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## Civic Education under Pressure? A Case Study from an Austrian School

When the politician Roman Haider of the party Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs (FPÖ – Freedom Party of Austria)<sup>1</sup> caused the interruption of a lecture about political extremism in an Austrian school in spring 2017, a heated debate erupted over the place of politics in school education. While Haider accused the lecturer of political propaganda, teachers, students and political opponents were upset about this seeming act of censorship. The controversy raises important questions over the aims and principles of civic education,<sup>2</sup> which will continue to engage teachers and educationalists.

### Keywords:

Finanzbildung, Finanzkompetenz, Finanzinklusion, staatsbürgerliche Bildung

### 1 A lecture causing a stir

The 8th of March 2017 should become a day to remember for Wolfgang Oberndorfer, headmaster of the Bundesoberstufenrealgymnasium Honauerstraße (BORG Honauerstraße – an upper secondary school with a special emphasis on music, sports and science, among others) in the Austrian city of Linz.<sup>3</sup> At the invitation of one of the school's philosophy teachers, Thomas Rammerstorfer visited the school to give a lecture about "The extremist challenges" in front of an audience of around seventy pupils between the age of seventeen and nineteen years. As teenagers from the age of sixteen have been eligible to vote in Austria since 2007, a topic such as this one is highly relevant for this age group. Rammerstorfer is a journalist, author, and social worker as well as a member of Die Grünen (The Austrian Green Party). During his lecture, he spoke about various examples of political and religious extremism, covering topics such as left-wing extremism, right-wing extremism, IS terrorism, Salafism, and so-called 'Staatsverweiger' (i.e. people who refuse to accept the legitimacy of modern nation states).<sup>4</sup>

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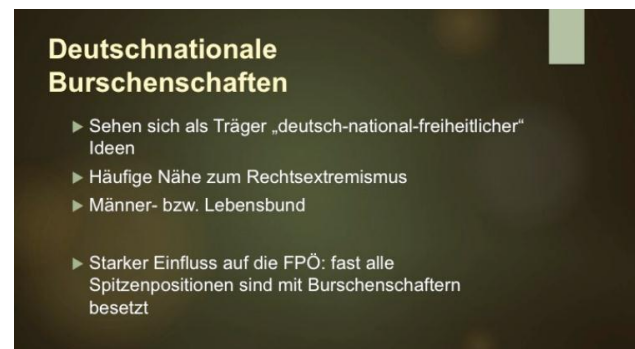
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One of the PowerPoint slides used by Thomas Rammerstorfer during his lecture (© Thomas Rammerstorfer).

While talking about right-wing extremism, Rammerstorfer also discussed the role of German-nationalist *Burschenschaften* (see the blue box for more information) and briefly mentioned their influence on the FPÖ. When Rammerstorfer wanted to open the floor for discussion, however, he was suddenly interrupted by a teacher and asked to stop his lecture. As it emerged later, one of the pupils in the audience, eighteen-year-old Rüdiger Haider, had informed his father about the content of the lecture via WhatsApp, who immediately contacted headmaster Oberndorfer and demanded that the lecture be cut short. Roman Haider – Rüdiger Haider's father – is not only parent representative of the school, but also a member of the National Council for the FPÖ.<sup>5</sup> Both Roman and Rüdiger Haider are also members of a *Burschenschaft*.<sup>6</sup> In an interview with the newspaper *Oberösterreichische Nachrichten*, Haider called the lecture an "incredible impertinence with a political agenda" and harshly rejected criticism of his party:

"It's intolerable to associate a party represented in parliament with extremism. Extremism means to reject democracy. I will not accept this allegation. Views like these do not belong in schools."<sup>7</sup>

Haider accused Rammerstorfer of political rabble-rousing, dubbing him a "green wolf in sheep's clothing." Herwig Mahr, leader of the FPÖ parliamentary group in the Upper Austrian *Landtag* (state parliament), said that Rammerstorfer should not be allowed to lecture in schools in the future.<sup>8</sup>



Thomas Rammerstorfer makes headlines in the Austrian press  
(© Screenshot Isabella Schild).

