

UNEXPECTED MUSICAL WORLDS OF VIENNA: IMMIGRATION AND MUSIC IN URBAN CENTERS¹

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 center 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 paper 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 culturalization as well as deconstructing ethnic images. Collectivism as well as 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 paper.

Key words: *urban ethnomusicology; immigration; Vienna; scenarios of music making; theory; musical practice*

¹ Most of this text has been published previously (see Hemetek 2010), but I have made revisions and added some new thoughts also due to the lively discussion after the presentation in Prague. I am grateful for the thoughtful comments of colleagues.

As an introduction and point of departure I want to use one photograph that I took in 2009.



Figure 1: Dance workshop at the “Konzerthaus” in Vienna, 10 October 2009.
Photo: Ursula Hemetek.

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 hall of the *Wiener Konzerthaus*. This happened during the Festival “Spot on Turkey now,” which was an attempt to present music from Turkey in a well known and representative concert hall in Vienna, the *Wiener 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.

I use the photo not in order to stress the clichés again but in order to underline a very typical Viennese strategy to deal with immigration related to music. Among immigrants to Vienna there were and are many musicians and Vienna

still is drawing creative potential from all parts of the world. 47 % of the students of the University of Music and Performing Arts are foreigners and many of them probably will decide to stay. Mozart was an immigrant as well as Beethoven, the Johann Strauss family and others. Nearly all the great names in Western art music connected to Vienna are immigrants' names.

Cities like Vienna were and still are the ideal ground to develop new musical styles because of the diverse possible inputs, the inspiration of heterogeneity and the many opportunities of encounters. The music history of Vienna underlines that statement. Why I mention the past has a reason: Composers and musicians who are dead are much more appreciated than the living ones. And you can easily make them Viennese citizens – somehow with retrospective effect.

Present immigrant musicians are not so much appreciated; their creative potential is mostly underestimated and very often “culturalized” in the public opinion – their image is one of halay-teaching much more than presenting at the main stage of the *Konzerthaus*. To understand the situation it is necessary to know something about the historical and political background.

1. 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 to several former socialist states there were also several waves of refugees from Hungary in 1956, from Czechoslovakia in 1968, from Poland in 1981 and from Bosnia in 1992².

² From Hungary 1956: refugees after the Soviet invasion. From Czechoslovakia 1968: Refugees after the Soviet invasion following the so-called Prague “Spring”. Working immigrants from the former

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 recognized 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 immigrants in recent years who therefore remain without such rights.

Ethnic Minorities in Austria, an overview

“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 onwards
From Turkey	1960 onwards
From Czechoslovakia	1968
From Poland	1981
From Bosnia	1992

According to the last census in Austria in 2011, the numbers of foreigners in Austria are as follows (vgl. Statistik Austria 2011: 35):

Yugoslavia 1966 (including all former republics, but mostly Serbia) as well as Turkey from 1964 onwards due to recruitment agreements. From Poland 1981: Refugees after the proclamation of martial law in Poland. From Bosnia 1992: Refugees due to the disintegration and civil war including “ethnic cleansing” in former Yugoslavia.

Austrian population total	8,404,252
Foreigners:	
Whole number	1,452,591, that is 17,3 %
According to countries of origin (including Austrian citizens born in the respective country)	
Germany	220,330 ³
Serbia / Montenegro / Kosovo	208,809
Turkey	184,815
Bosnia & Hercegovina	131,128
Croatia	69,654
Romania	68,142
Poland	59,753
Czech Republic	45,213
Hungary	41,348
Italy	29,447
Russia	27,149
Slovakia	26,079
Macedonia	23,127
Other groups number less than 20 000.	

The division into “ethnic groups” and immigrants seems to be outmoded in times of globalization and EU integration. Among other reasons that have to do with history there is one to be found in Austria’s political 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 labor 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.

³ The group of Germans in Austria is not to be considered a minority in the sense of suffering from discrimination. Due to the common German language and the rather privileged professional positions in high percentage Germans in Austria do not have similar problems to all the other groups immigrant groups.

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: One is withdrawal into the ghetto and the other is 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 color, by accent or by a person’s name. The majority – the dominant group – 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 you to keep these pre-conditions in mind because as I have already said, music should always be seen in its social context and the context in the case of immigrants is strongly influenced by politics.

2. 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 1994: 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 dis-location, insecurity, constant challenge,

unfamiliarity and discrimination, it might become more meaningful and more important to “relocate” oneself by means of music. Stoke’s 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 1994: 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 “own” 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 1994: 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 the 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” (Henry Johnson 2007). In the following I will try to apply some of these thoughts to my findings concerning immigrants’ music making in Vienna.

