

■ Unexpected musical worlds of Vienna: Immigration and music

Ursula Hemetek*

Abstract Vienna has been and still is the 'City of Music' at a crossroads of international flow and immigration. This unique condition of Vienna arises from its history as the capital of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, its later position as the eastern-most outpost of Western Europe during the Cold War, as the nearest shelter for refugees during the Balkan Wars, and finally, as the centre of working immigration from south-eastern Europe. For centuries, Vienna truly has been and today remains a multicultural city. This history and these conditions all lead to an astounding musical diversity. Drawing from several of my own recent research projects on the topic I try in my article to deal with the production of music (active music making) by immigrants as well as with the 'embeddedness' of these activities. I raise topics like the idea of the construction of ethnicity by performance, of the creation of 'place' by music, of culturalisation as well as deconstructing ethnic images. Collectivism and individuality are also important approaches. The methodological frame comes from studies in urban ethnomusicology as well as from recent discourses on diaspora and music. The music examples I use are part of Vienna's immigrant scene especially from the communities from the former Yugoslavia as well as from Turkey. As ethnomusicology deals with music in social and political context, the socio-political background is an important focus of the article.

Keywords Ethnomusicology, immigration, diaspora, urban ethnomusicology, minorities, Vienna.

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Historical and political background of immigration in Austria

Austria is the result or remainder of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, which was a multinational country with many languages and cultures, including the Czech, Slovakian, Ukrainian, Croatian, Polish, Hungarian, Slovenian and Jewish cultures. Austria did not have overseas colonies and was not confronted with overseas immigration, like the UK, France, Portugal or the Netherlands as a result of colonialism. Austria was formed by migration but it was first of all an inland migration, within the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. In the last 50 years, however, there has been massive immigration from eastern and southern Europe. In the 1960s Austria needed migrant workers and so began the immigration of Yugoslavian and Turkish people. Due to its location as a western country at the border of several former communist states there were also several waves of refugees from Hungary in 1956, from Czechoslovakia in 1968, from Poland in 1981 and from Bosnia in 1992. The laws in Austria are rather restrictive concerning citizenship. The number of foreign citizens in Austria is 9%, while the figure for the capital Vienna would be 18%. From the inland migration during the monarchy and the reduction of the territory after World War I resulted the so-called 'autochthonous' ethnic minorities, those who have been living on a certain territory for a hundred years or more. They are citizens of Austria and have been granted certain rights. They are also recognised as an 'ethnic group' ('Volksgruppe'). The term 'Volksgruppe' has only existed in Austria as a political category since 1976, due to the so-called 'Volksgruppengesetz', and it includes only ethnic minorities, with a distinct culture and language that have lived in Austria for at least three generations, thereby granting them certain rights. This law does not include recent immigrants who therefore remain without such rights.

Ethnic minorities in Austria, overview:

Figure 1 – Chronology of the arrival of ethnic minorities in Austria

'Ethnic groups'	In their territory since the:
Slovenes in Carinthia	9 th century
Slovenes in Styria	6 th century
Croats in the Burgenland	16 th century
Hungarians in Burgenland and Vienna	10 th and 20 th century
Czechs in Vienna	19 th century
Slovakians in Vienna	19 th century
Roma in Austria	16 th century

Foreigners: Immigrants and refugees (largest groups)	In Austria since:
From former Yugoslavia	1960
From Turkey	1960
From Czechoslovakia	1968
From Poland	1981
From Bosnia	1992

According to the last census in Austria in 2001, the numbers of foreigners were as follows:

Figure 2 – Number of foreigners in Austria according to the 2001 census

Austrian population	8,065,465 (total)
Foreigners: Serbia	155,800
Turkey	130,100
Bosnia	96,000
Croatia	57,600
Poland	22,600
Germany	74,400
Hungary	13,000
Romania	18,400
Macedonia	12,400
Italy	10,700
Other groups	less than 10,000

Source: Census 2001

The division into 'ethnic groups' and immigrants seems to be outmoded in times of globalisation and EU integration. This political practice, which is still in use nowadays, has a lot to do with the Austrian political situation after World War II. In 1955, Austria still had the choice to decide whether its self-definition would be as a multilingual or monolingual country. It was German that was chosen as the only official language although there were other languages spoken in the territory – by minorities. Two of these minorities were explicitly mentioned in the constitution of 1955: the Burgenland Croats and the Slovenes in Carinthia and Styria, thereby granting them certain rights. The Slovenes were very active in the resistance against the Nazi regime; one of the few proven sources of resistance in Austria. Therefore their rights had to be included in the constitution upon request of the victorious countries. Later

on, this privileged status was also granted to other ethnic groups - the Czechs, the Slovaks, the Hungarians and the Roma, based on a law from 1976 ('Volkgruppen-gesetz'). The criteria were on the one hand their longstanding settlement in the Austrian territory, and on the other hand evidence of their ethnicity, which was defined by cultural markers like language, customs, music and others which were different from those of the Austrian majority. These definitions very much resemble the old nation's concepts, to be found in Europe since the 18th century. The law from 1976 is still in use and has not been amended, although there have been discussions about it for several years now because many people think that this old-fashioned thinking should be abandoned. The other reason why Austrian politics still divides ethnic minorities into 'Volkgruppen' and immigrants is to be found in another self-definition: Austria does not want to feature as a country of immigration, although de facto it is. Immigration is seen more as a threat than as a necessity. Xenophobia is stirred up by some political parties, which look for scapegoats in times of economic recession. And these are found in the form of immigrants.