Thomas Rammerstorfer himself was quick to defend his lecture, pointing out that he had mentioned the FPÖ only briefly and that his remarks were based on historical facts. He also clarified that he had never intended to equate the Austrian Freedom Party with terrorism. On his Facebook page, Rammerstorfer commented on the issue:

"Ironically, one of the topics that I dealt with in my lecture was Putin's and Erdogan's crackdown on critical media. In that regard, the break-off of my lecture perfectly illustrated my point."<sup>9</sup>

While the teacher who had originally invited Rammerstorfer to speak at the school did not issue an official statement after the incident, headmaster Wolfgang Oberndorfer rallied to the support of his colleague. In an interview with *Oberösterreichische Nachrichten*, Oberndorfer claimed to have stopped the lecture in order to protect the teacher and related the phone conversation he had with Roman Haider:

"Haider threatened that the teacher would have to expect massive repercussions on his career. He was talking about extreme left-wing sedition and said that he would do anything to bring the teacher down."<sup>10</sup>

Upon further request, Haider denied these threats.<sup>11</sup> Fritz Enzenhofer, president of the education authority of Upper Austria, was apparently unwilling to take a definite stand on the incident. In the *Oberösterreichische Nachrichten*, he said:

"It's not acceptable to associate a democratically legitimised party with extremism. It's imperative that civic education is unbiased."<sup>12</sup>

However, in the same newspaper article, Enzenhofer denied that he had mandated the break-off of Rammerstorfer's lecture and claimed that he had refused when asked to do so by several FPÖ politicians in phone conversations.<sup>13</sup>

Members of other Austrian parliamentary parties were largely critical of Roman Haider's intervention. Bettina Stadlbauer, leader of the Upper Austrian branch of the *Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs* (SPÖ – Social Democratic Party of Austria), said that the break-off of Rammerstorfer's lecture was "totally un-acceptable" and demanded that he be invited to the school again in order to continue the lecture.<sup>14</sup> Gottfried Hirz, leader of the Green Party in Upper Austria, criticised the actions of the teacher and headmaster, arguing that the school inspectorate should have thoroughly examined the situation before the lecture was cut short.<sup>15</sup> Contrary to Stadlbauer and

Hirz, Thomas Stelzer of the *Oberösterreichische Volkspartei* (ÖVP – Upper Austrian branch of the Austrian People's Party) was more cautious in his statement, emphasising that party politics should not interfere with school education and that schools should carefully choose which speakers they invite when it comes to political topics.<sup>16</sup>

Student representatives were particularly upset about the incident. Susann Scheftner of the *Aktion Kritischer Schüler\_innen Linz* (Campaign of Critical Students Linz), who was present at Rammerstorfer's lecture, was outraged about the fact that "a politician attempts to impinge on a school's curriculum and succeeds in doing so." Die *Kommunistische Jugend Oberösterreich* (Communist Youth of Upper Austria) said that the FPÖ intervention "smacked of censorship," and the youth wing of the Austrian Green Party accused the FPÖ of antidemocratic behaviour.<sup>17</sup> According to Thomas Rammerstorfer, several students who had been among the audience during the lecture contacted him after the incident, expressing regret over headmaster Oberndorfer's decision and thanking Rammerstorfer for his interesting talk.<sup>18</sup>

In the weeks and months following Thomas Rammerstorfer's visit to the school, the incident continued to be the subject of heated debate. On March 15, 2017, members of parliament Harald Walser, Berivan Aslan and Karl Öllinger initiated an interpellation concerning the "break-off of an event at BORG Honauerstraße Linz" in the Austrian parliament, submitting the PowerPoint slides used by Rammerstorfer during his lecture and requesting a thorough investigation of the incident.<sup>19</sup> On March 29, 2017 – three weeks after the ill-fated lecture – leading politicians of the Upper Austrian branch of the FPÖ officially presented a newly-launched website designed for documenting "incidents of political manipulation" in schools. The website encouraged students to report any case of "political influencing" during lessons, without requiring them to give their names, e-mail addresses, or other data.<sup>20</sup> Hardly surprising, the project sparked considerable backlash both by other political parties and by teacher representatives. Gottfried Hirz of the Green Party called the website a "smear campaign," while Paul

Kimberger of the teachers' union for compulsory schools expressed disapproval over the fact "that politicians are now putting pressure on teachers."<sup>21</sup>



The website for documenting "incidents of political manipulation" in schools (© Screenshot Isabella Schild).

