

# **DOCTORAL (Ph.D.) THESIS**

## **CONTRIBUTION TO THE AUSTRIAN CULTURAL IDENTITY – CONSTITUENS AND LINGUISTIC MANIFESTATIONS**

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## **1. ISSUES OF THE RESEARCH, OBJECTIVES AND HYPOTHESES OF THE ESSAY**

The topic of this essay is cultural identity, more precisely the exploration of the construction of Austrian cultural identity, the description and evaluation of its constituents – dominantly the linguistic one.

Taking this as a starting point, the main goal of the essay is to demonstrate this identity construction, as an ocean in a drop, on a homogeneous population, punctually a qualitative case study that may also be applicable on other samples. This essay will not undertake supporting the theoretical hypotheses with the help of an age, strata and qualification specific representative survey.

The “new age migration” of the recent decades brought about an ever growing linguistic-cultural heterogeneity in the Western European countries. Simultaneously, within the context of the European integration, the processes of transition question the institutional bases of the national identity of the member states. All this explains the topicality and an increased interest towards the concept of “cultural identity”. (WODAK, 2002: 19)

Among the constituents of the identity construction my primary focus will be directed at the issue whether it is determined by language and if yes, to what extent it is the Austrians’ cultural identity. The linguistic nature of the problem takes a special attention because the German is a polycentric language that is the official language of more than one nation. (see: WIESINGER, Hg, 1988, MUHR/SCHRODT/WIESINGER, Hg, 1995, AMMON, 1995, CLYNE, 2001.). One of the essential questions of the essay is whether the relationship among the centres is equal in rank or hierarchic. Are there several centres of equal rights or rather on centre and several peripheries? What – perhaps ambivalent – meanings may the German mother tongue have for an Austrian? May it function as a source of identity in an Austrian speaking community? What do Austrians mean by the German language at all? Is it the written language and its standard spoken version (“Hochdeutsch”) or the two dialects the nearest their hearts: the “Basisdialekt” and the “Verkehrsdialekt”, perhaps the “Umgangssprache”, a transitional vernacular between the two of them? What further constituents characterise this identity at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century? The main questions of the research therefore are: what does it mean for the Austrians that they are native German speakers, whether this nourishes and if it does, to what extent their cultural identity? Is the

possibility of identification with the language affected by its pluricentric nature and to what direction? To what extent is it a problem factor that there is an ethnonym called “Germany”?

German is known to be a pluricentric language with existing national variants. My research extends over reflections concerning “the German used in Austria” – that is different opinions from Austrian linguists who consider either separation or union as a model to be followed within the German-speaking area – to establish the standpoints relevant for my topic. The following question arises again and again: “Has the language of the Austrians arrived at a point of independence that it can simply be called “Austrian?””<sup>1</sup> (WIESINGER, 1988: 10)

The main framework of my research is provided by cultural science, which „... a kultúra, a nyelv, a szimbólumok, és a világnézetek felé fordul. [...] A „kulturális” a kulturális fordulatban inkább valami várakozási magatartásra, egyfajta megközelítési módra, alapvető kérdezői irányra látszik utalni. A kultúratudományi törekvések a jelentéselőállítás folyamatait és szereplőit tartják igazán értékesnek, inkább érdekli őket az út maga, mint az eredmény, kíváncsiságuk leginkább az olyan fogalmakra irányul, mint jelentés, identitás, cselekvés, konstrukció vagy egyezkedés.” (CONRAD: 2005, )

An analysis of cultural identity is impossible without a cultural-historical discourse of how nations are interpreted and how they develop. (see: RENAN, 1882/1994, SMITH, 1993, HOBBSAWM, 1995, ASSMANN, 1992, BRUCKMÜLLER, 1998, KREISSLER, 1984, REITERER, 1988, PELINKA, 1990, ANDERSON, 1993). Besides a partially cultural-scientific demonstration of different nation-ideas, this essay also aims to highlight that the nation, with regard to its different outward forms, serves political and economical purposes and its existence is the result of construction. The research method, accordingly to the complexity of the topic, is inter-disciplinary: cultural science theory combined with the methodology of historical science.

The origin, concept and interpretations of the nation as construction are analysed subordinated to the objectives of the essay. The construction of the community is an important starting point of political action. The operation of new economical organisations and the development of bourgeois-capitalist structures walk hand in hand with the development of nations.