3. 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 center of working immigration from south-eastern Europe.

Therefore Vienna, like other urban centers, is ethnically and culturally diverse. The following table shows that that actually nearly 30% of the Viennese population have “immigration backgrounds.” The table is structured according to countries of origin (including Austrian citizens born in the respective country). Groups not mentioned are less than 10 000.

Vienna (total)	1,714,142
Immigrants (total)	573,242
Serbia, Montenegro, Kosovo	111,983
Turkey	74,416
Germany	46,742
Poland	39,739
Bosnia and Herzegovina	32,156
Romania	21,669
Croatia	20,027
Czech Republic	18,462
Hungary	14,970
Macedonia	11,003
Slovakia	10,917
Russia	10,881

Figure 2: The population of immigrant groups in Vienna (vgl. Statistik Austria 2011: 293).

If we approach musical diversity in urban areas we have to redefine a lot of terms like ethnicity and identity, as already stated and we have to abandon certain traditional concepts of ethnomusicology, prevailing especially in Europe, that have to do with static culture concepts (see further 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 (1992: 384), “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: 22–23).

The first research projects in our institute on the topic of music and minorities⁴ were more in the tradition of the “music in the city” approach. These were

4 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

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 sometimes did 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 I – 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

Here 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.

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).

b) Folkloristic practice: traditional music of the country of origin – cultural heritage

There are many cultural organizations 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 organizations sponsor. These organizations 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 organizations 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 are 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 organize 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 Music⁵: 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.”

⁵ 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” (www.ikkz.at). Of course I am aware of the many other existing definitions and approaches.

e) Mainstream musical activities

This category includes musicians with an immigrant background who are active in jazz, classics or electronic music. Most of them do not identify their activities by reference 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 project as a tool to organize 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 I present some examples matching some of the scenarios, which I owe mostly to documentation carried out by my colleagues, especially Hande Sağlam and Sofija Bajrektarević.

I have chosen⁶ the following: Serbian Weddings (internal practice) Transmission of tradition by teaching Saz (Turkish), and the World music Scenario – creative exchange.

4. Examples from the unexpected musical worlds of Vienna

4.1. 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. They are very important for the “re-location,” as Stokes (Stokes 1994:3) calls it. As there has been published a lot about it, especially concerning the immigrants from the former Yugoslavia, I will not go into this⁷; just let me briefly mention

⁶ Due to space limitations in this publication I can only present some examples which can of course only offer limited insight into the whole research. More detailed and more substantial discussion is to be found in various other publications like Hemetek 2001, Sağlam 2008, Gebesmair 2009.

⁷ The disintegration of former Yugoslavia and the outbreak of subsequent wars were of course also influential on the immigrant communities from these regions in Vienna. I have been dealing with these issues quite intensively during the research project on Bosnian refugees from 1995-2000, resulting

Figure 3:
Serbian wedding
in Vienna: notice
the money in the
accordion.

Photo:
 Bajrektarević,
 11. June 2005,
 IVE Vienna.



some aspects: usually there are two parts: the religious ceremony and the festivity. Whereas for example in the communities from the former Yugoslavia church ceremonies particularly underline the differences between the communities that share the same country of origin (Yugoslavia) and speak very similar languages (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. 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 weddings. They are usually very well paid. The band's fee is agreed upon beforehand, and the cost is borne

in publications like "Bosnische Musik in Österreich. Klänge einer bedrohten Harmonie" (Hemetek/Bajrektarević 2000) or "Sevdah in Vienna" (Bajrektarević/Hemetek 1996).



Figure 4: Serbian wedding in Vienna: dancing the *kolo*.

Photo: Bajrektarević, 11 June 2005, IVE Vienna.

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.

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.

Many professional musicians in these events are Roma, immigrants from the former Yugoslavia⁸. There is a long tradition in this community of the utmost

⁸ Roma as professional musicians serving non-Roma is a topic that is not in the focus of this paper but has been discussed in many articles, including my own (for example Hemetek 1997). One of the very convincing works on what is so special in the handling of music by Roma is the one by Svanibor Pettan, *Encounter with "The Others from Within": The Case of Gypsy Musicians in Former Yugoslavia* from 2001.

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 Romani ensemble at a Serbian wedding in Vienna that combined a Serbian Kolo with Richard Wagner's wedding march from the opera Lohengrin....