On April 27, 2017, several members of parliament for the FPÖ – among them the current Interior Minister of Austria, Herbert Kickl – in turn initiated an interpellation concerning "potential lectures by alleged experts on right-wing extremism in Austrian state schools" in parliament.<sup>22</sup> Shortly afterwards, on May 8, 2017, the education authority of Upper Austria issued a report on the incident at BORG Honauerstraße, which backed the teacher who had organised the lecture and testified to the impartiality of Rammerstorfer's talk.<sup>23</sup> Not convinced, Roman Haider rejected the stance of the education authority, claiming that the report was "not worth the paper" and refusing to apologise for his intervention.<sup>24</sup> In fact, instead of dropping the subject, Haider and his party comrades continued to exploit it for their own purpose: In November 2017, in a parliamentary symposium attended by high-ranking FPÖ politicians such as party leader Heinz-Christian Strache and former presidential candidate Norbert Hofer, Roman Haider's son Rüdiger was awarded the Franz Dinghofer Medal for his "services to democracy."<sup>25</sup>



Rüdiger Haider is awarded the Franz Dinghofer Medal for his "services to democracy" (© Parlamentsdirektion/Thomas Topf).

## 2 Consequences for Civic Education

Ultimately, the incident at BORG Honauerstraße has also had repercussions in the Austrian civic-education landscape. For example, *Zentrum Polis*, the central education service institution for civic education in Austrian schools, has been putting special emphasis on the topic of extremism since 2016 and has also published a special issue on the subject. In their annual report of 2017, the staff of *Zentrum Polis* claim that

"extremism and radicalization [...] are frequently named by teachers as great challenges in civic education. Therefore, *Zentrum Polis* has created a special issue including helpful links and materials, which is designed to support the teaching of subject knowledge and the development of political skills and competences. In that regard, civic education makes an important contribution to the prevention of extremism and radicalization."<sup>26</sup>

Furthermore, as a direct response to the incident in Linz, the University College of Teacher Education Vienna hosted a special workshop for teachers (titled "How far can civic education go?") in April 2017. The event also included a discussion between Thomas Rammerstorfer, Michael Sörös (school superintendent and president of the education authority of Vienna) and Philipp Mittnik (head of the department of civic education at the University College of Teacher Education Vienna) over the question whether teachers can take a stand on political parties in class or need to be impartial.<sup>27</sup> These examples demonstrate that the "scandal" of Linz did not only generate a lot of clamour in the press but has also launched an animated discussion within the field of civic education.

How can we assess the event at BORG Honauerstraße and its repercussions from the perspective of civic education? As it should have become clear in the preceding observations, the incident has garnered significant media attention and sparked considerable debate over the relationship between civic education and politics. Much of this debate has been influenced by the old animosities between right-wing and left-wing groups on the political spectrum.

From a legal point of view, Roman Haider's objection to Thomas Rammerstorfer's lecture was not completely unfounded. In 2008, the Austrian Ministry of Education issued a circular on the "unlawfulness of party-political advertising in schools," based on the Austrian School Education Act of 1974. The circular decrees that

"[...] party-political interests must not take hold in schools. Instead, schools need to inform students about politics – party politics included – in a factual, objective and pluralistic way. They must not give the impression that they import party politics in the form of people or pertinent advertising material. [...] If teachers consider inviting experts from outside the school as part of their individual and independent lesson design, they need to ensure that these experts do not in any way serve as an advertising medium for a political party."<sup>28</sup>



In the case of the BORG Honauerstraße, it is certainly difficult to ascertain whether Rammerstorfer made any remarks that could have been construed as an exertion of political influence – after all, the lecture was neither recorded nor videotaped, so that Rammerstorfer's testimony as well as the accounts of the students and teachers present at the talk remain the only "evidence" available. However, the fact that Thomas Rammerstorfer is an active member of the Austrian Green Party is certainly a more incriminating aspect here, and one that Haider very likely deliberately took advantage of. On the other hand, the mere political affiliation of an expert can hardly be given as an argument for interrupting an academic lecture. This would mean that experts who sympathize with the FPÖ would also no longer be able to express themselves on an academic platform.

