



universität  
wien

# DIPLOMARBEIT

Titel der Diplomarbeit

“Christkind vs. Santa Claus –  
American influences on the representation of  
Christmas in Austrian magazines”

Verfasserin

Anna-Lena Lock

angestrebter akademischer Grad

Magistra der Philosophie (Mag.phil.)

Wien, 2011

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt:

A 343

Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt:

Anglistik und Amerikanistik

Betreuerin:

ao. Univ. Prof. Dr. Monika Seidl







## **Acknowledgements**

*Thanks to ao. Univ. Prof. Dr. Monika Seidl for her great supervision. She has always been eager to promptly aid and give advice whenever help was needed and made it possible to work in a relaxed atmosphere.*

*Thank you, Becky, for proofreading my thesis. I really appreciate your time and effort. Thank you not only for the corrections but also for other helpful tips and suggestions.*

*In addition, I want to thank my mother for her steady support throughout my education and for never putting any pressure on me. Furthermore, I want to thank all my friends who encouraged and motivated me to just sweat it out. I want to particularly thank Nadine, who was my needful and inspiring studying partner with who I spent countless hours reading, writing, and revising. My biggest gratitude goes to my sister Marie-Lisa and to Roman, who have always stood behind me and held my head up when it was necessary.*









## TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of figures .....	iv
List of tables .....	v
<b>1. Introduction .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>PART I THEORIES AND CONCEPTS .....</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>2. Globalization theories .....</b>	<b>7</b>
2.1. A 'shrinking world' – A 'global village'? .....	9
2.2. Glocalization vs. globalization .....	11
2.3. Globalization as Americanization and the concept of hegemony .....	14
<b>3. America's role in the world .....</b>	<b>18</b>
3.1. What does Americanization really mean? .....	18
3.2. (American) Cultural imperialism .....	20
3.3. Capitalism, commercialization and consumer culture .....	24
3.3.1. The 'new means of consumption' .....	27
3.3.2. McDonaldization .....	28
<b>4. American influences in Europe and Austria since 1945 .....</b>	<b>29</b>
4.1. America's occupation of Austria after World War II .....	31
4.2. Exchange programs .....	35
4.3. The role of the media .....	37
4.3.1. Press and radio regulations .....	38
4.3.2. Hollywood productions .....	39
4.3.3. The role of the moving image today .....	39
<b>5. Resistance towards American influence .....</b>	<b>42</b>
5.1. Why America is so critically debated .....	42
5.2. Anti-Americanism .....	43
5.3. Austrification .....	49
5.4. Issues of culture and identity .....	50
5.5. Concluding note on globalization and Americanization processes .....	52

<b>PART II</b>	<b>CULTURAL STUDIES IN USE</b>	<b>55</b>
<b>6.</b>	<b>Christmas in the 21<sup>st</sup> century – a global <i>and</i> local festival</b>	<b>57</b>
6.1.	Christmas in America	58
6.2.	The American Santa Claus	59
6.3.	Christmas, consumption and commercialism	61
6.4.	Christmas on the screen	63
6.5.	Symbols, heroes, rituals and values	64
<b>7.</b>	<b>Christmas in Austria</b>	<b>67</b>
7.1.	A ‘typical’ Austrian Christmas?	67
7.1.1.	Christkind	70
7.1.2.	Nikolo and Krampus	73
7.1.3.	Adventkalender	75
7.1.4.	Adventkranz	76
7.1.5.	Christkindlmarkt	77
7.2.	‘Christkind vs. Santa Claus’ – Initiatives and public comments	78
7.2.1.	Anti-Santa and Pro-Christkind initiations	78
7.2.2.	Online articles and Facebook	80
7.2.3.	Television, print advertising, sales promotion and charity	84
7.3.	The trend towards Christkind <i>and</i> Santa Claus	86
.		
<b>PART III</b>	<b>EMPIRICAL STUDY – THE REPRESENTATION OF CHRISTMAS IN AUSTRIAN MAGAZINES</b>	<b>89</b>
<b>8.</b>	<b>Research questions and hypotheses</b>	<b>91</b>
<b>9.</b>	<b>Method</b>	<b>92</b>
<b>10.</b>	<b>Study design</b>	<b>93</b>
10.1.	Source material	93
10.1.1.	<i>Live</i>	93
10.1.2.	<i>Die Ganze Woche</i>	94
10.1.3.	<i>News</i>	94
10.1.4.	<i>Woman</i>	94
10.1.5.	<i>ORF Nachlese</i>	95
10.1.6.	<i>Wienerin</i>	95
10.1.7.	<i>Wiener</i>	96
10.1.8.	<i>Miss</i>	96

10.2. Period of investigation .....	98
10.3. Units of analysis .....	98
10.4. Definition of categories .....	98
10.4.1. Medium .....	98
10.4.2. Specific location of item's appearance .....	99
10.4.3. American influences .....	99
10.4.4. Austrian characteristics .....	100
<b>11. Results and verification of the hypotheses .....</b>	<b>100</b>
11.1. Relationship between Austrian characteristics and American influences on the overall .....	100
11.2. Relationship between Austrian characteristics and American influences in magazines with different readerships .....	101
11.3. Specific location of appearance .....	104
11.4. Christkind vs. Santa Claus .....	106
<b>12. Hermeneutic analysis .....</b>	<b>107</b>
<b>13. Conclusion .....</b>	<b>109</b>
<b>REFERENCES .....</b>	<b>113</b>
<b>APPENDIX .....</b>	<b>123</b>
<b>ABSTRACT (ENGLISH) .....</b>	<b>149</b>
<b>ABSTRACT (GERMAN) .....</b>	<b>151</b>
<b>CURRICULUM VITAE .....</b>	<b>153</b>

## List of figures

Figure 1:	Interplay of mediation .....	40
Figure 2:	Santa Claus by Thomas Nast .....	60
Figure 3:	Coca-Cola Santa Claus by Haddon Sundblom .....	60
Figure 4:	Wiener Christkindl with Viennese mayor Dr. Michael Häupl at the opening of the 'Wiener Christkindlmarkt am Rathausplatz 2008' .....	72
Figure 5:	Christkind sign on Linzerstraße in the 15 <sup>th</sup> district of Vienna .....	72
Figure 6:	Cover of the newspaper <i>Heute</i> , December 2010 .....	72
Figure 7:	A visit from Nikolo and Krampus .....	73
Figure 8:	Nikolo and Krampus at Windorf (Styria) .....	74
Figure 9:	Adventkalender, paper .....	76
Figure 10:	Adventkalender, little boxes .....	76
Figure 11:	Adventkalender, Viennese town hall .....	76
Figure 12:	Adventkranz .....	76
Figure 13:	Weihnachtsmarkt Hellbrunn, Salzburg .....	77
Figure 14:	Initial emblem of the society Pro-Christkind .....	79
Figure 15:	Comic strip, <i>Kronen Zeitung</i> 2002 .....	82
Figure 16:	Comic strip, <i>Kronen Zeitung</i> 2002 .....	82
Figure 17:	Billa advertisement 1 .....	85
Figure 18:	Billa advertisement 2 .....	85
Figure 19:	Ströck Weihnachtsbim .....	85
Figure 20:	Christkind and Santa hat .....	87
Figure 21:	Kika ad, Christkind and Santa Claus .....	87
Figure 22:	Relationship between Austrian and American symbols (Total) .....	101
Figure 23:	Relationship between German and English expressions (Total) .....	101
Figure 24:	Relationship between Austrian and American symbols in <i>Live</i> .....	102
Figure 25:	Relationship between Austrian and American symbols in <i>Die Ganze Woche</i> .....	102
Figure 26:	Relationship between Austriann and American symbols in <i>News</i> .....	102
Figure 27:	Relationship between Austrian and American symbols in <i>Woman</i> .....	102
Figure 28:	Relationship between Austrian and American symbols in <i>ORF Nachlese</i> .....	102
Figure 29:	Relationship between Austrian and American symbols in <i>Wienerin</i> .....	102
Figure 30:	Relationship between Austrian and American symbols in <i>Wiener</i> .....	103
Figure 31:	Relationship between Austrian and American symbols in <i>Miss</i> .....	103

Figure 32:	Number of German and English expressions in the magazines.....	103
Figure 33:	Relationship between Austrian and American symbols on cover pages.....	104
Figure 34:	Relationship between Austrian and American symbols in advertisements/ advertorials.....	104
Figure 35:	Relationship between Austrian and American symbols in headlines/subtitles/leads.....	104
Figure 36:	Relationship between Austrian and American symbols in articles....	104
Figure 37:	Relationship between Austrian and American symbols in shopping recommendations/gift ideas.....	105
Figure 38:	Relationship between Austrian and American symbols.....	105
Figure 39:	The representation of Christkind and Santa Claus (Total).....	106

### **List of tables**

Table 1:	Media Analysis 2009/2010.....	97
Table 2:	Relationship between Austrian characteristics and American influences in Austrian magazines (Total).....	100



## 1. Introduction

The idea to write this thesis within the field of Americanization processes in Europe and to specifically focus on a certain cultural practice – Christmas – came from the on-going and seemingly never-ending debates surrounding the issue ‘Christkind vs. Santa Claus’ in Austria. It appears that during the past few decades Santa Claus began to dominate Austria’s public space and has started to play a significant role in the representation of Christmas. It gives the impression that, especially among the younger generations, Santa Claus signifies modernity and is a popular and appealing alternative to the traditional and religiously-linked Christkind. However people, particularly conservatives and the older generations, impetuously argue against the takeover by American<sup>1</sup> symbols<sup>2</sup> and rituals. Some individuals talk about this invasion in terms of ‘cultural imperialism’, while others call it ‘America-as-threat’ (see Campbell et al. 2004: 25). Additionally, public debates concerning only one topic, the fear of Santa Claus wiping out Christkind, are prevalent particularly on the Internet (e.g., Facebook groups, discussions in various forums and a great number of online-newspaper articles). But of the topics raised in these online discussions, what is fact and what is exaggeration? Where can actual American influences be detected and to what extent can they be regarded as threats to Austrian culture? Have American icons, such as Santa Claus, already substituted those of Austria, or do these symbols simply coexist? This thesis explores the representation of Christmas and Advent in Austrian magazines focusing on the influences of American culture in an effort to identify which cultural influences can be detected and to what extent they occur.

The paper consists of three sections. The first part is theory-based and synthesizes existing concepts about globalization and Americanization. The second part gives a general depiction of Christmas in the 21<sup>st</sup> century and introduces significant aspects of its meaning and traditions in America and Austria. The third part is a detailed analysis of a selection of Austrian magazines. With the intention of fully understanding the purpose and relevance of the empirical part of this paper, it is first necessary to clarify the framework in which this study is located. When analyzing American influences on the representation of Christmas in Austria it is essential to comprehend the global developments and trans-national processes of the past few

---

<sup>1</sup> In this paper, the term ‘America’ is used synonymously with ‘United States of America’ due to its predominant occurrence in the secondary literature.

<sup>2</sup> Although the words ‘symbol’ and ‘icon’ can differ slightly in their meanings they are treated as equivalents in this thesis. Both words refer to the representation of an object or a concept with cultural significance.

decades for a number of reasons. First and foremost, the examination of globalization theories will aid in the understanding of why and how one culture can be influenced by another. This detailed assessment also demonstrates the high degree of inter-linkage and frequent overlap of the terms globalization and Americanization. Next, America's position in post-war Europe, particularly Austria (covering the time span from 1945 until today), is investigated; this includes a general depiction of America's role in the world and specific examples of its impact on other nations. Finally, as the second part of this thesis briefly discusses public comments, critics' thoughts, people's emotions, and a few commercial examples concerning Christmas in Austria, it is important to consider some possible explanations as to why U.S. culture and its influence on Austria is so critically debated. As anti-Americanism issues factor strongly in these debates, part of this section is contributed to a closer investigation of these issues.<sup>3</sup> Lastly, this section discusses the phenomenon called 'Austrification' and in this connection also the relevance of issues in culture and identity.

Culture is not stable but ever-changing and developing over the course of different generations and through the influences of other societies. This temporal change allows some symbols, values, and rituals to be more dominant at times than others, even when they originate from other ethnicities. Edward Said (1993: xxix), for example, points out that "[p]artly because of empire, all cultures are involved in one another; none is single and pure, all are hybrid, heterogeneous, extraordinarily differentiated, and unmonolithic". So a culture can be transformed, modernized, and also change its meanings, but it will still be that same culture, distinct from others. Although the focus does not lie upon historical developments of imperialism<sup>4</sup> Said's assertion somehow resembles the core interest of this thesis.

On the topic of Christmas in particular, which is investigated in the second part of this thesis, there is a discussion of its meaning in the 21<sup>st</sup> century viewed from different perspectives. Furthermore, the topics of Christmas in America, the significance of Santa Claus, and the role of consumerism and commercialism are investigated in this section. The last section of Part II then deals with the actual state of affairs in Austria,

---

<sup>3</sup> However, it is important to note that this empirical study only aims at identifying American influences on Christmas in Austria and not at evaluating people's opinions.

<sup>4</sup> In the case of Americanization processes the term 'imperialism' may not be entirely adequate since they are more about power relations and hegemonic structures. After all, a small country like Austria will never have an impact on other nations to such an extent as the United States do. This will be further discussed in the subsequent chapters.



containing a discussion of the most important Christmas icons and customs and their role in the overall representation of Christmas in the public sphere.

The third (empirical) part consists of a quantitative content analysis of several magazines issued in the pre-Christmas season of 2010. This analysis gives insight into the overall depiction of Christmas in Austria's print media and is concluded with a short hermeneutic analysis. At the end, theories and concepts of Part I are connected with the practical findings of Part II and III to outline the presence of Americanization in Austria.

The most essential objective of this thesis is to relate issues of Americanization processes of the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century to the present state of a specific cultural text in Austria. As demonstrated by Sheila Whiteley, Christmas functions particularly well for such a cultural investigation:

Christmas is what we have made it mean, living in a particular culture in a particular historical moment, and that, surely, is one of the reasons why it continues to be such a rich and exciting area for research. (Whiteley 2008: 24)

This thesis partly builds on Whiteley's statement and contributes to the study of Americanization/globalization of Christmas through an in-depth analysis and interpretation of 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century literature and the close investigation of selected print media.



**PART I**  
**THEORIES AND CONCEPTS**



## 2. Globalization theories

Over time, many terms have been created that refer to globalization processes among nations and cultures all over the world. These terms include, but are not limited to: 'globalization', 'grobalization', 'glocalization', 'Westernization', 'Americanization', 'McDonaldization', 'Coca-Colonization', 'Disneyfication', 'modernization', 'cosmopolitanism', or 'transnationalism'. The concept behind each term differs slightly from the co-existing alternatives, however all attempt to describe "who rules, in whose interests, to what ends, according to what ethical principles, and by what means" (Held and McGrew 2007: xi). Additionally, these terms are concerned with the perception of certain globalization processes and tendencies whether they are regarded as positive or negative. For the purposes of this thesis it is neither possible, nor necessary, to examine all of them as the great diversity of concepts, theories and opinions that lie behind these terms would exceed the scope of this paper. Academics from different branches and fields – ranging from sociology to anthropology, economics, politics, and cultural studies – concern themselves with the complexity of these global and transnational processes. The focus of this thesis lies upon the concept of Americanization; however, most of the aforementioned terms are referred to at some point as well. In particular, the ideas behind 'globalization', 'grobalization', and 'glocalization' are investigated in greater detail as they constitute a nice introduction into this highly diverse topic of worldwide relations.

However, before such terms and issues can be discussed the definition and significance of the term 'globalization' should be considered. While there are several definitions expressing a particular way of interpreting current global processes, John Storey has found a neutral way of describing these:

Globalization is the name given to the complex relations which characterize the world in the twenty-first century. It refers to the relentless global flow of capital, commodities, and communications across increasingly porous territorial boundaries. National borders are becoming less and less important as transnational corporations, existing everywhere and nowhere, do business in a world economy. (Storey 2006: 107)

Furthermore, Neil Campbell, Jude Davies and George McKay include the aspect of capitalism, also of major significance in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, in their definition of globalization by stating that "[g]lobalisation broadly describes the processes of gradually interconnecting world economies, politics and cultures into a global system dominated by advanced capitalism" (Campbell et al. 2004: 295). Cees Hamelink

however, raises awareness to the fact that what is termed the 'global economy' and 'global communication' only refers to a few countries mostly in the Northern hemisphere.

As with so many other 'global' events: if there is a global information revolution, the majority of the world's population has not received an invitation. There are still very stark inequities between North and South (Hamelink 1995: 2)

Some researchers have declared the age of Americanization to be over, stating that world processes can only be adequately illustrated in the broader context of globalization. Others see no difference between these concepts and even use them interchangeably. This thesis adopts Storey's definition as a starting point and adds the assertion that power, hegemony, and capitalism play a crucial role in transnational processes and influences. Therefore, it is claimed that in the large frame of globalization processes, America and thus Americanization, still play a vital role.

It is also fundamental to consider the conclusions of two opposing groups of critics; those who think that globalization, and in this context (partly) also Americanization, signifies the homogenization of world cultures and those who see in it the intensified hybridity of world cultures. The latter group argues that it is not only essential to draw a clear line between Americanization and globalization, but that the notion of unilateral processes no longer has value. George Ritzer and Michael Ryan (2004: 42) conclude that one can mainly distinguish between those who support the view that the world is becoming "more Americanised, rationalised, codified and restricted" and those who believe that it is becoming "more diverse, effervescent and free". Held and McGrew (2007: xii) refer to this latter group as 'globalists' as opposed to the 'skeptics' who think that globalization "has never been a useful description of the principal trends in the global political economy". However, at the same time Ritzer and Ryan admit that this binary distinction might be somewhat reductive. Among other interests, one of the scopes of this paper is to move beyond such a binary distinction. This is done firstly by demonstrating that Americanization and globalization can still be regarded as two valid perceptions that sometimes collaborate. Secondly, it will be illustrated that despite the claim that the world is becoming a smaller place and that the U.S. certainly has a huge impact on other nations it does not mean that diversity and difference are going to vanish.

On the whole, all of these concepts denote rather complex conditions and procedures that make it very difficult to find a single logical conclusion to issues surrounding transnational processes. In particular, confusion may arise due to the large quantity of books and articles, each describing different theories and perspectives on the subject of globalization. In their contribution to the *American Studies* journal, George Ritzer and Elizabeth Malone (2000: 97) also face the problem that “[g]iven the vast expanse of globalization theory, it would be impossible in a single essay to address the full range of perspectives that it encompasses.” But in order to simplify things they classify theories into their focus of interest (thus cultural, economic, political, and/or institutional) and whether the emphasis lies on homogeneity or hybridity (the preferred view in this thesis).

Overall, it is of extreme importance to take into account all the different perspectives and opinions since “generalizations about globalization need to be tempered and specified. What is true about some aspects of globalization is not necessarily true of other aspects of that process” (Ritzer and Malone 2000: 115).

### **2.1. A ‘shrinking world’ – A ‘global village’?**

By referring to historical aspects such as the conquest of the Americas, slavery, or the Industrial Revolution, Michel-Rolph Trouillt (2002: 8) is positive that “[t]he world became global five centuries ago.” Also Held and McGrew believe that the spread of ideas and beliefs from the great world-religions (e.g. Christianity, Buddhism, Islam), as well as the period of the great pre-modern Empires, have already transformed societies and should be considered when defining the overall concept of globalization (see Held and McGrew 2003: 235). Yet both parties also admit that these processes are essentially distinctive from those of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century. Globalization, as we understand it today, became well-recognized in the 1960s and has since remained a popular topic for debate, especially from the late 1980s onwards. In resemblance to Storey, Trouillt explains the reasons for this growing interest:

[C]apital, goods, populations, ideas, motifs, and sensibilities have traveled across state and continental borders for a long time. They continue to do so. But they now do it at speeds and in quantities unthinkable just fifty years ago. It is not the relative importance of global flows that is unique to our times. Rather, it is the sheer volume of these flows and the speed at which these masses move. Mass and velocity are unique to our times. Unique also is the widespread awareness of global flows. (Trouillt 2002: 13)

Trouillt also addresses the problems behind the intensity and speed of 'global flows' by comparing the people at the center of these processes with the eye of a hurricane, "for not only does everything move around us, but everything moves too fast and too soon" (ibid. 14). In addition, innovations associated with these processes, such as e-mail or mobile phones, actually promise more freedom and comfort for the individual user. However, in reality the result may turn out to be the complete opposite since the increasing dependency on technical devices and the constant request to be reachable can cause increased stress and pressure. In order to deal with these changes and adequately describe them, academics nowadays often speak of 'a shrinking world' or 'a global village', two concepts which will be explained as follows:

One of the most common and maybe also most visual concepts of globalization is that of a 'shrinking world' (Held and McGrew 2007: 3). Crucial in this respect have been the tremendous developments in the sector of new electronic media allowing the previously limiting barriers of time and space to easily be overcome. Messages can, without any difficulty, quickly travel from one spot of the world to a distant other; regardless of whether the media mode is television, where people are able to instantly receive news and images from across the world, or new communication systems that have emerged through the IT revolution (see Storey 2006: 107; Held and McGrew 2007: 9; Robins 2003: 239). The same holds for the physical mobility of people due to the vast increase in international travel by both the business elite and individuals pursuing leisure (see Robins 2003: 239f). Overall, migration is an issue which can be either positively received, or serve as a source of contention, often producing tension and confrontations between cultures.

A very similar metaphor to the concept of a shrinking world is that of the 'global village', first introduced by Marshall McLuhan in the 1960s and often employed ever since (see McLuhan and Powers 1989). Hamelink however, argues against such terms; he thinks that the world is neither shrinking nor turning into something that should be compared with a village. He admits that these concepts are appealing, yet misleading and that they seem to simply illustrate the world's increasing connectedness. Instead of becoming smaller the world is continuously growing in population, political divisions, and also in conflicts (see Hamelink 1995: 1f). In addition, he claims that the media does not bring people closer or offer more knowledge and understanding of each other; a global consciousness, where the



global is given priority to the local, is hardly mentioned<sup>5</sup>. Television and telecommunications might function as a 'window' to the world, but people usually continue to live their lives within their local boundaries (see Hamelink 1995: 2ff).

Although we can travel around the world and stay everywhere in very similar hotels, drink our favourite brand and watch our preferred TV show, intercultural misunderstandings remain. Gestures, words, colours, or objects have different meanings in different cultures. (ibid. 1)

So even if some may not like the metaphors of 'a shrinking world' or 'the global village' it cannot be denied that there has been a dramatic increase in the flow of capital, people, products, services, and information across national frontiers. In addition, globalization also means the profound spread of ideas, languages and all different types and branches of culture (especially popular culture).

The globalization phenomenon can be interpreted in many different ways and be applied to almost all aspects of social life. Despite its general characteristics linked to the concept of 'a shrinking world', it is a highly complex term that leaves enough space for contradicting arguments and perspectives depending on their focus. And although one cannot deny the fact that social relations and transnational processes have become increasingly intensified, it has been mentioned above that there have always been debates about "how far, and to what extent, the world we live in is being reshaped by global forces and processes [...] and the implications of all this for the quality of people's lives" (Held and McGrew 2007: xi). Additionally, there are still those people who claim that globalization should be equated with Americanization. As will be seen in the subsequent section, the division into 'glocalization' and 'grobalization' seems like an acceptable solution to clarify these various perspectives via categories and thus also explain how Americanization processes relate to, and fit into, the whole concept of a globalizing world.

## **2.2. Glocalization vs. grobalization**

Most certainly everybody is affected in one way or another by global processes that come along with the creation of world markets, international communication, travel and media flows.

---

<sup>5</sup> The only exceptions seem to be thoughts and actions regarding the environment where global awareness is continually growing.

But, where some envisage and enjoy cosmopolitan complexities, others perceive, and often oppose, what they see as cultural homogenization and the erosion of cultural specificity. (Robins 2003: 242)

Without doubt, globalization can be regarded in sharply contrasting ways. The terms 'glocalization'<sup>6</sup> and 'grobalization'<sup>7</sup> label two "competing visions of modernity" (Ritzer and Ryan 2004: 43) respectively of globalization theory and therefore "offer very different images of the impact of transnational processes" (ibid. 44).

Supporters of the glocalization theory concentrate on multi-directional global processes and claim that the world is a place of increasing diversity. Glocalization thus focuses on the range of differences between cultures and states that local processes combined with global progress result in modern and unique cultural developments. Although glocalization does not ignore the importance of capitalism (and therefore also the pre-eminence of certain countries, such as the United States), it still claims that foreign influences become adapted to and incorporated into local customs. Arjun Appadurai (1990: 295) calls these forces that are brought into new societies "indigenized". But also worth noting is the concept of 'hybridization', the idea that "the dissolution of the link between culture and place is accompanied by an intermingling of these disembedded cultural practices producing new complex hybrid forms of culture" (Tomlinson 1999: 141). In this view, national identities remain untouched in their cores but mix and mingle on several other levels creating new cultural varieties. Power relations and hegemonic structures also play a role in this theory. However, as with most concepts introduced in this thesis, one argument does not necessarily lead to the rejection of another. This means that the pre-eminence of a nation such as the United States does not necessarily mean that other cultures cannot resist or that new hybrid forms cannot be developed. It is therefore "a question of recognizing how this complexity of hegemony-hybridity operates" (ibid. 147).

In contrast, grobalists mostly associate globalization with the destruction of cultural identities and therefore only concentrate on the hegemonic or cultural imperialist<sup>8</sup> aspect. They argue that single nations can overpower economically and politically weaker countries to such an extent that the end result is "a world of homogeneous (and largely generic) cultural, social, political/institutional, and economic realities" (Ritzer and Ryan 2004: 45). For the most part, grobalization overlooks variations

---

<sup>6</sup> 'Glocalization' unifies the two terms 'global' and 'local'.

<sup>7</sup> 'Grobalization' stems from the words 'grow' and 'global'.

<sup>8</sup> Both these aspect will be explained in more detail in chapters 2.3 and 3.2.

between different regions of the world and seeks evidence for their claim that the penetration by capitalist firms has become so intense that groups and individuals have no chance to adapt or defend their own cultures. Globalists believe that global processes are mainly uni-directional, strengthened via the media and commodities (see *ibid.* 42ff). So even though some people might not believe in globalization as a general term, due to America's dominance in world economics and politics, they will most likely consent to this definition. The concept behind globalization thus somehow demonstrates that "[g]lobalisation can neither be reduced to Americanisation nor be separated from it" (Campbell et al. 2004: 296).

As mentioned before, the division of globalization into the two concepts of glocalization and grobalization permit a better understanding of globalization theories. However, as will be discussed later in this thesis, this simple duality (i.e. division of globalization into glocalization and grobalization) is not sufficient enough. Rather, each concept should be seen as an alternative perspective on globalization theory where the defining line between these concepts remains fuzzy. Jonathan Friedman, for example, is of the opinion that it does not necessarily mean that these differing concepts of globalization, cultural fragmentation, and multilateralism on the one side and homogenization in connection with unilateralism on the other side, contradict each other. He thinks that they are not "two opposing views of what is happening in the world today, but two constitutive trends of global reality" (Friedman 1990: 311). Additionally, he sees processes between the world market and cultural identity, as well as between global and local processes, not as opponents but as interplays (see Friedman 1990: 312). Also Storey perceives this in a similar way.

Globalization is producing two contradictory effects, sameness and difference – that is, a sense that the world is becoming similar as it shrinks under the pressure of time-space compression, but also that it is characterized by an increasing awareness of difference. (Storey 2006: 114f)

Many people think of globalization as the Americanization of the world and therefore disregard the multitude of transnational processes that flow in various directions, independent of any single nation. A possible reason for this perspective has to do with American hegemony of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The next section both explains the meaning of 'hegemony', as well as works as a transition to the actual concern of this thesis: Americanization processes.

### 2.3. Globalization as Americanization and the concept of hegemony

Continuing with the attempt to define globalization but slowly moving towards Americanization, it is important to mention the skeptics of the globalization concept. Especially after 9/11, anti-globalists felt confirmed in their claim that globalization is nothing more than an illusion.

Since 9/11, the limits to globalization have become apparent [...] For the first time in almost a decade, the simultaneous growth of trade, capital flows and foreign investment turned significantly negative. (Held and McGrew 2007: 6)

Post 9/11, some dramatic changes emerged, not only in the economic, but also in the political context, “evidenced in shifts from multilateralism to unilateralism, stability to insecurity, cooperation to geopolitical competition, and soft power to hard power<sup>9</sup>” (ibid. 6). Of course the skeptics were quick to point out that the arguments of a seemingly liberal global order have now completely lost validity and issues of “the state, territorial power, geopolitics and even empire” (ibid. 6) have once again come to the forefront. These critics have always held the view that the world is a place of self-contained and competitive national states and felt even more affirmed in their claim by referencing events in the aftermath of 9/11. The aggressive political actions of the United States even brought back the term ‘imperialism’. Campbell, Davies and McKay (2004: 301) call the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century “a renewed age of American empire since September 11<sup>th</sup> expressed through the ‘war on terror’”.

On the other side, one might wonder whether these above mentioned issues in world economics and politics are the only criteria for the justification and validity of the whole concept of globalization. Presumably not, as the globally well-developed infrastructure of communication and transportation as well as the development of transnational markets for services and goods are extant and cannot or should not be disregarded. Territorial borders simply cannot be considered as “the boundaries of national economic or political space” (Held and McGrew 2007: 10) any more, even if some states have more power and influential force than others.

These deeply structured processes generate dense patterns of global interconnectedness, real and virtual. As a result, political communities can no longer be considered (if they ever could be with any validity) simply as ‘discrete worlds’; they are enmeshed in complex structures of overlapping forces, relations and networks. (ibid. 10)

---

<sup>9</sup> ‘Hard power’ is defined as economic or military power and ‘soft power’ as political and cultural power (see Held and McGrew 2007: 4)

Without doubt, the United States plays a huge role in the concept of globalization but should not be regarded as the only force in contemporary global happenings. Storey names several reasons why globalization cannot be equated with Americanization and why it does not make sense to reduce the complexity of the world to an American global village. While it is true that it is easy for American companies to place their products around the globe, which certainly produces an American global capitalist culture, this only proves America's economic power, not that "global culture is increasingly American culture" (Storey 2006: 109). In addition, the view of 'globalization as Americanization' "assumes that it is possible to inject the dominant globalizing culture into a weaker local culture and in so doing replicate a version of the dominant culture" (ibid. 109). This would then mean that "economic success is assumed to be the same as culture imposition" (ibid. 110) and that culture in general is reduced to mere economic and material aspects. This claim also asserts that specific products have fixed meanings that are imposed on and transform the ideological patterns of its consumers.

But if culture is the making and communication of meanings in contexts, then it is difficult to see how meanings made in one context can survive to be imposed in quite a different context. (ibid. 111)

And again they are Storey's arguments that find broad consensus with the overall position of this thesis and thus support its core message, namely that the consumption of (American) commodities always implies the encounter between the simple materiality of a product and the cultural formation of the consumer. This encounter always takes place in and is shaped by a particular context. "Whether the outcome is manipulation or resistance, or a complicated mixture of the two, is a question which cannot be answered in advance of the actual encounter" (ibid. 112). Another significant problem with the equation of 'globalization as Americanization' is the assumption that cultures can be seen as single entities, "hermetically sealed from one another until the fatal moment of the globalizing injection" (ibid. 112). So it was already mentioned in the introduction that individual cultures constantly and through all different types of channels, relentlessly influence each other. The point is that "[g]lobalization is not simply the production of a homogenized American global village in which the particular is washed away by the universal" (ibid. 112). It "does not supersede and displace everything that preceded it" (Robins 2003: 242).

However, a concept useful to understanding why America has had so much influence over the last decades is the concept of hegemony. According to Peter J. Taylor, there have been three hegemonic cycles in the history of the modern world; the first being

Dutch, characterized by the introduction of Mercantilism in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, the second being British, marking the Industrial Age in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century, and the third being American with its foundation for a society based on consumption in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (see Taylor 1999: 5). In other words, hegemony denotes the leadership of a state in the world-system, not only by political or economic power but also by representing “the model for the future” (ibid. 5).

One way of interpreting the hegemony is as the most modern society of their times. Modernity is a condition of incessant social change where countries are continually required to keep up to date with the latest way of doing things. (ibid. 5)

So due to the fact that there is really no escape from emulation the future of other states depends on the adoption of those new forms of society created by the hegemon, providing the latter with enormous cultural power. It is exactly “this process of emulation and adaptation under the condition of consumer modernity” (ibid. 5) that is nowadays called Americanization. And although the phase of American high hegemony is officially over, “Americanization was too embedded in the everyday lives of Europeans to simply disappear” (ibid. 10).

The consequences of U.S. hegemony during the 20<sup>th</sup> century may be the reason why people tend to see the world as a global village

where everyone speaks English with an American accent, wears Levis jeans [...] drinks Coca-Cola, eats at McDonalds, surfs the net on a computer overflowing with Microsoft software, listens to rock or country music and watches a mixture of MTV, CNN news broadcasts, [and] Hollywood movies [...] while [...] smoking Marlboro cigarettes. In this scenario globalization is the successful global imposition of Americanization, in which the economic success of US capitalism is underpinned by the ideological work that its commodities supposedly do in effectively destroying indigenous cultures and imposing an American way of life on “local” populations. (Storey 2006: 109)

But it may be useful to sometimes let loose from such a simple focus. Günter Bischof, for example, points out that contemporary globalization is also driven by other multinational corporations (i.e. not American), such as Nokia (founded in Finland) or Toyota (a Japanese company), and that “*Sushi* may be as popular in the West as Big Macs and Starbucks coffee in the East” (Bischof 2004: 5). In addition, Appadurai mentions that bigger and more powerful nations will always be more likely to influence smaller and less powerful entities; it does not always have to be the United States who has an impact on other societies.

[I]t is worth noticing that for the people of Irian Jaya, Indonesianization may be more worrisome than Americanization, as Japanization may be

for Koreans, Indianization for Sri Lankans, Vietnamization for the Cambodians, Russianization for the people of Soviet Armenia and the Baltic Republics. Such a list of alternative fears to Americanization could be greatly expanded, but it is not a shapeless inventory: for polities of smaller scale, there is always a fear of cultural absorption by polities of larger scale, especially those that are near by. (Appadurai 1990: 295)

In this sense, it also appears appropriate to take into consideration the relationship between Germany and Austria. Could one also speak of a Germanization of Austria? After all, Germany is the bigger and more powerful of the two countries that do not only share the same language, but also show parallels in history and culture. Edward Larkey (1999: 212) points out that some experts even refer to Austria as a 'colony' or 'subcolony' "in characterizing the asymmetrical relationship of Austria to both Germany and the United States" (see also Wagnleitner 1994: 293). Although these expressions have to be understood metaphorically and not literally, it is indeed a rather complex situation. While Americanization takes place in both countries, American influences, particularly in the case of advertising and commercial culture, very often reach Austria only via the gateway Germany, especially because of the heavy presence of German mass media (e.g. television and magazines). However, although these questions regarding the Germanization or '(sub)colonization' of Austria will remain unanswered for now, it is important to note Germany's role when analyzing Americanization processes in Austria.

In order to continue with the outline of specific Americanization processes and America's influence on Austrian culture it is crucial to understand that the assertions about globalization process made thus far are not to be seen as contradictory to the remainder of this paper; it was simply necessary to state some general contemporary transnational processes and the broad context of globalization. The exploration of the concepts behind 'globalization', 'glocalization', and 'hegemony' ought to highlight the fact that Americanization should neither be separated from the entire concept of globalization nor should they be equated. Whether one continues to believe that the world is becoming increasingly similar because of America's powerful influence or whether one agrees with the standpoint that this influence might affect local cultures but does not seriously harm the world's diversity, is left to one's own and will be explored in even greater detail in the course of this thesis.

### 3. America's role in the world

#### 3.1. What does Americanization really mean?

After the illustration of some basic issues concerning globalization concepts the focus is now on one particular phenomenon in this broad field of transnational processes, namely Americanization. It has already been indicated that globalization and Americanization are highly ambiguous and intertwined concepts that cannot be fully grasped without reference to one another. Nonetheless, Campbell, Davies and McKay point out that both concepts have seemingly grown apart since the end of the Cold War (i.e. since the beginning of the 1990s). While it may be true that "once [...] the global penetration of American business went hand in hand with the global dissemination of American culture and ideology, since the 1980s the gap between the two has been ever widening" (Campbell et al. 2004: 10). However, the previous chapter has provided a basic introduction of different perspectives on various concepts so that ideas behind the term 'Americanization' can now be related to recent developments in economics, politics, and society. One of the major distinctions between Americanization and more general globalization issues is the focus on unilateral (in contrast to multilateral) processes. From now on, the focus is on the impact of only one nation – the United States – on the rest of the world, respectively on Europe and in particular on Austria. But again, there is no simple and clear-cut way of defining these processes<sup>10</sup>. Even though most people seem to agree on the basic meaning of 'Americanization', their opinions on its effects and consequences differ. For this reason, the discussion of homogeneity vs. heterogeneity/hybridity remains of particular interest.

