

# INTRODUCTION

## Tourism, Space, and National Identity



In the spring of 1995, I was walking through downtown Salzburg, the city I called home for six years while studying at the University of Salzburg, when an American couple suddenly stopped me in front of Salzburg's cathedral: "Do you know where we can find the cemetery where the Trapps had been hiding from the Nazis?" I must have looked puzzled, and the two tourists tried to help me along: "You know, *Sound of Music*? Maria and the children?" I knew about the Trapp family's emigration and their subsequent success as a family choir in the United States. I had also been asked quite a few times by American exchange students whether I knew the song "Edelweiss." But I had never seen the film, nor had I bothered to visit any of the filming locations in Salzburg. At that time, I truly did not know these American tourists were referring to the catacombs in St. Peter cemetery, so I apologized for not being able to help them and went on my way. Admittedly, I did so with a sense of cultural superiority, secretly congratulating myself for not wasting any time with what I considered an inauthentic, touristic distraction from Salzburg's actual historical and cultural attractions.

This anecdote illustrates what I will be focusing on in this book, namely how the multifaceted interconnections between tourists and locals, between places and spaces of history and culture, and between notions of reality and inauthenticity have shaped the construction of Austria's national and cultural image after 1945. Daniel Boorstin's condemnation of the tourist as a "pleasure-seeker" and "passive" consumer of inauthentic images implies a dismissal of tourism as a trivial pursuit, which resonates especially with a particular strand of cultural criticism of and in Austria after 1945.<sup>1</sup> Authors such as Ingeborg Bachmann, Thomas Bernhard, Franz Innerhofer, Felix Mitterer, and Nobel laureate Elfriede Jelinek, to name only a few of the more prominent names, criticized the seminal tourist images of Austria's landscape and of its cultural and architectural icons as a Potemkin façade, which the country's political, cultural, and social elites used to cover up the country's involvement in the crimes committed by the National

Socialist regime. These literary investigations came in different shapes and forms, but over time they have affirmed the notion of an Austrian reality as hidden, concealed, and camouflaged—the list of verbs could go on—by tourism. Asked if she thinks of “alpine tourism as a perfect means to cover up history in Austria,” Elfriede Jelinek responds rather decisively: “Yes. Everything that has been done in this country since 1945 was the result of an intricate cover-up.”<sup>2</sup>

To be clear: the work done by Jelinek, by her above-mentioned literary colleagues, as well as by critics and journalists such as Josef Haslinger, Robert Menasse, Marlene Streeruwitz, Armin Thurnher, and others, was central to a long overdue change of the political climate in the 1980s. Thanks to these writers’ work, Austria could no longer deflect responsibility for its deep complicity in the crimes of National Socialism. Similarly, specific tourist images and narratives have, without a doubt, helped Austria position itself as Hitler’s “first victim.” Provocative book and article titles in which Austria features as *touristische Bananenrepublik* and in which Austrians appear either as street-smart modern pirates shaking down their unaware foreign guests or as servile and sycophantic hosts (or prostitutes) selling themselves to their (German) visitors have certainly contributed to a more critical look at tourism’s corrosive social and economic impact.<sup>3</sup> However, they have also resulted in an often simplified and skewed perspective on tourism that ignores the latter’s potential role as a discursive arena for both the formation and the analysis of (post)modern identity processes.

Tourism mirrors and shapes socioeconomic, political, and cultural practices and is therefore an invaluable tool for understanding how people define and construct their normality. This is the foundation from which this book engages tourism as discourse that makes visible the complex and contradictory negotiations of Austrian-ness in the twentieth and twenty-first century. My goal was not to write a history of tourism in Austria after 1945. Nor did I want to produce a comprehensive survey of the cultural texts that address tourism as topic.<sup>4</sup> Rather, by closely examining, at specific moments in time, particular connections between political or cultural narrations of Austrian national identity and tourism, I will demonstrate that tourism was not a trivial sideshow but a central discursive terrain for the negotiation of core issues of Austrian identity.

In doing so, I draw on a series of interdisciplinary approaches that have demonstrated the validity for studying history and culture through the lens of tourism. What insights the analysis of tourism offers even for well-researched areas has been established by reinvestigations of German post-1945 memory culture and practices through the “rhetoric of tourism.” While historian Alon Confino acknowledges the importance of the documents, monuments, and events that explicitly address the memory of the Third Reich for understanding how Germans after 1945 dealt with the Nazi past, he considers the discursive space of tourism crucial for gaining insights into the processes of constructing a sense of postwar normality.<sup>5</sup> As Confino writes, “Tourism, like festivals, religious ritual, art, and

cinema, is not a flight from reality but a symbolic practice and representation to understand and negotiate with it.<sup>6</sup> Thus, shortly after 1945 when Germans discussed tourism activities at the local and regional level, they were not simply repressing the past. Rather, they engaged in a selective process of remembering the particular aspects of the National Socialist regime that had provided lower income strata with hitherto unknown forms of leisure and travel possibilities and therefore with a version of pleasant normality wistfully remembered in 1945 amid the ruins of World War II.<sup>7</sup>