From the perspective of civic education, though, the case appears even less clear-cut. Since the 1970s, (German and Austrian) civic educationalists have largely accepted the paradigms of the so-called "[Beutelsbach Consensus](#)" of 1976, which aimed to lay out the basic principles of civic education. The Consensus consists of three main clauses: 1) "Prohibition against Overwhelming the Pupil"; 2) "Treating Controversial Subjects as Controversial"; and 3) "Giving Weight to the Personal Interests of Pupils."<sup>29</sup> It thus stipulates that teachers are not allowed to impart desirable opinions on their pupils and therefore to hinder them from forming an independent judgement, and it further emphasises the importance of a balanced civic education that takes into account multiple perspectives and different opinions. Moreover, it highlights the need to enable pupils to establish a link between political circumstances and their own opinions and interests and thus to prepare them for active participation in politics.

Both Austrian school law and the guidelines of the "Beutelsbach Consensus" therefore demand that political parties and their party platforms be accessed and handled in an objective and pluralistic manner. Despite recognition of these paradigms, it remains the responsibility of teachers to explicitly take a stand against party content that either unequivocally threatens democracy or appears inhumane, and to raise awareness for the good of democracy. The teaching of democratic values cannot be compared to indoctrination. It entails the opposite in that it deals with open-mindedness and diversity of opinions as central aspects of societal cohabitation. It remains to be discussed whether this diversity of opinions applies to those political ideologies and beliefs that they ultimately wish to restrict pluralism.

Regardless of this, there obviously remains the question of whether civic education in schools contributes to the steering of pupils towards maturity and democracy. Wolfgang Sander writes that

"all too easily, [...] contexts are far too simplified in public perceptions regarding civic education [...] – even trivialized. This leads to false and/or excessive expectations concerning the potential achievements in this particular subject."<sup>30</sup>

On the one hand, the central role that is equally played by extracurricular factors such as domestic environments and circles of friends in political socialization is often neglected. On the other hand, it must furthermore be taken into consideration that democratic education is not acquired through knowledge of institutions and that theoretical knowledge about democracy does not on its own indicate a democratically thinking individual. Instead, Wolfgang Sander believes that actual politics themselves must also be placed into context and focused upon when learning about democracy:

"Democratic learning must [...] not entail searching for democracy outside of the political, for democracy is a form of the political and therefore seen as a practical sub-sector of politics. There is no democracy outside of politics [...]"<sup>31</sup>

In this context, the incident in the BORG in Linz itself serves as a perfect example in civic education classes. The highly political discussion about democratic values and the handling of parties, their programs, and their political negotiations in a scholastic context offers pupils an idea of how democratic operations are carried out in everyday politics. The pupils should understand that democracy is not merely to be equated with the right to take part in decision-making. This is because, rather than focusing on a cross-party aim, discussions about interests tend to instead prioritize single-party expectations. In fact, pupils learn that actual democracy can be characterized by conflictual disputes and must therefore be consistently analyzed and reflected upon.

The interruption of the lecture of Thomas Rammerstorfer also teaches us that even politicians, although they are the symbol of real-life politics, need to learn more about civic education. The discussion about the disagreeable occurrence should include more but the old fight along right- and left-wing paradigm. Instead of these non-constructive discussions, there should be an emphasis on a political culture which is characterized by respect and the will to cope with problems. This also includes the FPÖ confronting the problematic fact that its own members have links to far-right groups.<sup>32</sup> Only recently revealed in relation to the Lower Austrian regional elections, the connections of the FPÖ to the fraternity "Germania" which caused a stir with a far-right song book,<sup>33</sup> present the incident in Linz in a whole new light. Manfred Haimbuchner, head of the Upper Austrian FPÖ, spoke of there being "certain idiots within the FPÖ."<sup>34</sup>

The conclusion of the incident in Linz is that politicians should not utilize their political authority in schools especially, that politicians should not threaten other people because of their authority, and that there should be a culture of discussion which is minted of democratic values and of the recognition of different opinions. In addition to this, the borders of political influence in schools need to once again be strongly enforced. Simultaneously, it has become clear how the rivalry between different political parties regarding their understanding

of democracy looks and which conflicts affecting political cooperation arise from this situation. It is not civic education which finds itself under pressure, but rather the type of politics that needs to establish and accept

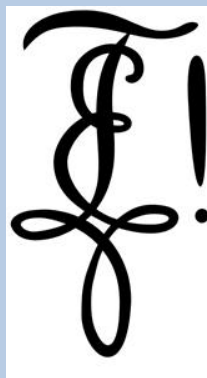
overall conditions which enable a modern-day civic education.

