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Migration and History

The way to a transnational culture of remembrance

The issue of migration is more relevant than ever. The variants of legal immigration to Austria are also increasingly being considered and discussed in the wake of the developments of the last few years – especially the experiences of the so-called “refugee crisis” of 2015. On the whole, this is happening ahead of wide-reaching efforts to gauge the issue of migration in its entirety and complexity more deeply than ever before, to develop state regulations and to arrive at a national migration strategy, which also takes global implications into consideration. Against this background, the 2015 establishment of the Migration Council under the direction of Paul Lendvai is to be judged as the continuation of its work in the Migration Commission as a consultative body of the competent departments in the Austrian Federal Ministry of the Interior and – with the establishment of Department III/13 (National, European and International Migration Strategies) – the creation of the corresponding administrative structures in the same.



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One finding which precedes the explanations given in the final report of the Migration Council is that Austria is clearly seen as an immigration country in terms of net immigration figures. What sets it apart from traditional immigration countries, such as the USA, Canada or Australia, is the fact that this attribution is an integral part of the self-image and national identity of those states.¹ The reasons for this are manifold, but should be seen ostensibly, in that they have been heavily influenced by immigration since their founding and this policy has largely been continued, combined with the active imprinting of the corresponding narratives.

Migration has always played a significant role for Austria as well. In particular, the time of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and

the associated influx, especially to Vienna, continue to form identity in this context – consider on the one hand the eager reference to the Vienna telephone directory or the corresponding culinary traditions; on the other hand, the more recent immigration history –, particularly the labour migration from the former Yugoslavia and Turkey from the 1960s on, which has so far been little or barely researched and rarely crops up in the public perception and in national narratives. Fischer states: “In the case of migrants from the countries of the former Yugoslavia, there is a double lack of representation: they have equally seldom been treated in the history of Vienna as they are prominently absent from contemporary mainstream discourses and spaces”.² Yet, the influx of so-called

“migrant workers” has significantly influenced the country and its social, cultural and economic development in many ways.³

All the necessary political regulations relating to immigration in all areas⁴ also deal with those people who have already been living in Austria for some time and whose children often already have children. Hence, an Austrian (migration) history and the visualisation and involvement of migrant living environments and positions also play an important role in the narrative of the majority. Last but not least, the examination of the history of migrant workers in Austria also includes an integrative and appreciative moment for subsequent (or successor) generations, because “(...) inclusion in a community also occurs, among other things, through inclusion in the collective memory of this community”.⁵

The socio-political significance of this subject is thus obvious and has been recognised by both the Austrian Federal Government and the Expert Council for Integration⁶, part of the Federal Ministry for Europe, Integration and Foreign Affairs, which states in its 2015 Integration Report under the heading “Austria as a place of identification and affiliation”: “Austria can and should create opportunities to be accepted as a (new, first, second) homeland. (...) It is also necessary to create a realistic and up-to-date image of Austria, which includes both historical and current immigration and emigration as one of its integral parts. The common image of Austria is very much based on the stability and homogeneity of its population, which was never a given in its history. (...) In official histography, subjects such as immigration, integration or national identity construction are only of minor significance and so, for example, there is no complete picture of the history of either immigration

or emigration.” Moreover: “A differentiated image of Austria would be important for social cohesion and could be developed through a process of reflection and discussion in society as a whole.”⁷

Recent activities⁸ – in particular around the 50th anniversary of the recruitment agreements of Turkey and Yugoslavia in 2014 and 2016 – that are increasing (but starting from a low level) and deal with Austria’s recent migration history⁹ should also be judged against this background. The 2012 establishment of the Centre for Migration Research, which is dedicated to the research desideratum of historical migration research and not least on the initiative of the former Deputy Governor Wolfgang Sobotka¹⁰ and initiatives and exhibition projects at local and regional level – for example in Vorarlberg¹¹, Tyrol¹², Vienna¹³, Salzburg¹⁴ and Styria¹⁵ – may also be understood in this context.

In the case of the abovementioned endeavours, the integrative function mentioned is not central, because “(...) it is [ultimately] not just about the history of migrants, but also about the history of Austrian society, which has changed as a result of migration”.¹⁶ Thus, the demand for stronger (historical) representation is not primarily focused on “helping migrant women to achieve their rights”,¹⁷ but much rather that the inclusion of this part of Austrian history frees up the view of one’s own (common) past and thus enables it to be reflected upon, since “migration is one of the most crucial elements in understanding European post-war history and the present.”¹⁸

It also touches on fundamental aspects of democracy policy¹⁹, because “[there is] no identity without history”.²⁰ Moreover, as Walter Häggerle notes, “(...) it is also highly relevant for the Republic whether the people of this state will still feel Austrian and loyal to this community”.²¹

Remembrance in this context represents a powerful historical “currency”.²² Especially the – thus far underrepresented – (contemporary) historical research²³ has a special responsibility here.²⁴ Hence, the contemporary historian Dirk Rupnow recognised immigration after the end of the Second World War generally as a “blank spot” in Austrian national memory, which is certainly also evident when looking at the state of research.²⁵

“HISTORIOGRAPHICAL EMPOWERMENT”²⁶ – MIGRATION HISTORY AS PART OF THE NATIONAL NARRATIVE

Integrating migrants²⁷ into the national historiography represents one way, but – as, for example, Ohlinger noted for Germany – not an easy one, to help increase social representation, visibility and “empowerment”, i.e. self-empowerment in the sense of empowering migrants within society. This is not least due to the fact that the majority of the members of the majority society do not expect a differentiated examination of their own (national) history, but rather a confirmation of known narratives in order not to jeopardise their own – weakly imprinted – national identities²⁸. “The demand for immigrant history among a larger national audience is probably limited as an effect of fairly fixed national identities in Europe. The reader seeks confirmation and reaffirmation of the already known (...).”²⁹