Immigrants in Austria are discriminated against on several levels. There is the labour market, housing and structural discrimination by the law, not to mention having to face everyday racism. It is very difficult for them to obtain Austrian citizenship. The integration process - which I define by referring to Bauböck (2001: 14) as a "*process of reciprocal adjustment between an already existing group and a settling group*" - is not at all satisfactory. The reactions of immigrants themselves are to be found in different strategies, which are between - but also include - two extremes: withdrawal into the ghetto and assimilation. In the case of withdrawal, immigrants limit social contact to members of their own nationality, and find their niches in which to survive. This is of course understandable but it does not lead to a successful integration process. But also in the case of assimilation, which I would define as the complete abandonment of 'ethnic markers' like language and customs, there still is discrimination because of the visibility of 'otherness' by skin colour, by accent or by a person's name. The majority reacts to the challenges of immigration not by adjustment but rather by rejection, thereby hindering the integration process.

I have tried to argue the reasons for this Austrian peculiarity of the division into 'ethnic groups' and immigrant minorities in Austria. Nevertheless, it seems somehow paradoxical. In the meantime, the third generation of immigrants is living in Austria. They were born here, have hardly any contact to the homeland of their grandparents, but are still considered immigrants or are referred to with the now-common expression 'people with immigrant backgrounds'. These conditions do have an impact on the music making of immigrants, which is the topic of this paper. I ask the reader to keep these pre-conditions in mind, because music should always be seen in its social context and the context in the case of immigrants is strongly influenced by politics.

The construction of place, ethnicity and identity through music in diaspora

Amongst the countless ways in which we 'relocate' ourselves, music undoubtedly has a vital role to play. The musical event, from collective dances to the act of putting a cassette

or CD into a machine, evokes and organizes collective memories and present experiences of place with an intensity, power and simplicity unmatched by any other social activity. The 'places' constructed through music involve notions of difference and social boundary (Stokes, 1997:3).

What Martin Stokes says here is of course not only true for immigrants, it works for the dominant group as well. But especially in the situation of migration, when a person experiences dislocation, insecurity, constant challenge, unfamiliarity and discrimination, it might become more meaningful and more important to 'relocate' oneself by the means of music. Stokes' argument goes further when he says: *'I would argue that music is socially meaningful, not entirely but largely because it provides means by which people recognize identities and places, and the boundaries which separate them'* (Stokes, 1997:5).

My findings do confirm these theses, and I quote them because they say a great deal about the motivation for the music making of immigrants. I would argue further that it also says a lot about what kind of music these immigrant groups practice. I am far from any essentialist interpretation, because music is what any social group considers it to be, and music styles per se do not represent any denoted ethnicity. But on the other hand, one cannot deny that ethnicity is represented by music. Ethnicity is of course a problematic term and there have been many discussions about it, especially in a discipline that uses the prefix 'ethno' in its designation like 'ethnomusicology'. Adelaida Reyes argues that it should not to be omitted, but defined it in a useful way that allows it to be worked with in an interdisciplinary manner. Reyes mentions this in connection with research in the urban area: *'Groups labeled ethnic are a social reality and... they have come to constitute a structural category in urban social organization. It appears, therefore, that we may have to live with the term a while longer'* (Reyes-Schramm, 1979:17). Stokes also does not question the term, but its definition: *"Ethnicities are to be understood in terms of the construction, maintenance and negotiation of boundaries, and not on the putative social 'essences' which fill the gaps within them"* (Stokes, 1997:6). I share the opinion of many anthropologists (see Asad, 1973) that the construction of ethnicities can only be understood by including power relations in the analysis. It is very important to consider insiders' and outsiders' positions in constructing ethnicities. In the case of discriminated people, the definition of outsiders very often contributes to their self-definition. The group in power - the dominant group - defines who is 'different'. If a group is constantly perceived by others as 'different' because of their ethnic background they might begin to stress markers of ethnic difference in their self awareness. This might also happen in music making, and especially in public performance. Therefore performance in diaspora seems to me another very important aspect of the whole topic; the more so because performed music is very often the object of documentation by ethnomusicologists, including my own research. Musical performance often functions as a representation of ethnicity, 'otherness' and 'difference'. One recent publication on the topic, the book *Musical Performance in the Diaspora* (Ramnarine, 2007) is very useful in this connection because it provides profound insight into possible ways of interpreting the phenomenon of 'administering ethnicity' by performance. And it is about *'how identity is shaped and constructed through and as a result of performance'* (Johnson, 2007:71). In the

following section I will try to apply some of these thoughts to my findings concerning immigrants' music making in Vienna.

Immigrants in Vienna and urban ethnomusicology

Vienna sometimes is supposed to be the 'City of Music' at a crossroads of international flow and immigration. This unique condition of Vienna arises from its history as the capital of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, its later position as the easternmost outpost of Western Europe during the Cold War, as the nearest shelter for refugees during the Balkan Wars, and finally as the centre of working immigration from south-eastern Europe. Therefore Vienna, like other urban centres, is ethnically and culturally diverse. The following table shows that approximately 18% of the population in Vienna are immigrants with foreign citizenships and where these immigrants come from. It does not show, however, that actually 30% of the Viennese population have 'immigration backgrounds'.

Figure 3 – The population of non-Austrian citizens in Vienna (2001).

Vienna (total)	1,550,123
Serbia and Montenegro	68,796
Turkey	39,119
Bosnia and Herzegovina	21,638
Croatia	16,214
Poland	13,648
Germany	12,729
Hungary	4,135
Romania	3,713
Slovakia and Czech Republic	5,425
Other	44,874
Total foreigners	248,264

Source: Available at <http://www.wien.gv.at/statistik/daten/pdf/vz2001staatsang.pdf>, accessed on 10.06.2006

If we approach musical diversity in urban areas we have to redefine a lot of terms like ethnicity and identity (see above) and we have to abandon certain traditional concepts of ethnomusicology, prevailing especially in Europe, that have to do with static culture concepts (Reyes-Schramm, 1979; Hemetek, 2006). Furthermore, for most of its history, ethnomusicology has neglected urban areas as a field of research. Not until the early 1970s did this situation begin to change with the discovery of popular music as an urban phenomenon that demanded attention due to its socio-cultural context.

