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Ph.D.Dissertation

The Viennese Coffeehouse Culture:

Rethinking on the Acknowledgement as an Intangible National
Cultural Heritage and Its Possibilities of Glocalization

Directed by Professor Jeong, Moon-Soo



June 2013

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This dissertation, which is an original work undertaken by Tae-Hung Chung in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in European Studies, Department of International Area & Cultural Studies, is in accordance with the regulations governing the preparation and presentation of dissertations at the Graduate School in the Korea Maritime University, Republic of Korea.

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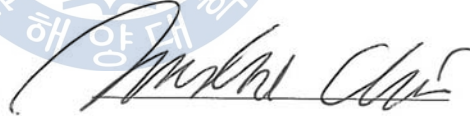
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비엔나 커피하우스 문화

- 무형 국가문화유산 등재와 글로컬라이제션에 대한 비판적 검토 -

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초록

문화연구의 방향은 문화를 실제로 파악하는 연구와 과정으로 파악하는 연구로 대별된다. 후자의 연구 관점은 전자의 관점을 비판하면서 등장한 것으로, 최근에는 이 후자의 관점이 주목받고 있다.

비엔나 커피하우스 문화는 실체이기도 하고 과정이기도 하다. 말하자면 비엔나 커피하우스 문화는 역사적 변화 속에서 정체성을 유지해 왔고 유지해 갈 것이다. 이 점에서 필자는 비엔나 커피하우스 문화를 바라보는 관점에 실체론적 문화와 과정론적 문화의 대비가 가능하다고 본다. 이러한 필자의 관점을 문헌연구와 면담조사를 통해 제시하고 검증하는 것이 본 논문의 요지다.

2장에서 필자는 기존 연구 문헌에 의존하여 330년에 걸친 비엔나 커피하우스 문화의 역사적 형성과정을 추적하였다. 비엔나 커피하우스 문화를 구성하는 전형적인 물리적 요소와 정신적 요소는 어느 한 순간에 출현하고 변함없이 유지되는 것이 아니라 역동성과 가변성을 가지고 형성된 것이었다. 이 때문에 일견 모순적으로 보이는 통일성과 다양성이 비엔나커피하우스 문화의 특징이라 할 수 있다.

3장에서는 비엔나 커피하우스 문화가 비엔나의 경계를 넘어 다른 국가로 확산되는 과정과 유네스코의 무형문화유산으로 등재되는 과정을 서술하고 이 독특한 문화 현상에 대한 시민들의 인식을 면담방식으로 조사하였다.

필자는 대부분의 시민들뿐만 아니라 유네스코의 국제규범 무형문화재 관련 법규가 실체로서 문화에 근거하고 있다는 점을 규명하였다. 그러나 2장에서 문헌 분석을 통한 비엔나커피하우스 문화는 실체라기보다는 역사적 맥락에서의 과정의 산물이며 따라서 잡종성, 가변성, 역동성을 특징으로 한다.

결국 이 논문은 비엔나커피하우스 문화가 실체로서의 문화라기보다는 과정으로서의 문화이며, 그것이 잉글랜드나 터키 등에서 한 때 유행했다가 사라진 커피하우스 문화와 비엔나의 커피하우스 문화의 차별성이라는 것을 드러내고자 하였다. 따라서 미래에 국내·외에서 비엔나커피하우스 문화가 지속적으로 살아있는 것이 되기 위해서는 잡종성, 가변성에 열려있는 역동성에 있는 것이지 정태적이고 고정불변의 원형의 고수에 있는 것이 아니라는 점을 강조하였다.

핵심어(KEY WORDS) : 비엔나 커피하우스 문화(Viennese Coffeehouse Culture); 실체로서의 문화(Culture as a Substance); 과정으로서의 문화(Culture as a Process); 글로컬라이제이션(Glocalization); 무형문화재(Intangible Heritage)

I . Introduction

1. The Viennese coffeehouse culture as cultural studies¹⁾

1.1. Concepts of culture

In this dissertation with the subject of the Viennese coffeehouse culture, I would firstly like to briefly sum up the concepts of culture briefly. In the 1950s, Kroeber and Kluckhohn mentioned that in the West, there were about 300 definitions about 'culture'²⁾ and many more definitions were added to this term which has arisen as a core concept of humanities and social sciences after the so called 'cultural turn' in the academia. However, the meaning of culture implied in the concept of culture may be more simply defined. The basis in this history of attempts to define the concept of culture has been the preconceived idea that it is contrasted with nature.³⁾

Based on this understanding, culture should be 'everything within human's touch.' This is basically not wrong but there is a problem with obscure subjects and orientation of cultural studies. Therefore, the author would like to divide 'everything that is not nature' into four categories according to the suggestion of Perpeet.⁴⁾ In this attempt, culture can be divided into 'instrumental', 'moral', 'social and legal', and 'historical' facets.

1) As for concepts of culture, meaning of cultural concepts, and methods of conceptual understanding, I referred to: Jeong, Moon-soo, Park, Min-soo, and Hyeon, Jae-yeol (2013), 『A Methodology of Cultural Interaction studies of Seaport Cities』 (Seonin), (to be published soon).

2) Alfred L. Kroeber / Clyde Kluckhohn (1978) *Culture. A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions*, New York (Reprint of 2. Auflage, 1952), p. 291.

3) Refer to the following as to the maintenance that the dualism of culture and nature has determined the modern definitions of culture: Ute Daniel (2004), *Kompendium Kulturgeschichte. Theorien, Praxis, Schlüsselwörter, 4. verbesserte und ergänzte Auflage*, pp. 443-445.

4) Wilhelm Perpeet (1984), *Zur Wortbedeutung von "Kultur"*, in: Helmut Brackert / Fritz Wefelmeyer (1984, Hrsg.): *Naturplan und Verfallskritik. Zu Begriff und Geschichte der Kultur*, pp. 21-28, p. 24 in this paper.

The instrumental facet of culture refers to all tangible and intangible artificial products created with an aim to live in nature, distance from nature, or even escape from nature. The moral facet of culture refers to the system of rules and values to be kept between individuals, individuals and groups, and groups. Social and legal facets of culture refers to the forms of social communication that exist to maintain various human communities along with social aspects of human survival. Finally, the historical facet of culture relates to historic aspects of culture and potentials for changes.

Overall, it seems to be clear that ‘everything that is not nature’ is not much different from these four dimensions. However, this does not complete our effort to define concepts of culture. In other words, concepts of culture will be differently colored and featured based on the questions such as on what facet we focus in the process of studying culture, which perspective and method of interpretation we have in each facet, and how the four facets are related to each other.

In relation to the questions, I would like to refer to the typology of German sociologist Andreas Reckwitz.⁵⁾ According to him, the method or perspective of cultural studies since the 18th century can largely be divided into ‘normative’, ‘holistic approach’, ‘discriminating theoretical’ and ‘meaning-oriented’ types.

Firstly, the normative type is based on the Western civil society formation and enlightenment of the 18th century, sets up universal cultural types to be pursued by all individuals and human communities, and suggests the relevant criteria or rules. On the other hand, in the holistic approach type, culture becomes historical or contextual and this removes universal ideologies of culture.

5) Reckwitz, Andreas (2004), *Die Kontingenzperspektive der ‘Kultur’. Kulturbegriffe, Kulturtheorien und das kulturwissenschaftliche Forschungsprogramm*, in: Friedrich Jaeger / Jörn Rüsen (Hrsg.): *Handbuch der Kulturwissenschaften*, Bd. 3: Themen und Tendenzen, pp. 1–20.

The discriminating theoretical type defines one area of human practice as culture. Specifically, it is the area of human mental activities related to art and learning and therefore, only the high-level culture, in contrast with popular culture is called culture. Such a cultural phenomenon connected to the cultured civil classes is functionally reinterpreted by Talcott Parsons, an American sociologist. Parsons understood art and learning in connection with a privileged social system rather than privileges of specific social groups. Finally, the meaning-oriented type identifies diverse cultures as individually unique signal and symbolic system. Therefore, the value system and perspective on the world shared by individuals of a specific group can be understood only when we focus on the symbolic and signal system of a specific culture or its horizon of specific meanings. The horizon is not fixed but dynamic and variable. This type raises a question against the concept of culture that is valid over all points of time and its historical continuity.

As for perspectives to explore and define culture, we read of the trends which are consistently accepted in these theories that there is no concept of culture which transcends time and space. Of course, we need to try to precisely define the concept if we want to reproduce academically the results. Still, this necessity shall not lead us to confine dynamic and variable culture in a static and unchangeable one.

It will be more desirable to give dynamic characteristics to the concepts of culture. Therefore, the author will outline the concepts of culture by focusing on the networks of culture, totality of daily dimension of the world, pluralism, hybridity, historicity and dynamism of culture and conduct cultural studies based on this outline.

1.2. Space and culture

Human daily life unfolds inside a space. If we define culture as everything related to the world of our daily lives or all tangible and intangible artificial products created in the historical dimension, rules and value systems, and forms of social communication, culture shall unfold in space as well. This means that culture is closely related to a space. Space is not an empty bowl represented in separation from an abstract 'space in itself', society and culture. It is something complexly intricately connected with the human world. The fact that society and space are dynamically intertwined is expressed by Edward William Soja as a 'dialectic of society and space'⁶⁾ but I am of the opinion that 'dialectic of culture and space' is also available. This is because space is in dynamic relations with the world of daily life that establishes an individual.

In relation to dialectic of culture and space, the author focuses on 'territory', a concept in contemporary geography. In geography, when "geographic space occupied by specific individuals, groups or institutions is visible ... or when space has become one which differentiates the interior from the exterior based on invisible boundaries and fences and works as a locale to express power control of exclusion and inclusion, it is called a territory."⁷⁾ Based on this definition, the three factors that determine a territory are 'boundary setting', 'dividing the interior and the exterior with the boundary', and 'control' of inclusion and exclusion.

Based on this definition, a territory contains not only modern nation-states arising from the concept of exclusive sovereignty but also various areas divided officially and unofficially. For example, there are countless territories in the world of human daily life such as administrative units in

6) Cho, Myeong-rae (2013), 『*Reading Society as Space - Concepts, Issues, and Alternatives*』, (Hanwool Academy) p. 56 — The paper presented by Soja in 1980 uses the expression: Edward William Soja, "The Socio-Spatial Dialectic", in: *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, vol. 70, no. 2 (1980), pp. 207-225.

7) *Ibid.*, p. vi (Translator's Introduction).

a country, areas related to ownership of real estates, prisons or army camps, luxurious apartment complexes that restrict entry of strangers, train stations or airport boarding areas, female and male restroom, common bathroom, sale spots such as cinemas, personal office, labs, hospital examination room and surgery room, partitioned areas of larges offices, personal areas in a dormitory, and individual human bodies.⁸⁾ In this sense, the author premises that the space called the Viennese coffeehouse can be seen as a form of such categorical territory. This territory reflects and expresses culture by time, space, and world of our daily lives but at the same time, has maintained and composed this culture of daily life.

1.3. Culture as a substance versus culture as a process

There are about six perspectives accepted or sympathized in relation to culture.⁹⁾

- 1) Culture is a complex mutual system of humans who live in the world of their daily lives.
- 2) It includes all dimensions categorized as areas in human lives.
- 3) Culture exists diversely at time and spatial intervals.
- 4) Culture is a hybrid as it exists in combination with strangers inside and outside a territory.
- 5) Culture is formed and changes historically but does no transcend time to be the same.
- 6) Culture is dynamic for all these reasons.

These perspectives on culture are contrasted with those premised on cultures of individual nations or ethnic cultures which precondition essential and substantial elements or those unchanging elements that are maintained without a change in continued exchange and follow changes.

8) *Ibid.*, p. vii and p. 8.

9) S. S. Tschopp (2008), *Forschungskontroversen*, pp. 50–51.

The former perspective finds that the latter which understands culture from the long-term academic mainstream, substantial perspective is an error.

However, the essential or substantial perspective on culture is deeply rooted in our ideas even today. I will describe this in detail in the questionnaire survey of users of the Viennese coffeehouse in Part II. Also, cultural universalism and cultural pluralism are shared in terms that they are based on essentialism or substantialism while they are contrasted.¹⁰⁾

The former refers to a position that tries to find and emphasize on the universal values or features inherent in all cultures despite historical, spatial, and racial diversity while the latter aims to notice and focus on the historic, spatial, and ethnic diversity and unique value of individual culture. The latter views universal values or features poorly or even negates their existence. Regardless of the differences, culture can be understood as something substantial, or 'a product of subjects in a specific group which has its unique orientation and has been completed over a long period of time.' On the other hand, today, 'hybridity' as a core concept of cultural studies' which fights the essentialist perspective on culture is highlighted.¹¹⁾

The term 'hybridity' originates from Latin and is a biological term. Originally, it refers to the characteristics of a product that occurs in the process of crossbreeding or manipulating different generic characteristics. From the late 20th century, this concept has been frequently applied in various humanities and social sciences. The common and general use of this term can be 'a new condition or a product created as two or more

10) Refer to the following to understand the recent debates about cultural universalism and cultural pluralism: Shingo Shimada, *Politik zwischen Differenz und Anerkennung: Multikulturalismus und das Problem der Menschenrechte*, in Fr. Jaeger/J. Rösen (Hrsg.), (2004): *Handbuch der Kulturwissenschaften*, Bd. 3: Themen und Tendenzen, pp. 474-488.

11) Andreas Ackermann (2004), *Das Eigene und das Fremde: Hybridität, Vielfalt und Kulturtransfer*, in Fr. Jaeger / J. Rösen (Hrsg.): *Handbuch der Kulturwissenschaften*, Bd. 3: Themen und Tendenzen, pp. 139-154, p. 140 in this paper.

clearly divided elements are mixed.'

The reason that the concept of hybridity supported in the theory of Homi K. Bhabha¹²⁾ is established in the contemporary cultural studies is that this concept has a potential to remove the myth of substantialism or purebred homogeneity or myth of continuity. The conception of a new culture with hybridity at its center does not maintain the coexistence of multiple cultures with substantial identities but selects a model of thinking that captures the previous divisions between center and periphery, and, self and others in terms of indivisible mutual fusion, transition, and network aspects.

The thinking model identifies cultures as a product of mutual hybrids carried out historically or a more complex procedural or variable product. Also, this thinking model is a product of conscious or unconscious provision of meanings between subjects rather than boundaries between and among cultures, races, and nations.

If culture is hybrid or exists in mutual fusion, transition, and network, culture shall be included in, not separated from interaction.¹³⁾ Therefore, understanding culture is understanding hybrid interactions of culture. The substantialist's perspective which tries to add strong homogeneity, continuity, and fixedness to individual cultures has not lost its validity. This is because this perspective has misled the hybrid, interaction, variable, and dynamic characteristics of culture.

This dissertation reviews the Viennese coffeehouse culture based on the above summarized concepts of culture, dialectic relations between space and culture, and perspective on culture as a hybrid. The Viennese coffeehouse will be understood as a territory which is in dialectic relationships with culture and it will be identified that the Viennese coffeehouse culture is culture of

12) Homi K. Bhabha (2002), 『*The Location of Culture*』, (Somyung).

13) Denys Cuhe (2009), 『*La noción de cultura en las ciencias sociales*』, (Hanwool Academy), pp. 105–106.

hybridity and interaction rather than a substance.

2. The subject of research and its boundaries

Since coffee was discovered in the highlands of Ethiopia and in the province of Kefa (Kaffa) close to Addis Abeba¹⁴⁾ it has changed significantly the society and culture of mankind and in particular Europe. So far, the coffeehouse culture is mainly dominated by western European countries and Northern America, mostly on the consumer side. In the near future, there is a good chance that we shall see a new rising coffeehouse culture also in Asia. Until recently it is a more tea related and consuming society for many centuries. One can only imagine what would happen if for example the people in China and India with their enormous population would start drinking coffee.

Therefore, it is remarkable that in the past few years, there has been also an incredible coffee drinking boom and a tremendous wave of new coffee shops openings, spreading all over the Republic of Korea. What is so special about this observed fact? Coffee until recently has never been a traditional drink in the Korean society, history and culture. For some politically leftist oriented people there, it was even regarded as “American sewage”, a symbol for American decadence and imperialism,¹⁵⁾ but for the Americans themselves on the other side, coffee became symbolically the “drink of freedom” after the War of Independence with England.¹⁶⁾ Foreign coffee shop chains like Starbucks and Espresso bars, mobile “coffee-to-go” vendors and individually owned and managed coffeehouses are now spreading even to the most rural regions of South Korea. In addition to Starbucks, which is run by the Korean conglomerate Shinsegae,

14) Heise, Ulla (1987), *Kaffee und Kaffehaus*. p. 13.

15) During a conversation with Park Sang-Wook, a former student of Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, Seoul in September 2010.

16) Ferre, Felipe (1991), *Kaffee – Eine Kulturgeschichte*, p. 193.

40 percent of the nation's cafes are run by the top five Korean brands—Caffe Bene, Hollys Coffee, Ediya Coffee, Angel-in-us and Tom n'Toms.¹⁷⁾ No one ever could have imagined such a boom a few years ago. In some areas of Korean cities and even in rural villages, I found at least four to five coffee-shops within a 100-meter radius. The country experienced almost 900 percent growth in the number of coffee shops in the country between 2006 and 2011. The capital city of Seoul for example now boasts the highest concentration of coffee shops in the world, with more than 10,000 cafés and coffeehouses in 2013 (February 7th) compared to around 2,900 coffee shops in November 2011.¹⁸⁾

Some folks would spend even more money for a paper cup of coffee than they would pay for a lunch. The Korean Television and Broadcasting Company MBC aired a popular television drama from July to August 2007 with the title “The 1st Shop of Coffee Prince.” The protagonists in this popular drama are working in and around a coffeehouse in Seoul. No wonder, why some people think that South Korea has become for sure the “Republic of Coffee.”

This incredible popularity of coffee shops in my native country made me to get interested in and rethink about the Viennese coffeehouse and its culture which now has a history over 300 years and became also a symbol for culture and quality of life for its hometown. The Viennese coffeehouse culture became a global trade mark for Vienna and symbol of cultural identity like its world famous Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, the Viennese Boys Choir, the St. Stephen Cathedral, the Imperial Riding School or the ‘Wiener Schnitzel’, which is a popular pan-fried breaded cutlet, traditionally made of calf meat.

Many people claim the official establishment of the first coffeehouses in Vienna to the year 1683 right after the second siege of Vienna by

17) Mock, Tory (2013), ‘*Breaking the Coffee Chain*’ in HAPS (Issue 25, Summer), p. 43.

18) *COFFEE, 10 Anniversary Special Issue* (11/2011), (Myeong Mun Sa), p. 73.

Ottoman troops.¹⁹⁾ History shows the creation, several flourishing periods and times of crisis and nearly extinction during the 1960s and 70s and revival in 1983 which is also claimed as the year of the 300th anniversary²⁰⁾ of the Viennese coffeehouse, showing that is an historical product which also includes variability and dynamism. No other city in the world defines its cultural and social identity so much with its coffeehouse culture like the Austrian capital city of Vienna, but for sure it was not historically regarded as the first European city, which established a coffeehouse tradition.

Venice in Italy was the first one, due to its early economic relations with oriental countries, mostly Arabia and the Ottoman Empire. Some sources claim the time around 1570, but at that time coffee was used as a medicine and only a few people had access to it. Around 1645, coffee received its status as an enjoyable drink and was primarily served at coffeehouses called “Bottega del caffè.”²¹⁾

England established its own coffee culture and business around 1650 with its first coffeehouses in London and Oxford²²⁾ and until today the London stock exchange is the biggest location for the trading of Robusta coffee.²³⁾ But in 1730, England transformed from a nation of coffee drinkers to a nation of tea drinkers due to political and economic reasons. Constantinople, today’s city of Istanbul in Turkey, also has a long coffee- and coffeehouse tradition, but tea also became more popular in 1924, due

19) Riha, Fritz (1967), *Das alte Wiener Caféhaus*, p. 18.

20) Refer to the advertising brochure of the Klub der Wiener Kaffeehausbesitzer (1983), *Nicht daheim und doch zu Hause - 300 Jahre Wiener Kaffeehaus*.

21) Ferre, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

22) The site of the first coffeehouse in England (according to Samuel Pepy's Diary, 1650): The Grand Café has now become an Oxford institution. During the day it is serving lunch, cream teas and high teas all perfectly at home in the opulence of the marble-pillared, gold-leafed building. At night “The Grand Café” is buzzing with locals, visitors and Oxford University students, taking advantage of the half price cocktails on offer. (Source: <http://www.thegrandcafe.co.uk/>)

23) The coffee types “Robusta” and “Arabica” are the most important types of coffee which are important for the international trade. The stock market for “Arabica” Coffee is located in New York.

to a new law which promoted the production of tea leaves inside Turkey as a national business.

It is now the fifth biggest world producer of tea.²⁴⁾ Ironically, the Turks are claimed to be those, who brought the Viennese into contact with coffee culture. Not only coffee, but also to other typical Austrian traditional culinary specialties such as puff pastry, which is essential for their famed “Viennese Apple Strudel.” But the present situation is indeed a “cultural oxymoron.”

Timur Oral for instance writes in the abstract of his master thesis about contemporary Turkish coffeehouse design based on historic traditions in 1997:

“The custom of coffee drinking in Turkey dates back to the sixteenth century coffeehouses of Istanbul, which were once important forums for community integration. Even though coffee drinking today is still an important custom in Turkey, traditional coffeehouses have lost their importance in urban areas and are rapidly being relocated by contemporary cafés that promote European themes. With the new generation placing less emphasis on traditional values and accepting a modernized lifestyle, the existence of Turkish coffeehouse culture is struggling to survive.”²⁵⁾

What about the situation in Vienna then? How do people in Vienna realize their coffeehouse culture? Do they see it as culture that is so much valuable and necessary to be saved for the future by acknowledging it as an intangible national cultural heritage? Can it be transferred also to other locales? For quite a number of Viennese people, a day without a cup of coffee or a visit to a coffeehouse would be impossible to think about since it is a very unique culture which became also a sophisticated icon for its hometown throughout the world.

Since this thesis deals about the Viennese coffeehouse culture, it is basically necessary to understand the framing questions: What is so

24) Ferre, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

25) Refer to Oral, Timur (1997), “A contemporary Turkish coffeehouse design based on historic traditions”, see abstract page.

special about the Viennese coffeehouse culture and how is it different compared to those in other famous cities like Paris, Marseille, London, Oxford, Venice, Krakow, Prague, Budapest, Berlin or Hamburg? Why has it even become recognized as an intangible, national cultural heritage, acknowledged by the UNESCO office in Austria? How is an authentic and traditional Viennese coffeehouse culture recognizable? Before mentioning some more specific reasons it is necessary to consider the aspects below in case of the Viennese coffeehouse culture:

1. Traditional Viennese coffeehouses had charm and are still charming.
2. They are, according to a famous Viennese coffeehouse literate and to many others, a “paradigm (Weltanschauung)”²⁶⁾ and a philosophy of life.
3. Consumption of food and drinks is not the only goal of the visit to a Viennese coffeehouse. It is a pastime and amusement, while reading, chatting with friends, et cetera. Here, a small cup of coffee is only the entrance ticket to this culture.
4. The Viennese coffeehouse served and still serves the Viennese people as an “elongated living-room(Verlängertes Wohnzimmer)”²⁷⁾ or even as a personal business office.
5. It has a very special, nostalgic flair. Tradition is still alive at many of these establishments. Even the smallest changes to the interior has to be implemented very carefully or otherwise in extreme cases regular guests will change their location or never come back.
6. From the very beginning, a broad variety of customers from all social classes interacts and communicates in this special cultural space. The academic professor can be seen in the same place with the factory worker, business men, artists, literates, idle rich and poor, students, young and old people, et cetera, what is commonly known as the essential spirit of the Viennese coffeehouse: the peaceful and inspiring mixture of various guests.²⁸⁾

26) Heering, Kurt-Jürgen (1993), *Das Wiener Kaffeehaus*, p. 149 (Polgar, Alfred. Theorie des Café Central).

27) Horvarth, Michael (1978), *Erweiterte Wohnzimmer - Leben im Wiener Kaffeehaus*. Front page.

28) Schwaner, Birgit (2003), *Das Wiener Kaffeehaus*, p. 120.

7. An intangible cultural aspect might be also for instance the skillful role–play or interaction and communication between service personnel (waiter/waitress) and the customers, sometimes even without any words, especially with long–standing regular guests of a coffeehouse.
8. A legality of the interior decoration, trim and upholstery which identifies a typical and traditional Viennese coffeehouse root in a centuries–old tradition.

As history has already proven, the Viennese coffeehouse culture like all other living cultures is indeed not something that is strictly and unchangeably rigid and immobile although it keeps a strong traditional position in some aspects that it might generally appear and for some people may look too old–fashioned. This fact can be also regarded as a cultural paradox. In fact, culture must be regarded as something dynamic, creative and flexible and can adapt to changing situation. It can be read in this thesis that changes always happened in the long run at the Viennese coffeehouse. As everywhere, they just have to be slow enough or better said in the right velocity to be accepted and coped. Since the traditional Viennese coffeehouse and its culture is also a symbol for “Viennese quality of life” one can ask about the symptoms of it. One important criterion might be the strange ambivalence of backward-looking and reactionary mind (cultural lag) and on the other hand the openness especially towards cultural and artistic innovations.

Through its history, the Viennese coffeehouse and its culture went through a number of heights and depths. Until today, it survived all the dangerous phases through its ability to flexibly respond to current situations. Political and social crisis, even wars could not stop the Viennese from living with and within their coffeehouses. It has been a to the society since its first days. Through the years during and after the Second World War the Viennese coffeehouse and its culture suffered nearly extinction due to changes of the people’s leisure behavior and media use (TV, radio). In this period the Viennese coffeehouse almost lost its function as a venue for social communication and cultural exchange. In 1983, the year when it celebrated

its 300 years anniversary, people became aware again of its social and cultural value for Vienna and invested a lot of money and efforts to revive its coffeehouse culture. The Viennese coffeehouse became a global brand as a symbol for sophisticated cultural lifestyle where not only consumption is the goal but also muse and indulgence. One of the most recent highlights of the Viennese coffeehouse culture was the fact that it has been also acknowledged as an intangible national cultural heritage in Austria by the UNESCO in November 2011.

Researching and looking for trustworthy written sources, literature, material and historical documents for this dissertation was not easy to achieve. At the beginning of my dissertation, I started searching for other academic works and documents as possible reference material concerning the Viennese coffeehouse and its culture for comparison and found five other master and diploma theses in direct relation with the Viennese coffeehouse besides using the available literature from general bookshops and sources from the internet. The authors of these works were all graduate students of the University of Vienna majoring in the fields of communication and journalism²⁹⁾, philosophy³⁰⁾, translation³¹⁾, theater³²⁾ and also in social science.³³⁾ Unfortunately, I could not find theses specifically dealing with

29) For more details: Refer to the following diploma thesis: Druml, Petra (June 2009), *Das Kaffeehaus als Kommunikationsraum im Wandel der Zeit*. The whole thesis was written in German language and can be found as a pdf-file on the Internet (http://othes.univie.ac.at/5742/1/2009-07-01_0009012.pdf)

30) For more details: Refer to the following diploma thesis: Trapper, Carina (May 2009), *Staat des Schreibens oder der Inszenierung? Das literarische Kaffeehaus zwischen Sein und Schein*. The whole thesis was written in German language and can be found as a pdf-file on the Internet (<http://othes.univie.ac.at/5105/>)

31) For more details: Refer to the following diploma thesis: Lösecke, Alina Marina (July 2009), *Kaffeehauskultur: Wien-Krakau-Paris. Sprachliche Rekonstruktion einer historischen Interaktion*. The whole thesis was written in German language and can be found as a pdf-file on the Internet (http://othes.univie.ac.at/5943/1/2009-07-15_0201983.pdf)

32) For more details: Refer to the following diploma thesis: Paller, Hans (April 2012), *Das Theater und das Wiener Kaffeehaus*. The whole thesis was written in German language and can be found as a pdf-file on the Internet (<http://othes.univie.ac.at/19334/>)

33) For more details: Refer to the following diploma thesis: Kasalova, Iveta (April, 2012), *Kaffeehauskultur in Wien-im Wandel*. The whole thesis was written in German language and can

the Viennese coffeehouse culture written in English or from other countries other than Austria so far.

A critical review of other diploma works in advance is recommended and should be helpful for one's own dissertation dealing about the Viennese coffeehouse culture. For example, P. Drumbl, whose major was from the Department of Journalism and Communication Science at the University of Vienna, Austria, wrote in June 2009 a diploma thesis about the "coffeehouse as a locale of communication through the ages." The abstract stated that "*this thesis is an overview about the changes in communication inside the Viennese coffeehouse under the aspect of modern social political influences.*"

In her opinion "*the Viennese coffeehouse always served as a communication space from its beginning until nowadays.*" and that "*it will be compared with today's American style coffee-shop (i.e. Starbucks) which has become a global trendsetter.*"³⁴⁾

Focused on the communication factor she definitely sees the changes within the communication methods inside the traditional Viennese coffeehouses and compares these with modern, American-style coffee-shops like Starbucks as an example. There are advantages and disadvantages of these new communication methods and possibilities in technical terms, but she claims that finally the majority of the people that she had interviewed still preferred the traditional face-to-face communication. In her final conclusion she states that different methods of communication might exist and happen at the same time and at the same location (Viennese coffeehouse), but still most people have a preference towards direct and personal inter-human communication rather than using other communication gadgets. Therefore tradition (substance) and progress (hybridism, dynamic development, changes, interaction, and communication) are also the main

be found as a pdf-file on the Internet (<http://othes.univie.ac.at/18664/>)

34) Drumbl, Petra (2009), *op. cit.*, p. 163.

results of this research thesis.

A. M. Lösecke wrote in July 2009 in her diploma thesis also about the coffeehouse culture. She compared the coffeehouse cultures of former cities which belonged to the Habsburg Empire (Vienna, Krakow) and Paris. The main focus was the comparison of coffeehouse cultures in Vienna and Krakow and sometimes she referred to coffeehouses in Paris. The research question was how the coffeehouse cultures in these cities developed during their history, their common aspects and how they influenced each other. In the end she comes to the conclusion that there is no significant answer to this question, because “*they (coffeehouses in Vienna, Krakow and Paris) are all unique, with similarities and differences.*”³⁵⁾

After reading, I considered this descriptive thesis had some kind of an unsatisfying outcome with no recognizable deep insight or plausible result and conclusion about the topic and its research question.

It can be said that there is a lot of written material about coffee, coffee culture and coffeehouses in general, but on the other hand and as already mentioned before, due to the fact that the majority of these books and documents were written in my opinion very often in an uncritical, essayistic and often anecdotic style with no added scientific proof or documentary. Very often it is difficult to differentiate between historical facts, stories, legends and different account versions and they do lack in a certain way of scientific reliability.

There are for example a number of documents about the Viennese coffeehouse literature of the 19th century and about their authors, but since the Viennese coffeehouse culture is still very vital these days and even more booming again, even outside its geographical and cultural boundaries. Unfortunately, as previously mentioned, there is therefore a certain lack of scientifically based and critical material about the recent

35) Lösecke, A.M. (2009), *op. cit.*, p. 141.

past and the current situation of the Viennese coffeehouse culture as a whole. On the other side I also interpret this as a good sign, because according to a Viennese antique book shop owner, whom I asked for referential literature, it is not easy to find historic documents and material and to write about something that is still “alive” and not finished yet.

After having had the chance to give some public lectures introducing the Viennese coffeehouse and its associated culture to a broader Korean audience, the feedback and the reactions were mostly positive towards this issue and motivated me personally to continue my work on this theme, which I finally chose as my Ph.D. dissertation. To finally understand and to rethink the social, historical and cultural role and importance of the Viennese coffeehouse, one must first know and learn about its historical background and understand its functional system, its role and influence on the Viennese society and its typical characteristics, which makes it so unique in its appearance. More detailed descriptions can be found in the second part of my dissertation.