A brief overview of tourism studies in the European context illustrates how the practices of tourism have allowed for innovative and insightful analyses of complex social phenomena over the past decades. In 1958, at about the same time the spoils of the *Wirtschaftswunder* enabled middle-class Germans to populate Italy's beaches, German writer Hans Magnus Enzensberger published his essay "A Theory of Tourism" in which he critiques tourism as the belated symptom of Europe's failed bourgeois revolutions in 1848.<sup>8</sup> The political revolution that prepared the ground for the bourgeoisie as the new governing class went hand in hand with a "revolution of the mode of production," with the latter destroying the very freedom created by the former.<sup>9</sup> The first organized trips to Italy's beaches by railcar illustrate this dialectic. While the workers viewed the railroad as a means to leave behind their debilitating and often harmful workplace conditions, the organization of the railroad system subjected them yet again to the capitalist disciplining of people's time and bodies: "[T]ourism had thought of the [railroad] net as a liberation, but knitting this net ever more tightly, society closed in again."<sup>10</sup> Workers movements tried to maintain the spark of revolution by demanding more and more paid vacation time. In response, capitalism offered holidays designed as extensions of industrialized production.<sup>11</sup> Enzensberger's Marxist critique of tourism draws attention to the commodifying strategies through which capitalism appropriates ideas of freedom and sells them to a captive clientele. For Enzensberger, tourism only proves that "we have grown accustomed to accepting freedom as mass deceit, a mass deceit that enjoys our confidence although we have already seen through it. As we point to the return tickets in our pockets, we are admitting that freedom is not our goal and that indeed we have already forgotten what freedom is."<sup>12</sup> Passages like this one illustrate Enzensberger's perspective on tourism as key manifestation of "false consciousness." Yet, the implied notion of an absolute idea of freedom, and the Manichean distinction between an omnipotent tourism industry on the one hand, and its hapless customers on the other, close off any further analysis of tourism on an individual level. As my discussion of other approaches to tourism will show, Enzensberger's theory does not address tourism's potential for individual and communal reinvention, nor does it allow for nuances and changing power structures in the larger tourist discourse.

Where Enzensberger's essay claims that tourist desire for "true" freedom results in the latter's destruction, Dean MacCannell's seminal book, *The Tourist:*

*A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (1976), argues that tourism facilitates the construction of individual authenticity under the imperfect conditions of modernity. For MacCannell, the critique of tourism as an example of capitalist alienation falls prey to the assumption that a perfect society is possible in the first place: “The intellectual critique of society *assumes* the inauthenticity of everyday life in the modern world” because the imagined level of perfection has not yet been reached.<sup>13</sup> Such a perspective overlooks, however, the “spurious side of the social structure of modernity,” the “information, memories, images and other representations which become detached from genuine cultural elements, from the ‘true’ sights, and are circulated and accumulated in everyday life.”<sup>14</sup>

In contrast to Enzensberger, for whom the tourist is guilty of aiding and abetting—against better knowledge—capitalism’s attempt to destroy an objective idea of authenticity, MacCannell views authenticity as the result of the tourist’s act of engaging with the very elements of society often deemed inauthentic and simulated. In other words, for MacCannell the tourist has agency. He, the tourist—neither Enzensberger nor MacCannell address the gender blind spots of their perspectives—recognizes that the division of places into “front stages” and “back stages” is not absolute.<sup>15</sup> The “back stages,” which for tourists seem to harbor a community’s actual essence, might also have been constructed in order to create (rather than simply depict) an authentic experience. Thus, in MacCannell’s study, tourist and tourism function as metaphors for modern life’s complex experiences of fragmentation and mobility. The tourist temporarily leaves the familiar social context for a greater experience of authenticity, being fully aware of the experience’s likely limitations and of the futility of the search for the “real.” The very thing thought to be missing “at home” will also not be found “elsewhere.” An emblematic figure illustrating the experience of fragmentation and uncertainty as a basic and underlying condition of modernity, “the tourist’ is one of the best models available for modern-man-in-general.”<sup>16</sup>