A common definition of Americanization is the spread of American ideas, customs, products, and also the English language across the world. Ritzer and Ryan name several examples of what can be included under the heading of Americanization:

[...] the marketing of American media including Hollywood films and popular music; the selling of American sports like NFL football and

---

<sup>10</sup> Again, it is important to keep in mind that Germany, in many cases, plays an important role in the Americanization of Austria. Partly because of Austrian conservative (and especially in rural areas also Catholic) mentality, Americanisms "set in with time lags, or at times via German mediation" (Bischof 2004: 2). Especially in the case of the media, "West Germany, which was always a few steps behind the United States, but miles ahead of Austria, became the transmission belt, catalyst, intensifier, and transfer mechanism for American developments in Austria." (Wagnleitner 1994: 293; see also *ibid.* 97).



NBA basketball abroad; the transnational marketing of American commodities including cola, blue jeans and computer operating systems; the nearly universal adoption of English as a second language, especially in business; the extensive diplomatic and military engagement with Europe, Asia, and South America; the training of the world's military, political, and scientific elites in American universities; the expansion of the American model of democratic politics; and the development and use of the international labour market and natural resources by American corporations. (Ritzer and Ryan 2004: 47)

While some may regard this as cultural imperialism, others stress these American models and patterns as a form of liberation from old and rigid cultural forms (see Campbell et al. 2004: 14). So while some scholars claim that Americanisms eliminate local peculiarities and lead to the homogenization of world cultures, others argue that these peculiarities are anchored in their cultures so strongly that they will not simply disappear because of outside influences. Furthermore, these people claim that American models are very often modified into hybrid forms and contribute to the modernization of society. Campbell, Davies, and McKay (2004: 3) point out that "several generations have responded to American culture as providing positive inspiration" while others simply call it "baleful influence". It clearly depends on the beholder. Taylor, for example, does admit that American influences cannot be denied but is sure that they do not happen at the expense of local cultures. He is confident that there will always be enough resistance and fear as well as accommodation in order to avoid complete substitution.

[N]one of these Americanizations [...] eliminate the cultural distinctiveness of the countries caught up in the process. Rather a hybrid culture is produced in which American influences are clear but where national cultures remain intact. (Taylor 1999: 7)

Also Campbell, Davies and McKay share this view by claiming that the fear of Americanization is rather a fear of one's own cultural identity.

In effect, we project our own fears and weaknesses, and our cultural nostalgia, onto America, and by doing so we construct it as the root of our problem. We preserve our (invented) past by lamenting its passing, and by blaming America for the change. (Campbell et al. 2004: 20)

Hence, some people obviously fight with the general idea of modernization and assign sole responsibility to the United States. America thus serves "to give a name and a face to forces of cultural change that would otherwise have been anonymous and seemingly beyond control" (Kroes 2006: 352). It is true that "the influence of Hollywood, rock music, youth culture, and lifestyle issues" (Stephan 2006: 7) contributed substantially to Europe's modernization and commercialization but unfortunately it will forever remain unanswered in which way European cultures

would have independently modernized if America as a superpower had not been as present as it has been for the last few decades (see *ibid.* 17).

So in the end, what is Americanization? As one might have realized, it is possible to consider it a synonym for various things, such as globalization, modernization, or the projection of one's own fears. However, for the scope of this thesis it simply means America's political, economic, cultural, and linguistic influence on other cultures. It is the dominance of English in international business, tourism, and the Internet. It is the growth of capitalistic and consumer oriented societies. And it is the spread of American products, no matter whether these are movies, food, clothes, or other commodities. The following section deals with one more possibility of defining Americanization – the concept of 'cultural imperialism'.

### **3.2. (American) Cultural imperialism**

Closely related to American hegemony is the concept of American cultural imperialism. The term 'cultural imperialism' seems to have emerged in the late 1960s (see Tomlinson 1991: 2; Tomlinson 1999: 79) and has become increasingly significant ever since. It can be perceived in many different ways as it consists of two distinct and extremely complex terms. In general, it denotes the idea that "certain dominant cultures threaten to overwhelm other more vulnerable ones" (Tomlinson 1999: 80) with their political and economic power. Discourse of cultural imperialism can range from debates about the domination of America over Europe, of the West over the rest of the world, of the modern, of the traditional, or "of capitalism over more or less everything and everyone" (*ibid.* 80). In the case of Americanization, opinion is (again) deeply divided on this issue. Some people argue that it cannot simply be inferred from the presence of cultural goods, but that there are deeper cultural and/or ideological effects (see *ibid.* 83f).

Mit dem Begriff Kulturimperialismus ist die Vorstellung verbunden, daß [sic!] die Auswirkungen auf die einheimische Kultur sehr viel geplanter und direkter sind – was früher als ‚ideologische Kriegsführung‘ bezeichnet wurde. Durch sie wurden Völker explizit dazu aufgefordert bzw. gezwungen, ihre traditionellen Sitten aufzugeben und westliche anzunehmen. Doch das ist nicht die amerikanische Art. [...] Das Begehrenswerte an amerikanischen Kulturprodukten, die als überlegen, modern und zukunftssträchtig wahrgenommen werden, besteht darin, daß [sic!] die „Opfer“ eine wesentliche Rolle bei der

Ausbreitung der amerikanischen Kultur spielen.<sup>11</sup> (Fuller quoted in Sardar and Davies 2003: 129f)

Mark Hertsgaard (2003: 201) takes a more impartial position by saying that the contemporary American Empire does not colonize countries, but minds. Thus, he calls the process of Americanization a form of imperialism, but does not view it in its traditional sense. What Hertsgaard addresses here can mean various things. He may talk about the promotion of the American lifestyle, the spread of U.S. products, food, pop music, or other aspects which influence people's tastes and cultures all around the globe. But he may also talk about America's (democratizing) role after 1945; its politics and intentions since the Second World War.

Considering America's influence on Europe in the post-war period, some may call Western Europe America's Empire. However, the United States clearly acted differently from other Great Powers. Geir Lundestad (1997: 4) points out that instead of forcing U.S. policy on "ruling by dividing [...] Washington actually favoured the creation of a supranational Europe with its own political bodies and, accordingly, at least the possible development of an alternative political centre". Nonetheless, although the Americans did not act like other Great Powers, they did, of course, act in their own interest. They strove toward a close alliance between America and Europe in order to ensure common security, and particularly to contain communism and the power of the Soviet Union. They also wanted to prevent the Germans from ever regaining power. Most importantly, however, was their goal to spread their core values: federalism, democracy, and the free market, leading back to Hertsgaard's claim that American imperialism does not colonize countries, but minds. The American way of life was seen as resistant to such unsavory ideologies like fascism or communism and therefore should be 'sold' abroad (see Gienow-Hecht 2003: 270). The United States did not need any form of direct rule; "[i]t could achieve the kind of control it wanted through more indirect, more American, means" (Lundestad 1997: 15).

So far, historical aspects have been concerned. The following categorization by John Tomlinson (1991: 20ff) presents four different views on cultural imperialism from

---

<sup>11</sup> *The term cultural imperialism often evokes the perception that influences on local cultures are much more planned and direct – earlier called 'ideological war conduct'. In this, societies would have been explicitly encouraged, and in many cases even forced, to give up their traditions and instead adopt those of the West. But this is not the American way. [...] The reason why American cultural products (which are regarded as superior, modern, and promising for the future) are so appealing is that their consumer "victims" play a crucial role in the expansion of American culture.*

contemporary circumstances. First, cultural imperialism can be seen as 'media imperialism'. Since television, film, radio, print journalism, and advertising appear to be at the center of today's societies the media can be regarded as signifying the imperialist power in two distinct ways: as "the dominance of one's culture's media (texts, practices) over another, or as the global spread of 'mass mediated culture' as such" (Tomlinson 1991: 22).

In Tomlinson's second category, cultural imperialism is understood as a 'discourse of nationality'. Here, the focus lies on a more geographical dimension and on single nation-states, pointing to the fact that cultural exports can actually cause threat to local cultures. This perception of cultural imperialism might be the most common of all, especially when considering America's role in the world. However, it is a rather ambiguous view since it raises too many questions about the establishment of cultural practices that very often cannot be answered completely.

[H]ow is a cultural practice 'established' through time? How long does the process take? Is it merely length of time that produces 'authenticity'? Is the process of cultural establishment ever finished? How local is local? Do we mean the culture of a village, a region, a nation or a supra-national region? (Tomlinson 1991: 24)

All of these questions are particularly interesting in regards to the later analysis of American influences on the Austrian Christmas tradition.

Third, cultural imperialism could be understood as the 'critique of global capitalism'. This perspective stresses the economic factor of the globalization process by "seeing the world as a political-economic system of global capitalism, rather than the more common view of it as a collection of political entities called nation-states" (ibid. 24f). Hence, capitalism itself is regarded as the imperialist power. However, as will be seen in the following section on consumerism, the spread of capitalism and consumer culture is in most cases associated with the United States one way or another. As a result, people supporting this perspective of cultural imperialism also tend to fall back into the habit of viewing single nations (especially the United States) and corporations (especially American ones) as the imperialist power and not as a global phenomenon.

Tomlinson's fourth category associates cultural imperialism with a 'critique of modernity' and pays attention to general world processes rather than to the individual nations or cultures. It points to some aspects that are determinants for modernity, such as "capitalism [...], urbanism, mass communications, a technical-scientific-rationalist dominant ideology [...], a particular way of organizing social space and

experience” (ibid. 27) and so on. These determinants are thus equated with an imperialist power.

Although the division into categories may contribute to a better understanding of how cultural imperialism addresses a variety of different phenomena, it should be kept in mind that it is still a very broad and hybrid concept. Cultural imperialism actually compromises all of the above mentioned phenomena that influence, and in many cases also threaten, traditional and local cultures: the tremendous significance of the media in today’s society, the power of single nations and corporations, as well as capitalism and modernism themselves. However, this does not automatically mean that the imposition of a cultural phenomenon happens purposely (although, in many cases, it does). “The practice of watching television”, for example, “cannot be deemed to be straightforwardly imposed” (ibid. 3). So just because television may have an influence on the audience it is not necessarily implied that this was the broadcasters’ intention. However, in Wagnleitner’s point of view, the simple fact that American media are so much present in other countries already justifies the term ‘American cultural imperialism’, regardless of any intentions. In his “Foreword to the American Edition” of his book *Coca-Colonization and the Cold War* he addresses his American readership by the following statement:

It has become commonplace during the last decade in the United States to complain about the preponderance of Japanese cars (and now even motorbikes) on American roads. [...] Unless American readers can imagine a situation in which 85 percent of *all* movies showing in American cinemas were produced in Austria, or more than half of *all* television programs on American TV channels were of Austrian origin, or 80 to 90 percent of the pop music on *all* American radio stations was of Austrian origin sung *in German*, they will not be able to understand at all that a phenomenon called *American cultural imperialism* actually existed. (Wagnleitner 1994: xii)

In many cases, it might be possible to equate Americanization with cultural imperialism. In many ways, the proliferation of American values, products, icons (such as hamburgers, Mickey Mouse, and Coca Cola; see Tomlinson 1999:80) but also the propagation of the American lifestyle or the spread of the English language could count as such. In short, the concept behind American cultural imperialism refers to a certain aggressiveness with which American politics and institutions try to (usually successfully) export their products, as well as their ideas, to other nations. (see Ritzer and Ryan 2004: 43). It is important to realize, however, that cultural imperialism does not signify overt control (e.g. colonial rule) but rather economic dependencies and ideological domination by cultural influence. It may also be useful

to consider Fred Edmund Jandt's counterargument to cultural imperialism, namely that there have been no surveys so far

showing that people are becoming more alike. While media flow globally, people receive messages differently. Global marketing may symbolize the lifestyles that people aspire to, but there is evidence that local cultures have taken on a renewed significance as political movements promote local cultures and local identities. (Jandt 2007: 277)

However, that cultures influence each other is no secret and obviously more powerful nations do so to a greater extent. The following section continues to discuss arguments of capitalism, global marketing strategies, and the phenomenon behind consumer culture in general.

### **3.3. Capitalism, commercialization and consumer culture**

Late 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> century (especially Western) society is characterized by capitalism, commercialization, and consumer culture. But what does that mean? It might be clear that capitalism signifies an economic system where individuals and companies privately owned compete on a free market with the goal to make profit (see <http://investorwords.com>, 8 Feb. 2011). However, the terms 'commercialization' and 'consumer culture' may need further specification.

Since the 1980s the public sphere of many societies (especially American and European) started to be penetrated and dominated by corporate interest. This means that socio-cultural activities have become targets of commercial significance and lead "to the emergence of 'billboard' societies in which every location, institution, activity, event and person becomes a potential carrier of commercial messages" (Hamelink 1995: 8).<sup>12</sup> In short, commercialism (or the commercialization of societies/cultural practices etc.) implies that profit is more important than public interest (ibid. 101). As a result, cultural diversity may decline since the market only offers that which sells well. However, as has already been discussed in the introductory chapters, the same product most likely evokes different responses and uses in different countries, contexts, and audiences, which actually refutes such a claim.

---

<sup>12</sup> As will be seen later, Christmas functions particularly well as an example for the commercialization of a cultural event.

The concept of 'consumer culture' is, like commercialism, a result of capitalism and implies that consumption today signifies more than simply purchasing goods. It stresses the fact that consumption has somehow become its own culture and is nowadays central to most (Western) societies. Material goods have started to become 'communicators' and individuals are encouraged to "adopt a non-utilitarian attitude towards commodities" (Featherstone 2007: 112; see also Hamelink 1995: 13, 82). By using the example of Coca-Cola, Barber nicely demonstrates that products and brands increasingly appeal to and manipulate people's emotions in a way that these products are bought primarily because of lifestyle choices and not because of the actual satisfaction of needs:

You must drink because it makes you feel [...] young, sexy, important, "in", strong, sporty, smart, with it, cool, hot (as in cool), athletic, right on, part of the world as in we-are-the-world as in we-Americans-are-the-world: in sum, like a winner, like a hero, like a champion, like an American, which is to say, above all, fun-loving (as in blondes have more). The one reason you must not consume soft drinks is to quench your thirst in any decisive way. Water would accomplish that. (Barber 1996: 69)

Another of Barber's examples are Nike shoes which have become more associated with "health, victory, wealth, sex, money, energy" (ibid. 66) than with walking and shoes. Because "[i]f actual athletes were the only consumers of athletic shoes, there would be far too few of them" (ibid. 66).

Without doubt, the United States do not only play a huge role in today's economic world but are considerably responsible for this rapid spread of capitalism and, in a narrow sense, can be regarded as the 'inventor' of consumer culture and commercialization; because

[c]onsumerism may have been a distant dream in postwar Europe, but it was eagerly anticipated once Europeans were exposed to its American version through advertising, photojournalism, and Hollywood films. (Kroes 2006: 346)

American images have been transported to other nations across the globe and many of these images deliver "America's culture of consumption" (Kroes 2006: 346f; see also Wagnleitner 2004: 21f). What is significant of the worldwide spread of such a consumerist lifestyle is its aggressive marketing and advertising by "a handful of mega-conglomerates" (Hamelink 1995: 111) that already seem to play a more significant role in global affairs than whole nations (see Barber 1996: 23). This can be seen particularly well in the case of the media where single corporations dominate and influence the entire film and television market. Since most of these powerful

corporations are American, some may argue that the initial maxim “making the world safe for democracy” in postwar Europe actually meant “making the world safe for American capitalism” (Bischof 2004: 2).

Regardless of whether this might be true or not, the United States, as a matter of fact, created a pro-capitalistic ideology that has been taken over by more and more countries over the past few decades. But they did not only create an ideology, they also provided sufficient economic resources and power to advertise and export their goods across the world. By selling and advertising products such as Coca-Cola, Marlboro, Nike, or Levi’s they are selling and advertising America itself: “its popular culture, its putative prosperity, its ubiquitous imagery and software, and thus its very soul” (Barber 1996: 60). Common to all such “brand-name consumer goods” (ibid. 60) is that they are simultaneously American and global.

One of America’s most successful (and also most influential) export is its entertainment and popular culture: movies, television, and music. Perhaps the best example of America’s commercial influence on other countries is MTV, launched in 1981. According to Hamelink,

MTV products may be regionally customized, [but] its prime orientation remains to offer advertisers a profitable market for consumer products and to lure consumers, particularly young ones, to watch its programmes and in the process influence their tastes, life styles, and moral values. (Hamelink 1995: 113)

Concerning the whole process of Americanization, one of its major characteristics is undeniably the establishment of new markets and the spread of liberal capitalism across the world. This may have had advantages and disadvantages at the same time. It has also caused criticism, for example that the United States structured the global economy in a way that America gets wealthier while particularly non-Western societies get poorer every day. This may be due to some people’s claim that the ‘free market’ means nothing more than the unimpeded mobility of American capital, the endless expansion of American corporations, and more or less unilateral transfers of goods from America to the rest of the world (see Sardar and Davies 2003: 193). The happenings of 9/11 can be viewed as attacks on the United States for several reasons, but one of them is most certainly America’s economic might and capitalist power. And what better target was there than the twin towers, symbolic of these particular American values?

Überall sehe man nur einen rücksichtslosen ökonomischen Rationalismus am Werke, alles erscheine in Amerika den



kapitalistischen Interessen unterworfen [...] Der Geldwert werde zum Maß aller Dinge und mache den Menschen gefühllos gegenüber wirklichen Werten. Das Gefühl für Einzigartigkeit, Persönlichkeit und Charakter verschwinde. Rücksichtsloser Wettbewerb auf allen Gebieten werde zum vorherrschenden Motiv menschlichen Handelns und zerstöre jegliche soziale Harmonie.<sup>13</sup> (Kamphausen 2009: 320f)

Even though the explicit aspect of commercialism is not considered in the empirical study it is included in the hermeneutic interpretation of the overall depiction of Christmas in the magazines. After all, complaints about the commercialization of Christmas seem to become louder every year. In this respect, Hertsgaard states:

Die Weihnachtszeit ist der wichtigste alljährliche Stimulus für den amerikanischen Kapitalismus; [...] In den letzten Jahren häufen sich jedoch die Klagen über die Kommerzialisierung des Weihnachtsfestes, besonders über die Zunahme der manipulativen Werbung, die die Verbraucher antreibt: Kauft, kauft, kauft,...<sup>14</sup> (Hertsgaard 2003: 48)

In addition, consumer culture is argued to overshadow immaterial values, such as religion. However, while it may be true that the contemporary world is characterized by processes of rationalization, commodification, and secularization, and while it might be true that “capitalism changes the cultural practices of those who come into its orbit“ (Tomlinson 1991: 106) this does not necessarily entail the complete disappearance of other values. Featherstone (2007: 113) points out that “formal religions may decline, [but] symbolic classifications and ritual practices which embody sacred/profane distinctions live on at the heart of secular social processes”.

### **3.3.1. The ‘new means of consumption’**

As has been explained, one of the major effects of Americanization has been the development of a massive culture of consumerism over the last half century. Partly, this culture of consumerism is characterized by settings that allow, encourage, and even compel people around the world to consume innumerable goods and services (like Americans). George Ritzer has termed these developments the ‘new means of

---

<sup>13</sup> *Inconsiderate economical rationalism can be witnessed everywhere; it seems as if anything and everything is subordinated to America’s capitalist interests [...] Currency value stands above all and makes mankind emotionless towards true values. The meaning of uniqueness, personality and character is disappearing. Reckless competition on all levels becomes the predominant motive of humans’ actions and is destroying any type of social harmony.*

<sup>14</sup> *Christmas time is the most important yearly stimulus for American capitalism; [...] however, during recent years, complaints about the commercialization of Christmas have been increasing, and especially complaints about the boost of manipulative advertising, which is vehemently conveying the message: buy, buy, buy...*

consumption'. Among them he lists franchises (e.g. McDonald's), shopping malls, mega-malls, cyber malls (e.g. Wal-Mart), superstores (e.g. Toys "Я" Us), discounters (e.g. Target), home shopping television, theme parks (e.g. Disneyland), cruise ships, casino-hotels, and 'eatertainment' (e.g. Hard Rock Café) (see Ritzer 1999; Ritzer and Ryan 2004: 47ff, Ritzer and Malone 2000: 99ff). All of these institutions were established somewhere between the 1940s and the 1970s and with only two exceptions<sup>15</sup> "are powerful representations of American culture" that "bring that culture to any nation to which they are exported" (Ritzer and Malone 2000: 103). Within only a short period of time they have become global phenomena influencing other societies not only economically but, more importantly, culturally. This American pattern of consumption could also be called 'hyperconsumption' as "more and more people engage in mass consumption [and] spend most if not all of their available resources" (ibid. 110). Americans can be seen, at least to a great extent, as the innovators and leaders in mass consumption (which is partly only possible, of course, due to their high level of affluence). Along with these 'new means of consumption' comes also a linguistic infusion as the English names of these global but American institutions remain the same across the world (see Ritzer and Ryan 2004: 49). The linguistic aspect can also be applied to Christmas and is investigated in the empirical part as well.

### **3.3.2. McDonaldization**

Another much discussed concept in the whole issue of Americanization processes is McDonaldization. The phenomenon of the incredible success of the fast food chain is a specific example of how American culture has influenced and to a large extent also transformed other countries' economies and parts of their cultures. However, significant in this case is that

in many ways, it is not the existence of American chains (and other New Means of Consumption) in other countries that is the most important indicator of the spread of McDonaldization, but rather the existence of indigenous clones of those McDonaldized enterprises. (Ritzer and Malone 2000: 106)

McDonaldization stands for the claim that in contemporary societies all across the world food, clothing, music, TV, linguistic conventions, and business styles seem to

---

<sup>15</sup> The first mega-mall West Edmonton Mall was built in Canada and the concept of 'eatertainment' initially came from Great Britain where the Hard Rock Café was founded in order to make profit with American (!) food.

become more and more standardized (see Hamelink 1995: 111). And although McDonald's works nicely as an example of how American commodities are modified in order to adapt to the tastes and preferences of individual countries, it is still argued that "McDonaldized systems are imposing themselves on local markets in other societies and in the process transforming local economies and cultures" (Ritzer and Malone 2000: 106). McDonald's has altered the way people eat and the way fast food restaurants operate, which are only two examples of how the process of McDonaldization can lead to changes in the habits and conventions of a society as a whole (see *ibid.* 107). The concepts of McDonaldization and the 'new means of consumption' thus support the view of homogeneity and cultural imperialism, and as a result the triumph over the local. In summary,

it seems save to say that the exportation of the New Means of Consumption, and the development of indigenous copies of these settings, are leading to a worldwide movement in the direction of American-style patterns of consumption. (*ibid.* 110)

So despite several other global processes that undeniably function multi-directionally, the United States "remains disproportionately important in globalization" (*ibid.* 112). It is America's continuing powerful presence in world issues which, it can be argued, still justifies the term 'Americanization'. In addition, it might be a bit clearer now why Americanization processes are still so widely and critically discussed even in today's academic discourse.

The following sections consist of an investigation of relevant issues regarding American influences and where they can actually be found. Although the focus lies on events in Austria, where America's cultural presence and diplomacy have been particularly prominent, general developments in Europe (or even the whole world) are occasionally referred to, as issues concerning Austria and other countries cannot and should not always be separated from each other. This is done via a short historical analysis from 1945 onwards, when America actually started to become a significant global participant and leader while simultaneously occupying Austria.

#### **4. American influences in Europe and Austria since 1945**

As Stephan (2006: 1) points out, "[t]he history of American culture in Europe after 1945 has not been written". The same holds for the European resistance against the spread of American culture, which is commonly labeled anti-Americanism and will be

discussed in one of the subsequent sections. However, it seems as various scholars have started to realize that this “transfer of culture ‘Made in the USA’” (ibid. 1) deserves closer attention since

postwar Europe would not be the same without the ubiquitous presence of America – in television, movie houses and music clubs, fast food and matters of lifestyle, popular literature and musicals, education and the style of political campaigning. (ibid. 1)

The year 1945, in many ways, denotes the beginning of American dominance over Europe. However, its significance is the greatest in countries, such as Austria, which in fact had been occupied and controlled by the United States. In these countries, the year 1945 is associated with the so-called ‘zero-hour’ since it signified radical change and a new beginning with the support of America. After the end of World War II, America’s top goal was to fight against totalitarianism, such as existed in Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, or was the case with Soviet Communism.<sup>16</sup> In order to do so, “Washington employed all available tools of public and cultural diplomacy to influence the hearts and minds of Europeans” (ibid. 1). On the one hand, this meant to continue with effective military, economic, and political actions. On the other hand, it was just as important to maintain culturally strong in Europe. American cultural centers were established, exchange programs founded, conferences were organized, and several exhibitions and events established to introduce the Europeans to the ‘American way of life’ and its democratic model; Hollywood movies, jazz, and rock music did the rest (see ibid. 2f).

Although the successful introduction of American pop culture to European audiences began in the 1920s, there was another invasion in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Of course, the success of American culture was thanks to the younger generation at first. They regarded these new forms of lifestyle as some sort of “liberation from [the] rules and customs they grew up with” (ibid. 14). No matter whether this meant visiting rock concerts, wearing blue jeans, or eating at McDonald’s (and later at Starbucks)<sup>17</sup>, they were the ones to partly Americanize their countries. But after a while the resistance put up by the older generations and certain elites, who felt in need of protecting their high culture, gradually lessened. However, this resistance has not

---

<sup>16</sup> While the focus of European discourse about Americanization is usually based on negative associations with commodification, consumerism and mass culture, it should not be forgotten that “Americanization has also meant *political and cultural democratization and a liberal-capitalistic economic order*” (Gassert 2000: 785f quoted in Bischof 2004: 3).

<sup>17</sup> The first McDonald’s in Austria opened in 1977 and the first Starbucks coffee shop in 2001. (see <http://oesterreich.orf.at/wien/stories/210323/>, 8 Feb. 2011; [http://starbucks.at/de-at/\\_About+Starbucks/Starbucks+in+%C3%96sterreich.htm](http://starbucks.at/de-at/_About+Starbucks/Starbucks+in+%C3%96sterreich.htm), 8 Feb. 2011)

completely vanished and some people continue to complain that “traditional values and traits of their national high culture are being eradicated by short-lived commercialized U.S. imports” (ibid. 14). American culture, in this case, is predominantly reduced to mass consumerism.

Largely based on Reinhold Wagnleitner’s and Günter Bischof’s works, the following pages deal with America’s impact on Austria (and in some cases more generally on Europe) by considering different reasons and tools for the proliferation of American culture in Austria. Although it is tempting to go back further than the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when analyzing American influences on Europe, or Austria in particular, this would by far exceed the length of this thesis. Wagnleitner, for example, mentions in his work that Europe already started to be (at least financially) dependent on the United States at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and particularly after the First World War at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. At this point, America had enough power to make the rest of the world recognize the international gold standard, and were thus able to withhold aid and credits from those they financed. Soon they also started to hold the lead in modern technology, with developments in “cable communications, radio waves, news agencies, movies, aviation, the automobile and electronics industries, and the food processing and chemical industries” (Wagnleitner 1994: 23). However, even though there may have been substantial American contributions earlier in time, it was America’s occupation of Austria between 1945 and 1955 that caused the most significant changes in America’s European role, indicating a convenient starting point for a thorough investigation of the USA’s impacts on Austria.

#### **4.1. America’s occupation of Austria after World War II**

From 1945 until 1955, four different nations (the United States, France, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union) occupied Austria. However, the most powerful and influencing, and possibly also most popular occupation power, was the United States. According to Wagnleitner, this was due to two main reasons;

[o]n the one hand, it could build upon the old European dream of U.S. democracy as a way of life that secured a standard of living for the masses; on the other hand, the United States alone possessed the necessary financial means to organize a comprehensive cultural program that embraced all facets of life. (Wagnleitner 1994: 275)

In addition, the distinction between the American occupation power and other Allies was America's search for acceptance by Austrians (see *ibid.* 71).

In 1945, thousands of American soldiers entered Austria with the goal of saving Austria from the 'Nazis'. But it is no secret that "American political and military power was [also] accumulated to build and protect markets abroad and to spread the opportunities for liberal capitalism around the world in order to increase wealth at home" (Bischof 2004: 2). Wagnleitner (1994: 48) characterizes this ambiguous situation by a "thin line between universalistic altruism and national egotism".

In order to be successful in their mission one of the most important objectives was to present America and American culture in the most positive light possible. U.S. representatives were well aware of their image as culturally inferior and identified these prejudices as a "decisive hindrance for the trouble-free implementation of U.S. interests" (*ibid.* 44). The strong presence of young, healthy, and wealthy American soldiers, who brought endless supplies of food, cigarettes, penicillin, and other goods from their homeland, was a good place to start to impressing the (particularly female and young) Austrians who, at the time, were largely living in poverty surrounded by old, tired looking men. Of course, the majority of people had also been extremely thankful for American economic and military support. Yet they were still regarded, particularly by the elders, as "uncultured American guys who chewed gum and put their feet on the table" (Wagnleitner 1994: ix). Young people partly objected to American values as well, especially concerning political issues (such as their involvement in Indochina or the repression of minorities in the United States). However, they only "demonstrated in blue jeans and T-Shirts" (Wagnleitner 1994: xi) because in spite of all the negative associations with the United States it was still 'hip' and 'cool' – a phenomenon that is still observable today. Nevertheless, the fact that the export of American culture was extremely supported by the U.S. government, but also the image of 'America as modernity' and "the fascination the myth 'America' [has] had for young people" (Wagnleitner 1996: 1) finally paved the way for American influences in a country which is often considered "resistant toward all innovation" (*ibid.* 275). However, "[m]ore than ever before, the United States was either stylized as the ideal model for the future or the threatening center of a world conspiracy poised to undermine the future of Europe" (*ibid.* 24).

The American Army did not only provide enough food to feed Austrians through the most difficult time after the war, but they also tremendously influenced the Austrian

society in many different ways. Most of the initiatives were started by the cultural agency Information Services Branch (ISB) of the U.S. Army.<sup>18</sup> While the democratization in Germany followed under the strict heading of 'reeducation', a much softer approach was started in Austria. Instead of 'reeducating' the Austrian society, they were only to be 'reoriented', particularly by focusing on the reorganization of institutions. However, despite the avoidance of a certain severity, there was still "a strict program of cultural control, denazification, and cultural reform" (ibid. 67). The ISB was finally subordinated to the Civil Affairs Division of the War Department in Washington and consisted of thirteen sections whose duties included<sup>19</sup>: granting licenses and screened publications according to limitations contained in Allied decrees; the denazification of the art scene distributing commercial U.S. films, necessary photographs, and other pictorial material; controlling the Austrian telegraph and telex communications; supplying newspapers and radio stations with news materials; subordinating all the print media; training Austrian journalists; being responsible for the America Houses and other information centers and libraries; controlling the U.S. radio station Rot-Weiss-Rot; the denazification and reform of the education system, from kindergarten to university; sending people to the U.S. via exchange programs and hosting academics, students and other official visitors from the United States; organizing programs for children and teens including youth clubs, games, sports programs, film, and dance events, discussions, and Christmas parties, and other activities; managing all administrative, personnel, and financial procedures.

Most important of all was the establishment of various cultural centers, and especially of the so-called America Houses. First, it has to be pointed out, however, that the intention of proving America's equity to European high culture partly failed and that the export of American 'serious' literature, drama, and music remained rather ineffective. With the exception of a few authors, American literature kept its reputation "of being the cheapest trash and superficial, mass produced goods" (Wagnleitner 1996: 141). The same holds for drama and 'serious' music. Even though the Americans managed to control the political orientation of the theaters, they were not able to convince the audience that their plays were of the same quality as Austrian or pieces from other countries (see ibid. 171ff). Since Austria has always been "the land

---

<sup>18</sup> It has to be mentioned however, that the ISB was consistently assisted by the diplomatic mission in Vienna, different military agencies, and the Marshall Plan Agency (ECA) (see Wagnleitner 1994: 71).

<sup>19</sup> The following list comprises a summary of Wagnleitner's (1996) enumeration of ISB duties on p.69-71.

of music” (ibid. 196), it had soon become clear that American works and artists did not even have the slightest chance of gaining popularity. “Many ‘cultured’ Europeans [...] remained rigid in their conviction of cultural superiority vis-à-vis the United States” (ibid. 192). The ISB saw the reasons for their failure in the fact that Viennese (but also Austrians in general) “are perhaps the most conservative people in the world” (WNRC quoted in ibid. 198); a claim that has been made by several other academics as well and that should be considered when analyzing American influences on the Austrian Christmas tradition.

However, by drawing hundreds of thousands of visitors to the America Houses (among them also many important opinion makers and future opinion leaders), large parts of the Austrian population were nonetheless introduced and familiarized with the American lifestyle, its culture, and its values through literature, magazines, newspapers, movies, posters, slides, paintings, music, sports, science, and lectures (see Bischof 2006: 154; Wagnleitner 1994: 276). Books, magazines, and films were also delivered to schools and into rural areas by the so-called ‘bookmobiles’. Over the years, America gained huge popularity through the extensive export of jazz, followed by rock’n’roll and later pop music. In addition, Hollywood, respectively American film and TV productions, made its way to success in Europe and has continued to influence people’s minds not only in Austria and Europe but all across the world. Finally, one should always keep in mind Wagnleitner’s (1994: 149) assertion that “seemingly trivial cultural products have by no means trivial effects.”

The Austrian school system also became subject to U.S. reforms, refocusing its curriculum again upon democratization and modernization. Although American authorities managed to incorporate more topics about America into the curriculum, and English became the first foreign language, they still saw themselves confronted with rigid attitudes from the ÖVP (i.e. the Austrian conservative party), the Catholic Church, and teachers who feared a loss of status, in their attempt to abolish the existing authoritarian style of teaching methods (see ibid. 154). For this reason, young people were increasingly encouraged to participate in exchange programs “in an effort to help break through the many years of isolation and hinder the retreat of academia to traditional theoretical positions” (ibid. 156). These cultural exchanges should also help to overcome the omnipresent negative clichés and prejudices of the supposed cultural inferiority of the United States which were too strong, however, “to be definitely altered during the few years of occupation” (ibid. 167).



Perhaps the most decisive changes could be observed in language developments. Clearly U.S. English had the status of an inferior dialect<sup>20</sup>, which was again based on European arrogance and prejudices about U.S. culture. But the influence of the English language on Austrian society grew continuously so that by the end of the occupation period about 50 percent of Austrians had some knowledge in English, compared to only 20 percent in 1948 (WRNC referred to in *ibid.* 160). Even in the French occupation zone the interest in English dominated over French, resulting in two thirds of students enrolled in English and only one third in French at school. Words like 'sex appeal', 'publicity', 'bar', 'star', 'service', 'hobby', 'manager', or 'do it yourself' became common in Austria; some of them indeed being American (not British) terms. And it was certainly not because of school education that Americanisms were incorporated into the German language (see Wagnleitner 1994: 160f), as most teachers were pro-British and anti-American English. It is therefore postulated that the daily contact with the American GIs and also the hip and modern connotation with America that simply elevated these new words to higher status (see *ibid.* 161ff). By today, English has become the so-called lingua franca and scientific and academic publications, television, computer programs, the internet, etc., are dominated by English. With regard to these developments, Wagnleitner points out that

[t]he British Empire had certainly created the best conditions for this expansion. Yet, without question only the superpower position of the United States after the Second World War made the English language into the lingua franca of the second half of the twentieth century. (Wagnleitner 1994: 162)

#### **4.2. Exchange Programs**

While many academics focus on the occupation period, Bischof (2006: 155) is convinced that "the most important and lasting influence in the Americanization of post-World War II Austria came via the various visitor programs". Whether more significant than the decade-long presence of American GIs and diplomats in Austria or not, the impact of those personal exchanges have undeniably played a huge role in Austria's Americanization and must not be underestimated. Bischof, among other experts, pays particular attention to Fulbright, AFS, and the ÖPZ.

---

<sup>20</sup> And this opinion may still exist among many Europeans today.

