wenn ich eben von etwas weniger höre, nehme ich es als weniger relevant wahr.“

show: "that historically existing inequalities are being further deepened and, if not deepened, then at least not reduced."⁴⁵ (Teacher E, 13.03.2024: lines 809-810). To highlight these inequalities, the geography textbook would therefore need a critical perspective. Not only the way in which content on African topics is structured would have to be reconsidered, but a critical perspective would also be needed on the content that deals with Europe, the EU and the Global North.

In the best-case scenario, textbooks refer to many different realities of life and opinions and convey these in a neutral way. The textbook is changing, and different groups of people are involved in this change. One of the teachers interviewed was able to provide more detailed information about the geography textbook of the future through his work as a textbook author. In the interview, he shared what impression these changes, which are currently taking place and which he is witnessing and helping to shape, make on him. He describes the changes as "Not good! Because it's already very strictly defined what is written. It's almost this over-political correctness that they all have in them. I think that's no different to censorship. It means you're only allowed to sell great pictures that don't correspond to reality."⁴⁶ (Teacher D, 13.03.2024: lines 101-104). For him, the changes that are currently being implemented in the geography textbook regarding Africa, but also in general, go too far. At the same time, he is of the opinion that more positive aspects and examples are needed in connection with the African continent. Teachers, who organise their lessons mainly with the help of textbooks, need these positive aspects to give them inspiration as to how they can change their lessons accordingly. However, the teacher and textbook author is concerned that negative aspects could now be completely eliminated. Both perspectives are needed to get a well-founded picture of the given situation and negative situations must not be sugar-

⁴⁵ Original: „dass historisch bestehende Ungleichheiten weiter vertieft und wenn nicht vertieft, dann aber doch zumindest nicht abgebaut werden.“

⁴⁶ Original: „Nicht gut! Weil es wird ganz genau schon vorgegeben, was geschrieben wird. Das ist schon fast diese überpolitische correctness, die sie alle in sich haben. Das finde ich, ist ja nicht anderes als wie Zensur. Das heißt, man darf nur mehr tolle Bilder verkaufen, die nicht der Realität entsprechen.“

coated just to put a country in a better light. Teaching and learning about the African continent only in a positive way would present a wrong picture of the continent.

Regarding Africa, he sees the textbook being greatly condensed in the future. During the review and comparison with older textbooks, it was noticeable that countries from the African continent were not to be found in the table of contents but were frequently used as examples in text passages. When asked about this practice, the teacher confirmed these findings and explained that this approach would also become more common in the future. This is also because publishers and textbook authors try to be less offensive in relation to Africa by using small examples and "not doing anything wrong". The focus would then be more on other continents, where textbook authors would have to worry less about political correctness. This would lead to an omission of African topics and issues. Instead of a single story portrayal of the African continent there would be no story at all.

During a presentation at the Antiracism Days in Vienna on the 15th of March 2024, which I attended, a talk with AEWTASS (Advancing Equality within the Austrian School System), an organisation that not only conducts large-scale textbook analyses but also holds workshops for publishers, textbook authors and teachers on the topic of Africa in Austrian textbooks was opened to the public. During the Question-and-Answer session at the end of the talk I asked the organiser and chairwoman of AEWTASS, Aquea Lamptey, what she thinks about negative portrayal of Africa in Austrian textbooks and what she thinks about the future. She argued that it would be better to ban the African continent from textbooks if there is no change towards positive reporting. Omitting the continent would still be better than a purely negative portrayal. However, this does not seem to consider that this could lead to pupils not even thinking about the continent on their own and therefore not viewing it as relevant at all.

To summarise the previous three subchapters, it can be said that the teachers interviewed are aware that the presentation of the African continent in the geography textbook is very one-sided and primarily characterised by negative examples. When asked about positive things that they associate with Africa and the geography textbook, the teachers mentioned few, if any, thematic areas. It seems as if they all know that

there are positive things and would like to see more of these represented in the textbook and therefore in lessons, but do not know what these could be. This shows how strongly anchored Afropessimism is in individuals when teachers wish for positive examples of the African continent but cannot think of any themselves. Two of the teachers are aware of the Eurocentric perspective with which the textbooks work. It is noteworthy that these are the only teachers interviewed who are under the age of 35 years. They are the teachers who try to incorporate criticism of this perspective into their lessons. It should be viewed with great concern that the future of the textbook in relation to Africa will primarily mean reductions and omissions. If one compares this process with the ideas and approaches that the interviewed teachers have for an ideal textbook, it becomes clear that the cutbacks are also being made against the will of the teachers. Incorporating their ideas would be an important step, as they are the interface between the textbooks and the pupils.

6.4. In-depth analysis of three textbook passages

In this subchapter three examples that can be found in the textbooks which I analysed are discussed. These examples were part of the interviews and were reviewed with the teachers. The focus here was on how teachers use these examples in lessons, what they think of them and how critical they are of these images. They are, therefore, part of the textbook analysis as well as the interviews and can be seen as a connecting element between the two methodological approaches.

6.4.1. Example 1: Map of Africa according to subjective criteria

The first example is taken from the textbook *Durchblick 5* (Hofmann-Schneller et al., 2017b: 10-11) and is used in the 9th grade. A key chapter in grade 9 curriculum is the thematic area that deals with the principles of classification of the Earth. Various possibilities and theories are presented on how the world can be categorised. This chapter can be found at the beginning of all three textbooks for grade 9 that I analysed and represents the beginning of the book. In *Durchblick 5*, the title of the chapter is

"Organisational principles of the earth according to different perspectives"⁴⁷. The title already makes it clear that this chapter deals with different approaches. The first subchapter is called "One world - a puzzle"⁴⁸ and consists of two pages. The first page describes three types of classification. Categorisation according to national and administrative borders, categorisation according to distribution areas and categorisation according to subjective criteria. On the second page there are five maps showing the African continent, dividing and organising it in different ways. The heading for these maps is "divided Africa"⁴⁹. In a work exercise, the previously explained categorisation models are now to be assigned to the five maps. One map in particular stands out and is the map that was discussed during the interviews with the teachers.

This map depicts the African continent (without islands) and is divided into zones or regions using different colours. Within these zones, a few words are written that seem descriptive of that zone. The caption of the map reads "Africa as seen by Europeans"⁵⁰. A zone marked in yellow is described with the word "sand". Another zone is labelled "AIDS". A total of ten of these zones can be found on the map. These two pages are the first two thematic pages of this textbook. During the textbook analysis, the map and the corresponding text were assigned to the subcategory "Classification of the world", which belongs to the category "Development".

