



universität
wien

MASTERARBEIT / MASTER'S THESIS

Titel der Masterarbeit / Title of the Master's Thesis

“Educationalizing the Holocaust in the service of
Austrian nation-building”

verfasst von / submitted by

Sofie Pittamitz BA

angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts (MA)

Wien, 2021 / Vienna 2021

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt /
degree programme code as it appears on
the student record sheet:

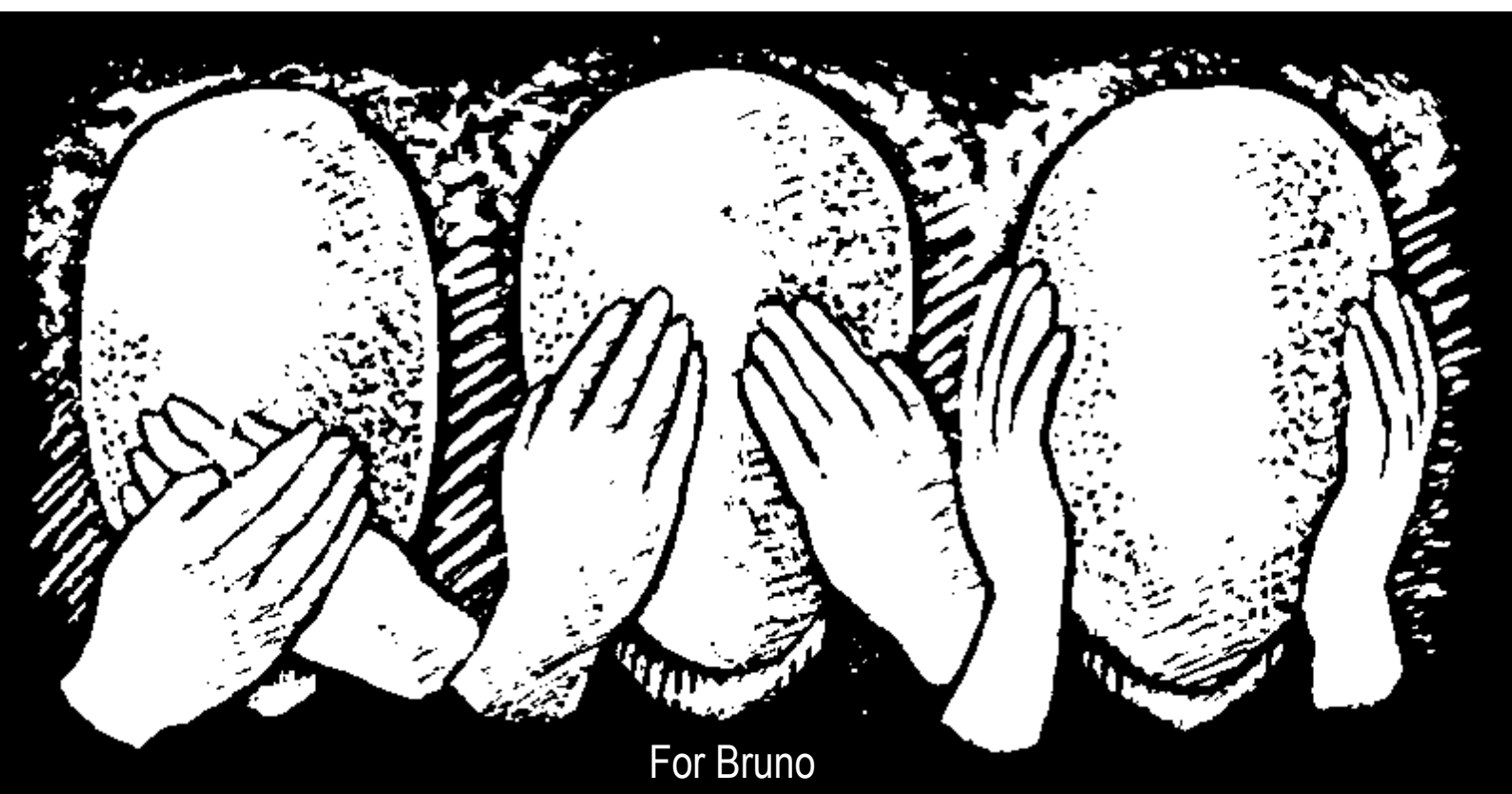
A 066 848

Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt /
degree programme as it appears on
the student record sheet:

Masterstudium Bildungswissenschaft

Betreut von / Supervisor:

Univ.-Prof. Dr. Daniel Tröhler



For Bruno

Content

1. Introduction	1
2. Theoretical framework: Educationalized nation-building.....	5
2.1. Educationalization	5
2.2. Nation-Building	8
2.3. Curriculum reform	11
2.4. The unseen connection between nation-building and education	13
3. Methodology and Method	17
3.1. Methodological considerations.....	17
3.2. Methodical considerations.....	20
4. The sources and their analyses	28
4.1. Mauthausen memorial	28
4.2. Teacher education and school material	31
4.3. Yearbooks	35
4.4. Curricula	48
4.5. Scientific educational journals.....	59
4.6. Schoolbooks.....	64
4.7. Explorative expert interviews	66
4.8. Summary of the analyzed sources	71
5. Building the Austrian nation	73
5.1. Austria's nation-building during the Second Republic of Austria	73
5.2. Austria's nation-building in relation to the Holocaust	78
6. Educationalizing the Holocaust in the service of Austrian nation-building.....	89
7. Summary and Outlook	99
8. References	102
9. List of Charts	113
10. List of Tables.....	114
11. List of Images.....	115
12. Abstract English	116
13. Abstract Deutsch	117
14. Appendix.....	119

1. Introduction

Since the emergence of the first nation-states in the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century, education has played a very important role for their establishment. The unification under one state and the establishment of mass schooling brought common points of reference, a national language, and a certain connectedness with the nation-state. Education was, and remains to be, crucial for building and forming nation-states. Through unifying and stratifying children in school, students are educated to become loyal citizens with a unique national mindedness (Durkheim, cited in Mitchell, 1931, p. 99; Hughes, 1902, p. 4; Gellner, 1983, p. 54; Smith, 1991, p. 192). Schools are working towards *making citizens* to have them understand themselves as part of a nation – an *imagined community* (Anderson, 1983, pp. 5-6). Hughes (1906) writes in “The Making of Citizens: A Study in Comparative Education”:

“Every school is a machine deliberately contrived for the manufactures of citizens” (Hughes, 1906, p. 4)

This means that nation-states today are built around and through education. Education therefore must be seen as an integral part of every Western society as it is constantly forcing and reinforcing national mindedness. This all-encompassing interwovenness of education and nation-building is best described as the *educationalization of the world* that sees education thoroughly intertwined with the nation-state (Tröhler, 2016a; Horlacher, 2016). Today this connection has become mostly unnoticed by society. Billig picks up this approach and understands nation-building banally, meaning that people do not recognize that they are constantly reminded of their nationhood. He also sees the importance of schooling in this regard, giving the example of American students’ daily pledge to the national flag (Billig, 1995). The educational system is deeply embedded in the cultural power structures of the nation-states it is developed out of and has been for years. Its main responsibility is *educating the future citizens*. For example, the schools have been constantly put to the task to solve social issues such as economic crisis, environmental issues, or consumerism (e.g., Sputnik shock; see also Educational Principles Austria BMBWF, 2020, Online). This is often described today as the *educationalization of social problems*, when seemingly any issue appearing in a nation-state is to be solved through education (Labaree, 2008; Schwimmer, 2011). When education is recognized as interrelated with the nation-state and its nation-building modes, the formal and informal power structures in education, especially in the creation of curriculum, come to light. Educational research in this field is, without argument, of utter importance.

Yet, this ubiquitous interconnection of educationalization and nation-building, visible in many ways in modern Western societies, is mostly unrecognized by educational sciences – especial-

ly in the German-speaking educational sciences¹. German educational scientific research – for example *Lehrplanforschung* – focuses on subject-matters and general didactics. The curriculum has barely been addressed within its cultural and national context. Nationalism is often referred to as a moral and troubling issue that education needs to be cleared of (Tröhler, 2019a; Horlacher, 2018). Educational sciences should open their eyes to nationalism and nation-building as the core foundation of modern education; nation-states cannot just be seen ontologically as something given but as permanently discursively constructed. This master's thesis claims to have found a general research gap, as educationalization in the service of nation-building as a discourse has not been given much attention by educational sciences yet.

It is this master thesis's goal to open up one chapter of this unrecognized connection between educationalization and nation-building, by looking at the country of Austria and its *educationalized nation-building* discourse. The specific research interest of this master's thesis is to look at one particular curricular area of high moral significance, the case of the educationalization of the Holocaust during the nation-building of the Second Republic of Austria from 1945 until 2000. In concrete terms, educationalizing the Holocaust in Austria shall make a strong case to analyze the interwovenness of educationalization in the service of nation-building. The master's thesis with the title “Educationalizing the Holocaust in the service of Austrian nation-building” is guided by the following thesis:

The educationalization of the Holocaust in Austria is a case for educationalization in the service of Austrian nation-building.

In order to substantiate this thesis, first the bigger picture will be looked at. The theoretical framework will give insight into the theories of nation-building, educationalization, and curriculum reform (2.). This will serve as the groundwork on which the Austrian case will later stand on. Thereby it will be important to find out why school has been made responsible to deal with social problems in nation-states as they are known today. While looking at educationalization from a theoretical perspective, the above described interwovenness between nation-building and education as an integral part of nation-states will be examined. In doing this the formation of nation-states as well as the idea of the nation and nation-building are investigated. The *making of citizens* will make it possible to better understand Austria's nation-building modes in the post Second World War period. When bringing educationalization and nation-building together, the above described interwovenness becomes visible. It will show

¹ About overlooked nation-building in sciences in general: Billig, 1995, p. 175, Özkirimli, 2010, p. 3; Calhoun, 2007, p. 1

About overlooked nation-building in education: Tröhler, 2019b; Ichijo/Uzelac, 2005; Horlacher, 2016

that the driving educational idea of nation-states is *educating a future citizen* and it can only be accomplished with the help of schools. The chapter on curriculum reform will address the way curriculum is changing and the hegemonial forces that are taking part in the creation of a school curriculum. Here, the German notion of *Bildung* and its limits for this specific research approach will be displayed. The chapter on the theoretical framework will end with the unseen connection of nation-building and education, and the description of the current state of research.

Through the methodology of the (*Vienna School in*) *Critical Discourse Analysis* (Wodak, 2001a; Fairclough/Wodak, 1997; Wodak et al., 1998) a historical discursive analysis will be conducted to gain a better understanding of the power structures of the discourse at hand (3.). In order to assess the case of the educationalization of the Holocaust during the Second Republic of Austria², concrete historical, linguistic, and empirical data will be researched to bring the hidden motives of curriculum and educational reform to light (4.). The focus of the sources will lie on analyzing the educationalization processes inscribed in memorial sites, school material, curricula, and journals. To further gather inside information on the historical past, explorative expert interviews with “History and Social Studies” teachers who taught during the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s will be held. All of the above-mentioned sources will lie within the research period of the beginning of the Second Republic of Austria (1945-2000), focusing specifically on the time the educationalization of the Holocaust in Austria’s schools started (the 1970s and 1980s). The theoretical framework, the methodological approach, and the methodical research will paint a broad picture of the *educationalized nation-building* discourse, making the case of the Austrian educationalization of the Holocaust describable.

The gathered context and background information will explore the nation-building aspects of the case: First, the Austrian nation-building modes in general (5.1.), and second, the Austrian nation-building regarding the Holocaust (5.2.). By combining the analyzed sources and the nation-building information, all findings can be brought together. Chapter six of the master’s thesis will summarize the whole work and bring the interpretable picture of the discourse together. The attempt will be made to falsify or verify the guiding thesis by combining the educationalization and the nation-building timelines. The last part of the thesis will then summarize the whole work once again (7.) and likely open up a vast research field that will show how much more educational research could be undergone within the somehow unseen interrelation of education and nation-building, and within the field of the educationalization of the Holocaust.

² Throughout the master’s thesis the research period is often described with “the Second Republic of Austria”. The conducted research is focusing on the years 1945 to 2000.

The structure of the master's thesis, described above, will show that the Holocaust became a formative aspect of Austria's nation-building. This work will contribute to a better understanding of Austria's educational and national development since the Second World War, and a better understanding of why the Holocaust has not been reprocessed earlier and why it took Austria four decades to face their past. The historiography of the beginning of the Second World War will make dominant cultural preferences of the nation-building modes of post Second World War Austria, and their display in Austrian schools, describable. This will show which educational measures played what role in constructing education around the Holocaust in Austria. Through that, the specific Austrian educationalization processes and curricular changes of the Holocaust that occurred will come to light. In the end this master's thesis will show that the Holocaust curriculum stands for cultural power structures trying to reinforce the existing system of national identity. It will show that the educationalization of the Holocaust in Austria shows a case of educationalization in the service of Austrian nation-building.

2. Theoretical framework: Educationalized nation-building

2.1. Educationalization

The society's tendency to solve issues in school is a phenomenon that is most commonly described as educationalization. This phenomenon is intrinsically connected to nation-building. When nation-states face a problem, not knowing how to deal with it, they often put the responsibility on the educational system. Educationalization can be traced back to the origins of the establishment of nation-states in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Eugene Weber (1925-2007), an American historian, explains in "Peasants into Frenchmen" how France "a country of savages", between 1870 and 1914, turned the French into earnestly civilized people, by teaching them in school how to speak properly and how to generally be well behaved for society (cf Weber, 1979, p. 332). Stephen L. Harp (1964-), an American French and history professor at the University of Indiana, looks at primary schooling in Alsace and Lorraine between 1850 and 1940. He is trying to understand how people torn between the often changing German and French nations must be made loyal to the reigning regime. He argues that primary schooling was very important in enforcing national mindedness during these times (cf Harp, 1998, p. 4f.). These examples show that nation-states turned to schooling to form children in order for them to become loyal citizens. Therefore, the establishment of mass schooling created a whole new language, common points of reference, and national commitment within a state.

Until today, in order to uphold the nation-states' system of power, the nationally-minded citizens are continuously educated and civilized as schools continue to be important to "manufacture citizens" for the means of the nation-state. Often unnoticed, the involvement of education in the emerging nation-states helps to make people feel connected to their country by teaching them about historical events, making them jump to action when the nation needs them – even if this means sacrificing their own lives for the nation in war³. Yet, the state's influence in schooling can be used politically; coercing people in many ways, destroying small *ethnies*, using here Anthony Smith's⁴ term, (Smith, 2002, p. 14), and making differences depending on ancestry, area, and wealth. The making of a citizen can be a difficult and dangerous process that is never innocent (Weber, 1979, pp. 303-338).

³ See Durkheim, cited in Mitchell, 1931, p. 99; Hughes, 1902, p. 4; Gellner, 1983, p. 54; Smith, 1991, p. 192.

⁴ Anthony D. Smith (1939-2016) was a British historical sociologist. Smith is known for his distinction between civic and ethnic in the discourse of nations and nationalism. He argues that all nations have ethnic cores that he describes as *ethnies* (Smith, 2002, p. 14).

Marc Depaepe, a Belgian professor of educational science, well aware of the problems educationalization is facing, writes:

“In the ‘modern’, ‘civilised’ society, there arose in various languages and against the background of diverse cultures, a similar complex of actions with the objective of forming and disciplining the students (or pupils).” (Depaepe, 2012, p. 134)

This means that the modern school as it is known today never had the singular goal to teach only subject-related content, but also to educate the citizens in becoming loyal and nationally-minded citizens.

For the educationalization of the Holocaust⁵ in Austria’s Second Republic, two aspects of this theory of educationalization are important: One, the *educationalization of social problems*, and two, the *educationalization of the world*.

Educationalization of social problems: In 1957 the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) launched the worldwide first artificial satellite into the atmosphere, making the Western nation-states, especially the United States of America, gasp in fear. The cold-war competitor, Russia, proved higher technical skills than any other country. What followed were investments in research and development, national security, and above all – education. Educational reform on all levels focused on hard sciences such as mathematics and physics (Sputnik shock; Levine, 2018). When the Hippie Era of the 1960s swept all over Europe, an environmental movement erupted that influenced Austria intensely. During the course of the 1970s, the green party (German: Die Grünen) was established as a political party and in 1979 “Umwelterziehung” (English: Environment Education) became implemented into Austrian school curriculum as an educational principle (Umweltbildung BMBWF, 2020, Online). Two examples that clearly show how national change is answered with educational reform and the involvement of schools. It goes so far that school is not just used to solve the educational, technical, and environmental issues at hand, but is also blamed for not educating the children well enough (Labaree, 2008, p. 447; Schwimmer, 2011, p. 94). Schools today educate towards many social issues such as health, interculturalism, media, sex-education, green environment, and consumerism (see for example Educational Principles Austria BMBWF, 2020, Online). The question remains how fit schools really are to educate students in these highly moral and

⁵ *Holocaust:* The term Holocaust, explains the German historian Benz (2002), stems from the third century biblical-Hebrew words “olah” and “calil” that can be translated as “burnt victim” or “victim that descends into heaven” (Benz, 2002, pp. 100-101; Lindquist, 2013, p. 35). Claussen (1995), a German journalist and sociologist, explains that the term “Holocaust” has been criticized because its original meaning is a religious one (= a religious victim as a homage to god) and it might trivialize or summarize the mass killing during the Second World War. It is argued that it can be used without looking directly at the horror and its implications of the crimes (Claussen, 1995, p. 17).

emotional issues. Labaree (2008), an educational scientist, argues that schools have been quite inefficient in carrying out social reform missions such as promoting equality of race, class and gender; enhancing public health, economic productivity and good citizenship; or reducing teenage sex, traffic deaths, obesity, and environmental destruction. He even goes on to argue that school has had a negative effect on these problems because it takes away time and money from useful and efficient social reforms. Labaree explains that individual and structural problems of the society are too great for the schools to handle, and the gap between state and student is huge and challenging to overcome. Politics should themselves try to find structural solutions for social problems (Labaree, 2008, pp. 447-460). Schwimmer, an educational scientist, reviews the anthology “Educational Research. The Educationalization of Social Problems” by Smeyers and Depaepe (2008) and says that many authors criticize the lack of engagement of the state in finding solutions for social problems. The problems are often considered “simply educational” or “curricular”. The subjects, teachers, and students are made responsible for social inequities, national economic difficulties, and moral issues. Although only the political system can answer the meta-questions of justice, social inclusion and resources (Schwimmer, 2011, p. 94).

The *educationalization of the world* correlates with what is described above, in that today’s “Western” world⁶ has been built with the help of education to educate the children in a certain way. Therefore, educationalization needs to be accepted as an integral part of every modern society and nation-states must continue to turn to education to reinforce their national narrative. An individual must be understood as forever tamed by education. To say it with Daniel Tröhler’s words, a professor for Educational Science, “*educationalization of the world*” is “a key concept for understanding and deciphering the grand narratives of modernity and the modern self.” (Tröhler, 2016a, p. 1).

Even though all over the “Western” world children are educationalized, every nation-state is doing it in a nationally unique way – reinforcing its own distinctive nation-building agenda. Therefore, citizens of each nation-state will show differences and must be described as “floating signifiers” (Tröhler, 2019a; Gotling, 2018, p. 131). Tröhler (2016b):

“A French citizen is not a US citizen, a US citizen is not a British citizen, a British citizen is not a German Bürger, and a German Bürger is not a Swiss Bürger, despite the fact that France, the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany and Switzerland are all constitutional democracies and that any dictionary in the world would translate citizen as a citizen or Bürger.” (Tröhler, 2016b, p. 285)

⁶ As this master’s thesis is written out of a European country, “today’s ‘Western’ world” is referring to a Westernized world.

This simply explains that the education of the future citizen is nationally diverse because the schools and curricula are different in each nation-state. Every curriculum is nationally-minded and must be researched as such, otherwise it will be impossible to make built-in biases and prejudices visible. Goodson (1943-), a British educationalist, has given the often overlooked connection between education and nationally constructed curriculum much thought, and fittingly points out the example of giving “Eskimos”⁷ refrigerators:

“It is as if the students of pedagogy urge us to concentrate on the negotiations over the sale of the refrigerators and the ethnographers of school and institutional context urge us to look at the social context of the particular eskimo locale. Nobody asks the question of why refrigerators, of how such an inappropriate product came to be at the centre of the action. Likewise the agenda setting of curriculum as made has been too often left out studies of schooling. It is time for a full-scale exploration of the potential of such work in elucidating the complex conundrum of schooling.” (Goodson, 1995, p. 199)

This example describes why it is important to look at educationalization in the service of nation-building because otherwise national power structures in education will stay hidden. Before explaining this statement in more detail (2.4.), the next two chapters dive deeper into the phenomena of nation-building, its origins and modern adaptations, as well as curriculum reform.

2.2. Nation-Building

In order to fully comprehend the interconnection between educationalization and nation-building it is important to understand what the term nation-building means. As already mentioned above, at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, nation-states started to emerge. The French Revolution (1789-1799⁸) and its Declaration of the Rights of Men (1789) as well as the Constitution of the United States of America (drafted 1787, ratified 1788, implemented 1789) marked the start of unifying people politically as one nation in France and the United States respectively (for other examples see Tröhler, 2017). This way of binding people together started to spread all over the “Western” world. The Congress of Vienna, held from November 1814 to June 1815, in which European states reor-

⁷ The author acknowledges that “Eskimo” is a politically incorrect usage by Goodson talking about the indigenous circumpolar peoples who have traditionally inhabited the northern circumpolar region from eastern Siberia (Russia) to Alaska (United States), Northern Canada, Nunavik, Nunatsiavut and Greenland.

⁸ The French Revolution started in 1789 when the Ancien Régime was abolished in favour of a constitutional monarchy and ended in 1799 with the appointment of Napoleon Bonaparte as First consul (dtv-Atlas zur Weltgeschichte, 1989, pp. 19-23).

ganized state boundaries so that they could remain at peace, marks a very important chapter in the beginning of European nation-state formation. Through that the beginning of the formation of nation-states changed the course of modern history and had an impact on politics, the economy, geography, and (of course) education (Horlacher, 2017; Gotling, 2018, p. 127). Horlacher (2017), an educational scientist working for the University of Zurich, wrote regarding this:

“Around 1800, the key question of educational strategies, how to prepare people for conducting a “good life” in a given social order, got new attention. ... It was a widespread goal of the advocates of compulsory schooling to fabricate the future citizens through mass compulsory schooling, because the new “nation-states” that were established after the Congress of Vienna in 1815 faced the problem of how to transform the former inhabitants of territories into citizens of the new States.”

(Horlacher, 2017, p. 14)

From the time when nation-states started to arise, scholars have tried to understand and describe the phenomenon of nation-building. In a nutshell, the scholarly work is asking the question, “What is a nation?”. Ernest Renan (1823-1892), a French writer, historian, archeologist, and theologian, was one of the first to theoretically reflect on the term nation. He did so by asking at his 1882 lecture at the Sorbonne University, “Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?”. Renan dives into factors that constitute a nation such as race, language, religion, a community of interest and geography (Renan, 1882, pp. 253-254), just to argue that none of these are as relevant as the fact that a nation is a “great aggregation of men” with the same moral conscience. A nation is held together by the consent to continue a common life. Therefore, a nation's existence is a daily “plebiscite” (Renan, 1882, pp. 262-264). Benedict Anderson (1936-2015), a British-Irish professor for International Studies who has often been referenced within the theories of nationalism, understood nation as an “imagined political community”. He explains it as a kinship if described anthropologically, which can be both sovereign and restrictive. The imagining comes from the idea that although not all members know each other within a nation, they still have the image of a community in their minds (Anderson, 1983, pp. 5-6). Michael Billig (1947-), who is a British educational scientist, understands in his book “Banal Nationalism” that nation-states are a singular power-force that control and demand the “direct and total loyalty of its citizenry”. He explains that today's nationalism is invisible or banal, meaning that the nation-state and its obligations are accepted by the people as something natural (Billig, 1995, pp. 20-21). Umut Özkirimli (1970-), a Turkish political scientist, argues in his book “Theories of Nationalism” that nation-states need politics, social relations, and histo-

ry to exist. He therefore sees nationalism as a discourse that needs to put the structure, the claims, and the characteristics of nationalism into account (Özkirimli, 2010, pp. 205-212).

For this master's thesis it is important to remember that nationally-minded citizens, bound together by an invisible tie, take part in building their own nation and with it, their nation-state. People often do not even realize they are playing a part in their nation-state's agenda. To voluntarily join the army and potentially risk getting hurt or killed is a clear example of that strong bond to a nation-state that only exists due to people's national mindedness and loyalty to the nation-state. Through participating in this *imagined community*, the existing nation-state is constantly produced and reproduced. All citizens, Austrian citizens as well, must be reminded of their nation-state in order to not forget and neglect their duties. The nation-state of Austria does a formidable job in reminding its citizens about its nationhood by having a framed picture of the Austrian president in every school classroom, or teaching young primary school children the Austrian anthem, or celebrating the national Austria Day every year (in and out of school). The signs for the reproduced nation-state start to blend into the background of every nation-state, influencing citizens constantly. Billig (1995) calls this constant remembering "flagging", meaning that citizens remember and neglect/forget their nationhood (Billig, 1995, pp. 37-38; pp. 49-51).

Nation-building describes the ways a nation-state is brought together under a national identity; an identity that does not spring to life like a resting machinery and has not been around since primordial times⁹. An identity that is not a thing, but – and here Billig's definition is used – only operates in relation to forms of life and forms of talking about the self and community (Billig, 1995, pp. 60-61):

“National identities are forms of social life, rather than internal psychological states; as such, they are ideological creations, caught up in the historical processes of nationhood.” (Billig, 1995, p. 24)

For example, the Scottish Highland-kilt: Although it does have a long-lasting tradition, it was reinvented in the nation-building process of the eighteenth and nineteenth century as a national symbol to reinforce the national agenda of Scotland. This nurtured a sense of peoplehood in order to achieve the feeling of nationhood, showing that only by living, talking, and engaging

⁹ *Primordialist approach to nationalism*: Sihls (1957), Hastings (1997), Grosby (2003); Eller and Coughlan argue that social scientists, who make reference to such primordial ties, have not specified how these ties might operate and how they might be reproduced. Just to call nationalism an identity or a tie explains little in itself (Eller/Coughlan, 1993)

in the tradition of the Scottish kilt does it become a strong national symbol and therefore identity. Simply said, a community bound under the same ideological framework and ways of living forms a nation-state (Billig, 1995, pp. 24-26). This all sounds too good to be true. Nation-building is usually not a harmonious and civil process because not all people living in the same territory are willing to imagine the same community. When a specific “ethnie” evolves from a small group of people to a nation, conflict and violence are not far because it is one identity that is imposed upon all people (Smith, 2002, p. 14). That is why most nations have subgroups that hold their own history and original culture within their state. Behind a nation-state usually stands a defeated alternative *imagined community*. The fact that nations are most commonly built on a big conquest is usually forgotten by the citizens of the modern nation-state. This nation-building aspect is very important for this master’s thesis, as the Holocaust has been neglected and forgotten for a long time since the Second World War. Renan (1882) calls this idea of forgetting and neglecting “historical error” and writes:

“Forgetting, I would even say historical error, is an essential factor in the creation of a nation and it is for this reason that the progress of historical studies often poses a threat to nationality. Historical inquiry, in effect, throws light on the violent acts that have taken place at the origin of every political formation, even those that have been the most benevolent in their consequences.” (Renan, 1882, p. 261)

2.3. Curriculum reform

The above described the theory of educationalization in connection with the nation-building. This chapter will dive deeper into curriculum reform, understanding it not just as the singular curricular changes that are made but as educational changes affecting the whole schooling system (e.g., teacher education, regulations, field trips, exhibitions, projects, ...).

Curricular reform is a way of making changes to the curriculum with the goal to make learning and teaching more meaningful and effective. It is also a complex process: First the necessity of a subject is evaluated, then scientific evaluations are undertaken, the last step is to create a written text including rules and regulations (Goodson, 1999, p. 159-161; Layton, 1972). This process of curricular reform is influenced heavily by all kinds of interest groups through all steps: From the idea, to the draft, to the proposal, to the ultimate implementation. Each step is imprinted by certain power structures (Denman/Al-Mahrooqi, 2019). To give an Austrian example: The Federation of Austrian Industries took part in the creation of the Political Education (German: Politische Bildung) curriculum, influencing it in ways useful for them (see 4.4.). This master’s thesis describes one trigger of curriculum reform – namely curricu-

lum reform in the service of nation-building. Other power figures such as society, culture, politics, and teachers also contribute to curriculum reform and can influence why curricular change comes about. Law makers must decide whether the suggested educational reform is worth going through all the levels of power to bring the curricular change to life. Therefore, not all proposed reforms become part of school curriculum. Caught in this dialectic of what school offers and what it is supposed to offer, curricular reform has a big responsibility and a difficult balancing act to manage. It is a difficult job to keep all interests in mind, prioritizing the interest of the people (Tyack/Cuban, 1995, p. 43f). As the education system is understood as interwoven with nation-building, all the mentioned figures above are always part of a national agenda. Curricular reform cannot be taken out of the context of the nation-state it is developed out of. Musgrove (1968), Nieswandt (1999), and Tröhler (2017) stress the importance of researching curriculum within its hegemonial dimensions. Therefore, research conducted through *Lehrplanforschung*, Curriculum Studies, and Curriculum History must include these aspects into their research.

Lehrplanforschung, the German equivalent to Curriculum Studies struggles the most in this regard. In Germany, *Lehrplanforschung* as an academic field slowly came into the picture in the 1960s, and only since the late 1990s has it been providing a frame for (mostly international) case studies or comparative work. Tröhler (2019a) argues:

“Accordingly in (continental) Europe a continuous research tradition under the catchword ‘curriculum’ has never really existed.” (Tröhler, 2019a, p. 523)

That means that although *Lehrplanforschung* translates to Curriculum Studies it focuses only on the content of the school subjects of the curriculum. It cannot be simply compared to the Anglo-American idea of *Curriculum Studies* because they stem from contrary ideas about schooling. Horlacher (2018), who is an educational scientist working for the University of Zurich, writes about the difference between *Lehrplan* and curriculum saying:

“...the two terms *Lehrplan* and curriculum are not merely two concepts indicating comparable subjects, but imply also a whole belief system about schooling. This fact gets challenging, as the term curriculum is sometimes used in German language as equivalent to *Lehrplan*, but also as counterpart...” (Horlacher, 2018, p. 2)

The German belief system of education, as is inherent to hermeneutic studies, looks at the individual and its inward world and is not interested in external conditions and constraints. This ideology is commonly referred to as the notion of *Bildung*, which aims to educate towards a *good human* in school. When the prime focus in German-speaking countries lies on didactics and *Lehrplanforschung*, it is always connected to the ideology of *Bildung*. There-

fore, the German-speaking educational sciences has been having difficulties applying hegemonial, exterior aspects of the curriculum to their study (Horlacher, 2016, p. 56). This gives further ground to embark on this research journey and look at educationalization and its interwovenness with nation-building. This connection – as will be explained in the next chapter – has been often unrecognized in educational sciences, especially in German-speaking educational scientific research.

2.4. The unseen connection between nation-building and education

While the connection between nation-building and education seems undeniable it is also mostly unrecognized by educational sciences. Scholars like Billig (1995), Özkirimli (2010), and Calhoun (2007) even argue that nation-building in all sciences is generally unseen. National symbols, national spaces, national narratives, and national rituals that are important reminders in a nation-state should be at least noticed by scientists. It is important to look at “the depths and mechanisms of our identity, embedded in routines of social life”, writes Billig (1995, p. 175). For this master’s thesis, the specific shortcomings of educational science, addressed by only few educational scientists, are deemed relevant. Tröhler (2019b), for instance, states in this respect that educational research on nationalism is still facing two major “shortcomings”. First, that in the studies of nationalism the theories of nationalism lack knowledge about education, and that scientists who have conducted studies on nation or nationalism (such as Anderson, Hobsbawm, Breuilly or Smith) have ignored or marginalized education (Tröhler, 2019b, pp. 5-6). Ichijo and Uzelac, two sociologists, agree in this regard. A conference was held by them to discuss the question, “When is a nation?” and the results around education were irritating. When asked about the educational impact of nation, nationhood and nationalism, Eric Hobsbawm replied that education needs to be emancipated from its “built-in nationalist virus”. John Breuilly answered that school education has been too complicated for it to be part of studies on nationalism. Anthony D. Smith has seen education as a victim of bad nationalism and believes that the study of nations and nationalism should be used to correct education (Ichijo/Uzelac, 2005, pp. 129-131). This shows that education has not been fully thought of in the theoretical study of nationalism because education is mostly denunciated as a problematic issue. In order to understand nationalism in all its layers, education must be incorporated into the study of nationalism.

The second “shortcoming”, again described by Tröhler (2019b), is that in the study of nationalism, education and Curriculum Studies are not widely acknowledged either. Tröhler states that educational research knows about the connection of curriculum and the national goal of

“fabricating the future citizen”. Yet it seems to ignore the fact that citizens are different depending on the nation-state they live in (Tröhler, 2019b, p. 8). This has been explained earlier as the idea of citizens as “floating signifiers”. Citizens must be understood and researched in their national mindedness. Especially in the German-speaking educational sciences, the interwovenness between education and nation-building has found little response. German educational scientific research either focuses on subject-matter didactics and general didactics. This can be explained with the nonnegotiable inward German idea of *Bildung* that investigates the inner ways of the soul and the mind. German educational sciences often look at the individual and their inner world, and are not interested in external factors (Tröhler, 2019a, p. 523; Horlacher, 2018) (see also chapter 2.3.). When the topic of nationalism is mentioned in education or curriculum research it has usually been depicted as a moral and troubling issue that needs to be fought against through tolerance education or intercultural education. Educational sciences should open their eyes to nationalism and nation-building as the core foundation of modern education thinking.