The Fulbright Commission, initiated in 1946 (the first group of Austrians went abroad in the academic year 1951/1952), is oldest of such exchange programs and was founded by U.S. Senator William J. Fulbright in order to promote mutual understanding, and to “encourage empathy between nations and foster the emergence of leaders whose sense of nations and cultures would enable them to shape specific policies based on tolerance and national restraint” (Fulbright quoted in Gehrler 2000: 3). As a result, young people not only returned to Austria with a positive image of the United States but also propagated the American lifestyle, as well as its political, economic, and cultural system. As intended, many of these exchange students later became “politicians, diplomats, journalists, managers, and professionals in all fields” (Bischof 2006: 157). While the Fulbright Commission gave their grants mainly to university students, academics, and other promising intellectuals, the American Field Service (AFS) already enabled younger Austrians to live abroad primarily during the course of their high-school education. A third program, the Österreichisches Produktivitätszentrum (ÖPZ) sent businessmen and union leaders away with the goal “to familiarize Austrians with American production and management methods” (ibid. 155). Common to all of these programs was the assumption that

[j]ournalists would presumably report more fairly and evenly about America; politicians might have more sympathy for American decisions and join in fighting the Cold War against the Soviet Union; businessmen would bring back American management methods and introduce ‘the politics of productivity’ in the European factories; and educators an [sic!] all levels would spread the American gospel in their lectures and classrooms. (ibid. 162)

Several expectations have been satisfied. Studies have shown that the Austrian returnees actually spread the American way of life by telling their friends and families about their experiences in the United States. While they were several thousands of Austrians who took part in one of the above mentioned programs in the postwar period and while it had been estimated that each individual spoke with about 150 people back home about their stay abroad, the result is an incredibly large Austrian audience. Although there is no definite number and although the true influence of these phenomena cannot be quantified, it remains obvious nonetheless that these exchange programs play (and still do so today) a major role in the Americanization of Austria (Schmidt 1999 referred to in Bischof 2006: 162).

One more institution needs to be mentioned, which had a profound impact on the Americanization of Austria (and also Europe). Started by a group of Harvard

students, the Salzburg Seminar has been responsible for the most important developments in American studies in Europe (see Bischof 2006: 159). It can therefore be regarded as some sort of intellectual Americanization of Austria and Europe where “hundreds of Austrians who participated in the sessions of the Salzburg Seminar were [...] internationalized, Americanized, and Westernized” (ibid. 161).

Besides the presence of the vast amount of American soldiers and the exchange programs, it was especially the media who played a decisive role in the Americanization of Austria after the end of the Second World War.

#### **4.3. The role of the media**

Already in the 1920s the “U.S. information and entertainment networks [...] achieved worldwide predominance” (Wagnleitner 1994: 50). Due to negative developments in the 1930s, including the “establishment of the ‘Third Reich’, the spreading of (Semi)fascist systems in Europe, and the aggressive foreign policy of Japan” (ibid. 50) the expansion of these U.S. networks were delayed; however, they regained their dominant position within the international communication network after the end of World War II. Along with these networks came not only political but also cultural advantages (see ibid. 55). Since America was in control of the channels and thus selected which information they wanted to present their European audience, it was possible to propagate a positive image of the United States (see ibid. 48, 55). In most cases, the propagandistic aspect had not even been realized by the broad masses since the American media seemed to serve “only the purposes of information and entertainment” (ibid. 61) in a completely neutral way. This subtle propaganda also partly explains the huge difference between Soviet and American influences on Austria. Besides the deficiency in financial and technical resources of the USSR, as well as the lack of other material attractions for the Europeans, Soviet propaganda was “rather unsophisticated – not to say – malletlike” (ibid. 61). As soon as (political propaganda) is recognized as such it usually provokes rejection (see ibid. 74). Despite the Soviets’ attempt, they did not have the slightest chance to compete with the United States.

#### 4.3.1. Press and radio regulations

In regards to the Austrian press, it was controlled, reformed, and reorganized by U.S. authorities with the central priority being to dispense with Nazi functionaries, suppress Communism, propagate U.S. information politics and ensure the long-term stability of a democratic press (see *ibid.* 84, 106). The introduction of a new kind of boulevard journalism, with its first and most prominent example being the *Wiener Kurier*, as well as the training of several Austrian journalists by U.S. experts also represented significant modifications. Due to the existence of censorship, the U.S. control of the press (but also of other areas) constitutes a paradox since it tried to implement democracy by using undemocratic methods (see *ibid.* 72). Additionally, licenses for publications were given only under strict conditions. For this reason, the description of the American way of life, the presentation of American popular culture, as well as American literature dominated the Austrian print media.<sup>21</sup> The focus on an American standard of living went along with the intensity of “images of a better life and the supposed advantages of consumption” (*ibid.* 102).

In regards to radio, the most influential power was the American radio station *Rot-Weiss-Rot*, which showed innovations in its program structure and began to include quiz shows, hourly news reports, and listener participation. But in general, the radio “became one of the most important political instruments [whose] cultural power was superseded only by that of Hollywood” (*ibid.* 109). It contributed to the success of America’s cultural mission in Austria in several ways, and additionally also reached people in neighboring Communist states as well (see *ibid.* 109). But above all, it effectively created positive associations with the United States through music. Remarkable was also the implementation of commercials which initially evoked strong resistance of the Austrians but which soon became standard for Austrian radio programs. As in many other areas of Austrian social life, the influence on advertisement is a prime example of America’s deep impact on commercial culture in Austria, as well as other nations.

---

<sup>21</sup> Wagnleitner points out that among the estimated 60,000 to 100,000 features that had been published during the occupation period, articles such as ‘How America Celebrates Christmas’ also appeared in Austrian newspapers and magazines (see Wagnleitner 1996: 99).

### **4.3.2. Hollywood productions**

While the Austrian population was constantly confronted with the United States (even after the end of the occupation it was ever-present in the newspapers, on the radio, in advertisements, and on the television), Hollywood movies have been the most influential medium propagating the American way of life (see Wagnleitner 1994: 25, 59, 278). Films conveyed American ideas and values, stimulated consumer interests, and allowed individuals to form (primarily positive) attitudes about the United States – all of which have been the most important objectives of American foreign policy and propaganda. According to Wagnleitner (1994: 225), the “Hollywood film [...] became the most influential iconographic inventory of the capitalist ethos and U.S. democracy in the twentieth century”; a claim which should definitely be considered when investigating American influences on Christmas in Austria.

Furthermore, Mayer (1947: 34) addresses the effects that American motion pictures have on the sale of American products by claiming that “[t]here has never been a more effective salesman for American products in foreign countries than the American motion picture”. Although he admits that to date, there have been no studies on such effects, he is convinced that scenes laid in American kitchens, for example, have probably contributed considerably to the want or actual purchase of American refrigerators or other electric devices (see *ibid.* 33). Similar claims have been made by several other scholars in regards to the representation of Christmas around the world, and its consequent impact. One of the main factors in Hollywood’s international success may be that American movies were initially produced for America’s own multiethnic society. This means that it was necessary for films to “create a pictorial grammar that could be understood across more than one ‘national’ context” (Wagnleitner 1994: 232), facilitating the perfect conditions for additional success with a global audience.

### **4.3.3. The role of the moving image today**

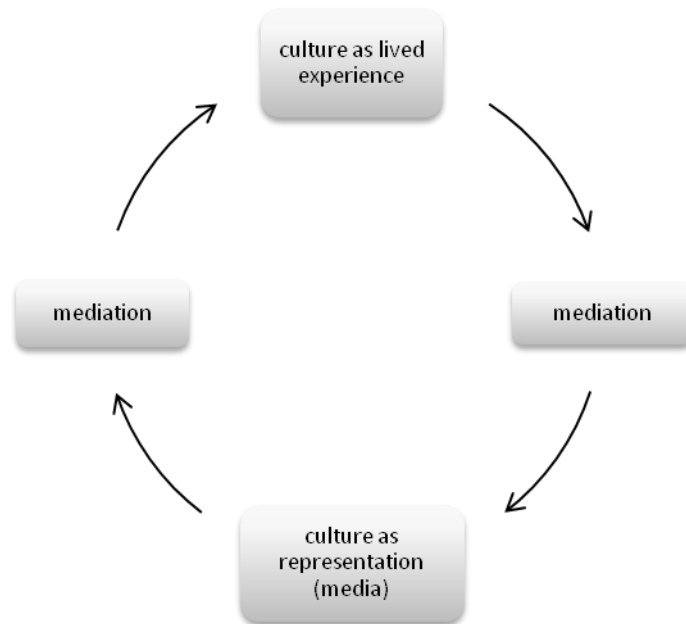
Much of what has been said about the immediate effects of the media on society during the post-war years can still be applied today. While the general mass media is remarkably significant in our everyday lives, U.S. movies and television is particularly influential worldwide. Approximately 80 to 90 percent of the movies shown on European screens come from the United States (see Wagnleitner 2004: 25); these

movies are largely responsible for the export of American images and values to other nations. When Benjamin Barber poses the question “to whom or to what” the expiring 20<sup>th</sup> century belongs, he takes several possibilities into consideration. Some may call it the American century, others the century of world wars. Barber himself, however, is sure that it has been

the Movie Century, an epoch in which film and video and the images they mediate have replaced print and books and the words they once brokered as the chief instrumentalities of human communication, persuasion, and entertainment. (Barber 1996: 88)

Most important of all, in regards to this thesis, particularly the empirical study, is Barber’s suggestion that “Hollywood is McWorld’s storyteller, and it inculcates secularism, passivity, consumerism, vicariousness, impulse buying, and an accelerated pace of life” (ibid. 97). The same applies to American television, which possibly has an even greater influence, as it reaches even more people than American films (see ibid. 101).

So although the main argument of this thesis states that individual cultures, symbols, and traditions cannot simply be eradicated, it is nevertheless obvious that the United States, to a great extent with the images transported via its film and television industry, does indeed partly determine what Christmas across the world should look like. After addressing several methods and channels of American influence on Austria in the course of Part I of this thesis, the main goal of Part II and Part III is to investigate which American influences can be detected in the representation of Christmas in the print media. It is important to remember that the outcome of this study does not lead to any conclusion about Austrian Christmas in terms of the ‘lived experience’, but only as it is represented in the media. Within the perpetual debate about whether the media mirrors or shape societies (see for example Schulz 1989; Sardar and Davies 2003: 69), the claim that postmodernist culture is an imitation of television, or even better, that “*reel facts* become *real facts*” (Steinberg 1978 quoted in Wagnleitner 1994: 226), appears to be predominant. Fortunately, Tomlinson (1991: 60) created his model called “interplay of mediation” which demonstrates that the media are neither merely a mirror of society and reality, nor is reality merely shaped by the media. Instead, a constant interplay and circulation of both the media and society comprises what we observe to be ‘reality’.



**Figure 1: Interplay of mediation (adapted from Tomlinson 1991: 61)**

Tomlinson therefore warns of the common

perception that contemporary culture is so thoroughly saturated by the mass media that it is impossible to separate out an immediate ‘real’ cultural experience from those we experience through the flat surface of the television screen. (Tomlinson 1991: 59)

If this is true, it would mean that television, respectively the media, “radically alter our sense of cultural ‘boundaries’ [...] making all experience equally visible but also equally ‘flat’” (Tomlinson 1991: 60). Therefore, his concept of an ‘interplay of mediation’ is a concept much more suited for the relationship between the media and single cultures or societies. On the one side, Tomlinson agrees that the capitalist West of the late twentieth century is indeed dominated by a “perpetual flow of media images” (ibid. 62). However, he also indicates the significance of real cultural experiences that are separate from and of greater priority than those experiences provided by the media (see ibid. 62).

In conclusion, it is true that the media has “exposed people to events and ideas in other societies” (Jandt 2007: 277); and it is exactly this argument that will be explored in more detail via the empirical study.

## **5. Resistance towards American influence**

### **5.1. Why America is so critically debated**

Why is America's impact on other countries and cultures so critically debated and of such significance? Why is no one concerned about a 'Britishization', for example? Or why does no one ever complain about the sudden appearance of umpteen kebab booths, sushi restaurants, and pizza places throughout Europe? Why is it always McDonald's that is continually accused of making the world a monoculture? Ritzer and Ryan (2004) found several explanations to this issue. First of all, America is the world's leading superpower. Due to the U.S.'s combination of both size and wealth, it is able to produce enormous amounts of everything (e.g. consumables and media) for export to destinations around the globe. Additionally, successful advertising and marketing systems play a huge role in America's force of impact. Furthermore, American products are often modified into empty forms that easily adapt to local cultures (see Ritzer and Ryan 2004: 53f), which creates difficulties in identifying products as actually American. These disguised foreign/American influences tend to greatly impact local cultures when they are integrated without the population's conscious recognition, especially compared to when it is obvious that a foreign/American phenomenon has been superimposed on a local setting (see Ritzer and Malone 2000: 107). Moreover, American culture tends to be seen as everybody's 'second culture' with which people from all over the world are familiar and comfortable. In addition, many countries simply rely on America's support and therefore need to (whether willingly and consciously, or not) accept the entire process of Americanization (see Ritzer and Ryan 2004: 53f).

The academic interest in America's role in the world is continuously growing with the introduction of anti-Americanism as a popular topic for debate. For this reason, anti-Americanism itself would provide enough material for a separate thesis. The next section therefore only touches upon several issues concerning anti-Americanism in order to round off the general discussion of America's role in the world. This will hopefully clarify the increasing awareness of America's influence on other cultures and additionally explain why some individuals are so concerned about particular developments.



## 5.2. Anti-Americanism

“Why are foreign people and governments often so critical of and occasionally even outraged about the effects and the preponderance of US culture abroad? How has this perception affected the course of America’s relationship with the world?” (Gienow-Hecht 2003: 269). What do European people really think and feel about America? Is it fear, resentment, envy, or maybe admiration? Is it possible to find a common portrayal of a European or Austrian perspective on the United States? Most certainly, any type of generalization would be inadequate since such depictions are usually based on clichés and stereotypes. However, what can be done is to initiate dialogue about trends and tendencies. Attitudes towards America and the Americanization process are probably best described as a ‘love-hate’ relationship since most ideas, concepts and emotions regarding the United States and its influence on the rest of the world are coined by controversy and ambiguity. As Wagnleitner points out,

[t]he history of mentalities is always a history of ambiguities, and the history of the meaning of America in European discourse(s) especially so. Since Columbus, the European reaction to America was situated somewhere between condescension and fear, ignorance and fascination, superiority complexes and inferiority feelings, apprehension and (dis)information. (Wagnleitner 2004: 19)

Also Sardar and Davies comment on this ‘love-hate’ relationship:

Viele weitere Gründe für den Haß [sic!] auf Amerika sind oft verpackt in eine ebenso große Liebe, Zuneigung und Bewunderung. [...] Es ist, als ob zwei Leidenschaften die untrennbaren Teile eines einzigen Ganzen wären.<sup>22</sup> (Sardar and Davies 2003: 192)

Unfortunately, anti-Americanism sometimes generates violent demonstrations, with the most extreme example being the attacks of 9/11. These attacks help illustrate how significant it can be what the world thinks of a ‘superpower’ (e.g. USA); especially as many scholars believe that the attacks of the World Trade Center, particularly the Pentagon, are symbolic of America’s negatively perceived military actions as well as its idiosyncratic economic system that has been exported to the rest of the world.

Stephan (2006: 1) explains that anti-Americanism has always occurred “in different forms and in varying intensity since the 1940s [...but] seemed to have largely

---

<sup>22</sup> *Many reasons for the hatred towards America are also combined with an equally great love, affection, and admiration. [...] It almost seems as if two different types of passion are inseparable parts of a whole.*

vanished by 1990.” However, after the attacks of 9/11 anti-Americanism seemed revived, mainly as a reaction to America’s exceptionalism and dubious war against terrorism. While anti-Americanism of the post-war period was mainly based on antagonism to American popular mass culture it is nowadays based on U.S. military and governmental actions. Stephan points out that

the boundaries between high and popular culture had turned porous, generational differences in the consumption of culture were on the wane, and the traditional links that tied specific forms of culture to class, social background, or education had begun to dissolve. (Stephan 2006: 3)

However, because of U.S. policies that ‘allow’ Americans to kill Iraqis (apparently to liberate them), that justify war in the name of freedom, equality, and democracy, combined with the fact that the United States stipulates the prohibition of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons while continuing to develop these itself (see Sardar and Davies 2003: 105ff) anti-Americanism has found a new dimension based on doubtful thoughts on America’s double morality (see Smith 2004: 5f; Sardar and Davies 2003: 169ff). Anti-Americanism, in this sense, results from America’s hypocrisy of constantly preaching the good but very often acting the complete opposite. America clearly does not ‘practice what they preach”, so to speak.

In regards to America’s reputation in Austria, the article “US-Image am Tiefpunkt” (printed on the front page) of the daily newspaper *Die Presse* on 23 July 2003 reveals that among Europeans, Austrians particularly perceive America’s role in the world in a negative way. Sixty-two percent of Austrians think that the United States plays a detrimental role in creating world peace, sixty-four percent believe that America also does poorly in contributing to a better environment. Additionally, America’s image as a fighter against terrorism or as *the* global economic driving force is badly damaged.<sup>23</sup>

In his comment in this same newspaper issue, Burkhard Bischof sarcastically writes:

Amerika, noch bis in die Neunzigerjahre für Generationen von Österreichern die „*shining city on the hill*“, hat für eine Mehrheit seine Anziehungskraft verloren. Auch für manche heimische Massenmedien sind die USA längst keine „*leuchtende Stadt*“ mehr, sondern eine Art Goldgräbersiedlung, in der politische Desperados das Sagen haben.<sup>24</sup> (Bischof 2003: 1)

---

<sup>23</sup> It has to be emphasized however, that the pan-European study was carried out during George W. Bush’s presidency, a fact that has undoubtedly also influenced the image of America negatively.

<sup>24</sup> *America, until the 1990s representing the “shining city on the hill” for many Austrians, has now lost its appeal for the majority. Also some of the local mass media no longer view America as a “shining city” but rather as a type of gold diggers’ settlement, where the power lies in the hands of a few political desperados.*

In this regard, it needs to be mentioned however, that the media themselves always play a large role in creating such images. Thurnher (2004: 32) points out that the *Kronenzeitung*, which is known for its “rather unsubtle anti-Americanism,” reaches 44 percent of Austria’s population and thus certainly contributes to the manifestation of negative attitudes towards the United States in a large part of Austrian society.

In his book *The eagle’s shadow*, Mark Hertsgaard’s (2003: 17f) points out that a certain amount of idiocentrism is certainly not a feature unique of the United States. However, what is unique, is that the United States is the mightiest nation on the globe. So no matter whether this concerns economic, political, military or cultural decisions – America’s decisions almost always considerably influence the rest of the world as well. Examples of such decisions would be the United States Government’s termination of the Kyoto protocol (which was decided in order to contain global warming) with the explanation that it harms America’s economy; or America’s refusal to accept the International Criminal Court – actions which not only affect the whole world but also explain why many people think of the United States as selfish and ignorant. (see Hertsgaard 2003: 13, 41f; see also Smith 2004: 8; Sardar and Davies 2003: 17)

Wenn Amerika Probleme wie die Umweltverschmutzung und globale Erwärmung ignoriert, signalisiert es, daß [sic!] das Einzige, was in der Welt zählt, Amerika ist. [...] Der Energiepreis in Kalifornien ist also weitaus wichtiger als die schwindende Ozonschicht, das Abschmelzen des Polareises, der Anstieg der globalen Temperaturen und die verheerenden Folgen der Klimaveränderungen. Nicht nur die Bedürfnisse der Amerikaner sind weitaus größer als die der übrigen Welt, sogar die Gefahren für den ganzen Planeten müssen den Wünschen der amerikanischen Verbraucher untergeordnet werden.<sup>25</sup>  
(Sardar and Davies 2003: 68, 87)

Because the United States is of such importance to other nations, it is also constantly in the international media. For this reason, along with their apparent ignorance of (or lack of appreciation for) the rest of the world, it may create the impression that non-Americans are always in ‘the eagle’s shadow’.

---

<sup>25</sup> *By ignoring problems such as pollution or global warming America signifies that the only thing that counts is America itself. [...] Hence, the energy price in California is much more important than the vanishing ozone layer, the melting of polar ice, the increase in global temperatures, and other devastating results of the climate change. Americans’ needs are therefore not only much more important than those of the rest of the world, but even endangerments of the whole planet need to be subordinated to the wishes of the American consumer.*

However, Hertzgaard claims that people seem to make a distinction between America's government, which they mainly despise, and Americans, with who they mostly sympathize. As a matter of fact, America's decisive institutions are in the hands of only a few elites and their opinions and decisions do not always coincide with those of America's broad masses (see Hertzgaard 2003: 21). This distinction into 'America – the people' and 'America – the government, the military, and the corporations' may also explain the contradictory feelings of outsiders that Hertzgaard (2003: 14), along with many other scholars, refers to: "Bewunderung und Unbehagen, Neid und Entsetzen, Enthusiasmus und Ablehnung."

Sometimes anti-Americanism can be characterized as the simple "dislike of American culture and its 'Coca-Colonizing' spread" (Cuncliffe 1986: 20). As already mentioned, this could refer to the older generations of Austria, for instance, who adhere to traditional and elite high culture and feel superior to the "degenerate' American popular mass culture" (Bischof 2004: 5). Some call this 'cultural anti-Americanism' and usually describe it as the resistance towards the development of America's dominance in the mass media and its export culture (see Campbell et al. 2004: 26). But, as mentioned at the beginning of this thesis, anti-Americanism is very often simply the result of one's own uncertainty in identity. Since the United States is such a huge, powerful, and successful global player it frequently functions as an enemy some people 'need' in order to deal with various crises concerning their own cultures and/or identities (see *ibid.* 26f). Kamphausen addresses exactly what signifies the discourse in Austria concerning Christmas. He sees both Americanization and anti-Americanism processes as mirror images of contemporary societal changes and developments. Kamphausen addresses European's self-image in particular:

Dabei geht es vor allem um eine kulturelle Abgrenzungsstrategie bei zunehmender Identitätsbefürchtung. [...] Diese Entdeckung, dass Amerika ganz anders ist, geht mit der Befürchtung einher, dass mit der drohenden Amerikanisierung Europas auch der Untergang Europas eine beschlossene Sache sei.<sup>26</sup> (Kamphausen 2009: 318)

Gienow-Hecht's view coincides with Kamphausen's arguments and points out that in many cases the core of anti-Americanism simply comprises fears.

Fears that US culture, standards and way of life would overrun everyone else's. Fears that American consumer products would erase other countries' cultural independence. Fears that American culture would extinguish local identities. To many observers, American

---

<sup>26</sup> *It mainly concerns a cultural delimitation strategy in regards to a growing fear of identity. [...] The discovery that America is completely different comes along with the fear that Europe's imminent Americanization also means Europe's demise.*

civilization was not just different but formed a subversive threat to European culture. (Gienow-Hecht 2003: 271)

Both these statements provide essential information for the understanding of the public discourse around the 'Christkind vs. Santa Claus' debate presented in Part II of this paper. In any case, anti-Americanism mostly seems to be equated with 'America-as-threat' – whether in the straightforward sense of military actions, culturally, through the concepts of 'Disneyfication' or 'Coca-Colonisation', or even environmentally, as the U.S. is identified as the world's prime polluter (see Campbell et al. 2004: 25). In this regard, Bischof (2006: 165) very accurately concludes that "[e]very globally successful American product thus reproduces the endless cycle of growing anti-Americanisms". And as will be discussed later in Part II, Santa Claus is an ideal example for such an American product.

Although the concept of anti-Americanism is highly diverse, it could be understood as a concept which is "primarily emotive, generated by envy, snobbery or fear of the [...] 'greatest nation on earth'" (Campbell et al. 2004: 25). Nevertheless, this term remains indefinite since it is almost always tied to individual thoughts and emotions, essentially meaning 'anything' that depicts the United States and/or its influence on the rest of the world in a negative light<sup>27</sup>. In their conclusion, Sardar and Davies warn of stereotypes and narrow-mindedness of both (European and American) sides:

Aber Haß [sic!] vereinfacht auch. Aus Sicht der weniger entwickelten Welt ist Amerika der große Satan, die Hypermacht und Ursache für alles, was falsch ist, der Koloß [sic!], der überall vernünftige und verantwortliche Selbstbestimmung sowie menschliche Lösungen verhindert. Aus amerikanischer Sicht haben nur die USA Antworten auf die Schlüsselfragen der menschlichen Zukunft: Freiheit, Demokratie, das Recht auf freie Rede, die Freiheit des Marktes. Sie werden von üblen Feinden attackiert, die sich durch moralische Argumente nicht mehr überzeugen lassen und ausgerottet werden müssen, damit das Gute, das immer verletzlich [sic!] ist, weil es Offenheit und Ehrlichkeit bedeutet, bewahrt werden kann. Das ist die Zeichentrückfassung der Realität beider Seiten.<sup>28</sup> (Sardar and Davies 2003: 202f)

---

<sup>27</sup> Marcus Cuncliffe (1986: 33) calls this a "perfectly normal manifestation of dislike for otherness" which implies the claim that "[a]ll human groups tend to be suspicious of all other human groups".

<sup>28</sup> *But hatred also means reduction. In the view of less developed countries, America embodies the big Satan, the hyper-power and cause for everything which is wrong, the colossus that hinders all reasonable self-determination and human solutions. In the United States' opinion, only America has the answers to the key questions of the future of humankind: freedom, democracy, freedom of speech, freedom of the market. It is attacked by evil enemies that cannot be convinced with moral arguments and therefore need to be exterminated. Only then can the good (which is always vulnerable) be sustained since it means frankness and honesty. This is the comic version of both sides.*

Of course, in closely connected contemporary societies it is fatal to continuously demonize the other and to concentrate on distorted images that may not accurately represent reality. In the instance of the United States' understanding of the 'other' misunderstandings are most likely due to Americans' lack of knowledge and ignorance. Hertsgaard (2003) explains that aspects such as America's unique geographic location, English as the lingua franca, as well as America's tremendous size, wealth, and superpower status gives Americans the impression that it is not necessary to pay much attention to other nations.<sup>29</sup> In terms of other countries stereotypes may be due to the large amount of images (often including clichés that have often ironically been created by American popular culture itself) that are constantly presented in the media: uncontrolled prosperity, power, violence, and aggressiveness (see Sardar and Davies 2003: 68). It is almost impossible not to form an opinion about the United States since people across the world are confronted with it nearly every day.

Ausländer müssen sich fast zwangsläufig eine Meinung über Amerika bilden. Wohin sie auch schauen – überall tritt ihnen Amerika entgegen. Die Filme, das Fernsehen, die Musik, die Mode und die Fast-food-Ketten Amerikas haben besonders die Jugend in allen Ländern erobert und verbreiten zugleich den wichtigsten Exportartikel Amerikas: seinen auf Konsum ausgerichteten Lebensstil [...] Das Internet, der Computer und andere High-Tech-Geräte, die weltweit den Alltag revolutionieren, stammen entweder aus den Vereinigten Staaten oder erreichen dort ihren höchsten Entwicklungsstand.<sup>30</sup> (Hertsgaard 2003: 15)

With this quotation Hertsgaard nicely demonstrates the incredible discrepancy between America and the rest of the world; the United States influences other cultures and societies with whatever it does, thus forcing people of these societies to be interested in the superpower. The U.S., on the other hand, seems to know nothing about these other countries; or even worse, seems to not even care about them (see *ibid.* 16). This, among the other issues that have just been mentioned, may explain why America continues to be the subject to critical debates about their status in the world and why the term anti-Americanism is of greater significance than ever before.

---

<sup>29</sup> The attacks of 9/11 painfully proved them wrong. (see Hertsgaard 2003: 19)

<sup>30</sup> *Foreigners unavoidably need to build an opinion about the United States; wherever they glance they are confronted with America. American movies, television, music, fashion, and fast food chains captured particularly the youth and at the same time spread America's most important export product, its consumerist-centered lifestyle [...] The internet, the computer, and other high-tech devices, which are revolutionizing everyday life, either originate from, or are optimized in the United States of America.*

### 5.3. Austrification

Considering the attitude towards Americanization in Austria, many intellectuals refer to a concept called 'Austrification'. In addition to possible negative associations that exist in regards to the United States (some of which have been mentioned in the previous section), there may be some other reasons why "Austrian traditions frequently prevail over Americanizing influences or reshape them" (Thurnher referred to in Bischof 2004: 7). Austrians are exceptionally resistant to modernization; and partly because Americanization is often associated with modernization, Austrians sometimes also seem resistant to certain Americanization processes. Although Austria's capital city, Vienna, can nowadays compete with other cosmopolitan cities, it still seems to have issues with its own modernity. Armin Thurnher (2004: 30) claims that this "structural conservatism [...] embraces all aspects of life, all political parties, and all parts of society" which is the reason why he interprets Austria's entrance into the European Union in 1995 "as the only solution the political and commercial elites saw to modernize the country. They knew that reform from within was impossible." Several academics have therefore pointed to a phenomenon called "Austrification", which stands for the hybridization of cultural texts occurring when foreign/American influences are only partially adopted. This means that Austrians often only pick and choose pieces from foreign/American models and then adapt them to Austrian practices (see Bischof 2004: 9f). It will be seen later, in the results of the quantitative content analysis of Austrian magazines, how far Americanisms have entered Austrian culture in the case of Christmas and to what extent they have mixed with Austrian features. As for now, one can think about the case of McDonald's in Austria, where beer is sold, a burger is called 'McCountry', and where one can purchase a Viennese breakfast or (at least in some restaurants) can read the newspapers in hangers, which is actually typical for Viennese coffee houses (see Thurnher 2004: 31). All these features are examples for the 'Austrification of McDonald's'.

Since younger generations appear to be less conservative, but also because they grew up with already established Americanisms and influences of the media, one could argue that it is more accurate to limit the Americanization of Austrian culture to Austrians born after the Second World War. In addition, many academics see in the so-called 'Americanization' only the adoption of certain aspects of an American to a traditional European, or Austrian, lifestyle (see *ibid.* 33). In his attempt to conclude whether Austria has been Americanized, Thurnher differentiates between symbols

and meaning. He certainly confirms that American influences cannot be denied on the surface of Austrian society.

If “Americanization” means one doesn’t go to a movie house but to a multiplexx [...] then Vienna is definitely Americanized. [...] If “Americanization” means loads of American soaps on TV, if it means that worried parents are complaining their kids know more about high school proms, Pam Anderson’s bathing suit, or the sex-partners of *Sex and the City* characters than about the Austrian state treaty, then Vienna is definitely Americanized. These certainly are strong symbols of “Americanization.” But does a change of a TV program always signal a change in society, or merely a change in the TV program? (Thurnher 2004: 34f)

Despite the unquestionably large amount of American symbols, Thurnher (2004: 37) is convinced that Vienna, respectively Austria, “is not Americanized in the depth of its society”. Starbucks may have opened a few coffee shops in Vienna, and Viennese may enjoy drinking their coffee in paper cups while rushing to their next destination. However, the Austrian counterparts, Viennese coffee houses, are such a strong institution that they are far from being substituted, if even rivaled (see *ibid.* 27). And once again, Thurnher’s claim confirms the hypothesis that this theory can be applied to all different aspects of Austrian life; also to its cultural text of Christmas. Bischof (2004: 7) calls this the “Austrian’s ‘conservatism of the heart’” – a concept which should be remembered for the later discussion about the Austrian public discourse of Christmas in Part II.

#### **5.4. Issues of culture and identity**

In regards to resistance towards the influence of other cultures – or in this case, of the impact of American culture on Austria – one further aspect should be considered more closely, namely the significance of culture in connection with people’s identities.

Old certainties and hierarchies of identity are called into question in a world of dissolving boundaries and disrupted continuities. [...] And what does it mean now to be European in a continent coloured not only by the cultures of its former colonies, but also by American and Japanese cultures? Is not the very category of identity itself problematical? Is it at all possible, in global times, to sustain a coherent and unified sense of identity? Continuity and historicity of identity are challenged by the immediacy and intensity of global cultural confrontations. (Robins 2003: 242)

While the concept behind culture is highly diverse and cannot be fixed to one single definition, most scholars agree on the assertion that culture expresses a certain way of life of a group of people who share the same meanings, values, and symbols. To



be part of a culture significantly contributes to an individual's identity but also to a collective cultural identity, which includes

those feelings and values in respect of a sense of continuity, shared memories and a sense of common destiny of a given unit of population which has had common experiences and cultural attributes. (Smith 1990: 179)

Said (1993: xiii) additionally points to the fact that “culture [...] differentiates ‘us’ from ‘them’, almost always with some degree of xenophobia. Culture in this sense is a source of identity” and it should become clear then that influences from other societies (even more so if they come from such a powerful nation as the United States) are often seen as a threat; a threat to one's culture and thus also to one's (cultural) identity. Tomlinson furthermore mentions that

[o]nce upon a time, before the era of globalization, there existed local, autonomous, distinct and well-defined, robust and culturally sustaining connections between geographical place and cultural experience. These connections constituted one's – and one's community's – ‘cultural identity’. [...] But it was also discovered to be something fragile that needed protecting and preserving, that could be lost. [...] Globalization, so the story goes, has swept like a flood tide through the world's diverse cultures, destroying stable localities, displacing peoples, bringing a market-driven, ‘branded’ homogenization of cultural experience, thus obliterating the differences between locality-defined cultures which had constituted our identities. (Tomlinson 2003: 269)

These issues of cultural identity most likely explain why America's impact on the Austrian Christmas tradition is so critically debated by Austrians.<sup>31</sup> People's fear of losing parts of their culture to more dominant cultural imports may be even greater if there have been negative feelings towards that particular culture in the first place. So if Austrians do not agree with American politics, economics, its value system, or if they think of American culture as inferior to European culture, they do not only feel threatened by U.S. cultural imports overriding their own culture but may also refuse to accept the meanings that lie behind these products – the perfect breeding ground for new hybridities. Exactly for this reason, it is claimed by some scholars that forces of Americanization and/or globalization processes are far from destroying cultural diversities, and therefore also identities, but even help to create and proliferate them because the resistance, so it is argued, “produces ‘identity’ where none existed” (Tomlinson 2003: 273; see also Jandt 2007: 12). As will be seen later, it indeed gives the impression that the persistence of Austrian traditions and icons is more evident than ever before.

---

<sup>31</sup> Examples of such debates will be given in Part II.

However, it also needs to be understood that the consumption of certain cultural imports is not necessarily a conscious statement of one's cultural identity. Gordon Mathews gives the example of a Buddhist mandala chosen by a Western person for home décor, not because of the religious belief system behind it but simply because it is aesthetically appealing (see Mathews 2000: 21). Similarly, it could be argued that many Austrians consume American Christmas decorations including American symbols, for example, only because they think it is 'cool, hip, modern', and not because they want to take over American meanings, values, and traditions. While some people are concerned that global dominant brands and products, such as Coca-Cola, McDonald's, or Santa Claus, will eventually swamp out people's cultures and identities, others are convinced that this will never happen since such commodities are continuously re-interpreted and appropriated to their new context.

In short, it remains important what objects actually mean to people when they consume them. Although the empirical analysis of this paper will only investigate the frequency of American features in the representation of Christmas in Austrian magazines and not their meanings, one can nonetheless draw conclusions from their correlation to Austrian features. If it comes out that American characteristics occur next to Austrian ones, if they mix and mingle and co-exist in an Austrian context, one may argue that this condition is an example of exactly what has been argued so often, namely the hybridization of cultural texts where new forms are incorporated into an already existing cultural system. Without doubt however, these systems change and Austrian culture as we perceive it today is different to older generations. Especially people born after World War II, who grew up with MTV, CNN, and the internet will most likely demonstrate greater tolerance towards global developments than their parents or grandparents.

### **5.5. Concluding note on globalization and Americanization processes**

Although the empirical study focuses solely on American influences on a single cultural event in Austria, it was necessary to first discuss globalization and Americanization processes and the resistance towards Americanisms in order to clarify and understand the premises for such influences. Hence, several concepts and theories, such as a 'shrinking world', a 'global village', 'glocalization', and 'grobalization', were put into context, demonstrating that everything and anything is well connected. It was mentioned that some see in this 'connectedness' advantages

and do believe in continuing (or even increasing) hybridity of local customs and culture, while others fear a growing sameness (i.e. homogeneity) of the world.

Moreover, Americanization was portrayed from different angles, discussing the ideas behind (American) hegemony and (American) cultural imperialism, but also finding contrasting and overlapping aspects of Americanization and globalization. This way, it was shown that binary distinctions (such as the 'Americanization vs. globalization'-distinction) cannot be applied satisfactorily in all cases. In addition, aspects of capitalism, commercialism, and consumer culture were highlighted to further locate America's role in the world.