Figure 1: Map „Africa as seen by Europeans“



Source: Hofmann-Schneller et al., 2017b: 11

⁴⁷ Original: „Gliederungsprinzipien der Erde nach unterschiedlichen Sichtweisen“

⁴⁸ Original: „Die „eine Welt“ – ein Puzzle“

⁴⁹ Original: „Das „eingeteilte“ Afrika“

⁵⁰ Original: „Afrika aus Sicht der Europäerinnen und Europäer“

In the interviews, I first asked the teachers how they organise the thematic chapter on the classification principles of the earth and how they introduce it to their students. From the books I selected, it can be seen that this chapter focusses primarily on a classification according to cultural divisions⁵¹. The response from the geography teachers was that they do not like to deal with this topic or do not deal with it at all. Teacher C says that she associates the principles of categorisation primarily with the division into cultural categories and only rarely addresses these in class, as this theory is also based on the division into religions. She clearly views religion as something that has no room in school and should only be discussed at home. If she incorporates the classification principles of the earth into her lessons, it is usually only at a later point during the school year or even at a higher school level. She takes a negative stance on placing the topic chapter at the beginning of year 9. Teacher E is of a similar opinion. When asked about this chapter, he immediately replies that he always skips it, stating: "I think categorisation in this form of cultural divisions is unrealistic."⁵² (Teacher E, 13.03.2024: lines 292-293). Like teacher C, he considers the timing to be poor and points out that at the beginning of Year 10, in connection with the definition of Europe, he discusses what differentiation from other continents and regions might look like. Teacher B also immediately points out that she skips the entire chapter on the classification principles of the earth.

In the next step, I confronted the teachers with the map described above and asked them how they would use it in the classroom. Three of the four geography teachers were shocked by the depiction. Teacher B, who said that she herself had worked with this textbook for a long time, found clear words: "Well, of course that's completely wrong."⁵³ (Teacher B, 11.03.2024: line 558). All the teachers told me that it would be important in this example to deal intensively and in detail with the illustration and the associated thematic areas. They see the added value of this map for the lessons differently. Teacher D speaks of the map as a polarising image and sees the map as an opportunity to bring

⁵¹ All three textbooks work with the theory by Samuel Huntington (The Clash of Civilizations, 1993).

⁵² Original: „Ich halte eine Einteilung in dieser Form von Kulturerdteilen für realitätsfremd.“

⁵³ Original: „Na gut, das ist natürlich völlig daneben.“

controversy into the classroom. He does not see the problem with this representation in the textbook, but in the way the teachers handle the knowledge transfer in connection with this map. He sees it as the teacher's task to deconstruct this map together with the pupils. Teacher B, teacher C and teacher E see no added value in the map. When asked how she would use this map in the classroom, teacher C replies: "Well, I think I would not have used this graphic at all, or I would really have just mocked what they come up with in the book and whether it's really all so negative. Because that's just sand [...] and they're hungry and that's ridiculous, please. You can delete this graphic. I probably wouldn't even have mentioned it, yes."⁵⁴ (Teacher C, 12.03.2024: lines 773-777)

Teacher B and teacher E also explain that they would generally skip this map, but that they are also aware that it needs contextualisation. Both speak of the fact that every single thematic area that is even slightly mentioned in the illustration would have to be worked on together with the pupils. Teacher E, however, points out that the map would be forgotten by the pupils if the different topics were worked out. In principle, however, all teachers agree that it is necessary to deal with the topics mentioned on the map if this map is depicted in the textbook. They consider the mere illustration of the map without any further background information to be extremely problematic.

All four teachers see the effect that this map can have on pupils as being rather negative. Teacher E sees hardly any effect on pupils, as he is of the opinion that most of his pupils would not be able to relate to many of the terms on the map and would therefore not engage and remember it. Teacher B is of the opinion that pupils take away a "total generalisation" from the map. Teacher D also believes that students mainly notice that different regions and topics within society are not addressed, which results in generalisation. Teacher C believes that this type of illustration is particularly memorable

⁵⁴ Original: „Also ich glaube, diese Grafik hätte ich, wenn gar nicht genommen oder wirklich nur auch quasi spöttisch gesprochen was denen da einfällt im Buch und ob das wirklich alles so negativ ist. Weil das ist nur Sand [...] und da haben sie Hunger und da, das ist doch lächerlich bitte. Die kann man streichen diese Grafik. Die hätte ich nicht einmal wahrscheinlich erwähnt, ja.“

for pupils due to its simple presentation and that the negative prejudices presented in the map have a long-lasting effect.

6.4.2. Example 2: Overpopulation on the African continent

The second example, which was discussed with all geography teachers during the interviews, can be found in the GEOspots 5 to 6 textbook (Germ et al., 2022a: 86-87). The 9th grade curriculum includes the topic of global population. This topic is addressed in all three of the books I analysed at this school level. In GEOspots 5 to 6, the topic is addressed in the chapter "The global population - development to where?"⁵⁵ The African continent is a recurring theme throughout the entire chapter. The example analysed with the teachers can be found in the sub-chapter "The phases of population development in the model and in reality"⁵⁶. On the double page relevant to this example, there is first an explanation of the terms birth rate and death rate, accompanied by a graphical representation of the fertility rate of selected countries. This graph shows the fertility rate for Niger (7.2) and Cameroon (4.7) and other non-African countries (Germ et al., 2022a).

In the next section, the phases of the theoretical model of the demographic transition are explained and illustrated with a graphic. In the last part of the double-page, the book aims to describe the demographic transition in real life. This is accompanied by a graphic illustrating Austria's population development between 1910 and 2020. The last paragraph mentions that it is difficult to transfer this model to 'developing countries'. Which countries are meant by 'developing countries' is made clear by the partial sentence "in the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America"⁵⁷ (Germ et al., 2022a: 87). The double-page ends with a picture of 14 black children laughing at the camera. The accompanying caption reads: "The population of Africa is rapidly growing."⁵⁸ (Germ et al., 2022a: 87). During the analysis of the textbooks, the paragraph and the

⁵⁵ Original: „Die globale Bevölkerung – Entwicklung wohin?“

⁵⁶ Original: „Die Phasen der Bevölkerungsentwicklung im Modell und in der Realität“.

⁵⁷ Original: „in den Staaten Afrikas, Asiens, und Lateinamerikas“

⁵⁸ Original: „In Afrika wächst die Bevölkerung besonders rasch.“

corresponding image could be assigned to the category "Public life" and thus to the subcategory "Demography".

Figure 2: Africa's population

Auf die Entwicklungsländer lässt sich das Modell des demografischen Übergangs nur schwer übertragen. Der Rückgang der Sterberaten setzte in den Staaten Afrikas, Asiens und Lateinamerikas mit einer deutlichen Verzögerung gegenüber Europa, Nordamerika und Australien ein.

Erst Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts begann sich die Schere zwischen Geburten- und Sterbefällen deutlich zu weiten, viele Entwicklungsländer befinden sich heute somit erst in den Phasen zwei oder drei des demografischen Übergangs. Es ist auch zweifelhaft, ob sich die Geburtenraten tatsächlich weltweit auf das niedrige Niveau der Sterberaten absenken werden. ➔ 4.2.B



Abb. 87.3: In Afrika wächst die Bevölkerung derzeit besonders rasch

Source: Germ et al., 2022a: 87

During the review, I realised that at first glance, this image is one of the "positive" images of the African continent. At the same time, however, this example must be seen in its entire context. Because in this context, the image that refers to the African continent is the only one on this double page that does not depict the facts with graphics. During the interviews, I opened the double-page described above and asked the teachers how they felt about the choice of pictures and graphics and why the publishers chose a picture of children for the example on developing countries and the African continent. At first, the teachers I interviewed seemed surprised by my choice of images and told me that there were "much more negative images" of Africa in the textbook.