Ohlinger refers to the European level, on which this project, due to the lack of nation-state structures and the (previous) lack of a European “master narrative”, is probably easier to realise.³⁰ Migration history in an inclusive and non-exclusive function. He also identifies here the opportunities for a new narrative and the role which the history of immigration and immigrants can play in Europe when he says: “With such

an approach, immigrants (...) could serve as cultural bridges between national societies in Europe and be the glue that binds cultures and societies together. (...) these groups could take on a crucial intermediating role, translating from one culture or society to the other.”³¹ Since, as Helmut König states, “something which has earned the name of a collective European memory (...) is so far not in sight”.³²

A national migration history inevitably involves transnational (European as well as global) interdependencies³³ that need to be taken into account. The complexity of the process is reflected by the various questions that arise in this context. In addition to those with a corresponding representation and participation of migrants, there is, as Cornelia Kogoj notes, for example the fact as to whether “(...) the structures and global causes of labour migration [should] be worked out and presented”.³⁴ The discourse on the subject of migration – along with its historical significance as well as the recognition of this part of Austrian history as part of the majority history – has thus far largely been conducted “via migrants and not with them”³⁵; so far, a largely “symbolic exclusion” has prevailed here.³⁶ This also applies to a large extent to (contemporary) research. This makes it clear how important a “bottom-up” approach³⁷ is in the depiction of migrant memory and the establishment of a collective culture of remembrance.

It should also be noted that migrants and often their offspring too have a different or no relationship to the past of the majority society³⁸, or attach a different meaning to certain events.³⁹ The memories of the Holocaust and the Nazi regime should be mentioned here; these “(...) have become an established, governmentally enforced and instrumentalised dominant memory⁴⁰ (...) in the meantime⁴¹, whereas migrants bring with them other significant historical



Source: ÖGB archive

Migrant workers on the Burgenland-Yugoslav border, late 1960s/early 1970s

connotations important to them – Erll speaks here of “multi(memorial) culturality”⁴² – and thus do not participate in the same way in the “Austrian memory community”.⁴³ These “non-shared dominant memories” thus seem to be more divisive than connective. This highlights the importance of maintaining an open-minded view on the issue, which exposes the historical narratives and myths brought by migrants and creates a space in the history-generating process.⁴⁴ In addition, this opens up various analytical levels, since both the individual migration histories and the historical narratives of the countries of origin need to be taken into account. The transnational perspective⁴⁵ must not be overlooked in holistic scientific exploration and the shaping of new national narrative patterns in which migration plays a role so as not to fall back into the trap of one-sided views and stereotypical attributions, nor must the importance of being able to correctly interpret certain events and experiences for migrants;⁴⁶ in this context, Bettina Alavi speaks of “cases of culturalisation and ethnicisation”.⁴⁷

The elaboration of similarities on the one hand represents a core element of a connecting historical perception, on the other, due to the internal heterogeneity of society, a certain standardisation can

hardly be avoided; ultimately, each person represents an individual with corresponding historical interpretations and experiences. The collective grows in certain ways only through simplification and shortening. “The process of inscribing in (national) history, of course, always carries with it the risk of essentialisation and unification of what should be dispersed. (...) In fact, neither the migrants nor the autochthonous Austrian society form homogenous entities. Neither is exclusively determined by their origin.”⁴⁸

For example, transcultural research points to the significance of heterogeneity of national culture in the production of interwoven cultures of remembrance and also reveals other identificatory frameworks detached from nation-state relationships.⁴⁹ In this context, it is worth mentioning “(...) the relevance that the formations beyond the nation states have for cultural memories: the global Ummah, Catholicism, the “European left”, but also football, music culture and consumer cultures”.⁵⁰ Some of the particularly important partial identities for Austria – since they are still effective today – are the political ones, which manifest in the socialist or Christian-Conservative circles.⁵¹

MIGRATION MAINSTREAMING

The role of responsibility of the science of history in the migration society was also emphasised by the then German Federal President Johannes Rau in his much-acclaimed opening speech of the 44th German Historians’ Convention in 2002, in which he asked the question, “What role should historiography play in continuing to contribute significantly to the construction of a ‘we’ and indeed a new ‘we’ and thus a new collective identity in an immigration society”.⁵² He also asked: “What does history mean as a source of identification and identity in a society where people of very different backgrounds and cultures

live together? How do you create a ‘we’ in such a society? What historical roots, what past does this (...) society have? Must there be many histories, or must the many have to adopt one history?”⁵³

These questions not only illustrate the complexity of the process but also the need for a contemporary examination of these same questions on the part of society and in particular on the part of historians. However, it also clearly shows its importance in the emergence of a culture of remembrance which recognises migration as part of itself and thus provides identification frameworks for as many people living in Austria as possible.

Finally, possible strategies of visualising and integrating migration-specific content into the national collective memory can be developed based on where and in what ways historical representation manifests itself in a society and what challenges become apparent.

There are different approaches to this: on the one hand, there is the actual involvement of corresponding content in the prevailing national “master narratives”, in which a strong integrative moment is inherent, but must also resort more strongly to simplifications, whereas on the other hand, there is the coexistence of different historical narratives, which better reflect the existing heterogeneity but are more exposed to the risk of producing “exoticising parallel narratives” and thus of fuelling social marginalisation and representation as a fringe group. Therefore, it is about whether there is really “no one story, only stories”⁵⁴, as Gamze Ongan notes.⁵⁵

The current approach within the scientific community and the museum scene is mostly in favour of the first concept, which can also be summarised as migration mainstreaming.⁵⁶ Consequently, it is conducive to an integration process to understand

the history of labour migration not as an appendage but rather as an integral part of national history.⁵⁷ This is increasingly being taken into account in practical implementation, especially in the conception of museums, for example in the transformation of the current Vorarlberg Museum or in well-known conceptual projects connected to the planned House of History.⁵⁸

Another challenge regarding the question of effective forms of historical representation is the development of a “political we”, a kind of group identity of certain migrant groups or of migrants per se, which has now largely disappeared from Austria. One such is – as Daniel G. Cohen points out in the example of the memory of displaced persons (DPs) of the post-war period – an essential element in the development of group-specific historical content: “This absence of collective identity – and lack of historical agency – helps us understand why DPs, and with them, the memory of the DP years, almost entirely disappeared from the radar of public memory (...).”⁵⁹

In addition, certain stereotypical images are sometimes internalised as constructive elements of migrant identities by migrants themselves and are further consolidated in the form of recollection and maintenance of certain traditions as a characteristic of cultural difference, a need arising from the desire to enhance one’s origins.⁶⁰ A connection to the phenomenon of the “return of ethnicity” described by Stuart Hall emerges here as a counterpoint to the transnationalisation of identity concepts and the globalisation of territorial spaces.⁶¹ Due to the importance of historiographical empowerment – co-determination and participation of migrants in the process of (national) historiography –, suggestions such as the “concept of ‘national’ and ‘post-national’ memory”⁶² can be seen as important impulses in the framework of

Source: ÖGB archive



Migrant workers in the restaurant at the Vienna South Station, late 1960s/early 1970s.