### Burschenschaften

*Burschenschaften* are pan-German student fraternities that today exist in Germany and Austria. They have their ideological roots in early-nineteenth-century Germany, when university students formed associations inspired by both nationalist and liberal ideas. In the course of the nineteenth century, the liberal element was increasingly side-lined by nationalist fervour, and the fraternities were significantly involved in the unification of Germany. Many members of these fraternities later joined the National Socialist movement, with antisemitism being a distinctive trait of *Burschenschaft* ideology.

Today there are about 20 different *Burschenschaften* in Austria. Most of them are *farbentragend* ("sporting colours"), which means that members wear a ribbon and cap in the colours of their fraternity. Many are *schlagend* ("beating"), i.e. members regularly hold fencing bouts with other fraternities. The central ideological element is *völkisch* ("ethnic") nationalism. In this respect, Austria is regarded as part of the German "fatherland", and the Austrian majority population is considered part of the German *Volk* ("people"). Other defining traits are a cult of masculinity as well as elitism.

In Austria, *Burschenschaften* have gained considerable political influence through their close relationship with the Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ): Leading FPÖ politicians such as the current minister of transport Norbert Hofer and vice-chancellor Heinz-Christian Strache are members of *Burschenschaften*, as are 17 of the 51 members of parliament for the now co-governing FPÖ.<sup>35</sup>



A *Burschenschaft* logo containing the slogan  
"Ehre, Freiheit, Vaterland" ("Honour, Freedom, Fatherland")  
(© Wikimedia Commons).

### Further Reading:

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### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> At the time when the incident at BORG Honauerstraße took place, the FPÖ was an opposition party. By December 2017, however, the FPÖ had entered government as the coalition partner of the Österreichische Volkspartei (ÖVP – Austrian People's Party). FPÖ party leader Heinz-Christian Strache is currently vice-chancellor of Austria.

<sup>2</sup> In this article, the term "civic education" is used for talking about education in political matters. We are aware that other publications

sometimes use the terms "political education" or "citizenship education"; however, we found "civic education" more suitable, as it is more commonly used.

<sup>3</sup> BORG Honauerstraße is an upper secondary school with approximately 1,000 students and 140 teachers. Upon application, students at BORG Honauerstraße choose one of the school's special branches (sports, computer science, music, communication, popular

and electronic music, natural science, art), which will shape their curriculum up to graduation.

<sup>4</sup> Philipp Hirsch, "Schuldirektor bricht Vortrag nach Kritik an FPÖ ab" [Headmaster breaks off lecture after criticism by FPÖ], *Oberösterreichische Nachrichten*, March 10, 2017, <http://www.nachrichten.at/oberoesterreich/linz/Schuldirektor-bricht-Vortrag-nach-Kritik-an-FPOE-ab;art66,2506846>.

<sup>5</sup> Hirsch, "Schuldirektor."

<sup>6</sup> Hanna Herbst, "In einer Linzer Schule wurde ein Vortrag abgebrochen, weil die FPÖ nicht glücklich damit war" [A lecture was broken off in a school in Vienna because the FPÖ was not happy about it], *Vice*, March 10, 2017, [https://www.vice.com/de\\_at/article/8gb8kx/in-einer-linzer-schule-wurde-ein-vortrag-abgebrochen-weil-die-fpo-nicht-gluecklich-damit-war](https://www.vice.com/de_at/article/8gb8kx/in-einer-linzer-schule-wurde-ein-vortrag-abgebrochen-weil-die-fpo-nicht-gluecklich-damit-war).

<sup>7</sup> Hirsch, "Schuldirektor."

<sup>8</sup> Hirsch, "Schuldirektor."

<sup>9</sup> Hirsch, "Schuldirektor."

<sup>10</sup> Robert Stammler, "Vortrag abgebrochen: Direktor wirft FPÖ 'massive' Drohungen vor" [Lecture broken off: Headmaster accuses FPÖ of 'massive threats'], *Oberösterreichische Nachrichten*, March 14, 2017, <http://www.nachrichten.at/oberoesterreich/Vortrag-abgebrochen-Direktor-wirft-FPOE-massive-Drohungen-vor;art4,2511370> (last accessed 19 February 2018).

<sup>11</sup> Stammler, "Vortrag."

<sup>12</sup> Hirsch, "Schuldirektor."