Teacher C avoided the question and explained that she had just covered this topic and had shown a documentary rather than using the book. She explains the choice of image as follows: "And this could perhaps mean: Look, when you're on the street, only every

third or every fifth person is an adult. Everyone else is still a child, or what we call a child or young adult. And old people over 60, you'll probably only see one under 40."⁵⁹ (Teacher C, 12.03.2024: lines 751-754). She has no answer to my question as to why the example about Austria does not show a photo of many old people. She just keeps emphasising that she has never thought about these things.

Teacher D answers why, especially when it comes to the African continent, a picture of children is used and not a graphic by saying "that this was the decisive reason here, that the high birth rate there should be emphasised."⁶⁰ (Teacher D, 13.03.2024: lines 281-282). At the same time, however, he also points out that this type of image, which he describes as a decorative image, would no longer be present in a new version of the textbook. In order to do justice to the reviewers of the textbooks, the new version will include an example of low-birth-rate countries such as South Korea. Africa, and therefore also the picture, will then be omitted and no longer mentioned.

When asked about the picture, teacher E says that he would describe this picture as a pure gap filler, as it seems as if there was still room on this page and a simple picture was chosen. He describes the usefulness of the other graphics and states that the picture of the African children does not contribute to the transfer of knowledge. At the same time, he states: "However, I would like to give the picture credit for having a much more positive visual language than most other pictures in Africa. These are children smiling."⁶¹ (Teacher E, 13.03.2024: lines 726-728). He sees the reason for using the image in the aim of creating a kind of 'loosening up'. The fact that he does not consider the choice of image to be ideal becomes clear when he tries to find alternatives that could be used instead. He suggests a world map that could be used to illustrate population growth on the African continent. In this example, none of the teachers address the fact that it is

⁵⁹ Original: „Und das könnte vielleicht gemeint sein: Schauts, wenn du auf der Straße bist, ist nur jede dritte oder jede fünfte Person ein Erwachsener. Alles andere ist eben noch ein Kind, oder was bei uns als Kind oder junge Erwachsene ist. Und alte Menschen über 60 wirst du wahrscheinlich nur einen unter 40 sehen.“

⁶⁰ Original: „dass das hier der ausschlaggebende Grund war, dass dort die hohe Geburtenrate verdeutlicht werden soll.“

⁶¹ Original: „Wobei ich dem Bild jetzt zugutehalten möchte, es hat eine wesentlich positivere Bildsprache als die meisten anderen Bilder in Afrika. Das sind Kinder, die lächeln.“

minors who are depicted in this book. There is no information about who took this picture, whether the children's parents or guardians agreed to these pictures and whether there is any awareness that this picture will be seen and worked with by millions of people. Just because it shows laughing children and does not directly portray negative circumstances, is it acceptable to use this type of image.

6.4.3. Example 3: Food in different world regions

The third example is taken from the textbook *Durchblick 4* (Hofmann-Schneller et al., 2017a: 80-81). The double page I selected represents the beginning of the chapter "Living in a diverse world"⁶². This thematic area can also be found in the curriculum for Geography and Economic Education in grade 8. The curriculum does not define more precisely what this thematic area should include. The *Durchblick 4* textbook begins this thematic area with a double page showing five photos of five different families. The double page focuses on the food and eating habits of these families, as well as their personal possessions. The left side shows a family from Chad, a family from Italy and a family from Mongolia. All three families are shown with food. The family from Chad is sitting on a blanket on the floor, with bags of grain and other food in front of them and canisters behind them. The families from Italy and Mongolia are sitting and standing around a table with food on it. The photo of the family from Italy and the family from Mongolia was taken inside a house, which is why it is not obvious whether these families live in the countryside or in the city. The photo of the family from Chad was taken in front of their house, so it is evident that it is a rural area. The pupils are asked to complete various tasks on this page. Among other things, they should determine which family has a balanced diet, whether the food is nutritious and whether this food keeps the families full (Hofmann-Schneller et al., 2017a: 80).

On the right side of the double page are two photos of two different families. One family lives in Moulo, Ethiopia, the second family in Tokyo, Japan. Both families are shown in front of their house with all their possessions. The Ethiopian family's possessions include

⁶² Original: „Leben in einer vielfältigen Welt“

various baskets and vessels, as well as animals. The Japanese family's possessions mainly consist of clothes, furniture and electrical appliances. In a work assignment, the pupils are asked to compare the possessions of the two families and explain the differences (Hofmann-Schneller et al., 2017a: 81). During the textbook analysis, the pictures described, and the related assignments were assigned to the category "Private life: religion, traditions, customs, role allocation, daily life" and the subcategory "food/nutrition".

Figure 3: Chadian, Italian, and Mongolian family

Leben in einer vielfältigen Welt

Essen sieht überall anders aus
Die Vielfalt unserer Welt wird gerade bei der Ernährung deutlich. Der Zugang zu Nahrung, Lebensmitteln und Wasser ist dabei entscheidend. Die Lebensweisen der Menschen reichen von der Selbstversorgung bis zur Versorgung durch Konsum in Supermärkten.



M1 Familie in Tschad

M2 Familie in Italien

M3 Familie in der Mongolei

- 1 Erstelle zuerst eine Tabelle mit folgenden Spalten: landwirtschaftliche Rohstoffe, Grundnahrungsmittel, leicht verderbliche Lebensmittel, haltbare Lebensmittel, Getränke. Als Zeilen zählen Familie 1 (M1), Familie 2 (M2) und Familie 3 (M3).
- 2 Ordne die Lebensmittel der Familien den passenden Spalten zu. Pass auf, die Einträge zu den Familien sind unterschiedlich lang!
- 3 Stelle fest, welche Familie einen ausgewogenen Speiseplan hat und ob man von reichhaltiger Nahrung sprechen kann.
- 4 Beschreibe dabei die Vielfalt der Nahrung oder einzelne Lebensmittel, die dir bekannt sind.
- 5 Beurteile, ob das jeweilige Angebot an Nahrung die Familie satt machen kann.

Source: Hofmann-Schneller et al., 2017a: 80

Figure 4: Ethiopian and Japanese family

Toleranz
Achtung und Duldung anderer Meinungen und Einstellungen



M4 Familie Getu aus Mawla in Äthiopien

M5 Familie Utiko aus Tokio Japan

Vielfalt entdecken und verstehen
Wir leben heute in einer stark vernetzten und globalisierten Welt. Migration von Flüchtlingen oder Arbeitskräften, aber auch das Reisen bestimmte schon immer den Kontakt und Austausch mit anderen Kulturen. Die unterschiedlichen Denkweisen, Sprachen und Religionen prallen oft aufeinander. Dabei entstehen vermehrt Konflikte, die entweder zu einer Anpassung oder einer Weiterentwicklung führen. *Einzelne Beispiele...*

Source: Hofmann-Schneller et al., 2017a: 81

In the interviews, I first asked the teachers what they noticed about these pictures, without addressing the corresponding work assignments. Teacher C says that the African families are depicted as having a simpler way of life than the other families. A way of life that she describes as less materialistic, more family-centred and related to agriculture. When asked why the Italian and Mongolian families are photographed in the house and the Chadian family in front of the house, teacher C says that these families cannot be

photographed with all their food in front of a (possibly) tall, multi-storey house. When I asked her why they didn't take a Chadian family from a town that lives in a multi-storey house, she replied: "Because we probably don't have it in our heads [...]"⁶³ (Teacher C, 12.03.2024: line 694).