4.2. 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.

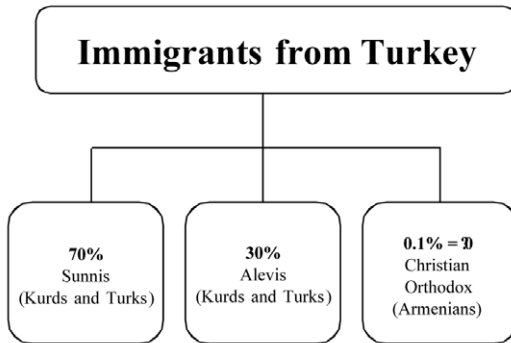


Figure 5: Different religious communities and ethnic groups from Turkey
(from Sağlam 2007: 64).

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 from 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 who actually manages to include the Austrian community as well, Mansur Bildik.

In an article called “Imparting Turkish Music in Vienna from 1984 to 2007” by Mansur Bildik and Bernhard Fuchs⁹, 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 gotten 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/Fuchs 2008: 23). At the beginning he played music at Turkish festivities and in pubs. Soon he started teaching, from 1984 to 1994 at the Franz Schubert Conservatoire. When he started teaching at an adult education center (Polycollege), he soon also attracted Austrian students. The foundation of the “Saz Association” was very important for him. The association organizes saz lessons, workshops and concerts.

“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 Spittelberg Cultural Initiative, houses a museum and numerous alternative cultural associations and supports minority

⁹ This article results from a co-presentation by the researcher and consultant Bernhard Fuchs, an ethnologist who is also learning the saz, and Mansur Bildik, the saz player and teacher. This innovative writing style should be seen against the background of the “Writing Culture” debate that criticized typical representations of others in ethnography (Clifford 1986; Berg and Fuchs 1993).

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/Fuchs 2008: 25).



Figure 6: Logo of the Saz Association.

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 backgrounds, 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/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 longstanding 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 7: Mansur Bildik receiving his award, with Sandra Frauenberger, the political representative of the City of Vienna. Photo: Sağlam 2008.

4.3. 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 above. 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 from 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” (www.ikkz.at) also stimulates many activities and festivals like “Balkan Fever” (www.balkan-fever.at) or “Salam Orient” (www.salam-orient.at). 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” (www.ikkz.at, May 19, 2008).

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 band-leader 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 folksong arrangements from Anatolia) should be more emphasized in the media. She does not want to be labelled as an “immigrant musician” playing “Balkan music.” She does not want to be “culturalized.” 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, emphasize this facet of their musical identity.

The *Wiener Tschuschenkapelle* is one of them. The bandleader and founder is Slavko Ninić, an immigrant from the former Yugoslavia who only became a musician because of the social circumstances in the immigration situation. The band consists of immigrants as well as Austrians and what they play is “Balkan music,” trying to perform in a traditional way but adapted for a Viennese public. These arrangements are very often characterized 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 style¹⁰.

Slavko Ninić was also awarded with the Golden Distinguished Service Decoration of the City and Federal Province of Vienna, like Mansur Bildik, and you can see him on the photo with his wife and my husband (who is also Croatian and a good friend of Slavko). These decorations are something very typical in Vienna and Austria in general. Honouring makes people happy and does not cost any money.



Figure 8: Slavko Ninić in 2010, having received the Golden Distinguished Service Decoration of the City and Federal Province of Vienna. Photo: Ursula Hemetek.

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 web-site 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

¹⁰ More on the musical characteristics of this style and on the personal and musical development of Slavko Ninić see Hemetek 2001.

from Southern Europe and Turkey who live in Vienna in large numbers.” (<http://www.tschuschenkapelle.at/pages/presse-en04.htm>)

The political implication was important from the very beginning of the foundation of this ensemble, which recently celebrated its 20th anniversary.

5. Conclusion: Images and representation – the role of the city

My paper up to now has focused 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 culturalization 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 (see further Kwok 2008, and Gebesmair 2009).

Concerning their musical activities we find that representative venues that symbolize 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. Or 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 9: Advertising material from www.chinamusic.cn.



Figure 10: The Chinese New Year's concert in Vienna's *Musikverein* 2008. Photo: Kim Kwok.

The other event is the one that I mentioned as an introduction: The Festival “Spot on Turkey now” 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 culturalization (see www.konzerthaus.at). This was also strongly argued in the accompanying magazine (*spoton magazin*). 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 snapshot.