<sup>13</sup> Hirsch, "Schuldirektor."

<sup>14</sup> "Wirbel um Abbruch von Vortrag an Linzer Schule nach FPÖ-Intervention" [Stir over interruption of lecture at school in Linz after FPÖ intervention], *Der Standard*, March 10, 2017, <http://derstandard.at/2000053937689/Wirbel-um-Abbruch-von-Vortrag-an-Linzer-Schule-nach-FPOe> (last accessed 19 February 2018).

<sup>15</sup> "Vortrag an Linzer Schule nach FPÖ-Intervention abgebrochen" [Lecture broken off at school in Linz after FPÖ intervention], *Die Presse*, March 10, 2017, <https://diepresse.com/home/bildung/schule/5181432/Vortrag-an-Linzer-Schule-nach-FPOeIntervention-abgebrochen> (last accessed 19 February 2018).

<sup>16</sup> Hirsch, "Schuldirektor."

<sup>17</sup> "Wirbel."

<sup>18</sup> Herbst, "In einer Linzer Schule."

<sup>19</sup> See [https://www.parlament.gv.at/PAKT/VHG/XXV/J/12484/imfname\\_622915.pdf](https://www.parlament.gv.at/PAKT/VHG/XXV/J/12484/imfname_622915.pdf) (last accessed 12 March 2018).

<sup>20</sup> The site was presented in an article on the website of Manfred Haimbuchner, deputy governor of Upper Austria. In the article, Herwig Mahr claimed that the site received reports of "incidents" at schools almost on a weekly basis and stressed that he expected the number of unreported cases to be much higher. However, since the website was taken down shortly after its creation, the exact amount of activity remains unknown. See "FPÖ richtet Meldestelle für parteipolitische Beeinflussung an Schulen ein" [FPÖ starts registration website for political influencing in schools], *FPÖ Oberösterreich*, March 29, 2017, <http://www.fpoe-ooe.at/fpoe-richtet-meldestelle-fuer-partecipolitische-beeinflussung-an-schulen-ein/> (last accessed 9 March 2018).

<sup>21</sup> Stefan Minichberger, "'Spitzelwesen': Empörung über blaue Meldestelle für 'politische Manipulation'" ['Spy system': Outrage over FPÖ registration website for 'political manipulation'], *Oberösterreichische Nachrichten*, March 10, 2017, <http://www.nachrichten.at/oberoesterreich/Spitzelwesen-Empoerung-ueber-blaue-Meldestelle-fuer-politische-Manipulation;art4,2525782> (last accessed 19 February 2018).

<sup>22</sup> See [https://www.parlament.gv.at/PAKT/VHG/XXV/J/12928/imfname\\_632035.pdf](https://www.parlament.gv.at/PAKT/VHG/XXV/J/12928/imfname_632035.pdf) (last accessed 19 February 2018).

<sup>23</sup> "Vortrags-Abbruch: Landesschulrat unterstützt Lehrer" [Break-off of lecture: Education authority backs teacher], *Oberösterreichische Nachrichten*, May 8, 2017, <http://www.nachrichten.at/oberoesterreich/Vortrags-Abbruch-Landesschulrat-unterstuetzt-Lehrer;art4,2560782> (last accessed 19 February 2018).

<sup>24</sup> "Bericht nach Vortrags-Abbruch ist für Haider 'das Papier nicht wert'" [Report after break-off of lecture 'not worth the paper' for Haider], *Oberösterreichische Nachrichten*, May 10, 2017, <http://www.nachrichten.at/oberoesterreich/Bericht-nach-Vortrags-Abbruch-ist-fuer-Haider-das-Papier-nicht-wert;art4,2562837> (19 February 2018).

<sup>25</sup> "Dinghofer-Symposium 2017 im Parlament zur Verfassungsgerichtsbarkeit" [Dinghofer Symposium 2017 in parliament on the topic of constitutional jurisdiction], APA-OTS, November 8, 2017, [https://www.ots.at/presseaussendung/OTS\\_20171108\\_OTS0190/dinghofer-symposium-2017-im-parlament-zur-verfassungsgerichtsbarkeit](https://www.ots.at/presseaussendung/OTS_20171108_OTS0190/dinghofer-symposium-2017-im-parlament-zur-verfassungsgerichtsbarkeit) (last accessed 19 February 2018).