Teacher B recognises in these pictures that stereotypes that appear throughout the textbooks are reinforced with these photos. At the same time, she is not surprised by this representation, as she is of the opinion that generalisations about Africa can be found in all topics, not just in this example. When asked about the work exercises, teacher C talks about the fact that although the food can feed all families, malnutrition cannot be excluded. She does not specify which family or families she is referring to. Teacher B mentions the food of the Chadian family and says that grain is the main food in this region and must be presented accordingly. However, she also believes that this is not a complete picture of reality, because: "When I look at Chad, it probably looks different again in N'Djamena."⁶⁴ (Teacher B, 11.03.2024: lines 666-667). Teacher B thus deliberately addresses the fact that differences between the city and the countryside are hidden.

The first thing that teacher E notices when looking at the pictures is the difference between the pictures taken inside and in front of the house. He believes that the images were chosen because people subconsciously see the depiction of the Ethiopian and Chadian families as typically African. At the same time, he wonders why the Mongolian family was not photographed in a yurt if the typical family is supposed to be in the foreground. After reading through the assignment, teacher E concludes that these photos of the families are not needed to fulfil the task. He suggests that the food should be photographed without people. For him, the focus is not on what is needed to fulfil the work task. He describes the differences as follows: "I don't just have the food in the pictures. I have electronic devices in the pictures. I've got a screen here, I've got decorations here and it's implied to me that there's not even a house. And that does

⁶³ Original: „Weil wir es wahrscheinlich nicht so in unseren Köpfen haben [...]"

⁶⁴ Original: „wenn ich nach Tschad schaue, in N'Djamena schaue wahrscheinlich wieder anders aus."

something subconsciously. It subconsciously judges. At a time when it is not necessary, because if I want to talk about the fact that different eating habits have developed in different regions, then the house around it is not really relevant."⁶⁵ (Teacher E, 13.03.2024: lines 576-582).

In response to my question as to why the textbook is portrayed in such a way that it is subconsciously judgemental, the teacher assumes. He doesn't believe that the textbook authors took these pictures themselves and therefore weren't on site and didn't get to know the reality of people's lives. In his opinion, not being there contributes a lot to the fact that the textbook authors reproduce their own subconscious view with these photos and therefore this judgemental image is passed on.

6.4.4. Image analysis according to Martial (2005) and Pettersson (2010)

The questions that Martial (2005) and Pettersson (2010) ask regarding images and depictions in textbooks can now be applied to the three examples described in order to answer whether these depictions provide added value for the students' learning process:

- Does the image contain information relevant to the current topic?

The topic, classification of the earth according to subjective criteria, is illustrated with a map of the African continent on which discriminatory, racist and generalising reflections can be identified. This not only raises the question of whether the information in the image is relevant to the topic, but it must also be questioned whether the entire topic is relevant at all. The fact that the earth is categorised in different ways is a relevant topic for geography lessons. Classification according to subjective criteria can be important if the textbook deals with how this classification reproduces generalising and discriminatory perceptions. In this case, however, the textbook reproduces precisely

⁶⁵ Original: „Ich habe in den Bildern nicht nur das Essen. Ich habe in den Bildern elektronische Geräte. Ich habe hier einen Bildschirm, ich habe hier Dekoration und hier wird mir suggeriert, das ist nicht einmal ein Haus. Und das macht unterbewusst, macht das was. Unterbewusst wertet das. Zu einem Zeitpunkt, wo es eben nicht notwendig ist, weil wenn ich darüber reden will, dass sich auf unterschiedlichen Regionen unterschiedliche Essgewohnheiten entwickelt haben, dann ist das Haus rundherum eigentlich nicht relevant.“

these itself and does not go into detail about how these perceptions can be deconstructed. The picture, therefore, contains no relevant information for the actual topic.

As confirmed by two of the teachers who were interviewed, the second image serves purely to ensure that the double page on which the image is located consists not only of graphics but also of photos and is used because there was still room on the page. The image is, therefore, not relevant to the topic.

The images in the third example contain information that is relevant to the topic. However, they also contain information that is not relevant to the topic and should not be included. One of the interviewed teachers gives examples of other illustrations that could be used to give only information that is relevant to the topic and therefore not overloaded and open up other topics that are not intended.

- Is the image simple and sparingly designed?

At first glance, all three selected images appear simple and sparingly designed. However, as can be seen from the teachers' responses, the map of the African continent in this form of depiction in particular requires a lot of explanation and contextualisation on the side of the teacher in order to be understood by the pupils, as they have little knowledge of most of the terms and this can lead to confusion and a lack of understanding.

The second example, which shows a close-up of laughing children, is kept simple. The children are in the foreground, the focus is on them, the background is blurred and not relevant. The teachers also describe the picture as simple.

The third example, which deals with several images, is not kept simple. These are very complex images that contain a lot of information. This also becomes clear during the interviews. Due to the different information, similar to the first example, it takes a lot of explanation from the teachers to understand the essentials.

- Does the image distract from the actual topic?

The map of the first example has nothing to do with the actual topic and, as all the teachers interviewed described, a lot of explanation and contextualisation would be needed for this map. It, therefore, opens up the view to other thematic areas and can

therefore be clearly understood as distracting. The actual topic, which deals with ways of categorising the earth according to subjective criteria, is completely ignored, as this map has nothing to do with subjective criteria but reflects stereotypical and racist ideas.

The teachers describe the picture of the laughing children as barely distracting. However, as can be seen from the first question, it does not contain any relevant information. It simply has nothing to do with the topic described in the text, nor with any other topic.

The pictures in example three are clearly a distraction. As teacher E describes, the actual topic of food and possessions is pushed into the background by the fact that much more can be seen than just the named and relevant components. The relevant illustrations in the picture, such as food, are depicted much smaller than the unimportant components, such as the surroundings, house and people. Teacher E's idea of displaying a shopping list or only food items would do justice to the task of this example and the topic in general and prevent distraction.

- Does the picture concentrate on the essentials?

As already explained in questions one and three, the focus of the pictures is not on the actual topic and, therefore, does not concentrate on the essentials in all three cases.

- Are there explanations for the picture?

The illustrations in examples one and two contain captions and can be clearly assigned to a text passage. However, the information contained in the text passages has little to do with the selected images and, therefore, offers little explanation. The captions are also inadequate and consist of a short sentence that does not adequately describe the images but can be understood as a brief summary of the corresponding text passage.

The images in example three also contain captions. These are particularly short and only contain information about the country from which the depicted family comes. In the last two pictures, the family is also given a name and the place of residence is specified by mentioning the city or village.

It can, therefore, be clearly seen that although captions are present, explanations are missing.

- Is the potential for colourful design used?

With the first presentation in the form of a map of the African continent, different colours are used that can be easily distinguished from each other without compromising readability. The different regions labelled on the map are thus clearly distinguishable from one another. Different colours are also used in the picture of the laughing children, but the eye is not overstimulated as it is not bright but muted colours that are used. The different foods, possessions and backgrounds in the photos in example three also use a lot of colours. However, it is noticeable that earthy tones are in the foreground in the photos of the African families, which means that some elements are not emphasised. In the other three families, the use of a wider colour palette can be seen, which makes it easier to distinguish individual foods and household items from one another.