Coffee and coffeehouse culture are all connected to the second-largest, important commodity for mankind after crude oil. Historically regarded, it is a relatively modern and new beverage compared to tea, wine and beer, but in my opinion, it is the one that had and has the biggest influence on the historical, social and cultural development of mankind. It is significant and quite common that people living in a “coffee oriented” culture often enjoy a cup of coffee before starting work or a new project. “Tea oriented” cultures on the other hand enjoy a cup of tea for relaxation and to muse. Verbally, people often make a difference between a “coffee break” and “teatime” and that for a good reason.³⁶⁾ In this context, the Viennese coffeehouse culture seems to provide exactly the opposite, thus transforming the short “coffee break” into a “coffee time,”³⁷⁾ making it

36) Saito Takashi (2009), *Five powers that move the World*, (Theindol), pp. 32–33.

37) There is also a traditional coffee ceremony in Ethiopia, the historical homeland of coffee. Refer also to: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Coffee_ceremony.

almost into a cultural event and cultural heritage.

Today, more than an estimated 300 million people in the world are associated directly with the coffee business, from the production up to sales and billions of people around the globe are estimated to be coffee consumers with their numbers steadily rising. There is nothing where the coffeehouse as an institution can be not held responsible: great visions, creative ideas, passionate rivalry and everlasting love. Many other countries in America, Europe, Africa and Asia have developed their own specific coffee and coffeehouse cultures. Some authors claim for example that without coffee, there would have been no modern English philosophy, culture, literature, industrialization and capitalism without the influence and existence of coffee.³⁸⁾ There are of course also other interesting coffeehouse cultures and traditions which are much older than that of Vienna, for example in France, England, Germany, and Italy and so on. But the majority of these coffeehouse cultures lost their social and cultural meaning, mostly in my opinion, through the ignorance and lack of interest of their own people.

Therefore it is fascinating to see, that until today, only the Viennese coffeehouse culture succeeded in the acknowledgement as an intangible national cultural heritage in the category of social practises, registered by the UNESCO. There are probably several reasons for this. The development and history of the Viennese coffeehouse culture has become from the very beginning a strong and important identity, cultural, social factor and a way of life for the Viennese people, even though it had oriental roots. There has been always a continuous development and interaction, changes and progress within over the times. Seen in terms of cultural value people are mostly insisting and focusing on traditions from the past and see changes therefore as threats and the reason to protect it as a cultural heritage in terms of social practices, on the other hand they

38) Jacob (2002), 『Coffee—The epic of a Commodity』, (The house with a well), pp. 158 –180.

do unconsciously accept necessary changes and developments which kept the Viennese coffeehouse and its culture alive through some hard times and even succeeded to raise it up as a 'global brand' while exporting it to other countries in the world and establishing it as a tourist attraction for foreign visitors.

In my dissertation, due to the fact that my current personal living environment is in Vienna, which is also perfect for first hand field studies and researches besides desk researches, I would like to concentrate and focus my view on the Viennese coffeehouse under a cultural aspect that is to regard culture under the aspect as a dynamic and continuously developing issue made out of hybridism, communication and interaction between people and to rethink some recent developments concerning the traditional Viennese coffeehouse with its associated culture.

Rethinking also includes developing a critical point of view towards a specific topic. The third part of this dissertation is dealing with the phenomenon of 'glocalization' in the globalization atmosphere during the 1990s, where also the Viennese coffeehouse culture had its part. Generally asked is the question if such efforts for a glocalization there is possible and to rethink the acknowledgement as an intangible cultural asset by the UNESCO in 2011. A discussion about this topic will be fundamentally based on the comments from the interviews which were held with two different groups. The first group consisted of people, who were using the coffeehouse more or less regularly. They were coming from different social classes, gender and professions. The second group consisted of people who were experts, because they were directly involved in this field as coffeehouse business owners or people directly involved with the business as staff or coffee business related producers and distributors.

Within the analysis and rethinking of this topic I would like to find out that still the majority of people related to these themes still show a strong perception that culture has to be something solid with a true

nature. It is important to know and understand that culture in general is also something that has to be man-made and developed; therefore parts of it also contain hybridism and interaction as shown in the second part of this thesis.

Eventually the chief aim of this thesis is to prove that the culture of the Viennese coffeehouse is not a substantial one but something that is based on hybridity and interaction and that it is necessary to have a founded comprehension and understanding as well as a prospective outlook is also needed about this topic. At the same time, in the third part of my doctoral thesis, I would like to find out answers by analyzing and rethinking through qualitative examinations, about the following issues: How is the perception of the Viennese coffeehouse culture and its cultural significance of people directly and indirectly involved into this subject, since it has been regarded as an intangible cultural heritage set up by the UNESCO office in Vienna in 2011 and to discuss and analyze the possibilities of a glocalization of the Viennese coffeehouse and its culture outside its original cultural and geographical boundaries. The recent glocalization trend of the Viennese coffeehouse in the past years established several Viennese-style coffeehouses in rather exotic destinations like Tokyo, Ulan Bator and even in secretive states like North Korea.

The history of the Viennese coffeehouse culture proved that it is able to adapt also to environmental changes if necessary. Therefore in the glocalization processes it is relatively easy to satisfy the physical aspects of the Viennese coffeehouse culture but there are still limitations to the cultural and spiritual aspects for real authenticity. It has to be accepted the fact that the core concept of a successful glocalization lies here.

The methods, that were used in this dissertation, are personal standardized and structured interviews using standardized questionnaires, held within two different interest groups, which show their personal

opinion towards this issue using questionnaires with six crucial analytical questions for general coffeehouse visitors and two additional questions for the coffeehouse professionals (Group of people with deep involvement into the coffeehouse business) in regard of the globalization issue and for the outlook on the future of the Viennese coffeehouse culture.

Therefore the two groups of interest were divided into general citizens from different social classes, ages and professions (Group I) and people who are directly involved in the coffeehouse business like owners and their successors, personnel and companies (Group II).



II. The Viennese coffeehouse culture as a historical formation

1. A short history of the Viennese coffeehouse culture

A fundamental knowledge about the history of the Viennese coffeehouse is also important to understand, especially why the Viennese people have such a big identity link with their coffeehouses and why its culture is highly dynamic and also contains a number of intangible elements. Chapter II of this dissertation will therefore emphasize on historic backgrounds for basic information about it and also on typical material and intangible factors and characteristics of the Viennese coffeehouse, which makes it so unique but on the other side also very flexible and adaptive towards changing environmental situations.

1.1. Vienna coffeehouses from the beginning up to the 18th century

The history of the Viennese coffeehouse is very deeply connected with the legend of Georg Franz Kolschitzky³⁹⁾ (Polish name: Franciszek Jerzy Kulczycki). For centuries, it was believed that he was the first person, who introduced coffee to the citizens of Vienna after the second Turkish siege in 1683. This very popular legend claims that Kolschitzky, who was born in Poland offered the desperate Viennese citizens to contact the nearby allied Polish and German troops, who were ready to fight back the Ottoman invaders. As a tradesman with contacts to the Ottoman Empire he was very familiar with the customs and language of the enemy. After his successful mission and the final defeat of the Turkish army, Kolschitzky was granted citizenship and the freedom to choose any business of his choice.

39) Refer to : Ukers, William H. (1922), *All about Coffee*, see Chapter 9: Telling how coffee came to Vienna (for full text also refer to <http://www.cluesheet.com/>).

He also asked for the 500 sacks of coffee beans, that had been left by the fleeing Turks. The Viennese regarded them as worthless camel food and wanted to burn them. These abandoned sacks of coffee became the base of his establishment of the first Viennese coffeehouse located very close to Vienna's St. Stephan's Cathedral. Some other sources claim, that he also invented the "melange", a popular Viennese coffee specialty very similar to the Italian style cappuccino. The bitter and strange taste of coffee was not very popular with the Viennese people in the beginning. As such, Kolschitzky mixed up the coffee with milk and sugar.⁴⁰⁾ Another version of the story recounts that he mixed it with honey to make it for drinkable for the Viennese taste buds and is also responsible for the invention of the "Kipferl", which is a popular pastry in Austria, shaped like the Turkish symbol of a half moon and very similar to the French Croissant.⁴¹⁾

The legend of Kolschitzky was also made popular by an Austrian priest of the Piarist order named Gottfried Uhlich in his book in commemoration of the second siege of the Turks of Vienna written a hundred years later in 1783.⁴²⁾ In it he wrote:

*"At last they did not forget the famous Kolschitzky, who due to his courage passed through the enemy's camp to reach the Duke of Lorraine. They rewarded him with the permission to open the first coffeehouse in Vienna; also the city granted him a free house next to the little bishop's yard at the Red Cross house; but the first coffeehouse he opened not far away from St. Stephen (cathedral)."*⁴³⁾

How much the monk Gottfried Uhlich used sources of oral tradition in his book cannot be proven anymore.

40) Sindermann, Katja (2008), *Das Wiener Cafe*, p. 43.

41) Oberzill, Gerhard (1983), *Ins Kaffeehaus-Geschichte einer (...)*, p. 15.

42) Refer to: *Geschichte der zweyten türkischen Belagerung Wiens, bey der hundertjährigen Gedächtnißfeyer*, (1783), Sonnleithner (Not available anymore).

43) Refer to: *Austrian Academy of Science* (<http://www.tuerkengedaechtnis.oew.ac.at/>).

Over hundreds of years the legend of Georg Franz Kolschitzky has been regarded as a truth without dispute and even today some foreign authors of books about coffee culture claim this story as the beginning of the coffeehouse culture in Vienna.⁴⁴⁾ Even a street in the 4th district of Vienna has been named in his honor. Recently there has been a historical dispute between Poland and the Ukraine because the Ukrainians also claimed that Kolschitzky was one of them.⁴⁵⁾ This topic has even been mentioned in some Ukrainian media. In an article the Ukrainian reporter Maryna Irkliyenko wrote:

“Traditions of coffee drinking are still catching up with the rest of the world Georg Franz Kolschitzky, the western Ukrainian-born merchant credited with opening the first Vienna coffee house in 1683, would be disappointed with his fellow countrymen. Several centuries later, coffee drinking traditions in Ukraine are still catching up with Vienna – and the rest of the world.”⁴⁶⁾

The reason for this dispute is the birthplace of Kolschitzky which was at his time historically a part of Poland (Stary Sambor, Lemberg) but now it is geographically located inside the Ukraine.

Other historical sources and chronicles mention that in 1665, a delegation of the Ottoman Empire already introduced it to the Viennese people, while signing a peace treaty between Sultan Mehmet IV of the Ottoman dynasty and Leopold I, the Holy Roman Emperor and King of Germany, Hungary, Croatia and Bohemia. The serving of coffee was at that time a part of the diplomatic protocol for the Ottoman delegation.⁴⁷⁾ As much, this was known to only to a select number of people.

44) Kwon, Jang Ha (2005), 『*Traces of coffeculture*』, (Mister Coffee SICA), pp. 73–76.

45) Klos, Johannes (2011), *Kolschitzky, der Kaffee und das Wiener Kaffeehaus*. In: *Ukrainischer Deutschlehrer- und Germanistenverband* (Hrsg.): Zeitschrift des UDGv. 24, Lviv, p. 99–102 (<http://www.udgv.org/attachments/article/129/DaFiU%2024-2011.pdf>)

46) Refer to: Maryna Irkliyenko, Kyiv Post (10/12/2008), *Coffee appetite brewing—but far behind Europe*.

47) Sindermann, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

There are a number of evidences in historical archives, which claim that after the delegation left Vienna in March 1666, coffee was still being enjoyed by some private circles.⁴⁸⁾ The historian Professor Karl Teply claimed in 1980, that there were no historical or written documents or chronicles in the history of Vienna that proved the story of Georg Franz Kolschitzky as a historical fact nor that he even owned a coffeehouse.⁴⁹⁾ Teply stated instead, that a number of smart business people from the Ottoman Empire and Armenians like Andreas Pains and Phillipp Rudolf Kaemberg already established the first coffee vending businesses in Vienna.⁵⁰⁾ For sure, the first ones were mostly located in vaults, which were not as cozy or elegant as the Viennese coffeehouses we know today.

The coffeehouses at that time, were more or less little vending booths, were mostly concentrated and located inside the city walls, also called the inner city of Vienna, and in the periphery of the town. Especially those coffee booths near the Schlagbrücke which were at that time the only solid connection to the outskirts of Vienna (today it is the “Leopoldstadt”, which is the second district of Vienna). This area was mainly frequented and inhabited by Rascians,⁵¹⁾ Jews, Turks and Armenians, who did not want to disclaim of their coffee. It is logical that most of these coffee booths were owned and managed by these people.⁵²⁾ The booths were mostly frequented by travelers, who used the Schlagbrücke as the only possible connection from Vienna to Prague in Bohemia. Another reason was the trade route to the North East, which passed through this area. At that time, the coffeehouses inside the city were very often some vaults inside a house or building compound.

48) Heise, Ulla (1987), *Kaffee und Kaffeehaus (...)*, p. 16.

49) Teply, Karl (1980), *Die Einführung des Kaffees in Wien*, p. 58.

50) Teply, *Die Anfaenge des Wiener Kaffeehauses*, p. 23 in: *Das Wiener Kaffeehaus (Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien)*.

51) This term was mostly used in former times as the name for Serbs, living in the Habsburg Monarchy. (German: Raizen).

52) Weinzierl, Regine (1990), *Das Kaffeehaus und die Entstehung (...)*, p. 33.

Teply claims also, that especially four men can be regarded historically as the first coffeehouse owners of Vienna – Johannes Diodato, Isaak da Luca and the Deodat Brothers, Franz and Ignaz. These four characters might have been merged to this sole character of “Kolschitzky.” Nevertheless, this did not stop the fact that this legend has its fixed locale in history of Vienna.

Many historians on the other hand assume, that an Armenian man called Johannes Diodato,⁵³⁾ born in 1640 in Istanbul (died 1725 in Vienna), was the first one who established a coffeehouse inside his apartment compound at the Hachenberghouse (now Rotenturmstrasse 14 in the first district of Vienna, indicated by a wall panel) opposite the customs house on the 17th of January in 1685⁵⁴⁾ and even today, this address hosts a coffee shop called ‘Daniel Moser.’⁵⁵⁾

He, Diodato, was the first one, who received the privilege to open a coffeehouse by the Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I (1658–1705) for whom he also unofficially served also as an agent and spy. This privilege has been regarded as a reward for his services. As a coffee vendor with royal privileges, he was excluded from paying any taxes for his business.⁵⁶⁾ Nevertheless, very soon, Diodato should lose his monopoly for his coffeehouse business due to a political intrigue. His competitors on the other hand, had to pay already regular taxes, since they were coffeehouse owners with ordinary citizenship of Vienna. This fact allowed them to stay in business without any big trouble.

The habit of drinking coffee became very popular in Vienna and the consequence was that more and more coffeehouses opened their businesses, mainly by other Orientals like Isaak da Luca who should soon open up the

53) Other names: Johannes Deodatus, Owanes Astouatzatur, also: Johannes Deodat, Theodat.

54) Teply, Karl (1980), *Die Einführung des Kaffees in Wien. Verein für Geschichte der Stadt Wien*, Bd. 6. p. 104. quoted in: Seibel, Anna Maria: *Die Bedeutung der Griechen für das wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Leben in Wien*, p. 94.

55) Oberzill, Gerhard (1983), *Ins Kaffeehaus. Geschichte einer(...)*, p. 16.

56) *Ibid.*, p. 17.

‘first prototype’ of a typical Viennese coffeehouse, called “Blue Bottle (Blaue Flasche),” which existed from 1703 to 1775.⁵⁷⁾ Historical records summarize: since all founders of the first Viennese coffeehouses came from the Orient, it can be rightly regarded as an institution with oriental cultural roots and influences.

More and more coffeehouses opened their businesses, and there was an especially fierce competition between coffeehouse owners and distillers, who also started to sell coffee at their taverns.

In 1723, the city council of Vienna forbade the distillers to sell coffee, but on the other hand, coffee vendors were still allowed to sell alcoholic drinks. Thus, a lot of distillers became impoverished.⁵⁸⁾ To stop this grave situation there have been efforts to pool these businesses until finally arch duchess of Austria Maria Theresia in 1747 ordered this never-ending quarrel between coffee vendors and distillers. Both were finally allowed to sell the drinks of the competitor—until these days.⁵⁹⁾

Johann Jakob Taroni (1706–1777) was a former distiller, but his coffeehouse should reach international fame, since he got the permission in 1748 for the first time to establish a “Gastgarten” (German word for an outside guest area) in front of his coffeehouse, which was located on the Viennese “Graben” (a very famous road in the inner city and center of Vienna). These areas are usually called “Schanigarten” in Vienna. The reason for this appellation is historically derived from the custom habit of the upper class people, who used to say “put up the garden(Schani, trogn goatn ausse)” to their servants, if they wished to sit outside on sunny

57) Isaak da Luca received this privilege for many years (neither Koltzschitzky nor Diodato). On July 16th., 1700, the Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I. gave the permission to open a coffeehouse to four civic coffee makers only. The number should rise in the following years. In 1714, there were already 11 civic and 20 court approved coffee makers. Emperor Karl VI renewed these privileges of the eleven civic coffee brewers on April 27th, 1714. See also: Teply, *op. cit.*, p. 24 in: *Das Wiener Kaffeehaus* (Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien).

58) Oberzill, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

59) Heise, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

days. “Schani” is the Viennese form of the French name “Jean”(Johann) and a lot of servants had this name or were called by this name, therefore this was a typical symbolic name for someone who had to carry out mostly lower jobs.⁶⁰⁾

Picture Gallery II.1.1



Picture 1



Picture 2



Picture 3



Picture 4



Picture 5



Picture 6



Picture 7



Picture 8



Picture 9

60) Oberzill. *op. cit.*, p. 102 ff.



Picture 10



Picture 11



Picture 12

Picture 1 Memorial for Ukrainian soldiers (Cossacks) who helped to defeat the Turkish troops in 1683. Maybe Kolschitzky was one of them.

Picture 2 Commemoration plaque in remembrance of the 300 years anniversary of the defeat of Turkish troops during the second siege of Vienna in 1683.

Picture 3 Commemoration plaque in remembrance of Polish King Sobiesky, who led the allied troops against the Ottoman troops in 1683.

Picture 4 Position on the Viennese Kahlenberg from where the allied troops attacked and fought back the Ottoman troops in 1683.

Picture 5 Located in the center of Vienna (Address: Singerstrasse 11) which was the alleged venue of Kolschitzky's coffeehouse. Truth is that there are no official historic records about it which could have proved this allegation.

Picture 6 The Red Cross House with the little bishop's yard in Vienna that has been mentioned in Gottfried Uhlich's text about Kolschitzky. It has been marked as a historical site by the city of Vienna (note the flags and plate at the wall on the left side).

Picture 7–8 Kolschitzky's house in Vienna (Address: Domgasse 8). Note the commemoration plate on the left side.

Picture 9 ‘Kolschitzkygasse’ is located in the 4th district of Vienna.

Picture 10 Diodato’s apartment (Address: Rotenturmstrasse 14), is claimed to be the historic location of the first Viennese coffeehouse.

Picture 11 A park in Vienna named after Diodato has been established in 2004⁶¹). The text on the plate officially regards him as the one who opened the first coffeehouse in Vienna.

Picture 12 In front of the Johannes–Diodato–Park (The size is about 300 square–meters and next to an elementary school).



61) Source: *Wien - Mit Leib und Seele*.

(<http://web.archive.org/web/20080216074802/http://www.masis.at/archive/diodato/diodato.htm>)

1.2. The heyday of the Viennese coffeehouse culture during the 19th century

Around the end of the 18th century, there were an estimated number of 80 coffeehouses in Vienna. Old established coffee brewers were reluctant against an expansion of the business because of too many competitors, but the city authorities approved the growth of its number. As a result, many coffeehouses went bankrupt after a short time or changed their owners. Reasons were that some wanted to expand their business too fast and lots of them gave credits to those who could not offer to pay their outstanding accounts just to keep peace. For example in the poem “To the coffeehouse”⁶²⁾ by the famous Viennese coffeehouse poet Peter Altenberg, who is often regarded as the most representative Viennese coffeehouse writer and poet, there is one verse that described this very common situation: “(...)When you cannot get anything on trust anywhere else – coffeehouse.”⁶³⁾

Between 1806 until 1813, it was impossible to get real coffee beans in Austria, due to the French continental blockade. Europe could not get any goods from overseas. Napoleon’s goal was to hit and disturb the trade of his archenemy England with other nations. Consequently after a while there was no more coffee available for the Viennese coffeehouses. Their owners had to find a substitute to preserve the primary purpose of their businesses. One substitute for example was made out of a plant called “Zichorie”(German for chicory).⁶⁴⁾ Some coffeehouse owners mixed the substitute with real coffee while others were implementing this false coffee as a healthy drink. Others even used finely grounded plum seeds, figs and roasted grain and corn. The German expression “Muckefuck” which is used commonly to name a very bad coffee or coffee substitute is derived from the French

62) Heering (1993), *Das Wiener Kaffeehaus*. p. 17, (Peter Altenberg: ‘*To the coffeehouse*’, translation by John Uker).

63) Ueberreuther (2010), *Wien in alten Fotografien–Kaffeehäuser und ihre Besucher*, p. 7.

64) Riha, Fritz (1967), *Das alte Wiener Caféhaus*, p. 44 ff.

expression “mocca faux”, meaning a “false mocha.”⁶⁵⁾

Despite this grave situation, the coffeehouses still tried to offer their guests other things. To save them from financial collapse, the authorities allowed them to widen their range of additional offerings like meals and this was the beginning of the so called “Café–Restaurants.”⁶⁶⁾

The continental blockade by Napoleon also brought some innovative aspects. Europe was economically isolated at that time; it had to put efforts into equivalent substitutes of other imported goods like sugar by its own. One important example is the production of sugar. Sugar cane from mostly South American countries, which were also mostly colonies of European countries at that time, could not be imported anymore. Instead, they invented the method to produce sugar out of sugar beet. This economical emergency situation was at the same time the impulse for new discoveries and inventions at the beginning of the 19th century.⁶⁷⁾

The period after Napoleon and the time after the Vienna congress, which brought a political backlash for the democratic and national movements in Europe has been also called the “Biedermeier–Era.”

During this time, people concentrated more and more back to simple and family oriented lifestyles. The Viennese coffeehouse on the other hand became a symbol for a new “quality of life.” This period also brought a positive economic impact. The resulting prosperity for a certain social upper and middle class resulted also into an improvement of the living situation for lower social classes who now could get jobs and earn money. The first signs of the industrialization of Europe became evident. The coffeehouses took profit from the new wealth of the citizens. This situation forced the owners to adapt to this new situation since their customers became more and more demanding. They were craving for more

65) Bergmann, Günter (1989), *Kleines sächsisches Wörterbuch. Bibliographisches Institut, Leipzig.*

66) Riha, *op. cit.*, p. 48 ff.

67) *Ibid.*, p. 50.

comfort and luxury and this demanded a wave of renovations and reconstructions of the coffeehouses especially during the 20s of the 19th century.

In the 1830s, exactly in the year 1832, famous waltz music composers like Johann Strauss and Joseph Lanner started their famous and very popular coffeehouse concerts on every weekend and on every Thursday afternoon.⁶⁸⁾ People were not only simply listening to their music but also danced to their melodies enthusiastically.

Even some pieces of the furniture became characteristic elements for the Viennese coffeehouse culture. In 1849, one special piece of furniture appeared for the first time in a Viennese coffeehouse, the so called “Thonet Chair” which should become formative for coffeehouse furniture arrangements and an important factor for the spreading of the Viennese coffeehouse culture throughout the world. It has been originally invented by the German Michael Thonet⁶⁹⁾ and was made of bent wood. In a combination with round shaped marble tables, it became a design icon during the second half of the 19th century for coffeehouse interior throughout Europe, North- and South America and all other coffee drinking nations with its simple and open design: practical, easy to transport and beautiful. Until 1896 over 40 Million pieces should be exported all over the world. The Thonet chair has been regarded even as a symbol for a well-tended culture of mind of the intellectual bourgeoisie or middle class and the Viennese modernism inside the Viennese coffeehouses. German philosopher and author Hajo Eickhoff (“Himmelsthron und Schaukelstuhl: Die Geschichte des Sitzens”) stated:

“These chairs of the Viennese coffeehouses which are built until today reveal with their lightweight the illusion of freedom and through their

68) Schwaner, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

69) About Thonet: Refer to company brochure of Gebrueder Thonet Vienna, pp. 6–7 and *THONET-Geschichte einer Möbelmarke*. The whole pdf.file can be found here: (http://www.rustikal.at/downloads/Geschichte_einer_Moebelmarke.pdf).

*reduced dimension the illusion of esthetic lightness.”*⁷⁰⁾

Jovanni Milani was the first Viennese coffeehouse owner, who allowed female customers to enter his business.⁷¹⁾ Until 1840 the only woman allowed in the coffeehouse was the seated cashier lady. This strict rule attempted to “*protect women from the bad influence of gambling, alcohol and tobacco smoke.*” Only some events during the summer of some coffeehouses allowed their entrance and only in the escort of their husbands.

The second half of the 19th century, especially the decades between 1859 and 1890 brought some very important changes to the social, political, cultural and economic environment of Vienna. The World Exhibition in Vienna in 1873 helped very much to spread the fame of the Viennese coffeehouse culture into the world with its cozy and sophisticated elegance and atmosphere. People from other countries were just amazed and the Viennese coffeehouse became a leading trendsetter and a role-model for other coffeehouses. In other regions of the Habsburg Empire, in cities like Prague, Verona, Trieste, Budapest and Venice, it has been tried to imitate the typical Viennese coffeehouse style. Most of them were built in historicism-style. It meant big halls with huge mirrors, tuxedo dressed waiters, crystal chandeliers, red covered sofas and chairs, candle holders on the walls, et cetera. These were all ingredients and must-have interiors and upholstery for a successful coffeehouse business. The trend was towards opulent, luxurious and noble coffeehouses. Every coffeehouse owner wanted to overtrump his competitors in this matter. Even the waiters in other cities had to be trained “*Viennese-style.*”⁷²⁾

Coffeehouses also served as a concert hall and theater stage, since it had the space for a bigger audience. This also brought up the biggest Viennese coffeehouse in history⁷³⁾ which could host over 5000 guests at the same

70) *Ibid.*, p. 122.

71) Ueberreuther, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

72) Jacob, *op. cit.*, p. 306.

73) Schwaner, *op. cit.*, pp. 95.

time. Its dome had a height of about 85 meters and the Viennese at that time used to call it ‘Gugelhupf’⁷⁴). The last remnants of this coffeehouse, which was located in the ‘Prater’ were unfortunately torn down in 1962.

It is easy to find famous coffee and coffeehouse cultures all over the world, but the fact, that Vienna is regarded as the center of coffeehouse literature (Kaffeehausliteratur), is rather unique.⁷⁵) This kind of literature can be simply described as a mixture of literature and feuilleton (refined wit) written mostly in coffeehouses, a kind of short text which contents were mostly short reflections, observations and anecdotes. Some of them were sold to newspapers or magazines. The coffeehouse therefore served as a micro cosmos for these literates.

It all started in 1890 at the “Café Griensteidl” around a group of literates lead by their spokes–man Herrmann Bahr. The members called themselves “Jung–Wien” and included such names like Hugo von Hoffmannsthal, Stefan Zweig, Arthur Schnitzler or Oskar Kokoschka (who was also a famous painter).

The coffeehouse literates and poets turned away from the prevailing naturalism of the time and experimented with various facets of modernism, including symbolism and impressionism. The members were known for their decadence and indolence, traits satirized by Karl Kraus in his essay “The demolished literature” from 1897⁷⁶) (the year Café Griensteidl was torn down). Little work was accomplished at the coffeehouse. For example, one literate became mostly famous not because of his poetic works, but because he (Otfried Krzyzanowski, died 1918 aged 32) became sick and starved to death.⁷⁷) Nevertheless, the writers exchanged manuscripts, criticism, and often their mistresses.

After the demolition of the first Café Griensteidl, a lot of former

74) Name of a popular Austrian cake.

75) Tretter, Martha (2010), *Was ist ein Kaffeehausliterat?* (in *Kulturmagazin der Wiener Fremdenführer*), p. 44.

76) Heering, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

77) Schwaner, *op. cit.*, pp. 165–166.

members changed their meeting venue to the nearby Café Central and later on to the Café Herrenhof.

Stefan Zweig wrote in his book *The World of Yesterday* about his youth in the coffeehouse:

*“The Viennese coffeehouse is a very special kind of institution, which cannot be compared with others in the world. It is a kind of democratic club, which can be entered for the price of a cheap cup of coffee, where every guest can sit there for hours for a small contribution in form of a small cup of coffee, discussing, writing, writing cards, receive his post and consume a unlimited number of newspapers and magazines. We knew, what was going on in the world on first hand. We knew everything about the latest published book, about every performance and we compared all critics in every newspaper; nothing did so much for the intellectual flexibility of the Austrian. In the coffeehouse he could get information about every activity in the world and discuss them with his friends. Day by day, we spend hours and we did not miss anything. Because we observed the whole picture of the artistic activities not only with two eyes but indeed with twenty up to forty eyes (...)”*⁷⁸⁾

If the Englishmen have their clubs, the Viennese have their coffeehouses. It is their “vice” as Otto Friedländer expressed it in his essay “Der Klub der Wiener.”⁷⁹⁾

Other artists also had their favorite locations. The Café Museum for example, constructed by Architect Adolf Loos, a pioneer of modern architecture, was famous for its shocking simple style. It was the favorite for many famous Austrian painters like Gustav Klimt or Egon Schiele. As a contemporary witness, Friedrich Torberg summarized it very properly:

“The productivity of the former literate cafés, in a broader and narrow sense, was enormous. In the coffeehouse, new literate schools and styles

78) Zweig, Stefan (1944), *Das Kaffeehaus als Bildungsstätte. Jugend im Griensteidl*. In *Die Welt von gestern*.

79) Heering, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

*were born and rejected. From the coffeehouse new styles of art, painting, music and architecture began their way.”*⁸⁰⁾

In 1891, the 38 outskirts of Vienna were assimilated into the city of Vienna. The former city walls of the town were torn down by orders of Emperor Franz Josef I. to a round-about street system with a never seen before pompous elegance. The “Era of the Ringstrasse” began. More than 30 new coffeehouses were also established during that time. With their outside street compartments (Scharnigarten) and bombastic and elegant interior, they were very popular among the upper class and noble people. The new “Ringstrasse” was considered and celebrated as a ‘Miracle of elegance.’ The most representative coffeehouse on the “Ring” is for sure the Café Landtmann, which has been established in 1873 by Franz Landtmann and until these days, it is one of the most famous coffeehouses of Vienna. A great number of Viennese inhabitants, which often used to live in small apartments, used the elegantly arranged coffeehouses as their “expanded living room”, where someone could easily meet business partners or friends as well.

80) Schwaner, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

Picture Gallery II.1.2



Picture 13



Picture 14



Picture 15



Picture 16



Picture 17



Picture 18



Picture 19

Picture 13 The continental blockade of Napoleon initiated the invention of coffee substitutes, like this one made out of spelt (Dinkel-Kaffee).

Picture 14 Café-Restaurant Weimar in Vienna located in the 9th district of Vienna, owned by Maximilian Platzer (Chairman of the Association of Viennese coffeehouse owners).