The above described also applies for the case of Austria and the educationalization process of the Holocaust during the Second Republic of Austria – in the sense that little research has been conducted about the interwovenness of educationalization and nation-building. Some scholars, many of them are not educational scientists, have looked at the educationalization of the Holocaust, leaving out the nation-building aspects. They investigated, for example, the development of schoolbooks regarding the Holocaust (Bilewicz, 2016; Kuzaj-Sefelin, 2002), or the development of Political Education (Wolf, 1998), or the memorial site Mauthausen (Perz, 2006; Fliedl et al., 1991). Other scientists, from professors of history to philosophy, have researched the nation-building aspects of Austria after the Second World War. Bluhm, a professor for Political Science, writes in 1986 about “The Case of Austria”, touching on Austria’s nation-building modes and asking whether they can be made useful for the study of nationalism (Bluhm, 1986). Max Haller, a German professor for sociology, writes about identity and national pride of Austrians through an international comparison (Haller, 1996). Thaler (1996), in order to achieve his doctoral degree of philosophy at the University of Minnesota, studies the Austrian national identity in detail (Thaler, 1996). For the Austrian representatives, Ruth Wodak (1950-), an Austrian-British linguist who has done extensive work on discourse analysis, wrote in cooperation with András Kovács (1947-), a Hungarian sociologist and historian, about the national identity of Austria and Hungary: “NATO, Neutrality and National identity. The case of Austria and Hungary” (Wodak/Kovács, 2003). Ernst Bruckmüller (1945-), an Austrian historian, examines the Austrian consciousness giving insight into

statistics on when and how it changes throughout the Second Republic (Bruckmüller, 1998). In “Die paradoxe Republik. Österreich 1945 bis 2015“, Oliver Rathkolb, an Austrian professor for contemporary history, wittily calls the Second Republic of Austria paradoxical by pointing out the inconsistencies in Austrian nation-building (Rathkolb, 2015). Heidemarie Uhl, an Austrian history professor, focused on Austrian development around the *victim-theory* and how that has influenced national memory (Uhl, 2001; Uhl, 2005). Overall, this list of references shows that extensive research on the nation-building of Austria during the beginning of the Second Republic of Austria does exist, and that little research has been done on the educationalization of the Holocaust during the same period of time.

The question remains if there is research that addresses the connection of the educationalization of the Holocaust and nation-building. As mentioned before this kind of research barely exists with some exceptions:

- Bastel, Matzka, and Miklas, three Austrian theologians, examine in the article “Holocaust education in Austria: A (hi)story of complexity and ambivalence” the ways of thinking in Austria when it comes to Holocaust Education. They try to understand the importance of national symbols today and critically review how the past, the reprocessing of the Holocaust, has been dealt with (Bastel et al., 2010).
- Peter Utgaard, a professor for history at the Cuyamaca College in Washington, worked on the Forgetting and Remembering of Nazism in Austria, looking at the connection of schools and national identity and focusing on the *victim-theory* (Utgaard, 1997; Utgaard 1999; Utgaard, 2003).
- Christoph Kühberger (1975-) is an Austrian historian working on historical and political didactics at the University of Salzburg. His study is looking at schoolbooks, Political Education, and the reprocessing of the past. In the article “Teaching the Holocaust and National Socialism in Austria: policy of memory, history classes, and empirical insights” he juxtaposes the Austrian politics of memory with the way history has been taught. As empirical sources he uses textbooks (Kühberger, 2017).
- *For educational sciences* only the work of Philipp Mitnik can be mentioned. He is a professor at the University College of Teacher Education in Vienna and responsible for Political Education there. He wrote an article called, “Holocaust Studies in Austrian Elementary and Secondary Schools” explaining the development of Holocaust Education during the Second Republic, taking the *victim-theory* into account and asking how it influenced the making of schoolbooks during the Second Republic (Mitnik, 2016).
- Also relevant is the work of the Holocaust Education Institute “erinnern.at”, specifically the articles by Werner Dreier, one of the co-founders of “erinnern.at”. Their ten-year

report named “Holocaust Education in Austria. 2000-2010” on the development of “erinnern.at” touches the end of the researched period, the late 1990s to 2000s, and displays an important aspect of the educationalization processes during that time (www.erinnern.at).

While some of these publications combine education with nation-building they are still missing the conscious decision to work on the aspect of educationalization in the service of nation-building – educationalization as an inherent part of nation-building. If this interwovenness is disregarded, a blind spot and research gap in educational research emerges. If this gap is overlooked, educational sciences lose the opportunity to make visible the hidden agenda of curriculum, the particular vision of the nation-state in education, and the nation-state’s educational goals. The national power structures in education, especially in curriculum, stay hidden. If the interwovenness would be addressed then educational science could not just look at school subjects, schoolbooks, and curricula content, but also at school structures – including grades, tracks, the transitional regimes between tracks, stratification, exclusion mechanisms, extra-curricular activities, and school symbols (school rituals and uniforms). This research will show that all those educational structures pursue a culturally unique national goal and need to be investigated in order to achieve a deeper insight into our schooling system today.

The next chapter will display what methodology and methods are going to be used to look at the unseen connection of educationalization in the service of nation-building.

3. Methodology and Method

3.1. Methodological considerations

This master's thesis is oriented along the ways of Critical Discourse Analysis that focuses on a historical analysis in which the discursive power structures and their underlying motives are investigated. The CDA reconstructs the context of a discourse by looking behind the meaning of linguistic expressions. Through the case of the educationalization processes of the Holocaust in the Second Republic of Austria (1945-2000), concrete historical, linguistic, and empirical data will be researched to give further insight into the *educationalized nation-building* discourse – a discourse that, as mentioned above, has not been intensively studied in the educational sciences yet.

The ideas on discourse by Michel Foucault (1926-1984), a French philosopher, were illuminating for this research. He has been prominently writing about past perspectivism saying that, if the past is reconstructed, it also becomes constructed. When looking at a certain topic, a certain “discourse”, a system of thought is described consisting of ideas, attitudes, beliefs, practices, and actions (Foucault, 1972). Therefore, the discourse of *educationalized nation-building* must be understood within this system of thought and should be considered as a social process that contains power relations, knowledge, and constitutions of “truth” (Depaepe, 2012, p. 123). Discourse Analysis today, in addition to Foucault's approach, focuses on linguistic structures of the subjects living in the past. Since the early twentieth century, this has been described as the *linguistic turn*, putting language, the usage of language, and its interrelation with the world in the center of discursive analysis. Language is hereby parted into “langue” and “parole”. De Saussure (2016), a Swiss linguist, defines this difference: “Langue” means language as socially and culturally constructed, as a social product of language and a way of thinking. “Parole” is the act of speaking that is supplied by “langue”. Both influence each other (de Saussure, 2016, pp. 10-17). By looking at language as the prime medium of interaction it will be possible to find out regimes of “truth” within a discourse. It makes the construction of realities and its effects possible and will show underlying power structures legitimizing and excluding versions of realities. An example for how language constitutes reality can be given with the Guerilla's war. It can be in one discourse described as *war against terrorists* and in the other discourse as *war against freedom-fighters* (example by Lessa, 2006, p. 286).

(Vienna) Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a concept influenced by Foucault's ideas. It is an interdisciplinary approach that can be understood not as a specific method with well-defined analytical steps, but as a methodological point of view. Power, ideology, and historical context are the central aspects of critically oriented discourse analysis (Wodak, 2001a, p. 4). Norman Fairclough, a British linguist, and Ruth Wodak are considered the most prominent figures of CDA. The Critical Discourse Analysis has two major principles. First, the principle of *triangulation* – a multi-methodical and interdisciplinary approach. It researches a wide range of empirical data as well as background and contextual information. The second principle is *transparency*, which means to disclose why certain sources have been chosen and others have been discarded (Wodak, 2001b, p. 65).

As an attempt to define Critical Discourse Analysis Fairclough and Wodak talk about eight characteristics:

1. CDA addresses social problems
2. CDA looks at power relations as a discursive phenomenon
3. CDA sees a dialectical connection between discourse and society/culture
4. CDA focuses on the ideological parts of discourse
5. CDA needs to be viewed in a historical context
6. CDA sees the link between text and society as open and complex
7. CDA needs to work interpretative and explanatory
8. CDA tries to work towards social action, pointing to serious deficits within society

(Pührer, 2007, pp. 62-65; see also Fairclough/Wodak, 1997, pp. 268-280).

While Fairclough's and Wodak's methodological considerations of the Critical Discourse Analysis will be guiding this research, it is the *Vienna School in Critical Discourse Analysis (VCDA)* that will specifically frame this master thesis methodologically. The VCDA is closely interrelated with the CDA. Its analysis concentrates on historical and political issues and texts and incorporates the historiographical two-fold dimension of discourse. The first dimension being the discourse's historical context, and the second dimension its historical development, researched through background information and sources. The research topics are authentic and real, focusing on day-to-day, institutional, medial, and political situations. Discourse in that sense is considered a social practice. The *Viennese School in Discourse Analysis* addresses the dialectic of discourse as a forming and changing force. This means that on the one hand it forms the institutional and social context of discourse, and on the other hand the formative structure of discourse retroacts to social and societal formations. Wodak (1998), made major contributions to the *Vienna School in Critical Discourse Analysis* and aims to

illustrate the ideological forms of power relations, political control and manipulation. In addition, it highlights discriminating, sexist, and racist linguistic strategies that have been suppressed and excluded in society (Wodak et al., 1998, pp. 41-44). In the study “Zur diskursiven Konstruktion nationaler Identität” of 1998, Wodak and her co-authors investigate the contingent and imaginative character of nations. They try to raise awareness for the dogmatic understanding of nations and national identity that impedes the idea of inclusion of ethnic or multilingual groups, as well as all diverse ways of living (Wodak et al., 1998, pp. 41-44). In the same way this master’s thesis will try to make the linguistic structures and the political and institutional relations visible. By using the described method of *triangulation*, VCDA approaches discourses from a multi-perspective, multi-disciplinary, and multi-methodical point of view. The *Viennese School in Critical Discourse Analysis* uses manifold theoretical, methodical, and analytical ways of research. It is Wodak and Weiss (2005) who warn researchers to abide by the principle of *transparency* by pointing out:

"However, we would like to emphasize that researchers need to be conscious of such eclecticism and justify it for each distinctive issue. Only a constant reflection of the research processes avoids epistemological contradictions." (Wodak/Weiss, 2005, p. 124).

The approach of (*Vienna School in*) *Critical Discourse Analysis* has been put forward by historical science (Landwehr, 2008), linguistic science (de Saussure, 2016), and political science (Pocock, 1987). This master’s thesis will be adapting the CDA within the field of educational sciences.

Only within the late 2010s, Educational Discourse Analysis (German: Erziehungswissenschaftliche Diskursforschung) and the *linguistic turn* have had an impact on German-speaking educational research. Before, a certain “fear” of the *linguistic turn* could be observed (see “Wer hat Angst vor dem ‘linguistic turn’?” by Peter Schöttler, 1997). Research motivated by the *linguistic turn* now gives educational research an alternative to the still commonly used methods hermeneutics and *Lehrplanforschung*, in German-speaking sciences. CDA can enable German-speaking educational scientists to further embark on the societal, historical, political and, in this case, national agenda of curriculum and educational practice. It can give them the opportunity to look at underlying ideology and its linguistic potential of schooling and curriculum. It could transform *Lehrplanforschung* from content-oriented research to a more in-depth historical analysis about how curriculum was constructed and is reconstructed today. Tröhler/Fox (2019), Horlacher (2018) and Depaepe (2012) are only some scholars who address the urgency for educational sciences to search for the educational discourses of previous

times, investigating the hidden social power relations of curriculum. Depaepe (2012) explains that it is these forces that form the rhetoric, the legends, and the myths about education. Educational scientists should patiently reconstruct “the history of the history of education” (Depaepe, 2012, pp. 122-123). By finding the hidden agenda of educational discourse, the history of education would give more insight into the educational past. Depaepe puts it this way:

“...it deconstructs, demythologises, and tarnishes the ‘great’ (‘heroic’ and often exaggerated) stories from the educational discourse (fitting in with the modernist faith in progress), not to make our predecessors, their education, their ideals or anything ridiculous but to demonstrate that they, too, were only ‘human beings’, living in a concrete, socio-historical context that can hardly be abstracted from (Depaepe, 2012, p. 123).

And this exactly is what this master’s thesis will be carrying out. By looking at the *education-alized nation-building* discourse, the case of the educationalization of the Holocaust after the Second World War in Austria will become analyzable. Through investigation of historical and linguistic sources of this time, the educationalization processes of the Holocaust will become visible. They are to be understood as nationally and culturally constructed, constituted by the social and political order. The approach of VCDA in this case will give insight into how and why curriculum was constructed in the service of nation-building.

3.2. Methodical considerations

The methodical approach of this master’s thesis focuses on national historiographic evidence found within the concrete materials related to the educationalization processes of the Holocaust from 1945 to 2000. More specifically, information on teacher education and school material, yearbooks, curricula, scientific educational journals, and schoolbooks. Therefore, the Mauthausen memorial will also be examined in detail as it has also played an important role in the educationalization of the Holocaust in Austria. Through explorative expert interviews with “History and Social Studies” teachers the research will dive deep into the historiography of the educationalization processes and give insight into the national conditions at the time. For the selection of the sources the methodological principles of Critical Discourse Analysis were kept in mind. Therefore, the idea of *triangulation* was used as a multi-methodical approach researching, a vast range of empirical sources and data as well as extensive background and context information. The principle of *transparency* will be applied within this chapter describing why the sources were chosen.

Mauthausen memorial

The Mauthausen memorial, a former concentration camp, is the biggest Austrian memorial site of the Second World War, and today acts as a place of remembering Austria's contemporary history and the Holocaust. For this master's thesis it will be relevant to look at the development of the Mauthausen memorial and its visitor numbers during the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. This information will show how often students have visited the former concentration camp Mauthausen and at which year visiting numbers have risen or fallen. After talking to the Research Center of the Mauthausen Memorial two major sources for visiting numbers were recommended:

- Perz, Bertrand (2006): Die KZ-Gedenkstätte Mauthausen. 1945 bis zur Gegenwart. Innsbruck/Vienna/Bozen: Studien Verlag.
- Fliedl et al. (1991): Gutachten über die zukünftige Entwicklung der Gedenkstätte Mauthausen.

The first is a book by Bertrand Perz (1958-), a professor for contemporary history at the University of Vienna, about the former concentration camp Mauthausen from 1945 to present. The second is a report by the Austrian camp collective of Mauthausen written by Gottfried Fliedl, Florian Freund, Eduard Fuchs, and Bertrand Perz. The report was ordered in 1988 by the Federal Chancellery of the Republic of Austria with the goal to look at the Mauthausen memorial from an educational perspective.

Teacher education and school material

To get further insight into the educationalization of the Holocaust it will be of interest to look at what school material was used and what teacher education was available. For that matter seminars and workshops for teachers will be examined, and school material will be investigated within the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. Different ways of obtaining information will be used. First the explorative expert interviews with teachers will give insight on what was used in classes during the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. Second the yearbooks examined in this research process will provide further information. Especially for school material the Contemporary History Library of the University of Vienna will be an important source for material. For the question of what teacher education was available during the researched period, the following research facilities and archives specializing on teacher education will be contacted:

- The Centre for Teacher Education (University of Vienna)
- The Centre for Teaching and Learning (University of Vienna)
- The Department of Didactics of History (University of Vienna)

- The Department of Political Education (Austrian Ministry of Education, Science, and Research)
- The University College of Teacher Education (Vienna)
- The Hermann-Langbein-Symposium
- The Research Library for the History of Education (Leibniz Institute for Research and Information in Education)

Yearbooks

In order to further research not just the curricular educational changes at the time but also the extra-curricular proceedings, yearbooks will be used as a source. Yearbooks are released by schools to sum up the year's progress. From pictures of the students and teachers, to extraordinary achievements, to projects and activities, as well as stories and statements by students, yearbooks can be a diverse and fruitful source to learn about the *zeitgeist* of a specific school year in a specific school. The "Textbook and School Publications Collection" of the University of Vienna located in Vienna (Teinfaltstrasse 8, 1010 Wien) has a substantial collection of yearbooks in their underground depot. It was possible with a special permission to go through yearbooks from all over Austria. This research will show that only very few Main Schools have published yearbooks. That is why the researched yearbooks are only from Higher General Schools as these schools put a lot of effort into the creation of their yearbooks.

It is the researcher's goal to look at yearbooks from the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. Within the 1960s, 1970s and 1990s two to three yearbooks – if available – will be randomly selected. Within the 1980s all yearbooks of the years 1984 to 1988 – if available – will be looked at as the year 1986 (*Waldheim-Affair*) and 1988 (anniversary year of the annexation to Germany, German: "Anschluß") are pertinent years in the national reprocessing of the Holocaust. Yearbooks from 1980 to 1983 and from 1989 will be again randomly selected. The 1940s and 1950s are not part of the research as it is assumed that the educationalization of the Holocaust has not started yet. The research stops at the year 2000 with the establishment of the Holocaust Education Institute "erinnern.at". The yearbooks will be searched with the goal to find evidence that the Holocaust was taught in class as well as handled outside of school in extra-curricular activity to connect them to nation-building modes. It will be kept in mind that no evidence can be found under the term "Holocaust" as that term was not used frequently in Austria until the early 2000s.

Curricula

As the most significant educational tool, the school curriculum shows important educational changes. Nowadays it is divided by subjects and gives insight into the competences that shall be acquired within that subject. It also explains the guiding didactical educational principles. Most old curricula can be found online via the search engine of the Austrian Law homepage (www.ris.bka.gv.at/). There the “Bundesgesetzblätter” (BGBl.)¹⁰ contain the curriculum as well as minor and major curricular changes.

For this master’s thesis the curriculum will be examined by decade starting in the 1960s and ending in the 1990s. It starts in the 1960s because until 1963 no new curriculum was put forward by the government. Until then it still relied on the curriculum of the First Republic – the time before the Second World War. The curricular research will end with the year 2000 because the Holocaust was institutionally educationalized by the end of the twentieth century with the establishment of the Holocaust Education Institute called “erinnern.at”.

In Austria the school system is divided in primary level (1st to 4th grade), secondary lower level (again 1st to 4th grade) and secondary higher level (5th to 8th grade). Within the secondary lower level two school types exist. One is the “Mittelschule” (English: Main School) and the other is the “Allgemeine Höhere Schule” (AHS; English: Higher General School). The Main School is visited only for four years while the AHS continues to the secondary higher level for another four years (eight years in total). Until 2012 the Main School was called “Hauptschule”. During the researched period the curriculum was called “Lehrplan für Volks-, Haupt- und Sonderschule”, as it also encompassed the primary schools (German: Volksschule) and the special needs schools (German: Sonderschule). The name of the AHS has not changed over the years and the curriculum’s name still is “Lehrplan für die allgemeinbildenden höheren Schulen”. Two curricula from the secondary lower levels will be looked at. The “Main School Curriculum” and the “Higher General School Curriculum”.

The secondary lower level will be investigated because in today’s curriculum the Holocaust is first taught in fourth grade of the same level. It is assumed that evidence of earlier times mentioning the Holocaust would also be found first in this school level.

The curricula will be researched thoroughly looking for changes that could be related to the Holocaust. Therefore, some subjects will be examined more profoundly such as “History and Social Studies” or “Religious Studies”. It is assumed that in those curricula Holocaust-related issues are most likely to be found. As a comparison in today’s curricula the Holocaust is also mentioned within the “History and Social Studies” curriculum. The vast research will then be

¹⁰ BGBl. = Bundesgesetzblatt; English: federal law gazette

sorted and displayed under the paragraphs “General didactical principles”, “Political Education”, “Main School Curriculum: History and Social Studies – Fourth grade”, and “Higher General School Curriculum: History and Social Studies – Fourth grade”.

Scientific educational journals

Scientific educational journals will be examined as a source to understand what educational, often academical authors, had to say about the Holocaust and when. The journals that will be selected have to be educational journals that should be available as early as the 1960s until 2000. These journals contain articles about certain issues, mostly written by educationally trained authors, ranging from teachers to university professors. The journals will be researched randomly, meaning that out of every decade multiple issues will be fully investigated from first to last page. They will be scanned for signs of Holocaust-related issues. For this research only Austrian educational journals will be looked at, namely:

- Erziehung und Unterricht: an educational journal issued by the Austrian Federal Publisher (ÖBV)
- Freie Lehrerstimme: an educational journal issued by the socialist teacher's club
- Gesellschaft und Politik: a journal for social and economic advocacy by the Dr. Karl-Kummer-Institute, an association for social- and economic policy
- <ZV> Lehrerzeitung: a social democratic journal issued by the central association of Viennese teachers
- Wiener Lehrerzeitung: an educational journal issued by the Christian teacher association of Vienna (CLÖ)
- Schulheft: an educational journal with the goal to combine theory and practice published until 2004 through the association of the patrons of “Schulheft” at “Jugend & Volk”, after 2004 at “Studienverlag”

International journals will not be part of this master's thesis as the research focus lies on Austria. A glimpse will nevertheless be allowed into the German educational journal “Zeitschrift für Pädagogik”.

Schoolbooks

For this master's thesis schoolbooks display a relevant source of information. They will provide information at what time and how the Holocaust was taught in school. More specifically will show at what time (1945-2000) and how schoolbooks described the Holocaust. As a source to research schoolbooks, only secondary literature will be looked at as schoolbooks are

one of the few sources regarding the Holocaust have been well researched. The main literature sources used are:

- Bilewicz, Wolfgang (2016): Der Holocaust in Schulbüchern und Lehrplänen. Ein historisch-pädagogischer Vergleich zwischen Bayern und Österreich. Marburg: Tectum Verlag.
- Kuzaj-Sefelin, Ulrike (2002): Die Darstellung des Nationalsozialismus im österreichischen Geschichtslehrbuch für die 4. Klasse der Hauptschulen und allgemeinbildenden höheren Schulen von 1945 bis 1999/2000. Diploma thesis. Vienna: Institute for Educational Sciences, University of Vienna.
- Utgaard, Peter M. (1999): Remembering and Forgetting the Holocaust in Austrian Schools, 1995-1996. In: Bischof Günter/Pelinka Anton/Karlhofer Ferdinand (Eds.): The Vranitzky Era in Austria. New Brunswick/New Jersey: Transaction Publishers.
- Fliedl et al. (1991): Gutachten über die zukünftige Entwicklung der Gedenkstätte Mauthausen. Report of the Austrian camp collective Mauthausen. pp. 110-112.

Explorative expert interviews

To further gain knowledge about the historiography of the educationalization of the Holocaust during the Second Republic, explorative expert interviews with time witnesses will be conducted. In these expert interviews, interviewees will be encouraged to reconstruct knowledge about certain issues and practices that is presumed to be exclusive and unknown to most people. The expert interviews usually correlate with a biographical interview as the interviewees tend to include their personal experiences (Honer, 2011, pp. 51-52). The explorative manner of this interview method is focused on finding out vast, possibly only latently known knowledge of the interviewee. It is guided by what the interviewee deems important to tell. This interview practice helps the researcher to gather further information and dive deeper into the researched topic (Honer, 2011, pp. 41-43).

In order to find teachers, the Department of Education in Vienna, the Department for Bilateral Matters and Holocaust Education International (Federal Ministry of Education, Science and Research), the Mauthausen committee, and the Contemporary History Department, precisely the Department for Didactics of History, will be contacted. The explorative expert interviews for this research will focus on teachers that taught “History and Social Studies” during the 1970s, 1980s, and/or 1990s. It is this subject and this time frame that show the most educationalization changes related to the Holocaust throughout the Second Republic. Therefore, all teachers will probably be part of the *postwar generation*, meaning they are born after the war

and have been young teachers during the researched period. The interviews will be recorded. The notes and recordings will be kept in personal storage, available at any time.

Background and context information

In order to explain the case of the Austrian educationalization of the Holocaust in the service of nation-building, historiographical background and context information will be used as sources. Vast literature, movies, and media reports will be researched. The timeframe for this context and background information will be the years 1945 to 2000. It will start with the conclusion of the Second World War in 1945 and will end with the establishment of “erinnern.at”, the Holocaust Education Institute in Austria. As already explained above “erinnern.at” marks the official establishment of an institutionalized Holocaust Education in Austria in the year 2000 and, for this master’s thesis, is considered the end of the starting educationalization process of the Holocaust. Historiographic literature on the Second Republic such as Bruckmüller (2019), Vocolka (2007), Pelinka (1998), and Benz (2002); nation-building literature such as Thaler (1996), Rathkolb (2015), Bruckmüller (1998), and Uhl (2005); “educational sciences” literature on Austria’s nation-building such as Utgaard (1999), Bastel et al. (2010), Kühberger (2017), Mitnik (2016), and the papers by “erinnern.at” (2010) will be at the core of the research process (see 2.4.). Also important is the information received through the explorative expert interviews. Political, economic, national, and educational changes and events will be put on a timeline in historiographical order focusing on three major categories: nation-building in general, nation-building regarding the Holocaust, and educational changes (see appendix for timelines). The first two timelines will help structure the chapter 5.1. *Austria’s nation-building during the Second Republic of Austria*, concerning everything that correlates with building the country back up and forming the Austrian national identity; as well as the chapter 5.2. *Austria’s nation-building in relation to the Holocaust*, as the specific crimes of the Holocaust had their own nation-building relevance. Here, the Holocaust reprocessing measures that took place will be looked at. The timeline will also help bring the educational changes that will be researched in chapter 4 in order.

Finally, chapter six *Austria’s educationalization of the Holocaust in the service of nation-building* will combine the three aspects. Here it will be attempted to verify the guiding thesis looking at when, how, and why did the Holocaust become part of the educational agenda of Austria, and how it is connected and inherently interwoven with nation-building. The national educational material researched under chapter 4 will be implemented as well as the context and background information of chapter 5.

While working with these sources the discursive approach of Critical Discourse Analysis will always be kept in mind. This means, the research will focus on power relations, social problems, ideological fragments, and historiographic aspects to make connections between educationalization and nation-building. Through a multi-method approach, a full picture of the educationalization of the Holocaust in Austria during the Second Republic, in connection with Austria's nation-building, will be painted. The following chapter 4 will first analyze the educational material by decade and will therefore work towards the explained educationalization timeline that will be important for verifying or falsifying the guiding thesis.

4. The sources and their analyses

This chapter will be looking at diverse sources giving insight into the educationalization processes of the Holocaust during the Second Republic of Austria (1945-2000). Although the sources will show a vast array of educational approaches the timely manner of them will be of special significance. The question “When did the educationalization of the Holocaust in Austria come about?” will make the connection to the nation-building under chapter 5 possible. This is why the sources are sorted by their time of appearance. It shall be mentioned once more at this point that throughout the whole research period the term “Holocaust” was not commonly used in Austria (Benz, 2002, pp. 100-101)¹¹. Therefore, linguistic evidence of the expression “Holocaust” barely exists within the researched period of that time. This is why only *Holocaust-related issues* can be investigated below. Within this chapter the first educational way of dealing with the Holocaust, the Mauthausen memorial, will be looked at. It will go on to examine teacher education, school material, yearbooks, curricula, and scientific educational journals. At the end four explorative expert interviews will be analyzed. The chapter will end with a summary of the findings bringing the whole researched material together.

4.1. Mauthausen memorial

The first evidence of an educationalization of the Holocaust can be found in field trips of students to the Mauthausen memorial. These trips started as early as 1949 (Perz, 2006, p. 214).

1960s: While only few classes visited the site then the interest rose in the 1960s. The first recommendation of the Viennese school inspector for school classes to visit the Mauthausen memorial was issued in 1960:

“While it certainly generally will not be possible for school classes to visit the Mauthausen memorial during that time [AN: of the Mauthausen exhibition] it is nevertheless an opportunity to stress that secondary level schools are recommended to visit Mauthausen; especially during week-long trips in Lower Austria the visit shall be part of the program” (Wiener Stadtschulrat, 1960)

More initiatives were financed during the 1960s to further show students the Mauthausen memorial. People also voiced their concern about the education around the memorial. The

¹¹ In German no word exists to describe the killing of Jews and other minorities during the Second World War. The void has been filled, until the term “Holocaust” was used, with words like “final solution”, “extermination camp”, “fate”, “suffering” or it was distinctively described with adjectives such as “burnt, gassed...” (Heyl 1997, p. 165).

Workers' Chamber Vienna for example expressed in 1963 that especially younger workers do not have an understanding of what a concentration camp is and seem to have not been educated in school (Arbeiterkammer Wien, 1963). The Worker's Chamber themselves issued a pamphlet to teach their workers. That shows, argues Perz, that the mere recommendations for tours through the camp by school officials was not enough to educate children and youth (Perz, 2006, pp. 215-216). During the 1960s other municipal initiatives were put forward for people to visit the Mauthausen memorial and raise awareness about the memorial site. The village Traiskirchen, after suggestions of anti-Fascist organizations, paid its inhabitants fifty percent of the traveling costs to Mauthausen (Perz, 2006, p. 215). During 1964 and 1965 more effort was undertaken to make youth aware of the former concentration camp Mauthausen. The International Mauthausen committee organized an international conference for youth to meet and to be educated in and about the Mauthausen memorial (IMK, 1963). The newspaper "Der Neue Mahnruf" published an article stating that due to the International Mauthausen committee efforts, 700 youth visited the Mauthausen memorial on the twentieth anniversary of the liberation of the camp in 1965 (Der Neue Mahnruf, 1965, p. 3). During the 1960s the attempts to get youth to visit the memorial were one of the few Holocaust reprocessing measures that took place at that time. Protagonists regarding the emphasis on the visitation of the Mauthausen memorial were the newly established scientific study Contemporary History (established in 1960), the International Mauthausen committee, as well as the individual engagement of Holocaust survivors (Perz, 2005, p. 215).

1970s: The 1970s started with the opening of the Mauthausen museum. The Department of Political Education of the Ministry of Education, established in 1973, was especially interested in getting school classes to visit the site. The overall political goal of the leading party, the SPÖ (the Social Democratic Party of Austria), was to remove the taboo around Austrian contemporary history especially around Austro-Fascism¹² because the SPÖ was still associated with the clerical-socialist fascist regime. They started to understand the former concentration camp Mauthausen as a way to rewrite history. Therefore, the government put more effort into the visit of the Mauthausen memorial and museum and during the 1970s recommended multiple times for school classes to go there. Other initiatives were that Political Education became an educational principle in 1979 and at the same time the school year 1978/1979 got declared

¹² *Austro-Fascism:* From 1933 to 1938 Austro-Fascism under the leadership of Engelbert Dollfuß (party: Vaterländische Front) ruled the country. It is today described as autocratic, dictatorial, and clerical Fascism. It followed an anti-Marxist and anti-Semitic ideology. It had concentration camps imprisoning political opponents. The Austro-fascist history of Austria is still somewhat tabooed and not addressed in Austria (Vocelka, 2007, pp. 105-106).

“the contemporary history year”. All of this led to a drastic spike in student visitor numbers at the memorial Mauthausen at the end of the 1970s (Fliedl et al., 1991, pp. 65-67).

1980s: Until the middle of the 1980s the Mauthausen memorial had turned into the central element of Holocaust commemoration in Austrian schools due to the political involvement, the ongoing efforts of the Department of Political Education, and the camp collective Mauthausen to further promote the visitation of the Mauthausen memorial for school classes. The memorial year of 1988 is very important in this regard as many schools honored the fiftieth anniversary of the Austrian “Anschluß” to Germany in 1938 by conducting projects that included visiting the memorial site Mauthausen.

Fliedl, Freund, Fuchs, and Perz of the camp collective Mauthausen published in 1991 visitation numbers of school classes (Fliedl et al., 1991, p. 62):

<i>Student numbers visiting the Mauthausen memorial</i>					
<i>Year</i>	<i>Absolute growth</i>	<i>In %</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Absolute growth</i>	<i>In %</i>
1970	6.218		1980	41.762	-10,6
1971	5.702	- 8,3	1981	45.343	+ 8,6
1972	6.997	+22,7	1982	47.238	+ 4,1
1973	9.787	+39,9	1983	57.241	+21,2
1974	13.949	+42,5	1984	59.761	+ 4,2
1975	16.322	+17,0	1985	65.987	+10,4
1976	17.198	+ 5,4	1986	61.840	- 6,3
1977	18.407	+ 7,0	1987	60.122	- 2,8
1978	28.527	+55,0	1988	68.893	+14,8
1979	46.689	+63,7	1989	59.937	-13,1

Table 1: Student numbers visiting the Mauthausen memorial (Fliedl et al., 1991, p. 62)

These numbers show that during the 1970s more and more students started to visit the memorial site Mauthausen. The recommendations by the ministry as well as the focus on Political Education and contemporary history in general in combination with the nation-building modes of the time led to a rise in visitation numbers. The numbers drop slightly after the spike of the 1988 anniversary year. It can be assumed that students and teachers were oversaturated with content in the year immediately following the fifty-year anniversary.

Throughout the research on yearbooks (see 5.3.) other field trips than the one to the Mauthausen memorial were mentioned. The students visited for example the concentration camp Ebensee (BG/BRG Gmunden, yearbook 1987/1988, p. 41), the Anne Frank exhibition (BG Wasagasse, yearbook 1986/1987, p. 76), and the exhibition “Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941-1944” (English: crimes of the Wehrmacht 1941-1944). This exhibition was shown from 1995 to 1999 and from 2001 to 2004 in Germany and Austria. The goal was to shed light on the crimes committed by all the armed forces during the national socialist regime, also called the Wehrmacht (BG/BRG Biondegasse, yearbook 1995/1996, p. 27).

4.2. Teacher education and school material

Visits to the memorial Mauthausen mark the first and prime Austrian effort to start teaching students about the Holocaust. Other initiatives also led to change within the classroom years before the curriculum regarding the Holocaust was changing. These initiatives had an impact in various ways. They influenced the efforts for teacher education as early as 1978 and the release of school materials from 1980 onwards. It was quite difficult to find out what school materials and teacher education was available during the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s and 1990s. The available sources revealed an absence of teacher education or school materials on the Holocaust until the late 1970s.