- Are the pupils able to understand the picture?

Regarding the map in the first example, the answer is a clear "no". Except for teacher D, all other teachers are speaking out against this illustration, arguing above all that the children do not know some or many of the terms used in the illustration. It also became clear in the interviews that not dealing with this map in class can lead to a lack of understanding among the pupils when they work with this map independently. For most terms, it cannot be assumed that pupils know why these criteria are applied to a specific African region. In the process of my analysis, as an Africa researcher, I had to research some of the terms and their meaning and connection to the region or state depicted to understand them. Some of the attributions are still unclear to me, as they are to the teachers.

It is clear from the interviews that the picture in example two is understandable for pupils. Whether pupils are able to establish and make a connection between the picture and the corresponding text could not be conclusively clarified. However, the teachers interviewed did not report that this picture raised any questions.

The pictures from example three can be categorised as understandable for the pupils. The double page deals with life in different parts of the world and shows families in their living environment. However, as discussed in the interviews, it can be assumed that the work assignments, which are to be carried out with the help of these pictures, can lead

to confusion in relation to the pictures. In combination with the work assignments, the images can therefore be categorised as rather incomprehensible.

When analysing the pictures with the help of the questions by Martial (2005) and Pettersson (2010) it quickly becomes clear that the images have one thing in common. Regardless of their racist and stereotypical connotations, they offer no added value for the pupils' learning process. They fail to fulfil their purpose by only partially or not at all picking up on the information in the accompanying text and without further explanations they are difficult or impossible to understand. In addition, the images convey more information than relevant, which can lead to distraction and focussing on other topics.

7. Conclusion

The research question 'How are African issues presented in Austrian textbooks and how are they perceived and taught by teachers in secondary education in Austria?' was presented in the introduction.

The qualitative content analysis of the nine textbooks initially focussed on how frequently the African continent appears in the textbooks. By creating and presenting the categories, it was possible to show which thematic areas are covered in Austrian geography textbooks when information on the African continent is provided. How these thematic areas are presented was the main part of the qualitative content analysis in order to be able to answer the first part of the research question and therefore the first research objective. The analysis produced very different results. Depending on the textbook and the respective grade, not only do different thematic areas come to the fore, but also the intensity and frequency with which they are addressed. It should also be noted that grade 8 books offer significantly less content than grade 12 textbooks, for example. This is because the books are designed for completely different age groups and more content can be included in a grade 12 textbook than in a grade 8 textbook. The very open curriculum also contributes to the fact that the books focus more intensively on different chapters. This means that in some books the African continent is only dealt with on a few pages, while in others it plays a much bigger role. Despite the different emphasis on Africa in the textbooks, a common trend was identified.

Probably the most striking characteristic is a consistent 'Afropessimism'. Regardless of the topic, the image of a 'crisis-ridden' continent emerges. The focus is on topics such as flight and migration. Crises and conflicts are dealt with particularly frequently and, as a result, African states are categorised as 'fragile states' or 'least developed states'. Forms of government and politics in general are also frequently addressed, although almost exclusively negative forms are discussed, as it seems that the only positive example is Mauritius. The continent's population development is over-represented and only portrayed in a negative light. It is noticeable that it is cited as the cause of many things. Migration takes place due to the large number of people. Conflicts are caused by

a lack of space due to the large number of people. Diseases spread due to the large number of people. This can subsequently be interpreted as indicating that these 'many' people pose a danger. The representations associated with exoticism, which Guggeis (2004) and Poenicke (2001) describe as mainly numerically small societies that maintain a 'traditional' lifestyle from a Eurocentric perspective, as well as a focus on clothing and living situations, could not be identified in this analysis.

There are hardly any representations that do not choose the 'problem representation' angle as a lens. It is also noticeable that attempts are made to include positive examples, but at the same time negative aspects are presented within these positive examples. This can be found above all in the economy category, but also in tourism. Country examples are given that report on how tourism is expanding in a country and is an important factor in the economy, but at the same time terrorist attacks, danger and insecurity are linked to it. So it seems as if there is nothing about the African continent that contains only positive aspects. As Markom and Weinhäupl (2007) already mentioned in their textbook analysis, problems should in no way be trivialised or denied, but positive examples are needed in order to create a differentiated image of Africa.

It is also noticeable that in the way African issues are presented, contexts and backgrounds are in most cases not adequately presented or not included at all. This leads to a distorted depiction of African life realities. Causes for problems that are thematised are not sufficiently mentioned, which gives the impression that the African continent is mainly responsible for its own predicament.

Another recognisable tendency is to portray Africa as a 'homogeneous entity'. Individual textbooks, such as GEOspots 5 bis 6 or GEOspots 7 bis 8, are already trying to counteract this by working with a few country examples. However, these country examples are again mainly explained in the context of negative representations, which means that the homogenisation of the continent cannot be broken up and deconstructed. In addition, the term 'Africa' continues to be used frequently, which subsumes the individual countries into a homogenous mass.

The analysis also revealed that racist and Eurocentric forms of representation of Africa can be found in the textbooks. Even though these may occur without any intention on the authors' part, they (re)produce stereotypes and prejudices. Regardless of whether racism is expressed explicitly or is only hidden, the impact remains the same (Macgilrichst & Müller, 20212). This implicit racism manifests itself above all in the fact that Africa continues to be constructed as the traditional and underdeveloped counterpart to Europe. Development theories and the categorisation of states based on a 'level of development' can be found in all books. These existing Eurocentric patterns of explanation are not challenged, and multi-perspectivity and African voices are therefore not recognised.

The second part of the research question focussed on the teachers and how they perceive the textbooks and teach the content. The interviews provided insights to answer this question and the three selected examples showed in detail how the selected geography teachers would incorporate them into their lessons. It was clearly recognisable that the teachers have a lot of freedom in the design of their lessons in general and also in relation to Africa. Because it is rarely specified which countries or regions of the world have to be covered, the teachers emphasise the inclusion of the African continent to varying degrees. However, the teachers interviewed were all in favour of the importance of integrating Africa into lessons.

The findings for the second research objective show that the teachers are often aware of which content is problematic and which is not. The prevailing Afropessimism and the Eurocentric perspective are the main issues here. Above all, all teachers are aware of and criticise the one-sided negative representation of the continent in textbooks. In order to not incorporate this representation too strongly into the lessons, attempts are made to work against it with other teaching materials. At the same time, however, it becomes clear that the knowledge of what is racist or discriminatory is not developed strongly enough. Almost all teachers describe this about themselves. The motivation to change the presentation of the African textbook and in the teaching about the continent in the classroom is therefore present among most teachers. The problem is seen in the fact that they do not know what content to teach due to a low level of knowledge.

Ehlen (2015) emphasises that there is hardly any awareness of the problem of racism among white teachers, which is also largely reflected in my interviews. It is striking that the teachers are unable to name examples in the textbooks that they categorise as racist or discriminatory. They only realised that these are racist and stereotypical texts and images during the analysis of the interviews. The interviews also show that discriminatory and sometimes racist depictions and behaviour are minimised. Excuses are searched for and found as to why some images are not seen as problematic or why other teaching colleagues are not prepared to change their lessons to convey a more positive image of Africa. This is a sign that teachers are not aware of the problem of institutionalised racism and are therefore unable to recognise it. By not recognising it, it is reproduced.