I intend to prove that cultural identity can never be a sealed entity but rather a discourse formation significantly influenced and continuously re-created by everyday existences. To prove that cultural identity is dependent on the current socio-cultural medium, I shall undertake a sketch of the background of the problem from historical perspectives.

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<sup>1</sup> A moderate group of linguists uses the term „österreichisches Deutsch” while more radical ones vote for „Österreichisch”.

By defining the concept of identity, I shall prove that cultural identity is a form of collective identity, a discourse formation subordinated to a permanent construction. Meanwhile, the so-called collective-discursive identity separates itself from other communities, defining criteria and regulations which shall create the basic requirements of “sharing” in the nation.

From the aspect of the topic of my essay, the discussion of Austrian-German relations bears an outstanding relevance. Examining the question takes the involvement of historical perspective. The topic of the essay necessitated going back in time as far as the 18<sup>th</sup> century. While studying the literature it has become clear that there is a tension (among others) between the two nations that manifests itself on linguistic level. To explore and analyse this, I also involved historical perspective. This set of questions is closely interrelated with difference in mentalities and the progress of literary development. In my analysis of the present time, I paid attention to what shapes the ideas created about Germans take in the Austrian discourse, in what ways these ideas are integrated into the construction of society and identity, what hetero-stereotyping processes are underway in the meantime, and whether the interest in another culture is involved in the Austrian political discourse.

From the perspective of the present, I selected two subject areas which would probably never have participated in a discourse of another country. My starting point being that every phenomenon contains general and particular in definite proportions, my research generated an opinion saying that the Austrians have two strongly marked specific features, *tourism* and *gastronomy*. This is also supported by the fact that every item of the so-called 23+1 list is a foodstuff.

Tourism has launched a remarkable progress in Austrians’ self-interpretation: taking up hetero-stereotypes and integrating them among auto-stereotypes. This is how images from outside can transform a culture’s self-interpretation.

The hypotheses of the essay laying the groundwork of my analyses are the following:

1. The Austrian cultural identity is not fundamentally determined by language.
2. The variant of German spoken in Austria further nourishes the identity.
3. For the Austrians, their dialect is the identity-creating factor with the strongest linguistic content.
4. The Austrian people do not consider history as a major identity-creating factor.

5. Tourism and cultural identity<sup>2</sup> are very strongly connected for the Austrians, which may well render tourism as an identity-creating factor.
6. Foreign images play an outstanding role in Austria's self-identity, which is why auto- and hetero-stereotypes are in a dynamic interrelation.

## **2. THE STRUCTURE AND METHODOLOGY OF THE ESSAY**

The third millennium saw the issue of identity become an exciting area seeking an interdisciplinary and integrative approach. It is surrounded with an enhanced interest from representatives of different divisions of learning (cultural anthropology, cultural studies, psychology, social psychology), says Stuart Hall, who is very outspoken in the preface of his 1996 essay volume : “The past few years have witnessed a real discursive explosion around the concept of identity.” (HALL-DU GAY: 1997, 5) One characteristic feature of globalisation is the aggressive expansion of dominant cultures, a sort of global uniformisation, information in an unprecedented quantity and speed of flow. With the birth of supranational communities, integration has generated a brand new situation for individual and society. In Rostoványi: “The only way for the European Union to become a true community is to make European (Union) identity besides national and other local identities develop and strengthen while most of European citizens come to identify with it.” (ROSTOVÁNYI, 1999: 17)

My essay is divided into three parts of approximately identical length, with the first two being theoretical and the third empiric. In the first part I take a general overview of the concept of nation, progresses of becoming a nation, and various nation interpretations, then I give a detailed analysis of national symbols. In the part focussing on identity I provide a brief summary of identity concepts and I analyse the construction of identity.

The second part zooms in on Austria, and after a strongly topic-related historical review, I deal with the individual constituents of Austrian cultural identity. The relation of language and identity justifiably receives the greatest length due to its weight. The “history of mentality” follows, which is based on the differences of German and Austrian development producing results affecting the present days and often even making communication difficult. The empiric part comprises a research report based on the findings of two questionnaire surveys.

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<sup>2</sup> That is between „Selbstbild” and „Fremdbild”.