Teacher education

For this research the Department of Political Education and the Hermann-Langbein-Symposium turned out to be the most fruitful sources. The other sources mentioned above (see 3.2.) explained that teacher education seminars and workshops were not archived on an academic level¹³.

It was personal commitment by Hermann Langbein (1912-1995), a Holocaust survivor that led to the first teacher seminar in the 1970s. In 1976 Hermann Langbein and Anton Pelinka (1941-), a political science professor at the University of Innsbruck, could convince minister Fred Sinowatz (1929-2008) and the ministerial Department of Political Education to establish a *speaker-placement-program for contemporary history* (German: Referentenvermittlungsdienst für Zeitgeschichte). With the goal to further teach about the Mauthausen memorial this program was designed to connect survivors and historians with teachers and classes. For the first time a structure was put in place for Holocaust survivors to share their

¹³ A potentially important source would be the archive of the University College of Teacher Education as it is the Colleges that have been responsible for teacher education during the researched period. Due to the Covid-19 pandemic the archives are closed until March and could not be investigated in time.

experiences in school (Perz, 2006, pp. 238-239). These meetings were accompanied by Contemporary Historians to answer student questions about scientific facts. Out of this program in 1978 developed the so-called “time witnesses-seminars” (“Langbein-seminars”) for teachers. These seminars took place in Linz, the closest capital city to the Mauthausen and Hartheim memorials. Langbein wanted the teachers to experience the horrors firsthand close to the camps. Until 2000 they had the following conceptual outline:

- Scientific lectures and speeches
- Time witnesses sharing their experiences
- Didactical ideas for the classroom
- Paving the way for teachers and time witnesses to connect and to organize visits to schools

Time witnesses often complained that it was not enough time to really connect with teachers and that they could only talk shortly about their experiences¹⁴. The interviewed teachers also remembered participating in these seminars. One teacher explained that he took part in different teacher courses, one for example on Political Education in 1977/1978 (more under 5.6.). The research on scientific educational journals revealed that a teacher seminar on “Foreigners and right-wing extremism – a teacher’s seminar about contemporary history” in 1985 touched on the topic of the Holocaust. One speaker at the seminar took the teachers back into the past, connecting right-wing extremism with 1945 and the role of foreign workers during the national socialist regime. The article covered those issues shortly (<ZV> Lehrerzeitung: (1) 1985, pp. 23-24; see also 4.5.).

School material

Although it was difficult to find out what didactical school material was available, one evidence was found in its original form at the Contemporary History Library of the University of Vienna: A “Medienkoffer 1938-1955” (English: media suitcase 1938-1955) existed. It was published in 1980. It contained twenty overhead-projector sheets about multiple issues. From the “Anschluß” in 1938 to the “State’s Treaty” in 1955. Each sheet depicted two to four images with a short description underneath and a connected paper. This paper gave a short explanation about the scene shown on the pictures, as well as an explanation about posters that were not part of the library’s collection but were presumably part of the “Medienkoffer” then. The paper also held didactical tips and literature references (also literature for students). The

¹⁴ Reference: E-Mails with Manfred Wirtitsch, head of the Department for Political Education at the Federal Ministry of Education, Science and Research; E-Mails with Thea Schwantner, who is working for the Hermann-Langbein-Symposium.

didactical tips referred to audio material that was available through audio cassettes. It also pointed to a folder of written documents that could be used for school. These documents were accompanied with thirty-one different short readings related to the twenty slides mentioned above. For example, the escape protocol of Walter Mehring, a self-acclaimed enemy of the Nazi-regime, or letters of a Viennese Jew who was deported to Poland. This means that for each of the twenty issues graphical, didactical and educational material was made available. The two issues that could be seen as related to the Holocaust were the ones about the “Anschluß” to Nazi-Germany and about the “Persecution due to ‘racist’ reasons”. The paper attached to the latter issue explained that Jewish people and other minorities were discriminated and that they were put in concentration camps. It did not explicitly explain that many were killed although the “Endlösung der Judenfrage” (German: final solution of the Jewish question) was mentioned as a period during the Nazi-regime (Jagschitz et al., 1980).



Image 1: Overhead-projector sheet about the persecution for racial reasons (Jagschitz et al., 1980)

Another source of information about material used in schools were the yearbooks. The BG/BRG Ettenreichgasse yearbook of 1984/1985 mentioned that the students watched movies such as “Hitler-eine Karriere” by J.C. Fest or “Die Brücke” by Bernhard Wicki. The yearbook of 1987/1988 of the Amerlinggymnasium included an article by a professor who in detail explained the material used during that school year working on the topic of 1938 and the “Anschluß” to Germany. He mentioned a media suitcase called “Youth and National Socialism”

(German: Jugend und Nationalsozialismus) published by the Buchklub der Jugend, that could not be found in its original form.

He also explained that several books were read during the course of the school year. Books directly related to the Holocaust were for example:

- “Das Tagebuch der Anne Frank” by Anne Frank (1947)
- “Sternkinder“ by Clara Asscher-Pinkhof (1961)
- “Die toten Engel“ by Winfried Bruckner (1963)
- “Ich war fünfzehn und zum Glück groß für mein Alter“ by Toon Tellegen (1978)
- “Kinderjahre“ by Jona Oberski (1980)



Image 2: Books displayed in the Amerling-gymnasium, yearbook 1987/1988, p. 38

Books related to the war and by that also mentioning the Jewish persecution and the Holocaust were:

- “Damals war es Friedrich“ by Hans Peter Richter (1961)
- “Nie wieder ein Wort davon“ by Barbara Gehrts (1975)
- “Warum warst du in der Hitler-Jugend“ by Horst Burger (1978)
- “Wir waren dabei“ by Hans Peter Richter (1980)
- “Als ich 9 Jahre alt war, kam der Krieg” by Hannes Heer (1983)

Most of these books are about children who lived during the Second World War. The book “Mein Kampf” by Adolf Hitler (1925)¹⁵ was also used as educational material while working on the racist ideology of the national-socialist party. The students also watched short educational movies about the Austrian invasion, and about deportations of youth. Many students from different classes and grades throughout the yearbook wrote that they watched the movie “Nacht und Nebel” (1956) and “38 - Auch das war Wien” (1987) in cinemas. Especially watching the movie “Nacht und Nebel” including a discussion with a Holocaust survivor after the movie ended really seemed to rattle the students (Yearbook Amerlinggymnasium, 1987/1988, pp. 36-38).

¹⁵ “Mein Kampf” is a 1925 autobiographical manifesto by Adolf Hitler. The work outlines his political ideology and future plans for Germany.

The report by Fliedl et al. (1991) about the memorial Mauthausen mentions two brochures that were put forward by the ministry in the year 1988 and 1989. One was about the way Austrians were handling the past 1938 to 1988 by Malina and Spann. The other brochure was about Austria and the Second World War. Both brochures covered issues that at the time could not be found in schoolbooks and therefore can be seen as unique and important didactical school material for the Holocaust as well (Fliedl et al., 1991, pp. 113-114).

4.3. Yearbooks

The following chapter will investigate and describe several yearbooks from 1960 to 2000 from schools all over Austria. Throughout this research sixteen different yearbooks were examined. Only nine of them were available during the researched time period in the archives of the University of Vienna during the researched time period. These nine yearbooks will therefore be the focus of this chapter.

1. Bundesgymnasium and Bundesrealgymnasium (BG/BRG)¹⁶ Ettenreichgasse, Vienna
2. Bundesgymnasium and Bundesrealgymnasium (BG/BRG) Keimgasse Mödling, Lower Austria
3. Bundesgymnasium and Bundesrealgymnasium (BG/BRG) Gmunden, Upper Austria
4. Bundesgymnasium (BG) Gallusstraße Bregenz, Vorarlberg
5. Amerlinggymnasium – Gymnasium und wirtschaftskundliches Realgymnasium, Vienna
6. Bundesgymnasium and Bundesrealgymnasium (BG/BRG) Biondegasse Baden, Lower Austria
7. Bundesgymnasium and Bundesrealgymnasium (BG/BRG) Feldkirch, Vorarlberg
8. Bundesgymnasium and Realgymnasium (BG/RG) Erlgasse, Vienna
9. Bundesgymnasium und Bundesrealgymnasium (BG/BRG) Gleisdorf, Styria

For the other yearbooks the collection of the University of Vienna featured only a few samples. To give a short impression: two of the other seven schools who were examined showed evidence of the Holocaust mentioned once¹⁷ and five did contain nothing about the Holocaust¹⁸ (For references see footnotes).

¹⁶ BG = Bundesgymnasium, RG = Realgymnasium, and BRG = Bundesrealgymnasium can all be translated to federal gymnasium

¹⁷ BG Wien XIII: 1986/1987: List of field trips: Mentioning a visit to the memorial Mauthausen (p. 23); BG Wasagasse 1986/1987: List of field trips: Mentioning a visit to the Anne Frank exhibition (p. 76);

¹⁸ BORG Bad Radkersburg 1985/1986, BG/RG Bad Ischl 1986/1987, BORG Schoren 1995/1996, BORG Egg 1986/1987, BG/BRG Seebacher 1985/1986.

Each of the nine focus-yearbooks hold information about exhibitions, projects, student involvement around the issue of the Holocaust. This subchapter shows detailed evidence of linguistic expressions of the extra-curricular educationalization of the Holocaust displayed in the yearbooks. This information describes what, when and how Austrian schools reprocessed the topic of the Holocaust.

The findings shall be summarized shortly here and put into a chart to view them graphically:

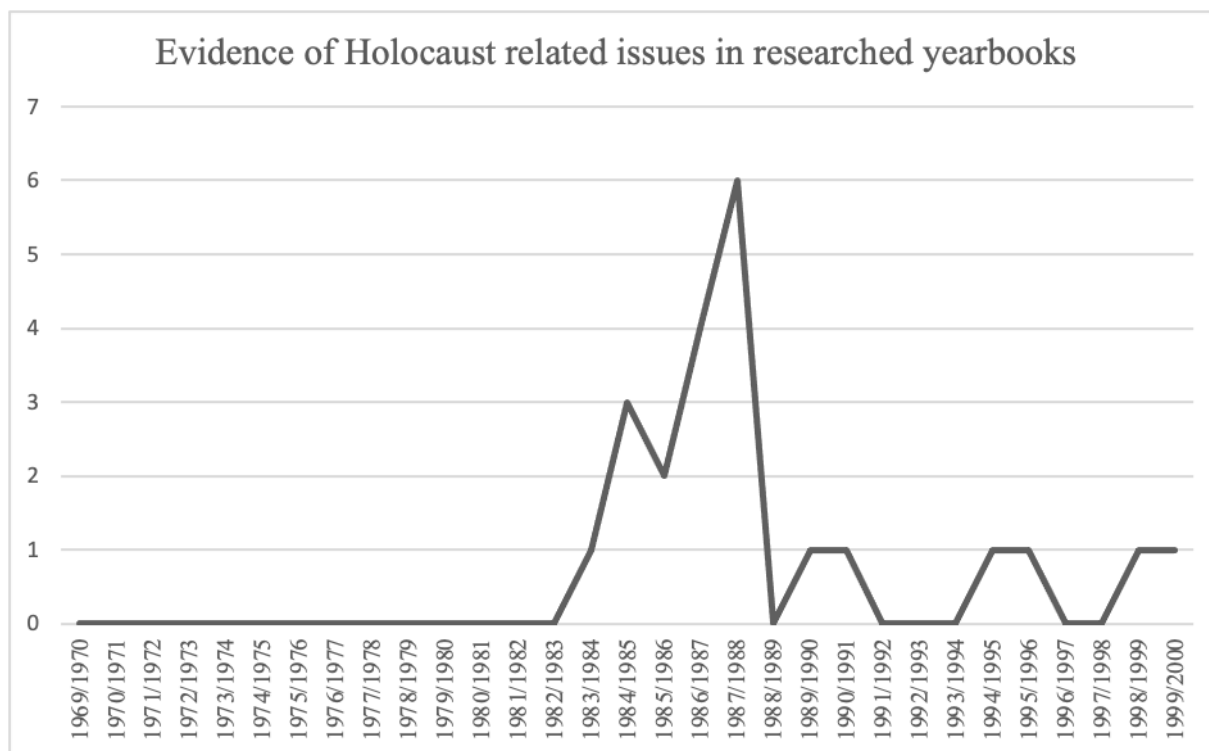


Chart 1: Evidence of Holocaust-related issues in researched yearbooks

The chart shows that Holocaust-related issues do not appear in the researched yearbooks until 1982. Then Holocaust-related issues climbed rapidly. Especially the school year 1985/1986 and 1988/1989 showed most evidence. These findings correlate with nation-building modes at the time such as the *Waldheim-Affair* of 1986 (the *causa* started in 1985) and the fiftieth anniversary year of 1988 to commemorate the Austrian “Anschluß” in 1938. The Holocaust-related topics discussed in the yearbooks were mainly about Political Education (including the Holocaust), the Mauthausen memorial, and the “Anschluß” of 1938. Outstanding is the 38-page long article by the Amerlinggymnasium in 1987/1988 on the year 1938 – especially the part from a history teacher who traced the beginnings of the Second World War back to the time before the war and even explained Austro-Fascism (pp. 9-47). Other issues that were reprocessed were the concentration camp Ebensee, the concentration camp Seegrotte, an article about Romani people, an article about Jewish people, the visit to the exhibition “Verbrechen der Wehrmacht”, and an article about right-wing extremism. The article on the con-

centration camp Seegrotte out of the yearbook 1987/1988 of the Biondekgasse again shall be highlighted shortly, as the students and teachers have worked on an Oral History Project that led to the installment of a plaque for the victims of the concentration camp Seegrotte (pp. 71-74).

This shows that the educationalization processes for extra-curricular activities displayed in yearbooks, such as visiting exhibitions, working on school projects, and students actively writing articles about the past, first appeared in 1982/1983, and could be found most often during the mid-1980s. After that period the issue of the Holocaust stayed present and sort of plateaued until the 2000s – not forgotten but also not paid special tribute to. The following part will, as already mentioned above, now give a detailed analysis of each yearbook.

1. BG/BRG Ettenreichgasse, Vienna

<i>Yearbooks</i>	<i>Evidence of Holocaust-related issues</i>
1976/1977	X ¹⁹
1983/1984	X
1984/1985	p. 152: Article about Political Education
1985/1986	pp. 217-218: Article about a field trip to memorial Mauthausen – detailed story
1986/1987	p. 84: List of field trips: Mentioning a visit to the memorial Mauthausen
1989/1990	p. 84: List of field trips: Mentioning a visit to the memorial Mauthausen

Table 2: Evidence of Holocaust-related issues BG/BRG Ettenreichgasse, Vienna

The 1984/1985 yearbook features a short paragraph about Political Education. The professor who was responsible for this course explained that his students looked at topics such as the reprocessing of the past (German: Vergangenheitsbewältigung) and anti-Semitism. They also mentioned that they watched movies such as “Hitler-eine Karriere” by J.C. Fest or “Die Brücke” by Bernhard Wicki.

In the 1985/1986 yearbook a student from eighth grade described his field trip to the Mauthausen memorial. He paints a grim picture on the whole trip, how it has affected him and his fellow students. He shows deep consternation for the horrors of the Holocaust pointing out that inmates on average could only stay alive for nine months in the Mauthausen concentration camp. He ends his essay with the Latin inscription: “discant viventes motuorum sorte”

¹⁹ The “X” stands for yearbooks that were researched but no evidence of Holocaust-related issues could be found.

and translates it with “Aus der Toten Schicksal mögen lernen die Lebenden.” (English: The living may learn from the fate of the dead).

In 1986/1987 and in 1989/1990 both yearbooks mention field trips to the Mauthausen memorial. In 1986/1987 only the eighth grade while in 1989/1990 the fourth and the eighth grade visited the memorial.

2. BG/BRG Keimgasse Mödling, Lower Austria

<i>Yearbooks</i>	<i>Evidence of Holocaust-related issues</i>
1969/1970	X
1978/1979	X
1980/1981	X
1984/1985	X
1985/1986	pp. 4-12: Article on the jubilee year 1985, 40 years Austria ²⁰
1986/1987	X
1987/1988	pp. 19-23: Project called: Austria 1938-1988, reflection – information – discussion
1989/1990	X
1995/1996	X
1999/2000	X

Table 3: Evidence of Holocaust-related issues BG/BRG Keimgasse, Lower Austria

The year 1988 was a very important year for Holocaust and war remembrance. The BG/BRG Keimgasse remembered that year by starting an interdisciplinary project that was called: “Austria 1938 – 1988, reflection – information – discussion”. In the yearbook a five-page long article was written by one of the teachers about the project. He explained the goal to combine Civic Education and Political Education and to work interdisciplinary on contemporary history. He states that the year 1988 was chosen in memoriam of the year 1938 because then the First Republic of Austria ended. The overall goal was to gather information and material to trigger consternation. All teachers and students, and many parents participated. A ceremonial opening on the day of the “Anschluß” inviting time witnesses was put in place. The article then explained all the sub-projects that had been conducted due to this school ini-

²⁰ This article is not explicitly related to the Holocaust but mentioned because of its closeness to nation-building. The nine-page article writes about the fortieth anniversary of the re-establishment of the Austrian Republic and the thirtieth anniversary of the State Treaty and the Declaration of Neutrality, and a school project around this topic.

tiative. Many sub-projects looked at historical data and compared it to data of 1938. Some mentioned, finding depressing material such as the vanishing of Jewish students from their school or learning about the “Hitler-Jugend”, an educational youth group for boys during the national socialist regime. All findings were displayed in a big exhibition in the school that all students and parents could visit for a week. The author of the article concluded that it is very important to remember the past and that the big interest of students about this topic is a symbol for how curious students are about contemporary history. In bold letters the article ends by saying that this project was designed to critically reflect on the Austrian history to gain a better understanding of democracy in today’s Austrian state.



Image 3: Picture of the exhibition at the BG/BRG Keimgasse Mödling in 1988, yearbook 1987/1988, p. 21

3. BG/BRG Gmunden, Upper Austria

<i>Yearbooks</i>	<i>Evidence of Holocaust-related issues</i>
1985/1986	X
1986/1987	X
1987/1988	p. 41: Article about the liberation ceremony of the concentration camp Ebensee
1988/1989	X
1990/1991	X
1995/1996	X
1999/2000	X

Table 4: Evidence of Holocaust-related issues BG/BRG Gmunden, Upper Austria

In the yearbook 1987/1988 an article can be found about a field trip to the concentration camp Ebensee. The author, a teacher, described that the students could witness a ceremony in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the liberation of the camp. There, a government official explained how important it is to remember the past as it is the only way to save us from right-wing extremist forces. The minister and an Ebensee concentration camp survivor both stressed that it is the people's responsibility that something like this (the Holocaust is not explicitly mentioned) can never happen again.

4. BG Gallusstraße Bregenz, Vorarlberg

<i>Yearbooks</i>	<i>Evidence of Holocaust-related issues</i>
1985/1986	X
1986/1987	X
1987/1988	pp. 38-39: Exhibition about the year 1938
1990/1991	pp. 55-58: Zigeuner (English: Gypsies) ²¹
1995/1996	X

Table 5: Evidence of Holocaust-related issues BG Gallusstraße Bregenz, Vorarlberg

The 1987/1988 yearbook explained the work of one class (sixth grade) that was put to the task to create a small exhibition about the occurrences of the year 1938, the reason why the “Anschluß” happened and the consequences it had, in order to make the issue tangible for younger

²¹ Here the term Zigeuner (English: Gypsies) is used by the authors. The author of this master's thesis acknowledges that it is not a politically correct term anymore. Going forward it will be put under brackets. Today “Gypsies” are describes as Romani people.

students. The honest article summarized that not all students were excited about the workload yet in the end found a deep interest in the subject and enjoyed forming their own objective opinion about the year 1938.

The 1990/1991 educational project about the “Gypsies” was conducted by the class of 2b (second grade). While not all aspects of the project are relevant for this research, the students also worked on the Romani people during the Second World War, in which they were hunted and executed similar to Jewish people. The article therefore explained that the Nazis were going against Romani people by law giving them only three options: biological adjustment (sterilization), assimilation, or deportation. These laws led to mass-killings of the Romani people. The article explained that more than half a million Romani people were killed during the Second World War and that although Romani people were always hunted wherever they went, the Holocaust was their most fatal destruction. A second-grade student aged between 12 to 13 years old wrote cruelly:

“Men and women were shot, children’s heads were smashed with tree trunks, who did not die of hunger or sickness was gassed, as well as who did not wear the armband with the letter ‘Z’ for ‘Zigeuner’.” (Translated by author)

5. Amerlinggymnasium – Gymnasium und wirtschaftskundliches Realgymnasium, Vienna

<i>Yearbooks</i>	<i>Evidence of Holocaust-related issues</i>
1982/1983	X
1983/1984	X
1984/1985	X
1986/1987	X
1987/1988	pp. 9-47: Article about the year 1938 and the Mariahilf gymnasium

Table 6: Evidence of Holocaust-related issues Amerlinggymnasium, Vienna

The Amerlinggymnasium, named after the street, it is situated on is a gymnasium focused on economics. All yearbooks available were researched for this gymnasium. The yearbook of 1987/1988 features a 38-page long part about the Mariahilf gymnasium during the year 1938 written by teachers, students, and a time witness (former student). This school conducted a project in March 1988, the month and year Austrian remembered the fiftieth anniversary of the “Anschluß” to Germany. The subjects “German” and “History and Social Studies” were put to the task of reprocessing the past. The teacher stressed that the school had done a multi-

faceted job giving students information about what happened. The main goal was to foster consternation and for the next generation to act smarter and more cautious.

The presented information such as the fact that the 1983-principal was promoted within the Nazi-regime due to his ideological orientation and that other employments were terminated (not just Jewish teachers). It also touched in depth on the subject of Jewish students having to leave the school or change school. Statistics of the 73 Jewish students (out of 403 students total) who had to leave the school was presented.

After the teacher's article a former student wrote about his time in the Amerlinggymnasium during the year 1938. He critically addressed the blames of the new generation who asks why it had taken for Austria so long to remember the past and who asks why people took part in the Second World War anyways. He explained that those statements are unfair as the young generation cannot imagine what it was like to live in a totalitarian regime. He addressed the fact that Jewish students had to leave school and were then deported. He also wrote about the fact that fifty percent of his remaining classmates voluntarily joined the army and died right at the beginning of war. He postulated that it was a difficult time to really know what was going on and that everyone was influenced by propaganda. He wanted teachers not to negate the past but also not to show it in a simplified way. The reasons for what happened in 1938 he saw in the economic situation, intolerance and discrimination.

Another teacher wrote an article about the exhibition conducted within the school. In this exhibition the students were to learn about the people's euphoria of the "Anschluß" and its consequences. The exhibition quite extensively touched on the fact that the Second World War and what happened in 1938 had to be seen as part of a development that started in 1918. The teacher explained that Austria always wanted to be part of the German Reich but was forbidden to do so by



Image 4: Picture displayed in the Amerlinggymnasium yearbook, 1978/1988, p.30

the German enemies after 1918. The identification with the new Austrian state was slow, the terms "Republic" and "Democracy" were foreign to people, and a huge mistrust of the new parties as well as a high number of unemployment led to riots, writes the teacher. He in detail talked about Austro-Fascism, Dollfuß and his overpowering of the government, as well as how Hitler put more and more pressure on Austria politically. He explained how Schuschnigg tried to keep the clerical fascist regime alive but was eventually overruled by the national so-

cialist party. The people who then cheered Hitler on in 1938 when he took over power were excited not just for the national socialist to reign but also for the authoritarian state to be over, hoping that now the economy would be revived. The exhibition also examined in detail the topic of democracy, resistance, propaganda, economy, and the persecution of the Jews. The teacher explained that the exhibition started at the Middle Ages and showed anti-Semitism as a development throughout the years. He pointed to the fact that Vienna was a centre for anti-Semitism during the nineteenth century. The horrors of the Holocaust are explicitly mentioned. Numbers and pictures are shown such as the one to the right of a dead person, who most likely was to represent a starved Jewish person found at the concentration camps.

This article was followed by a student's article on how the exhibition and the reprocessing of the past impacted him. The student acknowledged that the horrors of the past made him feel angry. He explained that during the exhibition students could write comments of any sort about the "Anschluß" of 1938 on a board. The comments written he summarized under the topics of Historical facts, Scolding of Hitler, Personal thoughts and suggestions, and References on today's political situation. The last part involved for example issues on xenophobia, the statements of FPÖ (The Austrian Freedom Party) chairman Jörg Haider, the discussion around President Kurt Waldheim, the meeting of Jörg Haider, Otto Scrinzi (1918-2012, former NS member), and Norbert Burger (1929-1992, extreme right-wing politician).

Other students talked about projects they did during the course of the school year such as a project where students asked people on the street about the year 1938. The students met a former NSDAP member who claimed that he felt sorry for the Jews but would vote for Hitler again and still hoped for the annexation to Germany. Many students vividly explained the effect the cinematic movie "Nacht und Nebel" combined with meeting a former concentration camp survivor had on them. Others interviewed their principal and an older teacher about their experiences during the war.

A German-teacher wrote an article on how he stopped his German course for five consecutive weeks to teach the students about the past. He wrote that he saw it as a highly important issue that needed to be taught. He had the students read books, watch movies, and present about certain Holocaust-related topics for them to gather more information and to have a better understanding about the year 1938 (see also school material). During the same school year, the DÖW (Documentation Centre of Austrian Resistance) organized a school competition on the issue "Austrians and the persecution of Jews 1938 – 1945". Many students of the Amerling-gymnasium took part in the competition and all of them received a certificate. The students of the 6a (sixth grade) won the second place.

6. BG/BRG Biondegasse Baden, Lower Austria

<i>Yearbooks</i>	<i>Evidence of Holocaust-related issues</i>
1970/1971	X
1975/1976	X
1980/1981	X
1984/1985	p. 9: List of field trips: Mentioning a visit to the memorial Mauthausen p. 51: Article on Political Education
1985/1986	X
1986/1987	X
1987/1988	pp. 71-74: Article on Oral History Project
1990/1991	X pp. 26-29: Article on Political Education <i>not mentioning</i> the Second World War or the Holocaust
1995/1996	pp. 26-30: List of field trips: Mentioning a visit to the memorial Mauthausen and to the exhibition “Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941-1944” X pp. 100-103: Article on the war memories of a student’s grandmother
1999/2000	X

Table 7: Evidence of Holocaust-related issues BG/BRG Biondegasse Baden, Lower Austria

In 1984/1985 the yearbook referenced an article about Political Education explaining that the non-mandatory course was back. The teacher responsible for the course stressed that he – especially in the current situation – wanted to work on the following issues: understanding the mechanism of democracy, the rise and spread of authoritarian systems of the past and present. His goal was to encourage students to critically judge the political system in place to become a mature citizen (German: mündiger Bürger). Discussion, field trips, and presentations were some of the many didactical ways to approach those issues.

In June of 1985 the fourth grade of the BG/BRG Biondegasse in Baden went on a field trip to the memorial site Mauthausen, the Salzkammergut (a region in Austria), the Danube Power Plant, and the Schallaburg (a castle).

During the school year 1987/1988 four students and a teacher worked on an Oral History Project called “Die Hinterbrühler Seegrotte 1944/1945 Flugzeugwerk und KZ-Nebenlager” (English: The Seegrotte of Hinterbrühl²² 1944/1945 Airplane-factory and concentration camp). This project started after a field trip to the Seegrotte in which the visitors were more shocked

²² The Seegrotte, near Hinterbrühl, Austria, is a cave system with the largest underwater grotto located under a former mine (www.seegrotte.at).

that blind horses had to work underground than that this grotto was used as a small concentration camp during the Second World War. The students and the teacher then met with time witnesses and wrote an article for the University of Vienna. They researched that the grotto was drained of water by the Nazi-regime to build armour for the Heinkel-factory. As a side camp of the concentration camp Mauthausen it held 1.800 forced labourers. The students' project also pushed for a commemorative plaque to be installed wanting to remember the people who died in this camp. This triggered discussion in the community council of the small town Hinterbrühl as they wanted to put up a plaque saying that bombing victims not concentration camp prisoners died in the Seegrotte. Scholars and media were activated to make the plaque with the correct wording possible. The authors of the article pointed out that due to the memorial year of 1988 the interest for the project rose and ended up including the government, the public television station, the University of Vienna, and the "Documentation Centre of Austrian Resistance". While a lot of skepticism was brought up by fellow students and teachers about the project, the authors conclude that it was an extremely rewarding project to raise awareness for a forgotten part of history.

The yearbook of 1990/1991 contained an article about the non-mandatory course Political Education written by the students who attended the course. This four-page long article talked about the UNO, the war of Yugoslavia²³, the problems of West Germany and so on. No evidence could be found that the Second World War or the Holocaust were touched during the course of this school year in Political Education.

Within the school year 1995/1996 three Holocaust-related field trips were organized. The sixth and eighth grade went to the exhibition "Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941-1944". In the same year the fourth grade visited the memorial site Mauthausen.

The yearbook of 1995/1996 also holds a student's article about his grandmother's memories of the Second World War. She was a child at the time and had only memories of the year 1944 onward. The student described the way of living, how fear and worry of bombings overshadowed the childhood of his grandmother. This article although writing in detail about the Second World War is a good example for a historiographic evidence that does not mention the Holocaust.

²³ The Second World War is shortly noticed but just as a time reference to explain what happened to Yugoslavia during the Second World War.

7. BG/BRG Feldkirch, Vorarlberg²⁴

Yearbooks	Evidence of Holocaust-related issues
1969/1970	X
1974/1975	X
1979/1980	X Article about Political Education <i>not mentioning</i> the Holocaust
1983/1984	p. 59: Article about Political Education mentioning the Holocaust
1984/1985	p. 82: Article about Political Education mentioning the Holocaust
1985/1986	p. 67: Article about Political Education mentioning the Holocaust
1986/1987	p. 24: Article about Political Education mentioning the Holocaust
1989/1990	X
1994/1995	p. 10: Article about right-wing extremism
1998/1999	p. 11-12: Article about students during war time
1999/2000	X

Table 8: Evidence of Holocaust-related issues BG/BRG Feldkirch, Vorarlberg

All but one of the above cited yearbooks, the one of 1979/1980, mention the Holocaust. In the years 1983/1984, 1984/1985, 1985/1986, and 1986/1987 the Second World War and also the Holocaust was mentioned. The articles explained what Political Education was working on. They were stating for example that they learned about National Socialism, and the life of Jews in Vorarlberg. The yearbooks also mention the invitation of time witnesses such as August Weiß, a concentration camp survivor. They explained that the reprocessing of the past was a huge goal for this non-mandatory course.

The yearbook of 1994/1995 features an article about right-wing extremism. Students talked to strangers on the street asking them about right-wing extremist topics. While asking about foreigners they also asked about the Second World War and whether or not the end of the war was a good thing. Within this project they also had students take a survey asking them about associations to right-wing extremism. Four of the twenty-six students made associations to “Nazis and Skinheads”. Only few students could describe what Fascism and anti-Semitism means.

The 1998/1999 yearbook tells the story about a boy, seventeen years old, and how he lived throughout the Second World War. The article does not mention the Holocaust-related issues.

²⁴ The yearbooks are available online from 1949 to 2019 on the homepage of “Freunde des Feldkircher Gymnasiums FFG”: Online [Accessed 11/3/2020]: <https://ffg-jugendheim.weebly.com/jahresberichte.html>.

“POLITISCHE BILDUNG”

Noch sitzen die mehr oder weniger politisch interessierten Schüler der 7. und 8. Klassen auf den Bänken, flotten Discosound genießend - mit einem Wort: eine echte Feriendyale.

13.35: Der Lärm reißt die "Musikfreaks" aus ihrer Ferienstimmung, ein lässig gekleideter cooler Typ - hierbei kann es sich nur um Prof. Markus Amann handeln - betritt selbstbewußt die Klasse. Die Schüler wissen genau, daß die Walkman unter die Bänke gehören, obwohl noch einige ihre Lieblings-songs zu Ende hinhören wollen.

Schließlich gut vorbereitet, bietet er den Schülern zahlreiche Themen zur Auswahl, die mehr als nur Kompensation für die verlorengegangene Walkman-freude sind - schließlich will man sich nicht nur in den Charts gut auskennen.

Um diesem Vorsatz gerecht zu werden, bieten sich die Parteiprogramme regelrecht an. Wenige Wochen später: Die ersten Erfolge sind erkennbar, die Inhalte der Parteiprogramme beschäftigen die Schüler mehr als ihre heißen Rhythmen. Der Augenblick für eine Podiumsdiskussion scheint gekommen, die Mitglieder der Jugendorganisationen der im Landtag vertretenen Parteien sehen sich kritisch orientierten Schülern gegenüber. Damit den angedachten Profil das Landhaus nicht nur von außen ein gewohnter Anblick ist, unternehmen sie eine Stippvisite zum "Palazzo prozozo".

Da die Welt bei Österreichs Staatsgrenzen nicht aufhört, kann ein Wissen um die Verhältnisse in der großen weiten Welt nur von Vorteil sein. Traurige Beispiele dafür, daß nicht die ganze Welt rosafarben in der Sonne glänzt, sind die Entwicklungsländer Neu-Guinea und Nicaragua, was durch Diavorträge zweier Fachleute deutlich zum Ausdruck gebracht wurde. Um es nicht nur beim Wissen um die Mißstände zu belassen, starteten die Schüler für Nicaragua ein Hilfsprojekt, wofür sie sich sehr engagierten.

Daß nach einem Krieg nicht wieder so ohne weiteres zur Tagesordnung übergegangen werden kann, bewies in erschreckender Eindringlichkeit das vom Krieg gezeichnete Vietnam. Texte und Filme, die versuchten, über die Realität zu berichten, machten deutlich, wie menschenverachtend die "Tötungswerkzeuge" (Agent orange) der Militärs sind.