After a concrete discussion of American influences in Europe and Austria since 1945, the last pages of Part I dealt with anti-Americanism and general tendencies to see the United States and U.S. culture as a threat. Thus, it was shown that different opinions towards America matter significantly in the whole process of Americanization, which is crucial to consider when going on to read Part II and Part III of this paper. Therefore, it is now possible to move on to the core study: the investigation of the meaning of Christmas in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, particularly Christmas in Austria.



**PART II**  
**CULTURAL STUDIES IN USE**



## 6. Christmas in the 21<sup>st</sup> century – a global *and* local festival

Christmas is often referred to as '*the global festival*' since it is celebrated all over the world, not only in Christian areas, but also in societies with other religions, or officially atheist countries, such as China and Japan (see Miller 1993: 5; Connelly 2000: 1). When John Tomlinson (1999: 85) suggested that "a large proportion of cultural practices in modernity have become commodified – turned into things which are bought and sold" - he could have easily been referring to the cultural practice of Christmas. Taking it even farther, some argue that Christmas is a socio-economic and cultural practice shaped by the United States and exported to nations all across the globe (see McKay 2008: 50ff). Daniel Miller (1993: 5) attributes the phenomenon of Christmas being the global festival partly to "the influence of American troops in the Second World War". Furthermore, Claude Lévi-Strauss explains that

the cinema, [...] American novels, [and] articles in the national press have all introduced American customs that are backed up with American economic and military power. It is even possible that the Marshall Plan, directly or indirectly, may have encouraged the import of various products linked to the rites of Christmas. (Lévi-Strauss 1993: 41)

All of these arguments indicate the direction of discussion contained in the following pages, namely America's contribution to what may be perceived as "*the global festival*" (Miller 1993: 5) – Christmas in the 21<sup>st</sup> century (see also Lévi-Strauss 1993: 40).

However, coinciding with the main argument of this thesis, but deviating from those of some scholars, Miller suggests contemporary Christmas is

a complex amalgam of heterogeneous customs often specific to nations, regions, or even villages [...] together with tendencies towards the formation of 'global' Christmas symbols and customs. (Miller 1993: 5)

His view of modern Christmas and the role that its analysis plays in the whole debate about globalization and Americanization processes is an indispensable confirmation for the arguments made in this thesis.

In many respects the case-study of Christmas provides the vanguard for the now fashionable studies which come under the term 'local' and 'global'. It demonstrates more securely than any theoretical argument the weaknesses of approaches which posit global homogenization against local heterogeneity. In this case we see clearly that the ability of this festival to become potentially the very epitome of globalization derives from the very same quality of easy syncretism which makes Christmas in each and every place the triumph of localism, the

protector and legitimation for specific regional and particular customs and traditions. [...] Christmas is then the festival *par excellence* of both the local and the global. (Miller 1993: 25)

Therefore, modern Christmas should be regarded as a cultural practice which is indeed responsive to globalization and Americanization processes, yet still resistant to the eradication of local symbols, rituals, and traditions that are deeply rooted in each culture. It may be useful at this point, however, to roughly depict what Christmas in America looks like and reflect on its origins and developments.

### **6.1. Christmas in America**

Examination of the evolution and historical developments of Christmas in the United States has deep roots in European tradition. Penne Restad provides an apt outline of the origin and developments of Christmas in America and suggests that the way it is celebrated today mainly has its roots in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when commerce, communications, and industry started to flourish (see Restad 1995: 29). However, most American Christmas customs and rituals were initially imported by Europeans, which is the reason why some call American Christmas a “European hand-me-down, and often suggest [...] that Americans still had not grasped an authentic feeling for the festival” (ibid. 106). Some of these European customs and rituals include the trimming of the Christmas tree from the German tradition, the filling of stockings from the Dutch tradition, the sending of Christmas cards from the British culture, and the manger taken over from the Italians, to name just a few (see Miller 1993: 4, 13). Restad (1995: 115) further explains that the adoption of these cultural practices is the perfect example of “cultural assimilation” – for once, by the Americans. So even though Americans may tend to claim these traditions as their own (see ibid. 122), Christmas in the U.S. was actually originated and shaped by Europeans.

Now it may seem ridiculous to question the American influences on the European (i.e. Austrian) Christmas traditions if all American Christmas traditions were initially European. However, there are two main reasons for this particular interest of American influences on Christmas in Austria. First, there appears to be a great amount of literature dealing with the American Christmas and its European precursors, which means that there has already been much research done in this area. Second, it is exactly this peculiar discrepancy, namely that Christmas in the 21<sup>st</sup>



century is claimed to have been Americanized, even though Christmas in America originated from European culture in the first place. But as Restad mentions,

[b]y the 1880s Americans had reinvented Christmas. They culled a pastiche of customs and rituals from the past, originated modern traditions, and placed upon the entire holiday a meaning and order fit for their own (Restad 1995: 105)

The cultural processes and developments between Europe and the United States might be best described by the idea of 'Europe becoming a colony of its own colony'. Although this concept is drastically simplified, historical facts suggest that American culture stems considerably from European customs and traditions. Nonetheless, Americans adopted, assimilated, and transformed these customs and traditions as well as invented their own. American culture today is returned to Europe in a modified way (and additionally exported to other parts of the world as well) particularly via the media.

Much of what determines Christmas as *the* global event has to do with the American Santa Claus, American consumerism and commerce, and the English language. However, for the purposes of this empirical study, the symbols that are regarded as 'American influences' had to first be determined. Since most of the U.S. Christmas customs originated in Europe, they are also treated as European in the secondary literature. However, after a thorough investigation of the literature concerning Christmas in Austria it soon became clear which symbols were not known or used earlier in Austrian history. A few symbols that can be considered 'typical' American have been singled out and identified as having entered Austrian culture; they can now be observed everywhere. These symbols include Santa Claus, Santa's hat, the reindeer sleigh, Rudolph the red-nosed reindeer, and Christmas stockings. In addition, American expressions are included in the quantitative content analysis as well. The aspect of American commercialism and consumption is not investigated in the quantitative content analysis but in the hermeneutic interpretation of the magazines.

## **6.2. The American Santa Claus**

It is argued that many American Christmas symbols have been created in order to increase profits. A prime example, Santa Claus, has thus been called "the deity of

materialism” (Miller 1993: 20), “a sacred figure for a secular world” (Belk 1993: 82) or “a symbol of material abundance and hedonistic pleasure” (ibid. 83).



Figure 2: Santa Claus by Thomas Nast (pictured in the Jan. 1, 1881 issue of *Harper's Weekly*; taken from <http://picturehistory.com/product/id/9963>, 8 Feb. 2011)



Figure 3: Coca-Cola Santa Claus by Haddon Sundblom (taken from <http://coca-cola-art.com/2008/11/25/coca-cola-christmas-santa-claus-haddon-sundblom/>, 8 Feb. 2011)

Although Santa Claus is “the result of a syncretic fusion of several different characters” (Lévi-Strauss 1993: 46) brought to the United States by European immigrants (i.e. Abbé de Liesse, the child-bishop, Père Noel, Sinter Klaas, Jules Missen, Father Christmas, and Saint Nicholas; see Lévi Strauss 1993: 46; Belk 1993: 77; Connelly 2000: 3), Santa Claus as we know him today is the product of American advertisement and commercialism, particularly in connection with the Coca-Cola Company. His contemporary image gradually emerged during the 1860’s with the *Harper’s Weekly* drawings by Thomas Nast (Figure 2), originally from the Netherlands, but emigrated to the U.S. in 1846. During the 1930’s, the image of the modern Santa Claus was standardized through the Coca-Cola advertisements by Haddon Sundblom (Figure 3). It was Sundblom who originally endowed Santa Claus with the white fur accents on his red garment in an effort to represent the company’s colors (see Becker-Huberti 2007: 429; Storey 2008: 21f; <http://coca-cola-art.com/2008/11/25/coca-cola-christmas-santa-claus-haddon-sundblom>, 8 Feb. 2011). The commercial value of Santa Claus must have already been recognized back then;

otherwise, there would not have been a study about the frequency of his appearance in two journals (*Ladies' Home Journal* and *Saturday Evening Post*) with the finding that "20 percent of the Christmas gift advertisements [...] contained illustrations of St. Nick" (Restad 1995: 163).

But what makes Santa Claus so appealing in an international setting? It most certainly has to do with his appearance in movies, television, and advertisements, all of which have tremendous global reach (and success). The influence of American troops in Europe after World War II and their proliferation of American symbols, commodities, and rituals most likely also played a large role in Santa's success overseas. Belk furthermore identifies features which additionally helped to establish Santa's image as a global emblem, such as his lack of religious associations and his representation of modern, Western values, but also that he is a much "more tangible character than his predecessors and counterparts," (Belk 1993: 78) as he can be detected in shopping malls and homes, for instance (see *ibid.* 78ff).

Santa Claus is "a mediator between spiritual and material worlds" (Restad 1995: 143) and thus the perfect representation for a festival that is both the greatest religious and greatest commercial festival on the globe.

### **6.3. Christmas, consumption and commercialism**

Many people around the world complain about the "ever-increasing commercialisation" (Belk 1993: 1) of Christmas, frequently associated with the Americanization of Christmas. While Leigh Eric Schmidt (1991: 888) argues that "[c]ivic, religious, and folk liturgies now intermingled with commercially constructed and manipulated holiday rituals centered on mass consumption," John Storey (2008: 21) points out that contemporary Christmas, as we understand it, was in fact "invented as a commercial festival" and refers to several items that amount to a 'proper' Christmas, including decorations, cards, visiting Santa Claus, and/or buying gifts. All of these things have one thing in common, he claims, "they could be sold for profit" (*ibid.* 21). Therefore, he implies that it makes no sense to "bemoan the fact that Christmas is too commercial" (*ibid.* 21).

However, while this argument may not be entirely wrong it still ought to be recognized that what is perceived as 'contemporary' or 'modern' Christmas was only developed

in the mid-nineteenth century “from diverse regional sources into a single homogenized version” (Miller 1993: 4; see also Weber-Kellermann 1978: 7). Although the celebration of Christmas was on the decline before the age of industrialization (see Belk 1993: 85), it nevertheless existed, only in a slightly different way. Christmas was indeed altered by the emergence of global capitalism, and as this thesis has thoroughly discussed, the United States has played the most significant role in this process. A suiting example of how commercial interest has influenced cultural events in America would be the decision of Congress in 1941 to change the date of Thanksgiving from the last to the fourth Thursday of November so that the Christmas shopping season could be extended to at least four weeks<sup>32</sup> (see Chessman 1990 referred to in Statith 1999: 10). Schmidt points out that there was a general, what he calls, ‘commercialization of the calendar’ which was “forwarded through [...] trade journals, advertising, show windows, and greeting cards” (Schmidt 1991: 888) in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century; and this includes Christmas as well.

What the new urban middle class invented was a Christmas with a firm emphasis on commercialism. Its central organizing figure was Santa Claus/Father Christmas and not Jesus Christ. If a nativity was being celebrated, it was the birth of a market economy underpinned by the new power of industrialization. The profoundly commercial-secular nature of the invention has made possible its incredible international success. Even an officially atheist society like the People’s Republic of China has no difficulty in embracing the festival [...] (Storey 2008: 22)

Next to Santa Claus resides also the character of Rudolph, invented only for marketing purposes of the store chain Montgomery Ward in 1939, functioning as a perfect example for “the American seasonal marketplace” (McKay 2008: 54).

In addition – and despite the (probably accurate) argument that “[a]t least four of the seven deadly sins against which Christianity once railed are now seen by some to be venerated in Christmas celebrations: avarice, gluttony, lust, and envy” (Belk 1993: 75) – the issue of materialism and shopping should not necessarily be separated or regarded as harmful to family relations and other social values. Instead it should be accepted as “an integral part of Christmas [...] as a celebration and recreation of family and friendship” (Carrier 1993: 63). James Carrier therefore argues that the consumption of commercial forms, and particularly the exchange of presents, supports rather than destroys social relations. He claims that Christmas shopping has

---

<sup>32</sup> A similar example, although not as concrete and severe, can be given for Austria as well. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century the Christmas market in Salzburg lasted from November 11 thru December 29. People nowadays, wanting to increase their profits, argue for the timely extension of the contemporary Christmas market by referring back to this period.

become a ritual where commodities are converted into gifts and thus “create a sphere of familial love in the face of a world of money” (ibid. 63).

The thing given at Christmas is a material object, usually a commodity bought in a crowded, garishly decorated store. But it is also a vehicle of affection that expresses private sentiment within a relationship that is personal and probably familial. [...] On the one hand it is a commodity purchased for money in an impersonal transaction, and on the other it is a gift given to express affection in a personal relationship. (Carrier 1993: 55)

As was discussed in Part I, Western societies are consumer societies and it therefore comes naturally that “consumption has become the vehicle (not only in gifts, but in decoration and feasting) for celebrating family, friends, and community at Christmas” (Belk 1993: 96).

#### **6.4. Christmas on the screen**

Scholars who have concentrated on the analysis of modern Christmas seem to share the belief that this festival is, to a large extent, a construct of the media and popular culture; more specifically a construct primarily shaped by the *American* media and popular culture (see Mundy 2008: 12). Mark Connelly is convinced that

[t]he reason why Christmas is known everywhere is simple – cinema. Cinema has shown people what the festival of Christmas is like, particularly how it is celebrated in America, more than any other medium. (Connelly 2000: 1)

This argument is also supported by Restad who states that

[i]n its reach for bigger audiences, media recreated Christmas in the language of the twentieth century. [...] Its portrayals of Christmas [...] sketched a familiar outline of modern life that sharpened the dialectic between the spiritual and the material, and ultimately located in the holiday a commentary on American life. (Restad 1995: 164)

Christmas can be understood as a construct in many different ways, but above all it is an “ideological package” (Whiteley 2008: 12) of the family, friendship, community, home, goodwill, love, peace, and generosity, but also consumerism (see Brabazon 2008: 151). Many scholars, including John Mundy (2008: 165), claim that this construct, and more specifically “[t]he visual realm to our cultural understanding and engagement with Christmas was maintained throughout the twentieth century by the movies”. Mundy refers to this phenomenon as the “hegemony of the American Christmas”. Restad further points to the fact that a quarter of the motion pictures released during the late 1980s and early 1990s have at least one scene with an

(American) Christmas icon<sup>33</sup> even if the central theme may not be Christmas itself (see Restad 1995: 170f). A few examples of American Christmas-themed movies include: *Holiday Inn*, *It's a wonderful life*, *Miracle on 34<sup>th</sup> Street* (which were some of the first ones), but also more recent productions such as *Home alone 1+2* or *The Santa Clause* trilogy; all of which have obviously influenced the way the world envisions Christmas.

## 6.5. Symbols, heroes, rituals and values

It may have become clear in the course of this thesis that the term 'culture' can be interpreted in various ways and that it would be quite challenging (if not impossible) to create a list of certain features and practices that define a particular culture. However, Geert Hofstede seems to have found a suitable solution to the problem of exploring particular differences in cultural manifestations by establishing a set of categories; 'symbols', 'heroes', 'rituals', and 'values' (see Hofstede 1997: 7). 'Symbols' constitute the shallowest manifestations of a culture, while 'values' are the deepest, and 'heroes' and 'rituals' lie somewhere in-between (see *ibid.* 8). The first three categories (i.e. symbols, heroes, and rituals) can be identified even by outsiders; however, often their true cultural meaning is not as easily understood.

Even though symbols – consisting of images and words – remain on the surface of cultural meaning they are nonetheless the most relevant aspects for this study; not least because they can be best investigated in magazines. After all, the study only aims at exploring the *representation* of Christmas in Austria and not how it is actually celebrated or which meanings and values lie behind it.<sup>34</sup>

With 'heroes', Hofstede refers to persons (both extant in nature and fictive) possessing certain traits well respected by a society (see *ibid.* 8). In the case of Santa Claus, however, it becomes observable how diffuse such boundaries can be in regards to cultural adoption and assimilation. While Santa Claus in Austria only serves as a representative of Christmas – and maybe also consumption and commercialism – his meaning is much more significant in the U.S. More precisely,

---

<sup>33</sup> This means that Christmas was mentioned, a Christmas tree displayed, or the melody of a carol heard in the background (see Restad 1995: 170f).

<sup>34</sup> These aspects could only be ascertained via interviews and surveys.

while in Austrian culture Santa Claus is more or less only a 'symbol', in American culture he is a 'hero'. However, because of the ambiguous meanings lying behind this figure, Santa Claus is included in the category of 'symbols' in this study and the category of 'heroes' is omitted.

The third of Hofstede's categories, 'rituals', depicts collective activities actually useless for an aspired goal but nonetheless indispensable for sociality (see *ibid.* 8f). In the case of Christmas these would be, for example, any type of (religious) ceremonies, carols or other traditional acts. Restad (1995: 155) writes about how Americans "had come to associate a distinct set of rituals, expectation, and attitudes with Christmas." Among these rituals he mentions gathering with the family, trimming the Christmas tree, or sending Christmas cards. However, since these rituals have also already long existed in Austrian culture it appears to be rather difficult to identify specific rituals that are only characteristic of the early U.S.<sup>35</sup> This most likely has to do with historical developments as European emigrants initially introduced most traditions. Therefore, concerning the category 'rituals', the focus of the empirical study lies upon Austrian traditions and to what extent these (represented by symbols) are still present in the media. After all, it is not only relevant how much America has influenced the representation of Christmas in Austria but also whether Austrian characteristics still remain visible.

A ritual that could be considered particularly American has to do with America's proliferation of consumerist and commercial culture, as discussed in chapter 3.3. Although the ritual of gift-giving and decorating was not invented by Americans, it has nonetheless reached enormous dimensions based on developments in the culture of consumption associated with the United States. This view is supported by Belk, for example, who mentions the American Macy's Department Store, in particular, heavily advertising Christmas gifts by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (see Belk 2003: 90). Thus "Christmas window displays of manufactured goods became a part of the promotion of Christmas buying and gift-giving" (*ibid.* 90). In addition, Belk refers to Waits' doctoral thesis in which he claims that already between 1880 and 1920 "popular American magazine advertising in November and December began to encourage the purchase of manufactured gifts [...and that] Santa Claus featured prominently in

---

<sup>35</sup> When proofreading this paper, my Canadian friend pointed out that the custom of setting out milk and cookies for Santa Claus and/or leaving a carrot for Rudolph on Christmas Eve is 'typically', and also uniquely, (North) American. And of course she is right. However, these customs have not been included in the later analysis since it is safe to say that they have not reached/influenced Austrian culture until this point in time in any way.

these ads” (Waits 1978 referred to in Belk 2003: 90). Schmidt (1991: 913) is also positive that “the commercialization of the calendar became a pervasive part of American culture”. All of these statements support the argument that the commercialization of Christmas in the 20<sup>th</sup> century has mainly been emanating from the United States. At the same time however, Schmidt asserts that

[a]t Christmas [...], religious, folk, and familial elements remained all along as crucial as the commercial; indeed, it was the very strength of these other dimensions of the celebrations that made commercialization so effective. [...] The commercial culture did not delimit the multilayered meanings of the holidays; it built upon this polysemy. (Schmidt 1991: 915f)

It will be seen in the results of the hermeneutic interpretation whether this really holds true for the representation of Christmas in Austrian magazines.

The fourth category, ‘values’, is most deeply rooted in societies and therefore also most difficult to explore. Although Connelly (2000: 3) claims that “the values of Christmas have become those of America, or vice versa”<sup>36</sup> it would be much too vague to pin down specific values as American which have through Americanization now become predominant in Europe as well. Even Hofstede himself admits,

Der Versuch, für eine systematische Untersuchung von Werten diese aus den Handlungen der Menschen zu erschließen, ist aufwendig und führt nicht zu eindeutigen Ergebnissen.<sup>37</sup> (Hofstede 1997: 9)

The focus of the empirical study thus remains upon the visual iconography (i.e. the category ‘symbols’) of Christmas that can be more accurately defined. It would simply be inappropriate to make any further assumptions by solely analyzing the print media.<sup>38</sup> Even though Christkind could probably be included in the category of ‘heroes’, it will also be subsumed under ‘symbols’ as it should be in the same grouping as Santa Claus who has, at least in Austrian culture, certainly not reached the status of a hero yet.

The most iconic advertising figures but at the same time also most ‘American’<sup>39</sup> symbols that have generated a global appeal are definitely the ‘Coca-Cola Santa

---

<sup>36</sup> Such values are, for example: home, family, community, goodwill, charity (see Agajanian 2000: 145)

<sup>37</sup> *The attempt to systematically investigate values only by considering people’s actions is complex and does not necessarily lead to clear results.*

<sup>38</sup> Interviews and surveys are a possible research method to gain deeper insight as regards values, for example. But also a more detailed examination of Austrian Christmas rituals and possible American influences in this area could be further investigated with such instruments.

<sup>39</sup> It is referred to these symbols as ‘most American’ since they truly have their origins in the United States.



Claus' and Rudolph the red-nosed reindeer (see Whiteley 2008: 2), which is why they represent the most important symbols for American influence. But “[i]n what ways can iconic advertising figures like the Coca-Cola Santa help us to address questions of the Americanisation of Christmas?” (McKay 2008: 62) And furthermore, “[c]an we consider Santa, and his load of presents, as a global emblem of American-modelled or led consumption?” (ibid. 62f) By raising these questions, George McKay scrutinizes exactly those issues which are the main concern of this thesis and the empirical study specifically. By also considering Belk’s arguments it becomes clear that one can definitely establish a connection between the prevalence of Santa Claus in Austrian public space, as well as the power of consumerism, and the Americanization of Christmas in Austria. “This diaspora of the American Santa Claus is not unlike the diaspora of Coca-Cola as an emblem of American modernity” (Belk 1993: 82). McKay (2008: 63) finally concludes that “external forms of American popular consumption (or the consumption of America) have inscribed within them variously power, pleasure and fear.” The issue of power will be partly explored in the empirical study by considering the frequency of Americanisms in the magazines and their relation to the frequency of Austrian characteristics. It can then be explored whether Americanisms already hold a dominant position in Austrian culture, or at least in the representation of an Austrian cultural event in the print media. Similarly, one can draw conclusions about the pleasure these Americanisms offer if they appear in the magazines in vast amounts. In what way the consumption of America and its culture causes fear will be observed by the discussion of several public comments found in other types of media, such as the Internet, for example (see chapter 7.2).

## **7. Christmas in Austria**

### **7.1. A ‘typical’ Austrian Christmas?**

Christmas has become a global festival, so people say. To a certain extent this is definitely true and it has been thoroughly explained how Christmas in the 21<sup>st</sup> century can be understood. But it has also been claimed that it is a local festival at the same time; that individual symbols and rituals are still existent and to all appearances will remain extant in the future. So as a next step it needs to be determined which

aspects turn 'Christmas the global festival' into 'Christmas the local, Austrian festival'. It may sound quite simple; most likely every Austrian has a picture in his or her head of how his or her 'typical' Austrian Christmas should look like. But is it possible to call a cultural event and its traditions 'typical' in scientific terms? Particularly in respect to all the claims that have been made about how it is impossible to trace back traditions to a single origin and that culture can never be called finished.

Außerdem sind nicht wenige Bräuche oder Brauchtumselemente von mehreren Völkern, Kulturen und Religionen beeinflusst [sic!] worden [...] Viele Bräuche sind hin und her gewandert, haben einander überschichtet und durchdrungen, vieles wurde übertragen und umgedeutet. [...] Ob man es wahrhaben will oder nicht: man kann nicht in jedem Fall auseinanderklauben und einordnen, was [...] die Völker und Zeiten zusammen gefügt, zusammengewürfelt und verwickelt haben.<sup>40</sup> (Kaufmann 1982: 8f)

So at first glance, it may seem impractical to single out certain symbols and rituals. But local traditions are part of our identities, and in Austria some people feel that their identities are threatened by the (apparently) dominant American culture. And although most academics admit that it is not easy to accurately depict all the different traditions and peculiarities of Austrian Advent and Christmas, there are nonetheless several authors who seem to have found a way to do so. Due to the huge resemblance in their findings there are obviously aspects about Christmas which can be called 'typical' Austrian; although this does not mean that they are *entirely* Austrian. Reinhard Kriechbaum, for instance, writes in the foreword of his book *Weihnachtsbräuche in Österreich*:

Immer wieder haben die Leute, die ich über Weihnachtsbräuche in Österreich befragte, in der Vergangenheitsform geredet, „Früher haben wir...“ [...aber] Brauchtum ist nicht etwas „von gestern“. Das lieb Gewonnene wird nicht nur von der älteren Generation bewahrt, sondern auch von jungen Menschen gerne weitergeführt und oft auch wieder aufgenommen.<sup>41</sup> (Kriechbaum 2010: 11)

Kriechbaum talks about 79 different Austrian customs which are celebrated around Christmas time in Austria. Some of them are only maintained in specific geographic locations, others are well known to all of Austria. However, even though Kriechbaum's extensive study is not discussed any further in this thesis his book is

---

<sup>40</sup> *Many traditions and cultural elements have been influenced by several different ethnic groups, societies, and religions [...] Many customs roamed around and interfused, much has been negotiated and taken on different meanings [...] Whether one wants to see it or not, it is not always possible to separate and categorize that which has been joined by societies and time.*

<sup>41</sup> *Over and over again, people, with who I talked about Christmas customs in Austria, spoke in past tense, such as "in former times we..." [...but] tradition does not mean "outdated". That which is held dear is not only preserved by older generations but is continued and renewed also among the young.*

one more example that 'typical' Austrian Christmas tradition is still alive and actively celebrated.

So backed up by several authors<sup>42</sup> and websites<sup>43</sup> dealing with Austrian Christmas traditions it is therefore possible to talk about consistent and reliable tendencies of what can be considered as a 'typical' Austrian Christmas. Martin Reiter gives a picturesque description:

[In der] Vorweihnachtszeit wird in Österreich [...] gebastelt, dekoriert und vor allem gebacken. Vanillekipferl, Lebkuchen, Zimtsterne, Bratäpfel [...] Für die Kleinen ist es an der Zeit, dem lieben Christkind einen Wunschzettel zu schreiben. Dieser wird am Abend auf das Fensterbrett gelegt, um meist noch in der selben Nacht von diesem geholt zu werden. [...] Zur Tradition gehören auch die unzähligen Christkindlmärkte [...] Der Wiener Christkindlmarkt am Rathausplatz blickt auf eine 700 Jahre lange Tradition zurück.<sup>44</sup> (Reiter 2008: 7)

Also important to note is that Christmas in Austria is celebrated on Christmas Eve, December 24<sup>th</sup>. This is different to many other countries (especially Anglo-Saxon) where gift giving happens on December 25<sup>th</sup> (see Reiter 2008: 121).

Therefore, the aim of the following discussion and analysis is to show some of the most prevalently practiced aspects of Austrian culture. However, it is worth noting that these cultural aspects are highly variable, and thus can not be definitively delineated. Despite the great diversity between different regions, particularly between the cosmopolitan city Vienna and the countryside, there have been a few scholars who came up with what they consider as Christmas in Austria.<sup>45</sup> Based on these collections, the following is an attempt to pick out some characteristics of Advent and Christmas in Austria which will be used also as a guideline for the empirical study. While some general and global aspects have already been discussed in the previous chapters the focus now remains upon symbols which have long been part of Austrian culture and which are necessary to discover in the empirical analysis in order to verify several arguments about hybridity and cultural resistance made in the course of this

---

<sup>42</sup> See e.g. Kriechbaum 2010; Reiter 2008; Sachslehner 2002

<sup>43</sup> See e.g. <http://pro-christkind.at>, 8 Feb. 2011; <http://advent-austria.at>, 8 Feb. 2011

<sup>44</sup> *A typical pre-Christmas season in Austria includes doing handicrafts, decorating, and especially baking; 'Vanillekipferl', 'Lebkuchen', 'Zimtsterne', 'Bratäpfel' [...] For the little ones, this is the time to write their list of wishes to Christkind. These wishes will be put on the windowsill in the evening, hoping for its collection that same night. [...] Another important tradition are the 'Christkindlmärkte' (i.e. Christmas markets) [...] The Viennese Christkindlmarkt, at the town hall square, has existed for more than 700 years.*

<sup>45</sup> The distinction between urban and rural rituals must not be underestimated. However, since it is expected that the representation of the lifestyle of those magazines chosen for analysis corresponds mostly to that of urban life, symbols will only be included if they represent rituals that are common to both rural and urban life.

paper. However, it is very important to be aware of the fact that not all Austrian traditions are of direct Austrian origin. Many symbols and rituals had been developed in the overall German-speaking world and have been shared among these countries until today<sup>46</sup>. Nevertheless, the traditions chosen can be considered as vital and deeply rooted traditions in Austrian culture, even if they originated in Germany.

Furthermore, it needs to be noted once again that the rich diversity of symbols, rituals and other markers of Austrian Christmas culture cannot be entirely grasped by this thesis. While it would also be interesting to investigate which Christmas songs are heard and sang, for example, it is very unlikely to get reliable results from the investigation of magazines. The same holds for the flamboyancy of Christmas lights and other decorations that may be better examined in the field. For this reason, this current study focuses on symbols that are likely to be found in the print media and leaves open enough possibilities to continue further studies with different methods concerning Christmas and Americanisms in Austria.

The symbols of Santa Claus, Santa's hat, Rudolph, the reindeer sleigh, and Christmas stockings have been found to be 'typical' American features. As it is now clear what is considered to be 'American influence', a selection of elements representing Christmas in Austria can now be presented.<sup>47</sup>

### **7.1.1. Christkind**

The figure of Christkind was invented by the German Protestant Martin Luther as a counter-reformation to the Catholic figure of Heiliger Nikolaus (Saint Nicholas) around 1535 (see Becker-Huberti 2007: 428). Quite ironically, Christkind nowadays is particularly symbolic for Catholic homes (see Becker-Huberti 2007: 56). While Christkind is responsible for the delivery of presents on Christmas Eve, there are also several other 'duties' associated with this character. Among them, for example, is the collection of Christmas letters written by children who still believe in its existence.

---

<sup>46</sup> Rüdiger Vossen (1985: 108) categorizes the overall development of Christmas traditions into seven different "Weihnachts-Großregionen" (i.e. main Christmas regions): German-speaking countries, Scandinavia and Finland, Eastern bloc countries and the Eastern church, Romance countries, the Netherlands and Flanders, Anglo-Saxon countries, and the rest of the world.

<sup>47</sup> The Christmas tree is a universal symbol of Christmas and thus not included in the analysis, although – or better-to-say *because* – prevalent in both American and Austrian culture.

Depending on each family, it also brings the Christmas tree, lights its candles and rings a bell when everything is ready (see <http://pro-christkind.net>, 8 Feb. 2011).

The visual image of Christkind is ambiguous, which may explain why Santa Claus is used more often for commercial purposes.

Das Mysterium, wer oder was das Christkind nun eigentlich sei, ist nie aufgeklärt worden. [...] Öffentlich inszenierte Auftritte sind eher selten.<sup>48</sup> (Becker-Huberti 2007: 56)

The most common depiction of Christkind is an angel-like androgynous child with golden, curly hair and a long (often white) robe. However, founder of the Austrian association Pro-Christkind Phillip Tengg points to the uncertainty whether Christkind is male or female, probably arousing out of the vagueness whether Christkind is Jesus himself or his messenger.

In der Krippe liegt natürlich Christus, ein Bub. Beim Christkind hat man dagegen die Assoziation eines Engels, eines Helferleins mit Flügeln. Aber wir unterschätzen auch die Phantasie der Kinder: Da kann die gleiche Figur durchaus einmal weiblich, einmal männlich sein.<sup>49</sup> (Tengg quoted in Groll)

However, over the past years, and perhaps as a result of the intention to put more emphasis on the Austrian icon, the image of Christkind has frequently appeared in public and also been used commercially, taking away a bit of its mystic nature. Since 2004, for example, the official 'Christkindl' (Figure 4) has been an integral part of the Wiener Christkindlmarkt in front of the Viennese city hall. After sending an e-mail to Margit Hammerl, project leader of Wiener Adventzauber and thus responsible also for the Wiener Christkindl, she sent a message explaining that they realized a few years ago that it is necessary to enforce the promotion of Christkind in order to keep Austrian traditions alive.

Liebe Frau Lock! [...] Das Thema Ihrer Diplomarbeit war für uns die Basis zur Christkindl-Suche 2004. Wir haben dafür sogar die Erlaubnis und Unterstützung aus Nürnberg eingeholt, denn dort gib [sic!] es das "Nürnberger Christkind" seit 1948. Medienkontakte, Interviews und meine Mitgliedschaft beim Verein "pro Christkind" haben mich dabei bestärkt, dass wir unsere Traditionen beibehalten sollten. Trotzdem können wir an den Bräuchen anderer Länder und Kulturen nicht achtlos vorbei gehen, denn sonst glauben die Kinder, dass Coca Cola den Santa erfunden hat. Der Glaube der kleinen Kinder ans Christkind

---

<sup>48</sup> *The mystery of who or what Christkind actually is, has never been truly illuminated. [...] Public appearances are rather uncommon.*

<sup>49</sup> *In the manger, there lies Jesus Christ, a boy, of course. Christkind, however, can be associated with an angel, a little helper who has wings. But we underestimate children's imaginations, in which the same figure can either be female or male.*

ist etwas märchenhaftes [sic!] und sollte bewahrt bleiben, auch ohne religiösen Hintergrund.<sup>50</sup> (Hammerl 2011, personal e-mail)



Figure 4: Wiener Christkindl with Viennese mayor Dr. Michael Häupl at the opening of the 'Wiener Christkindlmarkt am Rathausplatz 2008' (Foto: Hans Sauerstein, taken from <http://www.prater.at/NewsDetail.php?id=1081158>, 8 Feb. 2011)



Figure 5: Christkind sign on Linzerstraße in the 15<sup>th</sup> district of Vienna (Foto: Anna-Lena Lock; taken from private collection)

Christkind also increasingly stars in TV commercials, print advertising, and sales promotion. In addition, signs have been put up in certain areas of Vienna, simply showing the image of Christkind (Figure 5). Furthermore, there have been several articles in daily newspapers, telling people about Austrian Christmas traditions and their developments. *Heute*, for instance, has on its title page the headline “Unser Christkind ist ‘erst’ 475 Jahre alt”<sup>51</sup> (*Heute* 2010: 1, Figure 6). Later, on page 9, there are several facts about Christkind’s invention, appearance and meaning. Most important, however, is the possessive pronoun *unser* (i.e. ‘our’) conveying a certain emotiveness of this topic.



Figure 6: Cover of the newspaper *Heute* (taken from *Heute* 1579: 9)

<sup>50</sup> Dear Ms. Lock, [...] The topic of your thesis was the main starting point of our search for ‘Christkindl’ in 2004. We even asked for permission and support from Nürnberg, where the Christkind of Nürnberg exists since 1948. Interviews with the media and my membership of the Pro-Christkind society confirmed that we should maintain our traditions. However, we must not ignore other cultures and traditions; otherwise our children will believe that Coca-Cola invented Santa Claus. The fact that little children still believe in Christkind is magical and should be enshrined, even without any religious background.

<sup>51</sup> “Our Christkind is ‘only’ 475 years old”

All of these examples of public appearances of Christkind indicate that there is an increasing awareness of its cultural significance and illustrate that not only Santa Claus can be used for commercial purposes.<sup>52</sup>

### 7.1.2. Nikolo and Krampus



Figure 7: A visit from Nikolo and Krampus (Water color: Franz Xaver, 1820, painted for a Viennese mercantile family; taken from Sachslehner 2002: 19)

Begleitet vom Krampus, der fantasievoll ausstraffierten Verkörperung des strafenden Bösen, erscheint der heilige Nikolaus mit Bischofsmütze und Stab und beginnt sein strenges Examen der Kinder, bei zufrieden stellendem Ergebnis gibt es die Geschenke, bei weniger überzeugendem Resultat kann es neben diesen auch noch Rutenhiebe vom Krampus geben.<sup>53</sup> (Sachslehner 2002:

21f)

According to Martin Reiter, the cult of Saint Nicholas (in German Nikolaus or Nikolo) came to Austria in the 11<sup>th</sup> century and was celebrated with his companion Krampus ever since the 17<sup>th</sup> century on December 6 (see Reiter 2008: 49). Initially, it was solely Nikolo who was associated with the ritual of gift-giving, only later was this assignment given to Christkind and Santa Claus. The tradition of secretly bringing the presents over night goes back to Saint Nicholas (see Becker-Huberti 2007: 420). Nikolo often visits kindergartens and schools. At home, children put their polished shoes on the window sill or the door mat in the evening of December 5<sup>th</sup> in hope to find them filled with sweets (nuts, tangerines, chocolate, lebkuchen, etc.) and small gifts (from Nikolo) the next morning (see Reiter 2008: 51).