The interviews and the three selected examples have shown that teachers who have not been in their profession for long due to their age take a much more critical stance towards textbooks and actively try to counteract this with examples they have developed themselves. It is particularly important to these teachers that their pupils adopt a critical attitude towards the knowledge they have learnt. Due to the small number of teachers interviewed, it is not clear whether this is really related to the age of the teachers or was just a coincidence, and why this more critical attitude can be observed among younger teachers. This would have to be worked out and analysed in a larger study with older and younger teachers.

One approach that was mentioned particularly frequently was that of not teaching possible racist and discriminatory content. The selected examples have shown that teachers do not incorporate content that they recognise as problematic into their lessons. This not only leads to Africa being pushed further out of the classroom, as no other topics dealing with Africa are taught instead, but also to pupils dealing with these topics themselves with the help of the textbook. This shows that it is primarily teacher training that needs to be addressed in order to provide teachers with the toolkit to first recognise such problematic topics, deal with them and then deconstruct them together with the pupils in the classroom.

In general, there is definitely a need for more studies that look at the position of teachers when it comes to the representation of Africa in schools and textbooks. Teachers are the link between textbooks and pupils and therefore have a great influence on how the knowledge in the books is conveyed. Studies that focus on teachers who are still in training could also provide informative results.

The fact that teachers are sceptical about the current presentation of African issues in textbooks is shown by the ideas and wishes they have for a redesign of textbooks on this topic. First and foremost, they wish for examples of countries that address both the positive and negative aspects of a country in order to show that the prevailing Afropessimism does not reflect the reality of the continent. At the same time, there is a desire to dismantle and deconstruct the Eurocentric perspective and to highlight the entanglements between Europe and Africa.

For future textbooks, it would be particularly important to try to incorporate other, preferably African, perspectives. Simply changing text passages and exchanging images does not change the underlying perspective, which is white and characterised by coloniality. As teacher D has described, this only leads to the African continent disappearing further from the textbook, which can have dramatic consequences. This is because the disappearance of the continent from the textbook, and therefore from the classroom, will only serve to reinforce stereotypes that are received unfiltered through other types of media. Although in most cases the authors of textbooks are also teachers, the interviews show that teachers should be better involved in the process of writing textbooks in order to make change feasible.

Finding interview partners proved to be particularly difficult for this study. The fact that teachers cannot be contacted directly and personally due to a lack of contact details means that I was dependent on the will of the school headmasters to forward my inquiry to the teachers. Studies that work directly with the Ministry of Education or other educational institutions could increase the sample and, above all, work with teachers to further identify what is needed to provide the textbook with a differentiated perspective on the African continent. It would also make sense to include other subjects such as History and Political Education.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Coding frame for textbook analysis

Main categories and sub categories	examples
Private Life and Household	
<u>Private life: religion, traditions, customs, role allocation, daily life:</u> Statements relating to the private lives of African people and families (with regard to family structures, everyday life, role allocation, culture and religion)	„Wie viele andere Staaten Afrikas war auch der Sudan ein multikultureller Staat mit mehr als 100 verschiedenen Ethnien und Sprachen. Der höhere Anteil an Muslimen erklärte sich durch einen anhaltenden Islamisierungsdruck.“ (Germ et al., 2022a: 20)
<u>Food and nutrition:</u> Statements that relate to people's food, cooking and food in general.	„Hirse ist in Afrika und Asien ein wichtiges Nahrungsmittel. Sie wächst auch auf sehr trockenen Böden und bildet daher die einzige Getreidequelle für viele Menschen, die in ariden und semi-ariden Gebieten leben.“ (Hofmann-Schneller et al., 2017b: 134)
Public life and society	
<u>Education and school system:</u> statements, related to the field of 'education' (schools, illiteracy, etc.)	„Die Ausgaben des Staates für Bildung liegen bei rund 4%, die Analphabetenrate liegt dennoch bei über 25%.“ (Hitz et al., 2019: 107)

<u>Demography:</u> Statements that deal with demographics and population dynamics	„Uganda gehört zu den ärmsten Ländern der Welt. Jedes fünfte Mädchen wird bereits als Teenager schwanger, in fast allen Fällen ungewollt. Der Staat hat eine der höchsten Geburtenraten Ostafrikas: 43 Promille. Schon jetzt sind fast 50 Prozent der Bevölkerung unter 15 Jahren. Rund 7 Prozent der 15- bis 24-Jährigen sind mit dem HIV-Virus infiziert, die mittlere Lebenserwartung bei der Geburt beträgt 63 Jahre.“ (Hofmann-Schneller et al., 2017b: 32).
<u>Health:</u> Statements that address the healthcare system and deal with diseases	„Weltweit sind 38 Millionen Menschen mit dem HI-Virus infiziert. Rund zwei Drittel davon leben in Afrika. [...]Heute gibt es Medikamente, die den Ausbruch der Krankheit AIDS hinauszögern.[...] In Afrika erhalten sie nur knapp die Hälfte der Infizierten.“ (Fridrich et al., 2022: 48)
<u>Infrastructure:</u> Statements that refer to the infrastructure in African countries such as transport, energy or IT	„Nun hat aber Äthiopien vor mehr als 20 Jahren mit dem Bau des größten Kraftwerks Afrikas am Oberlauf des wasserreichen Blauen Nils begonnen, dessen Speichersee bis 2025 voll gefüllt sein soll.“ (Hofmann-Schneller et al., 2017b: 157)
Economy	
<u>Work and income:</u>	„Frauen arbeiten unter schwersten Bedingungen. Ein Beispiel hierfür ist die

Statements that deal with forms of labour and the income of African people	Textilindustrie [...] Beahlt wird meist unter dem gesetzlichen Mindestlohn, Urlaubsanspruch, Urlaubs- oder gar Krankengeld gibt es nicht.“ (Mayrhofer et al., 2020: 96)
<u>Land grabbing:</u> Statements that deal with the topic of land grabbing	„Die Weltbank gab in ihrem Bericht über Land Grabbing 2010 an, dass rund 45 Mio. ha Land weltweit von ausländischen Investoren aufgekauft waren, 70% davon in Afrika. [...] Die Regierung Äthiopiens, das selbst von Lebensmittelimporten abhängig ist und rund 13 Mio. hungernde Menschen zählt, hat 3 Mio. ha Land angeboten.“ (Hitz et al., 2021: 266)
<u>Trade, export, import:</u> statements, that refer to the internal and external trade of African countries	„Abéché ist aufgrund seiner Lage ein wichtiges regionales Handelszentrum und dient als Markttort v.a. für Vieh, Datteln, Salz und Indigo. Die wichtigsten Unternehmen des sekundären Wirtschaftssektors sind Webereien.“ (Hitz et al., 2021: 42).
<u>Agriculture:</u> Statements relating to various forms of agriculture and agricultural products	„Nur drei Prozent der Landesfläche entlang des Nils und in Oasen können im Wüstenland Ägypten landwirtschaftlich genutzt werden. Die Bäuerinnen und Bauern (Fellachen) wirtschaften mit meist Tausende Jahre alten Methoden.“ (Hoffmann-Schneller et al., 2017b: 77)