MacCannell’s analysis of tourism’s “front” and “back” stages already touches on the visual elements of tourism, the vistas and spectacles offered by the hosts and consumed by tourists, which John Urry’s groundbreaking work *The Tourist Gaze* (1990) focuses on as one of the crucial elements for analyzing tourism. Building on Michel Foucault’s notion of the disciplining medical gaze, Urry approaches tourism as a socially constructed practice of looking at that which is different from everyday, non-tourist practices: “Places are chosen to be gazed upon because there is anticipation, especially through daydreaming and fantasy, of intense pleasures, either on a different scale or involving different senses from those customarily encountered.”<sup>17</sup> In Urry’s understanding, the tourist gaze is “constructed through signs,” and the practice of touring constitutes a “collection of signs” whose meaning has been predetermined by other social discourses.<sup>18</sup>

David Crouch and Nina Lübbren acknowledge that this concept equips tourists with a certain agency when it comes to “making sense of visual material

amongst other material in an active process.”<sup>19</sup> However, they also criticize Urry’s perspective for containing the tourist’s agency as “‘fixed’ by a particular access to visual culture, the standard gaze.”<sup>20</sup> In other words, while the gaze becomes a highly complex apparatus shaped by other social discourses—by marketing, by individual and collective experiences—the object of the gaze, the “places [that] are chosen to be gazed upon,” maintain their assumed stability.<sup>21</sup>

More recent approaches to tourism studies have challenged this dichotomy between mobile tourists and stable places. Instead of focusing on whether the places visited by tourists are authentic or inauthentic, interdisciplinary approaches developed in cultural geography, sociology, anthropology, cultural studies, and tourism studies, investigate how the practice of tourism contributes to the construction of places and spaces, and how this practice, in turn, shapes the conceptualization of “authentic” identities of the various agents involved. Anthropologist Simon Coleman and geographer Mike Crang, for instance, draw on literary theory’s notion of constructing space through narration in “an eventful and unique happening, more to do with doing rather than knowing, less a matter of ‘how accurate is this?’, than ‘what happens if I do it?’” From Coleman and Crang’s point of view, “[w]e should . . . see places from the perspective of a performance that takes them up and transforms them, redeploys them and connects them through metonymic relationships, or . . . spatial stories.”<sup>22</sup>

Such a view inverts the conventional role of places in tourism. Instead of being the stable and immovable opposite of the mobile tourist’s action, places become the ever-changing manifestation of the tourist’s *interaction* with other tourists, images, and narratives. While orthodox analyses of tourism had (and have) as their goal the deconstruction of “false” place images in order to reveal a “true” place, more recent approaches conceive of various images, narratives, and texts as the very things that *construct* a place at particular moments in time. As Crang writes,

We have then to look at the performativity of images and texts moving and making [places] through processes of signification. This is subtly but importantly different from looking at images as depicting places with varying degrees of accuracy or truthfulness, because it shifts us to thinking through the ontology of tourist places rather than the epistemology of their representations.<sup>23</sup>

Applied to Austria after 1945, the focus on the “ontology of tourist places” obviously challenges the view that tourist images and narratives have covered up the nation’s reality. On the contrary, tourism has been and is inseparable from that reality and is a crucial analytical tool for tracing the reconstruction of the Austrian nation after 1945.

The adaptation of the concept of performance has been instrumental in breaking up the calcified notion of the tourist as a mobile actor consuming a static place. At the same time, the concept of performance has introduced the potential

for new misreadings of the relationship between tourists and places. “Too often,” Coleman and Crang write, “dramaturgical metaphors suggest performance occurs in a place—reduced to a fixed, if ambient, container.”<sup>24</sup> To avoid such confusions, Coleman and Crang encourage a “theorization [*sic*] of performativity where the self is contingently and performatively produced, as opposed to the performance studies emphasis on performance in the sense of speech acts.”<sup>25</sup> Regardless of the specific context, this notion of performativity suggests that place and space no longer function as the stabilizing elements in complex and fluid identity positions. Instead, place itself has become a constantly reproduced—and performed—category.<sup>26</sup>

## Performativity and National Identity

Although the precise ways in which the various authors use the terms performance and performativity vary, sometimes greatly, they ultimately refer back to Judith Butler’s concept of the performativity of sex. As Butler famously argued, it is not only the category of gender but also the category of sex that is produced by socio-cultural discourses.<sup>27</sup> Every time a certain idea of gender is enacted and performed, the presumably pre-discursive category of sex is already implicated in the discursive performance as well. Although it might seem that the performance of a specific notion of gender either affirms or contradicts the “natural” sex, the normative power of the latter is co-constructed in the performative moment. As Butler writes: “In the first instance, performativity must be understood not as a singular or deliberate ‘act,’ but, rather as the reiterative and citational practice by which discourse produces the effects that it names.”<sup>28</sup> To make her point, Butler uses the example of drag performances or gender parodies: “The notion of gender parody . . . does not assume that there is an original which such parodic identities imitate. Indeed, the parody is of the very notion of an original.”<sup>29</sup> In other words, the parody reveals that the very idea of clearly defined sexual categories is the product of the retroactive normativizing by social and cultural discourses. It is important to note that Butler does not speak about performance so much as about performativity. The term *performance* is all-too-easily confused with the idea of conscious staging, of the intentional manipulation of an audience in order to believe a particular version of reality, which would bring the analysis of tourism right back into a discussion of inauthentic versus authentic representations. The term performativity acknowledges that any process of identity construction is ultimately an enactment of already existing discourses and that this kind of enactment happens routinely and often without much reflection.