As Bruno Nettl observed in his article *New Directions in Ethnomusicology* on ethnomusicological research in urban areas: “In carrying out these studies, ethnomusicologists have been made particularly aware of the importance of music as a cultural emblem, as something that is used by a population group to express its uniqueness to other groups, bringing about cohesion but also serving as a medium of intercultural communication” (Nettl, 1992:384).

Adelaida Reyes, one of the pioneers of urban ethnomusicology, gives a very useful theoretical background in the distinction between music ‘in the city’ and music ‘of the city’ (Reyes, 2007:17). Whereas the approach ‘music in the city’ means that the city itself is no more than a passive ingredient with no significant role in explanation, ‘music of the city’ requires a theoretical and methodological framework that gives full value to its complexity. The city is included in the research either as the context or as the object of the study. Adelaida Reyes also sees a clear connection between the concepts of research on minorities and those of urban ethnomusicology, because “in a scholarly realm built on presumptions of cultural homogeneity, there was no room for minorities. These require a minimal pair – at least two groups of unequal power and most likely culturally distinct, both parts of a single social organism. Homogeneity does not admit of such disparate components. The conditions that spawn minorities – complexity, heterogeneity, and non-insularity – are ‘native’ not to simple societies but to cities and complex societies” (Reyes, 2007:22-3).

The first research projects in our institute on the topic of music and minorities¹ were more in the tradition of the ‘music in the city’ approach. These were punctual ethnographic studies focussed on specific communities. This approach has changed during the last few years and in two recent research projects we tried to grasp a little of the general complex reality of immigrants’ music making in the city and of the surrounding conditions and economic aspects as well. The first one, called *Music Making of Immigrants in Vienna* (2005-2006) served to a certain extent as a pilot for the second one: *Embedded industries - immigrant cultural entrepreneurs in Vienna* (2007-2009). The latter was an interdisciplinary study in which ethnomusicology was the partner discipline of sociology and ethnology. The research design in both projects included colleagues with immigrant backgrounds in order to integrate their points of view that might and in fact did sometimes differ from the interpretations of researchers who were majority Austrians. In most cases the discussions were fruitful and led to conclusions, which were satisfactory for all persons involved. During the course of the first research project we – Sofija Bajrektarević, Hande Sağlam and myself – were already faced with the necessity to find some structure for the very diverse musical events that we found and documented. Following our project concept which was concerned with music making and not specifically with the musical styles of immigrants in Vienna, we ultimately structured our research according to the surroundings in which music-making took place, as well as according to the function(s) of the musical practice; the way the music is used and performed by immigrant communities. The attitudes of the participants in the events and the function(s) of the music making in the context of the majority society were also considered in the structure of scenarios.

Structure of music-making scenarios:

a) Internal practice – There we include music in religious ceremonies, at weddings and events that involve only the members of the community. Outsiders are hardly ever present at these events and they really take place in ghetto-like contexts mostly unnoticed by the majority.

b) Folkloristic practice: traditional music of the country of origin, cultural heritage – There are many cultural organisations of immigrants who cherish the cultural heritage of the countries from which they or their ancestors came. Music is a very important component of the activities that these organisations sponsor. These organisations also present music publicly to expose the dominant society to the cultural background of immigrants. In the communities from Turkey, the educational activities of such organisations are very important – they express the wish to pass on knowledge of their culture not only to the future generations of those with a Turkish heritage but obviously to Austrians as well.

c) Public Ghetto – There is a large number of immigrant-owned cafes, discos and restaurants in Vienna that invite passers-by to come in; they seem to be open to everyone. Many of these establishments offer live music four evenings a week; some of them organise musical competitions, such as the 'Queen of folk music', or karaoke competitions. The music styles to be heard are very diverse: mainly popular styles from the homeland, but also traditional styles. These places are full, obviously they are where many immigrants spend their evenings and where they communicate with each other via music, but there are hardly any Austrians among the clientele.

d) World Music:² creative exchange – Here we find individual musicians challenging or reaffirming their 'musical roots'. The immigrants in this category perform on public stages in Vienna, sometimes in festivals with names like 'Balkan Fever'. Creative musicians of different origins are involved and the listeners are mainly Austrians. The musician's immigrant background might play a role, but this is not necessarily the case; very often, the musician's aim is to not be labelled an 'immigrant musician'.

e) Mainstream musical activities – This category includes musicians with an immigrant background that are active in jazz, classics or electronic music. Most of them do not identify their activities by recurrence to their ethnic background. They identify themselves as musical individuals with an individual musical language.

These categories were developed in long discussions during the first research projects as a tool to organise diversity. Only in the second project was the fifth scenario added. Research needs structures and categories for comparison, even if they overlap, which of course happens. This way of structuring is a result of the research focus of both projects. It takes into consideration the music making of immigrants in Vienna itself as well as the conditions of their music making, taking into account the producers as well as the recipients. In the following section I would like to present some short examples matching some of the scenarios, which I owe mostly to documentation carried out by my colleagues.