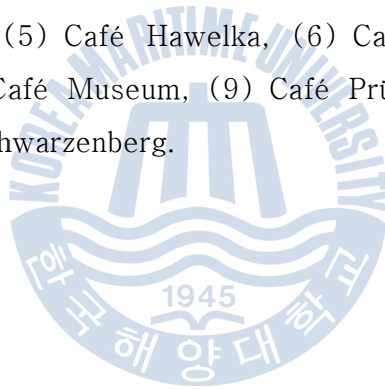
Picture 15 Thonet chair owned by Dr. E. Pohl, Vienna. Over 50 Million pieces were produced until 1930.⁸¹⁾ (Picture courtesy by Maximilian Singer).

Picture 16 Seated cashier lady (Copy of a historic picture taken by Tae Hung Chung at Rosenberger Café, Vienna).

Picture 17 Outside view of the Café Landtmann, which is one of the most famous and elegant cafés on the 'Ringstrasse' in Vienna.

Picture 18 Picture shows an inside view of the Café Landtmann.

Picture 19 The map⁸²⁾ shows some of the most popular coffeehouses around and inside the Ringstrasse boundaries: (1) Café Central, (2) Café Demel, (3) Café de l'Europe, (4) Café Griensteindl, (5) Café Hawelka, (6) Café Landtmann, (7) Café Mozart, (8) Café Museum, (9) Café Prückel, (10) Café Sacher, (11) Café Schwarzenberg.



81) Schwaner, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

82) Refer to: *Guide to Vienna Coffee Houses – a Viennese tradition and a must-see!*
(<http://www.vienna4u.at/coffeehouses.html>.)

1.3. Viennese coffeehouse culture during the 20th and 21st century

The Viennese coffeehouses continuously had to confront with new trends, fashion and historic changes. Lots of them had trouble to adapt to the new situations and disappeared. Until the beginning of the First World War the Viennese coffeehouse business was blooming and received an attribute as a meeting point for intellectuality. It might be true, that without the coffeehouse mind and culture couldn't have developed and spread in such a dimension. The Jewish upper middle class at this time were one of the fundamental pillars of cultural and scientific life and could emancipate in the society. This pinnacle of Viennese coffeehouse culture came to an abrupt end with the beginning of the First World War in 1914 which was also the end of the Habsburg monarchy and the end of the influence of the upper middle class. During the years of the First World War it became very silent at the Viennese coffeehouses. A number of them had to close down while others changed their businesses. Establishment of new coffeehouses was impossible.

After the First World War in 1918, the big world industrial and financial depression and the general economic stagnation and rising unemployment during the 1920s, lead to an end of the vital coffeehouse culture in Vienna. During this period many traditional houses broke down, their locations were changed into banks and later on to car shops. But within 10 years the situation changed again. The so called "Café-Restaurants", a combination between a coffeehouse and a restaurant, became a new trend which had its origin almost 120 years ago during the continental blockade by Napoleon. Since 1925, more and more Viennese coffeehouses started to offer their guests a big variety of traditional Viennese and international cuisine and this lead to the result that the traditional ambience of a Viennese coffeehouse mostly disappeared. During the world economic crisis in the 1920s, they also served as a black market trading venue. Concert-Cafés had to compete with Dance-Cafés (Tanzcafés), where people could listen and

dance to Jazz music from the USA, but they could finally succeed with the idea of the 'five o'clock coffee (Fünf-Uhr-Kaffee)'.⁸³⁾

In the 1930s, the Ring Café and the Dom Café became the popular meeting spots of sportsmen, mostly football players, who discovered the cozy atmosphere of coffeehouses for steaming debates and discussions. When Germany came under the reign of the Nazis, many German immigrants fled to Vienna like famous writer and theater director Bertolt Brecht, who described Vienna very exactly as a "city built around coffeehouses."⁸⁴⁾ When the Nazis finally seized power in Austria from 1938 until 1945, many famous and traditional coffeehouses, which were often locations for intellectual discussions and philosophical and cultural exchange were closed down, destroyed or "aryanized" and especially Jewish owners were displaced and ousted in this process. Lots of them were also deported and killed.

After the Second World War, a new competitor appeared, the so called coffee and pastry shops ("Café-Konditorei"), which sells besides coffee, a big variety of cakes and pastries. They did not offer newspapers, games and what was very new: there was no "Herr Ober", the typical male coffeehouse waiter. On the other hand, women were welcome from the very first moment. Famous locations included the popular AIDA coffee and pastry chain and the 'Konditorei Demel', which also already was famous as the royal warrant holder, official pastry maker and deliverer to the Habsburg monarchy since 1785. Their famous black clothed waitresses, the so called "Demelinerinnen"⁸⁵⁾ who used to address their guest in the third person ("Haben schon gewählt?") became also a unique symbol like their male counterparts in other traditional coffeehouses, literally characterized and described in Friedrich Torberg's famous book *Die Tante Jolesch* with anecdotes about the Viennese coffeehouse culture.

83) Refer to: Singer, Herta (1959), *Im Wiener Kaffeehaus*, p. 265.

84) Sindermann, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

85) Torberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 272–275.

Competition became more and fiercer from all sides. Especially during the 1950s and 1960s up to the beginning 1980s, there was a grave period in the history of the Viennese coffeehouse culture also referred to as the era of “Kaffeehaussterben(death of the coffeehouse).” Reasons were an increased mobility of many citizens who now could buy themselves a car and spend their time at weekend flats, news from radio and television; the coffeehouse lost its function as a communication media or as a cultural, entertaining and meeting location. Again, many traditional houses had to close down due to economic hardship and their former regular customers had to search again for a new venue. Since Vienna is also the capital city of Austria with all central ministries and the national parliament, many politicians for example chose to visit the Café Ministerium or the Café Landtmann very close to the Austrian parliament.

On the other hand, art students preferred the Café Prückel which is very closely located opposite the Museum of Applied Arts (MAK) in Vienna. In 1983, in commemoration of the 300th Anniversary of the Viennese coffeehouse, the city of Vienna and its Bureau of Cultural Affairs (MA7) launched an initiative to revive its culture and tradition, which was at that time dashed on the ground.⁸⁶⁾ This initiative's agenda was to bring back people's awareness and its importance as a cultural heritage of Vienna. For example, participating companies and banks for some years, gave financial loans easily to coffeehouses to renovate their sanitary and kitchen facilities and helped them with the marketing by organizing and sponsoring events like reading, card games and billiard competitions and theater and concert projects at coffeehouses. Most of these efforts worked out relatively well and Viennese citizen became aware again of their unique coffeehouse culture and tradition. Of course, times are changing, also for the Viennese coffeehouse. Technology and science are developing within an incredible speed. Still, the Viennese coffeehouses keep some aspects of its original features like the big choice of newspapers which can be read

⁸⁶⁾ Interview with Maximilian Platzer (June 22, 2012).

by the guests, besides that some locations are now offering also free internet access. Now, the internet with its World-Wide-Web has therefore taken over a great part of the role as an information source that was held for centuries by the newspapers, which has become obsolete.

Picture Gallery II.1.3



Picture 20



Picture 21

Picture 20 Note the “Demelinerinnen” in front of the entrance of the DEMEL coffeehouse.

Picture 21 Inside view of Café Demel.

2. Characteristic elements of the Viennese coffeehouse culture

In this chapter, I would like to itemize the typical characteristics and classical elements of a traditional Viennese coffeehouse and its culture. The listed items as a whole can be referred to as the most important points and details that define also the unique culture inside the Viennese coffeehouse. Anywhere in the world it might be possible to open up a Viennese style coffeehouse indeed, because the typical interior and furniture can be easily copied and good cakes and pastry can be also produced outside of Vienna. The most important thing concerning the authenticity of a Viennese coffeehouse is its 'soul', consisting of immaterial and emotional elements and aspects of the typical human "Viennese character" as it goes for example the rough charm of its head waiters, sometimes with their infamous grumpiness towards everything and everyone (which is not exactly only regarded as negative character but as a part of the traditional communication and interaction in Viennese coffeehouses), the obsolete interior and also including its long term regular guests.

The structural elements of a traditional Viennese coffeehouse culture I would divide into four major categories and into their subdivisions (in brackets)

1. Material Elements (typical interior, furniture, architecture, fashion, coffee beverages, food, newspapers, mirrors, chandeliers, oven et cetera)
2. Immaterial or Intangible Elements (i.e. time, atmosphere, culture and tradition)
3. Functional Elements (i.e. personnel structure, second living room, communication, information, home, eating drinking, entertainment, gambling, consulting, education)
4. Emotional Elements (i.e. family substitute, love, competition, muse, arts, solace)

How can the atmosphere inside a Viennese coffeehouse be described? Just imagine entering a typical Viennese coffeehouse on a rainy day: One can hear the clicking sound of people playing billiard, the sizzling sound of the coffee machine. It is not too bright inside.

People are talking to each other, some in a lowered voice, some do it louder. One can see a group of four men sitting at a table, smoking and playing cards. Others are playing chess. Some people say that they know the smell of their favorite coffeehouse, a mixture of coffee, tobacco smoke, perfume and cleansing agents. The head waiter is arriving and says: “Hello, your order? (Grüß Gott. Sie wünschen).” You are ordering a small mocha and pick up the daily newspaper. It is like coming home. You are lucky enough if you have your regular Viennese coffeehouse as your personal cultural space.

Until today the Viennese coffeehouse serves as a cultural art platform. Therefore it is common to find artworks of local artists. Many of them are not very famous, but on the other hand these works are a part of the atmosphere fixed on the wall of the Viennese coffeehouse. There a number of changing art exhibitions and the coffeehouses offer the venues. Sometimes it is possible to purchase such an item. Price information is available on a separate list. Today, the majority of coffeehouses in Vienna are offering food and simple lunch sets to their customers, but the food offering in Vienna coffeehouses was not an original aspect of it. In the past, it was not allowed for the coffee vendors to sell something else than coffee. This rule changed during the time of the continental blockade of Napoleon from 1806 to 1813. Nowadays, besides a broad choice of cakes and tortes, customers at a Viennese coffeehouse can find a typical variety of small “*Kaffeehausspeisen*” (small dishes of traditional coffeehouse food), which can be found only at these locales like the “egg in a glass (*Ei im Glas*)” and other kinds of egg dishes (scrambled, fried), the “ham roll (*Schinkenrolle*)” or the fantastic “appetite sandwich” and the “Sacher Sausages” which are actually ‘Frankfurter sausages’ extra-long. A lot the traditional food offer has also changed these days. The choice has increased and many traditional coffeehouses also serve full course meals or lunch sets to their guests.

Culture and cultural development needs possibilities of interaction and exchanges between people, therefore the guests are one of the most essential item for the traditional Viennese coffeehouse culture. In this sense, the coffeehouse can serve here as a communication stage. The guests and the waiters are the protagonists of this special 'theater.' This can be seen especially at those coffeehouses which might be new, stylish and clean, but without any guests.

Austrian writer and journalist Friedrich Torberg wrote it down in his famous essay about the characteristics of typical Viennese coffeehouse guests:⁸⁷⁾

“There are three important questions concerning the Coffeehouse guest.

- 1. Who is it?*
- 2. Which kind of coffeehouse does he visit?*
- 3. Which kind of coffee does he drink?”*

Additionally one can ask: What kind of people are they? What are they talking about? How is their behavior?

Sitting in a coffeehouse can be like sitting in the living room of other people where you do not to be ashamed to listen to the chats of other people. It is a part of the game and culture.

Communication and information exchange methods inside the Viennese coffeehouses are also changing and adapting to new trends and methods. A great number of Viennese coffeehouses also adapted to modern times technologically. Many of them nowadays offer wireless connection to the internet and guests can bring their computer notebooks or computer tablet devices while the waiter is digitally registering their order. The bill will be printed out by digitally, sometimes it is even possible to pay with a credit card and many famous coffeehouses have their own websites. In this

87) Historisches Museum Wien (1980), *Das Wiener Kaffeehaus. Von den Anfängen bis zur Zwischenkriegszeit*, p. 13.

sense the Viennese coffeehouse fulfills again its role as a locale for first-hand information. Nowadays the world wide web on the internet relocates the paper newspapers as a daily source of information although many people still prefer to read a common newspaper and communicate the classic way and not chatting via messenger.

The Viennese coffee culture has so far the biggest variety of coffee specialties compared to other coffee cultures. I believe that this could have been possible only through a permanent interaction and exchange of communication of people inside the Viennese coffeehouse and therefore shows its ability to develop. In the past, coffee was generally prepared the traditional Arabian way which was very strong, black and without sugar. Legends claim, that coffee started to become popular to a majority of people when Kolschitzky started to put in milk and sweetened it.⁸⁸⁾

In some coffeehouses like at the legendary Café Herrenhof⁸⁹⁾, the guests could choose out of a variety of 20 numerated color scheme of coffee, which indicated its intensity. Until today, coffeehouses in Vienna could offer theoretically the biggest variety of coffee specialties in the world. There are more than 30 different types of Viennese coffee recipes, but unfortunately in reality, the majority of the Viennese coffeehouses only offer a very small variety from the initially big choice of coffee possibilities.

Some traditions and rituals inside the Viennese coffeehouse are hard to change and do represent as lovely details of the materialized tradition and culture. For example, coffee is served always on a silver (metal) tray in Vienna. The reason was allegedly to prevent the acidity of the spilled coffee, that it might harm the marble tables in the coffeehouse. Served on the tray, coffee drops will just fall on the tray and not harm the surface of the marble which is still the most commonly used material for Viennese

88) Singer, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

89) It closed forever in 2006.

coffeehouse tables. The spoon on the glass of water with the face upside down is also a very typical trademark and element at the Viennese coffeehouse. Some people argue that it is a hint for the customer to wash the spoon before use; others think that this is a method to indicate the freshness of the served water and for some it is a competition between the waiters to show off their motor abilities (“How many spoons did they drop during a day while serving customer?”) But the real background for this traditional act cannot be proven.

The glass of water served to the coffee in a glass with no additions and free of additional costs, which seemed to be originally an old Turkish tradition, is an indispensable part of the served coffee in a traditional Viennese coffeehouse like the silver tray and the head waiter in his black tuxedo and his “grumpiness.”⁹⁰⁾ There are also a number of reasons for this glass of water. One waiter at a Viennese coffeehouse explained to me that the coffee dries up the stomach and therefore it is necessary to substitute the loss of fluids with an additional glass of water. Also, it makes the next sip of coffee more enjoyable if you drink a sip of water afterwards. Not necessarily scientifically proven reasons in my humble opinion. Others claim that the glass of water was the locale to put in your spoon after stirring the coffee to prevent soiling the coffee set. Although there are no proven documents about it I do prefer the version, that the glass of water is a welcome sign for the guest serving also as an invitation to stay. Normally it is refilled for free as a sign that as a guest you might stay as long as you wish even drinking only the free glass of water.

A “cultural struggle(Kulturkampf)”⁹¹⁾ recently flared up even mentioned and reported in one of Germany’s most famous newspapers. There are recent discussions and movements in the Viennese coffeehouse business to

90) Ueberreuter (2010), *op. cit.*, p. 7.

91) Refer to : Kahlweit Cathrin in *Süddeutsche Zeitung: Kulturkampf um das Gläschen in Ehren* (10/7/2013).

abolish this tradition of the free glass of water for economic reasons which I consider it as a bad attitude, because this would indeed mean to get rid of another traditional symbol and essential basic element of the Viennese coffeehouse culture.⁹²⁾

For doing Business with Viennese people, a helpful advice and information is to know the fact that the coffeehouse in Vienna is often used by its customers as their “private” office until these days. It was and it is still a locale where many businesses and politics are still arranged and made. Its dynamic and lively atmosphere might be the reason why. Students and writers are still using it until today, also as their working place and it is nothing unusual in Vienna that important business meetings are often held in a nice coffeehouse. Indeed it is inspiring, despite the noise of other people chatting around in a sometimes loud voice. Even mail can be received or stored for other people if someone is kindly asking. It is said that the Viennese coffeehouse literate and poet Peter Altenberg for example also used the Café Central as his private postal address.⁹³⁾

Remarkable in terms of the interior are obviously the big mirrors hanging at wall inside a Viennese coffeehouse. Big mirrors are another essential part of the interior of a Viennese coffeehouse since they give the illusion of a bigger room. Also it might be helpful to observe discretely other guests inside the hall.

The coffeehouse in Vienna has not been only used as a cultural space but also had its very practical functions until these days. For some people, they were a locale of shelter and survival. In the very beginning of the history of the Viennese coffeehouse, it also served as sleeping—and as a warm room. Some coffeehouses still use their old oven (Example: Café

92) Since July the 15th 2013, Café Landtmann charges 2.50 Euro per mug of tapped water. According to the Austrian newspaper, “Der Standard” (18/7/2013) the current price of 1000 liters of water is about 1.73 Euro.

93) Sindemann, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

Jelinek) until today. In former times many Viennese citizens and especially the coffeehouse literates preferred to stay at the coffeehouse the whole day since this was a locale that was heated the whole day during the wintertime. Therefore the oven must be regarded as one of the central elements in a traditional Viennese coffeehouse.

As a locale for communication and information, the public phone box inside the Viennese coffeehouse had also its essential role. The public phone box in the coffeehouse is a relic of a time before everybody had its own mobile phone. People could be reached at the coffeehouse. Normally the waiter received the call at first and then asked the guests if the receiver for this call is among them. Since the majority of the customers have their own mobile phone these days the use of these phone boxes decreased immensely. There seems to be no more use for them and most of them are still there just as a relic of ancient times. Still one can find them at the coffeehouses as a part of the ancient and traditional interior.

While most parts of and inside a traditional Viennese coffeehouse are immobile, the quality of a Viennese coffeehouse is also judged by the choice and number of offered national and international newspapers to the customers.

Around 1720, the “Kramersche Coffeehouse” has been historically regarded as the first coffeehouse in Vienna which offered newspapers to its customers from the very beginning. Newspapers are normally fixed in typical newspaper racks made of beech wood. Some bigger coffeehouses even had their own newspaper waiters, who took care about the large number of newspaper after the guests read them. It is said that in former times, the Café Central had a newspaper register for its 251 different papers and also an encyclopedic–dictionary, but it is also said that people reading a newspaper, especially the intellectual papers, are just a part of the show to impress other people around.⁹⁴⁾

94) Wurmdobler, Christian (2010), *Kaffeehäuser in Wien*, p. 19.

The guests were mostly literates, artists, intellectuals and professors who read the news from all over the world. Only the governmental circles did not like these newspaper cafés, because some papers in the offering were politically too critical. Currently, six traditional and popular Viennese coffeehouses (Café Landtmann, Café Museum, Café Sperl, Café Weimar, Café Prückel and Café Hummel) are offering up to 122 digital magazines and newspapers for free while a customer is connected to the internet platform Kiosk.at inside their coffeehouses.⁹⁵⁾ Providers are the Austrian Press Agency (APA) and the Internet Service Provider Freewave. The customers must bring their own devices (personal computer notebooks or tablets) to use this service for free. This seems to be a sign that also the reading offer at Viennese coffeehouses is adapting fast to current technological changes and possibilities.

Also the space outside the coffeehouse might be used as a cultural and business room. The word “Schanigarten” is a traditional Viennese expression for an outdoor dining or service area of a Café, first introduced by Johann Jakob Taroni at his coffeehouse called Café Taroni.⁹⁶⁾ It is not an attraction, but a condiment to a Viennese coffeehouse.⁹⁷⁾ These outdoor service areas were important especially during the hot summer times. Otherwise there would have been no business possible for the coffeehouse owners during the hot summer seasons. Concessions for these outdoor service areas are not easy to get and some coffeehouses in Vienna are struggling economically due to this condition.

Smoking inside a Viennese coffeehouse has also become a point of discussion and its prohibition has been regarded as a breach of Viennese coffeehouse tradition

“A traditional Viennese coffeehouse has to be filled with smoke.”⁹⁸⁾

95) *Heute* (Austrian daily newspaper) (13/3/2013), p. 6.

96) Singer, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

97) Brandstätter, Christian(1978), *Das Wiener Kaffeehaus*, p. 16.

This was a traditional attitude for centuries and it is still hard to overcome this somehow harmful attitude towards one's health. Some coffeehouses like the Café Drechsler still offer cigarettes not only by the pack in their menu. It is also possible to buy cigarettes by the piece. In my opinion, a good service for people, who only smoke occasionally. Therefore it is no wonder that a few years ago (January 2009) the new antismoking laws in Austria set up by the European Union caused uproar of protests since smoking was always regarded as an indispensable part and element of the coffeehouse culture in Vienna. A number of traditional and old coffeehouse owners were afraid that this would be not only a loss of the typical flair but also a financial loss, since then smokers would not frequent the coffeehouses anymore. Nevertheless the coffeehouse owners had to decide after a probation time on June 30th 2010, if they wanted to stay as a smoking or as a non-smoking locale.

Bigger coffeehouse had to separate their rooms into a smoking and non-smoking section by law and this caused a big financial burden to some businesses. What is more important is the fact that these glass partitions would not only destroy the room and space, but also a long tradition. Smoking guests are a part of the inventory like the "Einspänner"⁹⁹⁾ or the liveried waiter. But the trend seems to go to a nonsmoking direction. The "Café Grienstedl", one of the most famous traditional and historical important coffeehouses in Vienna, surprised its guests when it decided a few years ago to become a fully nonsmoking locale. Smoking is now explicitly forbidden there. But sarcastically seen, quite a number of coffeehouse owners here seem to prefer a typical "Viennese type of solution", meaning no solution and no final decision at all. Spending time at a Viennese coffeehouse is here one of the most important 'obligations.' It is one of the most important intangible factors, which define the meaning

98) Wurmdobler, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

99) Popular Viennese coffee specialty: A small mocha with whipped cream on the top, served in a typical glass (also refer to List of coffee specialties in the appendix of this dissertation).

of a typical Viennese coffeehouse culture. Viennese coffeehouses are therefore locales “*where time and space are consumed, but only the coffee is found on the bill.*”¹⁰⁰⁾

Friedrich Torberg also stated that “*one of the most indispensable conditions of any coffeehouse culture is having time.*”¹⁰¹⁾ This statement can be proven that some locales in the past even denied the service to customers, who were in a hurry like the Café Jelinek. No one can enjoy and understand the real atmosphere of a traditional Viennese coffeehouse without spending time in it and guests in a hurry were obviously not welcome but of course this mind has changed in recent times and not so strict anymore. Still, the coffeehouse in Vienna has indeed kept its role as the “*asylum for people who have to kill their time, so that the time does not kill them.*”¹⁰²⁾

This attitude has changed a lot in many ways, especially at those popular and famous Viennese coffeehouses which are frequented mostly by foreign tourists. consumption as much as possible and a quick leave are more welcomed now, because it increases the sales. The attribute of today’s modern coffee-shop customers is that they are mostly in a hurry. “Coffee-to-go” is the current name of the game. The modern guests seem to prefer to drink their coffee as quick as possible and sometimes on the run in large plastic or paper mugs filled with coffee as big as soft drinks. It is a kind of fashion and being hip, urban and dynamic lifestyle. Globally a majority of people understand the term “coffee-break” which automatically implements a short break with a coffee between two jobs to do. In contrast we can talk about the “tea-time” which implements us a relaxing time with friends and family, enjoying a good cup of tea and snacks. Another example of fast coffee culture is the Italian style stand-up café for a quick espresso which is in a big contrast to the

100) More details: <http://immatérielleskulturerbe.unesco.at/cgi-bin/unesco/element.pl?eid=71>

101) Schwaner, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

102) Heering, *op. cit.*, p. 151 (A. Polgar, *Theorie des Cafe Central*).

Viennese coffeehouse culture were time should be the main thing to be consumed. A traditional Viennese coffeehouse celebrates the “coffee-time.” Unfortunately, as we know, for the majority of people, the modern and busy times make it very difficult to live and celebrate this kind of life style.

The social interaction and communication between guests and staff (waiters) inside a Viennese coffeehouse is the most intangible and essential factor that defines very much ‘authentic’ Viennese coffeehouse culture since this is very unique and cannot be easily copied and therefore transferred outside the geographic and cultural boundaries of Vienna. But this should be not seen as a total denial of ‘glocalization’ possibilities of Viennese coffeehouse culture in general. The important point is the social interaction and communication between people in general for the establishment and development of a culture.

The coffeehouse in Vienna is nothing without its guests, but even more important is the head waiter. The guests can be regarded here as “variables” but the waiters are “constant factors” inside the cultural room named Viennese coffeehouse. The attribute of a typical Viennese coffeehouse waiter is a strange mixture of ‘arrogance and familiarity.’¹⁰³⁾ As for the personnel at a Viennese coffeehouse, traditionally mostly men were working at the coffeehouse service. The waiter in a Viennese coffeehouse is therefore regarded generally as the living center of communication and service.

It is common that long regular guests address to the waiters with “Herr” (Mister) and first name (“Herr Franz” for example), other people just address to him with “Herr Ober”, which is the correct form of address and a certain kind of grumpiness (Austrians call it “*granteln*”) and with a typical Viennese snide humour (Wiener Schmäh) is the stereotypical trademark of a Viennese coffeehouse waiter, but in my opinion, it should

103) Ueberreuther, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

be well differentiated between someone's personal character or just an excuse for bad service.

To become finally a Viennese coffeehouse waiter, someone has to start as a young apprentice, generally nicknamed as a 'piccolo.' Lowest in the hierarchy of the traditional Viennese coffeehouse, the 'piccoli' had to do the lowest kind of work (fill up water glasses, cleaning the used ashtrays, et cetera) for example to set up the tables and fill up the water glasses of the guests. He also served as a discrete messenger between men and women inside the coffeehouse and therefore was very popular among the female guests, but the traditional 'piccolo' in this sense does not exist anymore in today's Viennese coffeehouses. The perfect Viennese coffeehouse waiter should be very sensitive, especially to the guests. Small chats about this and that, listen to their problems and sometimes he even had to be also their "personal psychotherapist." 'Trust and complicity' are the necessary ingredients for a smooth relationship between a coffeehouse waiter and a guest. A Viennese coffeehouse waiter should be master of "*body control, skills, quick, (...) The customer is considered as a partner, whom the waiter wants to offer something. The customer is king—but I am the Boss.*"¹⁰⁴⁾ A great recognition for a guest in a Viennese coffeehouse might be the day when the head waiter finally just brings the usual order and the favorite newspaper or asks simply: "As always?" In such a case, the simple guest has been finally upgraded to a "Stammgast" (German for "regular guest") with all privileges.

But not all coffeehouses in Vienna follow the tradition of having only male waiters in the service. For example, the 'Cafe Sperl' which is generally regarded as a prototype for a traditional Viennese coffeehouse does not employ any male waiters anymore. Asked for the reason for this unusual decision the owner, Mr. Staub, told me that due to bad experiences in the past, they do only employ women for the service now.

104) Fabry, Clemens (2009), *Der Engel im Kaffeehaus*, p. 19.

“Male waiters are often rude and arrogant. Waitresses on the other hand treat their customers with the instinct of a mother. They have this certain feeling for the guests...” Mr. Staub explained to me with a smile.

*“Some guests are irritated to find no male waiters in a Viennese coffeehouse but after a while they get used to it and enjoy the friendly service of the waitresses.”*¹⁰⁵⁾

Also, a great number of Viennese coffeehouses nowadays employ a number of service staff with foreign roots. This is also regarded also a significant change in the Viennese coffeehouse culture. Some people see it as a negative aspect for the Viennese coffeehouse culture and its service quality. But one must not forget that historically the first Viennese coffeehouses were owned and served by foreigners from the very beginning. Changes happen! Even inside this field.



105) Interview with Mr. Staub (Owner of Café Sperl) during a visit in June 2013.

Picture Gallery II.2



Picture 22



Picture 23



Picture 24



Picture 25



Picture 26



Picture 27



Picture 28



Picture 29



Picture 30



Picture 31



Picture 32



Picture 33



Picture 34



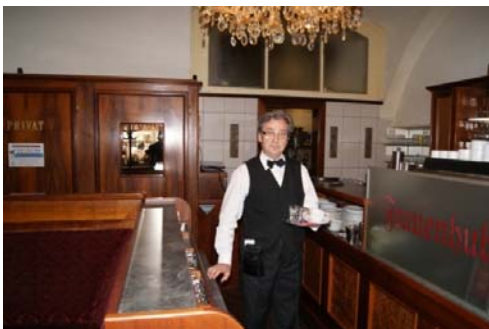
Picture 35



Picture 36



Picture 37



Picture 38



Picture 39



Picture 40

Picture 22 Art inside the Café Drechsler. Viennese coffeehouses often offered and are still offering their walls to artists to present their works.

Picture 23–24 The famous “Ei im Glas”(Egg in a glass) and the “ham roll” (Schinkenrolle) are typical Viennese coffeehouse food stuff, which are served only at these locales.¹⁰⁶⁾

Picture 25 Picture shows the huge variety of cakes and tortes at Café Landtmann, Vienna.

Picture 26 Picture shows the life size statue of Peter Altenberg at the entrance of Café Central in Vienna.

Picture 27 Coffee and cigarette set of Café Drechsler. It is important to know the correct positions of each coffee utensil on the tray: the coffee is located on the left side. The sugar and milk bowl on the left side and the water glass on the right side. The grip of the coffee cup as well as the spoon on the water glass has to be in a five o'clock position. Normally a guest, who gets himself a newspaper after his order and as soon the waiter brings him the coffee, he is used to reach automatically for the spoon, the sugar and finally for his cup of coffee.¹⁰⁷⁾

106) Source: <http://de.fotolia.com/id/39442737>

Picture 28 ‘Kaffee Obermayer’ served at the Café Weimar in Vienna. The obligate glass of water is an essential part of a traditional Viennese coffee set. Even coffee drinks in Vienna have their story. Legend claims that this was the preferred way to drink a coffee by a member of the Vienna philharmonics named ‘Obermayer’ during his break-times.¹⁰⁸⁾

Picture 29 The big hall mirror at the Café Landtmann gives the illusion of a bigger room and an easy method to observe other guests

Picture 30 The American style oven at the Café Jelinek is made by American Heating which is considered as the ‘Rolls-Royce’ among oven. It has to be fired up two hours before the café opens, and on cold mornings the first customers may have to keep their coats on. But they don’t mind as long as nothing else changes.¹⁰⁹⁾

Picture 31 Phone booth (Café Sperl).

Picture 32–33 Newspapers in the Café Central and a traditional Viennese newspaper rack (Café Drechsler).

Picture 34 Historical caricature showing newspaper readers at a coffeehouse (Copy from a historic picture taken by Tae Hung Chung at Rosenberger Café, in Vienna).

Picture 35 Schanigarten in front of the “Kleines (small) Café”, which is the smallest coffeehouse in Vienna, as its name indicates already.

Picture 36 “Sorry, we do do not cater to people in a hurry.” Do not dare to break this rule. Seen at Café Jelinek, Vienna.

107) Paller, Hans (2012), “The theater and the Viennese coffeehouse”, p. 15. Refer to http://othes.univie.ac.at/19334/1/2012-03-14_0108187.pdf for more details.

108) Schwaner, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

109) *A LA CARTE, Wiener Kaffeehäuser*, p. 115.

Picture 37 A ‘piccolo’ is taking his orders. (Copy from a historic picture taken by Tae Hung Chung at Rosenberger Café, Vienna).

Picture 38 ‘Herr Ober’ strikes a pose while I was taking pictures at the Café Frauenhuber in Vienna.

Picture 39 Against the tradition, only waitresses are working at the Café Sperl in Vienna.

Picture 40 Today, a lot of international staff is working in Viennese coffeehouses, also at the Café Drechsler in Vienna. From left to right: Mr. Erich (Slovakia), Mr. Dennis (Philippines) and Mr. Robert (Austria).