In many countries, Nikolaus, who always represents the good, is accompanied by a dark, devil-like creature symbolizing the bad and feared by children. In Austria this figure is called Krampus. The tradition became popular during the mid-seventeenth

<sup>52</sup> For further examples of public comments related to these issues see chapter 7.2.

<sup>53</sup> *Accompanied by Krampus, who is the imaginary epitomization of the punitive bad, holy Nicolas appears with his miter and crozier and begins his austere examination of the children. If the result is satisfying, the children get presents, if the result is not satisfying, the children may additionally receive spansks with Krampus' rod.*

century and is celebrated on December 5<sup>th</sup> (see Reiter 2008: 49, 51). In general, Krampus is black-furred, often carrying a chain and/or a rod with which he threatens to punish nasty children. Sachslehner describes his appearance as follows:

Krampus, eine Schreckgestalt mit Hörnern auf dem Kopfe und mit heraushängender roter Zunge, in dichten Pelz verummmt und mit rasselnder Kette.<sup>54</sup> (Sachslehner 2002: 21)

Especially on the countryside there have evolved several traditions around this dark figure.<sup>55</sup> Each one slightly differs in costumes and performances showing that there is still a rich diversity in commemorating the folklore.

Begegnungen mit Krampuspassen am 5. Dezember und in den Tagen vorher sind im Alpenraum beinahe unvermeidlich: Kein Brauch hat einen solchen Boom erlebt wie die Krampusläufe.<sup>56</sup> (Kriechbaum 2010: 49)



Figure 8: Nikolo and Krampus at Windorf, Styria (taken from Hörandner 1993: 5)

Oftentimes however, these rituals degenerate into aggressive violations against passersby but also among members of these groups.

Überhaupt sei es besser [...] den Rietzer Teufeln nach sechs Uhr abends nicht mehr zu begegnen. Denn übermütige und mit Schnaps gut aufgetankte Krampusse suchen durchaus die Nähe, vor allem

---

<sup>54</sup> *Krampus – a terrifying figure with horns on his head, his red tongue hanging out, covered in thick fur, and with a rattling chain.*

<sup>55</sup> In his study of contemporary Austrian Christmas traditions, Reinhard Kriechbaum explains several different rituals of celebrating Nikolo and Krampus on the countryside, referring to the 'Niglons' in Bad Mitterndorf (Styria), 'Rotsohler' in Veitsch im Mürztal (Styria), 'Tuifl' of Rietz bei Telfs (Tyrol), 'Krampuslauf' in Suetschach (Carinthia), 'Thomasniglo' in Gams bei Hieflau (Styria), and to several other 'Passen' in upper Austria, Salzburg, Carinthia, and Tyrol.

<sup>56</sup> *In the Alps region, encounters with Krampus groups on December 5<sup>th</sup> and the days before are almost ineluctable. There is no other custom that has become more popular than Krampus processions.*



junger Frauen.<sup>57</sup> (Kriechbaum 2010: 47, referring to a group in Ritz in Tyrol)

In contrast to rural areas, in Vienna attitudes towards Krampus are rather negative. While Nikolo is popular as always, the tradition of his dark companion seems to be on the decline. This is not because of Americanization processes however, but rather because of the doubtful pedagogy<sup>58</sup> behind it which is by many people perceived as outdated (see Sachslehner 2002: 24f). The newspaper *Heute*, for example, reports that only very few people still want Krampus to accompany Nikolo on his home visits.

Im Gegensatz zu ländlichen Gebieten, wo der Nikolo nach wie vor sämtliche Auftritte gemeinsam mit seinem Kompagnon absolviert, zeichnet sich in den Städten ein eindeutiger Trend ab. Bis zu 94 Prozent der Hausbesuche in Wien finden bereits ohne die Schreckensgestalt statt.<sup>59</sup> (*Heute* 1565: 10)

This is also confirmed by the fact that the company of [www.nikolo.at](http://www.nikolo.at) receives about 50 requests a day for Nikolo home visits whereas only three people, on the average, want his companion Krampus to come along (see *Heute* 1565: 10).

### 7.1.3. Adventkalender

Invented by the Protestants, the first Adventkalender appeared in the mid-nineteenth century. While they were initially candles, Christmas clocks, tear-off calendars or simple chalk marks, a publisher in Munich was the first to print the Adventkalender as it is known today at the very beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. However, it was only in the 1950s that the Adventkalender became popular among the broad masses. Illustrated with different Christmas pictures it is more correctly a 'December calendar' since there are 24 little windows to be opened from December 1 to 24 (see Becker-Huberti 2007: 11; Reiter 2008: 17). Today, these calendars are often filled with chocolate or other sweets. Moreover, in many cases it is not necessarily a paper calendar (Figure 9); it could be made of wood or fabric and take on various different forms (Figure 10). Even public buildings are frequently transformed into huge Adventkalenders.

---

<sup>57</sup> *It is better to not meet any of those 'Rietzer Teufeln' after six o'clock in the evening. The exuberant and Schnaps-filled 'Krampusse' are indeed looking for closeness, especially in regards to young women.*

<sup>58</sup> Kriechbaum (2010: 51) calls the tradition of Krampus "angewandte schwarze Religionspädagogik" (i.e. applied 'black' pedagogy of religion)

<sup>59</sup> *In contrast to rural areas, where Nikolo still appears together with his companion, urban centers seem to have become more and more 'anti-Krampus'. About 94 percent of the home visits by Nikolo in Vienna already happen without the figure of Krampus.*

Examples would be the Viennese town hall (Figure 11) or the Liebburg in Lienz, Tyrol. As regards the latter of the two, local artists put their works in the windows which are opened day by day. Each project can be bought and the money spent for charity (see Kriechbaum 2010: 18).



Figure 9: Adventkalender, paper (from 1933, Österr. Museum für Volkskunde; taken from Sachslehner 2002: 51)



Figure 10: Adventkalender, little boxes (taken from <http://coolegeschenke.at/adventskalender-24-doschen-in-herzform/>, 8 Feb. 2011)



Figure 11: Adventkalender, Viennese town hall (taken from <http://gschwandnergasse.blog.de/2008/11/30/adventskalender-rathaus-wien-5137302/>, 8 Feb. 2011)

#### 7.1.4. Adventkranz

The tradition of the Adventkranz also originated in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and became a symbol for the Christmas season in German-speaking countries (see Becker-Huberti 2007: 11). However, in Austria it was only introduced in the 1930s, in some parts not until after World War II (see Reiter 2008: 15). A wreath made of fir branches holds four candles and each Sunday in Advent one more candle is lit. In contrast to the Adventkalender, which only counts the days until Christmas during the calendar month December, the Adventkranz represents the entire Advent. It symbolizes community as its candles are usually lit among others, particularly in the circle of family but also in school, for example.



Figure 12: Adventkranz (taken from <http://rot-holl.at/archiv/braeuche-1/adventkranz/12180.html>, 8 Feb. 2011)

### 7.1.5. Christkindlmarkt

In the course of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, it became tradition to allow craftsmen to sell toys and sweets at the market place during the Christmas season. (see Becker-Huberti 2007: 430) This tradition has been preserved until today and is greatly celebrated everywhere in Austria. “Kein Ort, kein Schloshof heutzutage ohne Weihnachtsmarkt”<sup>60</sup> (Kriechbaum 2010: 11).



Figure 13: Weihnachtsmarkt Hellbrunn, Salzburg (Foto: Sulzer/Schlossverwaltung Hellbrunn; taken from [http://imkerhof-salzburg.at/portal/index.php?Itemid=83&id=72&option=com\\_content&task=view](http://imkerhof-salzburg.at/portal/index.php?Itemid=83&id=72&option=com_content&task=view), 8 Feb. 2011)

Besides these six Austrian symbols connected to certain rituals, several authors and websites also mention the importance of the nativity scene, the tradition of the ‘Barbarazweig’ on December 4<sup>th</sup>, the figure of Holy Lucia (‘Luziennacht’) celebrated on December 13<sup>th</sup>, the reading of the ‘Weihnachtsevangelium’ on Christmas Eve, going to the Christmas Mass, or the rather new tradition of the Friedenslicht<sup>61</sup>, to name a few examples. It should be noted that the ‘typical’ Austrian Christmas, as defined by scholars, websites, newspapers, and so on, is by no means narrowed down to only these six symbols and rituals. However, it was necessary to pick out a few representatives of the Austrian Christmas tradition so that an equal number of Austrian as American characteristics were available for analysis. For this reason, they are limited to those six symbols which were found to be most common and most likely to be portrayed in the magazines.

<sup>60</sup> *Nowadays, there is no town, no castle courtyard, without a Christmas market.*

<sup>61</sup> The Friedenslicht (i.e. ‘Light of Peace’) was invented only in 1986 by the Austrian Broadcasting Corporation ORF for the charity mission ‘Licht ins Dunkel’. Ever since it has been a symbol for Christmas peace all throughout Europe. It is therefore a suiting example of how culture develops and new traditions evolve throughout time (see Reiter 2008: 69; Kriechbaum 2010: 108f).

## 7.2. 'Christkind vs. Santa Claus' – Initiatives and public comments

Whether Santa Claus has managed to dominate Austrian public space over Christkind remains one of the most significant issues of this thesis. Since there is no (reliable) contemporary study available that examines the legends told in Austrian homes, only inferences can be made by investigating advertisements, newspaper articles, forums' entries, and other comments made in the public sphere. While it is argued that the American Santa Claus has indeed influenced the representation of Christmas in Austria and thus appears in Austrian public space regularly, it is at the same time expected that the legend of Christkind is so deeply rooted in Austrian culture that it still co-exists with Santa Claus.

In Österreich bringt nach wie vor das „Christkindl“ die Geschenke und nicht irgendein rotgekleideter ‚Hoho‘ brüllender Weihnachtsmann, der sich durch den Kamin ins Wohnzimmer zwängt.<sup>62</sup> (Reiter 2008: 7)

At this point, however, the role of Germany needs to be considered more closely. While in Austrian culture there was initially only Christkind responsible for delivering gifts to the children, in Germany Weihnachtsmann and Christkind have co-existed ever since the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (see Becker-Huberti 2007: 428). Weber-Kellermann points to a survey conducted in 1932, which reveals that in Western and Southern Germany children mainly believe in Christkind while in Northern and most parts of Eastern Germany most kids believed in Weihnachtsmann (see Weber-Kellermann 1978: 98; Becker-Huberti 2007: 428f). This aspect is relevant for this paper for two reasons. First, it shows that Christkind and Weihnachtsmann (or Santa Claus) can indeed co-exist. Second, it is assumed that the appearance of such a figure (i.e. Weihnachtsmann/Santa Claus) is not only the result of Americanization but also due to German influence.

### 7.2.1. Anti-Santa and Pro-Christkind initiations

Since the fear of Santa Claus eventually pushing away Christkind continues to exist in Austrian mentality, countless debates and initiations to 'rescue' Christkind have been called into action. Among them, for example, is the association called 'Pro

---

<sup>62</sup> *In Austria, it is still Christkind who brings the presents, and not some red-dressed ‚hoho‘ shouting Santa Claus, forcing himself through the chimney into the living room.*

Christkind', founded in 1998<sup>63</sup> in Innsbruck. On their website, they explain the variety of motives for their mission:

Den einen geht es darum, dass nicht ausgerechnet das größte Geburtstagsfest des Jahres ohne das Geburtstagskind gefeiert wird. Anderen geht es vor allem darum, die reiche Advent- und Weihnachtskultur in unseren Breiten als Teil der kulturellen Vielfalt auf unserem Planeten zu erhalten. Wieder anderen ist die Bedeutung des wechselvollen Jahresreigens und der stillsten Zeit des Jahres für unser Wohlbefinden besonders wichtig.<sup>64</sup> (<http://pro-christkind.net>, 8 Feb. 2011)

Until 2003 Pro-Christkind was also known for their rather provocative logo of crossed-out Santa Claus to emphasize that Advent and Christmas in Austria should not be only associated with money and stress, two attributes which the association relates to Santa Claus (see <http://pro-christkind.net>, 8 Feb. 2011). However, the society became known internationally and started to be heavily criticized (particularly by the U.S.) for their anti-Santa campaign (see Cain 2009). Eventually they replaced the anti-Santa emblem (Figure 14) by a



**Figure 14: Initial emblem of the society Pro-Christkind (taken from <http://telegraph.co.uk/topics/christmas/6685688/Austria-moves-to-ban-Father-Christmas.html>, 8 Feb. 2011)**

Lebkuchen star of Bethlehem and have since tried to avoid discrimination against other cultures and people who believe in Santa Claus.

Another organization, Postamt Christkindl, has the same intentions as Pro-Christkind, to enforce and support the tradition of Christkind. Postamt Christkindl is an institution to which people can send their Christmas letters and have them stamped with a unique Austrian Christmas stamp. It was founded in 1950 and is located in the small town called Christkindl near Steyr in Upper Austria. While in the first year alone, they sent 42,000 cards and letters within Austria, there have been more than 2 million mail items transmitted to places all across the globe each year for the past decade. The post office opens its doors every year from November 20 to January 6 (see Reiter 2008: 67).

---

<sup>63</sup> It became an association in 2000.

<sup>64</sup> *Some care about the fact that the biggest birthday party of the year simply needs to be celebrated with the birthday child. Others want to preserve the richness and diversity of different local Advent and Christmas traditions across the world. And still others merely like the true meaning of the most peaceful time of the year.*

## 7.2.2. Online articles and Facebook

In addition to the association of Pro-Christkind, Advent Austria, and Postamt Christkindl, there are many articles on the Internet dealing with the issue 'Christkind vs. Santa Claus'. In 2002, the online newspaper of the University of Vienna, in their article "Christkind vs. Weihnachtsmann", addressed the problem that Christkind is apparently not as successful in merchandizing compared to Santa Claus (see Hafner 2002). The online version of the *Wirtschaftsblatt* issued an article in 2007, also labeled "Christkind vs. Santa Claus", about the noticeable duel between the two Christmas representatives and its escalation into a war of opinions (see Bruckberger 2007). In 2009, the Monochrom group even went as far as organizing an event where people were motivated to dress up either as Christkind or Santa Claus and symbolically fight each other (see <http://monochrom.at/biseinerweint>, 8 Feb. 2011).

And of course Facebook, *the* social platform par excellence, has mobilized people who are desperately fighting for 'their' Christkind. Having 27, 553 members<sup>65</sup>, the status of the Facebook group 'Christkind' of 10 November 2010 says:

Meine lieben Kinder,... auch dieses Jahr bin ich wieder auf Eure Hilfe angewiesen! Der Weihnachtsmann wird immer stärker. Wir müssen dagegen halten. Wir müssen stark bleiben! Haltet mich am Leben! Rettet das Christkind!<sup>66</sup> (<http://facebook.com>, 27 Jan. 2010)

The following is a short selection of the over one hundred responses to this status to reflect the prevalent attitudes towards this issue.<sup>67</sup>

Yvonne Puchert: bei uns kommt auch das Christkind!! Die Kinder kennen den Santa Clause doch nur vom Fernsehen. Die Kinder sehen sich die Zeichentrickfilme an und übernehmen das. Ich finde schade das viele Eltern es dann dabei belassen weil es für sie einfacher ist. Ich habe meinen Kindern erklärt das der Weihnachtsman nur für die Amerikanische Erdhälfte zu stndig ist und das Christkind für unsere, das die sich das teilen, weil es für einen allein zu viel arbeit ist :)<sup>68</sup>

Petra Berger: auf jeden Fall bringt uns das Christkind die Geschenke!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!! Hab vor kurzen mein "Christkind-

---

<sup>65</sup> This was last checked on 24 January 2011.

<sup>66</sup> *My dear children, ...this year I rely on your help again! Santa Claus is getting more and more powerful. We need to counteract. We need to stay strong! Keep me alive! Save Christkind!*

<sup>67</sup> These are the original Facebook entries. Thus, spelling mistakes and grammatical errors have not been corrected.

<sup>68</sup> *In our home, Christkind comes too!! The children only know Santa Claus from television. The children watch cartoons and adopt things. I think it is unfortunate that many parents leave it like that because it is easier for them. I told my kids that Santa Claus is only responsible for the American half of the earth and Christkind for ours, that they share this responsibility since it is too much work for only one person.*

Weihnachtsbuch" aus Kindertage gefunden... in den 80er Jahren war alles noch in Ordnung \*seuf\*<sup>69</sup>

Alice Olleschik: Keine Macht dem Weihnachtsmann! Mein Kind soll mit dem Christkind feiern, man braucht doch wirklich nicht alles von Amerika übernehmen?!<sup>70</sup>

Sabrina Glettler: genau!!!! bei uns kimmt das christkind, wir brauchen den dicken, roten mann nit!!!!<sup>71</sup>

Marianne Hörmann: Christkind, was sonst?! Bei uns kommt immer nur das Christkind. Weihnachtsmann go home !!!<sup>72</sup>

Anna Wonaschuetz: Ich bin in Amerika und halte dir trotzdem die Treue! Mir kommt kein Weihnachtsmann ins Haus!<sup>73</sup>

Raphaela HimBär: Wie wär's mit Zusammenarbeit?!<sup>74</sup>

Ferdinand Mairhofer: Christkind ist Weihnacht. Weihnachtsmann ist Show, soll in USA bleiben<sup>75</sup>

Tamara Wessner: Der Weihnachtsmann hot eh ka Chance. Seits net so pessimistisch! Die Österreicher werdn wohl kaum so blöd sein, ihre eigenen Traditionen wegen den Amis zu verändern.<sup>76</sup>

Anoli Hase: Liebes Christkind, du brauchst keine Angst haben - wir sind da wir glauben an DICH!!!! Wer ist eigentlich der Weihnachtsmann? Bussi lli mit Tochter Carmen!<sup>77</sup>

Anna-Elisabeth Schlitzer: Mein Enkel Valentin hat schon ein schönes Bild für das CHRISTKIND gemalt und er sieht es auch schon jeden Tag beim Fenster vorbeifliegen und kann es kaum erwarten bis ihm das CHRISTKIND den schönen Lichterbaum ins Wohnzimmer stellt.<sup>78</sup>

---

<sup>69</sup> *Of course, Christkind brings the presents!!!!!!!!!!!!!! Just recently I found my "Christkind-Christmas book" from my early childhood...in the 80's everything was still fine \*sigh\**

<sup>70</sup> *No power to Santa Claus! My child should celebrate with Christkind: do we really need to adopt anything and everything from the United States?!*

<sup>71</sup> *Exactly!!!! Christkind is coming to our home, we don't need the fat, red man!!!!*

<sup>72</sup> *Christkind, what else?! Christkind is the only one that ever comes to our home! Go home, Santa!!!*

<sup>73</sup> *I'm in America right now but I still hold the same belief, dear Chrikstind! Santa Claus won't ever enter my house!*

<sup>74</sup> *How about cooperation?!*

<sup>75</sup> *Christkind is Christmas. Santa Claus is 'for show', he should stay in the USA.*

<sup>76</sup> *Santa Claus doesn't have a chance anyway. Don't be so pessimistic! Austrians would hardly be so stupid to change their own traditions because of the Americans.*

<sup>77</sup> *Dear Christkind, you don't need to be scared – we are here, we believe in YOU!!!! Who is Santa Claus anyway? Kiss lli with daughter Carmen!*

<sup>78</sup> *My grandson Valentin already painted a beautiful picture for CHRISTKIND. He also sees it flying by the window every day and he can hardly wait until CHRISTKIND puts the beautiful lit tree in the living room.*

Lydia Givesyoubackthatcookie: das christkind is doch das eigentliche wahre an der weihnachtszeit - das jesuskind. wir feiern ja die geburt von jesus und nicht irgendeinen alten mann.<sup>79</sup>

Tanja Sittel: Ich finde diese Rivalität schade....Meine Tochter glaubt an beide....Santa Claus und das Christkind sind Partner bei uns zu Hause....beides hat seine Tradition und ich finde beides schön....Darum sind die beide Partner...wie soll das denn auch anders gehen...bei sovielen Kindern....:D<sup>80</sup>

Certainly, this is only a short excursus and must not be regarded as scientifically representative of the entire Austrian population. However, the tone of these comments, with the heavy use of exclamation marks and rather aggressive remarks about the U.S. and the American Santa Claus only further demonstrates that earlier statements about Austrian conservatism may not be wrong at all. Additionally, two examples of the daily comic strip “Superrudi & Superstruppi” in the most read Austrian newspaper, *Kronen Zeitung*, drawn by Markus Szyszkowitz present a very similar attitude (Figure 15 and Figure 16).



Figure 15: Comic strip, *Kronen Zeitung* 2002



Figure 16: Comic strip, *Kronen Zeitung* 2002

<sup>79</sup> It is Christkind who is the true essence of Christmas – Jesus Christ. After all we are celebrating the birth of Jesus and not that of some old man.

<sup>80</sup> I think that this rivalry is unfortunate...My daughter believes in both...Santa Claus and Christkind are partners at our place...both have their own tradition and I find both nice,...That's why they are partners...how is it supposed to work otherwise...with so many children....:D



Nonetheless, every now and then there are comments about the possible cooperation of Christkind and Santa Claus, suggesting that both traditions could be accepted equally and co-exist. Paul Frühauf (2009), for instance, sees the entire issue and rivalry in a more relaxed manner, pointing out that initially it was the other way round, namely that Christkind was a substitute for Santa Claus and that the agitation against U.S. culture is exaggerated. However, he does agree with some other authors that the excessive consumerism during the festive season and the ever-increasing commercialization of Christmas has indeed been largely induced by America.

Austrians are not the only ones concerned about their Christkind tradition. For example, a Czech group, called 'Anti-Santa', has formed with the goal "to move Santa Claus back where he belongs – to the to the [sic!] United States, England and other counties [sic!] of anglo-saxon [sic!] tradition" ("Anti-Santa", [http://anti-santa.cz/index\\_de.php](http://anti-santa.cz/index_de.php), 8 Feb. 2011). Their spokesman, David König, is positive that Santa's success is not only his clearly defined visual appearance but also that most of the Christmas decorations today are mass-produced in China without any regard to local traditions (see König quoted in Kirschner 2006).

Another example of the type 'anti-Santa and pro-Christkind' would be a survey carried out in Switzerland in 2009. Among other interesting results it was found that 39,6% of the respondents want to continue the tradition of Christkind and even wish for stronger propagation, that 45% think it is a good thing if Christkind and Santa Claus co-exist and tolerate both of them, and that only 5.8% believe that Santa Claus should gain center stage because Christkind is old-fashioned and outdated (see <http://marketagent.com/webfiles/pdf/studien/%7B2DB41730-CF1C-42B8-8B0C-A55AEB034DA0%7D.pdf>, 8 Feb. 2011). According to the ORF homepage there was a similar opinion poll conducted in Austria by the research institute Market revealing that 83 percent of Austrian households still celebrate with the legend of Christkind while only two percent get visits from Santa Claus, and three percent enjoy believing in both Christmas figures (see Groll). However, unfortunately it was impossible to find out more information about this study, even the year in which it was executed is unknown.

Thomas Hochwarter, writing for the online newspaper Austrian Times is surprised "how strongly the question of whether one should celebrate a 'Santa Claus

Christmas' or a 'Christkind Christmas' seems to stir people" (Hochwarter 2009). After receiving several letters from his readers, he came to the conclusion that

[i]t seems an unthinkable option for most Austrians to ditch their Christkind, the blonde angel child they have loved since childhood days which secretly lays presents under the Christmas tree. On the other hand, a stroll on the busy streets throughout the country confirms most shoppers do not mind stores being decorated with plastic Santa Claus figures and sleighs. [...] The importance the topic [...] is given by people shows certain traditions and customs do matter. The debate however also reveals a rather obscure kind of conservatism as some seem to fear an 'invasion of the unknown' – a rather bizarre way of thinking which is unlikely to spring to mind while someone watches a Hollywood movie or eats out in an Asian restaurant. (Hochwarter 2009)

This quote actually sums up the main argument of this paper in regards to the entire topic on the issue of Christkind vs. Santa Claus and the fear of too much American influence on Austrian festive traditions.

### **7.2.3. Television, print advertising, sales promotion and charity**

Although the analysis of commercials and advertisements would provide enough content for another thesis, I still want to mention at least a few examples that show that Santa Claus is not the only Christmas symbol with which (Austrian) companies try to increase their profits. While some may argue that Christkind is not supposed to be used for commercial purposes others are happy that it finally battles the ever-increasing presence of Santa Claus.

One example for advertisement is Billa. While their campaign in 2008 evidently was more 'Santa Claus' than 'Christkind'-like, this was no longer the case in 2010. Where a pamphlet from December 2008 features an image of red Santa hats and the slogan "Bei uns gibt's nur echte Ho-Ho-Hochgenüsse" (*Billa pamphlet* 2008: 4, Figure 17) – clearly an allusion to Santa's famous 'Ho Ho Ho' – a pamphlet from December 2010 shows Christkind, and underneath printed in large letters, "Mein Hausverstand sagt: Zu Weihnachten gibt's die himmlischen Genüsse auch auf Erden. [...] Das schmeckt auch dem Christkind" (*Billa pamphlet* 2010: 9, Figure 18). Whether this is an example of shift in direction towards Christkind or simply of the co-existence of both Christmas icons remains unanswered at this point in time.

## Bei uns gibt's nur echte Ho-Ho-Hochgenüsse.

Von Fisch bis Fleisch, von Käse bis Wurst, von Keksen bis Kuchen – bei BILLA kommt jeder Gaumen voll auf seine Kosten. Einfach aus dem reichhaltigen Angebot auswählen und Weihnachten mit allen Sinnen genießen.



Figure 17: Billa advertisement 1 (taken from *Billa pamphlet 2008: 4*)

## Himmliche Genüsse



» Mein Hausverstand sagt:  
Zu Weihnachten gibt's die himmlischen Genüsse auch auf Erden.«

Stimmt. Weil man sich zur Weihnachtszeit ruhig einmal etwas gönnen darf, hat BILLA die himmlischen Genüsse in seine Regale geholt. Das schmeckt auch dem Christkind!

Figure 18: Billa advertisement 2 (taken from *Billa pamphlet 2010: 11*)

Another example is the charity event 'Weihnachts-bim' organized by the bakery chain Ströck. The 'Weihnachtsbim' is an old-timer tram going around the Ring in Vienna offering sweets and a ride with Christkind on weekends during Advent. The revenues from the tickets sale go to the children's hospital St. Anna (see *24 Stunden für Wien 2010/2011: 16*, Figure 19). The Viennese company Lemonaut Creations features a song on their homepage while showing the caricature of a hairy old Santa Claus next to the slogan "Lemonaut glaubt ans Christkind und wünscht allen ein besinnliches Weihnachtsfest mit der Nummer 1"<sup>81</sup> (<http://lemonaut.at/christkind.html>, 8 Feb. 2011).

In addition, one of the most popular Austrian TV show *Wir sind Kaiser* starred Christkind in its broadcasting on 20 December 2007 (see <http://youtube.com/watch?v=dHoTL90JFlo>, 8 Feb. 2011). And even the newscast ZIB 3 (ORF) devoted part of their airtime in December 2002 to a discussion with the title "Krieg um das Christkind mit



Figure 19: Ströck Weihnachtsbim (taken from *24 Stunden für Wien 213, 2010/2011: 16*)

<sup>81</sup> *Lemonaut believes in Christkind and wishes contemplative Christmas festivities with the number 1.*

Weihnachtsmann". Focusing on actions taken by the Pro-Christkind society and the prevalent equation of Santa Claus and commercialism, it is once again suggested that the two Christmas figures may best work together (see <http://youtube.com/watch?v=AGuj1wubNck&playnext=1&list=PL7AFF812D76EAC342>, 8 Feb. 2011).<sup>82</sup>

There are endless examples of the Christkind/Santa debate that unfortunately cannot be given since this ought to be only a short excursus to demonstrate two main points: first, Christkind is not vanishing into thin air. It is kept alive and made stronger through various initiatives by journalists, activists, admen and the populace. Second, these examples wonderfully depict how American influence evokes hybridity in two different ways. On the one hand, the American Santa Claus has been incorporated into Austrian culture, but contrary to the American context he is not seen as a hero in Austria but more as a commercial icon with no deeper meaning. On the other hand, through the endless resistance and initiatives against America and in support of Austrian culture, Christkind obtains a new and different meaning. It is no longer the mystic creature quietly and secretly visiting homes and disappearing without ever being seen. It has increasingly become a public figure, with a more or less defined visual appearance used for commercial purpose, charity and other public appearances.

### **7.3. The trend towards Christkind *and* Santa Claus**

Due to everything that has been said about globalization, Americanization, hybridity and cultural identity, the most likely outcome concerning Christmas in Austria will be the co-existence of Christkind and Santa Claus. A few more practical examples supporting this argument conclude Part II of this paper.

In an issue of the *Wiener Bezirkszeitung (13.Bezirk)* there is a huge image of Christkind on the cover with the title "Rettung für das späte Christkind"<sup>83</sup> and a reference to page 12 of that same issue. If one scrolls to page 12, however, one finds only a picture of Santa Claus with his big sack and Christmas stockings hanging behind him.

---

<sup>82</sup> A collection of even more videos concerning Christkind and/ or versus Santa Claus can be found on a homepage called World News (see <http://wn.com>, 8 Feb. 2011).

<sup>83</sup> *Rescue for the belated Christkind.*

Underneath the picture it says “Der Weihnachtsmann hilft Ihnen nicht aus der Patsche, wenn Sie beim Geschenkekauf im Verzug sind – die BZ [Bezirkszeitung, author’s note] schon.”<sup>84</sup> (*Wiener Bezirkszeitung* 2010: 12). Another example is taken from the *Libro journal*, featuring an article with the headline “Musik vom Christkind”; right next to it however, the image of a Santa Claus hat (Figure 20).



Figure 20: Christkind and Santa hat (taken from *Libro Journal* December 2010: 21)



Figure 21: Kika ad, Christkind and Santa Claus (taken from [http://www.atmedia.at/news/klassische-medien/Christkind\\_und\\_Weihnachtsmann\\_kugeln\\_herum/06-12-2010/11330/](http://www.atmedia.at/news/klassische-medien/Christkind_und_Weihnachtsmann_kugeln_herum/06-12-2010/11330/), 8 Feb. 2011)

However, the furniture chain Kika has most consciously considered the ambiguous relationship between the two Christmas symbols, when they transformed the discourse of ‘Christkind vs. Santa Claus’ into one of ‘Christkind and Santa Claus’. As can be seen in several instances of

their Christmas campaign of 2010, the stress lies definitely upon both their existence and cooperation<sup>85</sup> (Figure 21). Finally, the German-Austrian co-production of the TV stations ARD and ORF places Christkind and Santa Claus in the same context, naturally implying that both are valid Christmas symbols in (Germany and) Austria<sup>86</sup>. Once again, Santa Claus takes over the public representation of Christmas in connection with the commercial aspect, while Christkind remains invisible and responsible for immaterial values.

<sup>84</sup> *Santa Claus does not bail you out when you are late with your Christmas shopping – but the BZ newspaper does.*

<sup>85</sup> Another Kika example is given in the hermeneutic interpretation later in this paper.

<sup>86</sup> The film is set in Austria.



**PART III**  
**EMPIRICAL STUDY**  
**THE REPRESENTATION OF CHRISTMAS IN AUSTRIAN MAGAZINES**





## **8. Research questions and hypotheses**

After a close evaluation of existent theories and concepts about globalization and Americanization processes, it is evident that the U.S. has played an important role in Austria's historical development, influencing its culture in several ways. Moreover, America often represents modernity which is the reason why some of its cultural icons, as well as its language, are not only extremely suitable for commercial use but also in expressing a young and contemporary attitude. In addition, much of the information conveyed by Hollywood movie productions has a major impact on how people perceive Christmas. However, it is persistently claimed that cultural artifacts do not easily and quickly disappear, therefore it is expected that the empirical study will show "a blend of the traditional and the modern" (Kroes 2006: 252). Therefore, the starting point for this empirical investigation of Austrian magazines is the assumption that American influences on the representation of Christmas in Austria are evident indeed but that they will appear adjacent to Austrian particularities. The main research questions are therefore concerned instead with the intensity and the 'location' of these American influences.

**Q1** Are American symbols and English expressions more prevalent than Austrian symbols and German expressions in Austrian magazines?

**H1.1.** American symbols appear more often than Austrian symbols.

**H1.2.** English expressions do occur, but not as often as German expressions.

**Q2** In which magazines are American symbols and English expressions more prevalent than the Austrian characteristics and German expressions?

**H2.1.** American symbols are more frequent than Austrian symbols in magazines with the youngest readership.

**H2.2.** English expressions are more frequent than German expressions in magazines with the youngest readership.

**H2.3.** American symbols are more frequent than Austrian symbols in magazines with a greater male than female readership.

**H2.4.** English expressions are more frequent than German expressions in magazines with a greater male than female readership.

**Q3** In which locations (e.g. cover pages, articles, advertisements, etc.) of the magazines do American influences hold a dominant position?

**H3.1.** American symbols are dominant in the 'advertisements/advertorials' category.

**H3.2.** American expressions are dominant in the 'shopping recommendations/gift ideas' category.

**Q4** Does Santa Claus appear more often than Christkind in the magazines?

**H4.1.** The image of Santa Claus appears more often than the image of Christkind.

**H4.2.** The term "Santa Claus" or "Weihnachtsmann" occurs less often than the term "Christkind" or "Christkindl".

## **9. Method**

In order to test the hypotheses a quantitative content analysis of selected Austrian magazines was completed. Quantitative content analysis is an empirical method for the systematic analysis of the content and formal aspects of messages, which can be comprehended inter-subjectively. The quantitative content analysis is capable of analyzing all different forms of textual or visual messages transported via the mass media (see Brosius et al. 2009: 140) and additionally aims at interpreting inferences about external context from the text (see Früh 2007: 27). A quantitative content analysis allows anybody to reproduce this study at any time with any type of source material (see Früh 2007: 41f). Since the core of the study is the representation of Christmas in Austrian magazines, it is necessary to investigate the symbolic systems of language and visual images. After first assessing the sources, categories were generated and carefully explained so that any researcher can reproduce the same study. During the analysis, a coding sheet, containing all categories, was used (see Appendix).

In addition, there will be a short hermeneutic analysis of the overall picture of Christmas in Austrian print media. While the quantitative content analysis offers insight into the concrete frequency of American symbols in the magazines, a hermeneutic interpretation will conclude the investigation. Only by considering both the quantitative aspect and the content, that is, the meaning of these symbols in an Austrian context, can an accurate picture of the overall state of affairs be presented.

## 10. Study design

### 10.1. Source material

The source material has been selected to contain magazines with a broad variety of target groups in order to represent the average Austrian readership. Although it was most important to incorporate magazines that deal with Christmas in some way, it was also vital that a magazine representative of each age group was included. The seven different age groups of the Austrian Media Analysis, which has been the main source for the coverage data, have been subsumed into only four for this thesis (i.e. 14-29<sup>87</sup>, 30-49, 50-69, 70+)<sup>88</sup>. The data of the Austrian Media Analysis shows two significant tendencies. First, most people who read magazines are between 30 and 49 years old. Second, magazines are predominantly read by women. Even the monthly periodical, *Wiener*, which is specifically targeted at a male readership, is read by almost as many women as men.<sup>89</sup>

#### 10.1.1. Live

*Live* is a weekly supplement of *Kronen Zeitung*, which is the most read daily newspaper in Austria. With a coverage of 21.2%, it is by far the most read of all the journals analyzed. In addition, the discrepancy between its male and female readership is much smaller than of most other magazines. *Live* is most successful among the 30- to 49-year-olds. The following issues are included in the analysis:

<i>Live</i> , Winter Spezial, 27 November 2010	(44 pgs.)
<i>Live</i> , 48, 3 December 2010	(60 pgs.)
<i>Live</i> , 49, 10 December 2010	(60 pgs.)
<i>Live</i> , 50, 17 December 2010	(60 pgs.)
<i>Live</i> , 51, 24 December 2010	(60 pgs.)

---

<sup>87</sup> It may be puzzling to see that 14-year-olds are put in the same age group as 29-year-olds, however, although there is a large age discrepancy between these two age groups, they are similar in other areas of their social lives. For example, they are, so to say, the 'MTVgeneration', the group that has grown up with the most heavy influences from the United States via television and the Internet.