Da in vielen Ländern Menschenrechtsverletzungen an der Tagesordnung sind - so gehörte z. B. das

Urlandsland Griechenland zu den Ländern, in denen der Rechtsprechung mit der Folter Nachdruck verliehen wurde - wollten sich die Schüler über die wichtigsten Tätigkeiten der Gefangenenhilfsorganisationen "Amnesty International" (ai) informieren.

Schlagworte wie **Vergangenheitsbewältigung** sind derzeit in aller Munde. Da Vergangenheitsbewältigung mit dem Wissen um die Vergangenheit einhergeht, schien die Beschäftigung mit dem **Nationalsozialismus (Verbrechen und Widerstände in Konzentrationslagern, Kriegsverbrecherprozesse)** unerlässlich. Um Information unverfälscht aus erster Hand zu erhalten, gelang es Prof. M. Amann in Zusammenarbeit mit Politwissenschaftlern Innsbrucks, **Herrn Weiß - einen Zeitzeugen** - für ein Gespräch am BGF zu gewinnen.

"Zivildienst oder Militärdienst", das ist die Frage, mit der sich jeder männliche Schüler über kurz oder lang auseinandersetzen muß. Deshalb wurde eine Podiumsdiskussion von Vertretern beider Seiten mit Spannung erwartet. Gegen Ende der Diskussion traten die Argumente in den Hintergrund, persönliche Angriffe nahmen - sehr zur Belustigung der Zuhörer - überhand.

Zum Abschluß des Schuljahres hatten die Schüler noch die Möglichkeit, einen Blick hinter die Kulissen einer Tageszeitung zu werfen. So konnten sie den Alltag der Redakteure, deren Aufgaben und Arbeitsweisen näher kennenlernen.

All diese interessanten Themen sind an den Schülern nicht wirkungslos vorbeigeflogen, vielmehr haben sie die Schüler beeindruckt und zum Nachdenken angeregt, auch wenn sich die Schüler in den Ferien wieder dem "Walkmanfieber" hingeben, zu ihren heißen Rhythmen tanzen und die Melodie des "Aufsteigers der Woche" vor sich hinstimmen.

Schlagworte wie **Vergangenheitsbewältigung** sind derzeit in aller Munde. Da Vergangenheitsbewältigung mit dem Wissen um die Vergangenheit einhergeht, schien die Beschäftigung mit dem **Nationalsozialismus (Verbrechen und Widerstände in Konzentrationslagern, Kriegsverbrecherprozesse)** unerlässlich. Um Information unverfälscht aus erster Hand zu erhalten, gelang es Prof. M. Amann in Zusammenarbeit mit Politwissenschaftlern Innsbrucks, **Herrn Weiß - einen Zeitzeugen** - für ein Gespräch am BGF zu gewinnen.

24

Image 5: Article on Political Education, yearbook 1986/1987, p. 24

8. BG/RG Erlgasse, Vienna

Yearbooks	Evidence of Holocaust-related issues
1979/1980	X
1980/1981	X
1984/1985	X
1985/1986	X
1986/1987	X
1987/1988	pp. 14-27: An article about Jews and the persecution of Jews throughout history
1989/1990	X
1995/1996	X
1999/2000	pp. 90-91: An article about a project called: „The diary of Anne Frank“

Table 9: Evidence of Holocaust-related issues BG/BRG Erlgasse, Vienna

The yearbook of 1987/1988 displays a long article about Jews and their persecution throughout history. The goal of the article was to pay tribute to the memorial year 1988 and to learn about the Jewish religion, their way of life and their history of persecution. The students worked independently on the following issues: Jewish religion (1), Egyptian, Assyrian, and

Babylonian captivity of Jews (2), Jews during the time of the Greeks and the Romans (3), Judaism in each state (4) (including countries such as East Europe (a), England (b), France (c), Sweden (d), Switzerland (e), America (f), Austria (g), Germany (h)), and the establishment of the state Israel (5).

For this research the subchapters about Judaism in Austria and Germany are of foremost importance. The subchapter about Judaism in Austria explained in detail the history of Jews in Austria starting in the eleventh century. It acknowledged the rising anti-Semitism during the 1930s talking about boycotts, bombings, and discriminating posters and that Jews became more and more victims of discrimination and exclusion. The Austrian chapter does not address the Second World War. The subchapter on Judaism in Germany is further divided into “until 1935”, “during the Second World War”, and “mass extinction”. It explained the slow process of systemically pushing Jews to the outskirts of society. First by forbidding them to be part of certain parts of public life, then putting them out of work completely, eventually putting them in concentration camps. By the end of the war Jewish people were killed just for the sake of not getting caught. The article explained how six million Jews were killed.

9. BG/RG Gleisdorf, Styria

<i>Yearbooks</i>	<i>Evidence of Holocaust-related issues</i>
1985/1986	X
1986/1987	X
1987/1988	X
1989/1990	X

Table 10: Evidence of Holocaust-related issues BG/BRG Gleisdorf, Styria

Within the researched yearbooks of the BG/BRG Gleisdorf no trace or reference to the Holocaust could be found.

4.4. Curricula

The curriculum can be an indicator to mirror the most apparent educational changes. For this research case it will tell an interesting story of how it changed in the service of nation-building. Nation-building processes can give an explanation for the fact that it took Austria until 1963 to create an original, and new curriculum. Nation-building modes also connect to the establishment of Political Education in the 1970s and the implementation of the Holocaust or more correctly the expression “Organized genocide” in 1986. This chapter will look into

general didactical principles of the curriculum and how they changed over the course of history of the Second Republic (1). It will look at the development of the Political Education curriculum (2), and at the changes within the subject “History and Social Studies” for the Main School Curriculum (fourth grade) (3) and the Higher General School Curriculum/AHS (fourth grade) (4).

1. General didactical principles

1960s: The curriculum of 1963 was the first curriculum original to the government of the Second Republic of Austria. This curriculum contained general didactical principles that were focusing on strengthening the Austrian national identity (BGBl. 134, 6/28/1963, pp. 694-696). The terms “Community”, “Homeland”, “*Bildung*”, and the “particularity of the student” stood out. These general didactical principles were to give the teachers guidance in the way they should educate the children. While on the one hand it seemed very important to concentrate on *Bildung* and the educational forthcoming it also stressed the underlying values that were to be taught in school – forming a strong bond to the democratic country and the civic tasks of its community (BGBl. 134, 6/28/1963, pp. 694-696). These values were more explicitly mentioned in each subject – for example like this in “History and Social Studies”:

“History and Social Studies: Images from the history of the Congress of Vienna to present: The aim to introduce the start of the modern democracy and the establishment of a constitutional- and welfare-state. [...] The subject of History in this grade has especial importance regarding the civic tasks of the Austrian school.”
(BGBl. 134, 6/28/1963, p. 763; Translated by author)²⁵

1970s: The curricula of 1979 did not make any changes to the general didactical principles. It introduced interdisciplinary educational principles and explained that the school had many tasks to fulfill that are difficult to put into just one subject. Therefore, these tasks and issues were to be taught interdisciplinary by cooperation of some or all subjects (BGBl. 145, 4/3/1979, pp. 791-792; BGBl. 91, 3/8/1979). In 1979 the educational principles were (following the AHS curriculum):

²⁵ *German:* Geschichte und Sozialkunde: Bilder aus der Geschichte seit dem Wiener Kongreß bis zur Gegenwart: Sie dienen der Einführung in das Werden der modernen Demokratie und der Einrichtungen des Rechts- und Wohlfahrtsstaates. [...] Dem Geschichtsunterricht in dieser Klasse kommt daher besondere Bedeutung für die staatsbürgerlichen Aufgaben der österreichischen Schule zu. (BGBl. 134, 6/28/1963, p. 763)

Health Education German: Gesundheitserziehung	Reading Education German: Leseerziehung	Media Education German: Medienerziehung
Musical Education German: Musische Erziehung	Traffic Education German: Verkehrserziehung	Sex Education German: Sexualerziehung
Rhetorical Education German: Sprecherziehung	Environment Education German: Umwelterziehung	Economic Education German: Wirtschaftserziehung
Political Education (including Civic Education) German: Politische Bildung (einschließlich Staatsbürgerliche Erziehung)		

Table 11: Interdisciplinary educational principles, AHS curriculum 1979 (BGBl. 145, 4/3/1979, pp. 791-792)

The general didactical principles were moved to each individual subject where the curriculum held a few sentences on what values should be taught. The “History and Social Studies” Main School curriculum of 1979 for example talked about fostering the independent critical mind of the student. It stressed the community’s and the students’ responsibility within society. It especially pointed out that the democratic attitude and the Austrian-state-mindedness (German: österreichisches Staatsbewusstsein) are of great value in this subject (BGBl. 91, 3/8/1979, p. 620).

1980s: The curriculum of the 1980s showed a significant change in the way curricula were done. A more extensive curriculum was presented that gave clear instructions on interdisciplinary educational principles (such as Political Education), general educational goals, as well as general didactical principals. In 1985 for example the curriculum stressed, under general educational goals, the responsibility of the human existence. It wanted the students to work on their personal values such as a critical self-assessment. The student shall especially be pointed into an Austrian-mindedness, connected with European-mindedness and cosmopolitanism, and the willingness to actively participate in a democratic, social, and free constitutional state (BGBl. 88, 3/7/1985, pp. 794-797). At the end of the 1980s the 1989 curriculum stressed more and more to find connections between the subjects and pushed for interdisciplinary education (for example BGBl. 63, 2/7/1989, p. 745).

1990s: Over the years minor changes had been made to the general didactical principles but no significant change happened within the 1990s curricula. They all stressed the connection to the state and the schools’ role within the system. The few changes further stressed the im-

portance of the school to educate the civic minds of the students (BGBl. 439, 8/14/1991; BGBl. 528, 8/27/1992; BGBl. 546, 8/6/1993; BGBl. 643, 9/26/1995; BGBl. 644, 9/26/1995; BGBl. 555, 8/10/1999). The interdisciplinary educational principles of the 1990s also did not change much. Two principles were added, “Intercultural Learning” (German: Interkulturelles Lernen) (BGBl. 439, 8/14/1991, p. 1983) and “Education for the equalization for women and men” (German: Erziehung zur Gleichstellung von Frauen und Männern) (BGBl. 644, 9/26/1995, p. 7625).

2. Political Education

Political Education as an educational approach had proven to be an important part of the educationalization of the Holocaust. Therefore, the curricular changes of Political Education will be especially featured here.

1970s: Political Education was introduced as a non-mandatory exercise first in 1970. That meant that students could out of interest choose this subject as an after-school class. On the yearly report it would show that they attended that subject. Empirical evidence of Political Education as a non-mandatory exercise could be first found in the 1970 curriculum of the AHS. Then, Political Education’s goal was to teach students about politics, economics and society. While it was important to foster the critical mind of the student it was also recommended to hold presentations, discussion panels, to go on field trips, and to invite experts to the class. The student shall be made available to critical thinking in order to make rational decisions (BGBl. 275, 9/4/1970, pp. 1569-1570). In 1974 the Department of Political Education of the Ministry of Education and Art (established in 1973) wanted to bring a mandatory subject Political Education for higher AHS levels to the Austrian curriculum. This suggestion was criticized heavily by the National Council and ultimately could not come to fruition (Wolf, 1998, pp. 13-75). To work around this first rejection the newly established ministerial Department for Political Education started working on a policy that would bring Political Education into schools as an interdisciplinary educational principle. The first draft was presented in 1975 and brought a new word to school curriculum: Democracy. It was a principle that had to be included in the education and the upbringing of children. This first draft described in detail what was understood as a concrete democratic education. The second draft of 1976 on it was formulated more abstract regarding democratic principles. After the second draft was checked by all parties and influential associations such as the Federation of Austrian Industries, the Austrian Economic Chamber, the Austrian Agriculture Chamber, and the Federation of Trade Unions some changes had to be made. The assessors all wanted to stress the unifying aspects of society and rejected notions that showed divers interests and change of the current

state. Especially criticized was the part in which Political Education was to enable students to critically think about power structures and their interests, norms, and values. The policy was changed and stated at its release in 1978 that Political Education shall enable the student to recognize societal structures in its manner and relativity. It was added in brackets that the focus shall lie on interests, norms, values; leadership, power, balance of power; political institutions. The “Grundsatzterlaß” (English: policy) “Political Education including Civic Education” was released on September 1st, 1978 as an interdisciplinary educational principle adapted in the AHS and the Main School Curricula in 1979. Political Education focused on the subjects “History and Social Studies” as well as “Economics” (Freie Lehrerstimme, 1998, pp. 43-47; Wolf, 1998, pp. 13-75).

1980s: In 1985 the AHS as well as the Main School curricula were again stressing the interdisciplinary educational principles. Political Education was one of them, yet some small changes were made. Now it was named Political Education including Civic Education and Peace Education. Both curricula specifically pointed to certain subjects that should be connected with Political Education. In the AHS curriculum they were “German”, “Mathematics”, “History and Social Studies”, and more²⁶. In the Main School curriculum, it was “German”, “Geography and Economics”, and “History and Social Studies”, and more²⁷.

1990s: During the 1990s the Political Education curriculum did not seem to change much for the Main School and the AHS. Sometimes it was described as Political Education (including Peace Education) (BGBl. 439, 8/14/1991, p. 1983), other times as Political Education (including Civic Education and Peace Education) (BGBl. 355, 7/19/1996, p. 2642). The newly introduced educational principle “Intercultural Learning” was to be connected to Political Education. Besides that, the curricula of the 1990s showed more evidence of Political Education

²⁶ *1985 AHS Curriculum:* Political Education recommended to use interdisciplinary with the subject: German p. 812, Geography and Economics p. 833, Mathematics p. 837 (BGBl. 88, 3/7/1985)

1986 AHS Curriculum: Political Education recommended to use interdisciplinary with the subject: History and Social Studies p. 3823, Mathematics p. 3829 (BGBl. 591, 11/6/1986)

1989 AHS Curriculum: Political Education recommended to use interdisciplinary with the subject: German p. 641 (BGBl. 63, 2/7/1989)

²⁷ *1985 Main School Curriculum:* Political Education recommended to use interdisciplinary with the subject: Geography and Economics p. 623, Mathematics p. 627 (BGBl. 78, 2/26/1985)

1986 Main School Curriculum: Political Education recommended to use interdisciplinary with the subject: History and Social Studies p. 2788, Mathematics p. 2796, Biology p. 2812, German p. 2909 (BGBl. 441, 8/28/1986)

1989 Main School Curriculum: Political Education recommended to use interdisciplinary with the subject: Mathematics p. 2928 (BGBl. 429, 8/31/1989)

being recommended for interdisciplinary teaching in certain subjects such as “Religion”, “German”, “Mathematics”, “Geography”, and “History and Social Studies”²⁸

3. Main School Curriculum: History and Social Studies – Fourth grade

1960s: Looking at the “History and Social Studies” curriculum (fourth grade) of the Main School during the Second Republic of Austria (1945-2000) the first curriculum of 1963 must be of interest (BGBl. 134, 6/28/1963). This 1963 curriculum stressed democratic values and the importance of the History subject for civic education. It gave a short summary of the issues (here: the main topic) that should be included in the subject: “Conservative and liberal forces during the first half of the nineteenth century”, “Nationalism, Socialism and Imperialism”, “Global-historical events after the First World War”, “Global-historical events after the Second World War”, and “The Second Republic of Austria”. The issue “Global-historical events after the First World War” included the topic (here: the subtopic) “National Socialism and the unleashing of the Second World War” and “The Second World War and its political, social, and economic aftermath”. The issue “The global-historical events after the Second World War” did not mention anything related to the Holocaust (see image 6).

Die weltgeschichtlichen Vorgänge nach dem ersten Weltkrieg:

Neue Demokratien; Völkerbund, die europäische Staatenwelt, Kommunismus, Faschismus. Weltwirtschaftskrise. Die Erste Republik Österreich. Der Nationalsozialismus und die Entfesselung des zweiten Weltkrieges. Der zweite Weltkrieg und seine politischen, sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Folgen.

Die weltgeschichtlichen Vorgänge nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg:

Die Vereinten Nationen und ihre Unterorganisationen. — Der Wiederaufbau Europas. — Die Verselbständigung der ehemaligen Kolonien. — Die „zweite industrielle Revolution“. — Die Veränderungen in der gesellschaftlichen Struktur, besonders in der ländlich-bäuerlichen Welt. — Die führenden Weltmächte. — Wirtschaftliche und militärische Zusammenschlüsse in Europa und in der Welt.

Image 6: Two issues and topics of the subject “History and Social Studies”, fourth grade, Main School Curriculum 1963 (BGBl. 134, 6/28/1963, p. 763)

²⁸ BGBl. 439, 8/14/1991; BGBl. 528, 8/27/1992; BGBl. 546, 8/6/1993; BGBl. 643; BGBl. 555, 8/10/1999

1970s: The “History and Social Studies” Curriculum of 1979 showed close to no changes compared to the curriculum of 1963 regarding the issues that were to be taught (BGBl. 91, 3/8/1979). The only change was that the topic “Imperialism, Colonialism, and Global Trade” was taken off the curriculum.

1980s: As described above the curriculum of 1986 featured a completely different and new curriculum. It now contained more thorough information about what these subjects should teach. Each subject included educational goals (German: Lernziele) and educational issues (German: Lerninhalte). The “History and Social Studies” curriculum of the fourth grade covered the time from 1918 to present. The following issues were to be taught:

Economic and political crises of the interwar period German: Wirtschaftliche und politische Krisen in der Zwischenkriegszeit	Austria 1918 to 1938 German: Österreich von 1918 bis 1938	Dictatorial systems German: Diktatorische Systeme
The Second World War German: Der Zweite Weltkrieg	Austria after the Second World War until 1955 German: Österreich nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg bis 1955	The world during the period of the East-West-Conflict German: Die Welt im Zeitalter des Ost-West-Konfliktes
Decolonization and the Third World German: Entkolonialisierung und Dritte Welt	Austria 1955 to present German: Österreich von 1955 bis heute	Economic and sociopolitical problems of today German: Wirtschaftliche und gesellschaftspolitische Probleme der Gegenwart

Table 12: All issues of the subject „History and Social Studies”, fourth grade, Main School curriculum 1986 (BGBl. 441, 8/28/1986, p. 2785-2788)

The issue “Dictatorial systems” featured for the first time in 1986 the topic “Organisierter Massenmord” (English: Organized genocide). At first glance this does not have to relate to the Holocaust specifically and could just mean that dictatorial systems often take part in organized genocide. If looked at the whole issue of “Dictatorial systems” the connection to the national socialist crimes becomes clearer. Its educational goal was to understand the difference between democratic and dictatorial systems, to understand the position of people within a totalitarian state, and to understand the ways of manipulation and indoctrination in a dictatorial system. The educational topics included: “The Russian Revolution, Basics and development of the soviet state”, “Fascism”, “The National Socialism – an example for a totalitarian regime”, “Youth movements – impact and misuse”, “Ideology of Race – anti-Semitism”,

“Propaganda and terror”, “Organized genocide”, and “Suppression and resistance, life in exile” (see image 7).

Diktatorische Systeme

Lernziele:

- Erkennen der Unterschiede zwischen demokratischen und diktatorischen Systemen
- Erfassen der Stellung des Menschen in einem totalitären Staat
- Erkennen verschiedener Möglichkeiten und Formen der Manipulation und Indoktrination

Lerninhalte:

- Die russische Revolution; Grundlagen und Entwicklung des Sowjetstaates
- Faschismus
- Der Nationalsozialismus — Beispiel einer totalitären Herrschaft
- Jugendbewegungen — Wirkung und Mißbrauch
- Rassenideologie — Antisemitismus
- Propaganda und Terror
- Organisierter Massenmord
- Unterdrückung und Widerstand, Leben im Exil

Image 7: Issue “Dictatorial systems” of the subject “History and Social Studies”, fourth grade, Main School Curriculum 1986 (BGBl. 441, 8/28/1986, p. 2786)

The second issue that is relevant for this research is „The Second World War”. Here the focus of the educational goals lies on the understanding on how the war came about, how it turned into a totalitarian war and how it ended. The only reference in regard to the Holocaust could potentially be the notion “The horrors of the war” found under educational topics. It did not further explain what was meant with this.

Der Zweite Weltkrieg

Lernziele:

- Erkennen von Entwicklungen, die zum Krieg führen
- Erfassen des Spannungsverhältnisses zwischen Machtpolitik und dem Eintreten für den Frieden
- Erfassen der Auswirkungen eines totalen Krieges
- Erkennen der moralischen Verpflichtung für den einzelnen, an der Lösung von Konflikten aktiv und verantwortungsbewußt mitzuwirken.

Lerninhalte:

- Aufrüstung und Expansionspolitik Deutschlands, Italiens und Japans
- Wirtschaftspolitik, Jugenderziehung und Propaganda im Dienste der Kriegsvorbereitung
- Der Ausbruch des Krieges, seine Ausweitung und Eskalation zum totalen Krieg
- Die Schrecken des Krieges
- Der organisierte Widerstand
- Das Ende des Krieges
- Versuche einer künftigen Friedensordnung — die Vereinten Nationen

Image 8: Issue “The Second World War” of the subject “History and Social Studies”, fourth grade, Main School Curriculum 1986 (BGBl. 441, 8/28/1986, pp. 2786-2877)

1990s: Between the 1980s and the 1990s the curriculum regarding the Holocaust did not change much. What could be researched were minor linguistic changes. The issues included in the fourth grade “History and Social Studies” curriculum were:

Crises of the interwar period and dictatorial systems German: Krisen der Zwischenkriegszeit und diktatorische Systeme	Austria 1918 to 1938 German: Österreich von 1918 bis 1938	The Second World War and the consequences German: Der Zweite Weltkrieg und die Folgen
The world during the period of the East-West-Conflict German: Die Welt im Zeitalter des Ost-West-Konfliktes	Austria from the Second World War to present German: Österreich vom Zweiten Weltkrieg bis zur Gegenwart	The Third World and the North-South-Conflict German: Die Dritte Welt und der Nord-Süd-Konflikt
The present world German: Die Welt der Gegenwart		

Table 13: All issues of the subject “History and Social Studies”, fourth grade, Main School Curriculum 1995 (BGBl. 643, 9/26/1995, p. 7585-7587)

Here the issues of the interwar period and the dictatorial systems were put together under one issue “Crises of the interwar period and dictatorial systems”. While the interwar topics were shortened extensively in comparison to the 1986 curriculum, the dictatorial systems topics included almost the identical topics. The following topics did not change: “The National Socialism – an example for a totalitarian regime”, “Youth movements – impact and abuse”, “Ideology of Race – anti-Semitism and the persecution of minorities”, “Propaganda and terror”, “Organized genocide”, and “Suppression and resistance, life in exile”. Only the topic on “Fascism” was cut and turned into “The Italian Fascism” (see image 9). Again, the issue called “Second World War” did not mention the Holocaust specifically, quite similar to the 1986 curriculum.

Krisen der Zwischenkriegszeit und diktatorische Systeme

Lernziele:

Erkennen des Zusammenhanges zwischen den geänderten Verhältnissen und den sich daraus ergebenden Krisen.

Erkennen von Kräften und Vorgängen, durch welche demokratische Systeme gefährdet werden können.

Herausarbeiten der Unterschiede zwischen demokratischen und diktatorischen Systemen.

Erkennen von totalitären Herrschaftsmethoden und Formen der Indoktrination.

Lerninhalte:

Die Umgestaltung der europäischen Staatenwelt und das Entstehen von Demokratien als Folgen des Ersten Weltkrieges.

Veränderungen in Gesellschaft und Arbeitswelt.

Die russische Revolution; Grundlagen und Entwicklung des Sowjetstaates.

Der italienische Faschismus.

Die Weltwirtschaftskrise — soziale, ökonomische und politische Auswirkungen.

Der Nationalsozialismus — Beispiel einer totalitären Herrschaft.

Jugendbewegungen — Wirkung und Mißbrauch.

Rassenideologie — Antisemitismus und Verfolgung von Minderheiten.

Propaganda und Terror.

Organisierter Massenmord.

Unterdrückung und Widerstand, Leben im Exil.

Image 9: Issue “Crises of the interwar period and dictatorial systems” of the subject “History and Social Studies”, fourth grade, Main School Curriculum 1995 (BGBl. 643, 9/26/1995, p. 7585)

The 1995 curriculum added general didactical principles for “History and Social Studies”. These principles stressed the responsibility of the individual in society. They told the teachers to connect the past with the present to foster consternation. It was recommended to use images, contemporary witnesses, and to visit historical sights (BGBl. 643, 9/26/1995, p. 7587).

2000: The year 2000 brought a new curriculum that focused more in-depth on the Holocaust issue. For the first time was “The National Socialism as an example for a totalitarian system” a separate issue. It handled the topics: Ideology, propaganda, mobilization of the youth, racial persecution, organized genocide, and resistance.

The “Dictatorial systems” issue was transformed into “Democracy and dictatorship in Europe” and included the topics: “Crisis of democracy”, “Emergence and conditions of dictatorial systems”, “Methods of a totalitarian regime: Fascism, National Socialism, Communism”. Also the issue “Development and crisis of the Austrian democracy” that held the topics: Constitution, parties, military associations, authoritarian systems, civil war, and the time of the national socialist regime (see image 10).

4. Klasse:

Der Unterricht soll Einblick geben in die Geschichte vom Ende des Ersten Weltkrieges bis zur Gegenwart.

Folgende Themenbereiche sind zu behandeln:

- Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im 20. Jahrhundert – Veränderungen in Arbeitswelt und Freizeit, Wirtschaftskrisen, Familie im Wandel, neues Selbstverständnis der Frau.
- Demokratie und Diktatur in Europa – Krise der Demokratie, Entstehung und Bedingungen diktatorischer Systeme, Methoden totalitärer Herrschaft: Faschismus, Nationalsozialismus, Kommunismus.
- Der Nationalsozialismus als Beispiel eines totalitären Systems – Ideologie, Propaganda, Mobilisierung der Jugend, rassische Verfolgung, organisierter Massenmord, Widerstand.
- Entwicklung und Krise der Demokratie in Österreich – Verfassung, Parteien, Wehrverbände, autoritäres System, Bürgerkrieg, NS-Zeit.
- Der Zweite Weltkrieg und die internationale Politik nach 1945 – Kalter Krieg, Blockbildung und Entspannung, das Ende der bipolaren Welt, die UNO.
- Die USA und die Sowjetunion – ein Vergleich verschiedener politischer und gesellschaftlicher Systeme.
- Die Auflösung der Kolonialreiche und das Ende der europäischen Hegemonie; Nord-Süd-Konflikte.
- Österreich – die Zweite Republik: politisches System, wirtschaftliche Entwicklung, außenpolitische Orientierung, Wirtschafts- und Sozialpolitik im Wandel, Möglichkeiten politischer Mitbestimmung und Mitverantwortung.
- Europa und seine Integration.

Image 10: All issues and topics of the subject “History and Social Studies”, fourth grade, Main School Curriculum 2000 (BGBl. 134, 9/1/2000, p. 1186).

4. Higher General School Curriculum: History and Social Studies – Fourth grade

The Higher General School curriculum for “History and Social Studies” shows many similarities to the Main School curriculum, so much so that during the 1960s and 1970s it seems as though no specific Higher General School curriculum for “History and Social Studies” fourth grade was issued. The only trace of an addition made to the curriculum was in 1970 for the eighth-grade curriculum. It did mention National Socialism but not the Holocaust. (BGBl. 275, 9/4/1970, p. 1489).

1980s: The 1986 curriculum of the Higher General School in the subject of “History and Social Studies” is completely identical to the curriculum of the Main School. The wording as well as the interdisciplinary educational goals and topics are exactly the same. This means that under the issue “Dictatorial systems” the topic “Organized genocide” was mentioned and it is this topic that showed the only real connection to the Holocaust (BGBl. 591, 11/6/1986, pp. 3821-3823).

1990s: The same can be said about the 1995 curriculum. It is identical to the curriculum of the Main School and featured the same contents as well as the exact same didactical principles. They were even issued on the same day (BGBl. 644, 9/26/1995, pp. 7638-7641).

2000: Again, is the curriculum of the Main School curriculum identical to the AHS curriculum (BGBl. 2000, Online).

4.5. Scientific educational journals

This subchapter explores the source scientific educational journals. Through examining certain Austrian journals an idea can be established how and when the Holocaust became part of academic educational sciences. This idea then can give insight into one part of the educationalization of the Holocaust in Austria. Below the detailed evidence of Holocaust-related issues is put forward (see table 14). It shows which journal mentioned the Holocaust when and how. The following chart shows that only six articles or other linguistic evidence could be found regarding the Holocaust within the researched six educational journals:

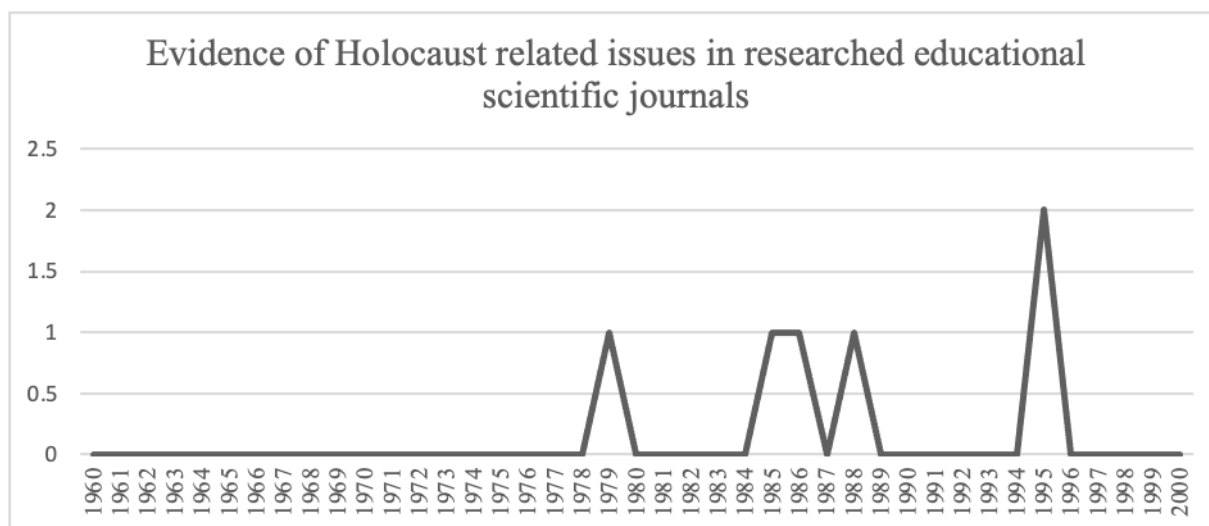


Chart 2: Evidence of Holocaust-related issues in researched educational scientific journals

To shortly summarize the findings, The Holocaust or any related issue were not part of any researched journal until 1979. In 1979, 1985, 1986, and 1988 the Holocaust was mentioned once. Again, the connection with the nation-building aspects at the time are obvious as in the year 1979 Political Education became an interdisciplinary educational principle and the mini-series “Holocaust” aired. Starting in 1985 due to the *Waldheim-Affair*, the reprocessing of the past became an important nation-building aspect. The year 1995 shows the highest (2) number of Holocaust-related issues in yearbooks. It must be pointed out though that both articles are from the same journal and were about right-wing extremism. They approached the subject of the Holocaust from that perspective. This research cannot compare any of the findings with other countries and their educationalization process. Nevertheless, the German journal called “*Zeitschrift für Pädagogik*” shall be mentioned here shortly anyways. As early as 1963 and 1976 two articles could be found that touched on the subject of Political Education, which - as

already explained - has many connections to the Holocaust²⁹. This shows again that educationalization processes are nationally and culturally diverse and have to be researched within their unique national circumstances. It also shows that Austrian academics showed late and little motivation to address the issue of the Holocaust in scientific educational journals.

<i>Researched scientific educational journals</i>		
<i>Name</i>	<i>Researched years</i>	<i>Evidence of Holocaust-related issues</i>
Erziehung und Unterricht	1960 – 2000	X (1-10) 1976, pp. 336-339: Article about Political Education as ideology criticism <i>not mentioning</i> the Second World War or the Holocaust (1-10) 1979, pp. 514-519, Article about the mini-series “Holocaust” as a challenge for Political Education X (1-10) 1986, pp. 178-188: Article about values <i>not mentioning</i> the Holocaust (1-10) 1995, pp. 262-263: Article about the Austrian identity in schoolbooks ³⁰ (1-10) 1995, pp. 432-656, pp. 656-669: Two articles about right-wing extremism
Freie Lehrerstimme	1972 – 1999	X (1) 1995, pp. 29-33: Article about the return of history: Glöckl 1920 to neo-conservatism 1995 <i>not mentioning</i> the Second World War or the Holocaust X (1) 1998, pp. 43-47: Article about the development of the policy “Political Education” from 1962 to 1978 <i>not mentioning</i> the Second World War or the Holocaust
Gesellschaft und Politik	1974 – 2000	X

²⁹ Zeitschrift für Pädagogik: (9) 1963, pp. 167-180: Article about Political Education; (22) 1976, pp. 811-817: Article about politic-didactical tendencies

³⁰ This article is not explicitly related to the Holocaust but mentioned because of its closeness to nation-building. The article points to specific Austrian wording that becomes more and more part of schoolbooks. The article ends with the sentence: “Daß der Österreicher heute ein Identitätsbewußsein hat, ist vielen Umständen zuzuschreiben, nicht zuletzt aber einem eigenständigen österreichischen Schulbuch.” (English: That the Austrian today has a sense of identity is due to many circumstances, not the least an independent Austrian school-book.) (Erziehung und Unterricht: (1-10) 1995, p. 263).