3. Forms and cultural functions of coffeehouses in Vienna

Throughout Europe, coffeehouses had their social role in their societies as cultural, economic, educational and political venues. Coffeehouses were locales where no differences were made between gender, wealth, class and where rich and poor people could meet on an eye-to-eye level. The first commercial insurances (for example Lloyds) were created in London's coffeehouses and elsewhere they were regarded as "penny universities" or "invisible college", where people could get news and information and also listen to or participate at political and philosophical debates.¹¹⁰⁾ The French revolution in 1789 for example had its ignition at the Café de Foy in Paris.¹¹¹⁾ It would be absurd to claim that coffee promotes intelligence. But it is undisputed, that it helps clarifying our thoughts, sharpening our memories and stimulating creative powers.¹¹²⁾ The coffeehouses in Vienna were not just a locale where someone could simply drink coffee and chat with other people. Coffee in this case was mostly regarded as an excuse, as a kind of entrance ticket to the world hidden inside the Viennese coffeehouse. It also had several other functions in the social and cultural life of the Viennese citizens. For them, it is a kind of vice. Austrian writer Otto Friedländer for example wrote in his book, "*Letzter Glanz der Märchenstadt*":

"One is running to the coffeehouse to escape from the family, from the wives, to the women..."

The period shortly before the outbreak of the First World War can be also interpreted as a time of disorientation, a vacuum of values and a juxtaposition of an atmosphere of optimism and collapse. In this historic context the coffeehouse also had a function as a shelter from political and social injustices and also served as a possibility of retreat into a micro cosmos.

110) Wild, Anthony (2012), *Kaffee*, p. 129.

111) Ferre, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

112) *Ibid.*, p. 145.

The Viennese coffeehouse literate Peter Altenberg summarized the functions of a Viennese coffeehouse very literally in his poem “To the coffeehouse”:

“When you are worried, have trouble of one sort or another – to the coffeehouse.

When she did not keep her appointment, for one reason or another – to the coffeehouse.

When your shoes are torn and dilapidated – coffeehouse.

When your income is four hundred crowns and you spend five hundred – coffeehouse.

You are a chair warmer in the office, while your ambition led you to seek professional honors – coffeehouse.

You could not find a mate to suit you – coffeehouse.

You feel like committing suicide – coffeehouse.

You hate and despise human beings, and at the same time you cannot be happy without them – coffeehouse.

When you cannot get anything on trust anywhere else – coffeehouse.”¹¹³⁾

There are several forms of coffeehouses in Vienna, meaning that the guests visited or still visit different locations for different reasons. Depending on which kind of coffeehouse somebody is visiting, his social status, class or his preferences how he spends his free time is shown. It is easy to assume that every social group or class of the society had its preferred coffeehouse as its meeting point.

113) Sindermann, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

Picture Gallery II.3



Picture 41



Picture 42



Picture 43



Picture 44



Picture 45



Picture 46



Picture 47



Picture 48

Picture 41 Café Griensteidl was the first ‘official’ literate café in Vienna.

Picture 42 Picture of Café Central in Vienna, the successor of Café Griensteidl as a literate café.

Picture 43 Mr. and Mrs. Staub, owner of Café Sperl, are also using their coffeehouse as an office.

Picture 44 There is most certainly no other restaurant or coffeehouse in the world like the Café Frauenhuber in Vienna, that can boast of itself as having treated its guests to live musical entertainment by Mozart and Beethoven, as occurred in November 1788, when Mozart performed a pastoral by Handel, and on April 6th 1797, when Beethoven performed his “Quintet for Fortepiano with four Horns.” Even Mozart’s last public appearance as a pianist took locale here, on March 4th 1791. The picture shows the commemoration plate about these events at Café Frauenhuber.

Picture 45 Johann Strauss and his orchestra (Picture taken by Tae Hung Chung at Café Rosenberger, Vienna).

Picture 46 Chess—and billiard players (Copy of a historic picture taken by Tae Hung Chung at Café Rosenberger, Vienna).

Picture 47 The original bridge table at Café Sperl showed to me by Mr. Staub, owner of the Café Sperl in Vienna.

Picture 48 Historic photo of 1948 showing billiard players at Café Sperl.

3.1. The coffeehouse as a literary locale

During its history the Viennese coffeehouse has been a venue for several cultural and social interactions and functions. Some functions still exist until today, but some of them vanished already.

Literature and the Viennese coffeehouse had a very fruitful symbiosis. Reasons are easy to find. First of all there were economic and social reasons. The coffeehouses offered a warm locale to stay and work, especially for young and poor writers and poets, who could barely buy themselves a scuffle of coals during the winter. For the price of a small mocha, a guest could stay the whole day inside a cozy and warm locale, and even that on credit, meaning no consumer stress at all. This locale guaranteed also the contact to other guests. The writers and poets were in the center of attention, the flow of information, the communicative frame and so on. Everything was practically at the same time and locale, even the contact to the “rivals and enemies.”

In this sense, two venues are especially worthy to mention under these aspects. The first one is the Café Griensteidl, which was also nicknamed Café “Megalomania”(Café “Größenwahn”), which was firstly opened in 1847 by the pharmacist Heinrich Griensteidl.¹¹⁴⁾ It became very fast the meeting point of the most important coffeehouse writers and poets (the so called “Kaffeehausliteraten”), protagonists of the workers movement and Viennese cultural and social celebrities until it was torn down in 1897. One of them, Karl Kraus, wrote on this occasion these famous words:

“Vienna has been torn down to a big city. By tearing down the old houses also our last memories will be destroyed by the shovel like the Café Griensteidl. Our literature now will face a period of homelessness. The band of poetic productivity will be cut cruelly.”¹¹⁵⁾

114) Malamos, Adonis (2009), *Historische Cafes in Europa*, p. 183.

115) Kraus (1898), *Die demolierte Literatur*, in: Heering, (1993), *Das Wiener Kaffeehaus*, p. 60.

Almost a hundred years later, in 1990, the Griensteidl has been resurrected and reopened its doors near the Wiener Hofburg (Imperial Main Palace in Vienna) at the St. Michael Square, but unfortunately, without its literary and cultural heritage. The only special thing about it now, is the fact, that it is one of the few Viennese coffeehouses, where smoking is strictly forbidden, and this was really a shocking novelty for the indigenous Viennese guests. Today it is mostly frequented by a huge number of tourists.

After the “Griensteidl” closed its doors, most of the literates from there became “Centralists” by moving to the nearby Café Central. It opened in 1868 and is one of the most famous coffeehouses in Vienna, located in the first district in a former bank and stock exchange building, which is named “Palais Ferstel” after its architect Heinrich von Ferstel.¹¹⁶⁾ It was famous for its huge number of national and international newspapers and an encyclopedic work that could have been used by its guests.

After the Second World War, it was temporarily closed, but reopened its doors in 1975. Today, the Café Central does not have the function as a literary coffeehouse anymore, but its historical reputation is still useful to be regarded as a tourist attraction and during the 1980s, Austrian National TV Channel ORF often used its facilities for TV discussion programs.¹¹⁷⁾

It was the favorite venue of the literary world, but also popular and frequented regularly by other artists like painter Gustav Klimt and his student Egon Schiele, Sigmund Freud and famous Austrian composer Gustav Mahler.

The “Central” was also a popular meeting locale for famous revolutionaries. Lenin and Trotsky, the founder of the red army, met regularly at the Café Central, often playing chess. Regarding this fact there is a strange and famous episode: in March 1917, the Austrian foreign minister Graf Czernin was notified by an excited subordinate that a revolution had broken out in Russia. The minister skeptically snorted:

116) *Kulturmagazin der Wiener Fremdenführer (2010), op. cit., p. 45.*

117) Malamos, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

“Russia is not a land where revolutions break out. Besides, who on earth would make a revolution in Russia? Could it be Mister Bronstein from the Café Central?”

According to Milan Dubrovic¹¹⁸⁾ it was not the Austrian foreign minister but the head waiter Johann Czerny (not Czernin) of the Café Central who laughed out loudly after this news and said: *“Maybe the ringleader is Mr.Bronstein from the chess room?”*¹¹⁹⁾

During his exile in Vienna, Leon Trotsky was known under his real name Bronstein and people regarded him as a harmless, even pathetic character.

Famous Viennese coffeehouse literates and poets include characters like Arthur Schnitzler, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Friedrich Torberg, Peter Altenberg, Oskar Kokoschka and Felix Salten, whose most famous novel “Bambi”, was written at the Central, and was the base for one of the most famous Disney movies.

Today, Germany born Christopher von Greverode claims to be the last Viennese coffeehouse writer.¹²⁰⁾ Like his forerunners in the last century, he prefers to work at the Café Central. His most famous work called *“Liebesschlaf”* was written at ‘his’ table number 84, which also includes a power outlet for his computer notebook.

Every artist had his favorite coffeehouse and tried to express this in his works, may it be a picture, a piece of music or a literary work to the general public. Alfred Polgar wrote about the Café Central:

*“Only those will find the real charm of this wonderful coffeehouse who wants nothing but just to be there. Futility sanctifies the stay.”*¹²¹⁾

118) Refer to: Dubrovic, Milan (2001), *Veruntreute Geschichte. Die Wiener Salons und Literatencafés* (Aufbau TB), Wien, Zsolnay.

119) Schwaner, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

120) *HEUTE* (Austrian Newspaper), 12/5/2011, p. 11.

121) Heering, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

The Viennese singer and songwriter Herman Leopoldi (1888–1959) composed his most famous song “In einem kleinen Café in Hernals” (In a small Café in Hernals) in 1932 which described very precisely and humorously the culture and characteristic elements of a traditional Viennese coffeehouse:

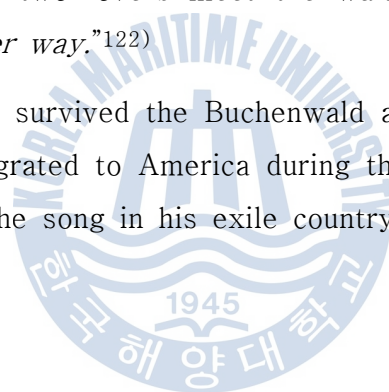
“I discovered a small homely café in the outskirts of Vienna.

No velvet on armchairs, no pedal on the piano.

The Grand Hotel is more fashionable, but the Café a thousand times cosier.

Softly a gramophone is playing, two coffees are enough to ensure two happy hours, and when two lovers meet the waiters wink knowingly and discreetly look the other way.”¹²²⁾

The Jewish composer survived the Buchenwald and Dachau concentration camps and finally immigrated to America during the Nazi regime where he also used to interpret the song in his exile country.



122) First verse of this song, Ludwig Doblinger (B. Herzmansky) (1932), KG, Wien-München.

3.2. The coffeehouse as a media, business and political locale

The coffeehouse cannot be separated from the business and political life of Vienna. A lot of business and political meetings are held at famous coffeehouses like the Café Landtmann close to the city hall, the University of Vienna and the Austrian National Parliament.

At that time, the Landtmann was regarded as ‘the most elegant Café location’. Very often, Austrian National TV stations like the ORF recorded their political TV discussion programs at the Café Landtmann and Café Central.¹²³⁾ Politicians and members of the nearby parliament often used these facilities for interviews with the media. Prominent foreign guests also included Hillary Clinton or the Dutch Queen. Therefore, it is not unusual to meet a number of well-known Austrian politicians and business people at lunch time or tea time (coffee time would fit better in this sense) which is indeed a typical Viennese habit and negotiation method, which had and still have quiet an impact on successful business contracts or political meetings with national and international customers and partners.

The coffeehouse is regarded as a neutral locale or ‘third space’¹²⁴⁾ for both business partners and its lively atmosphere also seems to have a positive and dynamic influence on the working and negotiation atmosphere on both sides.

During the dark periods when Jews were not allowed to stay inside Vienna, they often met in coffeehouses for business reasons in the current second district (Leopodstadt) of Vienna, which is until today a district traditionally inhabited by Jewish people.

123) Marboe, Ernst Wolfram (1989), *Café Central*, p. 85.

124) The ‘third space’ is the space neither at home (first space) nor at the office/job (second space). See also definition: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Third_place.

One aspect of Viennese anti-semitism was revealed by the proverb:

*“The Jews are sitting the whole day in a coffeehouse while getting rich and richer.”*¹²⁵⁾

History tells us that they often had no other choices. Jews from the poorer and rural part of the Habsburg Empire arrived at the Northern Train Station of Vienna. They met with their trading partners, friends and families in a nearby coffeehouse and did their business. Viennese people who passed at the scene thought that the Jews were only sitting around, doing nothing and still got rich. A lot of famous coffeehouses in Vienna located especially in the second district like the Café Sperlhof were owned or managed by Jews until the Nazi era in Austria in 1938. The Nazis under Hitler, expropriated the Jewish owners, known for their lively coffeehouses in the Leopoldstadt, which was also called the “Mazzesinsel.”

The Mazzesinsel has a sad history. In 1670, Emperor Leopold expelled all Jews from Vienna at the instigation of his wife Margarita. But after the death of his wife and due to the decline of the state coffers, Emperor Leopold brought the Jews back and settled them in Leopoldstadt again. Soon the Leopoldstadt was nicknamed Mazzesinsel. Until 1900 one-third of the Viennese Jewish population lived here. The Jewish coffeehouses in the Leopoldstadt were full of life – a lively contrast to the pompous equipped coffee houses of the 1st district. Due to the inhumane and brutal expropriation and deportations of Jewish coffeehouse owners in the “Third Reich” there is only little trace left today of the once dynamic café life in Leopoldstadt.

125) Sindermann, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

3.3. The coffeehouse as a concert room

Vienna is strictly regarded as the 'Mecca' of classic music. Therefore not only literates, but also famous musicians and composers like Brahms, Franz Schubert, Gustav Mahler et al had their favorite coffeehouses in Vienna. Mahler for example was a regular guest at the Café Landtmann and Schubert's favorite coffeehouse was the Café Bogner, where he as a very social person, used to spend the large part of his earned money.¹²⁶⁾

The first Concert Café in Vienna was opened by Martin Diegand in 1788 in his Café Bellevue.¹²⁷⁾ He engaged a small salon band for the amusement of his guests.

Some coffeehouses are still connected with the musical history and life of Vienna until today. The Café Frauenhuber was established first by the personal head cook of Austrian arch duchess Maria Theresia in 1787. Until today, it is regarded as the oldest, still existing coffeehouse in Vienna. Also Mozart and Beethoven¹²⁸⁾ (he played his last public concert in April 11th, 1814) performed at this location. To understand the role of coffeehouses as concert venues, one must know that until the first concert house (Wiener Musikverein) was finally opened in Vienna in the 1870¹²⁹⁾, mostly coffeehouses, bath houses and inns were the places, where concerts were held for the music loving Viennese citizens.¹³⁰⁾ The people were amazed and although a number of them already started gathering at 6.00 o'clock in the morning, it was impossible to get a free locale. Famous musicians like the Waltz composer Josef Strauss senior and junior or Johann Lanner and their orchestras and string quartets were grants for full concerts.

126) Singer, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

127) Riha, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

128) *Ibid.*, p. 37.

129) Refer to Wiener Musikverein for more information to their homepage: (<http://www.musikverein.at/dermusikverein/geschichte.php>)

130) Schwaner, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

They had a social status and popularity like nowadays pop-stars, not only in Vienna, but also throughout the whole European continent.

Another famous example is the Café Dommayer which was founded in 1787 and located in the 13th district of Vienna, where Johann Strauss Senior and later also his son performed a great number of their famous waltz concerts. People at the same time, were dancing enthusiastically to their melodies. The original Café Dommayer had been torn down in 1907. The new Dommayer has been rebuilt in 1924, very close to its original location. As for today, especially during the summer season, there are still a lot of open concerts and theatrical events; and during the winter, there are quite a number of chamber music concerts performed in its rooms.¹³¹⁾

The Café Prückel nowadays regularly offers its customers not only concerts but also a number of literary readings and other cultural events on a high level not only motivated for advertisement reasons to have more guests. More than 100 persons can be seated at its Schanigarten outside. The sun-blind which is still from the era of the establishment of the 'Ringstrassen-café' are still offering their guests a shady locale especially on hot summer days.¹³²⁾

131) Rodgers, Rick (2002), *Das Kaffeehaus*, p. 59.

132) Link, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

3.4. The coffeehouse as a gambling locale

From its early beginning, every social class in Vienna appreciated the cozy atmosphere inside the coffeehouse. It therefore offered a variety of entertainment and it also had its function as a gaming locale. Until today, people meet there for board like chess and card games; and especially billiards was very popular, which was also an additional source of profit for the owners and additional tax income for the city. The first coffeehouse that offered billiard to its guests was the Café Hugelmann.

It is said that famous composer Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart for example, was very passionate about this game. Unfortunately his skills in this field were not as good as his musical talents. It is believed that he lost a fortune due to his passion for billiards. One reason was that he tried to compose and play the game at the same time.¹³³⁾ A friend of German writer and poet Johann Wolfgang v. Goethe, named Sulpiz Boisseree, described Mozart's passion for this game with following words:

“He was more interested in new arriving famous billiard players coming to Vienna rather than other famous musicians.”¹³⁴⁾

Today, the Café Weingartner is one of the few coffeehouses in Vienna which still operates billiard tables in its rooms and the Café Central was also called the “Chess school” (Die Schachhochschule) until 1938 because of the presence of many chess players. The famous coffeehouse writer Stefan Zweig, wrote the *Die Schachnovelle* (The Royal Game) the most famous book in literature with chess as its theme at the same locale, since he was a regular visitor of this café.¹³⁵⁾ The Café Sperlhof in Vienna's second district, which is until today traditionally inhabited by many Jews and which was in former times a popular meeting place for Jewish intellectuals before the Second World War, is also a well-known place for

133) Palais Events (2011), *Café Central*, p. 17.

134) Moser, Sonja (2009), *Das Hawelka*, p. 48.

135) <https://sitep.google.com/site/caroluschess/chess-cafes-and-clubs/cafe-central>

its huge variety of different board games (more than 800), table tennis, table football and pool billiard tables. Birthday parties for children may be arranged at this place and it is even still possible to pay with the old outdated Austrian Schilling as a valid currency. The youthful crowd that frequents this vibrant coffee shop takes full advantage of these diversions.¹³⁶⁾

Today, the majority of Viennese coffeehouses do not offer these gaming possibilities in their businesses any more. On the contrary! Playing chess at a Viennese coffeehouse is tightly connected with its history, but nowadays some of them do not allow their guests to play it at their locations, for example at the Café Dommayer (which was originally famous as the venue where Johann Strauss was giving his popular waltz concerts).

Recently a famous Austrian newspaper 'Der Standard' wrote an article about the story of a coffeehouse guest who wanted to play chess at the Café Dommayer but he has been denied by the head waiter. Asking for the reason the answer was sent later to the guest by e-mail. The owner claimed that due to a lack of space for other guests, playing cards and chess is not allowed. The same attitude has been confirmed by Christian Haury, who speaks for the big Austrian coffee and pastry shop franchise OBERLAA, which also owns the current Café Dommayer since 2006.

It seems to me that for them, it is the most important goal to have as much space for guests as possible. To make this possible, dwelling time should be kept as short as possible. The article ends with the information that playing chess and card games is a tradition at Viennese coffeehouses since the 19th century. The Café Central was also one of the chess centers among others. Many of them got extinct but some are still offering their guest the possibility to play games and cards like at the Café Hummel, Café Anzengruber or Café Kafka.¹³⁷⁾

136) Allegra Publications (2012), *The Vienna Coffee Guide 2012*, p. 67.

137) For the full article in German language also refer to: *Der Standard* (Newspaper), 20/4/2013, panorama section (print edition).

I also see and interpret in this article a hidden protest against abolishing this kind of a practical tradition inside the Viennese coffeehouse because the article is also mentioning the coffeehouses who do not allow this anymore and naming alternatives, where people can still enjoy a game.



4. The diversities and the unity of the Viennese coffeehouse

4.1. Examples of glocalization of the Viennese coffeehouse culture

As already mentioned in the historical part of this dissertation, the Viennese coffeehouse culture became a brand and a trademark in the third quarter of the 19th century. During the World Exhibition in Vienna in 1873, thousands of visitors from abroad also had the chance to visit its famous coffeehouses and many of them were thrilled by its luxurious refined coziness and elegant appearances. The name of the Viennese coffeehouse began to spread in the world.

In 1878, during the World Exhibition in Paris, it has been officially presented as a trademark called “Wiener Kaffeehaus” and exported to other European, mostly cities which belonged to the Habsburg Empire. Somehow it can be also seen as a predecessor for the globalization success of today’s “Starbucks” coffee shop franchises all over the world, at least inside the geographical and cultural of the Habsburg Empire. People abroad tried “*to copy more or less successfully the concept of the Viennese style in every little detail. It meant in detail the high, glamorous, ballroom-styled, hall like rooms, the same marble tables and the throne style seat for the cashier lady, big windows and mirrors, soft upholstered furniture, extra quiet rooms for the card players, the elegance and comfort of a secret recreational place.*”¹³⁸⁾ Even the vocational training of the service personnel had to be done after the Viennese role model. Famous Viennese coffeehouses like the Café Landtmann, Demel and the Café Sacher also have or had their franchises outside of the geographical boundaries of Vienna. The Café Landtmann for example has a franchise shop in Tokyo, the Demel had a branch in New York until recently, the Café Sacher in Graz and Salzburg and even the Viennese Coffee brand Julius Meinl operates a Viennese style coffee shop (Café Meinl) in the German city of Hamburg since 2008.

138) Schwaner, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

But again, the question rise: Is it possible at all to export Viennese coffeehouse culture outside its natural boundaries? If it I possible, how far and which elements? Let us therefore have a brief look at some global examples of Viennese coffeehouse culture.

In 2011, the *Frankfurter Rundschau*, a well-known and reputable German newspaper reported that a Viennese style coffeehouse opened its doors at the Museum of Korean History in Pyongyang,¹³⁹⁾ the capital of North Korea. An Austrian coffee roasting company called “Helmut Sachers” which has its headquarter and production facilities in the small village of Oeynhausen, which is located close to Vienna, delivers all the necessary items needed for a coffee shop from the roasted coffee up to sugar, cookies, machines and dishes. The coffee shop is located inside the Museum and only a small door shield which indicates it with the word “Vienna Café” in Korean letters. Next to it one can see the yellow colored logo with the coffeepot and the words HELMUT SACHERS. The daily visitor number is around 30 to 40 persons, mostly foreigners and foreign diplomats. The interior is a bizarre mixture of Austrian coziness and North Korean desolation. One can find typical Austrian cakes and pastry which are not the finest for Austrian Standard but for sure the best in North Korea. The coffee and the dishes, even the sugar has been imported from Austria. The prices are amazing for North Korean standards. A cappuccino costs around 2 Euros which is about 500 North Korean Won.¹⁴⁰⁾ Besides the Euro, any other currency will be accepted like the Chinese Yuan, Japanese Yen and of course the US-Dollar. It took over 2 Years of hard negotiations. At the end, an Austrian trained baker visited North Korea and taught the indigenous staff, how to prepare traditional Austrian pastries and cakes. Is this already an optimistic sign that North Korea is open up its doors and the iron curtain may fall soon?

139) Bartsch, Bernhard in *Frankfurter Rundschau* (Date: 24/11/2011), No. 274, “Schlagobers in Pjöngjang” (Newspaper report).

140) The monthly salary of a North Korean Worker besides his food and clothes rations is 5000 Won (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, “Schlagobers in Pjöngjang”, 24/11/2011, No. 274).

Not really, and according to a western diplomat in Pyongyang:

“Ordinary North Koreans are not able to visit this place anyway, but the elite know that life outside their country is much better and they want to bring something into their home.”¹⁴¹⁾

On June 28th 2012, I had the chance to interview Mr. Helmut Sachers, the owner of Helmut Sachers Kaffee GmbH, which is a well known coffee roasting company in Austria. Besides his coffee brand, his company delivers a full scale of items necessary for a coffeehouse business, starting from coffee machines to dishes and sugar bags.

Mr. Sachers told me the prologue of the story, how the idea of a “Viennese style Coffeehouse” in Pyongyang came up and realized:

“A few years ago, around March 2009, a business man called H. B. contacted me and told me that he wanted to open a “Viennese Café” in an Asian country. I was impressed by Mr. B.’s business mind and courage. Pyongyang is not just another city around the corner. Mr. B. seems to stay a lot in Asian countries and therefore at unusual destinations where he does his businesses. We wanted to support Mr. B. as much as we could. Exotic venues seemed to be our specialties. As you might also know, we have also a business partner, a nice lady in Ulan Bataar (Capital city of Mongolia) (and in other 25 countries including Japan, India, USA and Canada and “even Germany”). After overcoming a lot of troubles and barriers, Mr. B. finally succeeded. In March 2011 we sent a number of different products and machines which we recommended to North Korea. Mr. B. and I and a baker from XYZ (Company) flew to Pyongyang. Very nice Men and Women, eager to learn, who absorbed our know-how and techniques like dry sponges. I think and I hope that they will do it well.”¹⁴²⁾

141) *Frankfurter Rundschau*, “Schlagobers in Pjöngjang”, (24/11/2011), No. 274.

142) Protocol of a personal interview with Mr. Helmut Sachers at his company’s office in Oeynhausen (29/6/2012).

The next example is geographically and culturally very similar to Austria. Let us have a closer look at the Julius Meinel Coffee Shop in Hamburg. This modern coffee shop is located in Hamburg, the most important harbor city in Germany, inside the biggest and finest shopping mall of the town. The big window outside clearly show the sign “Wiener Kaffeehaus.” A potential guest has to use the automated escalator up to the third floor of the shopping mall. Its appearance reminded automatically to any modern coffee shop anywhere in the world. The walls were plastered with logos and former advertisement of the famous Viennese coffee roaster company ‘Julius Meinel’.

I tried to find the things which are characteristic for a traditional Viennese coffeehouse. A short glimpse on the coffee menu was surprisingly positive since they seem to have a big variety of Viennese coffee specialties, offered in their original names and served in the traditional Viennese manner on a metal tray. The furniture has a very comfortable and modern touch, but does not resemble those of a traditional Viennese coffeehouse with light ‘Thonet chairs’ and round marble tables. Instead there are heavy padded red colored leather sofas. Smoking is strictly prohibited by law. There is of course no tuxedo-dressed head waiter but mostly female waitresses. The offer of reading material like newspapers and magazine is scarce as the offer of cakes and other food stuff. Also there are no possibilities for games.

People seem to be here for a quick refreshment or coffee, to take a short break from an exhausting shopping tour inside this huge shopping mall. My personal conclusion was that this place may be a good example for a modern and stylish coffee shop anywhere in the world, but it can be never recognized as a good representative for Viennese coffeehouse culture and tradition, although its name seems to claim this attribute.

The third example shows the power and popularity of the Viennese coffeehouse culture as a “brand name” even in Asia. It can be seen within the name value of the Viennese Café Landtmann. How this story happened

has been reported by Irene Stelzmueller: “*I was really amazed how many Japanese people know about the Landtmann*” said Berndt Querfeldt. One day, a group of Japanese business people, who wanted to open a Viennese style coffeehouse in Tokyo, visited him and asked for a franchise license for his coffeehouse.

The Tokyo branch of the Café Landtmann is located on the fourth floor in a fancy shopping mall named “Kinokuniya” in the vibrant district of Aoyama and opened in September 2009. “*In Tokyo, there are many Italian, Chinese, French, American and Chinese Cafés – Our intention was to bring in a real Viennese coffeehouse to Japan, which is different from the usual self-service system. Also in this country, the elder generation enjoys their coffee in a relaxed atmosphere and Vienna is for the Japanese one of the most popular travel destinations in Europe*” said Mr. Arai, who is one of the Japanese investors.

It is often said that Japanese are copying a lot of things with passion and very often they do overpass the original. This leads automatically to the question if this also happened with a Japanese copy of the Café Landtmann. The Japanese owners are convinced that they will be successful with their business because the Japanese customers love Vienna and the authenticity of the Japanese branch of Café Landtmann. They offer the typical Viennese coffeehouse food and beverages and the cook has been trained in Vienna. “*They send us a Japanese cook for vocational training. With the recipes of three tortes (Sachertorte, Landtmanns “Finest” and “Mozarttorte”) and the Know-how for traditional Viennese food he returned to Tokyo. On the menu, one can find now next to traditional Viennese coffee specialties, also Japanese style iced coffee and Viennese classics like “Wiener Schnitzel” and Goulash Soup*” said Berndt Querfeldt as he attended the opening in Japan.¹⁴³⁾

143) Refer for detailed contents to: Stelzmueller, Irene (2009), in *Cafejournal* (9/2009): Landtmann vergab Franchise-Rechte (refer also to: <http://www.cafejournal.at/ireds-92678>).

On the other hand, Clemens Lindig, a Japanese and Korean cultural expert from the University of Vienna visited the branch in Tokyo and gave the following comment and evaluation about it in a newspaper article:

“The entrance is not as representative as that of the original. Right next to it to an outlet shop for sports articles. The narrow floor is like a hose and very does remind of the original in Vienna. The upholstery seats were in a quiet good condition, the fried chicken salad almost at the same level, the mélange could be better (also at the original coffeehouse in Vienna in my opinion). What is really missing at the Japanese Landtmann is the ‘rudeness’ of the Viennese waiters. And that is why, in my humble opinion, the reason why the copy will never reach the level of the original in this case.”¹⁴⁴⁾

To be honest, the question arises: would people in Japan really appreciate that and miss that, especially in Japan? The famous Viennese Café and Pastry Shop Demel formerly had a small branch at the Plaza Retail Collection in the Plaza Hotel in New York, but this location has been closed in March 2010. The corporate website indicates they are continuing to look for a new location to operate in New York. Also, the branch in Salzburg, Austria, recently closed its doors as of March 22nd, 2012 due to unaffordable high rental fees.

The Viennese style coffeehouse, due to its positive image can be also found at another very exotic place. The “Café Sachers”, not to be confused with the Café inside the Viennese first class Hotel Sacher, which is the true origin of the famous Sacher–Torte, located in Ulan Bator has been also supported by Helmut Sachers coffee company which also helped to establish the Viennese style café in the capital of North Korea.

The owner is originally from Germany and offers besides coffee, a variety of German and Austrian style food dishes, bread, cakes and pastry, mostly for an expatriate community and clientele doing business in Ulan Bator, who

144) Lindig, Clemens (5/12/2011), (Austrian newspaper article in : *Der Kurier – Im Cafe Landtmann*)

misses their own food, since on the other hand the majority of local people cannot afford the relatively high prices. Exactly the same situation as it was in North Korea. Unfortunately, I could not find more trustable sources about this “Viennese style coffeehouse”, besides a number of travelers from western countries who came here by chance during a trip to or through Mongolia and described their visit mostly as an “exotic episode or experience” during their stay in Ulan Bator.

How authentic can a Viennese style coffeehouse be outside the boundaries of the city of Vienna? Here is another example from Germany. In the city of Wiesbaden the Café Maldaner claims to be the first original Viennese–style coffeehouse in Germany.

It was first established in 1859, the same period, which can be also regarded as the heyday of the coffeehouses in Vienna. In this sense, although located in Germany, the time frame and age is identical with many other traditional Viennese coffeehouses. There are some points in this example for a closer look:

1. Regarding the interior and the food and coffee offerings are pretty much identical as any coffeehouse in Vienna. There was also an unusual offer of aromatized coffees in their coffee menu for an additional fee.
2. A delegation of the association of the Viennese coffeehouse owner gave this coffeehouse the title as the “First Original Viennese coffeehouse in Germany.” Is this association authorized to hand out such ratings? If yes, it would be interesting by whom. By the people of Vienna? The Austrian government?
3. Would the general Austrian accept and appreciate an “original Viennese coffeehouse” in Germany?
4. How are the cultural offerings in this coffeehouse? Do they offer any newspapers to read for the guests? Do people feel like if it was their own living–room?
5. How are the cultural aspects (Newspapers, games, relation, communication and interaction between the guests and the service personnel for example)? Is there

also a typical “Viennese style” waiter?