What does “Austria” mean?<sup>3</sup> The definition of cultural identity is an extremely complex set of questions (just think how troublesome and disputed even the definition of culture is); but the question concerning the Austrians’ cultural identity is even more difficult and complex. Let us see what Menasse has to tell us about this:

“»Austrian identity« – this idea is like a dark, musty room which, on entering it for some reason, will immediately make us draw the curtains and open the windows wide to let in some air and light. But what if there is no view from the windows, which is why the room will resist light?” (MENASSE, (1995: 7)

The past 200 years have seen many people trying to find many answers to this question. The problem is so complex because the system that one has to keep in sight in the case of the Austrians is one comprising circles more or less intersecting each other. It is also worth remembering that a piece of art, an author, a movement in art or politics appears to be existing in a special force field so it is able to embody more than one idea at a time. This phenomenon’s source is the historically and socio-culturally ambivalent nature of Austrian literature and culture. A further characteristic feature of the Austrian development is that the national self-identification process had serious difficulties in verbal manifestation. Literature, music and visual arts were subjects of discourse, while the issues of the recent past and the language stubbornly avoided (indeed, being taboos for forty years) public clarification. This conspiracy of silence has definitely left its marks; neither language nor history is considered to be a “supporting pillar” of Austrian cultural identity.

The topic of my essay is Austrian cultural identity. I have been a teacher of German for 26 years, first in a secondary school, then since 1988 at a college of teacher training. During my work as a teacher I have developed an openness towards and interest in the German speaking culture lying the nearest to us in space, further deepened by a number of college projects, meetings, friendly and professional links. At the college I am responsible for German grammar and Civilisation studies, this latter one on intercultural basis. Intercultural attitude induces one to exercise continuous self-reflection, which includes confrontation with the deepest orientations, attractions and fears. Since this confrontation is often accompanied with powerful emotional effects, this may leave deep marks in one’s personality with an added value of deepening self-knowledge. I arrived at the analysis of Austrian mentality through an intercultural based teaching of civilisation studies, which seemed ever more exciting and ambivalent. The idea was that since on one hand I tried to analyse and interpret

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<sup>3</sup> Helmut QUALTINGER gives a witty answer as usual. „Austria is a labyrinth where all find their way about.” [www.wikiquote.org/wiki/Helmut\\_Qualtinger\\_2007.02.3](http://www.wikiquote.org/wiki/Helmut_Qualtinger_2007.02.3) Karl KRAUS says „Austria is the laboratory of apocalypses.” „Die letzten Tage der Menschheit”1918. p 73. Even Robert Menasse finds that Austria is attracted to doomsday.

the meanings from the Austrian viewpoint, while at the same time I was undeniably an external observer, the member of another nation, I might discover something, interpret an opinion that perhaps escaped the “insiders’” attention. I shall try to exploit the advantage hidden in an outsider’s perspective. I may even include in my analysis the image that we Hungarians store in our conscience about the Austrians.

My interest and curiosity was even more whetted by a critical attitude seen nowhere else, with a tendency towards obsession and sometimes self-hatred, which the Austrians use when they examine themselves. This brutal self-analysis has determined the frameworks of the Austrian political-public discourse since the outbreak of the Waldheim-case (1986). This might be the reaction to the action if we consider the 40 years long hush that accompanied the founding of the Second Austrian Republic since 1945. A person and a speaker community are well characterised by what they tell, but perhaps even more by what they are silent about.

Since identity is generated, develops and changes through time, the historical reflection bears a central importance throughout the creation of identity. From the aspect of cultural identity, the relation to history and its representation are crucial. The significance of the momentum of origins is not negligible, either, both on individual and on social level. The origin is always a mythic motif, entrance in the “personal history” or history proper.

An essential constituent of Austrian cultural identity comprises the relationship, relatedness to homeland, nation, “Austrianness”. But how long has the Austrian nation been in existence at all? For over a decade after the declaration of the Second Austrian Republic even the Austrian nation’s existence was questionable. In 1988, however, Kreissler writes: “And every examination and public poll of the past decades has demonstrated ever more clear-cut that the great majority of Austrians feel themselves part of a nation and that they intend to be none else than Austrians.” (KREISSLER, 1988: 79)

In my essay I shall take a brief review involving the historical perspective, because the development of identity cannot miss a factor of significant relevance that is only in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, after the collapse of a huge empire, this small Alpine country was compelled to re-define herself four times due to identity transformation. The roots of identity date far back in time and the Austrian pattern of identity comprises a number of factors: the powerful provincial identity from the Middle Ages, a comparatively fresh Austrian identity and the one always in conflict and controversy with both, but recently much abated: the pan-German self-identity.