One of the charges that have been brought against Butler’s concept of performativity was that she denies the existence of physical bodies and materiality in general. Yet, as Cynthia Weber clarifies, “[Butler’s] point is not that bodies only

exist in discourse as citational processes. Rather, her point is that it is through discursive performances—repeated, yet, varied citational processes—that our understandings of material bodies are mediated.”<sup>30</sup> Thus, to say that tourists engage in a performative construction of places does not deny the existence of places outside of discourse. Rather, it underscores that we can only grasp the meaning and function of these places through discursive processes.

The concept of performativity forms an important link between the discourses of tourism and the discourses of Austrian national identity that I will trace in this book. Political scientist Cynthia Weber has shown how Butler’s notion of performativity can help to deconstruct the perception of the state as “pre-discursive, natural realm of international politics to which the discursive, socially constructed, cultural referent of sovereignty refers.”<sup>31</sup> As Weber writes further, “[i]f we accept that—like sex and gender—states and sovereignty are both discursive effects of performative practices, then it follows . . . that there is no sovereign or state identity behind expressions of state sovereignty. The identity of the state is performatively constituted by the very expressions that are said to be its result.”<sup>32</sup> As this quote makes clear, Weber focuses on state sovereignty, but her observation also concerns nation states, and here especially the ways in which Austria’s existence as a state and a nation has evolved at different speeds and through a series of iterative configurations. The name of the first independent Austrian state emerging out of the collapsing Habsburg Empire in 1918 was Republik Deutschösterreich (Republic of German Austria). Although the name soon had to be changed to the Republic of Austria during the peace negotiations in St. Germain where any future political association between Germany and Austria was prohibited, it illustrates the citational practice at work. In other regions of the former Habsburg realm, newly created nation-states such as Hungary and Czechoslovakia could be viewed as the eventual realization of long-held visions of national sovereignty. Austria, by contrast, became “the state nobody wanted” (*Staat, den keiner wollte*),<sup>33</sup> a political entity in intense pursuit of a suitable national identity.

Once the immediate association with Weimar Germany was off the table, a separate notion of Austrian-ness gradually became evident in the 1920s, partially based on the performative enactment of baroque and Catholic discourses (an element that I will discuss in more detail later). After the dismantling of parliamentary democracy in 1934, the Austro-Fascist *Ständestaat* emphasized this particular Austrian identity as German, yet in decisive opposition to National Socialist Germany. The Austrian Habsburg family’s role as rulers over the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation served as discursive repository for these performative constructions of a separate Austrian-ness, whose contradictory lines of argumentation historian Felix Kreissler aptly described as “national schizophrenia.”<sup>34</sup>

Various contorted attempts to differentiate a German Austria from Germany became null and void in 1938 when the Anschluss resulted in the performative

enactment of Austria as an integral part of a larger German Reich. Austria became the Ostmark, itself an example of a peculiar performative reenactment of historical discourses. After the country's liberation by Allied troops in 1945, the proclamation of the Austrian Second Republic as an independent and sovereign nation-state was based on yet another set of citational practices, which revived and embraced the discourses of a distinct Austrian-ness that the First Austrian Republic had initially rejected. There is hardly a more symbolic figure for these iterative processes than the Austrian Social Democrat Karl Renner. In 1918, as first chancellor of the first provisional government of the democratic First Republic of Deutsch Österreich, Renner argued for Austria to join a larger German republic. After the liberation of Austria in 1945, Renner served as inaugural chancellor of the Second Austrian Republic, whose reconstruction as an independent nation was based on a complete and permanent rejection of all ideas of Austrian-German collaboration. The fact that Renner twice inaugurated the existence of an independent Austria in moments of profound crisis underscores Weber's observation that invocations of state identity are "often moments when states traumatically confront the impossibility of 'being' sovereign and thus insist upon their sovereign subjectivity all the more."<sup>35</sup>