Emotional and immaterial elements (for example the atmosphere, the way of communication and interaction between people inside the coffeehouse et cetera) decide what and how original Viennese coffeehouses should be. If this is guaranteed or can be lived outside the boundaries of Vienna a glocalization of the Viennese coffeehouse culture might be possible and somewhat authentic. The shown examples (some of them vanished already) of “Viennese style” coffeehouses outside its original hometown can be interpreted as a definite and remarkable sign that even nowadays the Viennese coffeehouse culture, the traditional and the modern version, is trying to spread throughout the world. The intangible cultural aspects with its original philosophy and soul behind it should be included and also regarded as an important part of the cultural resurrection in these fast living and modern times but this is not easy to achieve in reality. It is almost not possible to export also the “soul” and immaterial cultural elements.

Remarkable is also the fact that outside the boundaries of Vienna, also inside Austria, this coffeehouse culture and its traditional aspects is in danger to get extinct. Also, it seems to be a strictly area bound and more or less a single urban culture, not a national one. Therefore can it be then called a “national” cultural heritage?

In the 19th century, this type of coffeehouse spread to all countries belonging to the Austrian Empire at that time, so therefore the Viennese coffeehouse became also an Austrian institution, but in my opinion, the Viennese coffeehouse culture is not the same and cannot be just simply regarded as a general “Austrian style” coffeehouse culture.

While preparing this dissertation I often frequented the nearest coffeehouses next to my apartment in Vienna, so I could experience the majority of the above mentioned facts by myself.

The coffeehouse culture in Vienna is a true luxury for the price of a small cup of coffee and one of the most unique privileges, which can be

only experienced while living in this town, which again became the city with the globally highest living standard in 2012. I also think that the coffeehouses in Vienna truly should try to keep their heritage and position as an important and honorable icon of the city's culture and identity with an attentive eye on its economic survival.

Modern and big coffee shop franchises like Starbucks for example are mostly company-operated and managed in the USA. These companies are developing and distributing licensing arrangements around the globe. The head-quarter decides all standards for their franchises. They are therefore not bound to any specific geographical and cultural environment. The brand value is generally high but sometimes perceived negatively as a symbol for American dominated cultural expansion and economical exploitation. These coffee shops offer a fast and convenient self service system to their customers but they have a low grade of individuality and belong to the lower end as casual coffee places. The Starbucks franchise for instance is a very good example for highest and successful globalization standards. Besides some snacks they do not offer full course meals or alcoholic drinks in their menu.

On the other hand the offered menu is basically everywhere synchronized with a few exceptions. Prices are regarded as high by most people. The dwelling time at these places is relatively short and there is not very much interaction or communication between the personnel and the guests. Therefore the customer loyalty is relatively low. The atmosphere is indeed anonymous. Cultural programs are not offered and the clientele consists mainly of younger people with various backgrounds and nationalities. The history of these franchises is generally less than 50 years and economic profit is obviously the top goal of the business. Many factors mentioned for the global coffee shop franchises may also apply to the majority of today's Viennese coffeehouses.

But still a lot of traditional aspects are still existent to be considered.

For example, Viennese coffeehouses are still mostly privately owned by families, sometimes over several generations. The brand value has risen in the past few years through the experiences of many foreign tourists who came to Vienna and experienced it on first hand as a symbol and identification mark for Viennese life–style. The ambiances of these places can be very variable from a lower end up to a highly luxurious one like those located in some Viennese luxury hotels like Hotel ‘Sacher’ or ‘Imperial’ or historical venues like the Café Central or Landtmann, which has also succeeded in franchising their concept in Tokyo.

Viennese coffeehouses seem to be strictly bonded to their geographical and cultural environment and boundaries. Fast self service is not a part of the Viennese coffeehouse culture as and business concept. The food offering for example is comparable to those of other hospitality institutions like restaurants and inns. Alcoholic beverages like wine and beer are also a part of the menu. The coffee menu differs at every location and smoking is still accepted at some places despite the strict non–smoking regulations in Austria. Sometimes there are still cultural programs at Viennese coffeehouses like concerts and literature readings or art exhibitions. The social interaction between the people inside is still a part of the culture. Customers, especially the loyal regular guests are mostly from elder generation. Therefore the clientele is mostly local as it is also a cultural identity mark for the local population which has now a history over 330 years. Economic profit for sure is very important for the business, today more than ever, but on the surface, many people value the Viennese coffeehouses as venues of cultural value and identity, human interaction and communication.

Local specifications combined with the idea of globalization are the core concept of ‘glocalization’. Therefore there is in my opinion a good chance to glocalize the concept of the Viennese coffeehouse culture outside its geographical and cultural boundaries to rather exotic countries.

Of course, it is easily possible to export the already known physical characteristic elements of a traditional Viennese coffeehouse like the interior design, furniture or coffee and food menu to other places. But it is also important to understand and catch the meaning of the Viennese coffeehouse cultural concept and intangible aspects like time, atmosphere, interaction and communication between people which are not prone to exact regulations, laws and standards but just an outcome from the human nature. These are for sure all different in other cultures and must be locally and individually adapted into the concept. The Viennese coffeehouse and its concept might serve in this sense again as a platform for these intangible aspects, which are universally derived out of hybridism and progress, also to other countries due to its variety. It has therefore good chances for a successful 'glocalization' in the future

4.2. Creativity and preservation of the Viennese coffeehouse culture

Vienna is a capital of the fine arts, including the "art of living" as practiced by the typical Viennese *Lebenskünstler*, that special type of person who always knows how to make the best things and has a causative relationship with the culture of hedonism. A public that is appreciative of art is also likely to support and challenge its artists. Artists often repay this confidence with extraordinary achievements that can produce moments of absolute bliss. The very same mechanism has led in Vienna to an advanced culture when it comes to coffeehouse culture.¹⁴⁵⁾

How can somebody recognize a traditional Viennese coffeehouse? It is crucial to look at the traditional newspaper table and the interior in the style of historicism. Not every locality that serves coffee and cake is

145) Palais Events, (2011), *Cafe Central*, p. 122.

necessarily a coffeehouse.

Especially in Vienna it is very clearly stipulated what might be sold and offered at a traditional coffeehouse or not, but sometimes it is not very easy to differentiate. This indicates that coffeehouses here are not forced to follow only one specific pattern and system. This flexibility opens up new possibilities for a variety for other coffeehouse related businesses.

The lavish business hours from 7:30 a.m. to 24:00 p.m. allows the customers the most possible flexibility in time and decision if they want to start their day early with an Espresso or finish their day late in the evening with a “Viennese Mélange.”

The Viennese coffeehouse related business¹⁴⁶⁾ can be divided mainly into four categories, which might look very similar for the inexperienced guest, but they all have their own characters, specialties and clientele.

The ‘traditional’ Viennese coffeehouse is basically a hospitality business which is characterized through the interior of the service room (for example the arrangement of the tables, eventually box style grouping, sometimes with a separate room for gambling) and the method of managing (provision of gambling tables, eventually billiard tables, a number of daily newspapers and magazines). These offers are meant to signalize that customers are invited to stay for a longer time. Coffeehouses mainly serve coffee and tea, cold and sweet food, which might be not necessarily prepared directly at that place. Typical food which is served there consists mainly of cheese and/or sausage platters, served with fresh bread. By law, they are allowed to be open until 5.00 a.m.

The ‘Café–Restaurants’ are hospitality businesses, which are serving full course meals during lunch and suppertime, but beyond these times they

146) In 2012 according to the Vienna City Information Homepage, <http://www.wien.gv.at>, there were about a total number of 3060 coffeehouse related businesses registered in Vienna. Besides 900 traditional coffeehouses and 800 café–restaurants, there are also 680 coffee and pastry shops (Café–Konditorei) and about 680 espresso bars. Not mentioned in here are the growing numbers of standing cafés at bakery shops and railway stations.

have generally the same function and characteristics as that of a coffeehouse.

‘Espresso Bars’ are hospitality businesses which are mostly frequented by persons, who would like to take a small refreshment in a relatively short time, especially coffee or a small snack. Fast service is here the preferred method of business, which are mostly open until midnight.

‘Coffee and Pastry shops’ (Kaffee Konditorei) are hospitality businesses which have an extensive choice of different cakes, tortes and pastries for a special circle of customers (mostly elder women). It operates during common daytimes. It is very often furnished like an Espresso bar and from the outside it often reminds of a common retail store. One of the most famous pastry shop chain is called AIDA which has several shops in Vienna. Another one is the “Demel” which also has a branch in New York. These pastry shops are also characterized by a high frequency of customer change. Not mentioned in this list are the standing coffee booths (Stehcafé) which are hospitality businesses offering only coffee drinks and small snacks. Since there are no seats available, they only serve for a quick handling of the customers. They are often located at railway stations or other lively places.

New coffeehouse related trends and concepts are also developed and introduced in Vienna. Some concepts were even coming from Asia. Recently, in May 2012 the first cat coffee shop opened its doors (Café Neko). The concept was developed by the Japanese owner Takado Ishimitsu (47), who brought the idea from her home country Japan. Basically guests can enjoy coffee and cakes in society with people loving cats. It is very popular among young women and families with children. But it is strictly forbidden to smoke at this coffeehouse which might be good for the health of the guests and cats, but not typical for a traditional coffeehouse in Vienna, where smoking was one of the main characteristics.¹⁴⁷⁾

147) Dix, Karl Heinz (12/5/2013), *Kaffee mit Kater*, *Merkur-online .de* (German Newspaper).

The Café Phil, located in the sixth district of Vienna is a well made combination of a book shop, a library and a coffee shop. It is for my taste a good revival of the Viennese coffeehouse as a literary and reading place with a contemporary and modern touch.

Before the US–coffee shop chain Starbucks opened its first shop in Vienna in 1999, an indigenous coffee shop franchise company from Wiener Neustadt, a small town located in the outskirts of Vienna, was founded with the name “Coffee Shop Company.” It is a family enterprise and operates in a franchise based system with coffee shop branches even in the USA, Central and Eastern Europe, Russia, Africa and Asia. Foreign coffeehouse chains are not regarded as a threat anymore. Quite on the contrary, because they are serving a different type of customers and they are a good marketing tool to implement a new consciousness towards the traditional coffeehouse culture of Vienna. Many people used to think that coffeehouses in Vienna were too expensive in general.

Today owners of traditional coffeehouses now can answer with confidence: *“Have you been to Starbucks recently? There you will get to know the real meaning of “EXPENSIVE”...and you have to pick up your coffee by yourself.”*¹⁴⁸⁾

Real competition, that might really harm the business, is coming more from the bakery chains, who also very often have a number of shops inside airports and close to train and subway stations.

About the Espresso Bar on the contrary, which is normally the place for a coffee in a hurry, Austrian writer and critic Hans Weigel (1908–1991) wrote his thoughts about it in an essay.

– *“Nothing shows the difference clearer between a traditional coffeehouse and an Espresso Bar. No marble tables, but much smaller. No free space between the tables. No newspapers or only a few to read (...)*

148) Sindermann, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

- *No water!(...)* “*The Espresso is like a dehydrated form of the coffeehouse.*
- *It has no cozy atmosphere (...)*
- *The Espresso is impersonal, means Unaustrrian (...)*
- *Nobody ever says: Let’s go quickly to a Café for a coffee!* (It would be indeed an oxymoron in Vienna.¹⁴⁹⁾
- *No one speaks about his “favorite Espresso” (...)* *But after all: do not despise it. It is not an enemy. It is just a different brother of the café.”*

Therefore all these examples prove that besides for the so called ‘traditional coffeehouses’ there is also enough space for new ideas, changes and progresses in combination with the Viennese coffeehouse culture. Traditionalists will not take notice on first hand, but as times goes by they will also adapt, sometimes subconsciously, to the new situation.

Coffee is a delicacy enjoyed the world over, but ordering coffee in a Viennese coffeehouse might bring the inexperienced visitor into a shameful situation. No other coffeehouse culture in the world that may have such a big variety of coffee specialties¹⁵⁰⁾ and for me it shows very detailed the sophistication of the Viennese coffeehouse culture. It would never occur to anyone to order “coffee” and leave it at that. There are too many choices, depending the time of day and personal preferences, and they all have their own names.¹⁵¹⁾ The historic background is that some regular customers ordered their coffee very individually; others created their own recipes, which could be later found at the menu of their favorite coffeehouse and afterwards spread to other houses. One will hardly find for example such a choice and variety of coffee specialties in other locations like Vienna which can be also regarded as a proof of dynamic and flexibility of its coffeehouse culture.

149) Brandstätter, Christian (1978), *Das Wiener Kaffeehaus*, pp. 20–22.

150) Refer to the list of Viennese coffee specialties in the appendix.

151) *A LA CARTE*, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

As mentioned before the coffeehouse was always the meeting place for artists, writers, intellectuals and “originals”, Individuals, not satisfied by the variety of coffees on offer, developed their own¹⁵²⁾ thus Vienna is claimed to have over 30 different coffee specialties, the second most varieties are offered in Italy and on the third place is France. Although the Viennese coffee culture is one of the most diverse and many layered in the world, several foreign coffee specialties were ‘imported’ and became also popular. For example: according to some unproven sources, it is claimed that the Cappuccino from Italy was probably derived from the Austrian word “Kappuziner.” The cappuccino was created in Milan in 1850 as Austrian officers ordered a “Kappuziner.”¹⁵³⁾

I would consider that this version is rather from a pro–Austrian viewpoint than based on historic facts. At the same time, it also provides an entertaining voyage into the depths of history and personalities who are archetypical of the Viennese art of living.¹⁵⁴⁾ Hence, despite this big variety drinks it does not necessarily mean that all these coffee varieties are also offered in every Viennese coffeehouse. The fact that also coffee drinks from other countries are tried out, because also the Viennese people are eager to get to know and taste new coffee specialties and if successful to integrate into their list of coffee drinks. But a “real and traditional Viennese” would never admit that.

My personal experiences at Viennese coffeehouses showed that some of that ‘traditional’ coffee drinks are quite unknown even to the most experienced waiters and existing businesses. But again it proves the opinion, that even Viennese coffee specialties, which are exceptional in their variety and finesse throughout the world, are products within their unity and variety which are made out through interaction and spread dynamically to other places

152) *ABC of Coffee* (Booklet published by Fachgruppe Wien der Kaffeehäuser).

153) Source: Speciality Coffee Association of Europe (SCAE Switzerland) (<http://www.swisscae.ch/kaffeewissen/cappuccino/cappuccino-geschichte/>)

154) Palais Events, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

through the people.

Thus finally the question arises: why and how could the Viennese coffeehouse culture become acknowledged as an intangible cultural heritage?

The Austrian definition claims defines it as following:

“Folk culture is the entirety of handed-down cultural expressions of specific regions, developing out of tradition. It is tied to community and tradition and dependent on life sphere and conditions of time.”

On the internet homepage of the Austrian National committee of the UNESCO¹⁵⁵), one can find the below information about the Viennese coffeehouse culture as an intangible cultural heritage:

“The tradition of the Viennese coffeehouse culture goes back to the end of the 17th century and is given distinction to by a very specific atmosphere. Typical for Viennese Coffeehouses are marble tables, on which the coffee is served, Thonet chairs, boxes (loges), newspaper tables and interior design details in the style of Historicism. Guests can choose from the selection of meals and drinks from early morning at 6am until midnight, while sometimes also enjoying readings and musical soirées. The coffeehouses are places ‘where time and space are consumed, but only the coffee is found on the bill.’ (...)”

This information that the Viennese coffeehouse culture has been acknowledged as a national intangible cultural heritage was also more or less given out as a small and inconspicuous side notice by the local media. Through my interviews I noticed that the majority of the interviewees didn't know anything about this fact, even some of them were working directly in the coffeehouse business although the big majority of them praised this fact as I already expected it in advance.

Below listed are the general conditions and criteria, which were set up by the Austrian Commission for UNESCO for a cultural element that must be fulfilled to be acknowledged officially as an intangible cultural heritage:

155) <http://immaterielleskulturerbe.unesco.at/cgi-bin/unesco/element.pl?eid=71&lang=en>

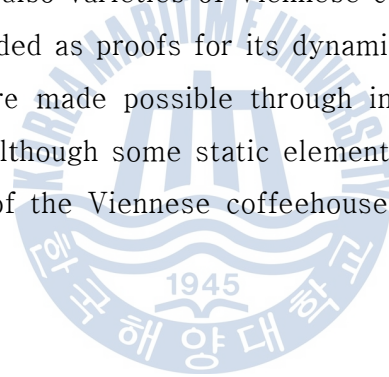
1. The element (which wants to be admitted to this register) must be a part of practices, representations, verbal and symbolic forms of expression, knowledge and skills which communities, people, groups and individuals understand and regard as a part of their cultural heritage.
2. It can be expressed in one or multiple ways such as:
(...)
 - Social practices, rituals and festivities;
 - Knowledge and practices concerning to the nature and the Universe;
 - Traditional craftsmanship;
3. The element is transferred from one generation to the next.
4. It is continuously renewed by communities and groups in interaction with their environment, nature and with their history.
5. The element gives a feeling of identity and continuity, which also respects the cultural diversity and stimulates the human creativity.
6. It is in accordance to current international human rights and also in accordance to mutual respect of communities, groups and individuals as well as in a sustainable development.
7. It must be guaranteed and proved that a possibly big number of communities, groups and individuals create, maintain and pass on this heritage to the next generation.

For sure, the acknowledgment of the Viennese coffeehouse and its culture as an immaterial Austrian national cultural heritage by the Austrian UNESCO committee has its advantages on cultural and economic aspects. Since it is now officially regarded as a cultural asset it must be preserved to remain in its current status by any means. It is also a good advertisement for the Viennese coffeehouse business since its status as a “must-see” while being in Vienna has been boosted up. On the other hand people unfamiliar with the deeper aspects of this culture might get disappointed because some of the representative venues may not fulfill their obligations in means of better and friendlier service through the service staff and

through better taste and quality of their food and beverage and cultural offerings.

If the people involved in Viennese coffeehouse businesses cannot fulfill and rethink their self-imposed standard of high quality people will turn again away from it and Viennese coffeehouse culture will become its own satire and fake and finally get lost.

The first part of this dissertation wanted to show and emphasize that the Viennese coffeehouse culture is not a solid and rigid element. It has its relatively long history and tradition over 330 years, its unique concepts and economic and social functions which gained popularity even outside its geographical and cultural boundaries, thus opening possibilities for a glocalization. There are also varieties of Viennese coffeehouses and cultures, which can be also regarded as proofs for its dynamical physiology. It is alive with dynamics which are made possible through interaction, communication and cultural hybridism although some static elements are still existent which provide the originality of the Viennese coffeehouse and its culture.



Picture Gallery II.4



Picture 49



Picture 50



Picture 51



Picture 52



Picture 53



Picture 54



Picture 55



Picture 56



Picture 57



Picture 58



Picture 59



Picture 60



Picture 61



Picture 62



Picture 63

Picture 49–50 The entrance to the Viennese-style café in Pyongyang is showing the company logo of Helmut Sachers Kaffee.¹⁵⁶⁾

Picture 51 Inside the Viennese-style café in Pyongyang: note the Thonet chairs and typical small round tables.¹⁵⁷⁾

Picture 52 Coffee menu of the Viennese coffeehouse in Pyongyang.¹⁵⁸⁾

Picture 53 The Viennese coffeehouse in Pyongyang has been described as a “strange mélange of Austrian coziness and North Korean desolation.”¹⁵⁹⁾

156) Source of picture 49–50: <http://ask.nate.com/qna/view.html?n=11689851>

157) Source of picture 51: yonhapnews.co.kr

158) Source of picture 52: yonhapnews.co.kr

159) Image source: Refer to: Bartsch, Bernhard (15/12/2013) *Badische Zeitung*, “Wiener Cafe in Pyong Yang–Politscher Beigeschmack”.

- Picture 54** An inside view of the interior of the ‘Julius Meinel Wiener Kaffeehaus’ in Hamburg. It had, besides its coffee menu, very little similarities to a traditional Viennese coffeehouse.
- Picture 55** Picture shows a McCafé–menu as an example for standardized coffee menus at coffee shop franchises. Note the ‘Vienna Coffee’ on the coffee menu at a McCafé branch in Munich, Germany.¹⁶⁰⁾
- Picture 56** The entrance of Café Landtmann in Tokyo.¹⁶¹⁾
- Picture 57** Inside view of the Café Landtmann, Tokyo.¹⁶²⁾
- Picture 58** Picture of the ‘Wiener Café’ in Ulan Bator.¹⁶³⁾
- Picture 59** Mongolian employees at the Café.¹⁶⁴⁾
- Picture 60** Entrance of Café Maldaner in Wiesbaden.
- Picture 61** Interior view of the Café Maldaner.¹⁶⁵⁾
- Picture 62** AIDA coffee and pastry–shop located at Vienna’s Stephansplatz.
- Picture 63** Coffee menu with various traditional Viennese coffee specialties (Courtesy of Café Drechsler in Vienna).

160) Source: Photo courtesy by Prof. Paik, Hwan Kee, Seoul, Korea.

161) <http://kurier.at/meinung/blogs/in-80-arbeitstagen-um-die-welt/welt-reise-tag-35-japan/714.462>)

162) Source of picture: <http://www.cafejournal.at/ireds-92678.html>)

163) Source: <http://www.andersreisen.net/2009/04/01/transsib-16-ulaanbaatar-ii/>)

164) Source: <http://www.andersreisen.net/2009/04/01/transsib-16-ulaanbaatar-ii/>)

165) Picture 58–59: <http://www.wiesbaden.fruehstueckstreff.de/2011-05-08-cafe-maldaner.html>

III. Rethinking the Viennese coffeehouse culture as a substance

1. The Viennese coffeehouse culture: Is it a substance or a process?

In the second part of this study I used the support of already existing written documents, literature and material to show that the Viennese coffeehouse culture is something that is not rigid and immobile but very dynamic and a still developing work in progress. In other words rather than talking about a substantial culture it is necessary to understand that the Viennese coffeehouse culture must be seen under the aspects of cultural hybridism and continuous interaction and development. The third part of this dissertation also deals with and concentrates on two current phenomena and issues. I would like to rethink the Viennese coffeehouse culture as a substance. Here in combination with the second part of this thesis I would like to take prove my opinion using a qualitative research method by interviewing people with the method of personally structured interviews that are directly involved in the coffeehouse business (owners, staff, producers) and consumers (general people and guests of coffeehouses).

Currently related to the Viennese coffeehouse culture is two interesting phenomena. Through a worldwide globalization trend that started in the early 1990s also the Viennese coffeehouse and its culture had the opportunities to export branches to other cities and countries. This can be also interpreted as an example for glocalization. The most current significant event was in 2011 when the Viennese coffeehouse culture has been acknowledged as a national cultural heritage by the UNESCO commission of Austria.

1.1. Glocalization of the Viennese coffeehouse culture

In 1989 the Soviet Union has been disintegrated and in 1991 East- and West Germany reunited again as one nation. Through these historical incidents a change of paradigms occurred. One of these changes is the globalization. In general the term globalization can be defined and includes the phenomena of a “spread of communication and the overcoming of boundaries between nations and people.”¹⁶⁶⁾

While applying the phenomena of globalization, history studies started to try to change its direction from a ‘world history’ into ‘global history’ and in the field of area studies there are trends of changes and reconfiguration to global and local studies.¹⁶⁷⁾ In this sense it has to be understood that cultural studies and researches are now changing from a rigid standpoint and position into a trend that recognizes culture as a hybrid matter and interaction as a core element.

Coming back to the topic of this dissertation about the Viennese coffeehouse culture, I claim in the second part that due to the world exhibition in Vienna in 1873, the Viennese coffeehouse and its culture has been transferred to other cities. As an example, during the 19th century a large number of Viennese style coffeehouses have been established in cities like Budapest, Prague, Krakow, et cetera. But the proliferation must be regarded under different aspects and not under the term of today’s globalization. The mentioned cities were at that time parts of the Habsburg Empire so in this sense the Viennese coffeehouse culture was integrated inside the boundaries of the Austrian Empire. But through direct field research I want to show some glocalization efforts by shortly mentioning also through indirect research Viennese coffeehouse style businesses in Pyongyang,

166) Schroer, Markus (2005), *Rooms, Locations, Boundaries – On the Way to a Sociology of Rooms*, p. 218.

167) Schäfer, Wolf (2010), “Reconfiguring Area Studies for Global Age”, *Globality Studies*, (No.22, 2010.12); Jeong, Moon Soo (2013), “A Road Map for ‘Cultural Interaction Studies of Seaport Cities’ in the Global Age”, *Dynamism of Seaport Cities*, in *The 3rd International Conference of the World Committee of Maritime Culture Institutes*, (2013, 4), pp. 1–12.

Tokyo, Ulan Bator, New York Hamburg and so on. To distinguish the internationalization of Viennese coffeehouse and its culture and that of franchises like McCafés, Starbucks and Italian-style espresso bars I use therefore the term ‘glocalization’.

The word is, as one can easily guess, a combination of the words “globalization” and “localization.” As Robert Robertson, who popularized this expression, claims, the term “glocalization” is very similar to the word “internationalization”, but within it describes the tempering effects of local conditions on global pressures and also “*means the simultaneity or in other words the co-presence of both universalizing and particularizing tendencies.*”¹⁶⁸⁾

I used this term to describe the phenomena that such a unique thing like the Viennese coffeehouse culture is now spreading throughout the world and through interviews I wanted to complement my opinion towards this issue. In my opinion it is impossible to spread the Viennese coffeehouse culture outside its cultural and geographical boundaries if it is regarded only as a substance but if someone changes it into a culture derived out of interaction and hybridism, this can be indeed a successful project.

168) Robertson, Roland (2001), *Comments on the “Global Triad” and “Glocalization”*.
Refer also to: <http://searchcio.techtarget.com/definition/glocalization>

1.2. The process of the acknowledgement as an intangible cultural heritage

As introduced shortly in chapter II, the Viennese coffeehouse culture has been registered as an intangible national cultural heritage by the UNESCO. Following the UNESCO conditions concerning intangible cultural properties which were set up in 2003 one can read also the following points:

“Recognizing that the processes of globalization and social transformation, alongside the conditions they create for renewed dialogue among communities, also give rise, as does the phenomenon of intolerance, to grave threats of deterioration, disappearance and destruction of the intangible cultural heritage, in particular owing to a lack of resources for safeguarding such heritage...

Recognizing that communities, in particular indigenous communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals, play an important role in the production, safeguarding, maintenance and recreation of the intangible cultural heritage, thus helping to enrich cultural diversity and human creativity...

Considering the need to build greater awareness, especially among the younger generations, of the importance of the intangible cultural heritage and of its safeguarding,

Considering the invaluable role of the intangible cultural heritage as a factor in bringing human beings closer together and ensuring exchange and understanding among them, adopts this convention (on this seventeenth day of October 2003.).”¹⁶⁹⁾

In other words, through continuous globalization traditional intangible cultural assets might get lost or are in danger of getting distorted and therefore need to be protected. Also, this convention describes it as the following:

- 1. The “intangible cultural heritage” means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their*

¹⁶⁹⁾ UNESCO Convention For The Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (October 2003).

*cultural heritage.*¹⁷⁰⁾

2. The “intangible cultural heritage”, as defined in paragraph 1 above, is manifested inter alia in the following domains:

(a) Oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage;

(b) Performing arts;

(c) Social practices, rituals and festive events;

(d) Knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe;

(e) Traditional craftsmanship.¹⁷¹⁾

(...)

*“The Viennese coffee houses are a palace where time and space are consumed, but only the coffee is found on the bill.”*¹⁷²⁾

The physical cultural characteristic elements of the Viennese coffeehouse which are also mentioned already in chapter II of this thesis, like for example the Thonet chairs, the news paper racks and the interior based on historicism, are also mentioned on the homepage of the Austrian UNESCO committee. It claims that the traditional Viennese coffeehouse culture is prone “to changes through processes like migration, individualization or globalization, yet it is dangerous to jump to conclusions about the loss of these traditions. Even if people no longer reside in their familiar socio-cultural environment, it is still their habitual practices, rituals and festive events that reassure them of their identity.”¹⁷³⁾

I made a relatively long statement and description about the international UNESCO conventions concerning the protection of intangible cultural properties because I wanted to show through their statements how strongly

170) See paragraph 2, Article 1 of above convention.

171) See paragraph 2, Article 2 a-e of above convention.

172) Intangible Cultural Heritage in Austria./Social Practices, Ritual and Festive Events, <http://immaterielleskulturerbe.unesco.at/cgi-bin/page.pl?id=10&lang=en>

173) <http://immaterielleskulturerbe.unesco.at/cgi-bin/page.pl?id=10&lang=en>

respondents regard the Viennese coffeehouse culture as a substantial matter. Until today, many Viennese citizens still believe and regard the Viennese coffeehouse culture as a substantial issue by looking only at the traditional and characteristic elements of it but although in fact there are obvious changes caused by continuous interaction.

These aspects can be identified and proven in the interview analysis. I think that it is necessary to regard the Viennese coffeehouse culture under the aspect that it is not a substance but an element that has been developed through interaction and hybridity in the past and that it has still a dynamic which owns the potential to develop continuously in the future. Therefore it might be good to see not only current aspects of actual cultural researches and not only the mentioned necessity of creation, protection and maintaining by the conventions of the UNESCO but also to look into the connection towards recreation and human originality. If regarded simply and only as a substance and as a cultural heritage the Viennese coffeehouse culture has to be protected, preserved in a museum and taught for example to the younger generations not to be forgotten for example by governmental institutions. But it would be a contradiction in the case if it is regarded as a process since where is still interaction and dynamic involved in this element.

It therefore means that the Viennese coffeehouse culture should be not only claimed and protected as an intangible cultural asset but also to accept the dynamics and that it is still an endlessly mingling historical object and to let open the possibilities to change in the future. It is necessary to be culturally aware of the fact that the only inherent thing in the Viennese coffeehouse culture is not that it is a rigid thing but on the contrary still is “on the move and a work in progress.”¹⁷⁴⁾

174) Ackermann, A (2004), *Das Eigene und das Fremde-Hybridität, Vielfalt und Kulturtransfer*, p. 144.

2. Verification of validity using the personal interview as the method of choice for a cultural research

2.1 Qualitative research and analysis as the method of choice

After choosing the Viennese coffeehouse culture as the topic for my doctoral thesis I was looking for suitable research literature but one of the bookshop owners denied the existence of such written sources and documents, because the Viennese coffeehouse culture did not disappear yet and is on the contrary very alive. Therefore does the Viennese coffeehouse culture have to vanish completely to make such a study possible? It is true, that there are existing literature about specific areas like the Viennese coffeehouse literature but suitable research literature that deals about the Viennese coffeehouse in cultural terms are in fact very hard to find or nonexistent. To summarize historical data about the 330 years old Viennese coffeehouse culture it was possible through literary research and sources, but for the current situation of the Viennese coffeehouse culture, especially above mentioned two issues dealing about the hybridism and interaction, meaning their close relationship to each other, define a culture, could have been only proven and interpreted through the help of personal interviews. On ground of the written literature and documents used for chapter II of this dissertation and on discussions with five other coffeehouse business professionals in advance of this thesis, general and big questions were transformed into more detailed and specific ones.

Quantitative researches place emphasis on reliability and on the other hand qualitative methods of research usually reinforce the validity, not the reliability, as it would be done by a quantitative research approach. The relatively small number of interviewees therefore is not a decisive factor to reach my attempted goal.

The mentioned validity can be divided into three subtypes.¹⁷⁵⁾

1. Clear validity: the answers are clear as the score in exams for university entrance.
2. Instrumental validity: for use in practical tests like language ability tests as in TOEIC and others. It does not mean that these tests and their results guarantee a 100% clear validity, but in practical dimensions they do.
3. It is important to prove how much do the theoretical frame and validity correspond to the observations. My analysis and interpretation and the evidence and ground material he delivered: how much do they fit together?