<ZV> Lehrerzeitung	1975 – 2000	(1) 1985, pp. 23-24: Article about foreigners and right-wing extremism – a teacher’s seminar about contemporary history
Wiener Lehrerzeitung	1975 – 2000	X
Schulheft	1976 – 2000	(43) 1986: Whole journal about the reprocessing of the past (49) 1988: Whole journal about memorial work of 1938/1988

Table 14: Researched educational scientific journals

Erziehung und Unterricht: (1-10) 1979

This article written by Günther Dichatschek, a main school teacher and educational advisor, has the promising name “Holocaust – eine Herausforderung an die Politische Bildung im Unterricht in Österreich“ (English: Holocaust – a challenge for Political Education in Austria). It focuses on the American mini-series called “Holocaust” that aired in Austrian television in 1979. The article explained how well received the series was and that over three million people watched the show. The series had a staggering impact on the watching crowd as it transported what was already known in a more lively and comprehensible way than ever before. The article went on to think about the positive and negative aspects of the series. It related its findings to Political Education stressing that the show led to political opinions that ultimately should be used for democracy. The mini-series “Holocaust” gave Political Education the chance to better follow its educational mission which was to give students an insight into political (democratic) developments. The author argued that the series made a highly difficult topic accessible for teachers to work with (pp. 514-519).

Erziehung und Unterricht: (1-10) 1995

The 1995 issues of “Erziehung und Unterricht“ featured three articles related to the issue of the Holocaust. The first was by Marian Heitger (1927-2012), a German educational scientist who wrote about the phenomenon of right-wing extremism and neonazism. He looked at the issue as an educational challenge. The article started by explaining terms and what was understood as the term Fascism then, stating that Nazi-symbols, Nazi-ideologies, and the formation of youth groups was subsumed under that term. He then put theories about the origin of these ideologies to the front explaining a social-darwinistic approach, racist theorems, nationalistic

tendencies, the power of violence, and the abolishment of democratic principles. He critically asked the question whether education, especially Political Education had failed. He wonders how it was possible that youth sympathized with this kind of ideologies that were assumed to lie in the past. He answered by concluding that the postmodern way of educating children to become autonomous, emancipated, mature individuals had failed. Heitger went on to point to pedagogically relevant actions, such as the fact that National Socialism had given people a sense of integration and community, that democracy became unnecessary when the power of doing had more force, and that anti-authoritarian education had failed, and pedagogical authority was needed when it came to teaching and educating. He explored the chances and problems about this approach appealing to teachers to foster a dialogue with students, to work on right-wing radicalism in class, and to respect the free will and own opinion of students (pp. 432-656).

The second article by Karl Sretenovic (1923-), author and school inspector, was about the question whether education stood a chance against extremism, violence, and xenophobia. He started by trying to find explanations for these phenomena. He warned readers about the simple conclusion to learn from history as this could lead to a replication of the past and talked about a new right-wing extremism in which youth are aggressive, anti-citizen-like, and militant. Sretenovic as well as Heitger saw right-wing extremist behaviour in youth in showing the Nazi-symbol and joining certain groups. Learning facts about the National Socialism was not enough if the values and the ideology was not changing. Although the article then gave vast insight into xenophobic mechanisms and empirical studies only the parts in which the Holocaust was mentioned will be pointed out in this summary. For example, in a study by Blumberg and Nemeth the scientists asked students from Upper Austria if they approved of the national socialist ideology, the role of Hitler and the “Auschwitzlüge” (English: that Auschwitz was a lie). 80% of students did not negate the Holocaust (Blumberg/Nemeth, 1992, p. 45). This study also found out that the prime ways for students to get information about the Holocaust was through the subject “History and Social Studies”, TV/cinema, books, grandparents, parents, and other subjects (Blumberger/Nemeth, 1992, p. 73). The article also talked about a study by Halbmayr and Amesberger that was discussed by Pelinka at a seminar. The study was conducted after the students watched “Schindler’s list”, a movie about a war hero saving Jews. They asked students if concentration camps and the killing of Jews were made up. 70% of students answered that they did happen, while 27% could not give a conclusive answer. After explaining in detail many Austrian studies about xenophobia the author of the article concluded that although many people had a problem with foreigners, it cannot be assumed that they would have supported Hitler. The pedagogical solution of the article was hu-

mane education (German: Humane Erziehung). Sretenovic explained many ways to deal with the issues at hand and ended the article by pointing to instructions for school, mentioning *Bildung*, the organization of schools, Political Education, Intercultural Learning, the subject “History and Social Studies”, and the subject “Music”. Political Education had to understand the way of living of youth and “History and Social Studies” had to be structured completely differently. The curriculum in its current state did not leave room for contemporary history (pp. 656-669).

<ZV> Lehrerzeitung: (1) 1985

This article called “Foreigners and right-wing extremism – a teacher’s seminar about contemporary history” and written by Christine Kisser talked about xenophobic tendencies in society due to a rising number of foreign workers in Austria and how they had an influence on youth and on schools. The rise of xenophobia led to the idea of a teacher’s seminar about this issue. While the seminar is mostly oriented along the ways of present xenophobic ideas, one speaker took the teachers back into the past, connecting right-wing extremism with 1945 and the role of foreign workers during the national socialist regime. The article covered those issues shortly (pp. 23-24).

Schulheft: (43) 1986

The whole 177 page long “Schulheft” focused on “Vergangenheitsbewältigung” (English: reprocessing of the past). This German term was often used during the 1980s to describe a way of looking back at what happened during the Second World War, during the Holocaust. The journal included articles about the forgetting and remembering of the Austrian history, about the myth of the “Stunde Null”. “Stunde Null” means that everything was swiped free of what happened before in 1945 and that people could start over at the beginning like nothing happened. It also held articles about anti-Semitic prejudice, Anne Frank, and about Political Education. It featured projects that were conducted such as “Aggression-Force-Fascism-Racism” or “Vergangenheitsbewältigung: Exhibition: Ebensee 1945”. It ended with material on medial programs, organizations, initiatives, and the policy on Political Education.

Schulheft: (49) 1988

This “Schulheft” of 1988 used a whole issue to talk about the memorial work of 1938 to 1988. The cover clearly indicated that the educational system was consciously criticized. On the top it showed a student talking to his grandpa about the horrible things that happened in the past. On the bottom it displayed the same student wanting to talk about the past in school. The student was quieted by the teacher. The journal included an article about 1938 and what should have been known already, about the consequences of 1938, and about the “Anschluß”. It focused on the past in education and by that looked at schoolbooks, and about the way the Second Republic had dealt with the past. It then went on to talk



Image 11: A comic at the front cover of the Schulheft (49, 1988)

about how the past was remembered shortly after the Second World War and how it was remembered then. The last part connected the past with anti-Semitism today, with Austrian patriotism, and with human rights for homosexuals.

4.6. Schoolbooks

Schoolbooks are an important source to analyze the educational processes during the researched period of time (1945-2000). Especially for the analysis of schoolbooks it is important to differentiate between the reprocessing of the Second World War and the Holocaust.

1940s, 1950s, 1960s: Until the 1960s old schoolbooks from the time before the Second World War were used in school. Then in the 1960s the Second World War was first mentioned in schoolbooks. The Holocaust was not explicitly mentioned or described. If it was, it was overshadowed by the *victim-theory*, no Austrian responsibility was admitted. In the schoolbooks of the 1960s the issues Heimat (English: homeland), Landschaft (English: landscape), culture, Catholicism, and work were put to the front further stressing the values pointing to the uniqueness of Austria (Utgaard, 1997, p. 27; Utgaard, 1999, p. 201; Kuzaj-Sefelin, 2002). A pattern of schoolbooks of the 1960s was the *one-basket-of-suffering-theory*. It focused on the idea that all people suffered during the war and everyone experienced hardship. One school-

book author, named Klemens Zens, implied for example in a schoolbook of 1966 that everyone was a victim of the war:

“170.000 Austrian died in a murderous war that they never had wanted. 25.000 killed by bombs, further tens of thousands were locked up, [and] many were tortured to death or executed in the torture chambers of the concentration camps.”

(Zens, 1966, p. 22)

Here, the Holocaust was made to blend in with other crimes and the particularity of the mass killing is not acknowledged at all. Another approach was to make Hitler responsible for all crimes. In this schoolbook from 1967 the authors wrote:

“In the year 1933, Hitler became Reich chancellor. As unencumbered dictator he persecuted his political opponents, sent Jews, Catholics, Socialist, and Communists to the notorious concentration camps and had over six million people murdered.” (Berger et al., 1967, p. 70)

1970s: During the prosperous 1970s the educational sector expanded. The “Schulbuchaktion” (English: schoolbook campaign) of 1972, which was a governmental incentive of free schoolbooks for every Austrian student, led to an arrival of new schoolbooks on the then more competitive market. Yet not a lot was changing within these books regarding the Holocaust compared to the 1960s (Kuzaj-Sefelin, 2002, p. 159).

1980s: Austrian schoolbooks first included the Holocaust into the schoolbooks during the 1980s. In the first half of the 1980s many myths were still present in the books, but slowly were shown in a more critical light. A 1982 history text for polytechnic schools for example talked about anti-Semitism and Jewish stereotypes (Atschko et al., 1982, pp. 23-24). Yet, the conception that the Holocaust was part of all war crimes and was not a particularly more horrific crime than others still existed. A difference occurred in the second half of the 1980s. The change was very slow as the process of issuing new books is in general quite slow (Utgaard, 1999, pp. 204-206; Kuzaj-Sefelin, 2002, pp. 159-160; Fliedl et al., 1991, pp. 110-112). In these late 1980s books anti-Semitism was getting traced back to the Middle Ages and was seen as a historical process that led to hatred of Jewish people. Schoolbooks also mentioned the rising nationalism and pseudo-scientific racial ideology of the nineteenth century. The Holocaust started to be displayed as part of Austrian history. Time witness reports started to appear in schoolbooks. Nazi-officials such as Himmler and Höß were referenced in a critical way understanding these SS-officials (Schutzstaffel) as perpetrators. The former concentration camp Mauthausen was described in a more realistic way (Bilewicz, 2016, pp. 279-296).

Recommendations were made within the books to visit the concentration camp. Although some adaptations were possible, Bilewicz, an educational scientist working for the University College of Teacher Education, argues that the schoolbooks of the late 1980s still faced many issues. The Holocaust was often causally related to Hitler and the NSDAP. The language used within the books trivialized in an un-emotional way concentration and extermination camps (Bilewicz, 2016, pp. 279-296).

1990s: During the 1990s the schoolbooks developed a more sensitive language especially around time witness reports and “Nazi-slang”. Schoolbooks also started to include discussion questions and tried to connect contemporary issues with the Holocaust. Some even addressed the problems of the past by explaining that the *victim-theory* now seen as a *victim-myth* led to the fact that Austria did not deal with its past (see for example Rettinger/Weissensteiner, 1992, pp. 44-45; Achs et al., 1993, p. 162).

4.7. Explorative expert interviews

This chapter will focus on the four explorative expert interviews conducted for this research. Within these interviews time witnesses were asked about their experiences to gain further insight into the discourse. Three interviewees were teachers of the subject “History and Social Studies”. The teachers were born between 1945 and 1955 and therefore belong to the *post-war generation*. All three of them have predominately taught during the 1980s and 1990s. Only two teachers taught during the 1970s. Two interviews could be scheduled through the Contemporary History Department of the University of Vienna. Another teacher was found through of a yearbook as he was a teacher who worked with his students on the topic of the Holocaust in the 1980s. The fourth interview was an interview added further along the research with one of the co-founders of the Holocaust Education Institute “erinnern.at”.

1970s: The 1970s were remembered as a time in which the SPÖ, the Social Democratic Party of Austria, under Bruno Kreisky (1911-1990), a Jewish diplomat and SPÖ politician, governed the country alone (1970 to 1983). It was remembered that the political situation and thereby had a lot of influence on education and schools. Regarding the Holocaust, the mini-series “Holocaust” released in 1979 marked the most prominent milestone. While it was difficult to show that movie in schools, explained one teacher, because the medial possibilities were not advanced enough, it was still a well discussed topic within the classroom. One teacher described the movie as a wave that swept into the classroom. At the end of the 1970s

the *speaker-placement-program for contemporary history* including the seminars by the Herman-Langbein-Symposium that connected Holocaust survivors with schools was put in place. The teachers remembered that they invited Holocaust survivors to class through that program to talk with their students. Personal initiatives led to finding other time witnesses and inviting them into class too. One teacher explained that he took part in different courses, one for example on Political Education in 1977/1978.

1980s: The interviewees argued that the 1980s brought a lot of change to schools. They must be divided into the first half of the 1980s (until 1986) and the second half of the 1980s. During the first half of the 1980s the interviewees explained that a lot of initiative was brought forward by individual teachers who had a personal interest to educate students about the Holocaust. One teacher for example described a podium discussion with a Holocaust survivor as early as 1982. The whole school took part in this discussion and could ask questions. It was not just teachers who gave important impulses to start the process of remembering. Also, students triggered by critical voices of society about certain issues brought them to the classroom. One teacher also remembered Anton Pelinka's inputs. During the first half of the 1980s Holocaust survivors were invited to schools more frequently and visiting the concentration camp Mauthausen became part of school's field trips.

The teachers remembered that Political Education could be used as a way to work on contemporary history, National Socialism, and the Holocaust. Political Education made it possible for students, to meet Holocaust survivors and time witnesses, to take extra field trips, and to visit Holocaust-related exhibitions.

The second half of the 1980s was remembered mostly through the *Waldheim-Affair*. All interviewees mentioned the *Waldheim-Affair* and how the overall way of thinking about the past changed heavily during 1986. The tenor at that time was that it was time to face the past. The people were willing to take on the Austrian responsibility of the Holocaust (described as sociopolitical responsibility). Through that the Holocaust became more and more thought and talked about. The interviewees explored the aspect that the younger generation was angry with the older generation that for so long people have kept quiet. A strong national identity was formed around the idea that Austrians will not have something like the Holocaust happen again. While the young teacher generation felt like an atmosphere of change was amongst them the older teacher generation fought these newly arriving thoughts, explained the interviewed teachers. The new teachers were critically asked why they would want to stir up the past when it should be left alone. Some older teachers even expressed that they thought visiting the Mauthausen memorial was wrong.

What all interviewees described and witnessed here can be best described as *transgenerational change*.

Transgenerational change must be looked at from two aspects. One is that at first the people were too traumatized by what had happened during the war that it was impossible for them to deal with it for a long time. One teacher used the expression:

“Krieg war damals ein wundes Thema.” (English: War was a sore topic.)

This inability to process the war memories then turned into *transgenerational (collective) trauma*, as the trauma of the *war generation* is transferred onto the next generation making it still hard for the following generations to talk about the past.

The second aspect of *transgenerational change* can be explained as a *generational shift* that began during the 1960s and ended in the 1990s as the *war generation* simply got older, retired and the younger generation took over.

First, *transgenerational (collective) trauma*³¹: *Transgenerational trauma* means that unprocessed traumatic personal experiences have an influence on the next generation (Wiegand-Grefe/Möller, 2012, pp. 613-614). Frei (2005), a German historian, explains that after the war the German people showed signs of psychological trauma such as denying knowing about the crimes, reacting frightened, defensive or speechless when they were confronted with their nation's atrocities (Frei, 2005, p. 148). Ottmüller explains that this led to a “Derealisierung” (English: derealisation) within the nation. As the future generations only heard whispers of the past, they started filling the missing information with unrealistic, fantastic ideas of what their nation was or was not responsible for. The guilt and shock experienced by the perpetrator nations has been transferred up to the third and fourth generation, up to today (Ottmüller, 2011, pp. 164-174). Although Ottmüller's and Frei's research focuses on Germany it can also be assumed that this applies for other countries as well. This could explain why Austria was not able to face the horrors of the Holocaust in the 1940s, 1950s and even up to the 1960s.

Second, *generational shift*: The *war generation*, meaning the generation that was highly influential and grown-up during the Second World War, were people born around 1900. They were about 38 to 45 years old during the war. This generation would retire in the 1960s. The young war generation were youth, or young adults during the war as they were born circa 1925. They usually left work during the 1980s and 1990s. The *post war generation* is the generation that was highly influential in the reprocessing of the Holocaust. They were mostly born after the war. Right when the *war and young war*

³¹ Most of the research cited in this part is from German scientists.

generation was starting to lose influence, the *post war generation* started to find their voice. During the interviews this *generational shift* was described quite often. The old teachers that taught during all of Second World War were replaced by young teachers with different perspectives. As many old teachers focused on the Dual-Monarchy and its impact on Austria it was the new teachers that addressed the more contemporary history, although they had not been taught about this issue themselves. The founder of “erinnern.at” explained in the interview that every generation relates to its history in a new way. He stressed that the new generation of teachers, meaning the post war generation, sparked a completely new momentum for the reprocessing of the Holocaust. The chart below shows the age of the different generations from the time during the war until 2000. The red line indicates the years 1979 and 1986 which mark the most prominent milestones in educational change regarding the Holocaust. 1979 was the year Political Education became an interdisciplinary educational principle and the “Holocaust” mini-series aired, and 1986 was the year in which the Holocaust became part of the school curriculum. In 1979 and 1986 the *war generation* was almost eighty years old, had retired, and had lost almost all influence in society and school. The people of the *young war generation* were around fifty to sixty years old and thereby still had influence in politics, and education. But 1979, and 1986 also marked a time when the *post war generation* was in their late twenties and mid-thirties, and slowly brought a new perspective to society and into schools, speaking up against the *young war generation*. The *Baby boomers* were teenagers or young adults and were only slowly starting to play a part.

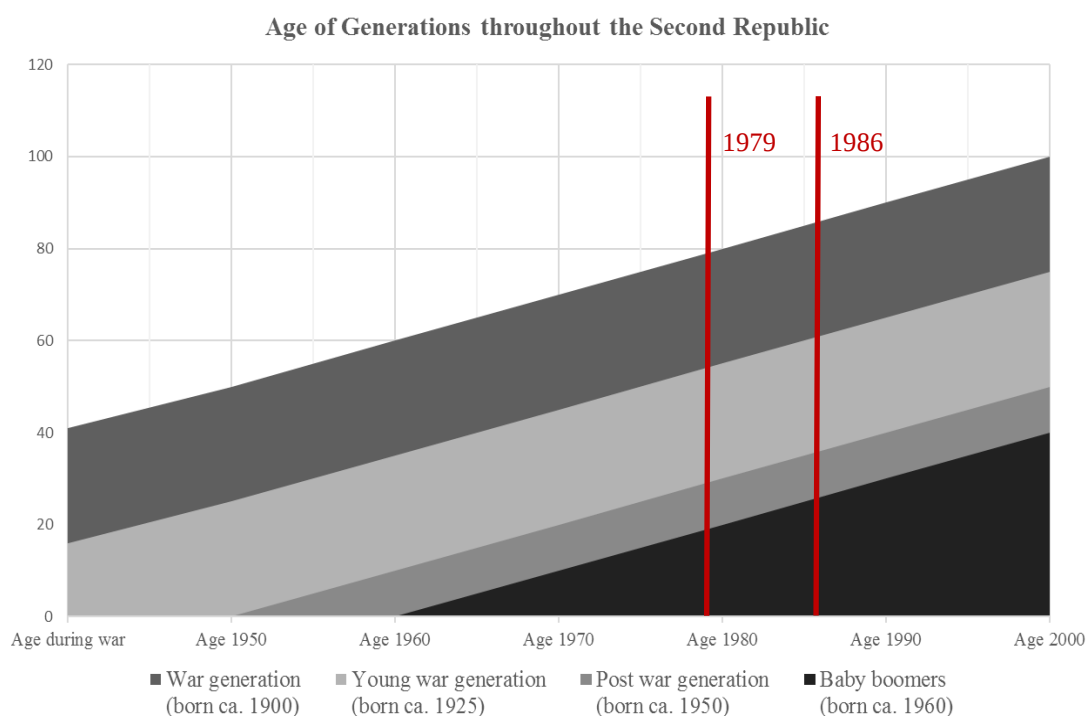


Chart 3: Age of baby boomers, post war generation, young war generation, and war generation throughout the Second Republic of Austria

Besides the *generational shift* there were other triggers for change, remembered by the interviewees in the 1980s, such as the announcement of Jörg Haider (1950-2008) as the leader of the Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ) in 1986. Teachers explained that they felt like now even more, it was time to fight against certain political movements. The people feared that the FPÖ would bring back ideologies that were supposed to be buried in 1945.

When directly asked about the curriculum reform of 1986 one teacher said he knew about it and it was very relevant for his work, one teacher said he knew about it but it did not have any influence on his work, and another teacher said she did not even know that the curriculum had changed. It seems that the curricular change has not had much impact on the educational practice while the sociopolitical changes within society did. The interviewees reflected on the question what could have led to a curriculum change. All of them mentioned, as already explained, the *Waldheim-Affair* and the *transgenerational change*. Some of them thought that schoolbooks could have been influential to make change possible. A fact that could be rebutted during further research as schoolbooks reacted slowly to curriculum change. What did exist was school material on the Holocaust. Teachers remembered didactical folders and brochures from the ministry. Especially the anniversary year of 1988 brought new school materials such as movies into the classroom. Often mentioned are school projects during that time. Projects on the Second World War, the Holocaust, the “Anschluß”, on contemporary history, and the resistance.

The teachers explained that it was a difficult time to be a “History and Social Studies” teacher as anti-Semitism was still part of many people’s and often even other teacher’s socialisation. They had to talk about important issues with little school material or other guidance. Some mentioned that seminars and workshops for teachers were organized by the ministry during the 1980s. Overall, the 1980s were a time of remembering and learning about the past, they said. A time for schools to take part in the movement sparked by a civic outburst in society that ultimately led to curricular change in 1986.

1990s: The interviewed teachers explained that during the 1990s the Holocaust had still been a very important issue. More often was the Holocaust-related to present issues such as xenophobia, or the Yugoslav wars with its refugees seeking asylum in Austria. Part of schools’ work on the Holocaust included visiting the memorial site Mauthausen and doing projects about certain related issues. One teacher remembered a project about the role of the resistance against Totalitarianism within Europe. It was a project that included schools from Germany and France and was well received. It even triggered a follow-up project that focused on the development of Europe from a Europe of war to a Europe of visions. The same teacher ex-

plained that his school worked on a project to remember the Jewish students that had to leave the school in 1938. An exhibition was held in school in which two Jewish students were present. A memorial plaque was put up in the school building. Even still then in the late 1990s, explained this teacher, were some other teachers against the reprocessing measures and especially the plaque put up in the school.

Political Education was still part of the school curriculum, although it seemed to have lost some momentum. One teacher remembered that during the 1990s not enough students were interested in the course – so it did not happen. The co-founder of “erinnern.at” said that the 1990s were a time in which the sociopolitical responsibility shifted to a state responsibility. The state started to actively work against the notion of forgetting and began to take over the responsibility from the civil society. The state made it its job to deal with the war crimes committed. The interviewee pointed to the fact that even today Austria needs to stay vigilant to keep the Holocaust on the state’s mind as the dialectic between state involvement and civic interest will always be an important part of Holocaust-remembrance. It is today an important societal task to keep the values of democracy and humanity alive as a strong alternative way of living against the ideologies of the Nazi-party, he said. The interviewee pointed out, that during this time of state processing the national socialist past and the Holocaust, the institute “erinnern.at” was established. The Memorandum of Understanding between SPÖ politician Claudia Schmied (1959-) and the International School of Yad Vashem was the prime steppingstone for “erinnern.at” and marked the official institutionalization of the Holocaust in Austria in 2000.

4.8. Summary of the analyzed sources

To summarize the researched sources, it will be helpful to create an educationalization timeline starting in 1945 and ending with the year 2000 (see appendix for educationalization timeline). The *Mauthausen memorial* was the first and only Austrian educational way to remember the Holocaust within the 1940s, and 1950s. The first visits by students are recorded as early as 1949. Decades passed with little educational evidence of educationalization measures outside of the *Mauthausen memorial*, which was recommended to visit during the 1960s. Then at the end of the 1970s, personally motivated initiatives made the first *teacher education* (workshops and seminars) related to the Holocaust possible. The turn of the decade from the 1970s to the 1980s then gave ground for didactical, curricular, and extra-curricular change that could be examined through *school materials*, *yearbooks*, and of course the *curricula* itself. The sources described all show a similar pattern. When in 1979 the interest for Political

Education rose educationalization processes were sparked in many ways. Through the work of Political Education, the interest in Austria's contemporary history began to flourish. The beginning of the 1980s then show an uncoordinated way of dealing with the past. The Holocaust started to be of public interest and by that found its way into education. Throughout the 1980s, especially during 1986 and 1988, the issue of the Holocaust became more and more educationalized. The visitor numbers of the *Mauthausen memorial* rose, more *teacher education and school material* became available, *yearbooks* showed diverse extra-curricular activities in schools, and most importantly the *curricula* started to adapt the Holocaust. Only the academic world, examined through *scientific educational journals*, showed little interest in the topic. *Schoolbooks* too reacted very slowly to the new processes under way. It took schoolbooks until the late 1980s to integrate the Holocaust in a way that can be described as more reflective and more appropriate. During the mid-1990s was the issue of right-wing extremism part of *yearbooks*, and *scientific educational journals*. There, in by-passing was the Holocaust often mentioned. Other than that, are the 1990s a time where the responsibility to reflect on the Holocaust shifted from a civic responsibility to a state responsibility. Educationalization measures were still happening even though with less pressing significance than during the 1980s. The curriculum did not change much at the end of this decade. At the beginning of the new century stood the curriculum of 2000 that focused on the Holocaust in more detail than the one from 1986.

The findings through the *explorative expert interviews* with "History and Social Studies" teachers of the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s and with one co-founder of the Holocaust Education Institute "erinnern.at" could further undermine the just described timeline. They could shed more light into the whole researched time frame as they have lived and taught during that time. Through the interviews the importance of *transgenerational change* became clear as the retiring *war generation* was replaced by young teachers of the *postwar generation* and *transgenerational trauma* slowly dissolved.

It will be the next chapter's goal to look at nation-building in Austria during the Second Republic of Austria.

5. Building the Austrian nation

While the interwovenness of educationalization and nation-building shows a phenomenon visible in many instances, it is one specific case, the connection of Austria's nation-building modes and the Austrian educationalization of the Holocaust, that will show that this interwovenness is not just to be seen linearly or causally, but all encompassing. Education reacts to and supports nation-building; essentially educationalization stands in the service of nation-building. Here again the *educationalization of the world* shall be kept in mind, education as an integral part of every nation-state (chapter 2.1.). In order to paint the full picture, it will be important to look at the nation-building processes of Austria during the Second Republic (5.1.), and the nation-building aspects specifically related to the Holocaust (5.2.).

5.1. Austria's nation-building during the Second Republic of Austria

As many other Western countries started to unite as nations by the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century (see for example France or The United States of America, chapter 2.2.), Austria's nation-building took a quite unusual route.

From 1867 to 1918 Austria was organized as a Dual Monarchy, called the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It was a *multinational state* (German: Vielvölkerstaat). The Dual Monarchy was terminated in 1918 due to its defeat during the First World War. Austria then faced huge territorial losses and was declared the Republic of Austria (now called the First Republic of Austria). The First Republic of Austria had many issues after 1918. The nation understood itself as historically German and wanted to be named the Republic of German-Austria. The winning powers forbade this with the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 in order to weaken Germany (see also Staatsgesetzblatt für die Republik Österreich, 1920, Online). Therefore, it was eventually called the Republic of Austria even though it still identified very much as German and hoped for an annexation to Greater Germany. An interesting example in this regard is the “unofficial” Austrian anthem called the “Renner-Kienzl-Hymne”, which was seen by the people as the Austrian anthem between 1920 and 1929. Austrian State Chancellor Karl Renner and musician Wilhelm Kienzl composed the anthem in 1920 with the name “Deutschösterreich – du herrliches Land” (English: German-Austria – you glorious land), even though Austria was officially renamed Republic of Austria in 1919 (peter-diem.at, 2020, Online). The Republic, as an interwar state, was poor and weak and the citizens did not believe in it (Vocelka, 2007, pp. 96-97). The two big parties (the Social Democrats and the Conservatives) were not able to lead the country into a fruitful direction. This culminated in the rise of Austro-Fascism under

the leadership of Engelbert Dollfuß in 1933, which was overruled in 1938 at the brink of the Second World War by the national socialist party under the leadership of Adolf Hitler. Most Austrians endorsed the annexation to Germany in 1938 as their values were German-nationalistic. The participation in the war alongside the Germans cannot be considered a forceful annexation. For most Austrians rejoining with Germany had been an inherent wish since at least the end of the First World War. Austrians for the most part wanted to be part of Germany and wanted to be considered German nationals (Bruckmüller, 2019, pp. 634-635, Bastel et al., 2010, p. 59).

This unusual route of Austria's nation-state building has been and still is discussed under the term *Austrian Historikerstreit*. Historians still argue about the nation-state formation of Austria. Some historians state that Austria's nation-state was first established in 1918 after the First World War, when it became the First Republic of Austria (Kreissler, 1980; Heer, 1981; Wagner, 1983). Others say that the formation of the Austrian nation-state has only started after the Second World War, because then for the first time Austria started to understand itself as an independent Austrian nation-state (Bruckmüller, 1984; Fellner, 1988; Stourzh, 1990; Thaler, 1996). Thaler (1996) for example writes:

“Nation-building in Austria differs from this [AN: from a traditional development of nation-states] in that it occurred at a later stage of societal development and involved a population that had already partaken in a process of national identity formation: that process had centered on German cultural components.” (Thaler, 1996, p. 2)

The dynamics of Austrian nation-building before the war influenced the nation-building after the war. After 1945 major changes were under way to form and transform Austrian identity, making sure that Austria started to imagine itself as a unique, non-German nation-state. Even before the end of the Second World War in 1945, change was about to happen in Austria. A new political landscape was put in place – a temporary government led by the ÖVP (Austrian People's Party), the SPÖ (Social Democratic Party of Austria) and the KPÖ (Communist Party of Austria). Karl Renner (1870-1950) became State Chancellor. On the day this administration was sworn in they signed the “Austrian Declaration of Independence” (1945), which made the annexation of Austria by the German Reich in 1938 “null und nichtig” (English: null and void) (Bruckmüller, 2019, p. 566). The administration of the Second Republic of Austria immediately began to stress that they wanted to rebuild a democratic state modelled after the 1920 government, consciously turning away from the time of Austro-Fascism (1933-1938) and the time of the national socialist's Fascism (1938-1945). They focused on the coun-

try's long tradition of culture and political autonomy and showed itself as Austrian-nationalistic (Thaler, 1996, p.4). The government understood from the beginning that it was now important to step away from the German affiliations that had been such a big part of Austrian nation-building before the Second World War.

From 1945 on Austria was occupied by the Allied Forces that divided Austria into American, British, French and Soviet occupation zones. Austrians elected their first official government in November of 1945 (Bruckmüller, 1997, p. 565). The ÖVP won absolute mandate-majority and put Leopold Figl (1902-1965) as Federal Chancellor into power³². Although the ÖVP had the majority of the votes, a government involving all parties (ÖVP-SPÖ-KPÖ) was formed. Austria was facing many difficulties at this time: starvation, destroyed buildings, 1.6 million refugees looking for a place to settle, and 500.000 men still in allied captivity. The government also had to put *Denazification* regulations (German: Entnazifizierung) in place (more on *Denazification* in chapter 5.2.). Figl's government could not solve all issues at once. It nevertheless wanted Austria to see itself as an independent democratic state. The years of 1945 to 1946 focused on strengthening an Austrian-nationalistic identity. The ÖVP and the KPÖ especially wanted Austrian independence. The SPÖ remained sceptical, although Karl Renner, the State Chancellor, advocated for the establishment of a unique Austrian nation. Felix Hurdes (1901-1974; ÖVP), minister of education, changed on the school report the term "German" to "language of instruction" (German: Unterrichtssprache) to further distance from Germany. To establish an Austrian identity, the state early on started to celebrate the 950th anniversary when Austria's name "Ostarrichi" was first mentioned in a document. This idea came again from Hurdes. His initiative started the "Aktion '950 Jahre Österreich'" that was designed to educate youth towards an Austrian consciousness and a new-found respect for the old, traditional history (HDGÖ, 2019, Online). The government also pushed for an Austrian national anthem that was selected in 1947 (Bruckmüller, 2019, p. 636).

Throughout the years 1948 to 1949 the term *Austrian-nationalistic* was reformed to be *patriotic*. It was mostly the ÖVP that enforced the Austrian patriotic identity. The ÖVP politician Weinmayer (1904-1966) for example argues during his election campaign for the 1949 election that Austria's language is still considered German, but in order to love Austria you need

³² Leopold Figl, who played an important role during the times of the Austro-Fascism as leader of the "Austrian Bauernbund" was imprisoned in 1938 and transported into the concentration camp Dachau. He was transferred into the concentration camp Flossenbürg in 1939 and back to Dachau in 1940. Due to his typhus infection, he was released from the concentration camp in 1943. After trying to re-establish the "Bauernbund" he was arrested again and brought to the concentration camp Mauthausen in 1944. In 1945 he was transferred to a prison in Vienna and was sentenced to death three times. He was released by the Russian Forces in 1945. He newly established the "Bauernbund" and was announced chairman of the newly found ÖVP (Trska, 1990, p.36).

to be Austrian-patriotic. Bruckmüller (1998) critically adds by asking whether the new established VdU party (German: Verband der Unabhängigen, English: Federation of Independents) shows this kind of Austrian patriotism (Bruckmüller, 1998, p. 11). The change from *nationalistic* to *patriotic* had much to do with the still existing German-nationalistic ideological orientation of many Austrians prevalent at the time (such as wanting to be part of a German “Volk”; ideas of race and the purity of blood) and the amnesty of the national socialist party members in 1948. *Nationalistic* from then on became associated with German-nationalistic. Although for many politicians the route to leave the German-nationalistic orientation behind was clear, the people and some of the political elite, mostly from the SPÖ, were still unsure whether that was the right path to take. The SPÖ thought that keeping the fourth party, the VdU, alive could help weaken the ÖVP (Bruckmüller, 1998, p. 12). Only after the State Treaty in 1955 did all of Austria’s political elite accept the new Austrian way of an independent Austrian nation (Bruckmüller, 2019, p. 636-637).