European historiography. However, due to the diversity and complexity of migration histories in Europe, it seems reasonable to maintain the nation-state level⁶³ as an analytical frame of reference. This does not mean losing sight of the transnational European (or global) context, which must in any case remain the focus of attention as a constant essential frame of reference for modern historiography.⁶⁴

MEMORY, CULTURES OF REMEMBRANCE AND MEMORY SPACES⁶⁵

What is important in the question of how the specific history (or histories) of a particular population group – thus the members of a cultural or social collective – is (are) integrated into the dominant narratives of the majority society is the previous development and exposure of such. Furthermore, the immigrants themselves must be made aware of this accumulated collective memory. Memory and the concept of memory spaces play an important role in this process.

“The ideal democratic case would be if the German collective memory were to retain that of the immigrants as a recognised and special part of itself. Before such a process of inclusion can take place,

however, the collective memory of the migrants must first be shaped and they must become aware of this. Only through the act of cultural shaping does the multitude of memory spaces become a collective memory.”⁶⁶

Against this background, it makes sense to consider which parameters are telling in the formation and manifestation of remembrance and memory and what significance they have in the design of a national master narrative (or more dominant narrative). After all, memory represents a “core aspect of national identity”.⁶⁷ What is remembered “as a community” is subject to a continuous process of selection that takes place in the present for the future past.⁶⁸ Thus, even that selection has greater power over the time in which it took place than over the past itself. What the community remembers is essentially decided by institutions, the media, and not the least by historians; this culture of remembrance manifests itself within various public symbols and ways of depiction. “Politics depends on symbols. (...) These symbols are condensed into narratives. And these in turn are able to tell people who they are and how they live together.”⁶⁹

The Germanist Penka Angelova distinguishes three groups of memory strategies. Firstly, material organisation such as monuments, memorials or street names; secondly, social organisation (which includes symbols, coats of arms, hymns, memorial days – in short, the various identity-forming rituals); and finally, mental organisation, which includes, for example, writing history textbooks, the way of addressing the past in (mass)media, art and literature, but also the change of the language.⁷⁰

The constructivist character and the relation to the present represent two essential features of memory. Memories “(...) are subjective, highly selective situations

that depend on the circumstances in which they are recalled".⁷¹

Accordingly, what is important is not only what is remembered, in what form and with what attributions, but also what is lost from view: "Remembering and forgetting are constitutive of the nation (...)"⁷². Identity formation takes place both positively and negatively through history; "... it is born of identification and demarcation"⁷³; the objects of cultural memory follow the logic of group-relatedness, the demarcation into "one's own" and "foreign".⁷⁴

There are examples of national collective memories and national myths in every nation and community, which were (and will be) maintained and cultivated as such). For Austria, these are, for example, the image of the melting pot of turn-of-the-century Vienna⁷⁵, the receptiveness and helpfulness⁷⁶ of the native population (especially) relating to the Hungarian Uprising of 1956⁷⁷ (which should be judged against the background of Austria's pro-Western and anti-communist orientation), the victim thesis – that is, the prevailing interpretation until the 1990s that Austria was the first victim of the National Socialist regime⁷⁸ –, "everlasting neutrality"⁷⁹, the myth of a consensual republic based on social partnership⁸⁰ and the associated generation of a harmonising, non-violent view on recent history⁸¹ or the reappraisal of Austria's National Socialist past, which has been increasingly intense in recent decades and represents a cornerstone in the national culture of remembrance. Other things have been virtually supplanted from the collective memory, for example, in order to retain the partly transfigured image of the capital city Vienna of the Fin de Siècle, the contemporary presentation of the city as "slum city" is not part of our dominant memory.⁸² Most identity-forming master narratives still retain the nation state as a frame of reference; examples of European

master narratives are rare, such as the narrative "... that the continent of violence has become a continent of peace"⁸³ as well as the image of Europe as the cradle and preserver of the values of the Enlightenment.⁸⁴

Besides things that are forgotten or deliberately hidden, there are also the positive and negative contents of national memory. In this case, Heidemarie Uhl speaks of golden and black memory spaces as "... points of reference with negative and positive connotations."⁸⁵ Unlike these, there is hardly any public space for other subjects. These include, for example, structured labour migration to Austria, but also Nazi forced labour and related continuities for the subsequent recruitment of migrant workers⁸⁶ in the Second Republic, more generally, the handling of Europe's colonial past and its implications, which are still relevant today, in particular also with regard to the question of the representation and integration of underrepresented groups⁸⁷, or also – as an example that an event's temporal distance is not relevant per se – the revolutionary year of 1848, which in Austria, unlike other Central European states, is rarely used as a historical reference point.⁸⁸

The reflections and insights of memory research, in particular, affect the question of whether – in line with the current notion – individual memories of migrant workers can be used directly to derive a kind of collective memory (and thus whether the concept of memory spaces is basically appropriate), since "... memory is one, if not the central, cohesion factor of the imagined community of the nation".⁸⁹

In 1925, in his early work "Les cadres sociaux de la memoire"⁹⁰, Halbwachs had already assumed the opposite thesis, according to which the reverse is true. Individual memories therefore are fed from a collective memory, or at least from a so-

Source: ÖGB archive



Migrant workers at the Vienna South Station, late 1960s/early 1970s.

cial or public framework; he believed “that individual memories spring from a collective memory, which is codified in places, language, buildings, norms, customs and institutions”.⁹¹

However, according to the author as well as Bertraux and Bertaux-Wiame or Ziegler and Konnonier-Finster, no dogma that draws a picture of completely passive, externally controlled parts or members of society can be deduced from this.⁹² Rather, a reciprocal effect of external norms and influences as well as individual experiences and memories seems obvious.⁹³ Against this background, the importance of existing images and objects of collective memory produced by the public (largely without any share from the target group) within the last 50 years should be inherently kept in mind, and it should be taken into account accordingly when defining the possible contents of Austrian migrant history – or rather migrants’ contributions to contemporary Austrian history.