<sup>88</sup> See p.91 for further information about coverage statistics of the magazines.

<sup>89</sup> The data of the Media-Analysis shows that in the year 2009/2010 the *Wiener* magazine had 78 000 male readers and 56 000 female readers. In comparison with its counterpart *Wienerin*, however, the difference between male (34 000) and female (215 000) readers is much more significant.

### **10.1.2. Die Ganze Woche**

*Die Ganze Woche* is the second most read weekly magazine in Austria, reaching 13.4% of its target population and therefore almost a million people. In this analysis it is the only journal which has its largest readership in the age group of 50- to 69-year-olds and the second biggest readership among people who are 70 years or older. Therefore, it functions well for representing a possible view of the older generations.

The following issues are included in the analysis:

*Die Ganze Woche*, 48, 1 December 2010 (96 pgs.)

*Die Ganze Woche*, 49, 7 December 2010 (84 pgs.)

*Die Ganze Woche*, 50/51, 15 December 2010 (96 pgs.)

### **10.1.3. News**

With a reach of 11.4% of the Austrian population, *News* is the third most read weekly magazine in Austria. In this paper's analysis it is, together with *Wiener*, the only periodical with a greater male than female audience. Although its content leans a little more towards current issues in politics and economics, it also contains articles about culture and lifestyle (see <http://news.at>, 8 Feb. 2011). According to the Media-Analyse, it is most read by 30- to 49-year-old people. The following issues are included in the analysis:

*News*, 48, 2 December 2010 (164 pgs.)

*News*, 49, 9 December 2010 (156 pgs.)

*News*, 50, 16 December 2010 (148 pgs.)

*News*, 51, 22 December 2010 (204 pgs.)

### **10.1.4. Woman**

*Woman*, as the name already reveals, is an Austrian magazine for women appearing every other week. According to its homepage, it sees itself as "Österreichs Frauenmagazin" (<http://woman.at>, 8 Feb. 2011) reporting on current issues particularly relevant for its female readers. Topics range from politics to economics, culture, lifestyle, sports, and people (see <http://woman.at>, 8 Feb. 2011). With a total coverage of 7.1% and more than half a million readers it is by far the most successful

women's magazine in Austria and most read by people between 20 and 49 years old.

The following issues are included in the analysis:

*Woman*, 24, 26 November 2010 (276 pgs.)

*Woman*, 25, 10 December 2010 (286 pgs.)

*Woman*, 26, 23 December 2010 (166 pgs.)

#### **10.1.5. ORF Nachlese**

The weekly magazine *ORF Nachlese* is the official journal of the public TV station ORF and deals with the broad variety of its broadcasting formats. It is defined as "Ratgeber in jeder Lebenslage" (<http://enterprise.orf.at>, 8 Feb. 2011) and is ranked third among monthly appearing Austrian journals in its total coverage of the Austrian population. This magazine has reached 5.7% in 2009/2010 and has its biggest target group in the 50- to 69-year-olds. The following issues are included in the analysis:

*ORF Nachlese edition (Das große Weihnachtsextra)*, 19 November 2010 (68 pgs.)

*ORF Nachlese*, 12/2010 (116 pgs.)

#### **10.1.6. Wienerin**

*Wienerin* is the second most read women's magazine in Austria with a total coverage of 3.5% and 248 000 readers. Its orientation is similar to that of *Woman*, covering the categories lifestyle, fashion, beauty, love, health, living, traveling, politics, society, culture, and other (see <http://typischich.at>, 8 Feb. 2011; <http://magazinshop.at/wienerin>, 8 Feb. 2011). On the online homepage of its publishing house, Styria Multi Media, this magazine is described as follows:

Dabei ist die WIENERIN immer am Puls der Zeit und trotzdem objektiv und hinterfragend in der Berichterstattung. Denn so facettenreich, spannend und weltoffen wie das Leben ihrer LeserInnen, ist auch die WIENERIN.<sup>90</sup> (<http://magazinshop.at/wienerin>, 8 Feb. 2011)

*Wienerin* has its biggest audience among the 30- to 49-year-olds. The following issue is included in the analysis:

*Wienerin*, 255, December 2010 (316 pgs.)

---

<sup>90</sup> *WIENERIN* is always up-to-date but nonetheless objective and scrutinous in its reporting. Just like the lives of her readers are multifaceted, enthralling and cosmopolitan, *WIENERIN* is too.

### **10.1.7. Wiener**

*Wiener* is the counterpart to *Wienerin* and targeted especially at a male readership. It has been included in the analysis to represent a potentially male view of Christmas; however, the media analysis found that it also has an impressive female audience. Issues in this journal mostly revolve around fashion, style, personages, motor, technology, culture, innovation, women, business, sports, culture, traveling, fitness, sex, science, and other relevant topics for men (see <http://wiener-online.at>, 8 Feb. 2011; <http://magazinshop.at/wiener>, 8 Feb. 2011). The online homepage of its publishing house, Styria Multi Media, calls *Wiener* a “Zeitgeistmagazin” and “Lifestylemagazin” (<http://magazinshop.at/wiener>, 8 Feb. 2011). *Wiener* is published eleven times a year and most read by Austrians who are between 30 and 49 years old. The following issue is included in the analysis:

*Wiener*, 352, December 2010 (156 pgs.)

### **10.1.8. Miss**

The magazine *Miss* is the only journal by far most read by people who are under 30. It is therefore an important representative for a possible perspective of the younger generations. According to the homepage of its online shop, *Miss* is targeted at young and modern women who are “cosmopolitan but Austrian-at-heart” (<http://magazinshop.at/miss>, 8 Feb. 2011). Its total coverage is 1.8%. The following issue is included in the analysis:

*Miss*, 12, Winter 2010/2011 (164 pgs.)

	Coverage	Total	Men	Women	
Live	21,2 %	1 505 000	684 000	821 000	
Die Ganze Woche	13,4 %	951 000	327 000	625 000	*
News	11,4 %	806 000	445 000	361 000	
Woman	7,1 %	504 000	49 000	455 000	
ORF Nachlese	5,7 %	404 000	129 000	275 000	
Wienerin	3,5 %	248 000	34 000	215 000	*
Wiener	1,9 %	134 000	78 000	56 000	
Miss	1,8 %	126 000	7 000	118 000	*

	14-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70+	
Live	75 000	181 000	231 000	282 000	242 000	234 000	260 000	
Die ganze Woche	44 000	74 000	93 000	167 000	149 000	181 000	244 000	*
News	59 000	126 000	144 000	177 000	132 000	109 000	61 000	*
Woman	49 000	112 000	100 000	101 000	74 000	48 000	20 000	
ORF Nachlese	20 000	29 000	39 000	84 000	83 000	80 000	69 000	
Wienerin	22 000	56 000	51 000	56 000	34 000	20 000	9 000	
Wiener	8 000	28 000	28 000	29 000	20 000	13 000	7 000	*
Miss	43 000	45 000	19 000	10 000	6 000	3 000	0	

Table 1: Media Analysis 2009/2010 (second half 2009/ first half 2010)

more male readers

more female readers

largest readership (also significant readership in this age group)

\* Wegen der Rundungsmechanismen bei der Computerauswertung ergibt die Addition der Projektionswerte innerhalb eines Gliederungsmerkmals nicht in jedem Fall die ausgewiesene Totalsumme. (<http://mediaanalyse.at>, 8 Feb. 2011)<sup>91</sup>

<sup>91</sup> Due to the rounding mechanism of the computer evaluation, the total sum may not always conform to result of the addition of single data.

## 10.2. Period of investigation

Since it is assumed that the highest amount of advertisements, articles, pictures, etc. concerning Christmas can be found in issues appearing right before Christmas, the period of investigation covers the entire Advent 2010. This means that all issues of the chosen magazines that were released between November 28<sup>th</sup><sup>92</sup> and December 24<sup>th</sup> have been investigated. Since some magazines appear weekly, others at fortnightly intervals, and others monthly, the number of each magazine's issues varies.

## 10.3. Units of analysis

Units of analysis are all covers, articles and advertisements/advertorials<sup>93</sup> that display evident relation to Advent or Christmas. The table of contents, letters to the editor, horoscopes, and any type of supplements, such as coupons, payment forms for donations, extra ads, booklets, TV programs, etc., (in short anything that is supposed to be taken out) are excluded from the analysis<sup>94</sup>.

## 10.4. Definition of categories

### 10.4.1. Medium

Eight different magazines, altogether twenty issues, were analyzed. It must be documented on the coding sheet which magazine and which issue is the particular object of study.

---

<sup>92</sup> There are two exceptions, however. *Live* Winter Spezial published on November 27<sup>th</sup>, *Woman* no. 24 published on November 26<sup>th</sup>, and *ORF Nachlese edition* published on November 19<sup>th</sup>, are included even though they appeared before the official start of the Advent season. It was decided to include the *Woman* issue since the magazine only appears fortnightly which means that the time span from November 28 until December 9 would have not been covered. The additional *Live* and *ORF Nachlese* issues are included because they are special Christmas editions.

<sup>93</sup> The term *advertorial* is a compound of *advertisement* and *editorial* and signifies an ad that may not be identified as such at a first glance.

<sup>94</sup> Even though the TV-program in *Live* is part of the magazine and cannot be taken out it was still excluded from the analysis.



<b>1.</b>	<b>Medium</b>
1.1.	<i>Live</i>
1.2.	<i>Die Ganze Woche</i>
1.3.	<i>News</i>
1.4.	<i>Woman</i>
1.5.	<i>ORF Nachlese</i>
1.6.	<i>Wienerin</i>
1.7.	<i>Wiener</i>
1.8.	<i>Miss</i>

#### 10.4.2. Specific location of item's appearance

If a relevant item was identified, its location was recorded. The table of contents, letters to the editor, horoscopes, TV programs and any type of supplements (i.e. anything that is supposed to be taken out, such as coupons, little booklets, payment forms for donations, etc.) were excluded from the analysis.

<b>2.</b>	<b>Specific location of item's appearance</b>
2.1.	Cover page
2.2.	Advertisement/ advertorial
2.3.	Headline/ subtitle/ lead
3.4.	Article
3.5.	Shopping recommendation/ gift idea

#### 10.4.3. American influences

Category 3 consists of the actual items for which the magazines should be searched. These can either be written words, images or particular expressions.

<b>3.</b>	<b>American influences</b>
3.1.	Symbols (written words)
3.1.1.	Santa Claus/ Santa/ Weihnachtsmann
3.1.2.	Rudolph/ Rentier/ (Rentier-) Schlitten
3.2.	Symbols (images)
3.2.1.	Santa Claus
3.2.2.	Santa's hat
3.2.3.	Reindeer/ reindeer sleigh
3.2.4.	Christmas stocking
3.3.	English expressions: Xmas/ Christmas

#### 10.4.4. Austrian characteristics

Also the fourth category consists of actual items for which the magazines should be searched. As is the case with category 3, these items can either be written words, images or particular expressions.

<b>4.</b>	<b>Austrian characteristics</b>
4.1.	Symbols (written words)
4.1.1.	Christkind/ Christkindl
4.1.2.	Nikolo/ Nikolaus
4.1.3.	Krampus
4.1.4.	Adventkalender
4.1.5.	Adventkranz
4.1.6.	Christkindl-/ Weihnachts-/ Adventmarkt
4.2.	Symbols (images)
4.2.1.	Christkind
4.2.2.	Nikolo
4.2.3.	Krampus
4.2.4.	Adventkalender
4.2.5.	Adventkranz
4.2.6.	Christkindlmarkt
4.3.	German expressions
4.3.1.	Weihnachten/ Weihnachts...

### 11. Results and verification of the hypotheses

#### 11.1. Relationship between Austrian characteristics and American influences on the overall

As seen in Table 2, neither American symbols nor English expressions dominate on the overall representation in Austrian magazines.

	<b>Austrian symbols</b>	<b>American symbols</b>	<b>English expressions</b>	<b>German expressions</b>
<b>Total</b>	476	265	124	1012

**Table 2: Relationship between Austrian characteristics and American influences in Austrian magazines (Total)**

Figure 22 shows that Austrian symbols still dominate over American influences. These findings indicate that Hypothesis 1.1, which is claiming that American symbols appear more often than Austrian symbols, is falsified. Figure 23 shows that American expressions are indeed present in the magazines, but that Austrian expressions occur more often; Hypothesis 1.2 is hence verified.

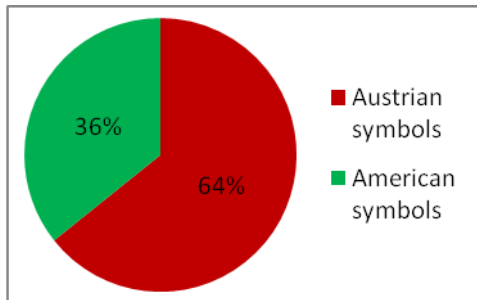


Figure 22: Relationship between Austrian and American symbols (Total)

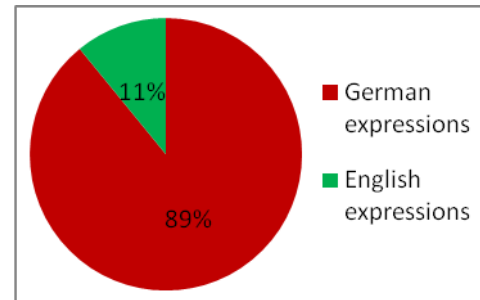


Figure 23: Relationship between German and English expressions (Total)

## 11.2. Relationship between Austrian characteristics and American influences in magazines with different readerships

Four different age groups have been identified as the prime readership of certain magazines. According to the Austrian Media Analysis, *Miss* has the youngest audience with its greatest readership demographic among people between 14 and 29 years old. *Live*, *News*, *Woman*, *Wienerin* and *Wiener*, all have their biggest circulation among the 30- to 49-year-olds. *Die Ganze Woche* and *ORF Nachlese* are both most read by people who are between 50 and 69 years old. However, *Die Ganze Woche* is by far the most read magazine among the 70+ age group, which is why it represents the journal with the oldest age group. In addition, *News* and *Wiener* have a greater male than female audience. The remainder of the magazines are mostly read by women.

Regarding the second research question, it is true that the magazine with the oldest readership (*Die Ganze Woche*) shows a greater frequency of Austrian compared to American symbols (Figure 27). However, the magazine with the youngest readership (*Miss*) also displays a greater prevalence of Austrian symbols, or more precisely, displays *only* Austrian symbols<sup>95</sup> (Figure 31). Therefore, Hypothesis 2.1 (i.e.

<sup>95</sup> Although there were no American symbols found in *Miss*, one needs to know that there were only five Austrian symbols, too. So in comparison to the other magazines, *Miss* hardly featured any Christmas symbols on the overall.

American symbols are more frequent than Austrian symbols in magazines with the youngest readership) is falsified. Only in two magazines (*News* and *Wiener*) more American than Austrian symbols were displayed (Figure 26 and Figure 30). These two magazines are also the only ones with a greater male than female audience. In this case, Hypothesis 2.3, in which it was assumed that American symbols are more frequent than Austrian symbols in magazines with a greater male than female readership, is verified.

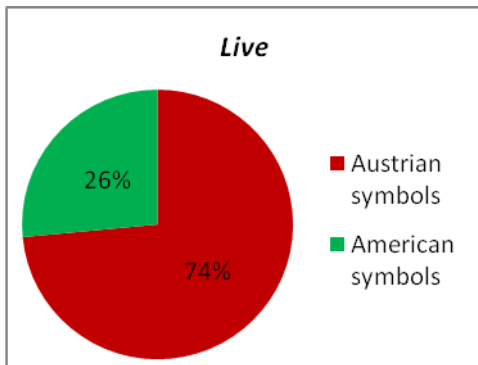


Figure 24: Relationship between Austrian and American symbols in *Live*

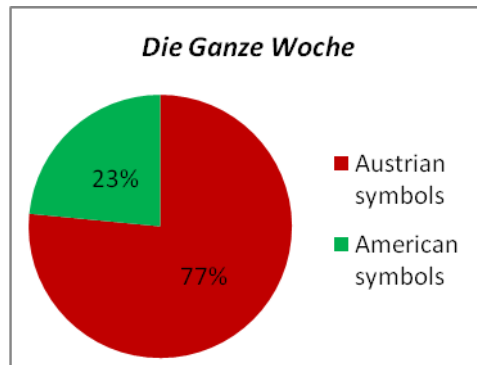


Figure 25: Relationship between Austrian and American symbols in *Die Ganze Woche*

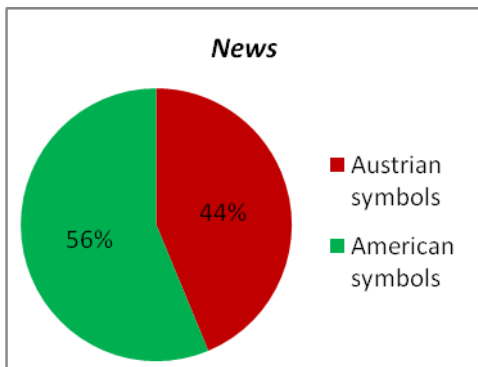


Figure 26: Relationship between Austrian and American symbols in *News*

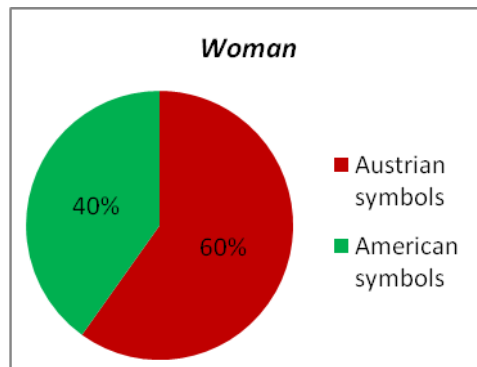


Figure 27: Relationship between Austrian and American symbols in *Woman*

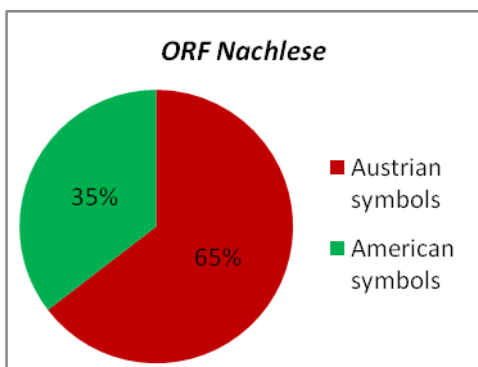


Figure 28: Relationship between Austrian and American symbols in *ORF Nachlese*

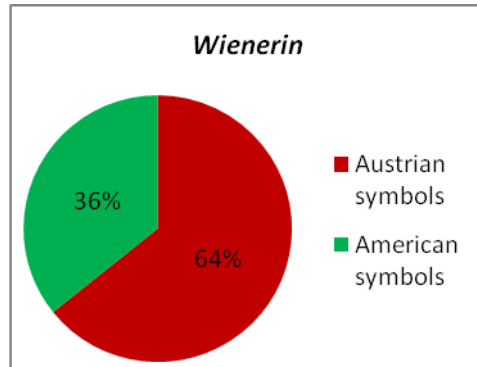


Figure 29: Relationship between Austrian and American symbols in *Wienerin*

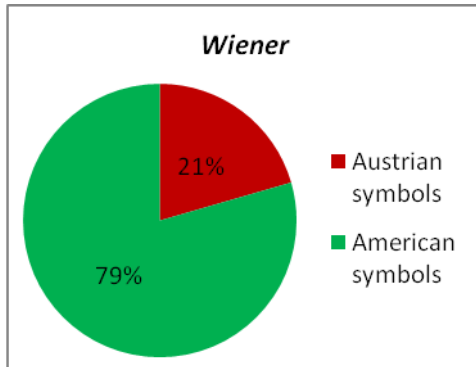


Figure 30: Relationship between Austrian and American symbols in *Wiener*

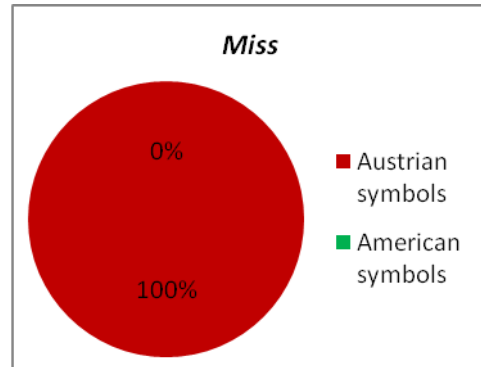


Figure 31: Relationship between Austrian and American symbols in *Miss*

Neither of these magazines used more English Christmas expressions than German ones (Figure 32)<sup>96</sup>. Therefore, Hypothesis 2.2 (i.e. English expressions are more frequent than German expressions in magazines with the youngest readership) is falsified. Also Hypothesis 2.4 (i.e. English expressions are more frequent than German expressions in magazines with a greater male than female readership) is falsified (Figure 32).

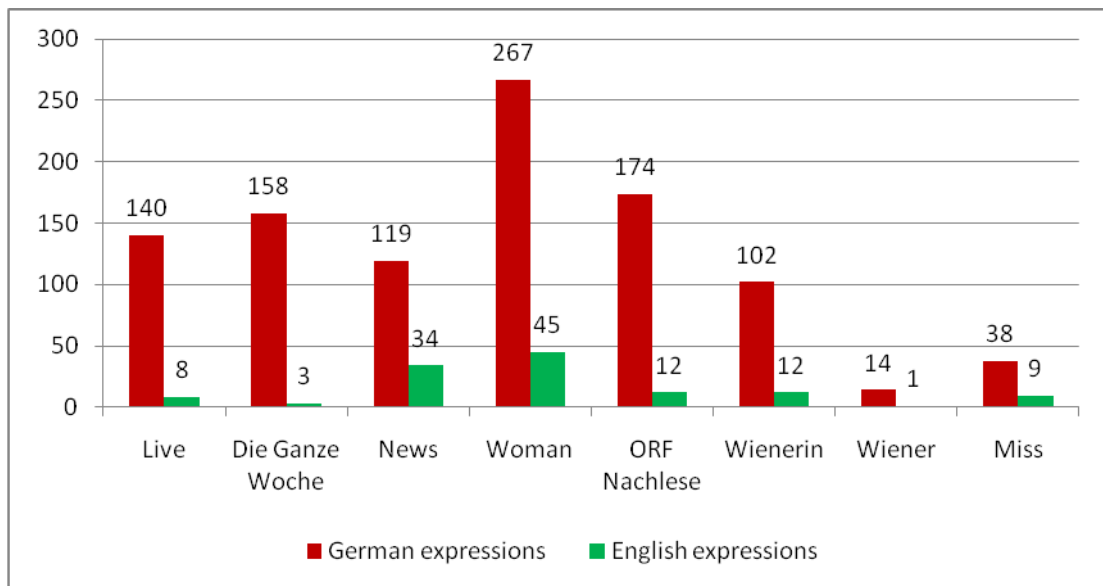


Figure 32: Number of German and English expressions in the magazines

<sup>96</sup> Contrary to the figures presenting the relationship between Austrian and American symbols, the figures concerning German and English expressions will not be showing their percentage. Since German expressions still dominate in Austrian magazines so evidently it does not make sense to relate German and English expressions in terms of percentage.

### 11.3. Specific location of appearance

The analysis of these magazines has shown that American symbols are more prevalent than Austrian symbols in advertisements and advertorials (Figure 34). Therefore, Hypothesis 3.1, stating that American symbols are dominant in the 'advertisement/advertorial' category, is verified. In addition, it was the only 'location'-type category where the amount of American symbols exceeded the Austrian symbols. However, while in headlines/subtitles/leads Austrian symbols make up 88% of the Christmas symbols analyzed and therefore clearly lead in their appearance compared to American symbols (Figure 35), the gap between American and Austrian symbols in shopping recommendations/gift ideas remains small (i.e. 54% Austrian and 46% American symbols, Figure 37). On cover pages and in articles the amount of Austrian symbols makes up about two third of the total amount (i.e. 67% Austrian symbols on cover pages and 69% in articles, Figure 33 and Figure 36).

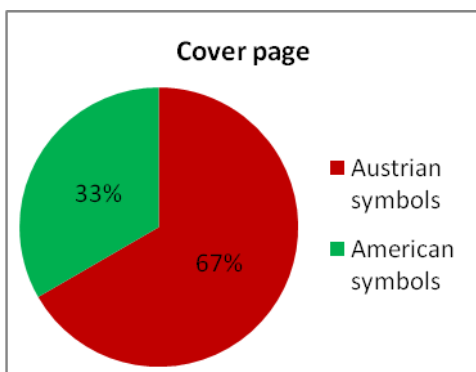


Figure 33: Relationship between Austrian and American symbols on cover pages

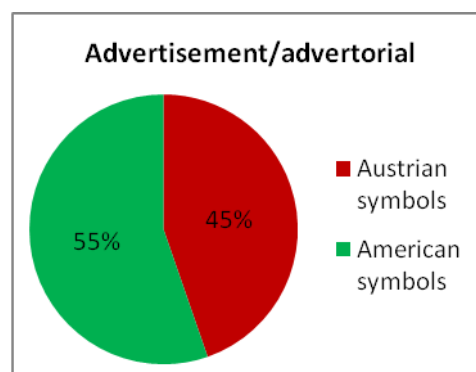


Figure 34: Relationship between Austrian and American symbols in advertisements/advertorials

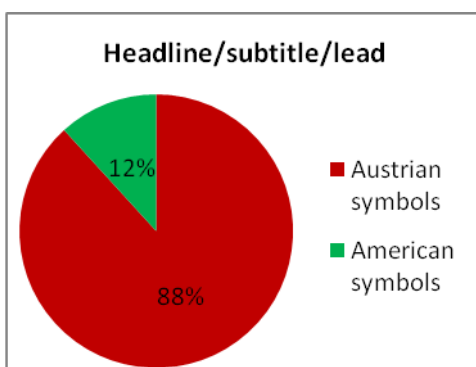


Figure 35: Relationship between Austrian and American symbols in headlines/subtitles/leads

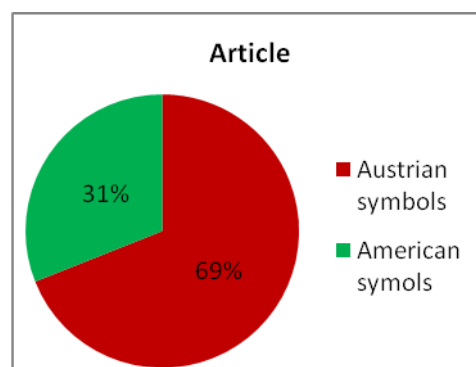
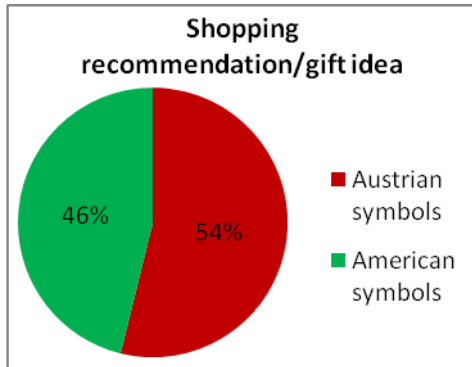
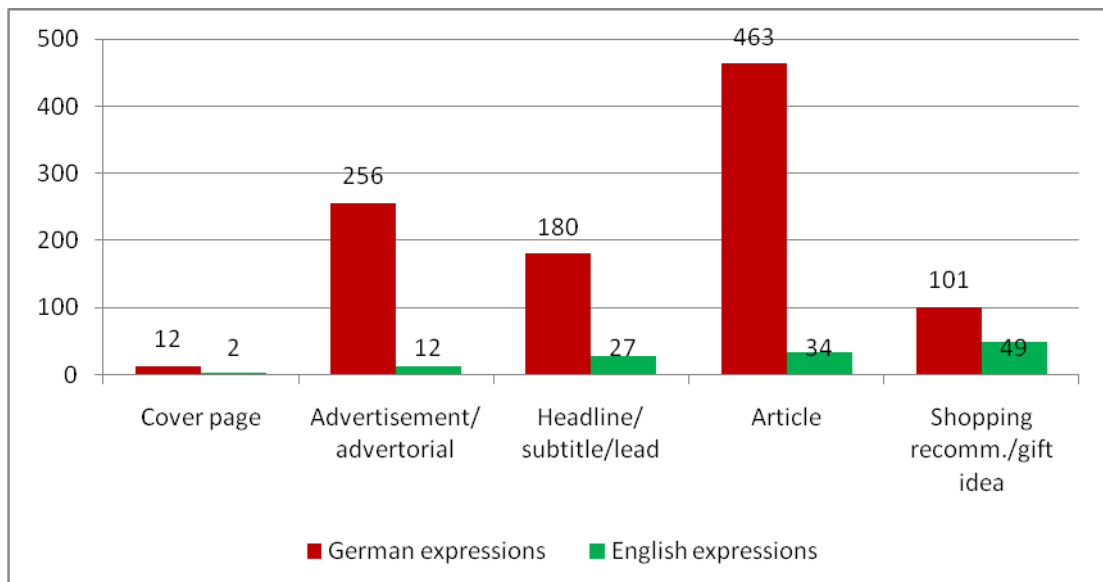


Figure 36: Relationship between Austrian and American symbols in articles



**Figure 37: Relationship between Austrian and American symbols in shopping recommendations/gift ideas**

It has already been pointed out that in none of the magazines did English expressions occur more frequently than German ones. This holds true for specific locations as well. However, while the amount of German expressions is 6 times higher than that of English expressions on cover pages, almost 7 times higher in headlines/subtitles/leads, more than 13 times higher in articles, and even 21 times higher in advertisements/advertorials, it is only twice as big in shopping recommendations/gift ideas. However, since English expressions still occur less often than German expressions in this category (as well as in others), Hypothesis 3.2, claiming that American expressions are dominant in the 'shopping recommendation/gift idea' category, is falsified nonetheless.



**Figure 38: Specific location of appearance (German and English expressions; all issues)**

#### 11.4. Christkind vs. Santa Claus

As it was expected, the representation of Christmas in Austrian magazines is characterized by both Christkind and Santa Claus. However, while the overall representation is about balanced there are significant differences between the written symbols and images. It can be seen in Figure 34 that Santa Claus is clearly overrepresented in regards to his visual depiction. Nevertheless, written references to Christkind occur more than twice as often as written references to Santa Claus/Weihnachtsmann. For this reason, Hypothesis 4.1, claiming that images of Santa Claus are prevalent in Austrian magazines, is verified. Furthermore, the literal mentioning of Christkind occurs more often than that of Santa Claus/Weihnachtsmann, which suggests that also Hypothesis 4.2 (i.e. The term “Santa Claus” or “Weihnachtsmann” occurs less often than the term “Christkind” or “Christkindl”) is verified.

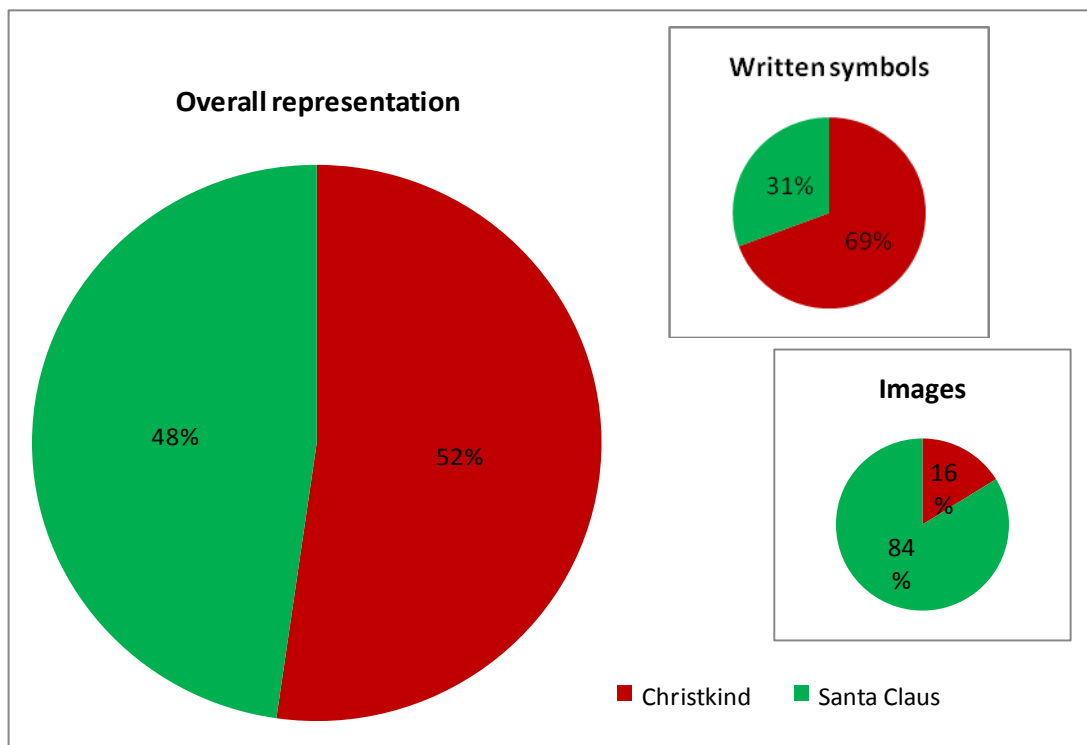


Figure 39: The representation of Christkind and Santa Claus (Total)



## 12. Hermeneutic analysis

To conclude the analysis, the overall picture of the representation of Christmas in Austrian magazines will be briefly summarized. While several hypotheses have been verified, or falsified, there will now be a few words on aspects that cannot be covered by a quantitative analysis.

First of all, there have been several occasions that perfectly demonstrate the aforementioned commingling of Christkind and Santa Claus. While sometimes both figures are acknowledged as two different cultural symbols simply co-existing, at other times they were seemingly treated as one and the same. In other cases it is not quite clear how their relation is meant to be. One of the best examples of their conscious co-existence is an advertorial by the home-center Kika, literally explaining that Christkind and Santa Claus cooperate.

Wenn das Christkind und der Weihnachtsmann Hand in Hand durchs Land ziehen, um sich von unendlich vielen Wohnideen für ihre Weihnachtseinkäufe inspirieren zu lassen, dann kann das nur eines bedeuten [...] <sup>97</sup> (*Wienerin*, 255: 255)

Similarly, *Live* publishes an „Interview mit dem Christkind“, asking Christkind whether Santa Claus existed.

Ja, den Weihnachtsmann gibt es schon. Aber der liefert nicht weltweit. In Osteuropa erledigt das zum Beispiel Ded Moroz, also Großvater, oder wie ihr sagt, Väterchen Frost. In Italien bringen Babbo Natale, also Väterchen Weihnacht und die Hexe Belfana die Geschenke. Wir sind alle ein Team. Einer alleine würde es nie schaffen, alle Packerln auszuliefern. <sup>98</sup> (*Live*, Winter Spezial: 38)

In this case, localism and individual cultural traditions are consciously emphasized and propagated. However, on several other occasions it is not quite clear whether Christkind and Santa Claus are regarded as individual icons or as one and the same. On the cover of *Live* Winter Spezial, for instance, there is a big illustration of three babies wearing Santa hats; on that same cover, however, an equally eye-catching headline says, “Winterspaß und Vorfreude aufs Christkind!” Similarly, a picture of a child dressed up as Santa Claus and surrounded by Santa hats is located right above the headline “Überraschung zum Christkind?” in *ORF Nachlese* (12/2010: 52).

---

<sup>97</sup> *When Christkind and Santa Claus walk hand in hand through the country to be inspired by living ideas for their Christmas shopping, this can only mean one thing [...]*

<sup>98</sup> *Yes, Santa Claus does exist. But he does not deliver his presents to the whole world. In Eastern Europe, for example, Ded Moroz, grandpa or Jack Frost, is responsible for that. In Italy, Babbo Natale, also Father Christmas, and the witch Belfana bring the presents. We are all on the same team. One alone could never manage to deliver all the presents.*

Perhaps the most extreme example was found in *Woman* under the rubric 'Weihnachtsmännchen', showing four babies dressed up in Santa costumes while the headline says "Wem gehören diese Christkinder?" In this case, these 'Santa babies' are consciously addressed as Christkinder which may indicate that a clear distinction between Christkind and Santa Claus is not always needed (or wanted).