The first ten years after the war, highly important for Austria’s nation-building, culminated in the State-Treaty of 1955 and the establishment of the Flag Day on October 26th. After ten years of governmental efforts to get Austrian sovereignty it was the added Declaration of Neutrality that made the signing of the State-Treaty possible. This way Austria became independent and its occupation time ended (Vocelka, 2007, p. 116). Today it is believed that in a celebratory act Leopold Figl expressed from the balcony of the castle Belvedere in Vienna the accomplishment with the nationally formative sentence:

“Österreich ist frei” [English: Austria is free] (Figl, 1955, Online)

In reality Figl had spoken these words within the Belvedere after signing the State Treaty. On the balcony no microphones were recording. The media later dubbed Figl’s expression over the video material from the balcony and thereby helped make this sentence a more known part of Austrian memory (Der Standard, 2005, Online). From a nation-building perspective it was not so much the sovereignty but the *neutrality* that played a huge role in Austria’s future identity formation (Bruckmüller, 2019, p. 637). Austria from then until 1989, when the communist rule of Central and Eastern Europe was overthrown, the Soviet Union was dissolved, and the Iron Curtain fell, functioned as an important *neutral bridge* between East and West. It was ruled by the two big parties, the ÖVP and SPÖ. From 1959 to 1966 the ÖVP and the SPÖ formed a coalition together, then the ÖVP ruled alone until 1970, and then the Kreisky era began and lasted until 1983. The *Kreisky era* describes a period of governmental leadership by the SPÖ. Its leader Bruno Kreisky, who was highly accepted by many Austrians and elected three times in a row as Federal Chancellor, influenced the political and cultural landscape

heavily (Thaler, 1996, p. 2). As the years of the ÖVP government (1966-1970) and then the SPÖ government (1970-1983) brought stability and economic growth to Austria, the overall well-being rose. The country was stable and peaceful and focused on values such as democracy, nature, culture, sports³³, social equality, and neutrality (Vocelka, 2007, p. 117). The birth rates went up and the generation *Baby Boomers* (high birthrates especially between 1962 and 1964; Statistics Austria, Online).

As years and years of nation-building and efforts to transform Austria into a nationally-minded Austrian nation-state had shown effect, it was the 1980s that bring further identification through destabilization of the Austrian national identity. During the 1980s there was a push in politics towards the right-wing party FPÖ. The Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ) was established in 1956 as the successor of the above mentioned VdU party. Now major political events, governmental initiatives and an overall outrage by the people became formative. Here, the Austrian national identity formations became closely related to the Holocaust (described in detail in chapter 5.2.).

The 1990s brought change to the Second Republic of Austria once again. In 1989 the world experienced turmoil and change as the Cold War ended and the Soviet Union began to break apart. Austria partially benefited from these events as it loosened the strings of the Declaration of Neutrality and made Austria's wish to enter the European Union possible. Austria, not without debate, eventually became part of the EU (European Union) in 1995, causing another nation-building process. It now became part of a European, more global national identity. Now the fundamental symbols of Austria's national identity, the Declaration of Neutrality and the State Treaty, started to lose their power (Thaler, 1996, p. 2). The changing times at the end of the 1990s were mirrored in the 1999 parliamentary elections. The people seemed to be unsure of the EU involvement and turned to the FPÖ and their nationalistic populist programme for reassurance. The 1999 election showed a significant rise of votes for the Freedom Party that had Austria and the other parties worried. The ÖVP came in third. Negotiations between SPÖ and ÖVP failed. Therefore, the ÖVP formed a coalition with the FPÖ, establishing the federal government now called "Schüssel I". (Gingrich, 2004, pp. 162-163). Wolfgang Schüssel (1945-) was the party leader of the ÖVP at the time.

³³ Sport events, especially ski racing, were always formative for Austrian nation-building: see for example Karl Schranz, Toni Sailer, Franz Klammer, ... (Haller, 1996, pp. 257-262).

Today, even though the Austrian national identity is relatively new and has undergone many ups and downs during the Second Republic of Austria, the national pride to be Austrian is higher than the European average³⁴. According to a 2006 report produced by the National Opinion Research Center, Austria ranks very high in general pride measure:

“On the general pride measure, people in Venezuela had a score of 18.4 (out of a possible 25), while people in the United States had a score of 17.7. Other top leaders in that category were Australia (17.5), Austria (17.4), South Africa (17), Canada (17), Chile (17.1), New Zealand (16.6) and Israel (16.2).” (University of Chicago, 2006, Online)

This chapter gave an insight into the build of the Austrian nation-state from 1945 to 2000 (see appendix for nation-building timeline). It brought together the most important changes and framed the research period for a more detailed investigation of the nation-building in relation to the Holocaust in the next chapter.

5.2. Austria’s nation-building in relation to the Holocaust

This chapter will describe the nation-building modes of Austria in relation to the Holocaust, as many Austrian nation-building processes have a strong connection with the reprocessing of the past. Holocaust-related nation-building started even before the end of the Second World War, in 1943 with the Moscow Declaration. The Moscow Declaration entails four documents signed by the foreign secretaries of the governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and the Republic of China. One of these documents is the “Declaration on Austria”. It states:

“The governments of the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and the United States of America are agreed that Austria, the first free country to fall a victim to Hitlerite aggression, shall be liberated from German domination. They regard the annexation imposed upon Austria by Germany’s penetration of March 15, 1938, as *null and void*. [...] Austria is reminded however that she has a responsibility which she cannot evade for participation in the war on the side of Hitlerite Germany and that in the final settlement account will inevitably be taken of her own contribution to her liberation.” (Declaration on Austria, 1943, Online)

³⁴ Interesting in this regard could be the theories of Renan (1882), who argues that victories (of wars) sometimes bring less unification than losses. Could the Austrian national pride be this strong today because Austria had lost during the Second World War? Renan states in this instance: “I spoke just now of “having suffered together;” indeed, suffering in common unites more than joy does. Where national memories are concerned, grief is of more value than triumphs, for it imposes duties, it requires a common effort.” (Renan, 1882, p. 261)

It is this statement that was used in the 1945 “Austrian Declaration of Independence” and paved the way for the Austrian national myths that were imprinted into the national identity for many years to come. This is firstly the *occupation-theory* that says that Austria was forcefully and defensively annexed by Germany and could not be held responsible for the crimes that happened since then (Bruckmüller, 2019, p. 566). Secondly, the *victim-theory* (later *victim-myth*) that understands Austria as the “first-victim of Nazi Germany” and therefore innocent to all war crimes, such as the Holocaust. The narrative goes that the plebiscite around the annexation by the national socialist German party in 1938 was forged by the national socialist party, and that the “Anschluß” was an act of military aggression. Meaning Austria could not and should not be made responsible in any way for the Holocaust (Utgaard, 1997; Vansant, 1994). The problematic aspect of this historical event is that the plebiscite held in April of 1938 was indeed manipulated by the national socialist party to make it look like 99 percent of all Austrians (Jews, Roma and Sinti, political opponents could not vote) supported the annexation (see Holocaust Encyclopedia, 2020, Online). Either way, many Austrian people wished for the annexation and therefore accepted the “Anschluß” willingly due to the inherent wish to be affiliated with Germany. 700.000 Austrians were members of the national socialist party, many of them prominent Nazi-perpetrators, for example Adolf Eichmann, Ernst Kaltenbrunner, Odilo Globocnik, Franz Stangl, Siegfried Seidl, Anton Burger, Karl Rahm, Josef Vallasster, and of course Adolf Hitler (Dreier, 2010, p. 12-13). The most prominent Austrian memory and historical fact in this regard is Hitler’s proclamation speech at the Heldenplatz (English: Heroes’ Square) in Vienna in 1938. About 200.000 people were cheering him (Bastel/Matzka/Miklas, 2010, p. 58). Since then, the balcony Hitler stood on while he spoke was only used once again in 1988 when Elie Wiesel held a speech about the fiftieth anniversary of the “Anschluß” in 1938. Wiesel, a Holocaust survivor and author, is said to be responsible for the spread of the term “Holocaust” (Benz, 2002, pp. 100-101). The role of Austrian involvement in the war was further empirically proven as numbers of confiscations of Jewish apartments became available, as well as evidence of guards and executioners in concentration camps showed a part-taking of Austrians in concentration camps. Not to forget the 90.000 people that were killed in the concentration camp Mauthausen located in Lower Austria, and the many other working camps all over Austria (Utgaard, 1999, p. 201).

After 1945, the Austrian people focused on remembering the fraudulent behaviour of the Nazi-party during the plebiscite to legitimize the *victim-theory*. The collective guilt and responsibility, so easily imposed on the German nation, was not taken on by Austria. Austria had a very unique position in this sense as it was not forcefully annexed by the German Reich, like most of France. It also could not build its own fascist ideology successfully, like Italy. This

gave further ground for the *victim-theory* and *occupation theory* to prevail. The red-white-red-book originally released in German in 1946 shows this sentiment quite vividly:

"Her fall —inevitable under the conditions which then reigned—was the bursting of the dike through which the elements of the brown deluge were to pour over the whole of Europe. Their first victim, left in the lurch, by the whole world, was Austria." (Red-White-Red-Book, 1947)³⁵

Another example can be found within the speech of Leopold Figl at the inauguration of the Russian memorial in 1945 at the Schwarzenbergplatz in Vienna. The newspaper "Das kleine Volksblatt" printed the following statement by Figl:

"Seven years did the Austrian nation languish under the Hitler-barbarism. Seven years were the Austrian people subjugated and oppressed, no free word of opinion, no possibility to commit to an idea, brutal terror and violence forced the people to blind subjection. But the belief in Austria in all these difficult years did not weaken, from year to year it became more alive. In the factories and offices, at the frontline and at home, the people quietly, successfully, but also dangerously attempted to sabotage the Hitler-state" (Das kleine Volksblatt 13, 08/21/1945, p.1)³⁶



Image 12: Figl's speech printed in „Das kleine Volksblatt“ (13, 08/21/1945, p.1)

³⁵ The 1st edition was published in 1946 by the Austrian State Printing House. Here quoted from the English translation of this work which, published in 1947. Red-white-red is the color scheme of the Austrian flag.

³⁶ Originally in German: „Sieben Jahre schmachtete das österreichische Volk unter dem Hitlerbarbarismus. Sieben Jahre wurde das österreichische Volk unterjocht und unterdrückt, kein freies Wort der Meinung, kein Bekenntnis zu einer Idee war möglich, brutaler Terror und Gewalt zwangen die Menschen zu blindem Untertanentum. Der Glaube an Österreich aber ist in all diesen harten Jahren nicht kleiner geworden, ja, er ist von Jahr zu Jahr lebendiger geworden. In den Fabriken und Büros, an der Front und in der Heimat wurde stille und erfolgreiche, aber auch gefährliche Sabotage am Hitlerstaate geübt.“ (Das kleine Volksblatt 13, 08/21/1945, p.1), translated by author.

Evidence now proves the voluntary involvement of many people of the First Republic of Austria in the Holocaust. At the beginning of the Second Republic of Austria the *occupation-theory* and the *victim-theory* played an important role in Austria's nation-building. It made way for an independent strong Austrian national identity that could distance itself from Germany, handing over all responsibility for the war crimes to them.

While building a nation was one reason why these theories were so useful at the time, the political situation of 1949 was another. Before explaining what happened in 1949 it is first important to explain the *Denazification* measures that were put in place in Austria prior to 1949. Right after the war all members of the NSDAP (English: National Socialist German Workers Party), which was the Nazi-party, and all members of the SS (Schutzstaffel), a paramilitary organization, were put out of work. Laws were put in place to forbid Nazi-activities (Prohibition Act 1947). Members were divided in groups and were punished according to their involvement. Around 500.000 people were titled "less-involved" (German: Minderbelastete) and were imprisoned. The official administrative *Denazification* of Austria ended in 1948 by granting amnesty and by that freeing everyone who was "less-involved". The "involved" (German: Belastete) people were rehabilitated a couple years later as well (Stiefel, 1981, pp. 300-325). Why did the *Denazification* measures end so rapidly? Bruckmüller (1997) explains that the parliamentary elections of 1949 played a role as to why the former Nazis were given amnesty in 1948. The political parties simply wanted to gain their votes and have better chances of winning the election. In 1948, for the released imprisoned Nazis and other outcasts returning home, a new party sprung to life called the VdU. It later in 1956 turned into the FPÖ. This shows that the reprocessing of the Holocaust was heavily influenced by political strategy. It was also influenced by nation-building. Due to the *victim-theory*, the Austrian people felt like they were victims themselves, that they had suffered enough and that more punishment, such as being held captive, was not justified (Bruckmüller, 1997, p. 574-576).

Whilst the official *Denazification* ended in 1948 some court cases were still active at this time and were negotiated at the people's court. Until 1954 alleged perpetrators were put in front of a court and were persecuted (e.g., Engerauer Prozesse 1945-1954). 23.000 sentences were pronounced, 10.000 people were acquitted, and more than 13.000 people were found guilty. These processes often confronted all war crimes in Austria including the Holocaust. They often did not specify the Holocaust as a unique war crime committed (Bruckmüller, 1997, pp. 574-576; Stiefel, 1981, pp. 300-325). The Austrian *Denazification* measures have been criticized heavily over the years and are said to be enforced improperly. The short *Denazification* process led to major flaws in important Austrian rehabilitation processes. For example, Heinrich Gross, an Austrian doctor, kept working and influencing the care at psychiatric children

wards until the 1970s although he was part of the “Euthanasieprojekt” at the Spiegelgrund, a project that abused and euthanized around 800 children in Vienna during the Second World War (Mayrhofer, 2017). The *victim-theory* and the *occupation-theory* also led to the fact that even though there were Restitution Acts in place for Jewish property, compensation was not paid during the beginning of the Second Republic of Austria (Restitution Act 1-7; 1947, 1949). It seems that the mythical theories implemented through the Declaration of Independence hindered a prompt reprocessing of Austria’s national socialist past. The State-Treaty in 1955 only further manifested these theories as Figl was able to take the clause concerning Austria’s joint guilt of the war crimes out of the State Treaty at the day of its signing. The Holocaust had fallen under a collective (conscious) veil of forgetting in the 1940s and 1950s.

The situation changed during the 1960s as the ideological orientations towards German-nationalism started to slowly rise again. Student fraternities and other associations publicly spoke out on their German-nationalistic ideologies (Bruckmüller, 2019, p. 637). Peter Michael Thaler in his doctoral dissertation of 1996 with the name “Constructing national identity in an advanced society. The Austrian experience” dives deeper into the statistics on German-nationalistic Austrians. He describes people that identified as German rather than Austrian and still wished to be part of Germany as German-nationalistic. Clearly, during the Second World War most Austrians favoured German-nationalistic orientation. By 1956 this ideological orientation was reduced to half the population. The numbers went down further to only 10 percent of the population by 1970. Although German identity supporters remain in Austria to this day, the percentage stabilized around 5 to 10 percent by the 1990s (Thaler, 1996, pp. 215-217). This shows that there was a sizable minority of German identity supporters in Austria at the end of the 1960s that could, if given the right momentum, rise again. Austria’s government feared another collective German-nationalistic movement. This fear led to a counter movement that played an important role in Austrian nation-building: Work forces such as the “Arbeitskreis für österreichische Geschichte” (1969) were established and media started to cover the situation, e.g., the weekly journal “Furche” (Bruckmüller, 2019, p. 637). Another important reprocessing measure was the “Documentation Centre of Austrian Resistance (DÖW)”, established in 1963 by former members of the Austrian Resistance, Holocaust survivors, and scientific scholars. It collected documents and histories of victims and survivors of the Holocaust (www.doew.at).

While the Eichmann trial of 1961 was less acknowledged in Austria, it is the *Borodajkewycz-Affair* of 1965 that intensified the efforts to go up against the Nazi-German nationalism that in this instance has not been hidden any more. Taras Borodajkewycz (1902-1984) was a former

member of the NSDAP. After the Second World War he was a professor for economic history at the College for World Trade in Vienna. In 1965, students protested against his anti-Semitic and German-nationalistic lectures and learning materials. During the protests against “Boro”, the Freedom Party organized a riot in which the senior citizen and former communist resistance fighter Ernst Kirchweyer was attacked and killed. Kirchweyer became the first person to die after the Second World War in a political conflict in Austria. This further sparked counter movements, this time coming not just from individuals and media but from the government. A silent protest of 25.000 people and politicians of all political parties took place. It symbolized Austria’s stance against fascist ideologies. They also turned the Austrian Flag Day on October 26th into national Austria Day. The national Austria Day is till today celebrated every year on the 26th of October, the day the Declaration of Neutrality was signed. The governmental goal was again to strengthen the independent Austrian identity and by that to go against apparent German-nationalistic ideologies (Bruckmüller, 1997, p. 637-638).

During the stable and calm times of the 1970s the next most important milestone regarding Holocaust nation-building was the *Kreisky-Peter-Wiesenthal-Affair* of 1975. Simon Wiesenthal (1908-2005) was an Austrian-Jewish Holocaust survivor and an activist, who wanted to uncover Nazi-crimes and make them public. He also collected material on the FPÖ chairman Friedrich Peter and alleged that he had been an officer of an SS-unit that took part in war crimes during the Second World War. Peter, when confronted with his past, explained that he had been on vacation every time those killings took place and that he had no knowledge of them. Kreisky, who was not under attack, got involved and accused Wiesenthal of having been involved with war criminals himself. This attack has to be viewed in the context of a string of SPÖ-politicians accepting former Nazis into the government with the goal to further incriminate Wiesenthal. Kreisky’s behaviour can be explained if seen as part of a bigger scheme of internal and foreign political involvements, as he wanted to maintain his political influence. He therefore needed strong political allies such as Friedrich Peter (Bruckmüller, 2019, pp. 599-600). The aftermath of Kreisky’s allegations led to a law case in which Kreisky was sued for incrimination and lost against Wiesenthal. What also followed was a lot of media coverage by important news outlets such as the magazine “Profil”. The affair led to a spread of anti-Semitic expressions all over Austria. The people were arguing that it was time to put the past to rest. Wiesenthal tried to do the opposite by publicly pointing at the past, especially the Holocaust (Pelinka, 1998). This affair clearly showed how little Holocaust reprocessing had been done.

Shortly after the *Kreisky-Peter-Wiesenthal-Affair* of 1975, the mini-series “Holocaust” aired all over Europe. While it was released in the United States in 1978, it was broadcast on public television in Austria in 1979. It was a four-part series that followed a fictional German Jewish family and a rising member of the SS from 1935 to 1945. One of its filming sites was the former concentration camp Mauthausen. For the first time the public could identify with a family’s destiny personally. When the rise of German-nationalistic tendencies of the 1960s slowly and hesitantly started to make people ask some questions, it was this series that shook the people of the late 1970s to their core and, in a way, was the herald to a whole movement of Holocaust remembrance. Now the questions of guilt, complicity, and responsibility were raised continuously (Müller-Bauseneik, 2005, p. 128). Until the late 1970s Austria’s nation-building was focused on building an Austrian nation-state detached from Germany. For decades the Austrian government tried to keep the myths of Austrian engagement in the war crimes alive to build a strong and independent Austrian identity free of the sentiment of guilt.

It was the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s when this ideological construct slowly crumbled and thus made the Holocaust fitting for the new emerging nation-building narrative. This historical time culminated in the *Waldheim-Affair* of 1986. Kurt Waldheim (1918-2007), former general secretary of the United Nations, was up for election to become the president of Austria. During the election process national and international media published evidence of Waldheim close to the national socialist party during the Second World War. He was accused of having known of the Holocaust and of having been part of the SA (Sturmabteilung) and the Wehrmacht (Mittnik, 2016, p. 144). The outrage around his persona intensified because of the way Waldheim behaved in interviews. He never showed any sorrow about the Holocaust, always denied any involvement, and said he only fulfilled his duty as a soldier. A wave of fury swept through the country and divided the population. Waldheim was elected to become president of Austria in 1986 and stayed in power until 1992 (Bastel et al., 2010, p. 63). It was the fact that Waldheim and Austria had never taken time to think about Waldheim’s past that was also highly criticized. He was UN general secretary for ten years and no one ever questioned his proven involvement in the National Socialist German Students' Union and the “Reiter-SA” (English: National Socialist Cavalier Troops), or the fact that he did not mention the years of the Second World War in his autobiography (Haller, 1996, pp. 250-257). The *Waldheim-Affair* became a symbol for Austria’s suppression of the Holocaust during the beginning of the Second Republic.

To understand the importance of the *Waldheim-Affair* the whole political and national picture of the 1980s must be described here. In 1983 the SPÖ and the FPÖ had formed a coalition.

Fred Sinowatz (SPÖ) became Federal Chancellor and replaced Kreisky. The more liberal leader of the FPÖ, Norbert Steger, seemed to be a promising coalition partner but the coalition did not hold for long. Several disagreements led to internal and foreign outrage: one was the fight around the building of the power plant in Hainburg (1984) (Republik Österreich, 2020, Online), and another was the fact that in 1985 FPÖ defence minister Friedhelm Frischenschlager (1943-) welcomed an SS war criminal Walter Reder (1915-1991) with a handshake back to Austria after he was released from an Italian prison (*Frischenschlager-Reder-Affair*) (Haller, 1996, p. 257). The *Waldheim-Affair remains the most important*. Sinowatz, who openly spoke out against Waldheim, resigned one day after Waldheim's election. Franz Vranitzky (1937-), an SPÖ politician, took over. The turmoil within the Freedom Party remained. At the end of 1986 Jörg Haider replaced Steger (Republik Österreich, 2020, Online). Haider was an aspiring, young, and charismatic politician. His political program focused on far-right, German-nationalistic statements. Due to Haider's nomination, Vranitzky dissolved the coalition with the FPÖ and put the Freedom Party on the outskirts of the entire political field. By isolating them he made them unintentionally stronger. A "Rechtsruck" (English: shift to the right) within the population was the consequence. This became visible during the 1986 parliamentary election at which the FPÖ gained and the SPÖ lost many votes (Vocelka, 2007, pp. 120-121). The political shift to the right, the rise of the party of the FPÖ, the influential position of Haider, and the Waldheim-affair made Austrians question the guilt and involvement of Austria in the Holocaust more frequently. It was then that the *victim-theory* turned into a *victim-myth* and became questionable and politically corrosive (Bruckmüller, 2019, pp. 603-604; Kühberger, 2017, p. 398; Thaler, 1996, p.3). The attitude towards the Holocaust, towards war crimes, simply towards facing the past and taking responsibility now changed. The Viennese Jewish community started to grow again. In 1988 Austria commemorated fifty years after the „Anschluß“. Austria had discussion panels, wrote publications and had TV coverage about the history of National Socialism, about the question of Austria's responsibility, and about the involvement of the Austrian people, as well as their efforts after the war. The big ubiquitous catch phrase was *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (English: coming to terms with the past) (Uhl, 2001, pp. 26-30). Although change started to happen, the topic of the Holocaust still caused controversy. The theatrical play "Heldenplatz" (English: heroes' square) of 1988 by Thomas Bernhard focused on Viennese characters talking about the past and about the Holocaust. Parts of the text had been released out of context to the public prior to the first show. Many politicians and media outlets rallied against the play and its first showing; Waldheim was against the play, Vranitzky was for the play. In the

end the play was received well by the public. It turned out that it was thought-provoking and not as controversial as everyone thought (Profil, 1988, Online).

Another controversy was the Memorial against War and Fascism by Alfred Hrdlicka that was finished in 1988. The building of the structure itself, the place (close to the opera house), and the inscriptions (“all victims of war”) were criticized by the people as many deemed it unnecessary. Another problem was that many visitors did not recognize the Jewish figure at the bottom of the memorial and sat on it. An activist painted the sculpture golden in 1990 and was reported for it, then Hrdlicka himself added iron barb wire to the back of the Jewish figure in 1991 for people to see it better (Österreichische Mediathek, Online).

It was the 1980s that made a difference in the way Austria was remembering and taking responsibility for their past. Even though the 1980s were still bumpy at times, a clear path towards facing the Holocaust was laid, and continued in a slightly different way during the 1990s.

The 1990s showed that the crimes of the Holocaust became more and more publicly acknowledged and reflected on. A very important milestone in this regard was Franz Vranitzky’s speech in front of the National Council in 1991. He said:

“We accept responsibility for all acts of our history and our people, the good and the evil but as much as we lay claim to the good, we have to apologize to the evil to the survivors and the descendants of the dead. I do this expressively on behalf of the Austrian government.” (Vranitzky, 1991, Online, translated by Eugen Freund for television)

In 1993 Vranitzky travelled to Israel becoming the first Austrian politician to officially visit Israel since the Second World War. In a speech at the Jerusalem University, he officially asked for forgiveness from the victims and survivors of Austrian war crime:

“We have always felt and still feel that the connotation of ‘collective guilt’ does not apply to Austria. But we do acknowledge collective responsibility, the responsibility of each and every one of us to remember and seek justice. We share moral responsibility, because many Austrians welcomed the ‘Anschluss’, supported the Nazi regime and helped it to function...” (Vranitzky, 1993 cited in Botz/Sprengnagel 1994, p. 579).

While the apology was very important, it was the restitution payments and the foundation of the “National Fund of the Republic of Austria for Victims of National Socialism” in 1995 that started to ease the tensions with Holocaust survivors and Israel. Although restitution payments were put in place, it was still a struggle for many Jews to get their stolen property back

as Austria claimed it as their own historical heritage. As early as 1984, Andrew Decker wrote an article criticizing how badly Austria was handling the return of stolen art. It took until 1998 for the “Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research” to be established. Today it is called “International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance”. Austria joined it in 2001. During the 1990s laws around the restitution of stolen art were put in place. A well-known case in this regard is the painting of Adele Bloch-Bauer “Golden Adele”. A Jewish descendant of Bloch-Bauer, Maria Altmann, tried to regain her family’s property for years. Austria made it extremely hard for her to get the paintings back as they were considered the property of the Austrian museum Belvedere. She eventually succeeded in a long lawsuit to get her art back in 2006. Her initial plan was to allow the painting to stay in Austria but after being treated so poorly by the Austrian administration she moved it to an art gallery in New York (Maringer, 2015). In the aftermath of this law suit many restitution payments were finally made possible.

The 1990s, like the 1980s, experienced a rise of supporters for the FPÖ. Jörg Haider, as the party leader, consistently outraged the public with xenophobic, German-nationalistic, and anti-EU statements. In 1992 the FPÖ petitioned for a referendum called “Österreich zuerst” (English: Austria first) with the goal to limit asylum seekers and foreigners coming to Austria. Almost half a million people supported the referendum, even though it was criticized for its racist sentiment (Österreichische Mediathek, 1992, Online). In 1994 a plebiscite was held regarding the EU entry asking whether or not Austria should become part of the EU. It was supported by the majority of the Austrian people and Austria joined the EU in 1995 (BMI, 1994). The fear of immigration from eastern countries began to rise in the 1990s, especially leading up to the EU entry. It fueled right-wing xenophobic polemics, which consequently triggered racist actions. A series of bomb attacks occurred (bomb threats, letter bombs, explosions, etc.) related to alliances associated with the idea of uniting Bavaria and Austria against “oriental intruders” (1993-1997). The targets of these bombing attacks were mostly Austrian officials who stood up for minorities and immigrants. One bomb targeted the Viennese mayor Helmut Zilk in 1993. He was the first mayor who actively endorsed Jewish culture in Vienna by celebrating the opening of a Jewish museum in Vienna. These actions culminated in 1995 with the murder of four Austrian Roma citizens in Oberwart. Whether the bombings were executed by one individual, namely Franz Fuchs who was later arrested, or by an organized group of people, could not be confirmed (Gingrich, 2004, pp. 162-165). Throughout the 1990s pan-Germanic and extremist right-wing sympathizers came together fighting for a pro Germanic unity against minorities, migrants, and Turks. These developments can be seen as related to the broader national discussions about entering the EU as the xenophobic and national-

istic movements peaked around the EU plebiscite (Gingrich, 2004, pp. 162-165). After the parliamentary election for National Council in 1999 the ÖVP formed a coalition with the FPÖ. Austria and Wolfgang Schüssel were scrutinized by national and foreign press for giving the right-wing party such an important place in government. The German foreign minister Joschka Fischer called the coalition a “historical error”. Many other European countries started to initiate the suspension of bilateral relations with Austria (Spiegel, 2000, Online).

Because of this, German-nationalistic tendencies and the right-wing party (FPÖ) gained power during the 1990s. The reprocessing of the past and the institutionalizing of the Holocaust was again very important. One example in this regard is the “Austrian Holocaust Memorial Service” of 1991. It is a six- to twelve-month voluntary work service to support Holocaust memorials all over Europe. It can also be chosen as a substitute for the mandatory civil service or military service that all Austrian men are obligated to do. In 1997 the liberation day of the concentration camp Mauthausen (May 5th) was set by the National Council as the “Memorial Day against Violence and Racism in Remembrance of the Victims of National Socialism”. In 2000 the Holocaust memorial for Austrian Jewish victims of the Shoah was built at the Jewish square in Vienna, and the Holocaust Education Institute “erinnern.at” was established.

This chapter showed that in the case of Austria, the nation-building processes of the time highly influenced the way the Holocaust was dealt with and that the reprocessing of the Holocaust influenced national identity. A long and difficult development could be painted, a road full of national conflict and affairs (see appendix for Holocaust nation-building timeline). Chapter six will bring together the researched educationalization timeline and the Holocaust nation-building timeline.

6. Educationalizing the Holocaust in the service of Austrian nation-building

It is this chapter's goal to verify the guiding thesis "*The educationalization of the Holocaust in Austria is a case for educationalization in the service of Austrian nation-building*". The critical discourse analysis of the Second Republic (1945-2000) of the Austrian nation-building and educationalization of the Holocaust will show a case of not just when and how the Holocaust was educationalized, but also a case for the educationalization in the service of nation-building. Through aligning nation-building and educationalization on timelines, their ubiquitous yet often unseen interwovenness will become visible (see appendix for timelines). The analyzed sources and the nation-building aspects will be brought together by decade to make the discourse of this specific case describable and interpretable.

Even before the Second World War had ended, starting with the Moscow Declaration in 1943, the government – especially Federal chancellor Figl – was working hard to establish the *victim-theory* and the *occupation-theory*. Both theories diverted the question of guilt regarding the Holocaust away from Austria and made way for a national narrative that influenced the whole country for the first decades of the Second Republic. The governmental elite established a plan that focused on bringing a sense of unique national identity to Austria that it did not have before; a national patriotic identity that helped build an Austrian-mindedness distanced from Germany – and especially distanced from German-nationalistic ideologies such as were prevalent during the national socialist regime. Therefore, Austria began in 1946 to celebrate the 950th anniversary of Austria, reclaiming their traditional "Ostarrichi" roots. Also, in 1947 the Austrian national anthem was released and advertised (Bruckmüller, 2019, p. 636). The Holocaust could not be made fit with the grand idea of building a strong national identity because the horrors of the Holocaust would have weakened and questioned the nation-building modes under way. The *victim-theory* and *occupation-theory* aided Austria in the sense that it did not have to take on any responsibility. Not taking on responsibility had major impacts on the country. For example, shortly before the election of 1949, almost all former members of the national socialist party were granted amnesty and reintegrated into society, and by that the *Denazification* found its end, making a clear identification of Nazi-involvement impossible (Stiefel, 1981, pp. 300-325). During this time, strengthening the nation and building it back up was at the forefront of the governments' attention – leaving no room for other national narratives, especially the ones that would only harm the idea of a

strong nation and the *making of a loyal citizen*. That is why at the earliest beginnings of the Second Republic (1945-1955), while Austria was still occupied, the reprocessing of the past in education was not important. The old school laws and schoolbooks, from before the times of Austro-Fascism were put in place.

Political disputes about education started slowly during the second half of the 1950s; the political parties were in great disagreement on how schools were supposed to be structured. The Catholic Church also stayed involved as it wanted to maintain its influence in schools and therefore made it difficult for the parties to find consensus (Waibel, 2008, p. 37). The year 1955 marks an important year for Austrian nation-building, bringing change to the country; the State-Treaty and the Declaration of Neutrality could be signed, and with that the occupation time ended. Austria now felt like it was “freed” from the Allied Forces and free for the first time since the “Hitler-barbarism” swept over the country and took hold of them (Das kleine Volksblatt 13, 08/21/1945, p.1). Now, after all these years of “oppression”, Austria could really shape their own independent nation. The Austrian Flag Day was established to further strengthen the national mindedness. At this point most court cases against Nazi-officials had ended and the Holocaust started to become a well-hidden national mystery that nobody spoke about. By 1956 the entire Austrian political elite (ÖVP, SPÖ) had accepted that a reintegration with Germany was out of the question and that the route to take was the further establishment of an independent Austrian nation-state (Bruckmüller, 2019, p. 636-637). All developments in the 1940s and 1950s focused on establishing a united Austria, and the reprocessing of the Holocaust did not fit with the ideas of nation-building and the *making of citizens* through education. Therefore, no educational measures were taken to deal with the Holocaust in and out of schools.

After years of rebuilding the country, the 1960s brought a newly awakened economic prosperity and stability. They also revealed right-wing groupings such as fraternities openly proclaiming their German-nationalistic ideologies (Bruckmüller, 2019, p. 637). These orientations did not sit well with the government as they were still trying to enforce the national idea of a democratic Austria, detached from Germany. For the first time the ministry turned to an educational approach related to the Holocaust to counter German-nationalistic tendencies. One of the initiatives by the Federal Ministry of Education was the establishment of the scientific study “Zeitgeschichte” (English: Contemporary History) in 1960 and the further application of contemporary history studies in school education (Mattl, 1983, p. 11). The 1960s and

the rise of right-wing tendencies in society also had the Viennese school inspector recommend for students to visit the Mauthausen memorial (Wiener Stadtschulrat, 1960).