The two most important ideas of cultural-scientific memory theory are based on considerations of collective memory – in particular, the connection between identity and memory, on the one hand, that of Jan and Aleida Assmann⁹⁴, and on the other, the reflections of the French historian Pierre Nora⁹⁵.

In particular, Nora’s concept of memory spaces – or lieux de memoire – is relevant to the considerations presented here. He defines memories or memory spaces as “(...) spaces in all senses of the word (...), in which the memory of the nation (...) has condensed, embodied or crystallised to a certain degree”.⁹⁶ In the third part of the work, Nora specifies what is meant by a memory space, namely a “(...) material, or immaterial, long-lasting, inter-generational, focal point of collective memory and identity, characterised by an excess of symbolic and emotional dimension, which is embedded in social, cultural and political custom, and which changes in extent as the way of perception, appropriation, application and transmission changes”.⁹⁷ Memory spaces are thus “(...) central points in the shared memory of a social group or nation (...); these can be historical events, people, institutions or real places. Their entirety constitutes the ‘collective memory’ of a group”.⁹⁸

However, the career of the concept of memory spaces should also be seen against the background of its criticism (some of which are quite justified).⁹⁹ Yet despite its weaknesses, the concept offers a sound theoretical basis and serves as useful food for thought, which, nevertheless, has to be extended to include a transnational perspective – in both senses of the term, as suggested by Bauböck¹⁰⁰. It is also recommended that a very open definition of the concept be used; memory spaces are thus understood as quasi synonymous with “similarities in individual migrants’ memories” or as the “narrative of migration”.

NEW KNOWLEDGE AND PROPOSALS FOR IMPLEMENTATION

The necessity and advantages of a view of history which takes greater account of actual social realities have been recognised, as described, at least in the recent past, by

both contemporary history research and at the political level¹⁰¹. The possibilities for implementation, especially, regarding how such contents of the history of migration can specifically be methodologically elaborated and as a second step, how these contents find their way into the national narratives of the majority society and also made known to the migrants and their descendants themselves, without falling into the abovementioned traps (ethnicisation of oneself and others, paternalism, excessive heterogeneity and thus loss of identity-forming character vs. excessive generalisations, etc.), has thus far been largely unexplored. The author's¹⁰² dissertation, completed in 2017, is devoted to this research desideratum and represents the first attempt to empirically – based on the example of the group of migrant workers from the former Yugoslavia – realise¹⁰³ actual contents for a migration history and to examine which strategies and approaches are most promising for implementation. Moreover, attention is drawn to possible difficulties and, especially, to other aspects to be considered, in particular further research needs, which are systematically identified and named for the first time. At this point, it is not possible to discuss all the results in terms of contents, methodology or strategy; however, it is important to present the most important insights and thoughts, especially those which are of fundamental importance beyond the corresponding target group.

Apart from those results specifically related to content and the elaboration of possible memory spaces for "migrant workers" from the former Yugoslavia or those which could function as connecting memories, the empirical research showed that the migration mainstreaming – i.e. the natural and incidental integration of migration-related content into national historical

forms of presentation – previously described and propagated can actually be regarded as the most promising. This is because it considers the different identifying self-positionings of the group members and due to the lack of content separation, no corresponding assignment appears necessary either. The fact that a considerable proportion of the interviewees do not or cannot (or not entirely) wish to identify with their role as migrant workers, not the least in order to avoid the supposed positioning as victims (or members of a marginalised group) further supports this approach. This is, if nothing else, reflected in the lack of or very little need for representation and visibility of one's own history. It should also be considered that the explicit representation of the history of migrant workers is not a demand arising from the community itself, but is performed on their behalf by civil society academics and activists for their (alleged) benefit, which ultimately – as can at least be argued – is linked to a degree of paternalism.

However, it can be countered that the elaboration of a comprehensive, pluralist, historical picture, encompassing as many population groups as possible and corresponding to social realities, is both in the interest of society as a whole and also the objective task of historical science per se (which has to act as independently of contemporary interests as possible).

The concept of migration mainstreaming is, despite many commonalities, also supported by heterogeneity, albeit not primarily the life courses themselves, at least the focus and retrospective assessment of the same. Even the majority society can thus be confronted more easily with migration-related content, which ultimately represents the best prerequisite for lasting involvement in the historical consciousness.

Source: ÖGB archive



Migrant workers in Vienna's City Park, late 1960s/early 1970s.

A further finding of the present research, which should be taken into account in future discussions on the subject, is the gender aspect observed.¹⁰⁴ Women have a completely different view of their biography and evaluate events from a different perspective. Primarily, the focus of their representation (children, family) and the emphasis on their private lives provide a striking momentum. Conversely, the interviewed men's stories rarely related to issues such as family, childhood or private life, emphasising their greater or lesser degree of public activity or professional achievement, thereby fulfilling the classic gender stereotypes. They also made stronger evaluations, for example on general "migrant worker history", and saw themselves as a kind of mouthpiece of the target group.¹⁰⁵ Despite (or precisely because of) the heterogeneity and the methodically necessary demarcation presented, the nation state (as communication space with cultural connotations of different social groups)¹⁰⁶, or the public orientation towards it, for the time being, remains the most important frame of reference, especially since the most effective means of visualisation are governmental, refer to the state and/or fall within its sphere of influence. This applies to the most important media, teaching content and history

books, monuments, (most) museums, anniversaries and grants, but also to music, culture¹⁰⁷ and other forms of recognition and public representation. Likewise, notwithstanding an academic assessment of this circumstance, the sense of history of the majority society is still oriented towards national narratives. In this respect, any project of pluralisation of the view of history relevant to a society must take this circumstance into account in order to be successful. It is also not about the abolition of the category of the national, which is often considered by critics as obsolete, rather the concept must be understood in a much more layered way and must take into account the social heterogeneity, in which different ethnic, cultural, religious (etc.) backgrounds and influences are internalised as normality.¹⁰⁸ The concept of the nation state thus does not function per se as an element of exclusion but rather depends on what content is ultimately attributed to it by definition. Moreover, identification with a nation is in itself not exclusive and limited to this, as the interviews conducted in the context of the present work, amongst other things, have shown.