Examples from the unexpected musical worlds of Vienna

Weddings as an internal practice

Weddings seem to be a very rewarding topic for ethnomusicologists for several reasons. One of them being that there is always some kind of ritual connected to it and music is mostly involved. Wedding ceremonies also display much of the social structure of a community. And in diaspora communities, weddings are usually one of the first community rituals that are practiced in the host country. I have documented many weddings in different communities in Vienna, and during our research project weddings were included as well. Sofija Bajrektarević (2007) has published about wedding rituals in the Serbian and Croatian community and I will draw from her material in the following section: *“Deep changes in the former Yugoslavia, evident since the late 1980s, brought about a return to tradition, a quest for identity and the radicalization of identity. Today, identity remains a central theme in the lives of both the immigrant population in Vienna as well as of those who remained in their country of origin. For the diaspora population, certain forms of discrimination (visible or not) in the host country, and/or the sense of being excluded experienced by the immigrants make identity an especially sensitive issue. These dynamic cultural tendencies as well as the impact of Austrian culture are clearly revealed by changes in wedding customs. For the former-Yugoslavian immigrant population in Vienna, wedding customs afford a unique opportunity to create a space that engenders the recognition and acknowledgment of myriad aspects of identity both for the individual and for the community (ethnic, national, linguistic, religious, economic, social, regional, family or/and gender-related, etc.). Final confirmation comes with the fulfillment of an everlasting human desire: to settle down although far away from country of origin, to feel at home, at least for a short while, at least to some extent”* (Bajrektarević, 2007:77).

The weddings in both communities consist of two major events: the church ceremony and the wedding festivity. In the past in Yugoslavia, church ceremonies were not familiar at all due to the dominant socialist ideology. But since the breakdown of the country and the subsequent civil war, the respective religions have become an important part of the new national identities. This also holds true for diaspora communities. The Croats are Roman Catholic, therefore the church ceremony is held in a Croatian Catholic church.

Figure 4 – Croatian wedding in Vienna: church wedding ceremony. Croatian church, Brigittaplatz, 1200 Vienna.



Photo: Bajrektarević, 19/11/05, IVE Vienna.

In a Croatian church wedding, the ceremony procession approaches the priest to the sounds of a church organ. Some participants wear ethnic regional signs – knitted ribbons specific to certain localities. Similarly, Serbian wedding ceremonies take place in one of the three Serbian orthodox churches in Vienna.

Figure 5 – Serbian wedding in Vienna: church wedding ceremony, the couple walking in procession around the church with liturgical singing. Serb orthodox church, 1030 Vienna.



Photo: Bajrektarević, 11/06/05, IVE Vienna

The music corresponds to the liturgical practice of the countries of origin. Whereas church ceremonies particularly underline the differences between the two communities that share the same country of origin (Yugoslavia) and speak very similar lan-

guages (Serbian and Croatian used to be considered one language namely Serbo-Croatian), the places where the festivities are held do not differ. These are in both cases big hangars run by immigrant managers especially for these events. Such places suitable for up to 1000 guests, soundproof, equipped with car parking space and amplification facilities for the music, used to be difficult to find and very expensive to rent in Vienna. Therefore immigrant entrepreneurs started with this line of business and they are very successful. The decoration of the room is chosen according the respective nationality of the guests. In both cases, the receptions are the most important social event of the wedding. Whereas relatively few people attend the church ceremony everyone wants to take part in the festivity. It usually lasts from midday till the morning of the next day. People celebrate and enjoy themselves with eating and drinking and with music. A professional band is usually hired for the event. There are many professionals available in Vienna and musicians can make a good living from playing in weddings. They are usually very well paid. The band's fee is agreed upon beforehand, and the cost is borne by the wedding couple's families. The real earnings, however, come from special requests for specific songs – each request is pre-paid so that by the end of the festivity, the revenues from performing individual requests far exceed the band's agreed fee.

Figure 6 – Serbian wedding in Vienna: notice the money in the accordion.



Photo: Bajrektarević, 11.06.2005, IVE Vienna

The nationality of the musicians does not really matter but it is important that they know the required repertory, which ranges from traditional music to popular music of the country of origin. Mainstream repertory from dance music like Viennese waltzes or tangos is also included from time to time. But the traditional kolo, a dance performed in a circle or half-circle that is specific to the region, prevails.

Figure 7 – Serbian wedding in Vienna: dancing the kolo.



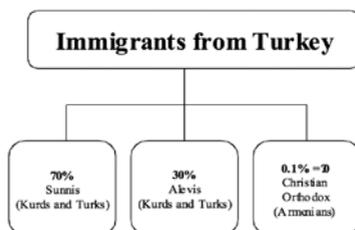
Photo: Bajrektarević, 11.05.2005, IVE Vienna

Many professional musicians in these events are Roma, immigrants from the former Yugoslavia. There is a long tradition in this community of the utmost flexibility in repertory, due to the fact that Roma as musicians have always tried to please their audiences which results in a great variety of styles and great creativity in including new musical elements. Thus it was a Roma ensemble at a Serbian wedding in Vienna that combined a Serbian Kolo with Richard Wagner's wedding march from the opera Lohengrin.

Teaching the Turkish saz (bağlama) as a means of transmitting cultural heritage

The immigrants from Turkey in Vienna are very heterogeneous concerning their ethnic background as well as religious affiliation. Turks, Kurds and a small number of Armenians constitute the three main ethnic groups; the three religions involved are Sunnite, Alevite and Orthodox Christianity.

Figure 8 – Different religious communities and ethnic groups from Turkey



Source: from Sağlam, 2007: 64

Social class constitutes another significant difference among the Turkish immigrants in Vienna and this is reflected in musical identification as well (see further Sağlam, 2007), which probably constitutes a difference to the communities from the former Yugoslavia. But there are many similarities concerning the practice of music making (see also Public Ghetto). We find music connected to rituals like weddings and circumcisions in their internal practice. Of course the music as such differs, but it is also very much connected to homeland styles. In the scenario of folkloristic practice there is a significant focus on teaching activities, which is obviously different to other immigrant communities. Therefore I want to present some of these, based on the work of Hande Sağlam, Bernhard Fuchs and Mansur Bildik: *"Transmitting the musical language of the country of origin to the so-called second generation is one of the most common ways of cultural transmission for immigrants. This takes place in informal and formal areas"* (Sağlam, 2009:329).