While a separate Austrian state in 1918 seemed more like a transitional construct that would eventually be absorbed by a larger German nation-state, the independent Austria reconstructed in 1945 became the foundation for what is arguably the most stable expression of Austrian-ness since the dissolution of the Habsburg Empire. The successful development of the Second Republic as a neutral country and—from the 1970s under Social-Democratic Chancellor Bruno Kreisky until very recently—as a fairly stable welfare state has facilitated the emergence of a distinct Austrian national identity. Since the 1960s, survey after survey has indicated that a vast majority of Austrians think of themselves as belonging to a nation rather than only a state artificially separated from its Germanic national affiliation.<sup>36</sup> Although this development makes it look as if statehood came first and national identity second, Weber's observation that the "identity of the state is performatively constituted by the very expressions that are said to be its result"<sup>37</sup> remains crucial. As I will show throughout the first two chapters, the construction of post-1945 identity around the tropes of landscape and cultural heritage inflected by the discourse of tourism was very much based on the discursive citation of long-standing ideas of Austrian-ness and their subsequent adaptation to the post-1945 situation.<sup>38</sup> In other words, while the stability of the Second Austrian Republic certainly made it easier to use this state construct as a foundation for the deepening of an Austrian national identity, the Second Austrian Republic's proclamation as a separate Austrian (and not a second German) nation-state in 1945 was only possible because of a performative reenactment of older discourses of Austrian-ness in the first place.



It took some time to peel Austrian identity from its historical entanglement with German national identity. The fact that it happened can be tied to various historical events: the 1943 Moscow Declaration, in which the Allied nations tried to spark Austrian resistance by declaring their intent to reconstruct a free and independent Austria; the small resistance movements in various Austrian regions; the political leadership's common experience of internment in Nazi concentration camps, where Austrian Social Democrats and Christian Socialists mended their fractured relationships in what would later be mythicized and to some degree exaggerated as *Politik der Lagerstraße* (politics of the camp road).<sup>39</sup> If these various moments prepared the ground for the reconstruction of an independent Austria, it was the discursive arena of tourism during the postwar decades that facilitated the further fine-tuning of this identity construction.

To say that these various manifestations of Austrian-ness were the result of performativity is not to suggest that the communities of people living in the respective places and landscapes of these "Austrias" existed neither independently of these labels nor decisively changed every time a new label was invented. But it is only through these changing discourses that one can identify particular communities as agents of and within performative constructions of "Austrian-ness" at specific moments in time.

This connection between discourse and performativity distinguishes my approach from other investigations of Austrian national identity discourses. Since any in-depth discussion of the existing scholarly literature on Austrian national identity would require a separate book, I will only briefly address two works that have shaped my own thinking but whose foci on Austria's national identity discourses also differ significantly from my project. Peter Thaler's book, *The Ambivalence of Identity* (2001), makes a convincing argument that Austria's biggest postwar accomplishment was the successful re-orientation of the national imagination from "German-ness" to "Austrian-ness." According to Thaler, the gradual intensification of an Austrian national imagery in the context of resistance against and persecution of Nazis greatly facilitated the reconstruction of Austria in the form of the Second Republic, but it did not automatically produce a strong sense of a distinct non-German Austrian-ness.<sup>40</sup> The latter came about only when post-1945 revisionist historiography produced a distinct Austrian identity whose dissemination across the primary, secondary, and higher education levels benefitted greatly from the specifically Austrian system of *Proporz*—the allocation of controlling power over state institutions between the two major parties, Socialists (later Social Democrats) and Christian Socialists, proportional to their respective share of parliamentary seats.<sup>41</sup> In sometimes implicit, but often quite explicit ways, centuries-old ideas of the Austrian realm's connection to an evolving German national identity were declared null and void. Austria, it now seemed, had been "Austrian" all along, it had simply forgotten.<sup>42</sup>

Institutional governmental efforts at fostering a distinct Austrian national identity were especially important at the level of culture and education where many Austrians maintained “often deep-seated emotional bonds to the larger German cultural realm” despite all efforts to deflect onto Germany all responsibility for the crimes of National Socialism. However, as powerful as the institutional revisionism of the Austrian national imagery was, people usually do not adopt new behaviors and attitudes simply because they have been told to do so. Thaler implicitly acknowledges the important role of non-institutional, everyday discourses and performances in the formation of a new national imagery when he qualifies the importance of the various institutionalized efforts: “It would be too one-dimensional to say that Austria’s new identity was *created* by public institutions, but it most definitely relied on their support.”<sup>43</sup>

Anybody who has lived in a different national environment than the one they have been socialized in knows how difficult it is to learn the shared norms and the barely noticeable nuances that constitute national identities. That is because these norms transcend most textual and institutional codifications and rely on “[e]veryday, habitual performances,” which, in turn, “are constituted by an array of . . . practical, embodied codes which guide what to do in particular settings.”<sup>44</sup> One arena where these performative enactments of the embodied codes of the national imagery become visible is the discourse of tourism. In my understanding, this discourse consists not only of tourist behavior and tourist images per se, but of a wide range of government documents, cultural texts, and in situ observations of tourists that together form the discursive terrain where the national imagery and its related “codes of conduct” are being negotiated.