Even clichés and stereotypes – with all due caution being applied – can be helpful in the development of a shared identity-forming (culture of) memory, since they are especially capable of sharing common images – and ultimately creating a shared narrative.¹⁰⁹ Consciousness, and hence also memory, necessarily uses stereotyping categories for the sake of simplification; these therefore necessarily always represent shortening. The clichéd subjects of the "Yugoslavian caretaker"¹¹⁰, for example, of the image of migrant workers commuting frequently between Yugoslavia and Austria (with everything that goes along with this, like crowded cars and buses, which could also be seen in public spaces, e.g. the motorways, waiting

times at the border, etc.)¹¹¹ are exemplary in terms of the target group. Even resorting to the “Viennese melting pot”, which has also been worn out and treated with justified scepticism, could be helpful in the emergence of an inclusive narrative¹¹², in which case the existing association would require at least a critical re-evaluation.¹¹³

The research outlined here was thus able to bring to light many informative and promising findings, although themes that had already served as essential categories, especially in the field of social science research, were also found. However, it was not about gaining new insights into classic categories (housing, job market, family situation, transnational living environment, etc.), but about elaborating commonalities in memory. Thus, “that it was like this” is not new, but the importance of individual themes in the memory of the target group and interviewees is.

In addition, it became clear what further research is needed. In this context, particular mention should be made of dealing with the transgenerational aspect of memory (as an essential characteristic of a memory space according to the original concept), whereby the collective memories of the target group on their resonance and significance within the subsequent generations of migrant workers can be examined and possibly new migration-related content relating to Austrian history can be generated. It would therefore be expedient to increasingly comply with the transnational character of the research topic through greater involvement of the perspective of the country of origin (for example, through discussions with returnees and generally through the assessment of “migrant worker migration” from the perspective of the countries of origin).

Other important points in order to gain the broadest possible picture and, especially, to take into account the aspect of

the common, i.e. the integrative nature of the project, as well as to generate further content for a common post-migrant Austrian history, are on the one hand, the reconciliation of migrant memory spaces or collective narrative with those of the majority society (especially those of the same age cohort) and vice versa, the examination of the importance of Austrian memory spaces¹¹⁴ within the group of Yugoslav migrant workers. Existing attempts to establish historical links with Austria – both on the individual level¹¹⁵ and from the relevant communities in Austria but also locally in the countries of origin – as well as the actual analysis of the history of less recent immigration to Austria (especially Vienna), require detailed treatment and consideration¹¹⁶. This is a historical facet that has not yet been comprehensively developed, thus illustrating the (in part) long tradition and history that connects Austria with the territory of the former Yugoslavia. This depiction is, however, significant for yet another reason: For example, existing networks in the form of actual relationships (or simply based on the knowledge of a corresponding community) may represent a reason for immigration to Austria – a state-related pull factor, if you will. Also, historical connecting lines may perhaps establish a certain emotional closeness, which could be built upon accordingly.

CLOSING THOUGHTS: MIGRATION HISTORY (OR HISTORIES) AND THE MODERNISATION OF CONTEMPORARY HISTORY?

The relevance, especially with regard to its (possible) contribution to the democratisation of society, of the role and positioning of contemporary history three generations after the end of the Nazi regime is beyond question and continues to be the mainstay of the discipline. However, the social framework conditions are fundamentally

different – a circumstance that has thus far not been adequately reached in contemporary history research. The post-war society has become a post-migrant society. The importance of the concept of the nation state is increasingly being called into question, not least because of advancing globalisation – and with it stronger regionalisation – and membership of the EU, but also due to social individualisation; other, more differentiated and also more pluralistic forms of belonging and identification have become more important. In addition, a new zeitgeist of a new generation has emerged that has demanded an “end to the myths”; “the great narratives have been dissected with pleasure and passion. (...) This belief is increasingly turning out to be an error. Every community yearns for identity”.¹¹⁷ Contemporary history has not yet dealt with the significance of this in light of this altered framework.

This also touches on the question of the role and position that (contemporary) historians should and can take in the future. Not the least due to the broad social interest in popular scientific formats and easier access to information of all kinds, including historical knowledge (which faces new challenges relating to the lack of verifiability and “quality control” of the information disseminated), access to historical representation and public visibility are subject to different mechanisms and negotiation processes than before. By no means does this mean that previously there was no abuse of positions of power – which ultimately implies the assertiveness of certain representations and nar-

ratives as well as the attention given to a topic or group. In fact, quite the contrary is true. However, the framework conditions have changed fundamentally, which must sometimes also result in a repositioning of the role of (contemporary) historians, or at least a critical examination of the dominant self-image. One approach that could be discussed is one that sees historians to a certain extent in a kind of mediating and balancing function, a position from which any imbalance in historical presentation and representation may be counterbalanced by providing alternative narratives, making groups that otherwise lack visibility more visible and/or breaking new ground in the development of this content.¹¹⁸

The subject of migration is especially suitable for meeting the demand of contributing to (and preserving) the democratisation of society. On the one hand, because the incipient labour migration of the 1960s and its consequences triggered far-reaching processes of social change that are still relevant today, on the other hand, since the topic of migration inevitably opens the view to a transnational and ultimately also a European perspective and can thus contribute to the development of a “European history”, and furthermore as contemporary historical migration research also focuses on fundamental questions of methodical, theoretical, but also practical approaches in a representative and ground-breaking way for historically dealing with other minorities and marginalised groups.¹¹⁹