<sup>26</sup> See [http://www.politik-lernen.at/dl/uuuLJKKonNnOJqx4mJK/Jahresberichtpolis\\_2017\\_web.pdf](http://www.politik-lernen.at/dl/uuuLJKKonNnOJqx4mJK/Jahresberichtpolis_2017_web.pdf) (last accessed 3 March 2018).

<sup>27</sup> "Was darf Politische Bildung?" [How far can civic education go?], *Erinnern.at*,

<http://www.erinnern.at/bundeslaender/wien/termine/was-darf-politische-bildung> (last accessed 03 March 2018).

<sup>28</sup> "Unzulässigkeit von parteipolitischer Werbung an Schulen" [Unlawfulness of party-political advertising in schools], Bundesministerium für Bildung, Wissenschaft und Forschung [Federal Ministry of Education, Science and Research], October 7, 2008, [https://bildung.bmbwf.gv.at/ministerium/rs/2008\\_13.html](https://bildung.bmbwf.gv.at/ministerium/rs/2008_13.html) (last accessed 19 February 2018).

<sup>29</sup> Hans-Georg Wehling, "Konsens à la Beutelsbach?" [Consensus à la Beutelsbach], in *Das Konsensproblem in der politischen Bildung* [The problem of consensus in civic education], ed. Siegfried Schiele and Herbert Schneider (Stuttgart: Klett, 1977), 179-180.

<sup>30</sup> Wolfgang Sander, "Politische Bildung in der Demokratie – Herausforderungen im europäischen Kontext" [Civic education in democracy – Challenges in the European context] in *Demokratie-Bildung in Europa: Herausforderungen für Österreich* [Building democracy in Europe: Challenges for Austria], ed. Gertraud Diendorfer and Sigrid Steinger (Schwalbach/Ts.: Wochenschau Verlag, 2006) 23-38. See online: [http://www.demokratiezentrum.org/fileadmin/media/pdf/sander\\_polbildung.pdf](http://www.demokratiezentrum.org/fileadmin/media/pdf/sander_polbildung.pdf) (last accessed 19 February 2018).

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> The report of the Mauthausen Committee Austria gives an insight into the involvement of the FPÖ with radical right-wing circles. See the brochure "Lauter Einzelfälle? Die FPÖ und der Rechtsextremismus" [Isolated cases? The FPÖ and right-wing extremism], Mauthausen Committee Austria, August 2017, <http://www.mkoe.at/broschueren-lauter-einzelfaelle-die-fpoe-und-der-rechtsextremismus> (last accessed 3 March 2018).

<sup>33</sup> Nina Horaczek, "'Wir schaffen die siebte Million': Die Burschenschaft des FPÖ-Spitzenkandidaten Udo Landbauer treibt ihre 'Späße' über die Schoa" ['We'll make the seventh million': The fraternity of FPÖ top candidate Udo Landbauer makes fun of the Shoah], *Falter*, January 23, 2018, <https://cms.falter.at/falter/2018/01/23/wir-schaffen-die-siebte-million> (last accessed 19 February 2018); Christof Mackinger, "FPÖ-NÖ: Udo Landbauer warb für Buch mit NS-Liedgut" [FPÖ Lower Austria: Udo Landbauer promotes book containing Nazi songs], *Profil*, January 24, 2018, <https://www.profil.at/oesterreich/fpoe-noe-udo-landbauer-buch-ns-liedgut-8711628> (last accessed 19 February 2018).

<sup>34</sup> "Haimbuchner zu Fall Landbauer: 'Würde aus Verbindung austreten'" [Haimbuchner on the Landbauer case: 'I would resign from the fraternity'], *Die Presse*, January 1, 2018, <https://diepresse.com/home/innenpolitik/noewahl/5362766/Haimbuchner-zu-Fall-Landbauer-Wuerde-aus-Verbindung-austreten> (19 February 2018).

<sup>35</sup> Colette M. Schmidt and Fabian Schmid, "Bünde fürs Leben: FPÖ-Minister vertrauen auf Burschenschafter" [Bonds for life: FPÖ ministers rely on Burschenschaft members], *Der Standard*, January 26, 2018, <https://derstandard.at/2000073029690/Buende-fuers-Leben-FPOe-Minister-vertrauen-auf-Burschenschafter> (last accessed 9 March 2018).