Second, almost all magazines accentuate the figure of Christkind at some point. In one issue of *Live*, for example, there is a report about Hollywood stars and how they occupy themselves during the Christmas season. In such a case, since the article is about American people, one might expect that the term "Santa Claus" or "Weihnachtsmann" would occur at least once. But it does not. Instead, the term "Christkind" is found three times (see *Live*, Winter Spezial: 12). In another issue of that same newspaper supplement there is a small article about American singer Christina Milian, including a picture of her and her baby wearing a Santa hat. However, printed in bold letters above it says, "Das Christkind kommt zu Christinas Premiere"<sup>99</sup> (*Live* 50: 7). That *Woman* is in favor of Christkind is already expected when reading the letter of the chief editor in issue 25. While the letter is only half a page long, the word "Christkind" occurs five times (see *Woman* 25: 8). In the rest of this issue, but also in other issues, the affection towards Christkind is expressed by eye-catching headlines such as "Wünsche an das Christkind"<sup>100</sup> (*Woman* 24: 212), "Das Christkind hat immer mehr prominente Helfer"<sup>101</sup> (*Woman* 24: 260), "Ein Mann zum Christkind"<sup>102</sup> (*Woman* 24: 268), or "Was ich mir vom Christkind wünsche"<sup>103</sup> (*Woman* 25: 49). Similar (head)lines were found in *Wienerin*, 255 ("Warten aufs Christkind"<sup>104</sup> on p.82, "Liebes Christkind, mach mich fit!"<sup>105</sup> on p.216) and *ORF Nachlese edition* ("Das Christkind kann kommen"<sup>106</sup> on p.13). However, of course this does not mean that these magazines are free from any American influences as was demonstrated in the quantitative content analysis results. It merely confirms the argument that the figure of Christkind is very well represented in Austrian print media.

In regards to the presence of the English language, the English expressions "Xmas" and "Christmas" occur rather often, even though this may not be recognized from the

---

<sup>99</sup> *Christkind is coming to Christina's premiere*

<sup>100</sup> *Wish list for Christkind*

<sup>101</sup> *The number of Christkind's famous helpers is growing*

<sup>102</sup> *Getting a man from Christkind*

<sup>103</sup> *What I want from Christkind*

<sup>104</sup> *Waiting for Christkind to come*

<sup>105</sup> *Dear Christkind, please make me fit*

<sup>106</sup> *Christkind can be coming*

results of the quantitative analysis since German expressions are obviously predominant. While complete English phrases like “Xmas looks” (*Woman* 25: 130), “Xmas shopping” (*Woman* 25: 231), “Xmas-Fitness-Guide” (*Wienerin* 255: 216) or “Xmas-Party” (*ORF Nachlese* 12: 24) sound natural, one may stumble over lines such as “Es scheint, als könnte unser Wunsch nach Christmas im Schnee in Erfüllung gehen”<sup>107</sup> (*Woman* 25: 26). However, as in other aspects of Austrian life, the English language has clearly become indispensable.

A fourth way of examining America’s influence on the representation of Christmas in Austrian magazines is to investigate the presence of commercialism and consumer culture. Especially shopping recommendations, gift ideas, advertisements and advertorials were found in all magazines in vast amounts. The most extreme example is *Woman* comprising several rubrics concerned with gifts and Christmas shopping (‘Editor’s Choice’, ‘Woman Trends’, ‘Beauty Geschenke’, ‘Beauty Favourites’, ‘Gourmet Accessories’, ‘Lifestyle Geschenke’, ‘Lifestyle Weihnachten’) separated from each other sometimes only by full-page advertisements (see *Woman* 25).<sup>108</sup>

### 13. Conclusion

America has had a huge influence on Austrian cultural events and traditions, particularly because of the American occupation between 1945 and 1955, various Austria-USA exchange programs, the vast amount of imported products, and the powerful success of Hollywood movies and American television. However, partly because of Austrian conservatism, aspects of anti-Americanism, and the fact that cultures cannot be simply eradicated, American influence has been contained. In Part I of this thesis it was shown that issues about America’s role in the world and the impact of Americanization and globalization processes is widely debated among academics. While some people welcome these processes as modernization and hybridization, others fear that the world is becoming a homogenized (American) global village.

---

<sup>107</sup> *It seems as if our wish for a white Christmas can be fulfilled*

<sup>108</sup> The ever-growing importance of commercialism and consumerism coming from U.S. culture is also demonstrated by the increase of Christmas lights and life-sized figures used for decoration (see Reiter 2008: 57). However, this claim cannot be confirmed by the mere investigation of magazines. Since there are very few pictures of public places with flamboyant light decorations it would be necessary to do a field study and examine homes, streets, shopping windows, and so on, in order to get an adequate answer to this argument.

The aim of this thesis was to show that such a stubborn division into good and evil, homogeneous and heterogeneous, modern and old-fashioned, and local and global may not be the right approach to describe cultural developments. Moreover, Christmas functions as the perfect example for proving that a cultural event can be local and global at the same time, and that both universal symbols and traditions can exist side by side with local peculiarities. In cultural developments everything is possible; sometimes new and foreign forms substitute old ones, sometimes they are incorporated into another culture, sometimes they mingle with the old and create new hybrid forms, and sometimes they do not succeed at all because there is simply too much resistance.

In the case of Christmas in Austria, all of these issues are fervidly debated – on Facebook, in the newspaper, on TV, and via articles on the Internet. In Part II it was illustrated what Christmas in the 21<sup>st</sup> century actually means, and in what relation it stands to current global developments (i.e. particularly Americanization processes). It was shown that even though most Christmas traditions originated elsewhere, the United States is bitterly criticized for turning it into a commercial carnival and overriding other cultures with its powerful exports. In Austria, for example, people fear that the traditional figure of Christkind will be eradicated due to the heavy presence of the American Santa Claus.

However, as already indicated in the last chapter of Part II, it is proven in the empirical analysis of Part III that there is a difference between influencing and substituting Austrian culture.

Americanization is never a simple zero-sum game where people trade in their European clothes for every pair of blue jeans they acquire. It is more a matter of cultural syncretism, an interweaving of bits of American culture into European cultural habits, where every borrowing of American cultural ingredients creatively changes their meaning and context. (Rob Kroes 2006: 348)

This argument can certainly also be transferred to Christmas and is further supported by the results of the quantitative content analysis of various Austrian magazines. While it cannot be denied that American symbols and English expressions have already entered Austrian culture to a large extent, there is still no sign of any substitution of Austrian symbols and traditions. Instead, it seems as though a tradition of co-existence between Santa Claus and Christkind has begun. While the American icon has global appeal and is mainly associated with the secular and commercialist

aspect of Christmas, Christkind appears to stand more for the original and local aspects of the festival.

This argument of co-existence and hybridity is maintained by the hermeneutic interpretation at the end of Part III once again, showing that Christkind is far from extinction, but displayed in the media more than ever before. Hence, one can also speak of a new meaning of Christkind. Just as its American counterpart, it has suddenly adopted commercial features as well, and developed from the silent mystic figure to some sort of a public hero. However, it is essential to remember that there is a difference between culture as lived experience and culture as representation. Obviously, both analyses (i.e. the quantitative content analysis and the hermeneutic interpretation) depict Christmas in Austria as it is represented in the media and do not make any claims about Christmas traditions and legends in Austrian homes.

In conclusion, I want to reconsider the argument that Austrian mentality seems to be extremely resistant towards innovation, modernization and American influence (see Bischof 2004; Thurnher 2004). After all, there may be only few other countries in this world where people are so passionately fighting for their beloved traditions. The reason may be simple fear of change – or true ‘conservatism of the heart’.



## REFERENCES

### Primary sources

#### Newspaper articles, magazines, pamphlets

*24 Stunden für Wien* 213, December 2010/January 2011.

*Billa pamphlet*, 22 December – 31 December 2010.

*Billa pamphlet*, 6 December – 15 December 2010.

Bischof, Burkhard. 2003. "Böser Uncle Sam". *Die Presse*, 23 July 2003, 1.

*Die Ganze Woche*, 48, 1 December 2010.

*Die Ganze Woche*, 49, 7 December 2010.

*Die Ganze Woche*, 50/51, 15 December 2010.

„Christkind erst 475 Jahre alt“. *Heute* 1579, 21 December 2010, 9.

*Kronen Zeitung*, 22 December 2002.

*Kronen Zeitung*, 25 December 2003.

*Live Winter Spezial*, 27 November 2010.

*Live* 48, 3 December 2010.

*Live* 49, 10 December 2010.

*Live* 50, 17 December 2010.

*Live* 51, 23 December 2010.

*Miss* 12, Winter 2010/2011.

*News* 48, 2 December 2010.

*News* 49, 9 December 2010.

*News* 50, 16 December 2010.

*News* 51, 22 December 2010.

„Nur brave Buben und Mädchen? Krampus nicht mehr erwünscht“. *Heute* 1565, 1 December 2010, 10.

*ORF Nachlese*, 12/2010.

*ORF Nachlese edition (Das große Weihnachtsextra)*. 19 November 2010.

„Santa Claus vs. Christkindl“. <http://monochrom.at/biseinerweint/> (8.2.2011).

„US-Image am Tiefpunkt“. *Die Presse*, 23 July 2003, 1.

*Wiener* 352, December 2010.

*Wienerin* 255, December 2010.

*Wiener Bezirkszeitung* (13.Hietzing), 22 December 2010, 51.

*Woman* 24, 26 November 2010.

*Woman* 25, 10 December 2010.

*Woman* 26, 23 December 2010.

### **Websites and personal e-mails**

*Advent Austria*, <http://advent-austria.at> (8 Feb. 2011).

„Anti-Santa“. [http://anti-santa.cz/index\\_de.php](http://anti-santa.cz/index_de.php) (8 Feb. 2011).

Bruckberger, Hans-Jörg. 2007. „Christkind vs. Santa Claus: Das ist Brutalität“. *Wirtschaftsblatt*, 18 December 2007, <http://wirtschaftsblatt.at/home/271755/index.do> (8 Feb. 2011).

Cain, Phil. 2009. „Austria moves to ban Father Christmas“. *The Telegraph*, 30 November 2009, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/topics/christmas/6685688/Austria-moves-to-ban-Father-Christmas.html> (8 Feb. 2011)

“Capitalism“. <http://investorwords.com/713/capitalism.html> (8 Feb. 2011)

„Christkind“. *Facebook*, [http://facebook.com/pages/Christkind/50372646880#!/permalink.php?story\\_fbid=172582412768716&id=50372646880](http://facebook.com/pages/Christkind/50372646880#!/permalink.php?story_fbid=172582412768716&id=50372646880) (8 Feb. 2011).

“Coca-Cola Santa Claus. Coke Christmas art by Haddon Sundblom“. 2008. *About Coke art – a blog by RockAndRoll Agency*, 25 November 2008, <http://coca-cola-art.com/2008/11/25/coca-cola-christmas-santa-claus-haddon-sundblom/> (8.2.2011)

*Die Ganze Woche*. <http://dgw.at> (8 Feb. 2011).

*Facebook*, <http://facebook.com> (27 Jan. 2011)

Frühauf, Paul. 2009. „Weisse Bärte und blonde Locken. Christkind vs. Weihnachtsmann“. *Huscarl*, 13 December 2009, <http://huscarl.at/glosse01.php> (8 Feb. 2011).



Groll, Antonia. „Christkind & Santa: Die ganze Wahrheit“. *ORF*, <http://wien.orf.at/magazin/magazin/gesundheitsstories/154636/> (8 Feb. 2011).

Hafner, Michael. 2002. „Christkind vs. Weihnachtsmann“. *Online-Zeitung der Universität Wien*, 23 Dec. 2002, <http://dieuniversitaet-online.at/beitraege/news/christkind-vs-weihnachtsmann/10/neste/211.html> (8 Feb. 2011).

Hammerl, Margit. 2011. Personal e-mail, 25 Jan. 2011.

Hochwarter, Thomas. 2009. “People should relax about the Santa vs. Christkind clash”. *Austrian Times*, 9 Dec. 2009, [http://www.austriantimes.at/news/Panorama/2009-12-09/18699/People\\_should\\_relax\\_about\\_the\\_Santa\\_vs.\\_Christkind\\_clash](http://www.austriantimes.at/news/Panorama/2009-12-09/18699/People_should_relax_about_the_Santa_vs._Christkind_clash) (8 Feb. 2011).

Kicking, Hubert. 2007. „Reportage“. *wien.orf.at*, <http://oesterreich.orf.at/wien/stories/210323/> (8 Feb. 2011).

Kirschner, Thomas. 2006. „Gegen Santa Claus und Väterchen Frost: Christkind in Bedrängnis“. *Radio Praha*, 22 Dec. 2006, <http://radio.cz/en/article/86617> (8 Feb. 2011).

„Lemonaut glaubt ans Christkind“. *Lemonaut Creations*, <http://lemonaut.at/christkind.html> (8 Feb. 2011).

„Meinungen der Schweizer zu Weihnachten und zum Christkind“. *Marketagent*, December 2009, <http://marketagent.com/webfiles/pdf/studien/%7B2DB41730-CF1C-42B8-8B0C-A55AEB034DA0%7D.pdf> (8 Feb. 2011).

„ORF Nachlese“. *ORF Kundendienst*, <http://kundendienst.orf.at/publikationen/nachlese.html> (8 Feb. 2011).

„ORF Nachlese: Stabile Leserzahlen auf hohem Niveau.“ *ORF Enterprise*, <http://enterprise.orf.at/2170/?fcats=0> (8 Feb. 2011)

“Profile of ‘80s cable network MTV”. *About.com*, <http://80music.about.com/od/80sbackgroundcultu2/p/mtvprofile.htm> (8 Feb. 2011).

*News*, <http://news.at> (8 Feb. 2011).

*Nikolo.at*, <http://nikolo.at> (8 Feb. 2011).

*Pro-Christkind*, <http://pro-christkind.net> (8 Feb. 2011).

„Starbucks in Österreich“. *Starbucks*, [http://starbucks.at/de-at/\\_About+Starbucks/Starbucks+in+%C3%96sterreich.htm](http://starbucks.at/de-at/_About+Starbucks/Starbucks+in+%C3%96sterreich.htm) (8 Feb. 2011)

*Styria Multi Media*, <http://magazinshop.at> (8 Feb. 2011).

*Typischich.at*, <http://typischich.at> (8 Feb. 2011).

*Wiener*, <http://wiener-online.at> (8 Feb. 2011).

„Wiener Christkindl 2004-2010“. *Wiener Adventzauber*,  
<http://christkindlmarkt.at/Wiener-Christkindl-br-2004-2010.84.0.html> (8 Feb. 2011).

*Woman*, <http://woman.at> (8 Feb. 2011).

## **Movies and online videos**

„Das Christkind“. *Worldnews*, [http://wn.com/Das\\_Christkind](http://wn.com/Das_Christkind) (8 Feb. 2011).

„Christkind vs. Santa Claus“. *Worldnews*, [http://wn.com/Christkind\\_vs\\_Santa\\_Claus](http://wn.com/Christkind_vs_Santa_Claus) (8 Feb. 2011).

*Die Liebe kommt mit dem Christkind*. 2010. Screenplay by Markus Mayer, and Wolfram Winkler. Dir. Peter Sämam. ORF/ARD.

„ORF/ZIB3/Krieg um das Christkind gegen Weihnachtsmann“.  
<http://youtube.com/watch?v=AGuj1wubNck&playnext=1&list=PL7AFF812D76EAC342> (8 Feb. 2011).

„Wir sind Kaiser. Zur Audienz beim Kaiser geladen: das Christkind“.  
<http://youtube.com/watch?v=dHoTL90JFlo> (8 Feb. 2011).

## **Secondary sources**

### **Books and journals (available)**

Agajanian, Rowana. 2000. “Peace on earth, goodwill to all men’: The depiction of Christmas in modern Hollywood films”. *Christmas at the movies. Images of Christmas in American, British and European Cinema*. Ed. Mark Connelly. New York: I.B. Tauris, 143-164.

Appadurai, Arjun. 1990. “Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy”. *Global culture*. Ed. Mike Featherstone. London: Sage, 295-310.

Barber, Benjamin R. 1996. *Jihad vs. McWorld*. New York, Ballantine.

Belk, Russell W. 1993. “Materialism and the making of the modern American Christmas”. *Unwrapping Christmas*. Ed. Daniel Miller. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 73-104.

Becker-Huberti, Manfred. 2007. *Lexikon der Feste und Bräuche. 3000 Stichwörter mit Infos, Tipps und Hintergründen*. Wien: RM-Buch-und-Medien-Vertrieb.

Bischof, Günter. 2004. “Introduction. Austria in McWorld”. *The Americanization/Westernization of Austria*. Eds. Günter Bischof and Anton Pelinka. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1-17.

- Bischof, Günter. 2006. "Two sides of the coin: The Americanization of Austria and Austrian anti-Americanism". *The Americanization of Europe*. Ed. Alexander Stephan. New York: Berghahn, 147-181.
- Brabazon, Tara. 2008. "Christmas and the media". *Christmas, ideology and popular culture*. Ed. Sheila Whiteley. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 149-163.
- Brosius, Hans-Bernd; Koschel, Friederike; Haas, Alexander. 2009. *Methoden der empirischen Kommunikationsforschung. Eine Einführung*. (5th ed.) Wiesbaden: VS.
- Campbell, Neil; Davies, Jude; McKay, George. 2004. "Introduction". *Issues in Americanisation and culture*. Eds. Neil Campbell et al. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1-38.
- Carrier, James G. 1993. "The rituals of Christmas giving". *Unwrapping Christmas*. Ed. Daniel Miller. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 55-74.
- Connelly, Mark. 2000. "Introduction". *Christmas at the movies. Images of Christmas in American, British and European Cinema*. Ed. Mark Connelly. New York: I.B. Tauris, 1-8.
- Cuncliffe, Marcus. 1986. "The anatomy of anti-Americanism". *Anti-Americanism in Europe*. Eds. Rob Kroes and Maarten van Rossem. Amsterdam: Free University Press, 20-36.
- Featherstone, Mike. 2007. *Consumer culture and Postmodernism*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: Sage.
- Friedman, Jonathan. 1990. "Being in the world: Globalization and localization". *Global culture*. Ed. Mike Featherstone. London: Sage, 311-328.
- Früh, Werner. 2007. *Inhaltsanalyse. Theorie und Praxis*. (6<sup>th</sup> ed.). Konstanz: UVK.
- Gehrer, Elisabeth. 2000. "The Fulbright Program". *Fulbright at Fifty. Austrian-American Educational Exchange 1950-2000*, 3.
- Gienow-Hecht, Jessica C. 2003. "How good are we? Culture and the Cold War". *The cultural Cold War in Western Europe 1945-1960*. Eds. Giles Scott-Smith and Hans Krabbendam. London: Frank Cass, 269-282.
- Hamelink, Cees. 1995. *World Communication. Disempowerment & self-empowerment*. London: Zed Books.
- Held, David; McGrew, Anthony. 2003. "The fate of national culture in an age of global communication". *The global transformation reader*. (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). Eds. David Held and Anthony McGrew. Cambridge: Polity Press, 235-237.
- Held, David; McGrew, Anthony. 2007. *Globalization/Anti-Globalization. Beyond the great divide*. (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Hertsgaard, Mark. 2003. *Im Schatten des Sternenbanners. Amerika und der Rest der Welt*. Trans. Friedrich Griese. München: Hanser.
- Hofstede, Geert. 1997. *Lokales Denken, globales Handeln. Kulturen, Zusammenhalt und Management*. München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag.

- Hörandner, Edith. 1993. *Austria – folk customs*. Wien: Federal Chancellery, Press Service.
- Jandt, Fred Edmund. 2007. *An Introduction to intercultural communication. Identities in a global community*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Kamphausen, Georg. 2009. "Die Europäisierung des Amerikanismus: Amerikakritik im Spiegel des europäischen Selbstzweifels". *Americanism. Discourse of exception, exclusion, exchange*. Ed. Michael Steppat. Heidelberg: Winter, 317-328.
- Kaufmann, Paul. 1982. *Brauchtum in Österreich. Feste, Sitten, Glaube*. Wien: Paul Zsolnay Verlag.
- Kriechbaum, Reinhard. 2010. *Weihnachtsbräuche in Österreich*. Salzburg: Pustet.
- Kroes, Rob. 2006. "Imaginary Americas in Europe's Public Space". *The Americanization of Europe*. Ed. Alexander Stephan. New York: Berghahn, 337-359.
- Larkey, Edward. 1999. "Americanization, cultural change, and Austrian identity". *From World War to Waldheim. Culture and politics in Austria and the United States*. Eds. David F. Good and Ruth Wodak. New York: Berghahn Books, 210-235.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude. 1993. "Father Christmas executed". *Unwrapping Christmas*. Ed. Daniel Miller. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 38-51.
- Lundestad, Geir. 1997. "'Empire' by integration. The United States and European integration, 1945-1996". *Living with America, 1946-1996*. Eds. Christina Giorcelli and Rob Kroes. Amsterdam: VU University Press, 3-19.
- Mathews, Gordon. 2000. *Global culture – individual identity. Searching for home in the cultural supermarket*. London: Routledge.
- Mayer, Gerald M. 1947. "American motion pictures in world trade". *The motion picture industry*. Ed. Gordon S. Watkins, Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science, 31-36.
- McKay, George. 2008. "Consumption, Coca-colonisation, cultural resistance – and Santa Claus". *Christmas, ideology and popular culture*. Ed. Sheila Whiteley. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 50-67.
- McLuhan, Marshall; Powers, Bruce R. 1989. *The global village. Transformations in world life and media in the 21<sup>st</sup> century*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Miller, Daniel. 1993. "A theory of Christmas". *Unwrapping Christmas*. Ed. Daniel Miller. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 3-37.
- Mundy, John. 2008. "Christmas and the movies: Frames of mind". *Christmas, ideology and popular culture*. Ed. Sheila Whiteley. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 164-176.
- Reiter, Martin. 2008. *Weihnachtsbräuche in Österreich*. (Sonderausgabe). Salzburg: Weltbild.
- Restad, Penne L. 1995. *Christmas in America. A history*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Ritzer, George. 1999. *Enchanting a disenchanted world. Revolutionizing the means of consumption*. Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press.
- Ritzer, George; Malone, Elizabeth L. 2000. "Globalization theory: lessons from the exportation of McDonaldization and the New Means of Consumption". *American Studies* 41 (2/3), 97-118.
- Ritzer, George; Ryan, Michael. 2004. "Americanisation, McDonaldisation and globalization". *Issues in Americanisation and culture*. Eds. Neil Campbell et al. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 41-60.
- Robins, Kevin. 2003. „Encountering globalization“. *The global transformations reader*. (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). Eds. David Held and Anthony McGrew. Cambridge: Polity Press, 239-244.
- Said, Edward. 1993. *Culture and imperialism*. London: Chatto & Windos Ltd.
- Sardar, Ziauddin; Davies, Meryll Wyn. 2003. *Woher kommt der Haß auf Amerika?* Trans. Susanne Klockmann. Springe: zu Klampen.
- Sachslehner, Johannes. 2009. *Weihnachten im alten Österreich. Eine nostalgische Zeitreise*. Wien: Styria.
- Schulz, Winfried. 1989. "Massenmedien und Realität. Die 'ptolemäische' und die 'kopernikanische' Auffassung". *Massenkommunikation. Theorie, Methoden, Befunde*. Ed. Max Kaase. Opladen: Westdt. Verlag, 135-149.
- Schmidt, Leigh Eric. 1991. "The commercialization of the calendar: American holidays and the culture of consumption, 1870-1930". *The Journal of American History* 78 No.3 (Dec.), 887-916.
- Stephan, Alexander. 2006. "Cold war alliances and the emergence of transatlantic competition: An introduction". *The Americanization of Europe*. Ed. Alexander Stephan. New York: Berghahn, 1-20.
- Storey, John. 2006. *Inventing popular culture. From folklore to globalization*. Malden: Blackwell.
- Storey, John. 2008. "The invention of the English Christmas". *Christmas, ideology and popular culture*. Ed. Sheila Whiteley. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 17-31.
- Taylor, Peter J. 1999. "Locating the American Century: A world systems analysis". *The American Century: Consensus and coercion in the projection of American power*. Eds. David Slater and Peter J. Taylor. Oxford: Blackwell, 3-16.
- Thurnher, Armin. 2004. "The Americanization of Vienna". *The Americanization/Westernization of Austria*. Eds. Günter Bischof and Anton Pelinka. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 29-37.
- Tomlinson, John. 1991. *Cultural imperialism. A critical introduction*. London: Pinter.
- Tomlinson, John. 1999. *Globalization and culture*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Tomlinson, John. 2003. "Globalization and cultural identity". *The global transformations reader*. (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). Eds. David Held and Anthony McGrew. Cambridge: Polity Press, 269-277.

Trouillt, Michel-Rolph. 2002. "The perspective of the world. Globalization then and now". *Beyond dichotomies: histories, identities, cultures, and the challenge of globalization*. Ed. Mudimbe-Boyti, Elisabeth. New York: State University of New York, 3-20.

Vossen, Rüdiger. 1985. *Weihnachtsbräuche in aller Welt. Weihnachtszeit – Wendezeit; Martini bis Lichtmeß*. Hamburg: Christians.

Wagnleitner, Reinhold. 1994. *Coca-Colonization and the Cold War. The cultural mission of the United States in Austria after the Second World War*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Wagnleitner, Reinhold. 2004. "I'm made for America from head to toe (The project for a new American century)". *The Americanization/Westernization of Austria*. Eds. Günter Bischof and Anton Pelinka. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 18-28.

Weber-Kellermann, Ingeborg. 1978. *Das Weihnachtsfest. Eine Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte der Weihnachtszeit*. Luzern: Bucher.

Whiteley, Sheila. 2008. "Introduction". *Christmas, ideology and popular culture*. Ed. Sheila Whiteley. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1-14.

### **Books and journals (not available)**

Chessman, Wallace G. 1990. "Thanksgiving: Another FDR Experiment," *Prologue* 22: 273-285.

Gassert, Philipp. 2000. "Was meint Amerikanisierung? Über den Begriff des Jahrhunderts". *Merkur. Deutsche Zeitschrift für europäisches Denken* 617/618: 785-796.

Schmidt, Oliver. 1999. *Civil empire by co-optation: German-American exchange programs as cultural diplomacy, 1945-1961*. PhD Diss, Harvard University.

Steinberg, Cobbett. 1978. *Reelfacts: The movie book of records*. New York: Vintage Books.

Waits, William B. Jr. 1978. *The many-faced custom: Christmas gift-giving in America, 1900-1940*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University, Department of History.

WNRC<sup>109</sup> 260/35/20, Memorandum: Eberle, January 14, 1948.

WNRC 260/35/Surveys, Headquarters USF in Austria, ISB Survey Section, Report No. 44, May 17, 1948.

---

<sup>109</sup> Washington National Record Center

## Internet

Smith, Paul. 2004. "Why 'we' lovehate 'you'". *Social science research council*, March 26 2004, <http://conconflicts.ssrc.org/USA/smith> (8 Feb. 2011).

Statith, Steven W. 1999. "Federal holidays: Evolution and application". *CRS report for Congress*, [http://senate.gov/reference/resources/pdf/Federal\\_Holidays.pdf](http://senate.gov/reference/resources/pdf/Federal_Holidays.pdf) (8 Feb. 2011).

## Works not cited (print and online)

Bunzl, John. 1999. "American attitudes toward Austria and Austrian-German relations since 1945". *From World War to Waldheim. Culture and politics in Austria and the United States*. Eds. David F. Good and Ruth Wodak. New York: Berghahn Books, 19-35.

Hannerz, Ulf. 1990. "Cosmopolitans and locals in world culture". *Global culture*. Ed. Mike Featherstone. London: Sage, 237-251.

Knotek, Sonja. "Christkind versus Santa Claus – oder umgekehrt?". *Das City Magazin*, 12/09, <http://www.dascitymagazin.at/de/rubriken/kultur---freizeit/get/page/christkind-versus-santa-claus--ci-oder-umgekehrt-/> (8 Feb. 2011).

Lacey, Nick. 1998. *Image and Representation. Key concepts in media studies*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Marling, William. 1997. "Where's the Coke? Theorising the export of American culture from the Marshall plan experience in Austria". *Living with America, 1946-1996*. Eds. Christina Giorcelli and Rob Kroes. Amsterdam: VU University Press, 53-60.

Ostendorf, Berndt; et al. 2003. "An introductory statement". *Iconographies of Power. The politics and poetics of visual representation*. Eds. Ulla Haselstein et al. Heidelberg: Winter, 7-9.

Storey, John. 2001. *Cultural theory and popular culture. An introduction*. (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). Harlow: Pearson Prentice Hall.

Strikwerda, Carl. 2000. "From world-systems to globalization: theories of transnational change and the place of the United States". *American Studies* 41 (2/3), 333-348.

Wagnleitner, Reinhold. 1997. "Where's the coke? There's the coke!" *Living with America, 1946-1996*. Eds. Christina Giorcelli and Rob Kroes. Amsterdam: VU University Press, 61-69.

„Wer hat's erfunden: Christkind versus Weihnachtsmann“. *ORF Insider*, 20 July 2010, <http://insider.orf.at/?story=1334> (8 Feb. 2011)

Woodward, Kathryn. 1997. "Introduction". *Identity and difference*. Ed. Kathryn Woodward. London: Sage, 1-6.





## APPENDIX

### Explanatory guide for coding sheet

This study investigates American influences on the representation of Christmas in Austrian magazines. For this reason, eight magazines which were found to deal with Christmas in particular were chosen. All issues, except for three, which had been published a few days earlier, were published during the season of Advent in 2010. Since some of these magazines appear weekly and others fortnightly or monthly, the number of each magazine's issues can vary.

<b>A.</b>	<b>Medium</b>	This category includes selected representatives of the Austrian print media. All of the media are either weekly, fortnightly or monthly appearing magazines.
a.1.	<i>Live</i>	
a.2.	<i>Die Ganze Woche</i>	
a.3.	<i>News</i>	
a.4.	<i>Woman</i>	
a.5.	<i>ORF Nachlese</i>	
a.6.	<i>Wienerin</i>	
a.7.	<i>Wiener</i>	
a.8.	<i>Miss</i>	

<b>B.</b>	<b>Specific location of item's appearance</b>	This category shows where a particular item for analysis was found.
b.1.	Cover page	
b.2.	Advertisement/ advertorial	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In contrast to shopping recommendations and gift ideas, advertisements and advertorials are already precast entries created by a company. It is possible to find them in other newspapers or magazines in the exact same form again, which is not the case with shopping recommendations and gift ideas (cf. b.5).</li> </ul>
b.3.	Headline/ subtitle/ lead	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A headline/ subtitle/ lead is defined as being in a different font, size, and/or color as the surrounding text. A headline somehow sticks out of the rest of the text.</li> <li>• Simple picture descriptions, even if they look different from the rest of the text, are not counted as a headline or subtitle but as part of an article.</li> </ul>
b.4.	Article	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The length of an article is not further considered.</li> <li>• It has to be indicated on the coding sheet that</li> </ul>

		<p>an image was found in an article if the image somehow belongs to the article.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Riddles, jokes, event lists, etc. are considered as articles.</li> </ul>
b.5.	Shopping recommendation/ gift idea	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>At least one of these aspects have to be apparent in order to count as a shopping recommendation:             <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A literal suggestion to buy an item as a Christmas gift (e.g. "Geschenkideen")</li> <li>The image of a purchase item with the indication of where to buy it</li> </ol> </li> <li>Advertisements and advertorials are not counted as shopping recommendations.</li> <li>The difference between an advertisement/advertorial and a shopping recommendation/gift idea is that the latter is editorially chosen and arranged and cannot be found in this same form in other magazines (cf. b.2).</li> </ul>

<b>C.</b>	<b>American influences</b>	This category includes all symbols and expressions which have been defined to function as representatives of the American culture and thus are seen as American influences if they appear in Austrian magazines.
c.1.	Symbols (written words)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Synonyms are not counted</li> <li>Compounds are counted (e.g. Krampusfiguren)</li> <li>Plural forms are counted</li> </ul>
c.1.1.	Santa Claus/ Santa/ Weihnachtsmann	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Minimization forms are counted as well (e.g. Weihnachtsmännchen)</li> </ul>
c.1.2.	Rudolph/ Rentier/ (Rentier-) Schlitten	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The word 'Schlitten' is only counted if it is clearly associated with Santa Claus.</li> </ul>
c.2.	Symbols (images)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>All images, including real photographs, cartoons, silhouettes, dressed-up people, etc. are counted as images.</li> <li>This includes 'images of images' (e.g. pictured postcards, gifts, etc. with one or more of these images on them)</li> <li>Images have to be clearly identifiable as such; this means that they have to be particularly big enough so that there is no doubt that other people would recognize them as such as well.</li> <li>If the image is part of a craft instruction (i.e. "Bastelidee") only the end result, i.e. a complete version, is counted.</li> </ul>
c.2.1.	Santa Claus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Every image that has resemblance with the Coca-Cola Santa Claus (i.e. a Santa's hat, a robe with white fur, a black belt, black boots, a white beard, etc.). Not all characteristics have</li> </ul>

		to appear necessarily (for example, in the T-Mobile advertisement all the 'Santas' wear pink robes since this is the company's color).
c.2.2.	Santa hat	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Red pointy hat with white fur and white bobble as known from Santa Claus.</li> </ul>
c.2.3.	Reindeer/ reindeer sleigh	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Deers are not counted. If it is not clear whether the image is of a deer or a reindeer, it is not counted.</li> </ul>
c.2.4.	Christmas stocking	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Stockings used with the intention to be filled with gifts.</li> <li>• They have to stand in obvious relation to Christmas.</li> </ul>

<b>D.</b>	<b>Austrian characteristics</b>	This category includes all symbols and expressions which have been defined to function as representatives of the Austrian culture.
d.1.	Symbols (written words)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Synonyms are not counted (e.g. Krampus= Schreckgestalt= Pferdefüßiger -&gt; only the word Krampus counts)</li> <li>• Compounds are counted</li> <li>• (e.g. Krampusfiguren)</li> <li>• Plural forms are counted</li> </ul>
d.1.1.	Christkind/ Christkindl	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Minimization forms are counted as well (e.g. Christkinderl)</li> </ul>
d.1.2.	Nikolaus/ Nikolo	
d.1.3.	Krampus	
d.1.4.	Adventkalender	
d.1.5.	Adventkranz	
d.1.6.	Christkindl-/ Weihnachts-/ Adventmarkt	
d.2.	Symbols (images)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• All images, including real photographs, cartoons, silhouettes, etc. are counted as images.</li> <li>• This includes 'images of images' (e.g. pictured postcards, gifts, etc. with one of these images on them) as long as they are clearly recognizable as the image.</li> <li>• Images have to be clearly identifiable as such; this means that they have to be particularly big enough so that there is no doubt that other people would undoubtedly recognize them as such as well.</li> <li>• If the image is part of a craft instruction (i.e. "Bastelidee") only the end result, i.e. a complete version, is counted.</li> </ul>
d.2.1.	Christkind	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Every image that has resemblance with the description of Christkind in Part II of this thesis (i.e. baby in the manger or angel-like girl with golden hair)</li> </ul>

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>It has to be the image of a fairy however, so if the image is a real person it needs to be obvious that this person is dressed up (for example wearing wings). The simple image of a blonde woman is not enough.</li> </ul>
d.2.2.	Nikolo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>At least two of the following items need to be apparent: miter, bishop's crozier, long robe.</li> </ul>
d.2.3.	Krampus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The image should have resemblance with the description of Krampus in chapter 7.1.2. Krampus is a black-furred, devil-like creature, with horns on his head and often a red tongue hanging out and a chain in his hands.</li> </ul>
d.2.4.	Adventkalender	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>An Adventkalender is characterized by 24 different symbols. These can be 24 images, 24 numbers, 24 articles, 24 gift ideas, etc.</li> <li>It has to be clear however, that the division into 24 categories is associated with Christmas and consciously resembling an Adventkalender.</li> </ul>
d.2.5.	Adventkranz	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A wreath holding four candles.</li> </ul>
d.2.6.	Christkindlmarkt	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>This category is defined by the depiction of several selling booths/Christmas kiosks in one spot.</li> </ul>

<b>E.</b>	<b>Language</b>	
e.1.	English expressions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Only the words "Xmas" and "Christmas" are counted</li> </ul>
e.2.	German expressions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Only the words "(vor)weihnachtlich", "Weihnacht(en)" and compounds are counted (e.g. "Weihnachtsabend", "Weihnachtsgeschenk", "Weihnachts...")</li> </ul>

## Coding sheet

*Live*

**Live Winter Spezial, 27 November 2010**

American influences						
	Symbols (written words)		Symbols (images)			
Location of item's appearance	Santa Claus/ Santa/ Weihnachts- mann	Rudolph/ Rentier/ (Rentier-) Schlitten	Santa Claus	Santa hat	Reindeer/ (Reindeer) sleigh	Christmas stocking
Cover page						
Advertisement/ Advertorial	I					
Headline/ subtitle/ lead						
Article		I				
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