- ¹ Migrationsrat für Österreich 2015, 10.
- ² Fischer 2006, 162.
- ³ Contributions to the “economic miracle” by providing the manpower, but also socially through a large number of associations and the permanent establishment together with the subsequent immigration of dependent family members (and later refugee migration), by which our current social composition is heavily characterised.
- ⁴ The Migration Council as well as the new national migration strategy currently under development are approaching the subject in a multi-dimensional way and, besides national aspects, also refer to connections at European and international levels. See, for example, Migrationsrat für Österreich 2015.
- ⁵ Kogoj 2004, 82.
- ⁶ The Expert Council for Integration headed by Heinz Fassmann was established in 2010 and is organised by the Austrian Federal Ministry for Europe, Integration and Foreign Affairs, <https://www.bmeia.gv.at/integration/expertenrat/> (27.10.2017).
- ⁷ Expertenrat für Integration 2015, 71.
- ⁸ Like, for example, a study commissioned by the Austrian Federal Ministry for Europe, Integration and Foreign Affairs on the occasion of the anniversary of the recruitment agreement with Turkey, cf. Hahn/Stöger 2014; a reception in the Vienna City Hall for “first generation migrant workers”, <http://archiv.kosmo.at/news/Wien-sagt-Danke-zu-Gastarbeitern-for-the-same-reason-or-two-corresponding-exhibitions-by-the-Vienna-Ethnological-Museum-Özbas-et-al.-2014-Özbas-et-al.-2016>.
- ⁹ The word “migration history” itself can only be understood as a temporary expression, since it concerns much more than the process of migration per se (Rupnow 2015, 911).
- ¹⁰ <http://www.migrationsforschung.at/de/aktuelles/drei-jahre-zmf/view>.
- ¹¹ See, for example, the Vorarlberg “Vielfaltenarchiv” (Diversity Archive), <http://www.vielfaltenarchiv.at/> or the fundamental involvement of the subject of migration in the conceptual reorientation of the Vorarlberg Museum and its corresponding scientific activities, <http://www.vorarlbergmuseum.at/sammlung-forschung-kooperationen/migration-im-museum.html>.
- ¹² The exhibition “Migration in pictures” of the Centre for Migrants in Tyrol, <http://www.zemit.at/de/projekte/abgeschlossene-projekte/migrationsbilder.html>; the Telfs migration archive, see <http://www.freirad.at/?p=8445>; the exhibition “Hall in motion – Traces of migration in Tyrol”, <http://www.hall-in-bewegung.at/>; or the exhibition of the Tyrolean Folk Art Museum “Everything alien in Tyrol”, <http://tirol.orf.at/news/stories/2769938/>.
- ¹³ See the “Migration collection” project, funded by the City of Vienna’s MA 17 (Integration and Diversity) for the Vienna Museum, <http://www.wienmuseum.at/de/sammlungen/migration-sammeln.html>; the Vienna Museum’s “Divided History” Viyana – Bec – Wien” exhibition, <http://www.wienmuseum.at/de/aktuelle-ausstellungen/ansicht/geteilte-geschichte-viyana-bec-wien.html>.
- ¹⁴ See the City of Salzburg’s Migration Archive, https://www.stadtsalzburg.at/internet/bildung_kultur/stadtgeschichte/migrationsarchiv_439399/migrationsarchiv_439401.htm.
- ¹⁵ Lebenswege 2015.
- ¹⁶ http://www.wienerzeitung.at/themen_channel/wz_integration/migration/492812_Zeitpunkt-jetzt-nicht-verpassen.html.
- ¹⁷ Note: and to pursue a paternalistic approach once again.
- ¹⁸ Rupnow 2013, 15.
- ¹⁹ See, for example, Langthaler 2010 for a critical examination of the concept of integration.
- ²⁰ Schausberger 2008, 16.
- ²¹ Häammerle 2017, 25.
- ²² See description of the Migration in Europe Network’s project “Migrants moving history. Narratives of Diversity in Europe”: <http://www.migrants-moving-history.org/>.
- ²³ Thus, Austrian migration research (especially that of the recent past) was rather the subject of geographers, demographers, sociologists and political scientists. In addition, almost exclusively quantitative investigations were carried, most of which had a policy-advisory purpose (and thus their perspective was oriented towards formal and structural conditions). See Rupnow 2016, 447. See, for example, also: Bakony 2013, 22.
- ²⁴ See, for example, the speech of the German Federal President Johannes Rau on the occasion of the 44th German Historians’ Convention in Halle/Saale, cited from Motte/Ohlinger 2004a, 9.
- ²⁵ Böhler/Rupnow 2013, 3. Hardly any empirical research exists as yet on labour migration and the culture of remembrance. Regarding Austria, reference should be made to the works of Dirk Rupnow, Christiane Hintermann, Regina Wonisch and Wladimir Fischer and the conceptual considerations highlighted in the “Gastarbeiteri” exhibition, (Gürses et al. 2004).
- ²⁶ See Ohlinger 2010, 17.
- ²⁷ The same applies to members of other (autochthonous) minorities or under-represented social groups. However, these cannot be discussed further here.
- ²⁸ In 1993 for example, “only” 80 % of Austrians still considered Austria to be an independent nation. Cf. Bruckmüller 1996, 65 or Bruckmüller 1994, 15
- ²⁹ Ohlinger 2010, 17.

³⁰ See, for example, Leggewie/Lang 2011 or Calligano 2015 as well as Durchhardt/Kunz 1997 on the absence of a collective European memory and its importance for a sustainable political identity as well as a concept of a European memory community.

³¹ Ohlinger 2010, 18.

³² König et al. 2008, 22.

³³ Most representatives of current memory studies consider the mindset of national memory spaces as generally obsolete. See, for example, Erll 2011, 57 ff on this criticism and the concepts of globalised memory research; Leggewie and Lang provide a revised concept for memory spaces in Leggewie/Lang 2011, 49 ff.

³⁴ Kogoj 2004.

³⁵ Böhler 2013, 3.