Due to the involvement of the historical perspective, a number of statements in my essay cross the borders of today’s Austria, while other statements will be limited to Vienna. The

Vienna of the 16-18<sup>th</sup> centuries was a globally unique metropolis from the multicultural point of view, where socio-cultural effects that influenced, often restricted but even more often enriched each other generated such a host of meanings that rendered the shared (German) language insufficient and would have needed the knowledge of the shared cultural code for interpretation. The history of mentality can answer a number of questions that put the causes of today's German-Austrian communication failure in a different light.

The collapse of the Habsburg Empire was followed by the forced foundation of the so-called First Republic, wanted by no-one, then came the corporative state of the thirties. After the Anschluss, Austria was named Ostmark, then, after the end of World War II, at the time of the four-power occupation, the Second Republic was born in 1945. The Austrian historiography calls the significant moment Zero Hours.<sup>4</sup>

The tragic developments of the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century made and make a deeper influence on Austria's post-war history and present (including her conscience) than on any other countries of the region. A possible explanation: the countries occupied by Hitler took the annexation as it was: annexation, incorporation, which is why they accordingly experienced it, coped with it and survived it as a trauma. Austria has up till now not arrived at a consensus as to, at the time of the Anschluss, what proportion of the population cheered the occupying German troops, how many faked enthusiasm and how many, if any, put up resistance.<sup>5</sup> After the Germans lost the war, the Austrians skipped the self-examination and in their political rhetoric they called themselves the first victims to National Socialism.<sup>6</sup>

It is not only the behaviour during the Anschluss that Germany plays a key role in the construction of Austrian identity. For Austria, Germany is the "Big Brother", the permanent base of comparison; the link to Germany is full of contradictions and historically determined tensions ("Haßliebe"). The Austrians (depending on political affiliation<sup>7</sup>) were subjects to double identity for decades or rather centuries: on one hand they considered themselves as good Austrian patriots, while, on the other hand, they still felt the Classics of Weimar, the "pan-German" literature as their own. At the time of the declaration of the First Republic, Austria wanted to join Germany or at least be called "German Austria", but the peace treaty of St Germain prevented this possibility for fear of the development of German dominance.

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<sup>4</sup> „Stunde Null“

<sup>5</sup> Heim ins Reich! Home to the Reich! A slogan of the 30-ies, used also in Austria.

<sup>6</sup> See later: „Opfertheorie“, Sacrifice Theory.

<sup>7</sup> From a historical perspective, the Social Democrats tended to be more German, while the conservatives more Habsburg at heart.

The German-Austrian discourse basically means Austria's relationship with Northern Germany (that is former Prussia), since Bavaria and Austria show considerable similarities (often identical features) in terms of religion, dialect and mentality, in many aspects an integral whole. The fault line and the according differences come on one hand from Prussia's and Austria's different state structure and the radically dissimilar views of life, virtues and mentalities implied by the Catholic and Protestant religions on the other.

Since the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Prussia and Austria covered two paths of development in diametrical opposition. While the Germans kept the Herderian and Fichtean ideological foundation and the *Bildungsideologie*<sup>8</sup> in mind to create a civilization that handles language as a central category, the Monarchy settled in for "survival", the art of compromises that might help keep the empire together despite local national riots. On one side the goal was to create something new, something monumental, on the other it was to preserve an immense union slashed by contradictions. It is easy to agree that entirely different qualities, attitudes, mentalities were needed in Prussia and Austria, and the two worlds accordingly constructed completely dissimilar identities.

After the declaration of the Second Republic Austria had to re-define herself and this was done through playing the role of the "idyllic small Alpine Republic". Watching this self-representation one cannot leave out of sight an economic boom (it is easy to identify with what is good), especially tourism as the puller and the re-emergence of a typical genre in film industry called "Heimatfilm".<sup>9</sup>

Austria's image for inside and outside was, of course, also formed by politicians of great stature including 70-ies' Federal Chancellor Bruno Kreisky and his Vice Chancellor Hannes Androsch who shaped and perfected the active neutrality policy thus being midwives to the modern Austrian state. Since the declaration of the Second Republic that is 1945 Austrians have constantly and frequently been examined through questionnaires. The questions are usually the same with the first few saying: In your opinion, is Austria a nation? Is Austria walking the right path to become a nation? These questions will of course be subjected to a detailed discussion in further chapters of this essay. I mention them here to recall a funny remark quoting Bruno Kreisky made by a former chief editor of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*. "Kreisky's standpoint in the question of the nation was just as close to the people as it was