There is one central musical instrument which is the focus of these activities in Vienna: the saz (or bağlama). This is the Anatolian long-necked fretted lute that somehow serves as a marker of 'Turkish' musical identity, especially in diasporic communities from Turkey. The courses offered by cultural associations of immigrants are numerous, and they might also include other instruments of Turkish folk music as well as folk dance. Hande Sağlam divides these transmission scenarios into 'internal' and 'external' transmission, thereby differentiating between the target groups. In 'internal transmission' the target group is composed of insiders, and lessons take place inside the community. In 'external transmission', members of other communities are included. The saz courses would mostly be found in the category of 'internal transmission'. But there is one extraordinary example of a saz player and teacher, Mansur Bildik, who actually manages to include the Austrian community as well. In an article called 'Imparting Turkish Music in Vienna from 1984 to 2007' by Mansur Bildik and Bernhard Fuchs,³ Mansur Bildik says about his immigration to Austria: *"In the 1970s my concert tours led me to Europe. By chance I came to Austria. I should have got married to a Turkish girl who lived, however, in Vorarlberg. But I ended up in Vienna. Since 1980 I have been living in this city and since 1990 I have been an Austrian citizen. First of all, it was the music, which brought me to Austria: on the occasion of concerts, I was often approached by lovers of Turkish music as there was a lack of saz players in Vienna at that time"* (Bildik and Fuchs, 2008:23). At the beginning he played music at Turkish festivities and in pubs. Soon he started teaching, from 1984-1994 at the Franz Schubert conservatoire. When he started teaching at an adult education centre (Polycollege), he soon also attracted Austrian students. The foundation of the Saz Association was very important for him. The association organises saz lessons, workshops and concerts.

Figure 9 – Logo of the Saz Association



The lessons and periodical student concerts take place in the 'Amerling-Haus'. This building is the birth house of the Biedermeier painter Friedrich von Amerling (1803-1887). It belongs to the cultural initiative Spittelberg, houses a museum and numerous alternative cultural associations and supports minority cultures. The Saz Association harmonizes with this concept of a socially-engaged enthusiasm for cultural diversity. In contrast to private lessons with teaching units limited to 40 minutes, in the Saz Association people make music in groups and there is more time available. Especially before concerts, students practise till late in the night' (Bildik and Fuchs, 2008:25). Mansur himself says about the cultural diversity in his courses and about his philosophy: "The majority of my students come from Turkish families. And as you know, the cultural diversity of Turkey is immense. In Vienna there are pure Alevi or pure Kurdish saz groups, but I like the diversity. In my lessons, children with different background, Sunni and Alevi, make music. There are many girls with headscarves too. One of my best students has now started to give lessons at the cultural association of a mosque; I am supporting him in doing so. But I give lessons to people from Afghanistan, Belgium, France, Palestine and Austria too. I am very glad if music connects people. Among the advanced students who accompany me at concerts together with professional musicians from Turkey, there are not only Turks" (Bildik and Fuchs, 2008:25).

Mansur Bildik is an example of an extraordinary initiative to achieve integration via the transmission of musical traditions. Integration in the sense of providing a space where immigrants of different ethnic and religious backgrounds as well as Austrians can meet and learn from each other, united by the wish to learn a fascinating instrument that does not exclusively serve as a marker of collective 'Turkish identity', but demands and permits individual creativity. For these achievements and his long-standing engagement, Mansur Bildik received official recognition from the City of Vienna in 2008. He was awarded the *Goldenes Verdienstzeichen des Landes Wien* (Golden Distinguished Service Decoration of the City and Federal Province of Vienna). This is a great honour, but unfortunately it does not secure financial grants for his activities, a situation that seems to be rather typical for Austrian politics. On the one hand, politicians celebrate cultural diversity and on the other hand there is no funding.

Figure 10 – Mansur Bildik receiving his award, with Sandra Frauenberger, the political representative of the City of Vienna.



Photo: Sağlam 2008.

'Public ghetto'

The decision to call this scenario a 'ghetto' was followed by constant discussions. Often people associate the word with more rigid segregation than can be found here. Nevertheless, we decided to stick to the expression, because by adding 'public' as a kind of contradiction we find it an appropriate description of what we found. For me personally, the discovery of this musical world in Vienna was one of the most amazing details of our research during the first project. I had been living in this city for 27 years, had done professional research on the music of immigrants, but obviously missed this very important aspect. We planned to spend two whole nights in different clubs, cafes and restaurants that were said to have live music. We tried to capture the atmosphere with a small camera, and we tried to talk to the musicians. All these restaurants are open to the public and located close to main streets of Vienna. The outside is usually not very inviting – especially not to an Austrian public – although as you see they advertise in German.

Figure 11 – Entrance of one of the cafes.



Photo: Hande Sağlam, IVE, 2005.