The focus on seemingly mundane and everyday enactments of the national is what connects my analysis of national identity discourses with another relevant book, *The Discursive Construction of National Identity* (2009). The collective of authors led by Viennese linguist Ruth Wodak conceives national identity narratives as “dynamic” constructs that “are produced and reproduced, as well as transformed and dismantled, *discursively*” and can be analyzed through the study of powerful and everyday uses of language.<sup>45</sup> The authors’ understanding of national narratives—a term drawn from Stuart Hall’s writings—includes discursive representations of the national in “literature, in the media and in everyday culture and it creates a connection between stories, landscapes, scenarios, historical events, national symbols and national rituals which represent shared experiences and concerns, triumphs and destructive defeats.”<sup>46</sup> Yet, in a reflection of the authors’ affiliations with the Vienna School of Discourse Analysis, the subsequent discussion focuses mainly on examples of discourses in the sense of speech acts. From public speeches and addresses,<sup>47</sup> to focus group interviews,<sup>48</sup> to qualitative one-on-one interviews,<sup>49</sup> the authors trace the multiple ways in which the Austrian national imagery is constructed in the discursive acts of a wide range of actors. What this systematic and comprehensive study confirms is the extent to which

the typical tropes of Austrian national identity, from the beautiful landscape to the cultural achievements, have become intrinsic elements of the narration of Austrian-ness. What it leaves out, however, is a closer look at the everyday, coincidental, and often seemingly trivial instances in which national identities and belonging develop. For instance, the authors describe how individual interviewees respond to opening questions about their “spontaneous associations and images related to the concept of ‘Austria’” by mentioning “typical tourist clichés,” including the country’s landscape as *locus amoenus* and references to high culture.<sup>50</sup> However, in their analyses of these interview responses, the authors repeatedly gloss over such comments as merely tourist stereotypes and privilege statements that provide presumably more substantive information about an interviewee’s interpretation of Austrian-ness. As I will show throughout this book, tourism is not a sideshow but a crucial discursive space where the Austrian national imagery is adapted to new historical contexts, where different groups wrestle with diverging interpretations of Austrian-ness, and where “insiders” and “outsiders” negotiate, define, and redraw the boundaries between “belongers” and “non-belongers.”

For the purpose of my larger argument, I interpret the discourse of tourism as consisting of a broad range of cultural texts that engage with the connection between tourism and Austrian-ness in one form or another. My use of the term *texts* is intentionally ambiguous. I conceive the discourse of tourism as a continuum, delineated by government documents related to the reconstruction of Austrian hotel infrastructure after World War II on the one hand, and by the activities of international tourists on a *Sound of Music* tour on the other. Some of these texts address tourism fairly directly, others draw on the imagery of tourism to engage with specific aspects of Austrian identity and history in a critical or polemical way.

## Chapter Itinerary

This book consists of three large sections loosely connected (I) to Austria’s immediate postwar period, (II) to the country’s shifting political landscape in the 1980s and 1990s, and (III) to Austria’s search for a role in a globalizing world at the turn of the twenty-first century. Part I, “‘Where Is This Much-Talked-Of Austria?’ Remapping Post-World War II Austria,” analyzes the role of tourism discourse in reconstructing an independent Austria and affirming its national identity narrative as distinct from Germany. In chapter 1, I analyze how a series of government activities aimed at rebuilding Austria’s tourism infrastructure also provide insights into the renegotiations of “Austrian-ness” during the Allied occupation. A discussion of *The Book of Austria*, a publication by the official Austrian press service in 1948, will shed light on the complex ways historical narratives drew on the tourist gaze and on the general habitus of Western tour-

ism to put Austria back on the map of the international community. Chapters 2 and 3 in this first section focus more on the domestic aspect of the discourse of tourism. Through an analysis of two highly popular *Heimatfilme*, *Hofrat Geiger* (Privy Councilor Geiger) (1947) and *Der Förster vom Silberwald* (The Forester of the Silver Wood) (1954), I will highlight the role of film both as a medium that represented tourist practices and as important element of the tourism discourse itself. Specifically, these chapters will demonstrate how the filmic representation of typical tourism landscapes modeled possible ways to negotiate the contradictions between Austria's longstanding self-image as a German nation and its sudden reinvention as an already distinctly Austrian community after 1945.