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<sup>8</sup> The German ideal of refinement in the Age of Enlightenment

<sup>9</sup> A genre born in the 30s designed to support tourism just as in the 50s.

pragmatist; well, of course, Austria is a nation – with one National Bank, one national eleven and one UN membership!”<sup>10</sup>

Neutrality is a construction for Austria of outstanding significance, though it plays a good deal more important role in her internal policy than in the foreign one. For the Austrians, signing the treaty and the declaration of neutrality was the first great experience of creating a national unity. The questionnaire inquiries that were processed in the meantime, witnessed a continuous increase in the subjective significance of neutrality up till the eighties. As a result of the political changes in the 90-ies, the “nature” and significance of neutrality also underwent dramatic changes. New questions were arising: is it necessary at all? Compared to what is it necessary to stay neutral in the changed political context? Is it compatible with the EU membership? Interestingly enough, neutrality (from the Austrian viewpoint) seems to have avoided “ageing”. It still is a cornerstone of Austrian identity to this day. According to the polls before the EU accession in 1995 the Austrians would rather have given up membership than this.

Austria’s “question” is the question of the language at the same time, the language which may be one of the most important ways of defining a society’s identity. Throughout Austria’s long history language appeared in two “modes of operation”; as the one spoken by an ethnic group dominating over and politically oppressing weaker peoples and the one that is expected to “stand the test” in an area far superior in size, culture and economy to the neighbours. This is how the language in Austria was in a dominant and, at the same time, in a quasi-dependent situation.

In our days German is the official language of several countries, which means that it belongs to the so-called pluricentric languages. The language spoken in Austria is a local variant and as such, regarding its vocabulary, morphology and grammar, it differs from the standard spoken in Germany. (Not to mention further differences that are the characteristics of a spoken language: pronunciation, word stress, intonation). The colours of the language landscape are added to by the – for the Austrians – extremely high-prestige dialects that change from province to province and are absolutely prioritized in the private sphere.<sup>12</sup>

At the time of the EU accession the Austrians made sure that their language as an official language of the Union would not be merged with German but retain its national

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<sup>10</sup> Standard, 19.07.2002. Robert Hochner, former chief editor of Arbeiter-Zeitung.

<sup>11</sup> All translations from German into Hungarian are by the author of this essay.

<sup>12</sup> „Verkehrsdialekte” (WIESINGER, 1988: 18) The link between the rural and the urban dialects.

variant status. Their fight was a success, the expressions are contained in Record 10.<sup>13</sup> The 23+1 words that are to be listed in the Austrian dialect beside their German counterparts in every EU document are from the area of gastronomy without exception. That is certainly related to the fact that a substantial proportion of the Austrian German vocabulary comes from the cuisine. Also the words of transport and public administration stand out semantically. However, the EU list does not include a single word related to public administration or transport!

The integrant elements of the Austrian auto-stereotype include attraction to good food and drink, the cultivation of institutions of society life where the body arrives at a pleasant, relaxed or elevated state as a result of consuming food and drink. These are the “temples” of gastronomy: cafeterias, pubs and wine taverns.

It is a statement of universal validity that the image of a country projected outwards also has a reverse effect thus it has an identity generative function. In the Austrians’ case this is valid, concrete and measurable to a greater extent; everything they use to lure tourists in their country gradually becomes their own felt so deeply that they list them among the elements of auto-stereotypes. The most obvious evidence of this is the huge symbolic value of the landscape.

If we consider that Austria is a “great power in tourism”, it immediately becomes clear why the Austrians so intimately identify with those really beautiful idyllic landscapes that they publish in brochures about Austria. For most Austrians the national pride, the homeland, the source of recreation are the highlands and the lakes. In the hope of extra-profit the marketing managers of tourism almost wish to guess the visitors’ thoughts and present the country as if it were as perfect as “apple pie”, meeting all needs. This is the sector, however, where also the “Austrian spirit of denial” works, that is the critical, self-reflexive intellectuals (mainly writers and journalists) who label all this as “peddling with the Austria-Kitsch”.