These places seem to constitute a very important economic factor. There are 300 restaurant owners from the former Yugoslavia and 50 of these places have live music four days a week, which means that a lot of musicians can make a living. The types of these locations are diverse; there are cafes with only a keyboard and one singer, and we find clubs and discos with live bands and restaurants that offer music as background entertainment. The music styles differ as well from newly composed folk music from the 1970s to the latest hip-hop productions of the former Yugoslavia, from traditional music to rock. One of the places we visited is called 'Lepa Brena', named after a star from the 'newly composed folk music' scene in the former Yugoslavia. In the band, consisting of accordion, keyboard, percussion and alternating singers, male and female, 'Turbo Tanja' played percussion, the only female percussionist in this musical scene. They played newly-composed folk music as well as kolos in a very popular dance melody from Serbia. The dance, one of the musical ethnic symbols of Serbia, might allude to Serbian ethnicity; otherwise we did not find

any elements in the repertory that pointed to the ethnic and national segmentation of the former Yugoslavia. The repertory consisted mainly of popular music from before 1992, which used to signify *bratstvo-jedinstvo* (brotherhood unity) in Yugoslavia. So there was a certain noticeable Yugo-nostalgia. Patrons between the ages of 30 and 60 participated actively in the singing and dancing, enjoying themselves and the music. They asked for certain songs and the musicians were expected to be able to fulfil their wishes. Everyone spoke Serbo-Croatian, although the owner speaks German as well. The musicians spoke hardly any German. It is not necessary for them to do so as there are no Austrians in the audience in the venues where they perform. In terms of musical repertory, age and social status, the participants in this place and on this occasion were different from those in the other locations we visited that evening. In certain discos we found teenagers, in others young people up to age 30. In places where rock music from the former Yugoslavia was performed we met more intellectuals than working class people.

On our second night tour, we aimed to visit Turkish cafes and bars. What we found was an amazing diversity of music styles as well as certain types of places that mirror those found in Turkey. There are cafes where urban intellectuals go and the musical repertory consists of Turkish popular music and classical Ottoman music played on a keyboard. There is a 'Türkü' bar, mainly visited by Alevi, where one hears mainly folk music. There are restaurants where Turkish popular music and arabesk were performed live and where the whole family would go, and there are places like 'Marmara', called a 'dance café'. It has a Turkish owner, and is obviously a place where Turkish working class men go. They would not bring their families here because this is the type of place called 'pavyon', where men go to socialise, to hear music, to dance, to drink and to meet women. There was no obvious ethnic or religious differentiation. The music style was exclusively arabesk. One of the singers on the evening we were there was Neriman Akkale, accompanied by a keyboard player. And there are Turkish discos, where young people of the so-called 'second generation' go to socialise. These young people, similar to the Yugoslavian second generation, speak at least two languages, mixing them very often; sometimes German is preferred to their mother tongue. Austrian young people never go to these discos, although oriental hip-hop and Balkan styles are used as quotations by Austrian DJs more often nowadays.

During the European Football Championship in Austria (2008), these locations received special public attention as 'ethnic' hot spots. The teams of Croatia and Turkey played several times in Vienna, once even against each other. Fans of both teams were present in relatively large numbers because many immigrants from both countries live in Vienna and additionally many Croatian fans from Croatia travelled to Vienna for the competition. Those that could not get hold of a ticket for the stadium needed a place to watch and of course it is much more fun to have company. So in all the above-mentioned cafes and bars there were huge screens to watch the matches and of course everyone attended. In the Turkish cafes there were Turks, in the ex-Yugoslavian ones there were Croats but with them Serbs and Bosnians alike. There is one road in Vienna where we find cafes of both ethnic backgrounds: Ottakringersstraße. The weather was fine and much of the social life took place outside in the

road. The road was blocked for traffic and after every match there was merrymaking with live music. So one could hear Turkish *davul* and *zurna* and nearby on the other sidewalk Croatian rock at the same time. Through this public exhibition of the music that normally is hidden away inside buildings, the Viennese majority also noticed what was going on there. Their reactions were ambivalent: there were enthusiastic comments when first becoming aware of this lively scene as well as xenophobic reactions. On the night when Turkey played against Croatia, the police expected riots in Ottakringerstraße and warned people not to go there, but actually there were no incidents of violence. On the contrary: the disappointed Croatian fans finally danced halay, kolo and hip-hop together with the Turkish 'winners' in Ottakringerstraße.

World Music

Music making in this scenario is almost exclusively limited to public performances, mostly on stage and for majority Austrian audiences contrary to all the scenarios that were described. The phenomenon that I quoted above as: *'how identity is shaped and constructed through and as a result of performance'* (Henry Johnson, 2007) works here in a different way than in the above scenarios. Here, musical practices are often transformed into different contexts, 'roots' are challenged, but clichés also play an important role. The reason for this lies in the expectations of the audiences addressed. This musical scene is a very lively one in Vienna, also due to the attraction of Vienna as the so-called 'City of Music'. Many professionals are available in town from very different cultural backgrounds and many try to make music together. They have to make compromises concerning their different traditions, of course, but that is a challenge too and the outcome is often very interesting and successful. The annual competition 'Viennese World Music Award'⁴ also stimulates many activities and festivals like 'Balkan Fever'⁵ or 'Salam Orient'⁶. The website for the 'World Music Award' says the following: *"We understand World Music as a wide musical field which can appear in all genres. The things which these types of music have in common are found in the roots of ethnical tradition, and it makes no difference whether those traditions are kept, developed or left behind. The World Music Prize is not an exotic revue; but it tries to reveal the natural artistic differences that can exist"*.⁷

Artistic individuality seems to be important, not the ethnic background of the musician. But obviously we do find many immigrant musicians in that scenario. The musical genres differ and are to be found within a wide range from 'traditional' to 'avant-garde'. There are 'ethno jazz' ensembles like Fatima Spar and the Freedom Fries, which consists of musicians with different ethnic backgrounds. The bandleader and singer is Fatima Spar, who has an immigrant background. Her musicians are from Serbia, Bulgaria, Ukraine, Austria and Turkey. Most of their music can be defined as 'Balkan', but Fatima Spar doesn't like this definition. In an interview in 2005 she said that the diversity in her music (from Bossa Nova to folksongs arrangements from Anatolia) should be more emphasised in the media. She does not want to be labelled as an 'immigrant musician' playing 'Balkan music'. She does not want to be 'culturalised'. The term indicates that Fatima Spar would be reduced to her ethnic background (her culture of descent) as an artist in public expectations and reception.