In the field of qualitative research a survey at the spot is obviously the right method of choice. In general, many researchers can prove that their questions are going into the right direction during their field studies. Since 2004, with some short interruptions, my personal life has centered on Vienna. Therefore I had and still have the advantage to observe and experience intensively the local culture, life-style and behavior of the local people and learn about it on first hand and understand the ways of thinking and living and the possibility to visit directly the original locations of interest without obstacles. These given conditions helped me therefore to conduct a sensible qualitative research method to secure and prove the validity of my research question through direct face to face interviews with the interview candidates and not by using a large of number of anonymous interviews to achieve a quantitative result which reliability has to be secured by a undecidable and relatively high number of participants, which would have been also very time consuming. Also in terms of the verification and confirmation of the results it would have been not effectively helpful in the end by just interviewing a larger number of probands. The trends of the answers were mostly predictable from the beginning and were just a confirmation of what can be an expected answer.

175) Yoon, Taek-Lim (2005), 『*Qualitative Research methods for cultural and historical research*』, (Arke), pp. 135-136.

2.2. The composition of the interview questionnaires

Cultural research can be approached within two aspects. One is to regard culture as a substance being rigid and immobile, and the other possibility is to regard it as a process or as a work in progress. As shown in the introduction part of this thesis I chose the second approach and to interpret it in this way.

Data collection for both participating groups occurred during the time of November until December 2012. The questionnaires and interviews were composed and implemented in German language, memorized in written form and afterwards translated into English for this dissertation.

A variety of six (customer) up to eight core interview questions (in case for the coffeehouse professionals) were developed that were seemingly different from each other, but actually pertained to the same issues.

The first six questions were similar for both groups and as following:

1. Do you personally consider the Viennese coffeehouse as a national cultural heritage? If yes, why?
2. Would you miss the Viennese Coffeehouse, if it would not exist anymore?
3. In your opinion: What are the changes of the Viennese coffeehouse culture compared to the past?
4. Does the Viennese coffeehouse play any role in your personal daily life? Why? Why not?
5. Did the Coffeehouse play an important role in your family? Do you transfer this tradition to the next generation?
6. Does the Viennese coffeehouse culture contribute a positive part for the integration of strangers (immigrants) and for the intercultural competency of the local citizen?

My intention was that through the content of the interview questions and their answers it should be helpful for me to find out and prove in which of above mentioned aspects the interviewees regard and perceive the Viennese coffeehouse culture.

- A) The first question asked the customer group and the professional group if they perceive the Viennese coffeehouse culture as a representative cultural asset of Vienna. If they do so, what should be preserved and what should be renovated (Questions 2 and 3). If they do think so the perception trend would be that the Viennese coffeehouse culture does not need to see any needs for changes. These people tend to perceive the Viennese coffeehouse culture as a substance
- B) For among those who had positive perceptions at A) the questions if they see the Viennese coffeehouse culture traditionally as a part of their daily life the questions 4, 5, 6 were more detailed questions constructed for them. Those who had positive perceptions towards A) it has to be expected that these interviewees would answer negatively to those questions.
- C) If the Viennese coffeehouse culture is changing, which changes and dangers / threats are existent? (Question 3) and Does the Viennese coffeehouse culture contribute the integration of immigrants and for the intercultural competency of the local citizen? (Question 6). These questions are in relevance to the questions mentioned in A) and B) more demanding and needs more expanding and detailed knowledge about the Viennese coffeehouse culture.

For those who work or are involved directly within the Viennese coffeehouse business there are two additional questions to the questions which were already asked to the customer group. These were:

7. About glocalization: Do you personally think that the Viennese coffeehouse culture can be also exported abroad to foreign countries? If yes, why?
8. How do you see the future perspectives and the survival of the Viennese Coffeehouse culture?

These were questions constructed to find out the perception of people who are working directly in the Viennese coffeehouse culture (coffeehouse owners, staff et cetera) and how they see the future and 'glocalization' possibilities and the aspects that should be preserved inside and outside the country. Depending on a positive or negative answer to the questions 7 and 8 it is

also interpretable if they perceive the Viennese coffeehouse culture as a substance or as a process.

2.3. Determination of the interview participants

Without having a clear concept on my mind and to get some first personal impressions about this topic, I met and conducted several interviews in advance with interesting personalities related to the coffeehouse business in Vienna. Among them was also the chairman of the association of Viennese coffeehouse owners, Mr. Maximillian Platzer, who also initiated the idea to register the Viennese coffeehouse culture as an intangible cultural property of Austria and Mr. Helmut Sachers, who helped to set up a Viennese-style coffeehouse in North Korea and asked them about their personal view and experience related to the Viennese coffeehouse and its culture.

It is important to explain how I chose the interview candidates and that the interview partners for the empirical part of my thesis were not chosen just randomly and out of the blue. For this study I asked for assistance of an Austrian native academic who is also familiar with some of the local population and experienced in empirical study methods.

The first selection interviewees for the empirical study (customer group) were mostly introduced to me directly through personal contact by Dr. Elisabeth Pohl and also the second selection of suitable interviewees (coffeehouse business related people) not only in Vienna but also in her hometown Graz. This direct and personal link helped to save a lot of time and to simplify communication between me as the interviewer with the mostly unknown interviewees. The personal relationship with the majority of the interviewees, who were all residing in Austria for many years and familiar with its culture, was helpful to prevent invalid and unhelpful answers.

All interview participants showed positive reactions when I explained my intention to write a doctoral thesis about the Viennese coffeehouse culture and were gladly cooperating seeing that a person with a foreign cultural background is also seriously interested and researching about a typical Austrian (Viennese) cultural asset.

As mentioned before, the interview questionnaires were following the basic guidelines for personal structured interviews for a qualitative approach to the research questions to get the information in a very open, relaxed and positive atmosphere. The questions were asked, except for two participants, directly in a face-to-face session at a coffeehouse and other places. They were read directly from the interview sheet and the answers recorded in writing and afterwards transcribed into the protocol styles which are attached at the appendix of this dissertation. The set time frame (time limit) for the interviews was up to no longer than 20 minutes, but individually much shorter in reality.

In case of the customer group, I sent two questionnaires by e-mail to the interviewees. They were answered by them and sent back to me. One of them has been discarded because of impracticalness.

There might have been some losses during the translation from German into English, but these minimal losses did not cause any negative effects on the results since the meaning of the statements were preserved exactly and without misconceptions.

The first group of interviewees (first domain of targets or group I) is consisting of general citizens (18 persons), who are familiar with the (Viennese) coffeehouse as a part of their daily life and cultural environment. Some of them had immigrant familiar background or had parents from mixed nationalities but were also living for a long time in Vienna or Austria in general. This fact guaranteed that also these people were used to the local culture and customs of Vienna and Austria. Tourists from other countries who only stayed for a short time were not suitable for this study because mostly

they lack of a deeper insight look and knowledge about Austrian culture, especially in context with the Viennese coffeehouse culture. The ages of the respondents between 50–60 years were the biggest group inside the customer group. They are followed by, in terms of number, by the ages between 30–50 and 20–30. There was one person about 80 years and one person below twenty years of age. The tables 1 and 2 are showing statistically the complete enumeration of Group I (Customers of coffeehouses) and Group II (Coffeehouse professionals).

[Table 1] Statistical overview of Interview Group I
(Coffeehouse customers, general citizens)

Age ranges	Number of Interviewees	Family background Immigrant	Family background Non-immigrant
10–20	1	1	–
20–30	2	–	2
30–40	3	1	2
40–50	2	–	–
50–60	8	1	7
60–70	1	–	1
70–80	1	1	–

[Table 2] Statistical overview of Interview Group II
(Coffeehouse professionals)

Age ranges	Number of Interviewees	Family background Immigrant	Family background Non-immigrant
10–20	–	–	–
20–30	3	1	2
30–40	2		2
40–50	4		4
50–60	4	1	3
60–70	–	–	–
70–80	2	–	2

It is noticeable that the ages (also teenager and elderly people up to 80 years) and the immigrant or nonimmigrant background of the interviewees were diverse, with a slightly higher number of females than males among the respondents.

The age-factor was important in terms of the perception of the Viennese coffeehouse culture. There are obvious different perceptions within and between the younger and elder generations of the respondents.

Also important for the analysis and evaluation was the question, if the respondents had an emigrational or local family background, because this factor would explain also their affinity or non-affinity towards the Viennese coffeehouse and its culture in their family history or daily life.

The gender ratio on the other hand did not have any specific value for the study result and has been therefore skipped from the tables.

My intention of choosing this variety of the interviewees was to guarantee the possibility of a variable choice of answers to the interview questions as much as possible and to boost up the validity.



3. Evaluation of the individual interviews

My hypothesis in this dissertation is that the Viennese coffeehouse culture has to be regarded as a process which is continuously developing and changing with the time and not as a substance. But couldn't it be one of the reasons for the acknowledgement as an intangible national cultural heritage by the Austrian UNESCO commission because it is regarded by many Austrians as a substance and therefore in need to be preserved and protected not to fall into oblivion? Or are there any other reasons too?

In this sense and with this research question I wanted to find out through interviews with general citizens and coffeehouse related professionals if they perceive the Viennese coffeehouse culture as a substance or as a process. I therefore developed a catalog of questions which might lead me to the proof of my hypothesis and set up following interpretation tools:

Question 1: A positive answer (*Viennese coffeehouse culture is a national heritage*) can be interpreted as that the Viennese coffeehouse culture is perceived as a substance.

Question 2: A positive answer (*miss the Viennese coffeehouse if absent*) can be interpreted as that the Viennese coffeehouse culture is perceived as substance.

Question 3: A positive (*changes are viewed but with a negative meaning*) answer can be interpreted as that the Viennese coffeehouse culture is perceived as a substance.

Question 4: A positive answer (*plays a role in private life*) can be interpreted as that the Viennese coffeehouse culture is perceived as a process.

Question 5: A positive answer (*as a part of family tradition and transfer to next generation*) can be interpreted as that the Viennese coffeehouse culture is perceived as a process.

Question 6: A positive answer (*Viennese coffeehouse helps interaction and integration of people*) can be interpreted as that the Viennese

coffeehouse culture is perceived as a process.

Questions 1–6 were the same for both interviewee groups, but the coffeehouse professional group was also asked two more additional questions concerning the possibility of a ‘glocalization’ of the Viennese coffeehouse culture to other countries (Question 7) and how they see its future and its survival capability (Question 8).

These questions have to be answered in a more detailed and descriptive fashion depending on how the respondent perceive the Viennese coffeehouse culture is perceived as a substance or as a process therefore there is no positive or negative answer as we see them in the other first six questions.

With question number seven I wanted to find out if the interviewee can distinguish between a glocalization and a globalization of the Viennese coffeehouse culture and therefore if they cannot make a difference it is obvious that they perceive the Viennese coffeehouse culture as a substance and if they do realize the difference there is a high possibility that they might perceive it as a process. Finally also through question 8 about the future outlook of the Viennese coffeehouse culture it depends on how the respondents perceive the future is the key to the answer if they regard it as a substance or as a process.

After collecting all responds to the into interview questions I checked the possibilities for broader categories. Through coding of useful and significant statements within the answers of each participant for any asked questions, I distinguished the results finally into three main categories:

Category 1: Viennese Coffeehouse Culture is perceived as a substance.

Category 2: Viennese Coffeehouse Culture is perceived as a process.

Category 3: As related to the glocalization and future outlook of the Viennese coffeehouse culture more subjective questions were asked: depending on the answer, the respondent perceives it as a substance or as a progress.

Although some of the answers are having a mixed statement, because they were not answered after a yes-or-no manner but in a subjective way, most of the results of the main categories will nevertheless finally be helpful to validate my hypothesis.

3.1. Evaluation of category 1

In this category evaluation it should be shown through the answers of the interview questions that the respondents of both groups perceive the Viennese coffeehouse culture mostly as a substance. Not to overload the evaluations I will show some selected representative answers of some respondents to the questions concerning categories 1–3 which are helpful to prove the validity and perceptions of the interviewees. The full versions of all answers can be found in the interview protocol sheets of both interview groups which are in the appendix of this dissertation.

The majority of the respondents see the Viennese coffeehouse culture as a national cultural heritage which is embedded and integrated deeply in the historical tradition, identity and life of many Austrians. It also has to be protected also because of steadily rising foreign influences inside the traditional Austrian culture. These concerns also arise from a substantial view of culture which is expressed in some of these representative statements:

“Yes, a very strong part of the historical, intellectual and cultural development of Vienna is the coffeehouse culture. It has a strong part of the society in the daily business, main influence for intellectual cultural and development of the society, also for the music life in the city.” (E.P., female (49), entrepreneur)

“Yes indeed, it is a very strong part for the Austrian people, history and society. I also appreciate it and I am convinced that it is indeed a national heritage. It helps to differentiate from other countries and mentalities...” (E.M., female (54), Barista)

“For me, the Viennese coffeehouse is really worth being protected as a cultural property, especially as more and more different influences are attracting the Austrian heritage and culture.” (D.P., female (52), housewife)

“Yes, (...), I do understand the UNESCO project deeply and appreciate it as we lose a lot of values and are strongly influenced by all the people living here from different countries, somehow overtaking the Austrians and their traditional culture.” (M.L., female (33), entrepreneur)

“(…) I strongly believe that it belongs to Austria and its national heritage. Everybody is very proud of it and I think people in Austria and especially in Vienna, frequently use it.” (J.H., female (34), waitress in Restaurant)

“Yes, of course, I strongly identify myself with the Viennese coffeehouse(…)” (S.H., male (60), entrepreneur)

Nevertheless, some interviewees saw geographical boundaries (restricted only to Vienna and sometimes other bigger cities) and also remarked that it is only one among other cultural assets of Austria, which might be valuable as a cultural heritage, therefore they do not think that the Viennese coffeehouse culture is the only representative as a national cultural heritage of Austria. Some representative statements:

“It is an important part of our national heritage but there are others, too, like wines, oils, food and classic music and so on.” (R.F., female (55), Café & Bakery Fötter)

“There are also other Viennese gastronomic facilities, which I like. but they are not national heritages (Viennese guesthouse culture or Wine house culture).” (G.G., male (60), self-employed)

“Yes, but I guess there other elements that are much more important like musicians, architects, literature or even companies like the “Bösendorfer” piano, Lipizzaner horses etc.” (T.H., male (50), employee)

“I appreciate and admire the Viennese coffeehouse tradition, but I would not regard it as a national property. That is exaggerated.

Reason 1: There are other cities inside and outside the country, which have a similar coffeehouse culture tradition for example Paris, Budapest and many more.

Reason 2: There are also other Viennese gastronomic facilities, which I like. But they are not national cultural heritages (Viennese guesthouse (Beisl) culture or wine house (Heurigen) culture).” (G.G., male (60), self-employed)

Despite that the respondents gave a negative answer towards this question does not necessarily mean that they see or perceive the Viennese coffeehouse culture as a process but they mention also other elements which have in their opinion also the conditions to be acknowledged as Austrian cultural heritages.

It was predictable that almost all respondents would therefore miss the Viennese coffeehouse and its culture, if it would disappear especially by people from the elder generations who had an affinity to this culture since their childhood and adolescence and who still use it frequently for their professional and private life.

“Yes, because I like to chill there, but I also use it frequently for business purposes. It is somehow a cozy home, where you can stay on your own or be with friends in a most comfortable secured and calm atmosphere.” (M.L., female (33), entrepreneur)

Answers like this show also the expectations that many people have towards a traditional Viennese coffeehouse as a personal office and as an ‘elongated living room.’

Concerning the third question, changes were perceived by almost all respondents and in every part of the Viennese coffeehouse culture but mostly in a negative perspective and therefore criticized as some kind of cultural loss. Also in this case people regard the Viennese coffeehouse culture as a

substance because they mostly see the changes in a negative way and as a departure from traditions and not as a chance for a new development or as a process.

“(…) the free internet is a completely nonsense. It is not fitting to a typical Viennese coffeehouse. (…)” (C.S., male (42), Café Schröder)

Methods of communication have changed, not only in coffeehouses. Today customers also prefer to have the possibility of a WLAN rather than not to have. It is the choice of the customer how he would like to communicate or not to communicate. Not offering this possibility because it is not a part of the traditional Viennese coffeehouse culture sounds very stubborn and substantial in my opinion and not very customer friendly.

Very often mentioned were the deprivation of the service, higher prices which make a visit unaffordable for many people and the rising competition through foreign coffeehouse franchises.

“Yes, it changes, but more towards a negative development, because of Starbucks and others, coffee (house) culture itself, especially among youngsters, is dying. The food and beverage offer changed and so did the service…” (U.S., female (50), free lancer)

“Most of the old ones I do know are now renovated—unfortunately not according to the old tradition. I have a much better service in mind.”
(S.H., male (60), entrepreneur)

This negative attitude concerning changes within the Viennese coffeehouse culture is for me an obvious indication for the perception as a substance since changes are the necessary prime mover for a processing culture.

Through these answers in this evaluation of category 1 it is provable in my opinion that most of the respondents of both interview groups have the perception about the Viennese coffeehouse culture as a substance.

Additionally to these group interviews, while preparing this dissertation about the Viennese coffeehouse culture, I also personally asked several

award-winning Korean-Austrian writer Anna Kim, who is like myself, as a 1.5 generation Austrian-Korean, a 'border-liner' between many different cultures due to her family background, to write a small essay¹⁷⁶⁾ about her personal perception about the Viennese coffeehouse culture. There were no specific influences or conditions given in terms of writing style or about a specific content. After reading this essay which can be found in the appendix of this dissertation, I found many interesting aspects recognizable which were also mentioned as positive or criticized as negative aspects by the respondents of the customer group.

For example the coffeehouse as a part of their life, as a working place she writes:

"(...) This effect has been observed not only by me: Many are taking and have taken advantage from that kind of relaxed concentration, mostly people in the media and arts, journalists, artists, movie producers, directors and especially writers. Some of them, even today, manage to write only in their Kaffeehaus. (...)"

As for the coffeehouse being a place for relaxation and its' role as a "public living room":

"(...) it is the meeting place (it is totally normal to spend four to five afternoons a week in a café) and the place where you can relax, enjoy time on your own but not be lonely."¹⁷⁷⁾

About the changed atmosphere, bad and unfriendly service, etc. she writes:

"(...) In some cafés, it can happen that the waiter will stare at you grumpily the minute you walk in, and you will feel as if you violated at

176) This essay has been written in the July 2012 at my suggestion. The intention was to find out Anna Kim's personal perception of the Viennese coffeehouse culture. Full essay can be found in the appendix of this dissertation.

177) She uses a term which was made famous inter alia by Austrian writer Otto Friedländer who said "...to be by oneself, without feeling lonely." Also Alfred Polgar, who was also one of the famous Viennese coffeehouse literates and essayist wrote something similar in his essay, *Theory of the Café Central*, Polgar claims here that the Café Central is inhabited by people who hate people so much as their affection for them, who want to be alone but therefore they need the society of others.

least one rule: never come in uninvited. (...) ”

Therefore she seems to worry also about the future of the traditional coffeehouses in Vienna also caused through tough competition of modern styled coffee shops which are quite different to the traditional ones

“(…) Coffee shops are not choosy, anyone who can pay their bill is welcome, cafés are picky, they are almost discriminating – they emanate the flair that only the ones who fit in, may come in. Maybe that is why shortly after the introduction of coffee shops in Vienna, many cafés were closed down. Or maybe it is their choosiness, the way they ask the visitor to fight for his right to step in, that is old-fashioned, out-of-place. (...) ”

On the first look also Anna Kim seems to perceive the Viennese coffeehouse culture as a substance as she answers in a fashion like many other respondents from the two interview groups.

But at the end of her essay, in contrary to the participants of the customer group, Anna Kim seems to realize or feel that also the Viennese coffeehouse culture is not a strictly rigid or immobile culture but still alive and evolving. She does not go deeper into this matter and thus let open doors for continuous thinking. I interpret this opinion from her very last sentence of her essay where she finally writes in a hopeful tone: *“Anyway, the Kaffeehauskultur is dead, long live the Kaffeehauskultur.”*¹⁷⁸⁾

178) See last page of her essay.

3.2. Evaluation of category 2

Category 2 defines the questions and answers which show that the respondents are potentially regarding the Viennese coffeehouse culture as a process. Again I will only show some representative answers of some respondents to prove the validity.

For the majority of the respondents the Viennese coffeehouse culture is an active part of their life both in their free-time and their professional life.

“Yes, but only the ones in the centre of the city, together with friends, e.g. once a week after church or also for playing card games. There are special coffee shops everywhere. Indeed, it is a growing culture but mostly for the elder generations. It is also a nice place to meet after a shopping tour in the city.” (H.P., female (80), widow)

“Yes, a strong one, because I have a very stressful business and I can relax immediately on arrival. Also, because all my important meetings. My company is outside Vienna. I can organize one meeting after the other at once without being disturbed by phone calls, E-mail or other factors.” (M.L., female (33), entrepreneur)

For most respondents in their teens and twenties, the traditional Viennese coffeehouse culture did not play any sufficient role or they were not interest into this element.

“Not really, because with my friends we prefer other places, but as a working place with all the old people I like it very much and would some miss my customers.” (J.C., female (22), working part-time in a coffeehouse)

Although for many of the interviewees the Viennese coffeehouse culture is a part of their private life only a few actively transfer or promote this culture to their children or descendants.

Those who do this are mostly involved directly in the coffeehouse business or from an intellectual and middle class family background.

“Yes, because my parents started at a different location, but we are already in the second generation now, so I have been brought up with this culture.” (T.K., male (46), Café Glacis, Graz)

“I was brought up there and still working there and I like it very much. Nevertheless my son is running the business already.” (R.F., female (52), coffeehouse owner near the University of Graz)

Some other respondents were also eager to transfer their affection for the coffeehouse culture to the next generation which is rather a substantial viewpoint of culture:

“Yes, I do, especially when I am in Austria, I want my girls to learn about the tradition, history, functions. (...)” (T.G., male (46), working for Julius Meinl Coffee in Russia)

“Yes, strongly, especially my father and grandfather – also addicted to international newspapers – do and did use it a lot. I try to advise my students to go there and read the newspapers.” (S.K., female (46), university employee)

One of the respondents saw also the positive aspects of changes inside the Viennese coffeehouse culture:

“Yes, it is going into a highly sophisticated direction. Coffee design, coffee art competitions and so on. I think these factors influence also the traditional coffeehouse. Stylish, more architectural involvement and perhaps additional new target groups.” (B.M., male (25), employee)

With these examples of answers it can be recognized that the Viennese coffeehouse culture is still alive and active in the daily life of many people and that it has good chances of further developments through interaction of people.

The Viennese coffeehouse culture as a positive factor for the integration of foreigners and for intercultural competency has been mostly denied by

the respondents although many of them see it on the other hand as a profitable tourist attraction.

“Especially for the tourists, it is a part of Austrian heritage and culture and they are all standing in lines for years to get a table, even during winter time.” (A.M., male (52), working at a famous Café in Vienna)

“It depends. At least, it opens a new world to foreigners, tourists and all others living in the city. (...)” (A.M., male (52), working in a cafe in Vienna)

As for the local integration of foreigners it seemed to play no role since emigrants from other nations do not frequent the local coffeehouses and stay inside their own communities and coffeehouses.

“I don’t believe it, most of the other nations stick together in their own restaurants Turkish restaurant, Chinese e.g. and others. But perhaps it will soon change among the younger ones as I see with my kids.” (E.M., female (55), running an old theatre coffee shop at the 8th district of Vienna)

“I completely disagree, because if I think about my personal daily coffee–stay at the coffeehouse, only local Austrian (Viennese) people are inside and everyone is on its own.” (S.H., male (60), entrepreneur)

“(…) we only have frequent customers from the area and no Turkish people nevertheless we are in the middle of the “Brunnenmarkt.”¹⁷⁹⁾ (A.P., female, (74) Café – Konditorei Putz)

Following the answers of the respondents towards this issue, it appears that the Viennese coffeehouse seems to have lost its function as a social integration factor and as a place for communication and a place where people from all social classes and nations are mingling and interacting together. As some interviewees claim, one of the changes are that the Viennese coffeehouses are switching their service offer and system to the needs of the continuously growing number of tourists which are

179) This area in Vienna is mostly inhabited by foreigners, especially from Turkey.

frequenting Vienna and Austria in general and also the rising number of foreign rooted employees. Some see this as a threat from a substantial viewpoint but some others see it as a necessary change and chance for the future.

3.3. Evaluation of category 3

Category 3 is dealing about the possibility of a glocalization and about the future perspective of the Viennese coffeehouse culture. Those according questions were unfortunately asked only to the coffeehouse professionals, although while evaluating the interviews, I thought that they could have been easily also asked to the general citizens and customer group to find out their perception.

To answer these question a more detailed knowledge about the Viennese coffeehouse and its cultural system is necessary especially the knowledge of the difference between glocalization and globalization. In my opinion there was mostly a big information gap about this point among the respondents although they were professionally dealing with the coffeehouse culture. The respondents of the coffeehouse professional group generally think that a glocalization of the Viennese coffeehouse culture is possible but within their answers there is a substantial view recognizable inside their answers.

Some of them think that a glocalization is possible under the supervision of an Austrian–style concept and management.

“Yes, but depending where and how. It needs a clear concept and Austrian staff at least at the beginning.” (M.S., male (44), owner of a coffeehouse in Vienna for over 20 years).

“Yes why not, depending on a clear concept, the country and city and of course the management and the team.” (M.F., male (46), coffeehouse owner in Graz)

“Yes, I guess. But only if there is somebody running it from Austria and knowing exactly what he or she is doing or at least teaching and training foreign staff in this matter. We already do have some very successful examples. (...)” (T.K., male (46), Café Glacis)

“It depends strongly if you find somebody who is willing to do that hard work and being a successor and also depending if you find brilliant friendly Austrian staff.” (A.P., female(74), Cafe-Konditorei Putz, Vienna)

“Yes, but depending where and how. It needs a clear concept and Austrian staff at least at the beginning.” (M.S., male (44), coffeehouse owner in Vienna)

They also put a strong emphasis on the geographical aspect and venue, which is basically not wrong in my opinion, but some examples already showed that Viennese-style coffeehouse can be found on very exotic places already and they seem to work.

Under such conditions I would rather see a globalization method like those of other coffee shop franchises (i.e. Starbucks, McCafe) which use a very monotonous global concept in terms of a global spread for their branches anywhere in the world and this would lead directly to the opposite concept of a typical Viennese coffeehouse with its individuality but also variety its concept. A globalization attempt with this misconception of ‘glocalization’ would finally end up in ‘a lousy copy’ which might be hopefully not the purpose.

Very interesting in this sense is therefore the response of H.W., female (70), a retired coffeehouse owner:

“No, I don’t believe it (glocalization possible?). But perhaps because of globalization it might be possible.”

I think for myself now that it would have been very interesting to find out if she really does understand the meaning and differences between a ‘glocalization’ and a ‘globalization’ of an element like the Viennese coffeehouse culture.

The interviewee T.G., male (46), is currently living in Moscow and runs the JULIUS MEINL (Coffee) distribution and coffeehouse chain. He is sure about a successful export of Viennese coffeehouse culture to foreign countries:

“Yes, therefore our shops are expanding more and more.”

My guess is that he did not consider very much in his answer the intangible and cultural aspects which are necessary for the Viennese coffeehouse culture to be authentic. As one can suppose it is indeed easy to transfer all physical aspects of Viennese coffeehouse culture to other location but in the end it is also important to think about the intangible aspects as for the atmosphere and interaction of people inside a traditional Viennese coffeehouse. Therefore this interviewee also sees it rather as a substance than a process.

Finally, the future perspective of the Viennese coffeehouse is seen mostly optimistic by most of the respondents in terms as a business and survival, but some of them see the cultural aspects inside are disappearing (which I would rather claim as a transformation and not necessarily as an occultation) and that only the strong ones will survive, which is in my point of view just normal.

“(…) as it survived for ages, I would say yes.” (A.P., female (74), Café - Konditorei Putz).

“They will survive, perhaps decrease in number, but anyhow they will survive.” (M.S., male (44), Café Florianihof)

“Yes, the very famous old ones of course (will survive), the other ones I strongly doubt it.” (C.S., male (42), formerly owned a coffeehouse in the city of Krems)

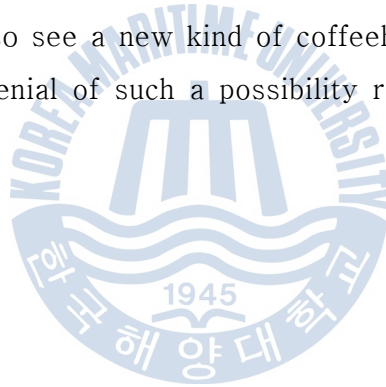
“It will survive and remain, but only the best ones.” (M.P., male(39), working in a coffee roasting company for 9 years).

“I strongly believe in it. Especially the traditional ones, there are only a few left. (…)” (R.F., female (55), Café Fötter)

“Yes, but if you ask for the coffeehouse tradition, I doubt it.” (T.G.male (46), Julius Meinl)

“Yes. I am sure. Especially Austria is depending on tourism, so we will still need it in future.” (A.P., female (29), professional barista)

This perception in my opinion is derived mostly out of a substantial view, meaning that they do not believe that the traditional coffeehouse culture and tradition might survive as they know it so far due to various kinds of changes. On the other hand some claim that only those with tradition will make into the future. Thinking that keeping tradition as the only guarantee for the future survival is rather a substantial view in my opinion. If they would perceive it as a process they would claim also that changes will happen in the sense of a change through continuous interaction of new people and generations and they also see a new kind of coffeehouse culture but in their statements there is a denial of such a possibility recognizable.



3.4. Interview synthesis and conclusion of the interviews

Most answers of the interview questions were simple and predictable in my opinion, but they were asked to confirm my thesis and critics. Besides one person, all of the respondents saw the Viennese coffeehouse culture as a part of Austrian culture and identity with historical importance. Many of them appreciated the decision of the UNESCO although quiet a number did not know about this fact, even among the coffeehouse professionals. Some claimed that outside Vienna this acknowledgement would have not much meaning, not even in Austria, although it has become a national cultural heritage!

For many of the respondents the Viennese coffeehouse and its culture do play a role in their personal and family life. Especially the respondents between 30 up to 80 have this opinion. Younger people are not that much interested in it even if they work at coffeehouse related businesses. They strictly separate their private life and professional life or do not frequent these places at all because of financial burden. Also people with a former emigrational background are not very familiar with the Viennese coffeehouse culture and therefore lack in emotional links towards it. Social background is also a factor in this sense. Mostly people from the middle-class seem to have some kind of interest and memories concerning the Viennese coffeehouse and its culture.

The majority of the respondents are involved actively within the Viennese coffeehouse as a regular guest or as a business, but they do not transfer their devotion for the Viennese coffeehouse to their children or descendants. This is indeed contra-productive for the preservation of its tradition.

My prediction was that the respondents of both interview groups will perceive the Viennese coffeehouse culture mostly rather as a substance than as a progressing and dynamic matter although they also see and mention the symptoms for this hypothesis by themselves, what I consider as

inconsistent.

The majority of the interviewees of both groups perceived the Viennese coffeehouse and its culture as an important factor for cultural identity, history and for the social life in Austria and appreciated the decision that it has been acknowledged as an intangible national cultural heritage by the UNESCO except for one person of the consumer group. Most of the interviewees would therefore miss the absence of the Viennese coffeehouse and its culture while some others would not care about, because of other alternatives.

These arguments were interesting because historically these were also reasons for the deterioration of the Viennese coffeehouse culture during the 1960s and 1970s. During this period, the people lost their interest, because they got alternatives to spend their times outside the coffeehouses. Generally the leisure behavior changed at this period, partly triggered by TV and radio and more and more people could afford their own car and weekend houses. The coffeehouses lost their role as a place for social interaction, communication and leisure and entertainment during these times.

For a number of interviewees the Viennese coffeehouse culture did not have a specific role in their private life. Those argued that with a lack of time or a family unfriendly environment or that the prices at those locations were simply too expensive for them.