In collecting the material needed for my work I laid a special emphasis on symbols which influence and permeate all our world doing their job in the subconscious, which is why their effect remains hidden though not at all trifle. According to the Tartu semiotics, culture itself is to be considered as the not inherited memory of a society finding its manifestation in a symbolic representative order.” (LOTMAN, 1990: 23).

The existing culture of a society is not born in a moment. The deep structure of cherished values absorb centuries’ collective experiences. A historian is captured by the long

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<sup>13</sup> See in the Appendix.

time, the seemingly immobile history because the political mentalities usually include mostly unreflected, unconscious attitudes, basic mental processes and everyday relations. Mentality history on the other hand reflects a society's hopes, dreams and fears. This is only possible from a broad perspective embracing centuries. Since the 80-ies, due to the expansion of cultural studies, a new scientific paradigm, the problem complex of the Austrian identity also shifted to a new framework of interpretation. Examined based on the new criteria, the Austrian tradition rises the question of possibility or impossibility of a multi-language state (the Habsburgs), the relationship of a number of nationalities and ethnic groups within one nation.

These areas are embraced by the theoretical part of my essay. In the background of my theoretical research I carried out two questionnaire surveys, on the basis of which I attempted to support or refute the explored background facts. I decided on the questionnaire method because they are perfectly suitable for the measurement of attitudes and orientation of a larger-scale population. I hoped to receive at least a hundred questionnaires back, which is why I sent 130 questionnaires to the interviewers.

The subjects of the survey were teacher candidates in Vienna and Kaposvár. The sample of college students counts as an especially lucky one because theoretically the respondents represent the population well in territorial breakdown, unlike age and profession, of course. From the methodological point of view, I felt the role of the control group important, which is why I carried out the same test with the Kaposvár students. It was evident to select the Hungarian students as the control group because the Hungarian identity is the construction I know the best and I used this as a background and a contrast to create opinions, draw conclusions and make comparisons.

The surveys were in fact case studies because they are excellent ways to verify hypotheses. The case study plays an important role in research where it is important to reflect the objective reality (facts, events, chains of events) in the subjective. I wished to present my survey results punctually as the ocean in the drop. The case study fitted perfectly to my examinations standing on the floor of cultural studies and operating with its terminology because it is well applicable in research activities that seek to interpret and give meaning to the world. A case study is characterised by a holistic approach rather than a statistic one. The bibliography lists a number of case studies that typically explore deep relations on small samples. There is measurement in the interpretative case studies because the researcher categorizes, labels, organizes and evaluates the subjects. "The selection of the case, the (sample) is carefully planned but representativeness is not typical. Several methods are

usually exploited and even if statistics appear at all, mainly nominal scales are used.” (GOLNHOFER, 2001: 30) The analysis of the data in the first place means the interpretation of the data, setting up concepts and then comparative analyses. It is not, at the same time, the purpose of a case study to create a generalised description of a great population.

The purpose of the first questionnaire survey was to sum up the situation, the target group being teacher trainees, students of the Pedagogical Academy of Vienna (100 persons). The interview consisted of 13 closed questions, with 5 answer options each. The answers are gradable in a scale from 1 to 5 according to intensity.

The evaluation of the first questionnaire rose new questions and on the basis of the received results, I structured the open questions of the second questionnaire. The 24 questions of the second questionnaire embraced the next, broader topics in close relationship with cultural identity aiming at history, national symbols, devotion to the homeland, national pride, tourism, auto-stereotype, hetero-stereotype, reflection to the Austrian cultural life, self-irony. The attitude test was the most friendly to the nature of cultural identity construction because the attitude (orientation, evaluative relationship) is a mental and nervous preparedness organised through experience, which dynamises and controls the behaviour with the subject of the attitude that is situations, objects and persons.

The most frequently used techniques are the attitude scales. Their goal is the development of an objective measurement system. In general they present a gradually organised sequence of statements to the respondents and ask which one they agree or disagree. The combination of answers automatically determines the intensity of the respondent's opinion. The attitude scales mean a variant of these tests. Among the several possible scales the summary scale was the most suitable to my research. (Questionnaire 1). The summary scale includes a sequence of statements and I measured the respondents' reaction to them. Each response received a numerical value indicating agreement or disagreement with the statement. The aggregate value of the individual is calculated by an algebraic summary of the responses given to the statements. The summary is interpreted that this expresses the individual's position regarding the subject of attitude on the favourable-unfavourable scale.