³⁶ Motte/Ohlinger 2004b, 18.

³⁷ Meaning the active involvement of migrants in this process as well as the generation of content through biographical/qualitative interviews.

³⁸ However, it is also important here to be careful and not to make generalised assumptions. Most young people with a migrant background as well as young people with a longer family history have similar ways of appropriating historical content (mass media, new media) and thus make differences disappear when approaching the subject of the "Holocaust", especially since today's young people are generally temporally a long way from this time and so it can also be assumed that "the peasant wars, the Nazis and the fall of the Berlin Wall are immersed in a similar historical fog", see Schacht 2012, 6; see also Georgi 2003.

³⁹ See, for example, Wonisch 2012, 16.

⁴⁰ Rupnow 2013, 6. Note: Michael Jeismann even sees the development of a commemoration and value community in Europe in which Auschwitz functions as

a "negative founding myth" (Jeismann 2001, 140).

⁴¹ See also Motte/Ohlinger 2004b, 21 or Csáky 2002, 30.

⁴² Erll 2011, 4.

⁴³ See, for example, Hintermann 2007 and Antic 2012, 5.

⁴⁴ However, this can only be done marginally at this point. There are hardly any studies on the historical awareness of the ex-Yugoslavians in Austria. One exception is the diploma thesis of Ivana Antic, whose analysis led to the following interesting result: "In terms of ex-Yugoslavian history, it can be summarised that the tendency towards unreflected nationalist historical consciousness is growing with increasing Serbian socialisation" (Antic 2012, 159).

⁴⁵ As Marc Bloch already stated about the national focus of historiography in general: "There is no French history, there is only one European history" (Bloch 2005, 14).

⁴⁶ See also Gürses 2004, 24–31 on the difficulty of exhibiting on (labour) migration history and dealing with history.

⁴⁷ Alavi 1998.

⁴⁸ Rupnow 2013, 13.

⁴⁹ In this context, Rupnow points out that the reality of migration society calls into question the "normatively homogenous concept of 'collective'" memory, which is why one should rather speak in the plural of "collected memories" instead of "collective memories", which should be acknowledged and shared. See Rupnow 2015, 913.

⁵⁰ Erll 2011, 63. See also the concept of social capital. Social capital encompasses a person's relationships and social networks, from close confidants, such as family and the closest circle of friends, through looser but equally meaningful contacts in recreational and interest groups, to attachments to a

larger community (such as culture, religion, ideology or possibly even a sports club). See, for example, Bourdieu 1983, 183–198 or Gehmacher 2009, 103–109.

⁵¹ See Pelinka 1995. History has shown that divisive partial identities and faction mentality, such as those between Catholics and Protestants, Germans and Slavs, Greater Germans and Austrians, etc.; see Häammerle 2017, 25.

⁵² Speech by the German Federal President Johannes Rau on the occasion of the 44th German Historians' Convention in Halle/Saale, cited from: Motte/Ohlinger 2004a, 9.

⁵³ Speech by the German Federal President Johannes Rau on the occasion of the 44th German Historians' Convention in Halle/Saale in: Motte/Ohlinger 2004a, 9.

⁵⁴ Ongan 2004, 88.

⁵⁵ See also Dülffe 2005, 20.

⁵⁶ On the notion of "cultural mainstreaming" or "migration mainstreaming", see Hess et al. 2009.

⁵⁷ See, for example, Lozic/Hintermann 2010, 37 or Rupnow 2013, 11.

⁵⁸ <http://www.vorarlbergmuseum.at/>; <http://www.hdgoe.at/>. See also: <http://www.vielfaltenarchiv.at/>.

⁵⁹ Cohen 2006, 91.

⁶⁰ Terkessides 2000.

⁶¹ See Hall 1996.

⁶² Erll 2011, 63.

⁶³ Which, in a certain way, must also take several countries into account – at least the respective country of origin and its historical narratives and national myths.

⁶⁴ See, for example, the comments of the topic "Austrian contemporary history as a history of the public in international comparison to the present" by the Institute for Contemporary History of the University of Vienna, where the following explanation can be found: "Austrian history is understood as part of a European and global development process and analysed

in a much more differentiated way using comparisons, cross-linking and transfer analyses", <http://www.univie.ac.at/zeitgeschichte/institut/schwerpunkte/osterreichische-zeitgeschichte-als-republikgeschichte-im-internationalen-vergleich-bis-zur-gegenwart/>.

⁶⁵ See Nora/François 2005.

⁶⁶ Jamin 2004, 155.

⁶⁷ Lutz/Gawarecki 2005, 14.

⁶⁸ Ibid, 15.

⁶⁹ Hämerle 2017, 25.

⁷⁰ Angelova 2011, 7f.

⁷¹ Erll 2011, 7.

⁷² Brix et al. 2004, 9.

⁷³ Schneider et al. 2011.

⁷⁴ Assmann 1988, 13.

⁷⁵ Mattl/Payer 2004, 100f.

⁷⁶ Wodak 1994, 46; see also Bauböck/Perchinig 2003.

⁷⁷ In this context, let us refer, for example to the gala and celebrations on ORF around the 90th anniversary of the Burgenland in 2011 and the representation there of helpfulness in the context of the Hungarian Uprising. Currently, for example, Hans Niessl in his commemorative speech on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Hungarian Uprising and the bridge of Andau as a symbol: "The bridge of Andau has become a sign of humanity and solidarity for eternity due to these historical events and the helpfulness of the Burgenland inhabitants" (Kurier 2016, 3).

⁷⁸ See, for example, Pelinka 1997, 95; Bakony/Winter 2013, 30 or even Uhl (not specified).

⁷⁹ See, for example, Bruckmüller 1994, 132ff and Bauböck 1996, 8.

⁸⁰ Hintermann 2010, 75. See the entirety of Rathkolb 2005.

⁸¹ However, this is only true for part of the Austrian population and predominantly conceals the direct or indirect experience of migrants.

⁸² Fischer 2007, 92.

⁸³ Dülffer 2014.

⁸⁴ See Deutscher Bundestag (o.A.) or also Holtmann 2008.