Part II, "Dark Places: Tourism and the Representation of Austria's Involvement in National Socialism and the Holocaust," focuses on the complex connections between Austria's long denial of its co-responsibility for the Holocaust and Austrian writers' use of the discourse of tourism to criticize this historical "amnesia." Chapter 4 analyzes the historical exhibits that were part of the European Capital of Culture program organized by the Upper Austrian city of Linz in 2009. As a specific manifestation of the discourse of tourism, the ECOC program became an important venue for addressing and exhibiting the history of Linz as one of Hitler's *Führerstädte* in a serious but also accessible way. The various historical exhibits sparked a heated debate between, on one side, the curators and historians who tried to engage visitors through affective and performative modes of historical representation, and, on the other side, a group of local historians who criticized the exhibits as dumbed-down representations of history and accused the curators of kowtowing to touristic expectations. I will use this debate as point of departure for two literary excursions into Austria's "heart of darkness." In chapter 5, "Alpine Vampires: The Haunted Landscapes of Elfriede Jelinek's *Die Kinder der Toten* (The Children of the Dead)," I will trace the author's use of the discourse of tourism for redrawing the map of Austria into a monumental landscape of what Alison Landsberg called "prosthetic memory."<sup>51</sup> Chapter 6, "The Blind Shores of Austrian History: Christoph Ransmayr's *Morbus Kitahara* (The Dog King)," takes a closer look at how an iconic Austrian tourism region, the Salzkammergut, is transformed into an inverted ghost map that re-inscribes the crimes of National Socialism into the very landscape that undergirds Austrian national identity. Both chapters in this section address the shifting narratives of Austrian-ness during the 1990s, a time when the repressed legacy of Austria's collaboration with National Socialism returned with a vengeance. Furthermore, both chapters discuss the important role of fictional narratives in the affective representation of difficult historical topics.

At the center of the book's third and last part, "Austrian Narratives of Place and Identity in the Context of Globalization," are various manifestations of *The Sound of Music* narrative as a particular example of the link between the discourse of tourism and Austrian national imagery. Chapter 7, "Trapped Bodies, Roaming

Fantasies: Mobilizing Constructions of Place and Identity in Florian Flicker’s *Suzie Washington* (1998),” analyzes Flicker’s film as critical look at the increasingly untenable Austrian self-image as welcoming host country. Contrasting the tourism marketing rhetoric with the heroine’s experience of Austrian xenophobia and racism, Flicker thematizes how the discourse of tourism’s suggests a quasi-universal idea of mobility but puts up actual barriers based on race and national origin. This also has important ramifications on the apparatus of critical inquiry across a range of disciplines, with the notion of mobile, hybrid, and transnational identities sometimes acting akin to a *deus ex machina* that would remove the entrenched political and economic inequalities connected with the nation-state.

*Suzie Washington*’s allegorical use of the *Sound of Music* theme provides its heroine with at least a modicum of agency and, in doing so, offers a segue into chapter 8, which traces the evolution of *The Sound of Music* narrative and its connection to nineteenth-century narratives of Austrian-ness. Rather than interpreting the recent staging of a German-language version of *The Sound of Music* at the Salzburg Landestheater as a final reconciliation of this long-rejected example of “American kitsch” with the “real” Austria, I discuss these latest manifestations of *Sound of Music* tourism as yet another instance of how Austrian-ness is renegotiated in the context of tourism. As this discussion will show, global (and globalized) narratives such as *The Sound of Music* do not per se signal a new transnational paradigm. Depending on the respective political context, they can very well be used to reaffirm national(ist) tendencies in a new costume.

The function of tourism as a factor in constructing and validating an “authentic” notion of Austrian-ness features prominently in the chapters of this book. The conclusion, “When Austria Moves to China,” reverses this perspective to some extent. While outside visitors have often functioned as validators of domestic constructions of Austrian-ness, in the case of the alpine town of Hallstatt, the Chinese visitors came to not only look but also survey, measure, and photograph in order to reconstruct a full-size copy of the town, lake included, in a Chinese housing development. How this changed Austrian debates about authenticity and identity in a global context will be the focus of this final outlook.

## Notes

1. Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America* (New York: Vintage Books, 2012), 85.
2. Eva Brenner, “‘Where Are the Big Topics, Where Is the Big Form?’ Elfriede Jelinek in Discussion with Eva Brenner about Her Play *Totenauberg*, Theater, and Politics,” in *Elfriede Jelinek: Framed by Language*, ed. Jorun B. Johns and Katherine Arens (Riverside, CA: Ariadne Press, 1994), 30.
3. Peter Turrini, “SPIEGEL Essay: Die touristische Bananenrepublik,” *Der Spiegel*, 10 November 1986, <http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-13520866.html>.