Simultaneously, the public started to pressure the government to make some changes in the deficiently organized school system. The church and the state reached a concordat on July 9th, 1962 answering the questions on how the influence of the school will further be regulated. It made way for the creation of the first school law issued on July 18th, 1962 (Waibel, 2008, p. 37; see also BGBl. 273, 1962). In 1963, for the first time after the Second World War, Austria published its first original school curriculum (BGBl. 134, 6/28/1963, pp. 694-696). It was an important unifying moment for Austria. The curriculum focused on bringing Austria together and on strengthening the national identity (BGBl. 134, 6/28/1963). Again, it left no room for the Holocaust to be mentioned or reprocessed, because the Holocaust would have then worked against the ideas of strengthening national identity and educating loyal citizens. If the Holocaust was mentioned in the researched educational material, for example in schoolbooks, it was described around the *victim-theory*, the *occupation-theory*, the blame of Germany and Hitler, or the *one-basket-of-suffering-theory* (Utgaard, 1999, pp. 201-205, see 4.6.). The issue was not just within schoolbooks as the teachers themselves often suffered from the traumatic experiences of the war, not willing to relive the past in their classrooms. Even if teachers had not directly been involved in the war, they most likely dealt with *transgenerational trauma* – war trauma that was transferred onto the next generation. This led to an all-encompassing silence and mystification in education regarding the Holocaust (Ottmüller, 2011, pp. 164-174; see also 4.7.).

While curricular change was absent during the 1960s, there were a few outstanding individuals who supported the remembrance of the Holocaust. A speech by the director of the high school for girls in Graz, Robert Rieder, addressing the dangers of anti-Semitism (Utgaard, 1997, pp. 206-207), and the establishment of the “Documentation Centre of Austrian Resistance” (www.doew.at) showed that few engaged individuals tried to work towards a collective remembering of the Holocaust. On the other hand, individuals such as Taras Borodajkewycz, a professor who spoke in class about his national socialist orientation, thought that it was still acceptable to openly address personal Nazi-ideologies. Protests against his behaviour followed and culminated in the *Borodajkewycz-Affair* of 1965 that involved the killing of an Austrian senior during the protests (Bruckmüller, 1997, p. 637-638). This affair was related to the rise of German-nationalistic sympathizers that started at the beginning of the decade. The government reacted by taking a stance against fascist ideologies and strengthening the Austrian national identity. A silent protest of 25.000 people took place, and the Austrian Flag Day was turned into the national Austria Day (Bruckmüller, 1997, p. 637-638).

The 1960s were a time of prosperity and growth, of rebuilding and strengthening the nation. They were also a time when German-nationalistic societal tendencies came slowly back to the surface. During the 1960s the educationalization of the Holocaust was limited to either contemporary history studies or to singular recommendations to visit the Mauthausen memorial. No official curricular effort was made to remember the Holocaust; it was a time when the sociopolitical pressure could be contained as it was coming mostly from a few personally engaged individuals.

At the beginning of the 1970s, the parliamentary election of 1970 brought Bruno Kreisky and the SPÖ into power. This sparked an interesting development regarding the Holocaust: the SPÖ government started to excitedly support the Mauthausen memorial. This behaviour can be explained, as the memorial site Mauthausen could be used to reclaim the stigma around the clerical-socialist dictatorship from 1934 to 1938 (Austro-Fascism). Until then Austro-Fascism, which was started by a Christian Social Party under Engelbert Dollfuß, was still affiliated with the SPÖ. The government now started to understand the Mauthausen memorial as a way of educating the youth and rewriting the “right” history (Perz, 2006, pp. 236-241). The SPÖ chairman and Minister of Education and Art Fred Sinowatz spoke at the liberation ceremony of the Mauthausen memorial in 1973 and said that Austria has not been standing up against the “Hitler barbarism” in 1938. He goes on to say:

“Economic poverty, [...] social hardship, that seemed not solvable, the degradation of democracy and political illiteracy of big population groups, in short: a broken consciousness throughout vast parts of the nation – was the gate through which in 1938 the German Fascism, besides desperate resistance of conscious Austrians and anti-Fascists, could march in. [...] Solely intellectually armed, informed, politically mature humans are strong state-citizens. This practically means that we must do all in our power to foster the schooling system, education, and especially Political Education. I think today the Austrian state has understood the lesson of Mauthausen. [...] Contemporary history and Political Education have finally found its way into our schools. Democratic education has become an educational principle that has to be applied in all subjects.” (Sinowatz, 1973; translated by author)

Sinowatz here explained that the Nazi-party came into the country in 1938 and that this was possible because the minds of the people of the nation were weakened. He then turned to schooling for a solution. Although the SPÖ was following their own political agenda, they were contributing to the beginning of the educationalization of the Holocaust. Education was

a way to influence society and the future citizens. During the 1970s the SPÖ further stressed the importance of visiting the Mauthausen memorial and museum. This led to a rise of visiting numbers at the former concentration camp (Fliedl et al., 1991, p. 62). They also implemented the non-mandatory course Political Education within the 1970 curriculum (BGBl. 275, 9/4/1970, pp. 1569-1570), the Department for Political Education at the Ministry of Education and Art in 1973, and they stressed the importance of the study of contemporary history (1973) (Sinowatz, 1973).

During the second half of the 1970s, the country was becoming even more prosperous and stable. The government invested state capital into rebuilding the country and fighting poverty. Austria had become a proud democratic nation-state with a unique Austrian identity. Kreisky and his party were very influential in strengthening internal and external affairs (Vocelka, 2007, pp.119-120). Even though Kreisky wanted to focus on contemporary history and loosen the taboo and stigma around Austro-Fascism, he foremost wanted to hold power. Therefore, in 1975 Kreisky attacked Wiesenthal and supported his political colleague Peter during the *Kreisky-Peter-Wiesenthal-Affair*. FPÖ party member Peter was accused by Holocaust survivor Wiesenthal of having known about the killings during the Second World War. Kreisky's support of Peter sparked civic outburst among the people; while many Austrians did not understand why the past had to be revived ("Lasst doch die Vergangenheit ruhen!"), others spoke out about the Austrian inability to deal with the past, specifically the Holocaust (Bruckmüller, 2019, pp. 599-600). This affair was an important internal conflict that helped the educationalization of the Holocaust on its way. In 1976 Hermann Langbein (1912-1995), a Holocaust survivor, and Anton Pelinka (1941-), a political science professor at the University of Innsbruck, convinced Sinowatz and the ministerial Department of Political Education to establish a *speaker-placement-program for contemporary history*. With the goal to further teach about the Mauthausen memorial, this program was designed to connect survivors and historians with teachers and classes. For the first time a structure was put in place for Holocaust survivors to share their experiences in school. The school year 1978/1979 got declared "the contemporary history year" (Perz, 2006, pp. 238-239). The 1970s curriculum was almost identical to the one from the 1960s, with the difference being interdisciplinary educational principles – such as Political Education. It was already mentioned above that in 1970 the non-mandatory course Political Education was put into school curriculum (BGBl. 275, 9/4/1970, pp. 1569-1570). In the 1979 curriculum, the non-mandatory course Political Education evolved into an educational principle for all school forms, school tracks, and subjects. This meant that every teacher had to involve the aspects of Political Education into their teaching (BGBl. 145, 4/3/1979, pp.791-792). Political Education became a central element for the be-

ginning of Holocaust retribution because now not only a few interested students and teachers after school hours were meeting to talk about political changes and contemporary history. Now Political Education was an interdisciplinary applied principle that was to be taught in every subject.

The 1970s are a decade that started the remembering of the Austrian contemporary history through education – educationalization measures could be made fit with the political SPÖ agenda. The 1970s climaxed in the broadcast of the mini-series “Holocaust” in 1979. A rush of guilt, shame, interest, and horror found its way into Austrian living rooms and also into Austrian school education – specifically the curriculum of 1979 and the implementation of Political Education as an educational principle. One interviewed teacher described the broadcast of the mini-series “Holocaust” as a wave that swept into the classroom (see 4.7.); it made people wonder and question what had been done so far to remember the horrors of the Holocaust.

The 1980s did not slow this development down. On the contrary, it was the 1980s that truly brought momentum to the reprocessing measures of the Holocaust and to the educationalization of the Holocaust. At the beginning of the 1980s, the *victim-theory* and *occupation-theory* started to become more questionable. Sociopolitical pressure by the people began to arise as nationally significant processes came thick and fast:

It all started with the parliamentary elections of 1983. The big leading party (the SPÖ) formed a coalition with the Freedom Party (the FPÖ). The FPÖ, under the leadership of Norbert Steger, had just enough votes to enter parliament. This “small coalition”, as it was called, was weakened by the internal problems of both parties; Kreisky had just resigned, Sinowatz had taken over, and Steger was criticized by his party member Jörg Haider. The build of the Danube-power-plant in Hainburg (1984) scrutinized the government even more, making the establishment of the green parties possible (Republik Österreich, 2020, Online). Sinowatz was put under a lot of pressure due to the lack of state capital and due to the *Frischenschlager-Reder-Affair* (1985), in which FPÖ defence minister Frischenschlager welcomed former SS-official Reder back to Austria after imprisonment in Italy. Kreisky, President Rudolf Kirchschläger, and even cardinal Franz König have been trying for many years to get clemency for Reder and now faced criticism for it (Haller, 1996, p. 257). During these political upheavals another highly important national event, the *Waldheim-Affair*, occurred. Kurt Waldheim, former UN general secretary, ran in 1986 for office to become the Austrian president. His war past became an important political debate, nationally and internationally; not just for the question as to whether he was involved in the Holocaust, but also why it took Austria until 1986 to ad-

dress his past (Bruckmüller, 2019, pp. 603-604; Kühberger, 2017, p. 398; Thaler, 1996, p.3). Sinowatz, who already faced problems throughout his candidature, had always taken a stance against Waldheim. Therefore, one day after Waldheim was elected to become president Sinowatz resigned and Franz Vranitzky took over. Jörg Haider replaced Steger as head of the FPÖ shortly after (Republik Österreich, 2020, Online). As a consequence, Vranitzky terminated the small coalition with the FPÖ with the aim to push the rising FPÖ under the leadership of charismatic Jörg Haider to the outskirts of the political landscape. This plan backfired intensely as the votes at the 1986 parliamentary election skyrocketed for the FPÖ. This is today described as a “Rechtsruck”, a clear political shift of votes to the right-wing party (Vocelka, 2007, pp. 120-122).

The whole conglomerate of 1986 events – The *Waldheim-Affair*, the new parliamentary elections, and the visible shift to the right – made the Austrian people question the role of Austria during the Holocaust even more. The *victim-theory* now turned into a *victim-myth*, understanding the involvement of Austria not as an act of military aggression by the German forces but as a voluntary annexation (Kühberger, 2017, p. 398). If Austria had already slowly started to face their national socialist past at the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, now it had accepted its responsibility. The Austrian government was faced with a new national narrative and an outraged population. Yet it was not just the civic movement and momentum that triggered change in Austria and made the government turn to education to solve the issue – it was also the fact that the Holocaust narrative was a way to go against the FPÖ. The FPÖ had a German-nationalistic orientation; pushed to the side, it was made a stronger political opponent than anticipated. During the 1940s and the 1950s the willful *forgetting* of the Holocaust was used to strengthen the Austrian nation-building modes that wanted to enforce a unique and independent Austrian identity. During the 1980s the *remembering* of the Holocaust is used to strengthen the nation-building goals in order to weaken the German-nationalistic parties.

Due to these developments, the educational aspect of *making citizens* and *educating the future citizens* had to be quickly aligned with the current nation-building modes. Some minor educationalization measures already started before the formative year of 1986. In 1980 school material about the Holocaust issued by the Ministry of Education started to appear. Teachers for the first time had didactical material to use for the teaching of the Holocaust (Jagschitz et al., 1980). The *speaker-placement-program for contemporary history*, established in 1976, organized many seminars with Holocaust survivors and connected them with each other. The survivors were often invited to talk to students about their experiences during the Second World War (see 4.2.). At the beginning of the 1980s, teachers were stimulated by the Political Edu-

cation movement and the mini-series “Holocaust”; they showed more and more interest and personal commitment to teach about the Holocaust (Dreier, 2010, p. 15). This can also be related to the fact that through *transgenerational change* teachers from the *young war generation* started to retire and younger teachers from the *post war generation*, less traumatized by the past, took over (see 4.7.). Then in 1986, educationalization measures poured in from all sides. The most prominent milestone when looking at the sources was the curricular reform of 1986 that for the first time ever included the term “Organized genocide” (German: Organisierter Massenmord) under the topic “Dictatorial systems” in the “History and Social Studies” curriculum (BGBl. 441, 8/28/1986, p. 2786). This was a ground-breaking moment for the educationalization of the Holocaust, as the Holocaust was now structurally embedded not just in the minds of people but in the curriculum itself. While Political Education made the reprocessing of the Holocaust possible if teachers deemed it important, the curriculum now held them accountable to talk about the genocide that happened in Austria during the Second World War. Within the researched yearbooks, explicit evidence could be found that Holocaust-related issues were mentioned more often in 1986 (see 4.3.). The year 1986 also made way for an in-depth remembrance of the fiftieth anniversary of the “Anschluß” in 1988. The evidence of the researched sources corroborate a rise in educationalization measures during that time. The student numbers visiting the Mauthausen memorial peaked (Fliedl et al., 1991, p. 62) and yearbook evidence proved there were a high number of Holocaust-related issues during the 1988/1989 school year (see 4.3.). During this school year many projects and remembrance efforts are put in place – often for the whole school. Students watched the movie “Nacht und Nebel” (1956), a documentary about the extermination camps, took part in a DÖW-competition on the issue “Austrians and the persecution of Jews 1938 – 1945” (Yearbook Amerlinggymnasium, 1987/1988, pp. 36-38), worked on putting up a plaque for Jewish students in their school (see 4.7.), and created a sign to remember the concentration camp Seegrotte in Hinterbrühl (Biondegasse, 1987/1988, pp. 71-74). By 1988 more school materials such as brochures, media suitcases, movies, and now finally even schoolbooks became available (see 4.2. and 4.6.). Schoolbooks now addressed the issue of the Holocaust in a more realistic way; as these schoolbooks were the first to deal with the Holocaust, they were still facing many issues such as insensitive language (Bilewicz, 2016, pp. 279-296). Projects and initiatives dealing with the Holocaust popped up nationwide – not all without difficulties. For example, the governmental initiative “Schüler & Zeitgeschichte” (English: student & contemporary history) funded student projects that wanted to learn about the contemporary past. Especially during the year 1988 these projects became more diverse. The problem was that certain issues raised by the students were still tabooed and therefore discarded by parents or

teachers (Fliedl et al., 1991, pp. 109-110). Many interviewed teachers also explained that their projects often received backlash from principals, parents, or teacher-colleagues (see 4.7.). These examples show that although multi-faceted educational efforts were being implemented during the 1980s it was not without its complications as the Holocaust remembrance had just started.

The 1990s began with the aftermath of the fall of the communist regime and the collapse of the Iron Curtain in 1989. Austria thus lost its important role as the *neutral bridge* between East and West (Vocelka, 2007, pp.122-123). The nation-building modes changed again as Austria was petitioning to become an EU member. The fear of opening the Austrian borders to waves of asylum seekers and foreigners made the FPÖ party, with their xenophobic, nationalistic agenda, rise once more. They issued a referendum called “Austria first” to stress their standpoint against EU involvement even more (Vocelka, 2007, pp.123-124; Österreichische Mediathek, 1992, Online). Far right-wing extremist groups emerged, going so far as sending letter bombs to high ranked politicians and killing four Austrians with Romani descent (Gingrich, 2004, pp. 162-165). Interviewed teachers explained that during this time in school, the educationalization of the Holocaust was often related to xenophobic tendencies and the current foreign political situation (such as the Yugoslav Wars (see 4.7.)). The researched scientific educational journals show an overall low involvement of academic writings when it comes to the Holocaust. Only in 1995 two articles emerged that worked on right-wing extremism and its connection to the Holocaust (see 4.5.).

Both in 1991 and 1993, chancellor Franz Vranitzky publicly accepted responsibility for the Holocaust in front of the National Council and in Israel (Vranitzky, 1991, Online; Vranitzky, 1993 cited in Botz/Sprengnagel 1994, p. 579). Even though the issue of the Holocaust was not as crucial for Austria’s nation-building during the 1990s as it was during the 1970s and 1980s, the 1990s still had an important role to play as it was this decade when the Holocaust turned from civic responsibility to state responsibility. The consequence was the establishment of multiple state initiatives and institutions: the “Austrian Holocaust Memorial Service” established in 1991, the “National Fund of the Republic of Austria for Victims of National Socialism” in 1995, and the “Memorial Day against Violence and Racism in Remembrance of the Victims of National Socialism” in 1997. The Holocaust became more structurally embedded in the Austrian educational landscape.

In 1999 the educationalization of the Holocaust took one last important turn. During the parliamentary election of 1999, the ÖVP formed a coalition with the FPÖ. Once again, as it was during the *Waldheim-Affair*, Austria was criticized nationally and internationally for the way

it was dealing with openly German-nationalistic parties (Gingrich, 2004, pp. 162-163). Once again, it was important to focus on education, to remember the Holocaust, in order to maintain the independent, democratic, unique nation Austria was working so hard to build. Education helped again to reinforce the Austrian national mindedness by educating the future citizens in a certain way; the “History and Social Studies” curriculum was adapted in 2000 to mirror those efforts focusing in more detail on the national socialist past (BGBl. 134, 9/1/2000). These developments aligned with the build of the Holocaust memorial for Austrian Jewish victims of the Shoah and the establishment of the Holocaust Education Institute “erinnern.at” in 2000. Its full name translated into English is: „remember.at – National Socialism and Holocaust: memory and present”. The institute was transformed out of the conference on “The presentation of Jewish history and the state of Israel in Austrian schoolbooks” in 1999, and the two-week teacher seminar in Yad Vashem in Israel in 2000 to understand the Israeli side of history. Both projects were organised at the request of the Department of Political Education in the Ministry of Education and Art (Dreier, 2010, p. 17). The establishment of the Holocaust Education Institute was of utmost importance as it marked the beginning of a structurally-enforced educationalization of the Holocaust in Austria.

When juxtaposing the nation-building formation during the Second Republic of Austria and the educationalization of the Holocaust, a clear interwovenness can be observed. The nation-building modes could be related to the changes in curriculum, schoolbooks, yearbooks, teacher material, the visitation of the Mauthausen memorial, and teacher education. The combination of the historiographic work on the nation-building processes and the analyses of the sources brought a discourse to life that shows educationalization in the service of Austrian nation-building. The Holocaust-sensitive approach ultimately became part of the Austrian national identity and thereby was brought into school in order to educate the future Austrian citizens.

7. Summary and Outlook

This master's thesis, with the title "Educationalizing the Holocaust in the service of Austrian nation-building," was trying to prove that the educationalization of the Holocaust in Austria between 1945 and 2000 presents a case for the educationalization in the service of Austrian nation-building. Through building the theoretical framework of a discourse that can be best described as *educationalized nation-building*, the phenomenon became interpretable; it held theories on educationalization, nation-building, and curriculum reform. By looking at the existing research on this phenomenon today, it became apparent that the interwovenness of educationalization and nation-building has been often overlooked – in general and especially in (German) educational sciences. A research gap was detected, making clear the importance of this master's thesis beyond the small case of the Austrian educationalization of the Holocaust. The approach of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) oriented along the *Viennese School in CDA* directed the research methodologically. The idea of working transparently and multi-methodically on power structures, ideological tendencies, and historical context through examining linguistic discursive material, was mirrored within the analyses of the sources. Through collecting and sampling vast research material (including explorative expert interviews) the discourse at hand became more evident. Some materials turned out to be more fruitful than expected (e.g., the historiography of the Mauthausen memorial) while others delivered less than anticipated (e.g., scientific educational journals). The sources contributed to an educationalization timeline of the Holocaust that was needed for the verification of the guiding thesis: "*The educationalization of the Holocaust in Austria is a case for educationalization in the service of Austrian nation-building*". Before chapter six combined the findings, it was important to bring the nation-building modes of Austria during the Second Republic (1945-2000) to the table – especially the nation-building modes that could be connected to the Holocaust. Background and context information gathered through movies, literature, interviews, and media reports showed affairs, national events, and other struggles that were formative for the Austrian nation. The important historiographic Austrian nation-building developments could be displayed in two timelines (nation-building and Holocaust nation-building), clearly depicting the large and small milestones along the way.

By synthesizing the research, it was possible to describe the case of the educationalization of the Holocaust in the service of Austrian nation-building. It can be concluded that this case makes a strong argument for educationalization in the service of nation-building. Through examining the connectedness of nation-building and educationalization, the hidden agenda, motives, and power relations of this particular *educationalized nation-building* discourse were

made visible. From the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s the tone regarding the remembrance of the Austrian past, especially the Holocaust, changed. The new national mindedness made dealing with the past necessary and had to be mirrored in school curriculum; the Holocaust had to become part of a national identity through schooling in order to educate the future citizens. This case also shows that curriculum reform and other educationalization measures were implemented when the political agenda and civic pressure were aligned; for example, the *Waldheim-Affair*. Due to national and foreign pressure Austria was forced to deal with the reprocessing of the Holocaust. Austria turned to schooling as a solution, not just because of the public societal outcry, but also because the *Waldheim-Affair* could be used by the government to imprint their own nation-building ideas on the students and weaken the opposing political side (the rising Freedom Party). An example that shows that Austrian nation-building modes not only correlated with the educationalization processes, but also had a means to enforce a certain national identity and narrative through education.

The findings are also relevant if connected with the present; Holocaust Education today is a term that has spread all over the globe and found its way into Austrian education as well. Today the “History and Social Studies/Political Education” curriculum even addresses the *victim-myth* and the various ways the Holocaust has been remembered in Austria (BGBl. 113, 5/18/2016). With the establishment of the Holocaust Education Institute “erinnern.at” came the implementation of seminars, meetings, learning materials, and lectures for teachers on a structural level. Holocaust Education has been constantly evolving, raising issues such as: how the Holocaust is to be taught in primary school education (Deckert-Peaceman, 2003; Deckert-Peaceman, 2006; Langer, 2010), if teachers are well enough educated to talk about the Holocaust (Rajal 2010, p. 9), and how feelings and emotions of students are affected by Holocaust Education (Bastel/Matzka/Miklas, 2010, p. 65). While these topics are relevant and important educational research, they are missing the nation-building link. A huge benefit would arise if Austria were to research Holocaust Education today in connection with its nation-building. This kind of research would make the analyses of educational aspects possible, even if they are issues of high moral significance, such as the Holocaust. This research could work towards a deeper understanding of the construction of curriculum, as it is nationally and culturally constructed, and embedded in its national context. It could give insight into the *banal* reminders of nation-building through education. Current research on Holocaust Education should look at today’s nation-building – the effects of a global identity, today’s governmental changes (such as the close election between Norbert Hofer (FPÖ) and Alexander van der Bellen (Die Grünen) in 2016), the rise of right-wing populist parties in the twenty-first century, and the refugee crisis of 2015 – and relate it with educationalization processes. By doing so,

nationalistic and anti-Semitic tendencies within society today could be detected; the *banal*, hidden aspects of nation-building could emerge in today's education.

What this master's thesis could not accomplish, due to its limited format, was to compare the Austrian case with other European countries. Potential research could look into other countries' developments and how they have dealt with the Holocaust. Throughout this master's thesis, the German comparison was only mentioned once while looking at the source "scientific educational journals" (see 4.5.); here it became clear that Germany's journals mentioned the Holocaust earlier than the Austrian academic journals. Germany, often compared to Austria, took a very different path of remembrance – taking on seemingly all responsibility for the entirety of Europe³⁷. It is this research approach of Critical Discourse Analysis and to understand that curriculum is embedded in an *educationalized nation-building* discourse, that could be applied within other countries as well. By doing so, they could find a way to describe how their Holocaust-related curriculum was constructed. Countries such as France (that cooperated with the national socialist regime through the Vichy-Regime), Japan (that had multiple concentration camps themselves), or East-Germany (that had been transferring responsibility on the rest of Germany), could reconstruct their national Holocaust responsibilities and further understand the interrelation of their nation-building as formative for their national Holocaust curriculum. Further research could therefore contribute to an important nation-building discourse, asking how – and to what degree – nation-building processes are displayed within the Holocaust curriculum today and how they compare to the Austrian educationalization processes.

This relatively short work, that also found its limit within the educational material that could be sourced, showed that educational implementations and curricular change always contain the national, social, and political order. Education therefore plays a very important role in "manufacturing citizens", making them feel connected to their country, and having them remember their national mindedness. This is as relevant today as it was in the nineteenth century, when mass schooling emerged. Educational sciences are now put to the task to conduct more research within this interesting field of research.

³⁷ *Re-education of the German nation*: Ottmüller (2011), a German sociologist, explains that right after the war the notion of collective guilt was imposed on the Germans. This started in the first weeks after the war, when the Allies published pictures of concentration camps in newspapers and on street corners. The headlines for example read "This is your fault!" Locals living close to concentration camps were forced to visit the camps and bury victims. The pictures as well as video material of the locals were later used for "re-educating" the nation (Ottmüller, 2011, pp. 168-169).

8. References

- Achs, Oscar et al. (1993): Aus Geschichte lernen. 7. Klasse. Von der industriellen Revolution bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg. Vienna.
- Anderson, Benedict (1983): *Imagined Communities*. London/New York: Verso. Published 2006.
- Arbeiterkammer Wien (1963): Workers 'council of the workers' chamber Vienna to the Mauthausen committee. 10/9/1963. Archive of the public memorial and museum Mauthausen of the Federal Ministry of Internal Affairs. Correspondence Marsalek. Folder: 3/29/1956-12/29/1969.
- Atschko, Gerhard et al. (1982): Sozial- und Wirtschaftskunde (inkl. Zeitgeschichte) für den Polytechnischen Lehrgang. Vienna: Bohmann-Verlag.
- Bastel, Heribert et al. (2010): Holocaust education in Austria: A (hi)story of complexity and ambivalence. In: PROSPECTS. 40 (1), pp. 57-73.
- Bastel, Heribert/Matzka, Christian/Miklas, Helene (2010): Holocaust education in Austria: A (hi)story of complexity and ambivalence. In: PROSPECTS. 40 (1). pp. 57-73.
- Benz, Wolfgang (2002): *Lexikon des Holocaust*. München: C.H. Beck.
- Berger, Franz et al. (1967): *Zeiten, Völker, und Kulturen. Ein Lehr- und Arbeitsbuch für den Unterricht in Geschichte und Sozialkunde. 3. Band für die 4. Klasse der Hauptschulen und der allgemeinbildenden höheren Schulen*. Vienna: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky.
- Bilewicz, Wolfgang (2016): *Der Holocaust in Schulbüchern und Lehrplänen. Ein historisch-pädagogischer Vergleich zwischen Bayern und Österreich*. Marburg: Tectum Verlag.
- Billig, Michael (1995): *Banal Nationalism*. London: Sage Publications.
- Bluhm, William T. (1968): The Case of Austria: In: *Polity*. 1 (2). The University of Chicago Press on behalf of the Northeastern Political Science Association. pp. 149-177.
- Blumberger, Walter/Nemeth, Dietmar (1992): *Recht um? Ausländerfeindlichkeit, Rechtsradikalismus und Gewaltbereitschaft bei Schüler/innen in Oberösterreich. Abschlussbericht (Rohfassung)*. Linz.
- BMI (1994): *EU Volksabstimmung. Volksabstimmung über den Beitritt Österreichs zur Europäischen Union am 12. Juni 1994*. Bundesministerium für Inneres. Vienna: Österreichische Staatsdruckerei.
- Botz, Gerhard/Sprengnagel, Gerald (1994): Kontroversen um Österreichs Zeitgeschichte. Verdrängte Vergangenheit. Österreich-Identität, Waldheim und die Historiker. In: Botz, Gerhard/Müller, Albert/Sprengnagel, Gerald (Eds.): *Studien zur Historischen Sozialwissenschaft*. 13. pp. 571–580.

- Bruckmüller, Ernst (1984): Nation Österreich. Sozialhistorische Aspekte ihrer Entwicklung. Vienna: Böhlau.
- Bruckmüller, Ernst (1998): Die Entwicklung des Österreichbewusstseins. In: Kriechbaumer, Robert (Ed.): Österreichische Nationalgeschichte nach 1945. Die Spiegel der Erinnerung: Die Sicht von innen. Vol. 1. Vienna/Cologne/Weimar: Böhlau. pp. 369-396.
- Bruckmüller, Ernst (2019): Österreichische Geschichte. Von der Urgeschichte bis zur Gegenwart. Vienna/Cologne/Weimar: Böhlau Verlag.
- Calhoun, Craig (2007): Nations Matter. Culture, History, and the Cosmopolitan Dream. London/New York: Routledge.
- Claussen, Detlev (1995): Die Banalisierung des Bösen. Über Auschwitz, Alltagsreligion und Gesellschaftstheorie. In: Werz, Michael (Ed.): Antisemitismus und Gesellschaft. Zur Diskussion um Auschwitz, Kulturindustrie und Gewalt. Frankfurt: Verlag Neue Kritik. pp. 13-28.
- Das kleine Volksblatt (1945): Mahnmal unerbittlicher Gerechtigkeit. 13. 08/21/1945.
- de Saussure, Ferdinand (2016): Writings in general linguistics. French text edited by Bouquet, Simon/Engler, Rudolf, translated into English by Sanders, Charles/Pires, Matthew. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Deckert-Peaceman, Heike (2003): Teaching the Holocaust in the USA: A German perspective. In: Intercultural Studies. 14 (2). pp. 215-224.
- Deckert-Peaceman, Heike (2006). Holocaust – ein Sachunterrichtsthema? [The Holocaust – a theme for instruction in general subjects?]. In: Pech D./Rauterberg M./Stocklas K. (Eds.): Möglichkeiten und Relevanz der Auseinandersetzung mit dem Holocaust im Sachunterricht der Grundschule. [Possibilities for and relevance of dealing with the Holocaust in elementary school]. Supplement 3. Online [Accessed 9/17/2020]: <http://www.widerstreit-sachunterricht.de/beihefte/beiheft3/beiheft3.pdf>.
- Declaration on Austria (1943). In: United Nations Documents. 1941-1945. Moscow Declaration. London/New York: The Royal Institute of International Affairs. Online Archive.org [Accessed 9/25/2020]: https://archive.org/stream/unitednationsdoc031889mbp/unitednationsdoc031889mbp_djvu.txt.
- Denman, Christopher/Al-Mahrooqi, Rahma (2019): Quality Assurance in English Education in Omani Schools. A Critical Look. In: Handbook of Research on Curriculum Reform Initiatives in English Education.
- Depaepe, Marc (2012): Educationalisation. A key concept in understanding the basic processes in the history of western education. In: Depaepe, Marc (Ed.): Between Educationaliza-

- tion and Appropriation. Selected Writings on the History of Modern Educational Systems. Leuven: University press. pp. 121-138.
- Der neue Mahnruf (1965): 700 Jugendliche begannen nachzudenken. 18 (6). p. 3.
- Der Standard (2005): Niemand rief "Österreich ist frei" vom Balkon. Online [Accessed 23/12/2020]: <https://www.derstandard.at/story/1944961/niemand-rief-oesterreich-ist-frei-vom-balkon>.
- Dreier, Werner (2010): Education on National Socialism and the Holocaust in Austria. In: Erinnern.at (2010): Holocaust Education in Austria. 2000-2010.
- dtv-Atlas zur Weltgeschichte (1989): Von der französischen Revolution bis zur Gegenwart. 23rd edition. Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag.
- Educational Principles Austria (2020): List of Educational Principles. Federal Ministry of Austria for Education (BMBWF), Science and Research. Online [Accessed 11/27/2020]: <https://www.bmbwf.gv.at/Themen/schule/schulpraxis/prinz.html>.
- Eller, J. David/Coughlan, Reed M. (1993): The poverty of primordialism: the demystification of ethnic attachments. In: Ethnic and Racial Studies. 16. pp. 181-202.
- Fairclough, Norman/Wodak, Ruth (1997): Critical Discourse Analysis. In: van Dijk, Teun (Ed.): Discourse Studies. A Multidisciplinary Introduction. Volume 2. Discourse as Social Interaction. London et al. pp. 258-284.
- Fellner, Fritz (1988): The problem of the Austrian Nation after 1945. In: The Journal of Modern History. 60 (2). pp. 264-289.
- Figl, Leopold (1955): Celebratory speech after the signing of the State-Treaty. 5/15/1955. Online [Accessed 12/4/2020]: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9qHk8-TOYbY>.
- Fliedl et al. (1991): Gutachten über die zukünftige Entwicklung der Gedenkstätte Mauthausen. Report of the Austrian camp collective Mauthausen.
- Foucault, Michel (1972): The Archeology of Knowledge. New York: Pantheon.
- Gellner, Ernest (1993): Nationalism. In: Outhwaite, William/Bottomore, Tom B. (Eds.): Blackwell Dictionary of Twentieth-Century Thought. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Gingrich, Andre (2004): Concepts of race vanishing, movements of racism rising? Global issues and Austrian Ethnography. In: Ethnos. 69 (2), pp. 156-176.
- Goodson, Ivor F. (1995): The Making of Curriculum. Collected Essays. Second Edition. London/Washington D.C.: The Falmer Press.
- Goodson, Ivor F. (1999): Entstehung eines Schulfachs. In: Goodson, Ivor F./Hopmann, Stefan/Riquarts, Kurt (Eds.): Das Schulfach als Handlungsrahmen. Vergleichende Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Funktion der Schulfächer. Cologne: Böhlau Verlag. pp. 151-176.