Austrian characteristics						
	Symbols (written words)		Symbols (images)			
Location of item's appearance	Christkind/ Christkindl	Nikolaus/ Nikolo	Krampus	Advent- kalender	Advent- kranz	Christkindl-/ Weihnachts-/ Adventmarkt
Cover page	I					
Advertisement/ advertorial	I			I		
Headline/ subtitle/ lead				I	I	
Article		I		I		
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas	I					

Austrian characteristics						
	Symbols (images)		Symbols (images)			
Location of item's appearance	Christkind	Nikolo	Krampus	Advent- kalender	Advent- kranz	Christkindl- markt
Cover page						
Advertisement/ advertorial	I			I		
Article				I	I	
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

Location of item's appearance	English expressions	German expressions
Cover page		
Advertisement/ advertorial		I
Headline/ subtitle/ lead		
Article		
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas		

**Live 48, 3 December 2010**

<b>American influences</b>						
	<b>Symbols (written words)</b>		<b>Symbols (images)</b>			
<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>Santa Claus/ Santa/ Weihnachtsmann</b>	<b>Rudolph/ Rentier/ (Rentier-) Schlitten</b>	<b>Santa Claus</b>	<b>Santa hat</b>	<b>Reindeer/ (Reindeer) sleigh</b>	<b>Christmas stocking</b>
Cover page						
Advertisement/ Advertorial						
Headline/ subtitle/ lead						
Article		I				
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

<b>Austrian characteristics</b>						
	<b>Symbols (written words)</b>					
<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>Christkind/ Christkindl</b>	<b>Nikolaus/ Nikolo</b>	<b>Krampus</b>	<b>Adventkalender</b>	<b>Adventkranz</b>	<b>Christkindl-/ Weihnachts-/ Adventmarkt</b>
Cover page						
Advertisement/ advertorial						
Headline/ subtitle/ lead		I	II			
Article		II	III			
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

<b>Austrian characteristics</b>						
	<b>Symbols (images)</b>					
<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>Christkind</b>	<b>Nikolo</b>	<b>Krampus</b>	<b>Adventkalender</b>	<b>Adventkranz</b>	<b>Christkindlmarkt</b>
Cover page						
Advertisement/ advertorial				I		
Article						
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>English expressions</b>	<b>German expressions</b>
Cover page		
Advertisement/ advertorial		I
Headline/ subtitle/ lead	I	I
Article		IIII
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas		

**Live 49, 10 December 2010**

<b>American influences</b>						
	<b>Symbols (written words)</b>		<b>Symbols (images)</b>			
<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>Santa Claus/ Santa/ Weihnachtsmann</b>	<b>Rudolph/ Rentier/ (Rentier-) Schlitten</b>	<b>Santa Claus</b>	<b>Santa hat</b>	<b>Reindeer/ (Reindeer) sleigh</b>	<b>Christmas stocking</b>
Cover page						
Advertisement/ Advertorial		I	III		I	
Headline/ subtitle/ lead	II					
Article	III	I	I			
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						I

<b>Austrian characteristics</b>						
	<b>Symbols (written words)</b>					
<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>Christkind/ Christkindl</b>	<b>Nikolaus/ Nikolo</b>	<b>Krampus</b>	<b>Adventkalender</b>	<b>Adventkranz</b>	<b>Christkindl-/ Weihnachts-/ Adventmarkt</b>
Cover page						
Advertisement/ advertorial						
Headline/ subtitle/ lead						
Article						
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas	III					

<b>Austrian characteristics</b>						
	<b>Symbols (images)</b>					
<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>Christkind</b>	<b>Nikolo</b>	<b>Krampus</b>	<b>Adventkalender</b>	<b>Adventkranz</b>	<b>Christkindlmarkt</b>
Cover page						
Advertisement/ advertorial						
Article						
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas	I					

<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>English expressions</b>	<b>German expressions</b>
Cover page		I
Advertisement/ advertorial		III
Headline/ subtitle/ lead		
Article		I
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas		I

**Live 50, 17 December 2010**

<b>American influences</b>						
	<b>Symbols (written words)</b>		<b>Symbols (images)</b>			
<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>Santa Claus/ Santa/ Weihnachtsmann</b>	<b>Rudolph/ Rentier/ (Rentier-) Schlitten</b>	<b>Santa Claus</b>	<b>Santa hat</b>	<b>Reindeer/ (Reindeer) sleigh</b>	<b>Christmas stocking</b>
Cover page						
Advertisement/ Advertorial						
Headline/ subtitle/ lead						
Article				II		
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

<b>Austrian characteristics</b>						
	<b>Symbols (written words)</b>			<b>Symbols (images)</b>		
<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>Christkind/ Christkindl</b>	<b>Nikolaus/ Nikolo</b>	<b>Krampus</b>	<b>Adventkalender</b>	<b>Adventkranz</b>	<b>Christkindl-/ Weihnachts-/ Adventmarkt</b>
Cover page						
Advertisement/ advertorial						
Headline/ subtitle/ lead	I			I		
Article	I					
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

<b>Austrian characteristics</b>						
	<b>Symbols (written words)</b>			<b>Symbols (images)</b>		
<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>Christkind</b>	<b>Nikolo</b>	<b>Krampus</b>	<b>Adventkalender</b>	<b>Adventkranz</b>	<b>Christkindlmarkt</b>
Cover page						
Advertisement/ advertorial					I	
Article						
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>English expressions</b>	<b>German expressions</b>
Cover page		I
Advertisement/ advertorial		I
Headline/ subtitle/ lead	II	II
Article	IIII	IIII IIII
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas		I



**Live 51, 24 December 2010**

<b>American influences</b>						
	<b>Symbols (written words)</b>		<b>Symbols (images)</b>			
<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>Santa Claus/ Santa/ Weihnachtsmann</b>	<b>Rudolph/ Rentier/ (Rentier-) Schlitten</b>	<b>Santa Claus</b>	<b>Santa hat</b>	<b>Reindeer/ (Reindeer) sleigh</b>	<b>Christmas stocking</b>
Cover page						
Advertisement/ Advertorial						
Headline/ subtitle/ lead						
Article	IIII I	II		I		
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

<b>Austrian characteristics</b>						
	<b>Symbols (written words)</b>		<b>Symbols (images)</b>			
<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>Christkind/ Christkindl</b>	<b>Nikolaus/ Nikolo</b>	<b>Krampus</b>	<b>Adventkalender</b>	<b>Adventkranz</b>	<b>Christkindl-/ Weihnachts-/ Adventmarkt</b>
Cover page						
Advertisement/ advertorial						I
Headline/ subtitle/ lead	I					
Article	I					
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

<b>Austrian characteristics</b>						
	<b>Symbols (images)</b>		<b>Symbols (images)</b>			
<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>Christkind</b>	<b>Nikolo</b>	<b>Krampus</b>	<b>Adventkalender</b>	<b>Adventkranz</b>	<b>Christkindlmarkt</b>
Cover page						
Advertisement/ advertorial						
Article						
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>English expressions</b>	<b>German expressions</b>
Cover page		II
Advertisement/ advertorial		I
Headline/ subtitle/ lead		IIII
Article	I	IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas		

**Die Ganze Woche**

**Die Ganze Woche 48, 1 December 2010**

<b>American influences</b>						
	<b>Symbols (written words)</b>		<b>Symbols (images)</b>			
<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>Santa Claus/ Santa/ Weihnachtsmann</b>	<b>Rudolph/ Rentier/ (Rentier-) Schlitten</b>	<b>Santa Claus</b>	<b>Santa hat</b>	<b>Reindeer/ (Reindeer) sleigh</b>	<b>Christmas stocking</b>
Cover page						
Advertisement/ Advertorial						
Headline/ subtitle/ lead						
Article						
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

<b>Austrian characteristics</b>						
	<b>Symbols (written words)</b>					
<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>Christkind/ Christkindl</b>	<b>Nikolaus/ Nikolo</b>	<b>Krampus</b>	<b>Adventkalender</b>	<b>Adventkranz</b>	<b>Christkindl-/ Weihnachts-/ Adventmarkt</b>
Cover page		I				
Advertisement/ advertorial						
Headline/ subtitle/ lead		II				I
Article	I	II	I			II
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

<b>Austrian characteristics</b>						
	<b>Symbols (images)</b>					
<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>Christkind</b>	<b>Nikolo</b>	<b>Krampus</b>	<b>Adventkalender</b>	<b>Adventkranz</b>	<b>Christkindlmarkt</b>
Cover page	I	I				
Advertisement/ advertorial						
Article		II				
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>English expressions</b>	<b>German expressions</b>
Cover page		
Advertisement/ advertorial		
Headline/ subtitle/ lead		I
Article	II	
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas		

**Die Ganze Woche 49, 7 December 2010**

<b>American influences</b>						
	<b>Symbols (written words)</b>		<b>Symbols (images)</b>			
<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>Santa Claus/ Santa/ Weihnachtsmann</b>	<b>Rudolph/ Rentier/ (Rentier-) Schlitten</b>	<b>Santa Claus</b>	<b>Santa hat</b>	<b>Reindeer/ (Reindeer) sleigh</b>	<b>Christmas stocking</b>
Cover page						
Advertisement/ Advertorial						
Headline/ subtitle/ lead						
Article						
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

<b>Austrian characteristics</b>						
	<b>Symbols (written words)</b>		<b>Symbols (images)</b>			
<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>Christkind/ Christkindl</b>	<b>Nikolaus/ Nikolo</b>	<b>Krampus</b>	<b>Adventkalender</b>	<b>Adventkranz</b>	<b>Christkindl-/ Weihnachts-/ Adventmarkt</b>
Cover page						
Advertisement/ advertorial						
Headline/ subtitle/ lead						
Article						
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

<b>Austrian characteristics</b>						
	<b>Symbols (images)</b>		<b>Symbols (images)</b>			
<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>Christkind</b>	<b>Nikolo</b>	<b>Krampus</b>	<b>Adventkalender</b>	<b>Adventkranz</b>	<b>Christkindlmarkt</b>
Cover page						
Advertisement/ advertorial						
Article						
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>English expressions</b>	<b>German expressions</b>
Cover page		
Advertisement/ advertorial		
Headline/ subtitle/ lead		
Article		 
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas		

**Die Ganze Woche 50/51, 15 December 2010**

American influences						
Symbols (written words)		Symbols (images)				
Location of item's appearance	Santa Claus/ Santa/ Weihnachtsmann	Rudolph/ Rentier/ (Rentier-) Schlitten	Santa Claus	Santa hat	Reindeer/ (Reindeer) sleigh	Christmas stocking
Cover page						
Advertisement/ Advertorial						
Headline/ subtitle/ lead						
Article	I					
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

Austrian characteristics						
Symbols (written words)		Symbols (images)				
Location of item's appearance	Christkind/ Christkindl	Nikolaus/ Nikolo	Krampus	Adventkalender	Adventkranz	Christkindl-/ Weihnachts-/ Adventmarkt
Cover page						
Advertisement/ advertorial						
Headline/ subtitle/ lead	I					
Article						
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

Austrian characteristics						
Symbols (images)		Symbols (written words)				
Location of item's appearance	Christkind	Nikolo	Krampus	Adventkalender	Adventkranz	Christkindlmarkt
Cover page	I					
Advertisement/ advertorial						
Article						
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

Location of item's appearance	English expressions	German expressions
Cover page		I
Advertisement/ advertorial		I
Headline/ subtitle/ lead		
Article		
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas		

**News**

**News 48, 2 December 2010**

<b>American influences</b>						
	<b>Symbols (written words)</b>		<b>Symbols (images)</b>			
<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>Santa Claus/ Santa/ Weihnachtsmann</b>	<b>Rudolph/ Rentier/ (Rentier-) Schlitten</b>	<b>Santa Claus</b>	<b>Santa hat</b>	<b>Reindeer/ (Reindeer) sleigh</b>	<b>Christmas stocking</b>
Cover page						
Advertisement/ Advertorial						
Headline/ subtitle/ lead						
Article						
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

<b>Austrian characteristics</b>						
	<b>Symbols (written words)</b>					
<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>Christkind/ Christkindl</b>	<b>Nikolaus/ Nikolo</b>	<b>Krampus</b>	<b>Adventkalender</b>	<b>Adventkranz</b>	<b>Christkindl-/ Weihnachts-/ Adventmarkt</b>
Cover page						
Advertisement/ advertorial						
Headline/ subtitle/ lead						
Article						
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

<b>Austrian characteristics</b>						
	<b>Symbols (images)</b>					
<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>Christkind</b>	<b>Nikolo</b>	<b>Krampus</b>	<b>Adventkalender</b>	<b>Adventkranz</b>	<b>Christkindlmarkt</b>
Cover page						
Advertisement/ advertorial						
Article						
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>English expressions</b>	<b>German expressions</b>
Cover page		
Advertisement/ advertorial		
Headline/ subtitle/ lead		
Article		
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas		

News 49, 9 December 2010

American influences						
		Symbols (written words)		Symbols (images)		
Location of item's appearance	Santa Claus/ Santa/ Weihnachtsmann	Rudolph/ Rentier/ (Rentier-) Schlitten	Santa Claus	Santa hat	Reindeer/ (Reindeer) sleigh	Christmas stocking
Cover page						
Advertisement/ Advertorial						
Headline/ subtitle/ lead						
Article						
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

Austrian characteristics						
		Symbols (written words)				
Location of item's appearance	Christkind/ Christkindl	Nikolaus/ Nikolo	Krampus	Adventkalender	Adventkranz	Christkindl-/ Weihnachts-/ Adventmarkt
Cover page						
Advertisement/ advertorial						
Headline/ subtitle/ lead						
Article						
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

Austrian characteristics						
		Symbols (images)				
Location of item's appearance	Christkind	Nikolo	Krampus	Adventkalender	Adventkranz	Christkindlmarkt
Cover page						
Advertisement/ advertorial						
Article						
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

Location of item's appearance	English expressions	German expressions
Cover page		
Advertisement/ advertorial		
Headline/ subtitle/ lead		
Article		
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas		

**News 50, 16 December 2010**

<b>American influences</b>						
	<b>Symbols (written words)</b>		<b>Symbols (images)</b>			
<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>Santa Claus/ Santa/ Weihnachtsmann</b>	<b>Rudolph/ Rentier/ (Rentier-) Schlitten</b>	<b>Santa Claus</b>	<b>Santa hat</b>	<b>Reindeer/ (Reindeer) sleigh</b>	<b>Christmas stocking</b>
Cover page						
Advertisement/ Advertorial						
Headline/ subtitle/ lead						
Article						
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

<b>Austrian characteristics</b>						
	<b>Symbols (written words)</b>					
<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>Christkind/ Christkindl</b>	<b>Nikolaus/ Nikolo</b>	<b>Krampus</b>	<b>Adventkalender</b>	<b>Adventkranz</b>	<b>Christkindl-/ Weihnachts-/ Adventmarkt</b>
Cover page						
Advertisement/ advertorial						
Headline/ subtitle/ lead						
Article						
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

<b>Austrian characteristics</b>						
	<b>Symbols (images)</b>					
<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>Christkind</b>	<b>Nikolo</b>	<b>Krampus</b>	<b>Adventkalender</b>	<b>Adventkranz</b>	<b>Christkindlmarkt</b>
Cover page						
Advertisement/ advertorial						
Article						
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>English expressions</b>	<b>German expressions</b>
Cover page		
Advertisement/ advertorial		
Headline/ subtitle/ lead		
Article		
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas		

**News 51, 22 December 2010**

American influences							
Location of item's appearance		Symbols (written words)		Symbols (images)			
Location of item's appearance		Santa Claus/ Santa/ Weihnachtsmann	Rudolph/ Rentier/ (Rentier-) Schlitten	Santa Claus	Santa hat	Reindeer/ (Reindeer) sleigh	Christmas stocking
Cover page							
Advertisement/ Advertorial				IIII II		I	
Headline/ subtitle/ lead							
Article							
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas							

Austrian characteristics							
Location of item's appearance		Symbols (written words)		Symbols (images)			
Location of item's appearance		Christkind/ Christkindl	Nikolaus/ Nikolo	Krampus	Adventkalender	Adventkranz	Christkindl-/ Weihnachts-/ Adventmarkt
Cover page							
Advertisement/ advertorial							
Headline/ subtitle/ lead							
Article							
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas							

Austrian characteristics							
Location of item's appearance		Symbols (written words)		Symbols (images)			
Location of item's appearance		Christkind	Nikolo	Krampus	Adventkalender	Adventkranz	Christkindlmarkt
Cover page							
Advertisement/ advertorial							
Article							
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas							

Location of item's appearance	English expressions	German expressions
Cover page		
Advertisement/ advertorial		IIII IIII I
Headline/ subtitle/ lead		I
Article		
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas		



**Woman**

**Woman 24, 26 November 2010**

	American influences					
	Symbols (written words)		Symbols (images)			
Location of item's appearance	Santa Claus/ Santa/ Weihnachts- mann	Rudolph/ Rentier/ (Rentier-) Schlitten	Santa Claus	Santa hat	Reindeer/ (Reindeer) sleigh	Christmas stocking
Cover page						
Advertisement/ Advertorial	I		IIII	II	II	
Headline/ subtitle/ lead	I					
Article	IIII		IIII			
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas	I	I			I	

	Austrian characteristics					
	Symbols (written words)					
Location of item's appearance	Christkind/ Christkindl	Nikolaus/ Nikolo	Krampus	Advent- kalender	Advent- kranz	Christkindl- Weihnachts-/ Adventmarkt
Cover page						
Advertisement/ advertorial	IIII II			IIII		II
Headline/ subtitle/ lead	IIII			IIII		III
Article	III	I		IIII II		IIII
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas	I					

	Austrian characteristics					
	Symbols (images)					
Location of item's appearance	Christkind	Nikolo	Krampus	Advent- kalender	Advent- kranz	Christkindl- markt
Cover page						
Advertisement/ advertorial	I			I		
Article				II		III
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

Location of item's appearance	English expressions	German expressions
Cover page		
Advertisement/ advertorial	I	IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII III
Headline/ subtitle/ lead	IIII I	IIII IIII IIII IIII I
Article	IIII IIII	IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas	IIII	IIII

**Woman 25, 10 December 2010**

American influences						
	Symbols (written words)		Symbols (images)			
Location of item's appearance	Santa Claus/ Santa/ Weihnachts- mann	Rudolph/ Rentier/ (Rentier-) Schlitten	Santa Claus	Santa hat	Reindeer/ (Reindeer) sleigh	Christmas stocking
Cover page						
Advertisement/ Advertorial	I		III	IIII		
Headline/ subtitle/ lead	IIII					
Article	II		IIII IIII I			
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas		I	I	I		

Austrian characteristics						
	Symbols (written words)					
Location of item's appearance	Christkind/ Christkindl	Nikolaus/ Nikolo	Krampus	Advent- kalender	Advent- kranz	Christkindl/ Weihnachts-/ Adventmarkt
Cover page						
Advertisement/ advertorial	IIII III					
Headline/ subtitle/ lead	IIII					
Article	IIII IIIII III	II				II
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

Austrian characteristics						
	Symbols (images)					
Location of item's appearance	Christkind	Nikolo	Krampus	Advent- kalender	Advent- kranz	Christkindl- markt
Cover page						
Advertisement/ advertorial	I			I		
Article					I	
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

Location of item's appearance	English expressions	German expressions
Cover page	I	I
Advertisement/ advertorial	IIII	IIII IIII IIII IIII III
Headline/ subtitle/ lead	IIII II	IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII
Article	IIII	IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII III
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas	IIII III	IIII IIII IIII III

**Woman 26, 23 December 2010**

<b>American influences</b>						
	<b>Symbols (written words)</b>		<b>Symbols (images)</b>			
<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>Santa Claus/ Santa/ Weihnachtsmann</b>	<b>Rudolph/ Rentier/ (Rentier-) Schlitten</b>	<b>Santa Claus</b>	<b>Santa hat</b>	<b>Reindeer/ (Reindeer) sleigh</b>	<b>Christmas stocking</b>
Cover page						
Advertisement/ Advertorial	I		IIII			
Headline/ subtitle/ lead						
Article						
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

<b>Austrian characteristics</b>						
	<b>Symbols (written words)</b>		<b>Symbols (images)</b>			
<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>Christkind/ Christkindl</b>	<b>Nikolaus/ Nikolo</b>	<b>Krampus</b>	<b>Adventkalender</b>	<b>Adventkranz</b>	<b>Christkindl-/ Weihnachts-/ Adventmarkt</b>
Cover page						
Advertisement/ advertorial	II					
Headline/ subtitle/ lead						
Article						
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

<b>Austrian characteristics</b>						
	<b>Symbols (images)</b>		<b>Symbols (images)</b>			
<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>Christkind</b>	<b>Nikolo</b>	<b>Krampus</b>	<b>Adventkalender</b>	<b>Adventkranz</b>	<b>Christkindlmarkt</b>
Cover page						
Advertisement/ advertorial						
Article						
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>English expressions</b>	<b>German expressions</b>
Cover page		
Advertisement/ advertorial		IIII IIII
Headline/ subtitle/ lead		
Article		
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas		

**ORF Nachlese**

**ORF Nachlese edition (Das große Weihnachtsextra), 19 November 2010**

<b>American influences</b>						
	<b>Symbols (written words)</b>		<b>Symbols (images)</b>			
<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>Santa Claus/ Santa/ Weihnachtsmann</b>	<b>Rudolph/ Rentier/ (Rentier-) Schlitten</b>	<b>Santa Claus</b>	<b>Santa hat</b>	<b>Reindeer/ (Reindeer) sleigh</b>	<b>Christmas stocking</b>
Cover page						
Advertisement/ Advertorial				II		
Headline/ subtitle/ lead						
Article						
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

<b>Austrian characteristics</b>						
	<b>Symbols (written words)</b>					
<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>Christkind/ Christkindl</b>	<b>Nikolaus/ Nikolo</b>	<b>Krampus</b>	<b>Adventkalender</b>	<b>Adventkranz</b>	<b>Christkindl-/ Weihnachts-/ Adventmarkt</b>
Cover page						
Advertisement/ advertorial	I					I
Headline/ subtitle/ lead	I	IIIIII	IIII	I	III	
Article	I	II		I	IIIIII	I
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

<b>Austrian characteristics</b>						
	<b>Symbols (images)</b>					
<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>Christkind</b>	<b>Nikolo</b>	<b>Krampus</b>	<b>Adventkalender</b>	<b>Adventkranz</b>	<b>Christkindlmarkt</b>
Cover page						
Advertisement/ advertorial						
Article		I		I	II	
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>English expressions</b>	<b>German expressions</b>
Cover page		II
Advertisement/ advertorial		IIIIII IIIII IIIII IIIII IIIII
Headline/ subtitle/ lead	II	IIIIII IIIII IIIII IIIII IIIII
Article		IIIIII IIIII IIIII IIIII IIIII IIIII IIIII
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas		IIIIII

**ORF Nachlese 12/2010**

American influences						
	Symbols (written words)		Symbols (images)			
Location of item's appearance	Santa Claus/ Santa/ Weihnachtsmann	Rudolph/ Rentier/ (Rentier-) Schlitten	Santa Claus	Santa hat	Reindeer/ (Reindeer) sleigh	Christmas stocking
Cover page						
Advertisement/ Advertorial						
Headline/ subtitle/ lead	II					
Article	III	I	II	IIII IIII IIII III	I	IIII I
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas			II		I	

Austrian characteristics						
	Symbols (written words)		Symbols (images)			
Location of item's appearance	Christkind/ Christkindl	Nikolaus/ Nikolo	Krampus	Adventkalender	Adventkranz	Christkindl-/ Weihnachts-/ Adventmarkt
Cover page						
Advertisement/ advertorial				IIII		
Headline/ subtitle/ lead	IIII			I		III
Article	IIII IIII	I	I	II	I	IIII IIII III
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas	III			I		

Austrian characteristics						
	Symbols (written words)		Symbols (images)			
Location of item's appearance	Christkind	Nikolo	Krampus	Adventkalender	Adventkranz	Christkindlmarkt
Cover page						
Advertisement/ advertorial				I		
Article	II			I		II
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

Location of item's appearance	English expressions	German expressions
Cover page		I
Advertisement/ advertorial		IIII IIII
Headline/ subtitle/ lead	II	IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII II
Article	IIII III	IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas		IIII IIII I

**Wienerin**

**Wienerin 255, December 2010**

<b>American influences</b>						
	<b>Symbols (written words)</b>		<b>Symbols (images)</b>			
<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>Santa Claus/ Santa/ Weihnachtsmann</b>	<b>Rudolph/ Rentier/ (Rentier-) Schlitten</b>	<b>Santa Claus</b>	<b>Santa hat</b>	<b>Reindeer/ (Reindeer) sleigh</b>	<b>Christmas stocking</b>
Cover page						
Advertisement/ Advertorial	III		IIII	II		
Headline/ subtitle/ lead	I					
Article	II					
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas	IIII			II		

<b>Austrian characteristics</b>						
	<b>Symbols (written words)</b>					
<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>Christkind/ Christkindl</b>	<b>Nikolaus/ Nikolo</b>	<b>Krampus</b>	<b>Adventkalender</b>	<b>Adventkranz</b>	<b>Christkindl-/ Weihnachts-/ Adventmarkt</b>
Cover page						
Advertisement/ advertorial	III			II		II
Headline/ subtitle/ lead	I			II		
Article	I			IIII II	II	I
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas	IIII			I	I	II

<b>Austrian characteristics</b>						
	<b>Symbols (images)</b>					
<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>Christkind</b>	<b>Nikolo</b>	<b>Krampus</b>	<b>Adventkalender</b>	<b>Adventkranz</b>	<b>Christkindlmarkt</b>
Cover page						
Advertisement/ advertorial	III					
Article				II	I	
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas	I					

<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>English expressions</b>	<b>German expressions</b>
Cover page	I	I
Advertisement/ advertorial	II	IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII III
Headline/ subtitle/ lead	III	IIII IIII III
Article	II	IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII I
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas	IIII	IIII IIII III

**Wiener**

**Wiener 352, December 2010**

<b>American influences</b>						
	<b>Symbols (written words)</b>		<b>Symbols (images)</b>			
<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>Santa Claus/ Santa/ Weihnachtsmann</b>	<b>Rudolph/ Rentier/ (Rentier-) Schlitten</b>	<b>Santa Claus</b>	<b>Santa hat</b>	<b>Reindeer/ (Reindeer) sleigh</b>	<b>Christmas stocking</b>
Cover page						
Advertisement/ Advertorial						
Headline/ subtitle/ lead						
Article						
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

<b>Austrian characteristics</b>						
	<b>Symbols (written words)</b>					
<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>Christkind/ Christkindl</b>	<b>Nikolaus/ Nikolo</b>	<b>Krampus</b>	<b>Adventkalender</b>	<b>Adventkranz</b>	<b>Christkindl-/ Weihnachts-/ Adventmarkt</b>
Cover page						
Advertisement/ advertorial						
Headline/ subtitle/ lead						
Article						
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

<b>Austrian characteristics</b>						
	<b>Symbols (images)</b>					
<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>Christkind</b>	<b>Nikolo</b>	<b>Krampus</b>	<b>Adventkalender</b>	<b>Adventkranz</b>	<b>Christkindlmarkt</b>
Cover page						
Advertisement/ advertorial						
Article						
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>English expressions</b>	<b>German expressions</b>
Cover page		
Advertisement/ advertorial		
Headline/ subtitle/ lead		
Article		
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas		

**Miss**

**Miss 12, Winter 2010/2011**

<b>American influences</b>						
	<b>Symbols (written words)</b>		<b>Symbols (images)</b>			
<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>Santa Claus/ Santa/ Weihnachtsmann</b>	<b>Rudolph/ Rentier/ (Rentier-) Schlitten</b>	<b>Santa Claus</b>	<b>Santa hat</b>	<b>Reindeer/ (Reindeer) sleigh</b>	<b>Christmas stocking</b>
Cover page						
Advertisement/ Advertorial						
Headline/ subtitle/ lead						
Article						
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

<b>Austrian characteristics</b>						
	<b>Symbols (written words)</b>					
<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>Christkind/ Christkindl</b>	<b>Nikolaus/ Nikolo</b>	<b>Krampus</b>	<b>Adventkalender</b>	<b>Adventkranz</b>	<b>Christkindl-/ Weihnachts-/ Adventmarkt</b>
Cover page						
Advertisement/ advertorial						
Headline/ subtitle/ lead						
Article						
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

<b>Austrian characteristics</b>						
	<b>Symbols (images)</b>					
<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>Christkind</b>	<b>Nikolo</b>	<b>Krampus</b>	<b>Adventkalender</b>	<b>Adventkranz</b>	<b>Christkindlmarkt</b>
Cover page						
Advertisement/ advertorial						
Article						
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas						

<b>Location of item's appearance</b>	<b>English expressions</b>	<b>German expressions</b>
Cover page		
Advertisement/ advertorial		
Headline/ subtitle/ lead		
Article		
Shopping recommendations/ gift ideas		



**Relationship between Austrian characteristics and American influences in Austrian magazines**

	<b>Austrian symbols</b>	<b>American symbols</b>	<b>German expressions</b>	<b>English expressions</b>
<b>Live (Total)</b>	111	40	140	8
Winter Spezial	91	16	73	0
No.48	9	1	7	1
No.49	5	12	6	0
No.50	4	2	14	6
No.51	2	9	40	1
<b>Die Ganze Woche (Total)</b>	124	38	158	3
No.48	84	4	41	2
No.49	4	8	36	1
No.50/51	36	26	81	0
<b>News (Total)</b>	28	36	119	34
No.48	14	12	42	13
No.50	12	8	27	10
No.49	2	8	38	11
No.51	0	8	12	0
<b>Woman (Total)</b>	82	55	267	45
No.24	48	22	128	20
No.25	32	28	130	25
No.26	2	5	9	0
<b>ORF Nachlese (Total)</b>	82	45	174	12
Edition	30	2	67	2
12/2010	52	43	107	10
<b>Wienerin (Total)</b>	36	20	102	12
No.255	36	20	102	12
<b>Wiener (Total)</b>	8	31	14	1
No.352	8	31	14	1
<b>Miss (Total)</b>	5	0	38	9
No.12	5	0	38	9
<b>Total</b>	<b>476</b>	<b>265</b>	<b>1012</b>	<b>124</b>

**Specific location of appearance**

	<b>Austrian symbols</b>	<b>American symbols</b>	<b>German expressions</b>	<b>English expressions</b>
<b>Cover page</b>	6	3	12	2
<b>Advertisement/advertorial</b>	80	99	256	12
<b>Headline/subtitle/lead</b>	75	10	180	27
<b>Article</b>	287	129	463	34
<b>Shopping rec./gift ideas</b>	28	24	101	49

## Christkind vs. Santa Claus

	Christkind		Santa Claus	
	Symbol (written)	Symbol (image)	Symbol (written)	Symbol (image)
<b>Live (Total)</b>	35	2	17	8
Winter Spezial	28	1	6	4
No.48	0	0	0	0
No.49	3	1	5	4
No.50	2	0	0	0
No.51	2	0	6	0
<b>Die Ganze Woche (Total)</b>	29	4	1	12
No.48	1	1	0	0
No.49	0	0	0	2
No.50/51	28	3	1	10
<b>News (Total)</b>	4	0	3	24
No.48	1	0	1	6
No.50	2	0	2	6
No.49	1	0	0	5
No.51	0	0	0	7
<b>Woman (Total)</b>	42	2	16	27
No.24	15	1	8	8
No.25	25	1	7	15
No.26	2	0	1	4
<b>ORF Nachlese (Total)</b>	21	2	5	4
Edition	18	2	5	4
12/2010	3	0	0	0
<b>Wienerin (Total)</b>	9	4	11	5
No.255	9	4	11	5
<b>Wiener (Total)</b>	3	2	11	3
No.352	3	2	11	3
<b>Miss (Total)</b>	2	0	0	0
No.12	2	0	0	0
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>145</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>83</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>161</b>		<b>147</b>	

## **ABSTRACT (ENGLISH)**

Over the last number of years there have been public objections against the adoption and inclusion of American Christmas symbols and practices in Austria. Through a quantitative content analysis of eight different Austrian magazines and a hermeneutic interpretation, this thesis will address to what extent American culture has influenced the representation of Christmas in Austrian magazines and whether Austrian characteristics are currently being replaced. Various globalization processes and the crucial role of the United States in global cultural changes served as a starting point for this study and will be explained and related to each other in this paper. Particular attention is paid to the fear of the homogenization of different cultures because of the high impact of American media and culture products. Furthermore, the historical influence of America on Austria since the end of World War II and the meaning of Christmas in the 21<sup>st</sup> century will be discussed to better understand the Austrian context. The results of this study show that numerous claims about American symbols not displacing Austrian symbols were confirmed. However, American influences are evident and can be spotted particularly well in magazines with a greater male than female audience as well as in advertisements. The visual image of Santa Claus appears more often than that of Christkind, but the term Christkind is mentioned more often than the term Santa Claus/Weihnachtsmann. Overall, the outcome of this study demonstrates that both American and Austrian symbols co-exist and generate new hybridities, such as a new meaning of Christkind.



## **ABSTRACT (GERMAN)**

In den letzten Jahren schien die Debatte rund um „Christkind vs. Santa Claus“ und den amerikanischen Einfluss auf das österreichische Weihnachtsfest immer lauter zu werden. Durch eine quantitative Inhaltsanalyse acht verschiedener österreichischer Zeitschriften und einer hermeneutischen Interpretation, zeigt diese Diplomarbeit auf, inwieweit die amerikanische Kultur tatsächlich die Darstellung von Weihnachten in österreichischen Zeitschriften beeinflusst hat und ob österreichische Kulturmerkmale dadurch bereits verdrängt wurden. Diverse Globalisierungsprozesse und die äußerst wichtige Rolle der Vereinigten Staaten im globalen Kulturwandel, dienten als Ausgangspunkt für diese Studie und werden ausführlich erklärt und miteinander in Bezug gebracht. Vor allem die Angst vor einer Homogenisierung der Kulturen, durch den großen Einfluss von amerikanischen Medien- und Kulturprodukten, wird näher beleuchtet. Durch die Betrachtung des historischen Einflusses der USA auf Österreich seit dem Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs und die Bedeutung des Weihnachtsfestes im 21. Jahrhundert, soll der österreichische Kontext verstanden werden. Diverse Aussagen, die das Verschwinden österreichischer Kultursymbole durch amerikanische von Beginn an anzweifeln, wurden bestätigt. Dennoch sind amerikanische Einflüsse sehr wohl bemerkbar, vor allem in Zeitschriften mit einer größeren männlichen als weiblichen Leserschaft und in Werbeanzeigen. Santa Claus wird öfter bildlich dargestellt, während das Christkind öfter wörtlich erwähnt wird. Insgesamt zeigen die Ergebnisse, dass Merkmale beider Kulturen nebeneinander bestehen und neue Bedeutungen schaffen, wie zum Beispiel die des Christkinds.



## **CURRICULUM VITAE**

Anna-Lena Lock  
Born in Vienna, on 18 May, 1986

### **Education**

- |           |  |
|-----------|--|
| 2007-     | BA Mass Media and Communication Studies<br>(Bakkalaureatstudium der Publizistik und<br>Kommunikationswissenschaft)<br>University of Vienna |
| 2005-     | Module German as a Foreign Language (DaF-Modul)<br>University of Vienna  |
| 2004-     | MA English and American Studies<br>(Diplomstudium der Anglistik und Amerikanistik)<br>University of Vienna                                 |
| 2004      | High School Graduation (AHS Matura)<br>GRg13 Wenzgasse   |
| 2001-2002 | High School Exchange<br>Elk River High School, Minnesota, USA  |

### **Work experience and volunteer work**

- |           |  |
|-----------|--|
| 2010      | Receptionist<br>Austrian Lotteries and Casinos Austria                               |
| 2008-     | Audience supervisor<br>ORF, Austrian Broadcasting Corporation                        |
| 2007-2009 | Hostess<br>Dm&C, easystaff, Zaechel Austria  |
| 2007-2008 | Volunteer for children of impoverished families<br>Conviven, Buenos Aires, Argentina |
| 2002-2008 | Volunteer for AFS<br>AFS, Intercultural Programs                                     |

### **Future project**

- |           |  |
|-----------|--|
| 2011-2012 | Fulbright German Language Teaching Assistant,<br>College of Wooster, Ohio, USA |
|-----------|--|