Concerning the seventh question about the glocalization possibility of the Viennese coffeehouse culture many coffeehouse professionals saw a chance that it might be possible. Some of them claimed that it might be possible to export the tangible aspects but not the intangible cultural aspect of a traditional Viennese coffeehouse to other countries. Conditions would be a clear concept and the management by Austrian people which would be in my understanding basically the same globalization method used by American coffee-shop franchises like Starbucks and not a glocalization of the Viennese coffeehouse culture.

I agree with the opinion that it might be impossible to export also the ‘typical’ atmosphere, the grumpy Viennese coffeehouse waiter or a ‘typical’ Viennese regular guest to other countries. But such intangible aspects as interaction and communication among people inside a coffeehouse are not the monopoly of a Viennese coffeehouse. It means that somewhere else it is might be also possible under a dynamic aspect to establish a new type of coffeehouse culture and atmosphere within the cultural umbrella of a traditional Viennese coffeehouse.

The fact is that the methods of communication changed within the Viennese coffeehouse culture. Interaction between people is an indicator for the progress and development of a culture. But the respondents mostly denied the fact, also from a substantial viewpoint, that the (traditional) Viennese coffeehouse is nowadays not a suitable platform for the integration, interaction and communication of people, which is in my opinion only a part of the truth. Many traditional and famous coffeehouses inside Vienna are now mostly frequented by foreign tourists. Also, a great number of people working in a coffeehouse have emigrational roots. Somehow I see it as unfair to blame them as a danger for the Viennese coffeehouse culture.

Concerning the question about a possible glocalization of the Viennese coffeehouse culture I would also agree with the fact that it is generally easy and possible to imitate and export the physical aspects to other locations outside its cultural and geographical boundaries but it depends on the attitude and concept, how this culture is understood, to open up also the possibility to “export” the intangible aspects of in terms of atmosphere, tradition and human interaction. The professional group claims that they somehow see the possibility of exporting the Viennese coffeehouse culture to other countries, but rather in the fashion and method of a globalization than a glocalization. It must be clearly understood that they do not follow the same concepts.¹⁸⁰⁾

180) Longman (2006), *Dictionary of Contemporary English*, p. 687.

This globalization attitude of the Viennese coffeehouse culture would mean that Viennese coffeehouse would have to use the methods of global coffeehouse chains like Starbucks and others, meaning a spread of Viennese-style coffeehouse without the consideration of local cultural specifications after a perceptive schema and this is the point what it makes it unfeasible. Although the Viennese coffeehouse and its culture do have a traditional frame and system, their other side is that they have their very individual specifications and characteristics. To have an Austrian in a managing position may not be the guarantee for authenticity as some people claimed in their answers. More important seems to be to have deep and detailed knowledge about this topic and a clear concept and experience about Viennese coffeehouse culture. The nationality is not the decisive factor at all in my opinion.

I think that if the view towards a culture is changed from a substantial view to an alternative version meaning that culture is also something that is based on hybridism and interaction and communication of people, the future outlook and a possibility of a “glocalization” or “internationalization” of the Viennese coffeehouse culture seems to be not that difficult since also the “brand value” of it is very popular also among foreigners and abroad.

In this sense, the future development and the glocalization issue of the Viennese coffeehouse and its culture should be taken care and decided by their and our descendants and not by now, because nothing is decided yet and culture in general, also the Viennese coffeehouse culture, is a continuous work in progress and development as human history and culture has already proven.

Finally regarding the future perspective of the Viennese coffeehouse the professional respondents express their prediction and also their hope that the Viennese coffeehouse and its culture in the future. Some will in their opinion obviously not survive.

They might be right within a substantial point of view, but as we can predict already, the Viennese coffeehouse and its culture will survive in the future, but not as we know it today, since a living culture is always a dynamic process in its time and a work in progress with an open end.

So far, the evaluation of the answers of the interviewees did affirm my conclusion for this dissertation.



IV. Conclusion

As a German citizen with Korean roots I have lived also in Vienna for nine years. There I became a fan of the Viennese coffeehouse and its culture and saw it in the beginnings of a personal hobby.

It was not out of academic interest but by my supervisor's recommendation that led me to decide the doctoral thesis about the Viennese coffeehouse culture as it would be convenient to have local trips and field studies. I have been always interested in this subject and there was no hesitation as coffeehouses have become popular in Korea, too. Although I tried to find academic sources about this subject, there were only very few. While there were many general and hobby-related sources, there were very few academic researches about this topic. Meanwhile I frequently visited several coffeehouses in Vienna and also in other countries to get some kind of feeling and comparison into this subject.

Originally, I planned to describe a part of the Viennese coffeehouse culture in microscopic terms by tracing the history of Café Landtmann, Demel, Central and others while using oral history. However, this conception remained only a plan because there were only a very few among more than 3,000 Viennese coffeehouses which still ran the business as a continued familial business. Although the Viennese coffeehouse and its culture are known to represent the city, as my study deepened, I could only confirm its obscure and abstract substance. I revised the conception several times but there was no clear progress. It was during this process that I found out that in 2011, the Viennese coffeehouse culture was designated as a UNESCO intangible cultural heritage, which gave an inspiring momentum to continue the study.

Although I was just beginning to learn about the trends in cultural studies, I was also an avid enthusiast and believed that there should be unchanging, traditional, and physical elements in the Viennese coffeehouse culture, which is the substantialist's perspective. In fact, the regulations or

conditions which led to the designation of the Viennese coffeehouse culture as a UNESCO's intangible cultural asset were composed of culture as a substance generally premised by enthusiasts such as myself. My supervisor said that the perspective to criticize culture as a substance as a method of cultural studies in the late 20th century earned a great sympathy and recommended that I should interpret the Viennese coffeehouse culture from this perspective. I also presented this topic to the Korean Society of Contemporary European Studies in 2012.¹⁸¹⁾ Later, I premised the Viennese coffeehouse as an element of cultural space and reinterpreted the process of continued interactions based on various materials. I also developed more concrete ideas to interpret culture as a process based on a survey about glocalization and its designation as an Austrian intangible national cultural heritage in November 2011 by the UNESCO.

Still, being a lay person about cultural theories which added to the lack of understanding Korean, I failed to properly understand the critical perspectives on cultural substantialism. It was only when I finished the draft for this paper that I realized that my original, but unconscious wish was to rethink this perspective critically from the perspective of culture as a substance. This led to a significant revision of this thesis, which was conducted in line with clear understanding and interpretation of theories on culture.

In general, coffeehouses are understood to have worked as an assistant to the birth of modern culture. Those in England as a leader of modernization can be the representative example. Between late 17th century and 18th century, coffeehouses were much loved in English cities including London. In 1650, the first coffeehouse in England was established in Oxford, which was followed by one in London within two years. Now it is difficult to

181) Chung, Tae-Hung (2012), "The Climax of the Viennese Coffeehouse Culture in the period from 1815 to 1914 with an insight excursion toward relevant intercultural conflicts", in The 6th Joint Conference on European Studies in Korea, Sogang University (8-9 June 2012 in Seoul/Republic of Korea)

trace but English coffeehouses were the basis for the establishment of the Royal Society which is known to have established the foundation of modern sciences. English coffeehouses contributed to the establishment of modern financial institutions such as banks, securities, and insurance companies. Lloyd's, the world's largest insurer, was the name of a very famous coffeehouse in London. In addition, the information industry such as newspapers, magazines, books, literature, and politics was produced through and at coffeehouses.¹⁸²⁾

The Viennese coffeehouses occur about one generation later than the English ones but are still maintained. Those in Istanbul which are known to have delivered coffee to England, France, and even Venice have gone but in Vienna, they still exist. What is the reason? Did the Viennese coffeehouse contribute to the birth of modern culture like in England? Will it continue in the future of globalization? Can we entirely welcome its designation by the UNESCO? My aim was to find the clues to these questions based the perspective of culture as interactions and hybridity rather than culture as a substance.

The city of Vienna underwent also changes from an empire's capital to one of the insignificant nation states and from a European periphery to a new base towards Eastern Europe after the Cold War. Much in the same way, the Viennese coffeehouse and its culture changed many times in the course of history. The typical components of the Viennese coffeehouse that I suggested such as physical elements such as spoons on glass cups, marble tables and metal plates, mirrors, telephone booths and ovens as well as human elements including heavy smoking, various newspapers, regular visitors, countless types of coffee and new ones, and waiters as servers but also as communicators were established over a 330-year period. They didn't exist there just as congested blood. These elements will also remain as important factors in the future.

182) Gawakita Minoru (2003), 『*World History of Sugar*』, (Joeun Chaek Mandulki), pp. 93–99.

However, as they are also a historical product, the process of flexible recreation or variables and dynamism in the context is the unique feature of the Viennese coffeehouse culture which is non-existent at or are comparable with other coffeehouses outside Vienna.

The Viennese coffeehouse culture was designated as a UNESCO's intangible cultural asset in 2011. Most of the respondents welcomed the designation which was initiated and led by the association of the Viennese coffeehouses but there were many citizens who simply weren't aware of this fact. Even some of the regular coffeehouse users or employees said that they didn't know this. There was a doubt that the stake holders pursued the designation for commercial gains rather than cultural ones. This is supported by the fact that the number of tourists in Vienna soared from 4.6 million in 1980 to 12.3 million in 2012.

About 68% of these tourists came from advanced countries such as Germany and USA. There are no accurate numbers but most of the tourists visit Viennese coffeehouses. This means that the association uses the Viennese coffeehouse culture also to generate profits by re-establishing it as a cultural institution of Vienna and developing it into a commodity.

The gist to be discussed in relation to the designation is that the designation is a protective measure based on the perspective on culture as a substance and there is a possibility to confine the still alive and dynamic Viennese coffeehouse culture to a static and unchanging concept. From the perspective of culture as a substance, in order to conserve the Viennese coffeehouse culture which is likely to disappear, it must be protected globally or nationally and passed down to the next generation. According to this view, we need to reinforce our awareness of the Viennese coffeehouse culture, educate the next generation about it, and establish protective and conservative policies on the central and local levels.

This also leads to the understanding that the brand value will rise and be enjoyed by tourists but there is a possibility that the unique culture

may undergo unwanted changes.

However, from the perspective of culture as a process, we need to focus on variables and dynamism of culture and secure open future prospects. We need to focus on variables and dynamism of the Viennese coffeehouse culture rather than conserving its prototype.

We can also assume a similar perspective on glocalization of the Viennese coffeehouse culture which comes in line with globalization in the 1990s. From the perspective of culture as a substance, we can physically mimic a unique Viennese coffeehouse but as it is difficult to copy its cultural elements, it is highly likely to lead to a negative perspective. As the survey shows, it may be possible to expand beverages, food, and services of the Viennese coffeehouses outside the boundary.

Still, the issue here is that the Viennese coffeehouse culture as a prototype, is a product of ceaseless processes and open to variables and dynamism. According to Nishigawa Nagao, “culture exchanges and keeps changing, thus it is always changing and there is no such a culture as pure and isolated.”¹⁸³⁾

Additionally, glocalization of the Viennese coffeehouse culture shall be understood as interactions between and among cultures. Seen from this perspective, glocalization as interactions of cultures is considered as creative change rather than the selection between assimilation and contrast. This means that glocalization is a process of multi-layered interactions and hybridity.

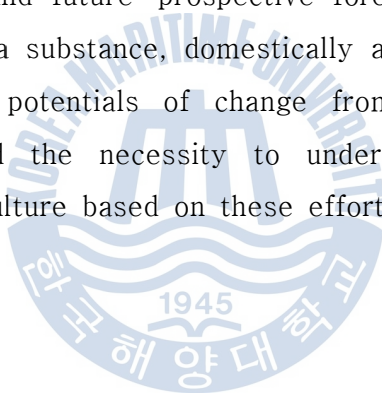
This is easily confirmed in translation and imitation explained as modes of cultural exchange.

“Translation between cultures is a mode of imitation in terms that the original text is prioritized ... but copied, transferred, and transformed. ... The original text is never finished or completed in itself.”¹⁸⁴⁾

183) Nishigawa Nagao (2002), 『A Monster Called the Nation』, (Somyung), p. 91.

Similarity as well as non-similarity occurs in cultural imitation other than translation. Those of imitation may seem to be assimilated into a different culture but will show differences ceaselessly due to “the barrier called cultural, racial and historical differences.” Cultural imitation, even in the event of the closest example, will confirm being “almost identical but never the same.”¹⁸⁵⁾ The severance and difference mean the potentials for creation and production.

Summing up, based on a literature review and a questionnaire survey, this paper attempted to interpret that the Viennese coffeehouse culture was a historical product and from the perspective of cultural theories as a product of hybridity and interactions. This Ph.D. dissertation critically reviewed the existing and future-prospective forecasting of the Viennese coffeehouse culture as a substance, domestically and internationally, added dynamism and opened potentials of change from the perspective of a process, and suggested the necessity to understand and forecast the Viennese coffeehouse culture based on these efforts.



184) H. K. Bhabha/J. Rutherford (1990), *The third Space – Interview with Homi Bhabha*, p. 212.

185) Bhabha (2002), 『*The Location of Culture*』, (Somyung), p. 186.

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Appendix

1. Questionnaire of Group I: General citizens & customers

Allgemeine Informationen (*General information on the interviewees*)

Name: Vorname, Nachname nur ersten Buchstaben.

→ (*Name: Prenom and Familyname only the first letter of the family name*)

Alter: (nur ungefähre Angabe).

→ (*Age: Approximate age of the interviewee*)

Geschlecht: M/W.

→ (*Sex: Male or Female*)

Beruf: Student/Selbstständig/Angestellt/Pensionist.

→ (*Profession of the Interviewee*)

Welche Bedeutung hat für sie die Wiener Kaffeehauskultur? Hat es Ihrer Meinung nach eine berechnigte Stelle als immaterielles nationales Kulturerbe?

(*What does the Viennese coffeehouse culture mean to you? In your opinion does it has the right to be considered and certified as an intangible national cultural heritage by the UNESCO?*)

Frage 1: Sehen Sie persönlich das Wiener Kaffeehaus als nationales Kulturerbe? Wenn ja, warum?

(*Question 1: Do you personally consider the Viennese coffeehouse as a national cultural heritage? If yes, why?*)

Frage 2: Würden Sie das Wiener Kaffeehaus vermissen, wenn es nicht mehr existieren würde? (Würde es Ihnen fehlen, wenn es abwesend wäre?)

(*Question 2: Would you miss the Viennese coffeehouse, if it would not exist anymore?*)

Frage 3: Was hat sich Ihrer Meinung nach an der Wiener Kaffeehauskultur geändert?

(Question 3: In your opinion: What are the changes of the Viennese coffeehouse culture)

Frage 4: Spielt das Wiener Kaffeehaus eine Rolle in Ihrem persönlichen Alltag? Warum? Warum nicht?

(Question 4: Does the Viennese coffeehouse play any role in your personal daily life? Why? Why not?)

Frage 5: Hat das Kaffeehaus in Ihrer Familie eine besondere Rolle gespielt? Geben Sie diese Tradition weiter?

(Question 5: Did the coffeehouse play an important role in your family? Do you transfer this tradition to the next generation?)

Frage 6: Leistet die Wiener Kaffeehauskultur einen positiven Beitrag zur Integration von Fremden und zur interkulturellen Kompetenz der Bevölkerung?

(Question 6: Does the Viennese coffeehouse culture contribute a positive part for the integration of strangers (immigrants) and for the intercultural competency of the local citizen?)

Interview results I: General citizens & customers

1) U.S., 50, female, free-lancer, 2 kids, divorced.

1. Living in Vienna for more than 10 years, I judge the Viennese coffeehouse as a strong and important part of the Austrian heritage. It is a part of Austria, a part of its identity as a cookie and cake country with a broad variety and selection of coffee and coffee brewing culture.
2. Yes, it would be a big loss in my personal life. I frequently go to coffeehouses for meetings with friends and reading newspapers.
3. Yes, it changes, but more towards a negative development, because of Starbucks and others, coffee (house) culture itself, especially among young people, is dying. More fast food is chosen instead of enjoyment and relaxation. The food and beverage offer changed and so did the service. The architecture became more modern instead of traditional styles. Also, the atmosphere inside changed.
4. Yes, because I there find the perfect atmosphere for relaxation, to read books, think, reading newspapers, especially those in foreign languages, also to spend time for myself without “kids and family” stress.
5. In my family, the coffeehouse did not play any role, because I am from Germany. There is not such a tradition in the Austriansense. Also, my professional education in tourism and gastronomy brought me into first contact with the Viennese coffeehouse culture. I do not transfer this tradition actively to my children.
6. No, not at all, because it is frequented mostly by privileged people, upper and middle class, as prices increase strongly. There is no more space for people with lower income.

2) E.P., 49, female, single, entrepreneur

1. Yes, a very strong part of the historical, intellectual and cultural development of Vienna is the Coffeehouse culture. It has a strong part of the society in the daily business, main influence for intellectual cultural and development of the society, also for the music life in the city.
2. Yes, because it is my main preferred location to relax, to make business, to enjoy and to escape from stress and speed in my daily life.
3. Time of stay, offer and less service, modernization in furniture and architecture, dying out of the regular guests. The Viennese coffeehouse is shifting more and more to tourism and visitors from abroad.
4. Yes, but as I am not a sweet tooth, I visit them mainly for business and relaxation reason (newspaper offer).
5. Yes, in my family, the visits to the coffeehouses were mostly a special event on Sundays.
6. No, due to its high prices, many foreign people cannot or do not want to afford themselves a visit to the traditional Viennese coffeehouses. The majority of the immigrants visit their own coffeehouses and restaurants and are sticking together in their ghettos.

3) H.P., 80, female, retired, widow, 2 kids.

1. Yes, when I moved from Germany to Austria, I was strongly confronted with the Viennese Coffeehouse. It is very different from the coffeehouses I knew from Germany. It is also a well-known part of the Austrian culture. It comes together with other traditions like Lipizzaner horses¹⁸⁶⁾ and other famous Viennese cultural export articles.
2. Yes, I frequently meet with my friends for breakfast once a week in a coffeehouse. In former times, I went there with my husband every Sunday afternoon before my kids were born.
3. The interior and the atmosphere, duration of the stay, this all changed. The introduction of standing-café and the “coffee-to-go” culture is growing steadily among younger people. Prices are going up. The meaning of valuable relationships and good service is decreasing and is getting worse.
4. Yes, but only the ones in the centre of the city, together with friends, for example once a week after church or also for playing card games. There are special coffee shops everywhere. Indeed, it is a growing culture but mostly for the elder generation. It is also a nice place to meet after a shopping tour in the city.
5. After my marriage, my husband introduced me to this culture. I grew up on the countryside, where no coffee shops are available.
6. (Respondent did not answer to this question.)

186) Famous white colored horses of the Imperial Riding School in Vienna.

4) S.S., married, 52, female, 2 kids, not working.

1. I see it as a cultural asset especially for the bigger cities and the capital of Austria, Vienna. It has a main influence throughout different periods and areas especially in music, literature and in social aspects. The Viennese coffeehouse culture is very different from those of other countries. It also serves as a tourist attraction and as an “export article.” It is also a matter of identification for many Austrians. Also important are the typical cakes and dishes offered there.
2. No, but in former times as a student for learning, chilling, hanging out with friends or just enjoying, since I have my kids breakfast or even baking mainly at home, sometimes with my mom for enjoying coffee time, also a lot of alternative restaurant around living area - more ideal with kids (coffee shops are boring for kids).
3. Yes, especially the food and beverages offer, the ambience, furniture and strong a strong increase on prices.
4. No, not really. For families it is too expensive. Mostly no family friendly spaces or meal offers are available.
5. Yes, but only on weekends. What I mostly remember were the luxurious cakes in the offer.
6. I don't think so, as mostly only upper class people have the time and money to go there. There are no working class among the visitors and immigrants mostly stick together in their own, cheaper living areas and coffee shops. They also have different eating and drinking habits. The Viennese coffeehouse became a luxury item - consuming of time and spending money.

5) L.S., 23, female, student, single.

1. Yes, but only for the Austrian themselves, I am studying at an International School with a strong variety of culture and for them the coffee culture is more Starbucks and other fast food chains. A lot of them do not have any idea of the history and culture of the Viennese coffeehouse.
2. Not really, because I do not have enough pocket money or time. I also stay more often with younger people and try to avoid those tourists spots in the city.
3. It might be difficult for me to judge as I do not visit them, but I guess the service is lousier and there are only a few places left where you can still find the typical Viennese “Oberkellner.”¹⁸⁷⁾

I guess a lot of things changed because of the strong touristic focus of nowadays Viennese coffeehouses.
4. No, we all go for a fast coffee to the fast food shops offered around the university for take-away. Newspapers I also read online or in our library.
5. Yes, for my parents and grandparents. Especially for reading newspapers and enjoying special cakes and ice cream in the summer time.
6. I don't think so, because most of them do have other habits in their leisure time or belong to the working class, who does not have time or money. Also, especially in Vienna there are outer districts with mostly people and immigrants from other nations and the traditional and famous coffeehouses are all in our so called “Speckgürtel”¹⁸⁸⁾ where they do not normally spend their time.

187) German for “Head waiter.”

188) Common expression for a outer, mostly wealthy district of a town.

6) A.V., 18, female, vocational trainee, single, immigrant from Poland.

1. Yes, especially if you search for the history of the very old ones. As I moved already at the age of 4 with my mom to Vienna, I was taught in school on the main historical elements of Austria and Vienna.
2. Not at all, because I am not interested in them. I do not have the money or even time and prefer to hang out with friends in typical “youngster places” where we do not have coffee at all, but I think for the elderly people, it is important.
3. I cannot really judge it, but I think that Starbucks and all other chains like our beloved “McCafé” among younger people is already offering a huge variety of coffee, cakes and breakfast possibilities.
4. No, not at all, but I appreciate it as a strong part of Austrian culture and tradition.
5. No, because we are people from the working class and living on the country side outside of Vienna, where there is not such an offer.
6. For me, not at all, because there is not really the opportunity or possibility to meet people and exchange ideas, but I know a few alternative culture coffee shops, some of them are managed and run by integration and immigration organizations that perhaps have a very good influence.

7) E.M., 54, female, married, 1 kid, entrepreneur, running a bar, trained Barista.

1. Yes, indeed it is a very strong part for the Austrian people, history and society. I also appreciate it and I am convinced that it is indeed a national heritage. It helps to differentiate from other countries and mentalities (in terms of food and beverages), it incorporates a strong history (Music, literature, important intellectuals) and it attracts tourism as well as it serves as an “export article.”
2. It was also a main element in my family history.
3. Yes, a very strong one. Every weekend we share breakfast together with my parents in law and the old grandmother, exchange ideas and have wonderful discussions. My son is not using it but we introduced him to the culture, but the young generation is different. “Coffee-to-go” instead of enjoyment and relaxation.
4. No, because working in a bar, I brew my own coffee. Maybe sometimes. Perhaps when we have a family breakfast on a special occasion.
5. See above answer.
6. The location, somehow the interior but especially the service. No more regulars, who were served automatically without an extra order. Somehow the menu card, it shifted from coffee and cake to other hot dishes attracting tourists and visitors of Vienna.

Also, there are smaller coffee-shops, partly in shopping centres, big companies and other public locations. It is difficult to say, as I am not using them so frequently, but I guess no. Perhaps Depending on the living area, I do appreciate the “Shiska coffee shop”¹⁸⁹⁾ where younger people can get together and do not chat only via SMS or FACEBOOK.

189) These special coffee shops offer traditional oriental water pipes to their guests.

8) S.H., 60, male, entrepreneur, divorced, one kid.

1. Yes, of course, I strongly identify myself with the Viennese coffeehouse as I was always living in Vienna and enjoyed always the offer of the old traditional ones with my family.
2. Yes, because I am spending my lunch break mostly at the coffeehouse around the corner and because I am single, I enjoy the breakfast over the weekend with friends.
3. Most of the old ones I do know are nowadays renovated – unfortunately not according to the old tradition. I also have a much better service on my mind but this is also due to the fact that a lot of Non–Austrians are now working there. Another change I see is in the atmosphere, because in former times people spend much more time – for more relaxation and calmness.
4. Yes, a strong one. It is also the location where I can relax from my daily work.
5. Yes, also my daughter appreciate and use it already frequently with her friends. I also remember some nice afternoons with my grandparents in different old ones where I got a hot chocolate and a luxurious cake.
6. I completely disagree, because if I think about my personal daily coffee stay at the Coffeehouse, only local Austrian (Viennese) people are inside and everyone is on his own.

9) M.S., 34, male, waiter, working in tourism, single, no kids.

1. Yes, because I am half Greek and coffee always had a strong importance and influence on people and societies.
2. No, as I am working in the tourism sector, I mostly spend my leisure time outdoors or at sport clubs.
3. The offer, the personal service, a lot of foreigners are working in this business and do not really understand the tradition and the cultural heritage.
4. Yes, because I am working there and can observe people, their different habits and manners in enjoying the coffeehouse.

But our coffee shop does not belong to the typical Viennese coffeehouse that I knew, when I was in school.

5. Yes, when I was living in Greece, all men enjoyed coffee, but our Coffeehouses are very different. When I moved to Austria I started to enjoy the traditional ones, as I heard a lot about them. I am personally very much interested in the culture and tradition in Austria.
6. This is very difficult to say - but to be honest; I guess that there are other organisations or events that could be a bigger help and support the integration or better understanding of each other.

10) T.H., 50, male, employee, single, one kid.

1. Yes, but I guess there other elements that are much more important like musicians, architects, literature or even companies like the “Bösendorfer” piano, Lipizzaner horses etc.
2. No, because I prefer chilling at home and in the western part of Austria, where I live. It is much more different. We spend more time in the nature during summer and wintertime, so coffeehouses in general are less important in our lives.
3. Architecture, interior design, that’s my business actually, and value for money is decreasing at many Viennese coffeehouses.
4. Yes, but only on Saturdays, when we always meet with friends for breakfast and discussions.
5. No, because our family runs a company and everybody have to work ever since, even us as kids. My son is living in Germany, so in this matter I do not have a strong influence on him.
6. Difficult to judge, but perhaps for the younger people who meet in the modern coffee shops or chill out locations, this might be true.

11) J.H.(from Romania), 34, female, waitress in Restaurant, married, no kids.

1. Yes, I nearly spend my whole life already in Austria, so I do appreciate and know the culture. I strongly believe that it belongs to Austria and its national heritage. Everybody is very proud of it and I think people in Austria and especially in Vienna, frequently use it.
2. Yes, in my opinion it goes together with Austria and its main cities, but mainly with Vienna and its old tradition of sweet dishes such as the 'Sachertorte.'
3. A huge new range for younger target customer groups with fewer atmosphere and less service. Also, the way how people use it and how long they stay and the consumption changed.
4. No, not really, but when I am not working, I meet with friends, sometimes in the Café Hawelka or to other old coffeehouses, mainly located in the City of Vienna.
5. Not really. My mom is a cook and did not have time or money.
6. According to my personal experience, I would say no. I do more believe in the occasion of meeting other nationalities in business or sport and leisure clubs, where you stay and spend a lot of time together.

12) G.B., 54, male, married, 2 children, entrepreneur.

1. Yes indeed, and I personally appreciate that it had been acknowledged as a national culture heritage. It also helps the Austrians to identify themselves and to “sell” their culture abroad.
2. Yes, because it is my personal office. I only meet with people for business in coffee shops. Depending on the situation, I use different ones, but my personal favourite is the Café Landtmann.
3. Price, Value, Service at the Viennese coffeehouse definitely changed and there is a huge shift from Austrian customers to more foreign tourists and therefore touristic offers at these locations.
4. Yes, because I like the relaxed atmosphere in the coffeehouse. I am outside of the office and company and most of them are already non-smoking or they have a cosy garden outside, where you can do also business.
5. Yes, my father and grandfather also used the coffeehouse as an office and as a meeting place.
6. This is difficult to say because especially the Viennese ones are concentrated in the first district and therefore more frequented by businessmen, tourists and not immigrants or even working class.

13) B.M., 25, male, single, no kids, employee.

1. Of course. I strongly appreciate that the Viennese coffeehouse has been acknowledged as a cultural property by the UNESCO. I heard about this project by a friend, who is a barista. The Viennese coffeehouse owes it. It is a part of Austrian culture.
2. Yes, especially since I live in Vienna, because I am from the country side in Salzburg. I am from a small village, where we mostly have only one or two bakeries/coffee shops.
3. Yes, it is going into a highly sophisticated direction. Coffee design, coffee art competitions and so on. I think these factors influence also the traditional coffeehouse. Stylish, more architectural involvement and perhaps additional new target groups. Somehow there is an art of coffee.
4. In my daily life, not really. Mostly Coffee-to-go - but when we have coffee in a more formal situation or for relaxation, we prefer the Café Hawelka or Café Central. Especially, when we have family visits or friends from abroad, also because of the piano evenings at these places.
5. Mostly on Sundays, our family visited the bakery-shops.
6. I don't believe it, because most people go on their own or with friends and family but not to meet new people. Also, it is a question of money and time, same works for my girlfriend and with me.

14) S.K., 46, female, single, no kid, university employee.

1. Yes. I am historian. I was more than interested into this project and appreciate being Austrian and from Vienna.
2. Yes, deeply as I am there every evening, reading international newspapers, enjoying my evening cup of coffee and always on my own. It is different than being at home and I enjoy myself strongly.
3. It is depending on the coffeehouses. Some of them have been renovated; some lost a lot of their former charm but hygienic wise it is of course important. Others are not my taste, like the new stylish ones. Also in the modern ones there is a loss of traditional atmosphere and flair as well as there is a loss of service. Also, prices have grown enormously, so not everybody can afford it.
4. Yes, because it is my “finish of the working day”, but also over the weekends.
5. Yes strongly, especially my father and grandfather—also Addicted to international newspapers do and did use it a lot. I try to advise my students to go there and read the newspapers.
6. I think somehow yes, but more in the students coffeehouses, some of them explicitly are aiming to get together. We have some around the universities with activities such as music evenings and lectures, philosophic offers.

15) M.L., 33, female, single, entrepreneur, no kid

1. Yes, I was born in Vienna and brought up with the traditions of Austria, coming from a very conservative family. Therefore, I do understand the UNESCO project deeply and appreciate it as we lose a lot of values and are strongly influenced by all the people living here from different countries, somehow overtaking the Austrians and their traditional culture.
2. Yes, because I like to chill there, but I also use it frequently for business purposes. It is somehow a cosy home, where you can stay on your own or be with friends in a most comfortable “secured” and calm atmosphere.
3. The people, the offer, the service and of course the pricing strategy. Also the furniture in the new ones, are more stylish and cool.
4. Yes, a strong one, because I have a very stressful business and I can relax immediately on arrival. Also, because all my important meetings. My company is located outside Vienna. I can organize one meeting after the other at once without being disturbed by phone calls, E-mail or other factors.
5. Yes, I was brought up more or less with my grandparents and we frequently went there, especially after skating or walking in wintertime. I do remember very cosy afternoons mostly in the traditional ones as Café Central, Landtmann and others. Additionally the variety of coffee is so different with taste and experimental toppings what I personally dislike.
6. No! Not at all, I guess.

16) D.P., 52, female, married, 3 kids (Husband is from Hungary)

1. For me, the Viennese coffeehouse is really worth being protected as a cultural property, especially as more and more different influences are attracting the Austrian heritage and culture.
2. Not really, as we are both busy over the week and on weekend we mostly spend in Hungary on the countryside. But somehow yes, as if I rarely have time I always meet my old female friends from school there, mostly in the same two traditional coffee shops or let me say coffee and pastry shops.
3. To be honest, I don't know very much about it, but perhaps it is this new coffee-to-go tradition, that changed the Viennese coffeehouse- what I personally dislike as well as the stylish ones. In my two beloved ones, perhaps prices changed and younger waiters (mostly students) are now working there instead.
4. No, not in my daily business. I have no time to go, because if I would go I would like to have time. But as my husband is from Hungary, we also appreciate the Hungarian coffeehouses, also the old traditional ones.
5. No. As we did not have enough money. We are four kids and also owned a house on the country side where we passed the weekends. Therefore, there is no real coffeehouse tradition in our family.
6. Perhaps in the students' shops - we live around the University in Graz. I think people - especially the younger ones are mixing up more and more. But the elderly... not really, because most of them are on their own.