- Gotling, Nicole (2018): Finding national ideologies in textbook historiographies. The Prussian Wars in the historiographical and geohistoriographical narratives of German, Danish, Austrian, and French textbooks, from 1871 to 1939. In: González, Sara et al. (Eds.): *La Práctica Educativa. Historia, memoria y patrimonio*. Salamanca: FahrenHouse.
- Grosby, Stephen (2003): Religion, ethnicity and nationalism: the uncertain perennialism of Adrian Hastings. In: *Nations and Nationalism*. 9 (1). pp. 7–13.
- Haller, Max (1996): *Identität und Nationalstolz der Österreicher. Gesellschaftliche Ursachen und Funktionen. Herausbildung und Transformation seit 1945. Internationaler Vergleich*. Vienna: Böhlau Verlag.
- Harp, Stephen L. (1998): *Learning to be loyal. Primary schooling as nation building in Alsace and Lorraine, 1850-940*. Northern Illinois: University Press.
- Hastings, Adrian (1997): *The Construction of Nationhood. Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- HDGÖ (2019): #Ostarrichi. Die Karriere einer Urkunde. Online Haus der Geschichte Österreich [Accessed 12/23/2020]. <https://www.hdgoe.at/ostarrichi>.
- Heer, Friedrich (1981): *Der Kampf um die österreichische Identität*. Vienna.
- Heyl, Matthias (1997): Holocaust Education (West-)Germany – Now and Then. In: Schreier, Helmut/Heyl, Matthias: *Never again! The Holocaust's Challenge for Educators*. Hamburg: Verlag Dr. R. Krämer. pp. 165-179.
- Honer, Anne (2011): *Kleine Leiblichkeiten. Erkundungen in Lebenswelten*. Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- Horlacher, Rebekka (2016): *The educated subject and the German concept of Bildung. A comparative cultural history*. New York: Routledge.
- Horlacher, Rebekka (2017): The Emergence of Physical Education as a Subject for Compulsory Schooling in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century. The Case of Phokion Heinrich Clias and Adolf Spiess. In: Tröhler Daniel et al. (Eds.): *Nordic Journal of Educational History. Special Issue: Physical Education and the Embodiment of the Nation*. 4 (2). pp. 13-30.
- Horlacher, Rebekka (2018): The same but different. The German Lehrplan and Curriculum. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*. 50 (1). pp. 1-16.
- Hughes, Robert Edward (1906): *The Making of Citizens. A Study in Comparative Education*. Second Edition. London: The Walter Scott Publishing.
- Ichijo, Atsuko/Uzelac, Gordana (Eds.) (2005) *When is the nation? Towards an understanding of theories of nationalism*. London: Routledge.

- IMK (1963): Resolutions of the International Mauthausen committee. San Remo 24. – 16.5.1963. Resolution of the Commission around questions for youth. DÖW stock FIR.
- Jagschitz, Gerhard et al. (1980): Medienkoffer Österreichische Zeitgeschichte 1938 – 1955. Medienkoffer 1. Universitätsbibliothek Zeitgeschichte.
- Kreissler, Felix (1980): La prise de conscience de la Nation autrichienne. 1938-1945-1978. 2nd edition. Published in German as „Der Österreicher und seine Nation“. 1984. Vienna.
- Kühberger, Christoph (2017): Teaching the Holocaust and National Socialism in Austria: politics of memory, history classes, and empirical insights. In: Holocaust Studies. 23 (3).
- Kuzaj-Sefelin, Ulrike (2002): Die Darstellung des Nationalsozialismus im österreichischen Geschichtslehrbuch für die 4. Klasse der Hauptschulen und allgemeinbildenden höheren Schulen von 1945 bis 1999/2000. Diploma thesis. Vienna: Institute for Educational Science. University of Vienna.
- Labaree, David F. (2008). The winning ways of a losing strategy. Educationalizing social problems in the United States. In: Educational Theory. 58 (4). pp. 447-460.
- Landwehr, Achim (2008). Historische Diskursanalyse. Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag.
- Langer, Sigrid (2010): Die Konfrontation mit dem Holocaust in der Volksschule. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen, aufgezeigt an einem Unterrichtsbeispiel. Institute for Kultur- und Gesellschaftswissenschaften. University of Salzburg.
- Layton, David (1972): Science as general education. Trends in Education.
- Lessa, Iara (2006): Discursive Struggles within Social Welfare. Restaging Teen Motherhood. In: British Journal of Social Work. 36. pp. 283–298.
- Levine, Alan J. (2018): The Sputnik Shock. In: Levine, Alan J.: After Sputnik. pp. 57-74.
- Lindquist, David H. (2013): Defining the Shoah. An Opening Lesson for a Holocaust Unit. In: The Social Studies. 104 (1). pp. 32-37.
- Maringer, Katharina (2015): Ich wäre dafür, dass man die Sache in die Länge zieht... NS-Kunstraub und Restitution in Österreich am Beispiel „Adele Bloch-Bauer I“. Diplomarbeit. Institut für Geschichte. Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz
- Mattl, Siegfried (1983): Bestandsaufnahme zeitgeschichtlicher Forschung in Österreich. Vienna.
- Mayrhofer, Hemma et al. (2017): Kinder und Jugendliche mit Behinderungen in der Wiener Psychiatrie von 1945 bis 1989. Stationäre Unterbringung am Steinhof und Rosenhügel. Vienna: Lit Verlag GmbH & Co. KG.
- Mitchell, Marl (1931): Emile Durkheim and the Philosophy of Nationalism, Political Science Quarterly. 46 (1). pp. 87–106.

- Mitnik, Philipp (2016): Holocaust Studies in Austrian Elementary and Secondary Schools. *Global Education Review*. 3 (3). pp. 138-152.
- Müller-Bauseneik, Jens (2005): Die US-Fernsehserie „Holocaust“ im Spiegel der deutschen Presse (January – March 1979). Eine Dokumentation. In: *Historical Social Research*. 30 (4). pp. 128-140.
- Musgrove, Frank (1968): The contribution of sociology to the study of the curriculum. In: Kerr, John F. (Ed.): *Changing the Curriculum*. University of London Press. pp. 96-109.
- Nieswandt, Martina (1999): Schulfächer und ihre Geschichte als Gegenstand der Curriculumsforschung im deutschsprachigen Raum. In: Goodson Ivor F./Hopmann, Stefan/Riquarts Kurt (Eds.): *Das Schulfach als Handlungsrahmen. Vergleichende Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Funktion der Schulfächer*. Köln: Böhlau Verlag. pp. 47-74.
- Österreichische Mediathek (1992): Kritik am Anti-Ausländer-Volksbegehren "Österreich zuerst". ORF-Inlandsreport. November 12th 1992. Online [Accessed 12/5/2020]: <https://www.mediathek.at/atom/139F230C-2B3-00107-00000C74-139E6537>.
- Österreichische Mediathek (2020): Das „Bedenkjahr“ 1988. Online Österreichische Mediathek [Accessed 9/25/2020]: <https://www.mediathek.at/akustische-chronik/1986-1994/das-bedenkjahr-1988/>.
- Özirimli, Umut (2010): *Theories of Nationalism. A Critical Introduction*. Second Edition. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Pelinka, Anton (1998): Simon Wiesenthal und die österreichische Innenpolitik. Referat im Rahmen der Tagung »Österreichs Umgang mit der NS-Täterschaft« anlässlich des 90. Geburtstags von Simon Wiesenthal. Vienna: DÖW.
- Pelinka, Anton (1998): Simon Wiesenthal und die österreichische Innenpolitik. Referat im Rahmen der Tagung »Österreichs Umgang mit der NS-Täterschaft« anlässlich des 90. Geburtstags von Simon Wiesenthal. Vienna: DÖW.
- Perz, Betrand (2006): *Die KZ-Gedenkstätte Mauthausen. 1945 bis zur Gegenwart*. Innsbruck/Vienna/Bozen: Studien Verlag.
- Peter-diem.at (2020): Deutsch-Österreich Hymne. Online [Accessed 23/12/2020]: <http://peter-diem.at/Lieder/Kienzl1.gif>.
- Pocock, John Greville Agard (1987). *The Concept of Language and the Métier d'Historien: Some Consideration on Practice*. In: Padgen, Anthony (Ed.): *The Languages of Political Theory in Early- Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 19-38.

- Profil (1988): Heldenplatz. Die Inszenierung. 42. 10/17/1988. Online [Accessed 01/02/2021]: https://web.archive.org/web/20140222005809/http://www.profil.at/articles/1342/980/371776_s12/25-jahren-heldenplatz-empowerung.
- Pührer, Julia (2007): Zweisprachige Ortstafeln und territorial Identitätskonstruktion. Eine Diskursanalyse zum Ortstafelstreit in Kärnten/Korsoska. Diploma thesis: Vienna.
- Rajal, Elke (2010): Erziehung nach / über Auschwitz. Holocaust Education in Österreich vor dem Hintergrund Kritischer Theorie. University of Vienna.
- Rathkolb, Oliver (2015): Die paradoxe Republik. Österreich 1945 bis 2015. Vienna: Paul Zsolnay Verlag.
- Red-white-red-book (1947): Gerechtigkeit für Österreich! Rot-Weiss-Rot-Buch. Darstellungen. Dokumente und Nachweise zur Vorgeschichte und Geschichte der Okkupation Österreichs (Nach amtlichen Quellen). First part was published in the summer of 1946 by the Austrian State Printing House. Quoted from the English translation of this work which was published in 1947.
- Renan, Ernest (1882): What is a nation? In: Renan, Ernest/Giglioli, M. F. N. (2018) (Ed.) What is a nation? And other political writings. New York: Columbia University Press. pp. 247-263.
- Republik Österreich (2020): Kleine Koalition mit Schwierigkeiten. Online [Accessed 12/11/2020]: <https://www.parlament.gv.at/PERK/HIS/REP2/1983-1986/index.shtml>.
- Rettinger, Friedrich/Weissensteiner, Leopold (1992): Zeitbilder. Geschichte und Sozialkunde. Vienna.
- Schöttler, Peter (1997): Wer hat Angst vor dem 'linguistic turn'? In: Geschichte und Gesellschaft. 23. pp. 134-151.
- Schwimmer, Martina (2011): The Educationalization of Social Problems. A Review. In: Curriculum Inquiry. 41 (1). pp. 92-97.
- Sihls, Edward (1957): Primordial, Personal, Sacred and Civil Ties. Some Particular Observations on the Relationships of Sociological Research and Theory. In: The British Journal of Sociology. 8 (2). pp. 130-145.
- Sinowatz, Fred (1973): Speech at the liberation ceremony of Mauthausen memorial. Translated by author. In: Perz, Betrand (2006): Die KZ-Gedenkstätte Mauthausen. 1945 bis zur Gegenwart. Innsbruck/Vienna/Bozen: Studien Verlag.
- Smeyers, Paul/Depaepe, Marc (Eds.). (2008): Educational Research: The Educationalization of Social Problems. Gent, Belgium: Springer.
- Smith, Anthony D. (1991). National identity. Reno, NV: University of Nevada Press.
- Smith, Anthony D. (2002): When is a Nation. In: Geopolitics. 7 (2). pp. 5-32.

- Spiegel (2000): Neue Regierung löst Sturm des Protests aus. 2/5/2000. Online [Accessed 12/5/2020]: <https://www.spiegel.de/politik/ausland/oesterreich-neue-regierung-loest-sturm-des-protests-aus-a-63041.html>.
- Staatsgesetzblatt für die Republik Österreich (1920): Online [Accessed 12/4/2020]: <http://www.literature.at/viewer.alo?objid=11840&page=1&viewmode=fullscreen>.
- Statistics Austria: Lebend- und Totgeborene seit 1871. Online Statistics Austria [Accessed 9/24/2020]: https://www.statistik.at/web_de/statistiken/menschen_und_gesellschaft/bevoelkerung/geborene/025423.html.
- Stiefel, Dietet (1981): Entnazifizierung in Österreich. Vienna et al.: Europaverlag.
- Stourzh, Gerald (1990): Vom Reich zur Republik. Vienna.
- Thaler, Peter Michael (1996): Constructing National Identity in an Advanced Society. The Austrian Experience. A doctoral thesis submitted to the faculty of the graduate school of the University of Minnesota.
- Tröhler, Daniel (2016a): Educationalization of Social Problems and the Educationalization of the Modern World. In: Peters, Michael A. (Ed.): Encyclopedia of Educational Philosophy and Theory. Springer Science + Business Media. Singapore.
- Tröhler, Daniel (2016b): Curriculum history or the educational construction of Europe in the long nineteenth century. In: European Educational Research Journal. 15 (3). pp. 279-297.
- Tröhler, Daniel (2017). Menschen, Bürger und Nationen: Motive, Argumente und Organisationsprinzipien moderner Schulsysteme im Westeuropa des frühen 19. Jahrhunderts. Online [Accessed 11/28/2020]: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/320830329_Menschen_Burger_und_Nationen_Motive_Argumente_und_Organisationsprinzipien_moderner_Schulsysteme_im_Westeuropa_des_fruhen_19_Jahrhunderts.
- Tröhler, Daniel (2019a): Curriculum History. In Rury, John L./Tamura, Eileen H. (Eds.): The Oxford Handbook of the History of Education. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 523-538.
- Tröhler, Daniel (2019b): Modern Education and the Art of Fabricating National Minds. Paper presented at the Doctoral Seminar “Theory and Data in the History of Education, a Cross-Generational and Cross-Cultural Conference”. Stanford University.
- Tröhler, Daniel/Fox Stephanie (2019): Der ‚linguistic turn‘ und die historische Bildungsforschung. In: Hoffman-Ocon, Andreas/Matthes, Eva (Eds.): Enzyklopädie Erziehungswissenschaft. Weinheim/Basel: Beltz Juventa.

- Trska, Gertraud (1990): Leopold Figl. Ein Optimist – durch und durch. Rust: Leopold Figl Museum.
- Tyack, David B./Cuban, Larry (1995): Tinkering Toward Utopia. A Century of Public School Reform. United States of America: Harvard College.
- Uhl, Heidemarie (2001): Das "erste Opfer". Der österreichische Opfermythos und seine Transformationen in der Zweiten Republik. In: Österreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft. pp. 19-34.
- Uhl, Heidemarie (2005): Vom Opfermythos zur Mitverantwortungsthese. NS-Herrschaft, Krieg und Holocaust im 'österreichischen Gedächtnis'. In: Gerbel, Christian (Ed.): Zur gesamtdeutschen Geschichtsauffassung, der akademischen Gesichtsauffassung der Zweiten Republik und dem politischen Ethos der Zeitgeschichte. pp. 50-85.
- Umweltbildung BMBWF (2020): Umweltbildung für nachhaltige Entwicklung. Federal Ministry of Austria for Education (BMBWF). Online [Accessed 11/28/2020]: <https://www.bmbwf.gv.at/Themen/schule/schulpraxis/prinz/umweltbildung.html>.
- University of Chicago (2006): Americans and Venezuelans lead the world in national pride. Online [Accessed 12/4/2020]: <http://www-news.uchicago.edu/releases/06/060301.nationalpride.shtml>.
- Utgaard, Peter (1997): Forgetting the Nazis: Schools, Identity, and the „Austria as Victim Myth” since 1945. Washington State University.
- Utgaard, Peter (1999): Remembering and Forgetting the Holocaust in Austrian Schools, 1995-1996. In: Bischof, Günter/Pelinka, Anton/Karlhofer, Ferdinand (Eds.): The Vranitzky Era in Austria. New Brunswick/New Jersey: Transaction Publishers.
- Utgaard, Peter (2003): Remembering and forgetting Nazism: education, national identity, and the victim myth in postwar Austria. New York/Oxford: Bergahn Books.
- Vasant, Jacqueline (1994): Challenging Austria's Victim Status. National Socialism and Austrian Personal Narratives. In: The German Quarterly. 67 (1). pp. 38-57.
- Vranitzky, Franz (1991): Speech at the national council. Translated by Eugen Freund. Online ORF TVThek [Accessed 9/25/2020]: <https://tvthek.orf.at/history/Geschichte-Holocaust-und-Antisemitismus/6955477/Mitschuld-Aufsehen-nach-Vranitzky-Rede/14035565>.
- Wagner, Georg (1983): Österreich Zweite Republik. 2nd edition. Tirol: Thaur.
- Waibel, Kora (2008): Dissertation zur Kündbarkeit des österreichischen Konkordats. Über Möglichkeiten und Folgen einer Abschaffung des Vertrags zwischen der Republik Österreich und dem Heiligen Stuhl. 5/7/1933. Doctoral dissertation for the study of law. University of Vienna.

- Weber, Eugene (1976): Peasants into Frenchmen: The modernization of rural France, 1870-1914. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Wiener Stadtschulrat (1960): Viennese school inspector for the middle level schools. 4/29/1960. Concerning concentration camp Mauthausen. Part of the DÖW collection FIR. Signed by Dr. Neugebauer. Translated by author.
- Wodak, Ruth (2001a): What CDA is about – a summary of its history, important concepts and its developments. In: Meyer, Michael/Wodak, Ruth (Eds.): Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis. London et al.: Sage. pp. 1-13.
- Wodak, Ruth (2001b): The discourse-historical approach. In: Meyer, Michael/Wodak, Ruth (Eds.): Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis. London et al.: Sage. pp. 1-13.
- Wodak, Ruth et al. (1998): Zur diskursiven Konstruktion nationaler Identitäten. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp Verlag.
- Wodak, Ruth/Kovács, András (2003): NATO, Neutrality and National Identity: the case of Austria and Hungary. Vienna et al.: Böhlau Verlag.
- Wodak, Ruth/Weiss, Gilbert (2005): Analyzing European Union discourses. Theories and applications. In: Wodak, Ruth/Chilton, Paul (Eds.): A new agenda in (critical) discourse analysis. Amsterdam: Benjamins. pp. 121-135.
- Zens, Klemens (1966): Schaut Ringsherum. Zum Österreichischen Nationalfeiertag. Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag. Translated by Utgaard.

Bundesgesetzblätter

- Bundesgesetzblatt (BGBl.) 273, 1962: Vertrag zwischen dem Heiligen Stuhl und der Republik Österreich zur Regelung von mit dem Schulwesen zusammenhängenden Fragen samt Schlußprotokoll.

Bundesgesetzblätter Main School curriculum:

- Bundesgesetzblatt (BGBl.) 134, 6/28/1963
- Bundesgesetzblatt (BGBl.) 91, 3/8/1979
- Bundesgesetzblatt (BGBl.) 78, 2/26/1985
- Bundesgesetzblatt (BGBl.) 441, 8/28/1986
- Bundesgesetzblatt (BGBl.) 429, 8/31/1989
- Bundesgesetzblatt (BGBl.) 439, 8/14/1991
- Bundesgesetzblatt (BGBl.) 528, 8/27/1992
- Bundesgesetzblatt (BGBl.) 546, 8/6/1993
- Bundesgesetzblatt (BGBl.) 643, 9/26/1995

Bundesgesetzblatt (BGBl.) 355, 7/19/1996

Bundesgesetzblatt (BGBl.) 134, 9/1/2000

Bundesgesetzblatt (BGBl.) 113, 5/18/2016, part 2

Bundesgesetzblätter Higher General School curriculum:

Bundesgesetzblatt (BGBl.) 275, 9/4/1970

Bundesgesetzblatt (BGBl.) 145, 4/3/1979

Bundesgesetzblatt (BGBl.) 88 3/7/1985

Bundesgesetzblatt (BGBl.) 591, 11/6/1986

Bundesgesetzblatt (BGBl.) 63, 2/7/1989

Bundesgesetzblatt (BGBl.) 644, 9/26/1995

Bundesgesetzblatt (BGBl.) 555, 8/10/1999

Bundesgesetzblatt (BGBl.) 2000: Online [Accessed 12/11/2020]:

https://www.ris.bka.gv.at/Dokumente/BgblPdf/2000_133_2/2000_133_2.html.

Bundesgesetzblatt (BGBl.) 113, 5/18/2016, part 2

9. List of Charts

Chart 1: Evidence of Holocaust-related issues in researched yearbooks	36
Chart 2: Evidence of Holocaust-related issues in researched educational scientific journals .	59
Chart 3: Age of baby boomers, post war generation, young war generation, and war generation throughout the Second Republic of Austria	69

10. List of Tables

Table 1: Student numbers visiting the Mauthausen memorial (Fliedl et al., 1991, p. 62)	30
Table 2: Evidence of Holocaust-related issues BG/BRG Ettenreichgasse, Vienna	37
Table 3: Evidence of Holocaust-related issues BG/BRG Keimgasse, Lower Austria	38
Table 4: Evidence of Holocaust-related issues BG/BRG Gmunden, Upper Austria	40
Table 5: Evidence of Holocaust-related issues BG Gallusstraße Bregenz, Vorarlberg	40
Table 6: Evidence of Holocaust-related issues Amerlinggymnasium, Vienna	41
Table 7: Evidence of Holocaust-related issues BG/BRG Biondegasse Baden, Lower Austria	44
Table 8: Evidence of Holocaust-related issues BG/BRG Feldkirch, Vorarlberg	46
Table 9: Evidence of Holocaust-related issues BG/BRG Erlgasse, Vienna	47
Table 10: Evidence of Holocaust-related issues BG/BRG Gleisdorf, Styria	48
Table 11: Interdisciplinary educational principles, AHS curriculum 1979 (BGBl. 145, 4/3/1979, pp. 791-792)	50
Table 12: All issues of the subject „History and Social Studies”, fourth grade, Main School curriculum 1986 (BGBl. 441, 8/28/1986, p. 2785-2788)	54
Table 13: All issues of the subject “History and Social Studies”, fourth grade, Main School Curriculum 1995 (BGBl. 643, 9/26/1995, p. 7585-7587)	56
Table 14: Researched educational scientific journals	61

11. List of Images

Image 0: Front cover of the Schulheft (43) 1986	page after title page
Image 1: Overhead-projector sheet about the persecution for racial reasons (Jagschitz et al., 1980).....	33
Image 2: Books displayed in the Amerlinggymnasium, yearbook 1987/1988, p. 38	34
Image 3: Picture of the exhibition at the BG/BRG Keimgasse Mödling in 1988, yearbook 1987/1988, p. 21.....	39
Image 4: Picture displayed in the Amerlinggymnasium yearbook, 1978/1988, p.30	42
Image 5: Article on Political Education, yearbook 1986/1987, p. 24	47
Image 6: Two issues and topics of the subject “History and Social Studies”, fourth grade, Main School Curriculum 1963 (BGBl. 134, 6/28/1963, p. 763).....	53
Image 7: Issue “Dictatorial systems” of the subject “History and Social Studies”, fourth grade, Main School Curriculum 1986 (BGBl. 441, 8/28/1986, p. 2786).....	55
Image 8: Issue “The Second World War” of the subject “History and Social Studies”, fourth grade, Main School Curriculum 1986 (BGBl. 441, 8/28/1986, pp. 2786-2877)	55
Image 9: Issue “Crises of the interwar period and dictatorial systems” of the subject “History and Social Studies”, fourth grade, Main School Curriculum 1995 (BGBl. 643, 9/26/1995, p. 7585).....	57
Image 10: All issues and topics of the subject “History and Social Studies”, fourth grade, Main School Curriculum 2000 (BGBl. 134, 9/1/2000, p. 1186).....	58
Image 11: A comic at the front cover of the Schulheft (49, 1988)	64
Image 12: Figl’s speech printed in „Das kleine Volksblatt“ (13, 08/21/1945, p.1).....	80

12. Abstract English

The goal of the master's thesis with the title "*Educationalizing the Holocaust in the service of Austrian nation-building*" was to look at the phenomenon of *educationalization in the service of nation-building* through the specific case of Austria's educationalization of the Holocaust from 1945 to 2000.

The theoretical framework of the *educationalized nation-building* discourse examined the existing theories on educationalization (Goodson, 1995; Smeyers and Depaepe, 2008; Tröhler, 2016a), nation-building (Renan, 1882; Billig, 1995; Özkirimli, 2010), and curriculum reform (Tyack/Cuban, 1995; Tröhler, 2019a; Horlacher, 2018). By looking at the existing research on this discourse it became apparent that the interwovenness of educationalization and nation-building has been often overlooked – especially in (German) educational sciences. A research gap in educational sciences was detected, making clear the importance of this master's thesis beyond the case of the Austrian educationalization of the Holocaust.

The approach of the *Vienna School in Critical Discourse Analysis* guided this master's thesis methodologically (Wodak, 2001a; Fairclough/Wodak, 1997). In order to verify the guiding thesis "*The educationalization of the Holocaust in Austria is a case for educationalization in the service of Austrian nation-building*" national historiographic evidence found within the concrete sources related to the educationalization processes of the Holocaust was gathered (e.g. yearbooks, curriculum, ...). Four explorative expert interviews were conducted.

The collection and analyses of the sources proved that Austria's nation-building modes had a means to enforce a certain national identity through education. Television and media, as well as outrageous affairs (e.g. *Waldheim-Affair* in 1986) made certain aspects of the hidden past visible and changed the national mindedness of many Austrians regarding the Holocaust. Governmental agenda and most importantly the changing Holocaust-narrative within the Austrian nation made a new way of dealing with the past at the end of the 1970s and throughout the 1980s possible. This altered national mindedness had to be mirrored in education. The Holocaust had to become part of a national identity through schooling in order to educate the future Austrian citizen. Concluding, it can be stated that the examination of the connectedness of Austria's nation-building and educationalization processes regarding the Holocaust showed a case for the apparent interwovenness of *educationalization in the service of nation-building*.

Keywords: nation-building, educationalization, curriculum, Holocaust, Austria

13. Abstract Deutsch

Das Ziel der Masterarbeit mit dem Titel „*Educationalizing the Holocaust in the service of Austrian nation-building*“ war es, durch die Beschreibung der österreichischen Pädagogisierungsprozesse des Holocaust von 1945 bis 2000 Einsicht in das Phänomen der *Pädagogisierung im Dienste von nation-building* zu erhalten.

Der theoretische Rahmen des *educationalized nation-building* Diskurs beleuchtet die Theorien zu Pädagogisierung (Goodson, 1995; Smeyers and Depaepe, 2008; Tröhler, 2016a), *nation-building* (Renan, 1882; Billig, 1995; Özkirimli, 2010), und Curriculumreform (Tyack/Cuban, 1995; Tröhler, 2019a; Horlacher, 2018). Die Auseinandersetzung mit der bereits existierenden Forschung zu diesem Diskurs ergab, dass die Verwobenheit von Pädagogisierung und *nation-building* bisher kaum erforscht wurde. Speziell die (deutschsprachigen) Bildungs- und Erziehungswissenschaften haben sich diesem Phänomen kaum gewidmet. Durch das Entdecken dieser bildungswissenschaftlichen Forschungslücke ist die Wichtigkeit dieser Masterarbeit weit über den Fall der österreichischen Pädagogisierung des Holocausts gegeben.

Der Ansatz der *Vienna School in Critical Discourse Analysis* gab der Masterarbeit die methodologische Grundlage (Wodak, 2001a; Fairclough/Wodak, 1997). Um die Leitthese der Masterarbeit „*The educationalization of the Holocaust in Austria is a case for educationalization in the service of Austrian nation-building*“ zu verifizieren, wurde nach nationalen historiographischen Beweisen in konkreten Quellen gesucht, welche in Verbindung mit dem Pädagogisierungsprozessen des Holocausts stehen (z.B.: Jahrbücher, Lehrpläne,...). Es wurden vier explorative Experten- und Expertinneninterviews durchgeführt. Die Sammlung und Analyse der historischen Quellen bewies, dass Österreichs *nation-building* in enger Verbindung mit den Veränderungen in der Schule standen. Fernsehfilme, Medien und aufwühlende Affären (z.B.: *Waldheim-Affäre* in 1986) brachten Aspekte der vergessenen Vergangenheit ans Licht und änderten dadurch die nationale Einstellung vieler Österreicher und Österreicherinnen in Bezug auf den Holocaust. Politische Agenden und das sich verändernde nationale Holocaust-Narrativ der Nation Österreich am Ende der 1970er und im Laufe der 1980er Jahre wurde es möglich sich in neuer Weise mit der Vergangenheit auseinanderzusetzen. Diese veränderte nationale Einstellung spiegelte sich auch in der *Bildung* (Lehrplanveränderungen, Schule,...) wider. Der Holocaust wurde über die Implementierung in der Schule ein Teil der nationalen Identität und half somit das Selbstverständnis des zukünftigen österreichischen Bürgers und der zukünftigen österreichischen Bürgerin zu gestalten. Abschließend kann gesagt werden, dass die

Auseinandersetzung mit der Verbindung von Österreichs *nation-building* und Pädagogisierungsprozessen in Bezug auf den Holocaust eine affimierende Aussage zum Phänomen der Verwobenheit von *Pädagogisierung im Dienste von nation-building* machen konnte.

Schlagwörter: nation-building, Pädagogisierung, Lehrplan, Holocaust, Österreich

14. Appendix

Timeline of the developments during the Second Republic of Austria (1945-2000)			
	Nation-Building	Holocaust Nation-Building	Educational changes
1943		Moscow Declaration	
1944			
1945	Austrian Declaration of Independence: „Anschluß null und nichtig“ 04/1945: Temporary Government ÖVP/SPÖ/KPÖ 11/1945: First official government: Figl state chancellor	Engerauer Court Cases	
1946	Start of the celebration of the 950th anniversary of Austria		
1947	Austrian national anthem	Prohibition Act Restitution Acts	
1948		Amnesty for Nazi party „less-involved“	
1949	ÖVP: stresses patriotic identity (fight against German-nationalistic identity)	Establishment of VdU party (Verband der Unabhängigen) Restitution Acts	First field trips to Mauthausen memorial
1950			
1951			
1952			
1953			
1954		Court cases against Nazi „involved“ end	
1955	State-Treaty: Declaration of Neutrality Austrian Flag day		Concordat is reached between church and state
1956	Acceptance of independent austrian identity by political elite (ÖVP & SPÖ)		
1957			
1958			
1959	Parliamentary Election: SPÖ in the lead, ÖVP provides chancellor Julius Raab (1953-1961)		
1960		Student fraternities openly adress German-nationalistic idiologies	First recommendation by the ministry to visit Mauthausen memorial Establishment of scientific study contemporary history
1961			
1962			Pressure by public for educational changes
1963		Establishment of DÖW	First original curriculum for Middle School and AHS after the Second World War (democracy as important value, uniqueness of Austria is stressed in schools)
1964			
1965		Borodajkewycz-Affair Austrian Flag Day becomes national Austria Day	
1966	Parliamentary Election: ÖVP sole lead until 1970		Schoolbooks: One-Basket-of-Suffering-Theory, Hitler made responsible
1967			
1968			
1969		Establishment of „Arbeitskreis für österreichische Geschichte“	

Denazification

Occupation Time

t and west)

1970	Parliamentary Election: SPÖ wins, Kreisky era 1970-1983	Mauthausen could be used by the SPÖ to reclaim the stigma around the clerical-socialist dictatorship from 1934 to 1938 which was still affiliated with the SPÖ	More recommendations to visit Mauthausen memorial Political Education as non-mandatory exercise	Transgenerational change	Cold War (Austria as neutral bridge between east and west)
1971					
1972			„Schulbuchaktion“		
1973			Department for Political Education at the ministry of education and art		
1974					
1975	Parliamentary Election: SPÖ	Kreisky-Peter-Wiesenthal-Affair			
1976			„ReferentInnenvermittlungsdienst Zeitgeschichte“ Seminars for teachers Holocaust survivors are invited into schools		
1977					
1978			„Erlaß zur Politischen Bildung“ Schoolyear 1978/1979 contemporary history year Rise in number of students visiting Mauthausen memorial Movie „Nacht und Nebel“ is watched in cinemas by students		
1979	Parliamentary Election: SPÖ	Mini-series „Holocaust“	AHS + MS curriculum Political Education as educational principle		
1980		Jewish community flourishes	„Medienkoffer 1938-1945“		
1981					
1982			Personal interest of students and teachers bring Holocaust topic into classroom		
1983	Parliamentary Election: SPÖ/FPÖ coalition; Chancellor Sinowatz (1983-1986)				
1984		Article Andrew Decker: A legacy of shame			
1985		Fight over power plant Hainburg, Frischenschlager-Reder-Affair			
1986		Waldheim-Affair Haider replaces Steger as Head of FPÖ Sinowatz resigns, Vranitzky takes over (1986-1997) Coalition dissolves because Haider becomes head of FPÖ „Rechtsruck“ victim theory turns into victim myth	More detailed curriculum with clear instructions on educational principles, educational goals, and didactical principles (interdisciplinary approach): Organized genocide is mentioned in curriculum! Peak of yearbook evidence about the Holocaust		
1987			„Medienkoffer Youth and National Socialism“ is used in schools		
1988		Anniversary to commemorate the 50th year of the „Anschluß“ Controversy around theatrical play „Heldenplatz“ Controversy around memorial against war and fascism	Peak of student numbers visiting Mauthausen memorial Brochures by the Mauthausen Collective Another peak of yearbook evidence about the Holocaust More school material and movies are available School projects are conducted		
1989	Fall of communist regime Collapse of the Iron Curtain		Holocaust appears in schoolbooks		
1990					
1991		Vranitzky accepts responsibility for the Holocaust Start of Austrian Holocaust memorial service			
1992		FPÖ referendum „Österreich zuerst“			
1993		Vranitzky apologizes in Israel to the victims of the Holocaust Zilk inaugurates Jewish Museum	Holocaust often related to xenophobia, Yugoslav Wars		

1994	EU referendum			Racially motivated attack Yugoslav Wars
1995	Austria joins the EU (Fear of immigration rises)	Establishment of the National Fund of the Republic of Austria for Victims of National Socialism Killing for Austrian Romans in Oberwart	AHS + MS curriculum; scientific educational journals talk about right-wing extremism	
1996				
1997		Establishment of the Memorial Day against Violence and Racism in Remembrance of the Victims of National Socialism		
1998		Establishment of the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research (Austria joins in 2001)		
1999	Parliamentary Election: ÖVP/FPÖ coalition; Chancellor Schüssel			
2000		Inauguration of the Holocaust memorial for Austrian Jewish victims of the Shoah	Establishment of Holocaust Institute „erinnern.at“	