The second questionnaire, which contained open questions, took a completely different kind of evaluation, of course. The evaluation needed coding, so I set up categories based on the responses or I evaluated trends and compared them with the Hungarian students' responses. I included earlier surveys testing cultural identity. The sample (100-100 persons)

was Austrian and Hungarian teacher trainees. The Hungarian students participated as the control group in the survey.

The aim of the survey was to register changes, compared to expected results, in the identity of a certain layer of Austrian youth, and explore motives that significantly contribute to the development of identity and that might have been brought to the surface by recent events. Moreover: the exploration, analysis and evaluation of the specific features of the Austrian cultural identity against the background of the Hungarian cultural identity as a familiar construction.

### **3. RESULTS**

Next I would like to summarize the results of the survey.

1. In the question whether the German language used in Austria deserves codification, the Austrian linguists take different standpoints.
2. According to the representatives of the moderate trend, the Austrian German is a national variant of the pluricentric German (“Austrian German”), while the radicals speak about “Austrian” as a language, tracing also part of the Austrians’ identity problems back to the language. The radical wing is not devoid of political colours.
3. The radical linguists try to give more weight to their demands by lifting the colloquial and the vernacular to the level of the written, and the extrapolation of East Austrian variants to the whole of Austria.
4. The German pluricentric language has three main and several minor centres. The three main centres are Germany, Austria and Switzerland. This is an established view in German studies but it is not a matter of course in Austria’s everyday life and public education.
5. The college student respondents agreed in 50% that there indeed “exists such as an Austrian German language, while the other 50% say that “there are differences in language”. In this way, they indicate the same division as the Austrian linguists.

6. The most emotion-packed linguistic code of the Austrians is the dialect. The “range of activity” of a dialect, however, is not the whole Austrian speaking community but only a region..
7. The higher prestige of the German spoken in Germany has to do with the German people’s image generated by a admiration and awe with which a smaller speaker community looks up to a larger community.
8. According to the entire sample of respondents, the sounding of the “Austrian German” is more gentle and pleasant than the “German spoken in Germany”.
9. The “Austrian German language”, unlike Hungarian, is not a vital source of cultural identity because the pluricentric German is a language shared by several other countries, which is why the native tongue of the Austrians excludes the momentum of exclusiveness. Consequently, the Austrians cannot define themselves through their mother tongue.
10. A pluricentric language carrying the name of another country in its name is unsuitable to create the focus of identification..
11. Neutrality – though it somewhat lost its significance – is still a very attractive construction.
12. The Austrian youth are rather indifferent to national history and national symbols.
13. One possible reason of indifference to history is the multiple forced identity transformation within a century.
14. As a result of the foregoing, for the Austrian youth, present enjoys an absolute priority against past. Their positive emotions to Austria feed mostly from the democratic state structure and the efficient institution system.
15. The symbol value of the landscape is worth a national symbol for the Austrians.

16. The particularity of the Austrian cultural identity is reflected well on the specific nature of its constituents.
- 16a Tourism in Austria is not only a puller in economy but also a construction maintaining the dynamic relation between Austrian auto-stereotype and hetero-stereotype.
- 16b Gastronomy is represented in the Austrian self-portrait that its effect extends to other areas like language. This is proved by the 3+1 list.
17. One prioritized aim of critical-self-reflexive literature is the Austria-image of the tourism-marketig industry.

#### **4. OUTLOOK**

Regarding the complexity of the research topic, a number of questions remained open at the end of the survey. Since identity is a discourse formation constantly changing in time, identity surveys can never be considered closed.

The responses given to the questionnaires rise new questions all the time since the statements have manifest and latent contents. Especially the latter are valuable sources of information because in these cases we can exclude respondents' other thoughts. Starting on this track a number of fields of research open all necessitating different research methods. Since researches in Austria focus on one well distinguishable area (history, language), I think it is important to tackle the topic in an integrative, from-abroad research. The politics-saturation of the question may decrease with the distance in time from the hushed past and the declaration of the Second Republic, some momentums once held important may lose validity and, of, course, new factors of relevance may arise. The age-, stratum- and education-specific analysis can be a further trend in research, which I declined with my qualitative case study.

My essay was bound to provide data for an interdisciplinary-integrative analysis related to Austrians.

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