17) T.P., 53, male, 4 Kids, divorced, remarried, medical professor.

1. I did not know about this project, really UNESCO? Wow, but anyhow worth for protection.
2. I think it is a part of the culture, but personally I would not miss it, perhaps later, when all the kids are out of the house.
3. I think all this nonsense with toppings, tastes etc. but to say something positive I do like the “Barista society” seeing it as a very valuable and appreciated food product.
4. No, I do not have time. I work a lot and the kids are also very tiring, as we have one handicapped child and twins.
5. No, not at all. We were always involved in sports, outdoor activities or others.
6. I don't think so, but as I am not visiting it, perhaps, I am not the right one to ask. But in the hospital, sitting together, meet with everybody and with your colleagues I am sure it helps for gathering together. Therefore it has a meaning of integration and if you want to say so, also intercultural competency are trained as we have a lot of people working with us from the former eastern countries and Hungary.

18) G.G., 60, male, 2 Kids, self-employed.

1. I appreciate and admire the Viennese coffeehouse tradition, but I would not regard it as a national property. That is exaggerated.

Reason 1: There are other cities inside and outside the country, which have a similar coffeehouse culture tradition for example Paris, Budapest and many more.

Reason 2: There are also other Viennese gastronomic facilities, which I like. But they are not national cultural heritages (Viennese guesthouse¹⁹⁰⁾ culture or the local wine house¹⁹¹⁾ culture).

2. Yes, I would miss the Viennese coffeehouse very much.

I would subdivide my favourite coffeehouses into 3 categories – depending on the occasion:

- 1) The traditional Viennese coffeehouse like Café Central, Landtmann, Ritter and others.
- 2) Modern coffee shops.
- 3) Coffee and pastry shops.

What would I miss? Since I was a student I daily visit (only on weekdays) the coffeehouse for breakfast (two small mochas and a sandwich). Being a very punctual person I am mostly too early for my appointments. The time in between I love to stay at a coffeehouse and enjoy a cup of coffee. I love Espresso coffee, especially in the morning and very late in the evening. Reading Newspapers... I love that. Simply sitting around at a window place with an Espresso in front of me and watching the environment. Simply using the rest room.

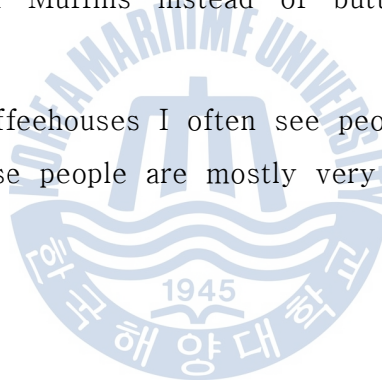
3. The coffeehouse plays an important part in my life. It needs not to be always the traditional one, because I also like to visit the modern

190) These simple guesthouses or corner restaurants are called “Beisl” in Vienna.

191) These wine houses which sell self made wines are called “Heurigen” in Vienna.

coffee shops and the pastry shops.

4. The coffeehouse did not play any role in my family. I also do not actively transfer my love to the coffeehouse to the next generation. Sometimes my wife joins me, but she is not really into it. That's why she does not want to answer to this interview.
5. There are no specific changes inside the Viennese coffeehouse in my opinion yet. But many of the typical coffeehouse visitors are getting older, some already passed away. Maybe the attitude of the younger population changed towards the coffeehouse tradition. The majority of them prefer the American style of coffee drinking for example Starbucks, McCafé, aromatized coffees, Café Latte instead of a Melange, Bagel and Muffins instead of butter sandwich and apple strudel and so on.
6. In the traditional coffeehouses I often see people with an emigrational background. But these people are mostly very well integrated into the Austrian society.



2. Questionnaire of Group II: Coffeehouse professionals

Allgemeine Informationen (*General information about the interviewees*)

Name: Vorname, Nachname nur ersten Buchstaben.

→ *Only the first letter of the prename and family name*)

Alter: (nur ungefähre Angabe)

→ *(Age: about age of the interviewee)*

Geschlecht: M/W.

→ *(Sex: Male or Female)*

Beruf: Student/Selbstständig/Angestellt/Pensionist

→ *(Profession of the Interviewee)*

Welche Bedeutung hat für sie die Wiener Kaffeehauskultur? Hat es Ihrer Meinung nach eine berechtigte Stelle als immaterielles nationales Kulturerbe?

(What is the meaning of the Viennese coffeehouse culture for you? Does it have in your opinion the right to be considered as an intangible national cultural heritage?)

Frage 1: Sehen Sie persönlich das Wiener Kaffeehaus als nationales Kulturerbe? Wenn ja, warum?

(Question 1: Do you personally consider the Viennese coffeehouse as a national cultural heritage? If yes, why?)

Frage 2: Würden Sie das Wiener Kaffeehaus vermissen, wenn es nicht mehr existieren würde? (Würde es Ihnen fehlen, wenn es abwesend wäre?)

(Question 2: Would you miss the Viennese coffeehouse, if it would not exist anymore?)

Frage 3: Was hat sich Ihrer Meinung nach an der Wiener Kaffeehauskultur geändert?

(Question 3: Does the Viennese coffeehouse play any role in your personal daily life? Why? Why not?)

Frage 4: Spielt das Wiener Kaffeehaus eine Rolle In Ihrem persönlichen Alltag? Warum? Warum nicht?

(Question 4: Did the coffeehouse play an important role in your family? To you transfer this tradition to the next generation?)

Frage 5: Hat das Kaffeehaus in Ihrer Familie eine besondere Rolle gespielt? Geben Sie diese Tradition weiter?

(Question 5: In your opinion: What are the changes of the Viennese coffeehouse culture)

Frage 6: Leistet die Wiener Kaffeehauskultur einen positiven Beitrag zur Integration von Fremden und zur interkulturellen Kompetenz der Bevölkerung?

(Question 6: Does the Viennese coffeehouse culture do its positive part for the integration of strangers (immigrants) and for the intercultural competency of the (local) citizen?)

Frage 7: Thema "Glokalisierung": Könnten Sie sich persönlich vorstellen, daß die Wiener Kaffeehauskultur auch ins Ausland exportiert werden könnte? Wenn ja wieso?

(Question 7: About "Glocalisation": Could you personally imagine that the Viennese coffeehouse culture can be also exported abroad to foreign countries? If yes, why ?)

Frage 8: Wie beurteilen Sie persönlich die Zukunft und das Überleben der Wiener Kaffeehäuser?

(Question 8: How do you see the future perspectives and the survival of the Viennese coffeehouse?)

Interview results II: Coffeehouse professionals

1) T.K., 46, married, male, 2 kids, (Café Glacis, Graz)

1. As being in the gastronomy after high school, I know of course about the discussion with UNESCO. Having my own coffee shop in the city of Graz for nearly 10 years, I strongly believe in it as a part of our culture and living.
2. Of course, because I am there every day and we mostly have frequent young guests who come several times a week. If I would have to stop my business, I am sure I would still go to a nice old coffee shop.
3. A lot. Very different offers, especially for students and young working professionals and a good mix-up of people going there. Somehow the quality in service changed, where I personally would strongly look after, as it is an important part of it.
4. Yes, of course. It is financing and easing my family and life.
5. Yes, because my parents started at a different location, but we are already in the second generation now, so I have been brought up with this culture.
6. I don't think so, really. Graz is a small town and people are more the type of frequent guests, the traditional ones are especially somehow not open for the average customer.
7. Yes, I guess. But only if there is somebody running it from Austria and knowing exactly what he or she is doing or at least teaching and training foreign staff in this matter. We already do have some very successful examples, also coming through the high end cooking culture from Austria.
8. Very good, as people cannot always afford a full meal, they prefer a coffee, newspaper, relaxing and chilling for cheap money.

2) A.P., married, female, 2 kids, 74, owner of a traditional old coffee shop (Café – Konditorei Putz, located at the 16th district of Vienna)

1. Yes, of course, because it is our life and spending it together with my husband for 49 years now. My kids already run our second one around the corner. We both appreciate the UNESCO decision.
2. Of course, we spend most of the time there and know nearly all our customers, like friends for years.
3. A lot. I strongly dislike this new coffee-to-go culture and the chains, but we are both old and maybe too traditional. Also, the offer is often mixed up with a restaurant what I dislike too. Sometimes even the cakes are not at all handmade like ours and the owners try to save money on the quality.
4. What a question!
5. Yes, as my parents started to help during the first years and we frequently spend time to see other concepts over the weekends. Also, as a kid with my grandparents, we went to a coffeehouse nearby, it was mostly seen as a luxurious event.
6. Not in ours at all, we only have frequent customers from the area and no Turkish people nevertheless we are in the middle of the “Brunnenmarkt.”¹⁹²⁾ The other coffee shops I cannot judge.
7. What does this mean? Ah, ok, export of the culture. I don’t think so, but we do not travel a lot, so I have not really an idea about it. Perhaps if an Austrian opens one somewhere. Yes, it could be possible.
8. It depends strongly if you find somebody who is willing to do that hard work and being a successor and also depending if you find brilliant friendly Austrian staff. But as it survived for ages, yes!

192) The “Brunnenmarkt” area in Vienna is mostly inhabited by Turks and other immigrants.

3) J.C., 22, female, polish background, waitress, working part-time in a traditional coffeehouse in the 16th district of Vienna.

1. I did not know this and do not clearly understand why, but I like the Austrian culture and get more and more adapted to it - so I would guess the UNESCO know what they are doing.
2. Not really, because with my friends we prefer other places, but as working place with all the old people I like it very much and would some miss my customers.
3. I think the way how especially younger ones enjoy their coffee; it is more a side activity on the street and not with style, such as nice cups, a tablecloth and good service. It changed mostly to self-service. Just think about McDonalds. Although, they do a good quality for a very low price.
4. No, I am studying and part time working, so only little time and money, but for my customers yes, they all live in the area and meet nearly daily, it's a part of their living room for chatting, playing cards and not being alone.
5. No, we are a very different hard working culture. If I would remain in Austria with a family yes, it strongly belongs to Vienna.
6. I am from abroad but I don't think so.
7. Never heard about this word, but as you say, export, yes because the world and the globalisation helps and leads to a strong and fast exchange of culture. Especially food and beverages. Chinese, Japanese and all other food, especially on the "Naschmarkt"¹⁹³⁾ and at other student areas.

193) The "Naschmarkt" is one of Vienna's most famous markets. It is mostly known for its exotic foodstuff.

8. I strongly believe that the typical customer will sooner or later die and I do not see the huge acceptance of the younger ones. Perhaps for business the Café Landtmann, where I personally would not like to work.

4) E.M., 55, female, married, 3 kids, running an old theatre coffee shop at the 8th district of Vienna

1. I did not know about it, but it is a strong part of the Austrian heritage and culture.
2. Yes, of course, otherwise I could not do this job, it is a very special atmosphere and tradition.
3. In our job not really a lot, but the other ones I know, are trying to renovate and go with the time. They are more cool and stylish and are trying also to attract youngsters, what is not at all our job.
4. Yes, my husband (a confectioner and pastry chef) is running it for already 30 years.
5. No, because I was born on the countryside, but for my husband job wise, yes.
6. I don't believe, most of the other nations stick together in their own restaurant, Turkish restaurant, Chinese e.g. and others. But perhaps it will soon change among the younger ones as I see with my kids.
7. Ah, you mean export it to other countries. I think there are some in expensive hotels, but then you have to have the original food and coffee, I guess.
8. Yes, we are here for a long time and it is a good business, perhaps our customers are aging but time will come and we will see if our kids will have the same all tradition or change everything.

5) M.S., 44, male, single, owner of a coffeehouse in Vienna for
20 years

1. Yes, it is a very integrated part of our Viennese culture, in other Austrian cities not that much.
2. Yes, I personally like to chill with other friends and see how competition is doing, as I do a lot of sports in my leisure time a like to chill if I am not in my own one working.
3. In the old ones not a lot, but the new ones are more restaurant style with self-service instead of our excellent service.
4. Yes, privately and professionally.
5. Yes, my parents actually had their own shop, but they sold it already.
6. In ours for sure, as we have a more intellectual clientele, a lot of people from the nearby University and international organizations.
7. Yes, but depending where and how. It needs a clear concept and Austrian staff at least at the beginning.
8. They will indeed survive, perhaps decrease in number, but anyhow, they will survive.

6) M.F., 56, male, owner of a coffeehouse for over 35 years and since 5 years owner of a stylish new coffee shop in Graz.

1. Yes, it is a strong part of our national heritage, perhaps more in Vienna where I did my first vocational training.
2. Yes, very much, as I am somehow my own customer.
3. The architecture (see my second one), the clientele in the fancy one, the offering, less newspapers, more alcohol and the food changed.
4. Of course, I spend most of my time there, even I do not work, like to meet with people in my own ones or other and it also serves as my office.
5. No, my parents are coming from the countryside, so not at all, mostly during Christmas time when we went for shopping at the Styria capital of Graz.
6. Not in mine.
7. Yes why not, depending on a clear concept, the country and city and of course the management and the team.
8. Yes, I do believe, as we are still there.

7) R.F., 52, female, owns a bakery and coffeehouse in the second generation, near the area of University in Graz, 55, divorced, working with her son, 32.

1. It is an important part of our national heritage but there are others too, like wines, oils, food, and classic music and so on.
2. I was brought up there and still working there and I like it very much. Nevertheless my son is running the business already.
3. A lot, but not in a positive sense, I think. I personally dislike fancy furniture where you are expected to be cool and stylish.
4. Since ever of course.
5. Yes, as my parents started it and it is a very old and traditional for the people of this area, but also for the students - we are even called HÖRSAAL F (German for Lecture Hall F).
6. In ours, yes, as all students meet up here, learn together or enjoy coffee and others things inside our café and outside in our garden.
7. Not really, but perhaps I do not know to answer this question.
8. I strongly believe in it. Especially the traditional ones, there are only a few left in Graz, but otherwise I would have never advised my son to take over the business.

8) G.H., from Hungary, 52, female, working in a coffee shop kitchen and in the service in a very old and traditional coffeehouse in Vienna dated back to 1697, married, 2 kids.

1. Yes, also in my home country. I think it is an important part of our culture, same for Austria, we also have this traditional so called nowadays “spas” that is a strong part of our culture.
2. I am now working here for about more than 5 years and strongly appreciate it.
3. I cannot really say, but I guess the way how people drink coffee out of a paper cup everywhere. For me, it was always to enjoy a special, relaxing and nice location.
4. Personally not, but professionally of course and now also for most of our guest who come for coffee or for our lunch offer.
5. Not in Hungary, but since I am living here, we go there for birthdays or on other special occasions.
6. I don't think so. We have only Austrian guests.
7. Yes, of course, everybody likes Austria, so I think that this would be a good idea, but focus must be also on the quality of the Austrian cakes and the culture to drink and celebrate coffee, just like in Japan, where I saw once a traditional tea ceremony.
8. No, because I think from year to year, there are less “traditional Austrians” coffee addicted people and coffee in the typical old coffeehouse is somehow disappearing.

9) F.D., 56, female, Tea & Coffee shop owner in third generation in the centre of Graz

1. Of course and we all appreciated the decision of the UNESCO. We have been somehow involved by discussing with other people of the board, as we are a very traditional tea and coffee family.
2. If you ask for Viennese ones, difficult as we are mostly living in Graz, but I think for Vienna, especially for the tourism, it would be a big loss. We just got another “Sacher coffee shop” what is not accepted by the locals, but very attractive for our tourists, especially those from Italy.
3. In Vienna, I do not know too much to judge about it, but in Graz a lot of things changed. One of the famous coffeehouses recently closed and most of them are bought out by the franchise business. Mostly American or from wherever, aiming at the new target group – the younger generation.
4. Yes, but we are also visiting others. Traditionally, in our free time, with the whole family, if possible.
5. Yes, of course – we are in the third generation now. No question at all.
6. Not in Graz, as people do have huge prejudices against foreigners and do not want to integrate at all.
7. Yes, we have very good examples already, but nevertheless, only the old and famous ones in Vienna just as the Café Hawelka, Central and alike. They will stay, for what they are standing for. The others will disappear.
8. I am convinced that they will survive, but mostly the traditional ones that have their clientele and which are strongly focused on service.

10) C.S., 42 J, male, married, 1 child, formerly owned a coffeehouse in the city of Krems

1. I do really not now about this project, but I like the Austrian way of coffee culture as I went to a tourism school. Anyhow, it is a strong cultural part of our country.
2. Yes, of course, I am no longer working there due to health reasons, but I would definitely go there.
3. Everything. Especially concerning the new ones, that came up recently. The culture, the offer, the people, nothing is the same as we learned it at school. Then additionally, the free internet is a completely nonsense. It is not fitting to a typical Viennese coffeehouse where people met, read, listen to live music performances or just met for business or any other reasons.
4. Yes, I meet with there with my wife, my family and cousins when they come to Vienna and sometimes I go there on my own to relax.
5. Not so far, we have been brought up on the countryside. The city of Krems is nowadays a hot spot for tourism, but not when I was young.
6. Somehow yes, but the question is, if there is an additional offer in that sense.
7. No, not at all – it is just fitting to the Austrian people being very comfortable. Anything else is just a lousy copy, in my opinion.
8. Yes, the very famous old ones of course, the other ones I strongly doubt it.

11) H.W., 70, female, formerly run a small coffeehouse in Vienna for 45 years, retired now, widow, no kids.

1. Cultural heritage – no, not really, but it is a traditional and very old institution.
2. No, I am so tired from work and I am more focusing now on my garden, but in general words spoken, of course it belongs there.
3. Difficult to judge. I am not going to a lot of other places accept the nearby Café Hummel. Sometimes after work, and they renovated their location, but not completely.
4. No longer anymore, as I will close and do not have a successor.
5. Yes, in former times it was a family run business. It was a meeting and melting point of everything discussed in our family. So did other families.
6. No, I don't think so.
7. No, I don't believe it. But perhaps because of the globalization it might be possible.
8. Yes I am convinced about that. But some (coffeehouses) will be closed down because of the lack of people willing to overtake the business and work hard for it.

12) A.M., 52, male, working at a famous Café in Vienna.

1. I started very young working at the Café Sacher like most of our staff in the coffee shop. Especially for the tourists, it is a part of Austrian heritage and culture and they are all standing in lines for years to get a table, even during winter time.
2. Yes, a lot. I am now working at a bar and prefer, to be honest, a coffeehouse with a lot of tradition, history and service.
3. A lot and I strongly regret it. It is very difficult to run a business traditionally without adapting to the changes and the fast development in the century of media, internet, facebook, most people are always online. That disturbs any relaxed atmosphere.
4. Not every day, but in my free time, I love to “hide” and relax without any guests and being known.
5. Not really, we are not a coffee family.
6. It depends. At least, it opens a new world to foreigners, tourists and all others living in the city and if we start with this cultural migration programs, all typical Austrian cultural heritages and characteristics should also be integrated, as we also adapt to other cultures when we travel there.
7. I think some people try hard, but it will always remain more or less a copy – a better or a lousier one.
8. Yes, of course it will survive, not all of them – but Austrian people love it and the tourists perhaps even more.

13) T.G., 46, divorced, male, 3 kids, living in Moscow, running
JULIUS MEINL (Coffee) distribution and coffeehouse chain

1. Yes, indeed, that's why the MEINL group decided to go to Russia and to other places.
2. Yes, a lot. I frequently go to coffee shops for business and any other reason even if I only want to check on our competitors.
3. The offer, the competition, the variety, the architecture, the management - I think everything was turned upside down.
4. Yes, always, also in my family.
5. Yes, I do, especially when I am in Austria, I want my girls to learn about the tradition, history, functions, et cetera.
6. I would express it differently - it offers a part of the Austrian culture to foreign people living here or being tourists, some of it is reality and heritage, some of it is more a prejudice - but this is everywhere the same.
7. Yes, therefore our shops are expanding more and more.
8. Yes, but if you ask for the coffeehouse tradition. I doubt it.

14) A.P., 29, female, professional barista, half French and Austrian, single but in partnership, no kids, working on a public market with an open coffee shop.

1. Not really, but not so much about history. More on quality and product knowledge and enjoyment.
2. No, because I do not use it. I just enjoy to sell coffee and to brew it at our booth.
3. I just moved here a few years ago, working abroad in gastronomy, so it is difficult to guess.
4. No, I do prefer other locations or prefer to stay at home and cook myself, otherwise some of the more modern ones I would visit.
5. No, my parents are separated, but I guess my mom prefers the typical cafés in Paris.
6. More or less depending on the location – at our booth everybody meets– but they are mostly tourists or frequent clients. But this is not a reason for intercultural competency, it is just for chatting.
7. I don't see the opportunity; each country is very different, especially in terms of food and beverages.
8. Yes. I am sure. Especially Austria is depending on tourism, so we will still need it in future – Café Sacher, Imperial and so on and also the coffee and pastry shops.

15) C.H., 24, male, single, working partly coffee brewery, partly selling coffee at a coffee shop.

1. Yes, I think it is a part of our culture, also like the 'Wiener Schnitzel'.
2. Not really, because I am working in this business I spend my leisure time differently.
3. The offer, the customers, the coffee quality, the art and culture of coffee making and others.
4. No, I don't know, perhaps later, now I am more teaching adults on the culture.
5. A lot. I don't know if there is still "The Vienna Coffee Culture." The offer is changing and young customers demand something different.
6. No, I don't think so - how and why? I do not understand the question.
7. Yes, we also try hard to sell, but only to partners who do understand the matter.
8. Of course it will survive, it is a must. But for different customers in different channels.

16) M.P., 39, male, working in a coffee roasting company for 9 years, fix relationship, employee

1. Yes, born in Styria¹⁹⁴⁾ I strongly see the embedment of the coffeehouses here in Vienna. Local people and tourists alike are addicted to the offer and the old tradition.
2. Yes, it is a part of my new home.
3. Since I am in Vienna, a lot of things changed. More offer, more coffee-to-go shops, strong dominance of Starbucks and other chains on the mass target groups, but on the other hand what I do appreciate most is 'Quality first'. There will be further developments due to a growing competence and completion.
4. Somehow yes, as I have to supply a lot of them and exchange ideas, improvements, the culture of serving, but I also have a high excitement on the options here.
5. No, I am from the country side. This is different there.
6. At least among the "local" population coming from other, smaller cities in Austria.
7. Yes, of course, every one of our team is working on it.
8. It will survive and remain, but only the best ones.

194) Styria (English name for Steiermark) is one of the nine provinces In Austria.

3. List of Viennese Coffee specialties¹⁹⁵⁾

The inventory of Vienna coffee types easily lists more than forty different specialties, and no city or nation can boast of having more. The spectrum listed below, ranges from ‘purist’ black coffee to compositions that include opulent ingredients such as fine spirits, cream and toppings. There are at least half–dozen different ways of combining coffee, milk and cream. More than a few Viennese coffee specialties have puzzling names as ‘Überstürzter Neumann’ or ‘Fiaker’ (which refers in Vienna to coaches), making it obvious that a thorough investigation of this highly diverse microcosm requires serious studies. There is historical evidence for a number of coffee compositions that no longer exist on the menus.¹⁹⁶⁾

Coffee name	Recipe
Almkaffee/Gebirgskaffee	Coffee with whipped cream, egg yolk, fruit brandy.
Biedermeier/Schale Braun	Half coffee, half milk.
Großer Brauner	Double mocha with coffee cream in a big bowl.
Doppelter Mokka	Double espresso (mocha) in a big bowl.
Einspänner	Small mocha in a glass with lots of whipped cream.
Eiskaffee englischer Art	One third coffee, one third ice, one third cream.
Fiaker	Big sweet mocha in a glass with a shot of rum.
Franziskaner	Light colored “Melange” with whipped cream.
Gespritzter	Black coffee with brandy or rum.
Schale(rl) Gold	Coffee with cream (brighter in color compared to a Brauner).
Häferlkaffee	Coffee in a mug with lots of milk.
Intermezzo	Small mocha, with hot chocolate and Creme de Cacao stirred and whipped cream with chocolate candy.
Kaffee Kirsch	Coffee with cherry liqueur.
Kaffee Verkehrt	Coffee mixed in a relation 2/3 Milk und 1/3 Coffee.
Kapuziner	Black coffee with a shot of cream.
Katerkaffee	Strong mocha, which is sweetened with sugar, which has been treated with lemon skin in advance.

195) Refer to: http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liste_von_Kaffepezialit%C3%A4ten

196) Palais Events, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

Coffee name	Recipe
Kleine Schale Gold	Espresso in a small cup which can be made with less water on request.
Kleiner Brauner	Simple mocha with milk or cream in a small bowl.
Konsul	Mocha with a little bit of cream.
Kosakenkaffee	Small mocha in a glass, mixed with sugar syrup, red wine and vodka.
Marghiloman	Mocha with cognac.
Mazagran	Sweet cold coffee with crushed ice and brandy/cognac or maraschino liqueur.
Melange	Half coffee, half milk.
Kaisermelange	Mocha with egg yolk, honey and brandy.
Wiener Melange	Melange, with Milk foam served in a glass.
Maria Theresia	Mocha with a shot of orange liqueur.
Mocha gespritzt	Mocha with brandy/cognac und rum.
Othello	Hot chocolate with espresso.
Obermayer	A mocha where the ice cold cream is put into the cup on the backside of a coffee spoon.
Piccolo	Small black coffee with whipped cream.
Großer Schwarzer	Double Mocha in a big bowl.
Kleiner Schwarzer	Single Mocha in a small bowl.
Sperbertürke	Strong Turkish style coffee cooked with sugar cubes.
Türkischer Kaffee passiert	The Turkish-style coffee has been filtered out in this version.
Überstürzter Neumann	Whipped cream will be put first into the cup and afterwards the hot coffee comes over the top.
Ungarischer Kaffee	Very sweet iced coffee mixed with cooled, whipped cream and served in a glass.
Verlängerter	Small espresso filled up with hot water.
Weißer mit Haut	A light "Melange" (light colored milk coffee), served with hot milk. (Milk skin must appear).
Zarenkaffee	Strong espresso, served with sweet egg yolk foam on the top.

4. Growing Up With Coffee (Essay courtesy by Anna Kim¹⁹⁷)

Munich International Airport: Sitting in a restaurant–slash–café, where you have to walk up to the counter and order a pizza or a cup of coffee and take it to an empty, sticky table, I wish and can't stop wishing, I was in a coffeehouse, in a Kaffeehaus, preferably in a real Viennese one, as coffeehouses in other places tend to differ from the ones I grew up with: they are busier, people sit together in crowds and not transformed into lonesome little isles in a pond of small square tables and wooden or plush chairs, reading a newspaper, book or magazine or scribbling busily in their notebooks, and there is no music, no chatting, but silence, deep, magnificent silence rivaled only by those in chapels or churches. In fact, even when you order your drink, you should do it by keeping your voice down, never shout your order, eine Melange, bitte, or call out to the waiter, Herr Kellner., as he will ignore you, and from that moment on, you will wait for your drink, snack or bill for hours and hours. But if you embrace the possibility of spending quality time on your own, you will be welcomed in the Kaffeehaus. Every Viennese remembers their first time in a coffeehouse, the first drink they ordered and their first encounter with the waiter, how could we forget...

My very first visit to the Kaffeehaus took place, when I was twelve years old. Once my friends and I had decided we would go to Café Wunderer, a café close to our high school, we could not stop talking about it. Of course, we pretended to be totally uninvolved and very mature, for it was maturity we would gain by sitting and sipping a drink in a café.

197) Austrian–Korean writer Anna Kim was born in 1977 in Daejeon, South Korea. In 1979, the whole family moved to Germany because her father was appointed Visiting Professor for Fine Arts. Since then, she has returned to South Korea several times for short visits. She studied Philosophy and Theatre Studies at the University of Vienna and wrote her master thesis on G. Lukács' *Theory of the Novel*. She has published: *Anatomie einer Nacht* 2012 (*Anatomy of a Night* 2013), *Die gefrorene Zeit* 2008 (*Frozen Time* 2010), *Die Bilderspur*, *Invasionen des Privaten* and a collection of short stories, *Figure du souvenir/Die Form der Erinnerung* 2011. (Refer also to her personal website: <http://annakim.at/bio.html>)

It was an initiation rite, a major step towards adulthood:

Firstly, you would have to take up all your courage and walk into the café, a place, where only adults meet. In order to reduce your fear, you would do so by taking your friends with you.

Secondly, you would have to master the menu (what is a 'Kleiner Brauner', what the hell is a 'Verlängerter?'), so thirdly, you would have to order, with bright red cheeks, after a frantic discussion with your friends (who would all seem cooler than you) the only thing you would know from home: a cup of hot chocolate. So, there we were, sipping slightly embarrassed but happily three cups of hot chocolate, three twelve year-old girls, who believed, in that very moment, that being an adult meant going to and spending time in a café. This belief did not change for a long time. In these days, I felt grown-up just by passing through the door of a coffeehouse. Until now, I cannot help but feel older when I enter a café, put down my bag and book, and a waiter takes my order, but, alas, my taste has changed, hot chocolate is reserved for cafés in Brussels only, in Vienna I usually order a Melange, a small Espresso with milk and milk foam on top. I also feel relaxed the minute I sit down, a cup of coffee standing in front of me and all these people, young and old, fashionable and relics from another time and space, all having a hot drink and pouring over a newspaper, a magazine or a book. This kind of relaxation I only feel when I am in a Kaffeehaus: It differs from sitting on a bench in a sunny park and from lying on the couch in the living room.

Although I am relaxed, my mind is still working, it is not on stand-by. It even functions well than when I do my reading at home: I can think more clearly. This effect has been observed not only by me: Many are taking and have taken advantage from that kind of relaxed concentration, mostly people in the media and arts, journalists, artists, movie producers, directors and especially writers. Some of them, even today, manage to write only in their Kaffeehaus. Some even experiment with being in a

café: They choose a table next to a small group of people, a couple or two or three friends, hide behind their newspaper while they write down as fast as they can the conversation at the neighboring table. There have been plays written in that kind of fashion, but not just plays, pieces of poetry, even whole novels. Ulysses by James Joyce is, as I have always argued, a piece of Kaffeehausliteratur (coffeehouse literature) or rather „pub literature“ – but the differences between a Kaffeehaus and a pub are not that big: Granted, you would not really read your morning paper in your local pub (but there are people who would do that.), and if you chattered and laughed in that intensity in a café, you would soon be asked to chatter and laugh outside, but it is the meeting place (it is totally normal to spend four to five afternoons a week in a café) and the place where you can relax, enjoy time on your own but not be lonely.

When the first coffee shops opened in Vienna, I was told, that no real Viennese would ever buy a cup of coffee in a place like that., and for quite a long time, I denied that I actually liked these places almost as much as I liked my Kaffeehaus, for they are less intimidating: In some cafés, it can happen that the waiter will stare at you grumpily the minute you walk in, and you will feel as if you violated at least one rule: never come in uninvited. In other cafés, it will almost be impossible to pay the bill, as you seem not worthy for the attention of the waiter. Coffee shops are not choosy, anyone who can pay their bill is welcome, cafés are picky, they are almost discriminating – they emanate the flair that only the ones who fit in, may come in. Maybe that is why shortly after the introduction of coffee shops in Vienna, many cafés were closed down. Or maybe it is their choosiness, the way they ask the visitor to fight for his right to step in, that is old-fashioned, out-of-place...

Anyway, the Kaffeehauskultur is dead, long live the Kaffeehauskultur (coffeehouse culture).