⁸⁵ Uhl 2010, 12.

⁸⁶ See, for example, Bakony/Winter 2013, 26f.

⁸⁷ See, for example, Broden/Mecheril 2007 or Spivak 2007.

⁸⁸ Uhl 2010, 8.

⁸⁹ Hois et al. 2004, 216.

⁹⁰ Halbwachs 1966.

⁹¹ Bertraux/Bertraux-Wiame 1980, 113.

See Ziegler/Konnionier-Finster 1993, 41 on Assmann's critique of Halbwachs, which criticises precisely that lack of orientation towards forms of "objective culture" such as texts, buildings, monuments or rites.

⁹² Bertraux/Bertraux-Wiame 1980, 113.

⁹³ See Ziegler/Konnionier-Finster 1993, 43.

⁹⁴ See, for example, Assmann 1988; Assmann 1999b; Assmann 1995; Assmann 1999a; Assmann 1999c.

⁹⁵ See Nora 1998 or Nora/François 2005.

See Uhl 2010, 8 or Hois et al. 2004, 215f.

⁹⁶ Nora 1998, 7.

⁹⁷ François 2001, 17–18.

⁹⁸ Jamin 2004, 148.

⁹⁹ See, for example, Creet/Kitzmann 2011, 4ff.

¹⁰⁰ See Bauböck 2010.

¹⁰¹ See overview, page 75.

¹⁰² Jakubowicz 2017.

¹⁰³ Which also requires the development of a fundamentally appropriate methodological approach.

¹⁰⁴ See the dissertation of Lorber 2015 as one of the few pieces of research that deals explicitly with female labour migration.

¹⁰⁵ An exception here in part was interviewee number 9. It should also be noted that three of the four men interviewed are active members of different associations, with all the associated peculiarities already described elsewhere. This repre-

sentation, according to the traditional allocation of women to the private sphere and men to the public sphere can thus be clearly seen, at least on the basis of the interviews carried out in the course of this work, about which further investigations and discussions would be appropriate.

¹⁰⁶ See Csáky 2002, 33.

¹⁰⁷ These are essential elements in identity formation and often make use of common stereotypes and clichés as well as suitably engaged symbolism. Consider the "Sissi" films of the post-war period or the multitude of sentimental films with regional background or well-known songs like "I am from Austria" by Rainhard Fendrich; see also Pensold et al. 2015, 109f.

¹⁰⁸ See Terkessidis 2012, 120ff.

¹⁰⁹ See also Müller-Funk (not specified).

¹¹⁰ Insofar as these correspond to the facts, at least regarding origin, then the interviewees' image of the "Yugoslavian caretaker" is strained, yet also corresponds to the facts. After all, eight of the twelve respondents (or their partners) were employed as caretakers. See also Lichtenberger 1984, 327ff.

¹¹¹ So this image also forms the content of the interviews, even if frequent commuting barely featured amongst the respondents themselves and returning to their country of origin was ostensibly limited to holidays.

¹¹² See Riegler 2010 and Bauböck 1996, 2 or John 1996 and John 2016. Also the critique of Fischer 2008.

¹¹³ This image refers primarily to those migrants who come from parts of the former monarchy, and thus serves as a distinction between "good" and "bad foreigners". This is certainly problematic, as it is judgmental, whereby the fundamental question of whether the history of migration is not or is in fact

ostensible to the history of the individual (ethnic) groups has to be posed. See Fischer 2006, 164.

Fischer, for example, explains the occupation with immigrants from south-eastern Europe in turn-of-the-19th/20th-century Vienna as follows: "It is a group, that might at that time not even have existed as an 'imagined community': the migrants from the regions that used to be 20th century Yugoslavia. One might ask why the topic is defined by a territory that did not potentially exist in the period in question. The answer lies in the strategy of my research: the potential readers of history do live now" (Fischer 2006, 161).

¹¹⁴ Whereby this point is still material for further research. As a useful starting point, there are some ideas expressed on this, especially Brix et al. 2004; Brix et al. 2005a; Brix et al. 2005b.

¹¹⁵ One outcome of the interview is the attempt, mostly on the subjective level, to establish historical references to Austrian history and to point out continuities in this case. This need repeatedly appears in the interviews and is particularly evident in references to a family or regional relationship with the – apparently very positive – Imperial and Royal past. But also general comparisons are affected, such as those of the immigration of migrant workers, with the population movements and immigration in the monarchical multi-ethnic states. This aspect is worth mentioning, since it is particularly suited to serve as a memory space and thus an identification framework for broad sections of the population. It can then be further linked to the development of an appropriate strategy for integrating migrant content into an Austrian historical narrative. The inclusion of migrant workers' history in Austrian history could prove to be especially fruitful, as this also constitutes an extremely positive refer-

ence point and essential aspect of self-representation and identification within the Austrian population (see the Austrian tourism advert).

¹¹⁶ Looking at the existing state of research, it now becomes clear that the group of (now former) Yugoslavians in Austria was investigated almost exclusively as a more or less homogenous immigrant group; work on individual "ethnicities" or ethnic groups is largely absent. See Bozic 1998. Lichtenberger made a distinction according to ethnicity in her study of the labour migrants in Vienna, although the representation of different living environments within the Yugoslavian migrant workers was not in the foreground (Lichtenberger 1984). There is also more recent research on the individual ethnic groups in Vienna, with certain differentiations having been made. Historically, these rarely go further back than the 1960s. Hardly any literature is available regarding the time before migrant worker immigration. Of particular note in this context is Chapter VI of Suppan 1996, 923–1002.

¹¹⁷ Häammerle 2017, 25.

¹¹⁸ Oral history research and biographical approaches are not "new" per se regarding the development of new content for "collective memory". These feed on the memories of certain groups, such as migrants and their descendants. However, thus far, hardly any material exists.

¹¹⁹ This can be connected from the edges to a number of traditions and discussions, for example about the history of society. See Rupnow 2015, 910.

This article is based on previous publications by the author, particularly the dissertation completed in 2017 by Jakubowicz and the contribution to Jakubowicz 2016.

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