There are others who, on the contrary, emphasise this facet of their musical identity. The Wiener Tschuschenkapelle is one of them.

It is one of the most successful ensembles in the multicultural and World Music scene in Vienna and has recently released its ninth album. They also represent Austria in performances abroad. A comment on their website from a performance in Canada: *"On one level the Wiener Tschuschenkapelle are simply a group of musicians from Austria, Turkey, and Southern Europe who perform music from the Balkans. On another level they are a living statement against the racism, prejudice, and intolerance, which is particularly aimed against the immigrants from Southern Europe and Turkey who live in Vienna in large numbers."*⁸

The political implication was important from the very beginning of the foundation of this ensemble, which recently celebrated its 20th anniversary. The history of the ensemble and especially of the founder Slavko Ninić represents a typical career of the Viennese World Music scene which is quite different to those mentioned above. At the same time it challenges the categorisation into scenarios because his musical career clearly shows an overlap.

*A musical biography challenging categorization: Slavko Ninić*⁹

Figure 12 – Slavko Ninić, singer and bandleader of Wiener Tschuschenkapelle (from the advertising material of the group from 1997).



Slavko Ninić was born on the 3rd of February 1954 in Komlatinci, which is a small village in Croatia, at that time Yugoslavia. His parents had come from Bosnia, being ethnic Croats. He remembers being somehow discriminated against by the village community because of being an 'immigrant'. He started singing early because he enjoyed music but he never sang in public, just for fun for family and friends. He also tried out the guitar but only as an autodidact and mainly to impress the girls. After finishing school in 1972 he came to Austria for the first time together with some friends who wanted to see the world. It was the time when massive immigration of workers had started in Austria. Austria needed workers due to the economic boom

and had invited the so-called '*Gastarbeiters*' – guest workers, who came mainly from the former Yugoslavia and from Turkey (see above). Slavko worked for a well-known building company at that time. Fed up with living in wooden huts and physical work, he started to study at Vienna University, at the department for interpreters. For his musical development, this time seemed to be extremely important because he started to entertain his colleagues at the Slovenian students' hostel by singing and playing the guitar. What he played and sang were the songs he had learned in his childhood in Komlatinci, a kind of all-Yugoslavian repertory. Later, when he continued his studies at Zagreb University he also continued his entertaining activities at the students' hostel there, which widened his repertory considerably. His sources were other students as well as radio programs that featured the wide repertory of traditional music styles of the whole country.

He developed his extraordinary sensitivity for the needs of an audience at that time. The informal music making at the students' hostel seems to have been a good schooling, probably much better than formal music education would have been. In 1979, after earning an MA in sociology in Zagreb, he came back to Austria for reasons of love, and began to work at an NGO, an information centre for immigrants with great socio-political importance. The people he met there were a Turkish intellectual who knew how to play the saz as well as an Austrian mandolin player. The personal encounter that ended up in a musical cooperation has to be seen against the background of the political situation in Austria at that time. It had changed since 1972: racism and discrimination of immigrants was severe, xenophobia rising. The people that had been invited to work in Austria chose to stay - contrary to the initial concept of rotation. The economy still needed them, but society denied them an adequate status. The three young men were political activists in the NGO, trying to fight racism and structural discrimination by means of empowerment strategies. So their first musical steps might be seen under that heading as well, although first of all it was the wish to sing and play music that they felt to be their cultural roots to a public that seemed to be attracted to it. These lead to their first public appearance and finally to the official formation of the 1st Wiener Tschuschenkapelle, in the middle of the 1980s.

There was the political message, but even more so there was a personal need for active music-making, especially for Slavko Ninić, and also the need to create some kind of 'at home-feeling' through their 'own' music and by doing so conveying a message to the audiences. This is similar to many other immigrant musicians. At that time in Vienna something of that kind was completely new. The 'Balkan boom' was still far away, but due to the history of Vienna and the demographic situation in the 1980s it did make sense to perform this kind of music here. The immigrants from the former Yugoslavia were and still are the largest group of immigrants in Austria, about 300,000 at the moment.

They performed music from the former Yugoslavia, Turkish songs and some Greek Rebetica, using vocals, guitar, saz, flute and mandolin. After some time and several successful gigs, Slavko Ninić decided to try to making a living from music. He had never planned to, and this holds true for other immigrant musicians in Vienna as well. The situation of being an immigrant, of being far away from one's former cul-

tural background, of facing prejudices and ignorance, the need to fight these and the feeling that it might do them some good to create an atmosphere which felt like home via music made them musicians. Not all of them became professionals (in the sense of earning their living by music) like Slavko Ninić, but many play and sing in public.

Since the beginning, their repertory has widened. It is labelled as 'Balkan music' but it also includes songs from Russia and Hungary and often Roma music from various parts of the world. And they perform Viennese traditional songs as well. Many musicians have joined the Tschuschenkapelle and left it again. These artists have always had an influence on the repertory and on the arrangements as well. Usually there is no score for the musicians. One person, mostly the bandleader, suggests a new song, plays it to the others and they try to do a collective arrangement. These arrangements are very often characterised by individual creativity and they might also 'challenge the roots'. There is a transformation process taking place in 'traditional music' due to individual creativity and/or creative exchange but also due to an Austrian majority public that needs a manner of presentation that meets its demands concerning musical and performance style. After some rehearsals they would do a 'test' performance, in order to see how the audience reacted. Only after such a successful test would the song be integrated into their program.