<u>Tourism:</u> Statements that deal with tourism in Africa and tourist locations and activities	„Ein zweites Standbein des Tourismus in Ägypten bildet der Badetourismus am Roten Meer. Hier entstanden künstlich geschaffene Tourismusstädte wie Hurghada und Sharm el-Sheikh, entlang der Küste reihen sich die Hotelanlagen kilometerlang aneinander.“ (Germ et al., 2022b: 168)
<u>Debt:</u> Statements dealing with debts and loans of African countries	„Sambia zählte zu den hoch verschuldeten Entwicklungsländern, die sich im Rahmen der sogenannten HIPC-Initiative in den 1990er Jahren um einen Schuldenerlass durch internationale Kreditgeber wie die Weltbank und den Internationalen Währungsfonds (IWF) bewarben.“ (Germ et al., 2022b: 162)
Development	
<u>(Under)development/disparities:</u> Statements based on concepts of development and underdevelopment	„Peripherien sind wirtschaftlich von den Zentren abhängige Regionen. Vor allem Staaten Afrikas, aber auch einige asiatische und lateinamerikanische zählen dazu.“ (Hitz et al., 2019: 27)
<u>Classification of the world:</u> Statements that deal with concepts that describe a division of the world (cultural areas, 1st 2nd and 3rd world, ...)	„Geografisch zählen dazu alle Staaten, die sich südlich der Sahara befinden. Die meisten Länder in diesem Kulturerdteil gehören zu den ärmsten Staaten der Erde. Dieser Kulturerdteil ist von Landwirtschaft und geprägt und reich an Rohstoffen.“ (Germ et al., 2022a: 14)

<u>Development aid:</u> Statements relating to development aid for Africa and development projects in Africa	„Als eine von vielen Entwicklungshilfe-NGOs hat ‚Menschen für Menschen‘ den Grundsatz ‚Hilfe zur Selbstentwicklung‘ zum Prinzip ihrer Tätigkeit gemacht. Seit der Gründung im Jahr 1981 durch den österreichischen Schauspieler Karlheinz Böhm leistet die Organisation Hilfe zur Selbstentwicklung in Äthiopien.“ (Hitz et al., 2021: 271)
<u>Fairtrade:</u> Statements that explain or refer to fairtrade products	„Sie zwingen die ärmeren Länder in Asien, Afrika und Lateinamerika, ihre Bedingungen anzuerkennen. [...] Sie bekommen für ihre Tätigkeiten wenig Lohn [...] Fairer Handel versucht, den Produzentinnen und Produzenten in den Entwicklungsländern durch faire, höhere Preise für Tee, Bananen, Kakao, Textilien usw. zu besseren Lebensbedingungen zu helfen.“ (Hofmann-Schneller et al., 2017a: 122)
Crises	
<u>Conflicts, wars, and violence:</u> Statements about wars, conflicts and violence within and between African countries and with countries from other continents	„Ein seit über 50 Jahren andauernder Konflikt zeitigt Probleme, mit denen auch viele andere afrikanische Staaten entlang der Sahelzone zu kämpfen haben. [...] Stark ausgeprägtes Stammesdenken, ethnische und religiöse Vielfalt trugen dazu bei, dass Konflikte zu Bürgerkriegen ausarteten. [...] Geschätzte 2 Mio.

	Menschen fielen dem erbarmungslosen Krieg zum Opfer, mehr als 4 Mio. Menschen wurden zu Flüchtlingen.“ (Germ et al., 2022a: 21)
<u>(natural) catastrophes:</u> Statements about natural disasters such as floods and droughts, as well as man-made disasters	„Stattdessen treiben in der schwarzen Brühe alte Fernseher und Kühlschränke. Die Chemikalien aus den ausrangierten Geräten vergiften also nicht nur die Menschen, die Umweltkatastrophe hat auch zu einem Fischsterben vor der Küste Accras geführt.“ (Hitz et al., 2021: 235)
<u>Flight and migration:</u> Statements on internal and external flight due to wars and crises as well as any form of migration	„Ein weiteres Problem stellen die anhaltenden Flüchtlingsströme aus dem Nachbarstaat Somalia dar. [...] Dürrekatastrophen am Horn von Afrika haben die Flüchtlingszahlen noch weiter erhöht. Kenia ist mit der Aufnahme und Versorgung 100 000er Flüchtlinge völlig überfordert.“ (Mayrhofer et al., 2020: 84)
Politics	
<u>Form of government:</u> Statements that refer to the form of government and the structure	„Mauritius hat eine demokratisch gewählte Regierung, durch die alle Bevölkerungsgruppen repräsentiert sind. Es gibt kaum Korruption, sodass eine langfristige Planung von sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Maßnahmen möglich ist.“ (Hofmann-Schneller, 2017b: 47)
<u>Policies and regulations:</u>	„1963 begann daher die Regierung mit der Durchführung eines

Statements about political interventions, any policies and regulations	Familienplanungsprogramms, das von den Religionsführern der Hindus, Moslems und Katholiken unterstützt wurde.“ (Hofmann-Schneller et al., 2017b: 47)
<u>Global politics:</u> Statements on global policies of other countries that include Africa as well as global policies pursued by Africa	„Einige Staaten richten gezielt ihre internationale Wirtschafts-, Außen- und Militärpolitik darauf aus, Einfluss auf Ressourcen in anderen Regionen zu gewinnen. Die Vereinigten Staaten führten bereits Kriege im Mittleren Osten, China sichert sich das Erdöl in afrikanischen Staaten und leistet dafür Entwicklungshilfe.“ (Hitz et al., 2019: 137)
Globalisation	
<u>World Trade:</u> Statements that relate to global trade and include Africa or African countries	„Afrikas Welthandelsanteil ist mit 2,4% sogar kleiner als jener der Niederlande. Afrika mit seinen mehr als 1 Mrd. EinwohnerInnen handelt weniger als die 17 Mio. zählenden Niederlande.“ (Germ et al., 2022b: 159)
<u>Regional and International unions and organisations:</u> Statements relating to African organisations or organisations of which African countries are a part of	„Institutionell am fortschrittlichsten ist die Westafrikanische Wirtschaftsunion, die ein gemeinsames westafrikanisches Parlament, einen Gerichtshof und mit der ECOMOG eine regionale Streitmacht zur Intervention in möglichen Bürgerkriegen besitzt.“ (Germ et al., 2022b: 184)