4. For such overviews, see Wolfgang Hackl, *Eingeborene im Paradies: Die literarische Wahrnehmung des alpinen Tourismus im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2004); Wolfgang Straub, *Willkommen: Literatur und Fremdenverkehr in Österreich* (Vienna: Sonderzahl, 2001).
5. Alon Confino, "Traveling as a Culture of Remembrance: Traces of National Socialism in West Germany, 1945–1960," *History & Memory* 12, no. 2 (2000): 101–2.
6. Alon Confino, *Germany as a Culture of Remembrance: Promises and Limits of Writing History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press Books, 2006), 220.
7. *Ibid.*, 221.
8. Hans Magnus Enzensberger, "Vergebliche Brandung der Ferne: Eine Theorie des Tourismus," *Merkur* 126, August (1958): 701–20. All quotes in this chapter are taken from this reprint: Hans Magnus Enzensberger, "A Theory of Tourism," *New German Critique* 68, Spring/Summer (1996): 117–35.
9. Enzensberger, "Theory," 124.
10. *Ibid.*, 126.
11. *Ibid.*, 129.
12. *Ibid.*, 135.
13. Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 146–47; emphasis in original.
14. *Ibid.*, 147.
15. MacCannell critically reflects on the gendered implications of his initial concept in the foreword to a later edition of *The Tourist*. See *ibid.*, x.
16. *Ibid.*, 1.
17. John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* (London: Sage Publications, 1990), 3.
18. *Ibid.*
19. David Crouch and Nina Lübbren, "Introduction," in *Visual Culture and Tourism*, ed. David Crouch and Nina Lübbren (New York: Berg, 2003), 10.
20. *Ibid.*
21. Urry, *Tourist Gaze*, 3.
22. Simon Coleman and Mike Crang, "Introduction: Grounded Tourists, Travelling Theory," in *Tourism: Between Place and Performance*, ed. Simon Coleman and Mike Crang (New York: Berghahn Books, 2002), 10.
23. Mike Crang, "Circulation and Emplacement: The Hollowed-Out Performance of Tourism," in *Travels in Paradox: Remapping Tourism*, ed. Claudio Minca and Tim Oakes (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006), 53–54.
24. Coleman and Crang, "Introduction," 10.
25. *Ibid.*, 11.
26. For a collection of essays that reflect this changing attitude toward place and space, see Vincent J. Del Casino and Stephen P. Hanna, eds., *Mapping Tourism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003).
27. Butler describes the conventional idea of gender as "the discursive/cultural means by which 'sexed nature' or 'a natural sex' is produced and established as 'pre-discursive', prior to culture, a politically neutral surface on which culture acts." Judith Butler, "Gender Trouble, Feminist Theory, and Psychoanalytic Discourse," in *Feminism/Postmodernism*, ed. Linda J. Nicholson (New York: Routledge, 1990), 7. See also Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"* (New York: Routledge, 1993).
28. Butler, *Bodies*, 2.

29. Butler, "Gender Trouble, Feminist Theory," 338.
30. Cynthia Weber, "Performative States," *Millennium* 27, no. 1 (1998): 80–81.
31. *Ibid.*, 82.
32. *Ibid.*, 91.
33. Hellmut Andics, *Der Staat, den keiner wollte: Österreich von der Gründung der Republik bis zur Moskauer Deklaration* (Vienna: Molden-Taschenbuch-Verlag, 1976).
34. See Felix Kreissler, *Der Österreicher und seine Nation: Ein Lernprozess mit Hindernissen* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1984), 31.
35. Weber, "Performative States," 92–93.
36. Ruth Wodak et al., *The Discursive Construction of National Identity* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 53–54.
37. Weber, "Performative States," 91.
38. See Ernst Bruckmüller, *Österreichbewusstsein im Wandel: Identität und Selbstverständnis in den 90er Jahren* (Vienna: Signum-Verlag, 1994), 26–27; Wodak et al., *Discursive Construction*, 54.
39. Robert Kriechbaumer, *Österreichische Nationalgeschichte nach 1945: Die Spiegel der Erinnerung, die Sicht von innen* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1998), 21.
40. Peter Thaler, *The Ambivalence of Identity: The Austrian Experience of Nation-Building in a Modern Society* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2001), 88.
41. *Ibid.*, 111–12; 124–32.
42. *Ibid.*, 131.
43. *Ibid.*, 141.
44. Tim Edensor, *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2002), 90.
45. Wodak et al., *Discursive Construction*, 3–4.
46. *Ibid.*, 24.
47. *Ibid.*, 70–105.
48. *Ibid.*, 106–45.
49. *Ibid.*, 146–85.
50. *Ibid.*, 150.
51. Alison Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004).

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