Slavko Ninić denies that they play World Music: *"we do not play World Music because this usually means some style deliberately meets another and nothing beautiful remains"*. The whole development of the musician Slavko Ninić suggests of course more than one of the scenarios proposed. The present stage might still be classified as World Music, due to the audiences of their performances but also due to the musical transformation and the 'challenging of roots' that can obviously be found in the music.

Conclusion: Images and representation - the role of the city

My article up to now has focussed on immigrants in Vienna and their active input into the musical scene in the city of Vienna. The role of the Austrian majority was also considered to a certain extent as well as economic factors. It seems to be clear that there are facets that support the idea of the construction of ethnicity by performance, of the creation of 'place' by music, of culturalisation as well as deconstructing ethnic images. All that has been said is the result of empirical research. These are facts to be noticed, documented and interpreted. The role that is played by the perception of the city of Vienna and its musical representation in the world has not yet been mentioned. Although this has not been in the focus of the research projects, I would like to finish my article with two glimpses of thoughts on that topic: two unexpected experiences that drew our attention during the research.

The first one comes from the immigrant community from China. The immigrants from China in Vienna are as diverse as other immigrant groups. Immigration started later and followed different mechanisms. It was an immigration greatly motivated by

the dream of economic success and many Chinese immigrants are entrepreneurs and own restaurants in Vienna (Kwok, 2008).

Concerning their musical activities we find that representative venues that symbolise the Viennese tradition of classical music have an extraordinary attraction for the Chinese. The 'golden' concert hall of the 'Musikverein' is the most attractive place for Chinese concerts. Every year the Chinese New Year is celebrated with a concert there. Sponsored by the homeland, an orchestra from China is invited to perform for the Chinese community in Austria. Of course there is a resemblance to the Viennese New Year's Concert, the highly popular TV event that is broadcast every year on 1 January to many parts of the world. This broadcast contributes to Vienna's image as a 'city of music'. The Chinese New Year concert takes place later in the year (in the European calendar) and the music is quite different. But the image of the city of Vienna represented by the concert hall is used for the construction of another identity.

Figure 13 – Advertising material from <http://www.chinamusic.cn>.



Figure 14 – The Chinese New Year's concert in Vienna's Musikverein 2008.



Photo: Kim Kwok.

The other event happened recently (October 2009). The Festival 'Spot on Turkey now' was an attempt to present music from Turkey in another well known and representative concert hall in Vienna, the 'Wiener Konzerthaus'. The location chosen as well as the program suggested that this was an event that intended to avoid clichés and stand up against culturalisation.¹⁰ This was also strongly argued in the accompanying magazine (spoton magazine 2009). There were diverse approaches to the topic in the program, from Western classical music, Ottoman court music to World Music, but also films and literature were included. The artists performing also included the above-mentioned Fatima Spar, for example. But what they also offered was a dance workshop on traditional dances from Turkey. I attended the workshop and was able to take the following snapshot. What we see is majority Austrians joining a Turkish immigrant dance instructor in dancing a halay, a traditional dance genre from Anatolia, accompanied by a saz and a *darbukka*, in the foyer of the Viennese Konzerthaus. Looking down on the scene is the statue of Ludwig van Beethoven, another immigrant to Vienna, who had been integrated to such an extent that he now serves as one of the representatives of Vienna as the city of music.

Figure 15 – Dance workshop at the Konzerthaus in Vienna 10.10.2009



Photo: Ursula Hemetek.

Notes

¹ Since 1990 there has been a research focus on Music and Minorities at the Institute of Folk Music Research and Ethnomusicology in research, teaching and publications. The major research projects conducted during recent years were the following. The ones from 2005-2006 and from 2007-2009 are of most relevance for this article. 1990-1992: 'Traditional Music of Minorities in Austria'; 1993-1995: 'Traditional Music of the Roma in Austria'; 1995-2000: 'Music of Bosnians in Austria'; 2005-2006: 'Music Making of Immigrants in Vienna'; 2007-2009: Project partner in 'Embedded industries - immigrant cultural entrepreneurs in Vienna'; Field research projects concerning immigrants in Salzburg (2004), in Innsbruck (2005), in Vorarlberg (2009) and concerning the music of Slovenes in Styria (1999-2001).

² The way we define the term in our project is mainly focused on the special Viennese situation. There is a World Music Award Competition every year, which provides the following definition: "a broad musical field including all genres of music (classical, pop, jazz, rock, dance floor, folk music...) with the common feature of ethnic traditional roots in one way or other, no matter whether these roots are cherished, developed or overcome" (<http://www.ikkz.at>). Of course I am aware of the many other existing definitions and approaches.

³ This article results from a co-presentation by researcher and consultant Bernhard Fuchs, an ethnologist who is also learning the saz, and Mansur Bildik, saz player and teacher. This innovative writing style should be seen against the background of the *Writing Culture* debate that criticised typical representations of others in ethnography (Clifford, 1986; Berg and Fuchs, 1992).

⁴ Available at: <http://www.ikkz.at>, accessed on 19.05.2008.

⁵ Available at: <http://www.balkan-fever.at>, accessed on 19.05.2008.

⁶ Available at: <http://www.salam-orient.at>, accessed on 19.05.2008.

⁷ Available at: <http://www.ikkz.at>, accessed on 19.05.2008.

⁸ Available at: <http://www.tschuschenkapelle.at/pages/presse-en04.htm>, accessed on 25.05.2010.

⁹ I am grateful to Slavko Ninić for sharing with me his life story, his attitudes and his artistic concepts in two qualitative interviews (2000, 2005). I witnessed the development of the band by participant observation over the years and was able to document many of their concerts (see also Hemetek, 2001).

¹⁰ Available at: <http://www.konzerthaus.at>, accessed on 10.11.2009.

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