Nature	
<u>Resources and raw materials:</u> Statements that refer to the available raw materials and resources in African countries	„Der Kongo wäre eigentlich einer der reichsten Staaten Afrikas. Der große Rohstoffreichtum beschleunigt aber derzeit eher den Zerfall des Staates. Neben Gold und Diamanten gibt es noch Kupfer, Zinn, Uran und vor allem Coltan, das für die Handy-Erzeugung sehr wichtig ist. Im Osten des Landes boomt der Bergbau. Menschen schürfen dort auf eigene Rechnung unter primitivsten Umständen nach dem Mineral.“ (Hofmann-Schneller et al., 2017: 107)
<u>Climate:</u> Statements about climate zones and associated weather conditions	„Entlang der Westküste Südafrikas gibt es eine sehr kalte Meeresströmung, den Benguelastrom. Die küstennahen Gebiete müssten eigentlich ozeanisch beeinflusst sein, daher sehr niederschlagsreich. Der Benguela-Strom verhindert jedoch die Ausbildung von Niederschlägen über dem Festland, weil das kalte Wasser dieses Stromes die Verdunstung sehr stark reduziert. Daher sind die Küstengebiete des westlichen Südafrika extrem trocken.“ (Hitz et al., 2019: 55)
<u>Landscape:</u> Statements about landscape features in Africa	„Die Grenzregionen zu Namibia und Botswana sind dünn besiedelt, es überwiegen Halbwüsten und Dornbuschsavannen. Die

	abwechslungsreichste Landschaft des Staates ist zweifelsfrei die Kapregion mit Gebirgsrücken, eingelagerten Ebenen und ins Land eingreifende Meeresbuchten.“ (Germ et al. 2022b: 212).
Urban spaces and countryside	
<u>Life in cities:</u> Statements about life in African cities	„Bemerkbar machte sich der neue Wohlstand der Eliten aus dem boomenden Ölgeschäft in der Hauptstadt Khartum. Dort entstand nach Vorbild Dubais ein Luxuswohn- und Geschäftsviertel für die reiche Oberschicht. Mithilfe der Petrodollars wuchsen Glaspaläste aus dem Boden.“ (Germ et al., 2022a: 20)
<u>Life in the countryside:</u> Examples that depict life in the countryside	Das Leben auf dem Land wird im Text nicht angesprochen, wird aber durch die verwendeten Bilder deutlich, da ländliche Gegenden dargestellt werden, um das Leben am afrikanischen Kontinent darzustellen. Beispielsweise bei Hofmann-Schneller et al., 2017a: 49; 76; 80; 81; 125)

Appendix 2: consent form for interviewees

Einverständniserklärung zur Erhebung und Verarbeitung von Interviewdaten

Erläuterung

Sie erklären sich dazu bereit, im Rahmen der Masterarbeit von Frau Barbara Igler zum Thema „**Knowledge dissemination of African issues in Austrian textbooks and through Austrian secondary school teachers**“ an einem Interview teilzunehmen. Sie wurden über Art, Umfang und Ziel sowie den Verlauf des o. g. Forschungsvorhabens informiert. Das Interview wird mit einem geeigneten Aufnahmegerät aufgezeichnet und sodann in Schriftform gebracht.

Für die weitere wissenschaftliche Auswertung des Interviewtextes werden alle Angaben, die zu einer Identifizierung Ihrer Person oder von im Interview erwähnten Personen und Institutionen führen könnten, anonymisiert. Das Transkript des Interviews dient nur zu Analysezwecken und wird lediglich in Ausschnitten zitiert.

Ihre personenbezogenen Kontaktdaten werden von Interviewdaten getrennt für Dritte unzugänglich gespeichert und vertraulich behandelt.

Einverständnis

Ihre Teilnahme an der Erhebung und Ihre Zustimmung zur Verwendung der Daten sind freiwillig. Sie sind damit einverstanden, im Kontext des o. g. Forschungsvorhabens an der Befragung teilzunehmen. Darüber hinaus akzeptieren Sie die o. g. Form der anonymen Weiterverarbeitung und wissenschaftlichen Verwertung des geführten Interviews und der daraus entstehenden Daten.

Unter diesen Bedingungen erklären Sie sich bereit, das Interview zu geben und sind damit einverstanden, dass es aufgezeichnet, verschriftlicht, anonymisiert und ausgewertet wird.

Vorname, Nachname in Druckschrift

Ort, Datum / Unterschrift

Appendix 3: List of interviewees

Teacher A 04.03.2024 - female - less than ten years teaching experience – History and Biology teacher – interview length: 43 minutes and 31 seconds

Teacher B 11.03.2024 – female – more than ten years teaching experience – Geography and History teacher – interview length: 45 minutes and 9 seconds

Teacher C 12.03.2024 – female – more than ten years teaching experience – Geography and Sports teacher – interview length: 1 hour 17, minutes, and 5 seconds

Teacher D 13.03.2024 – male – more than ten years teaching experience – Geography and History teacher – interview length: 40 minutes and 38 seconds

Teacher E 13.03.2024 – male – less than ten years teaching experience – Geography and German teacher – interview length: 1 hour, 26 minutes, and 48 seconds

Teacher F 21.03.2024 – female – less than ten years teaching experience – History and German teacher – interview length: 1 hour, 14 minutes, and 33 seconds

Teacher G 11.03.2024 – female- less than ten years teaching experience – History and English teacher – interview length: 1 hour, 11 minutes, and 22 seconds

Teacher H 14.03.2024 – female – more than ten years teaching experience – History and Sports teacher – interview length: 47 minutes and 32 seconds

Teacher I 14.03.2024 – male – more than ten years teaching experience – History and German teacher – interview length: 1 hour, 6 minutes, and 45 seconds

The transcripts of all interviews are available upon request.

Appendix 4: Interview Guide

English translation of the interview guide for the semi-structured interviews

Introduction

Tell a bit about yourself and your career. How did you come to teach the subjects you teach? How long have you been a teacher?

Main part

Teaching in general/ organisation/ materials

How do you organise your lessons in general? What do your lessons look like?

How do you prepare and follow up?

What topics are covered in your lessons that relate to or include Africa?

How do you feel about the curriculum's distribution of topics relating to Africa?

Describe the weighting of Africa in the curriculum and in the lessons in your subject.

How do you feel about this organisation? What is needed? What is not needed?

How do you organise these lessons?

What room for manoeuvre do you have when dealing with these topics?

How do you work with the associated teaching materials? Which ones do you work with?

Own level of knowledge

What is your own level of knowledge about Africa?

Do you notice when racist and discriminatory terms are used in the textbook? Do the pupils notice this? How are discriminatory and racist terms dealt with?

What do you learn about the African continent during your studies? What knowledge do you acquire yourself?

Knowledge transfer in the textbooks

How do you feel about the way textbooks convey knowledge about Africa? How do you deal with it? What do you think the books convey and what should they convey?

Are there certain narratives that are repeated when it comes to Africa?

The concept of "cultural areas" plays an important role, especially in grade 9. How do you view this concept and the way in which it is worked with and taught? How do you work with this concept in the classroom?

When it comes to developing countries, it is always written about the precarious situations of these countries, about poverty, lack of education, lack of infrastructure, lack of water, corruption. How do you feel about that? How do you work with this in the classroom?

What effect does this have on pupils? What effect does it have on teachers?

Pupils

What knowledge do pupils have about the African continent?

How do pupils react to the topics about Africa? How do they work with it?

Are there situations in which racism plays a role? How do you deal with it?

Examples of text passages/pictures/work tasks of the textbooks are brought to the interview

How did you feel when you read this example? How do you interpret this passage? Would you use it in class? How would you use it? What would you like students to learn about this topic?

End of the interview

What would you like to change about teaching Africa in your subject? What works well?

What suggestions do you have for improvement?

Is there anything else regarding the topic that you would like to talk about?

Do you have any open questions?