The *Wiener Konzerthaus* and the *Wiener Musikverein* as symbols of Vienna as the city of music and Western classical music are not just old, nice and useful buildings. They are the most attractive stages for musicians due to the perfect facilities, the middle and upper class audiences and due to the image. This image is much connected to the *Wiener Philharmoniker*, high quality performance and economic success. Of course there is much music history around and we do not only find Beethoven’s spirit and statue in the buildings looking down on what is going on musically; other composers are personally connected to the two venues. Still I think there is quite an overestimation of tradition, as very often in Vienna. Vienna tries to cherish the image as the city of Beethoven, Mozart and Strauss – all of them immigrants. Maybe, after some hundred years, there will be other musicians’ names used for the same purpose, and Vienna will make money with Mansur Bildik or Slavko Ninić?

URSULA HEMETEK is Associate Professor and head of the Institute for Folk Music Research and Ethnomusicology at the University for Music and the Performing Arts Vienna. 1987 Ph.D. in Musicology, 2001 Habilitation in Ethnomusicology both at Vienna University. Main focus of research: Music of Minorities in Austria. Publications in the field of ethnomusicology and Music and Minorities (focus on Roma, Burgenland Croats and recent immigrant groups). Chairperson of the ICTM Study Group “Music and Minorities”. Recent books: editor together with Adelaida Reyes: *Cultural Diversity in the Urban Area: Explorations in Urban Ethnomusicology*, 2007, and together with Hande Sağlam: *Music from Turkey in the Diaspora*, 2008.

References

- Asad, T. (ed.). 1973. *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter*. New York: Humanities Press.
- Bajrektarević, Sofija. 2007. „Musical Practice of Immigrants from the Former Yugoslavia and Turkey in Vienna III: The ex-YU immigrant population in Vienna and its wedding customs – A quest for identity”. Pp. 77–91 in Ursula Hemetek and Adelaida Reyes (eds.). *Cultural Diversity in the Urban Area. Explorations in Urban Ethnomusicology* (= klanglese 4). Wien: Institut für Volksmusikforschung und Ethnomusikologie.
- Bajrektarević, Sofija and Ursula Hemetek. 1996. *Sevdah in Wien, u Beču, in Vienna*. *Bosnische Musik*. (= Tondokumente zur Volksmusik in Österreich Vol.5, CD mit Beiheft), Wien.
- Bauböck, Rainer. 2001. „Gleichheit, Vielfalt, Zusammenhalt – Grundsätze für die Integration von Einwanderern“. In *Wege zur Integration* (= Bd. 4 der Publikationsreihe des Bundesministeriums für Bildung, Wissenschaft und Kultur zum Forschungsschwerpunkt Fremdenfeindlichkeit), Klagenfurt: Drava, 11–45.
- Berg, Eberhard und Martin Fuchs (Hg.). 1992. *Kultur, soziale Praxis*, Die Krise der ethnographischen Repräsentation. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.
- Bildik, Mansur and Bernhard Fuchs. 2008. „Imparting Turkish Music in Vienna from 1984–2007”. Pp. 21–36 in Ursula Hemetek and Hande Sağlam (eds.). *Music from Turkey in the Diaspora* (= klanglese 5). Vienna: Institut für Volksmusikforschung und Ethnomusikologie.
- Clifford, James (Ed.). 1986. *Writing culture: the poetics and politics of ethnography*. A School of American Research advanced seminar. Berkeley: Calif. et. al.
- Gebesmair, Andreas (Ed.). 2009. *Randzonen der Kreativwirtschaft. Türkische, chinesische und südasiatische Kulturunternehmen in Wien* (= Kreativwirtschaft in Wien, Bd.a), Wien: LIT-Verlag.
- Hemetek, Ursula. 2001. *Mosaik der Klänge. Musik der ethnischen und religiösen Minderheiten in Österreich*. (= Schriften zur Volksmusik Bd. 20) Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau.
- Hemetek, Ursula. 2006. „Das ‚Eigene‘ und das ‚Fremde‘ anhand des Minderheitenschwerpunkts des Instituts für Volksmusikforschung und Ethnomusikologie“. Pp. 117–134 in Gerd Gruppe (ed.). *Musikethnologie und Volksmusikforschung in Österreich: Das ‚Fremde‘ und das ‚Eigene‘?* (Musikethnologische Sammelbände Bd. 20). Aachen: Shaker Verlag.
- Hemetek, Ursula. 2010. „Unexpected Musical Worlds of Vienna: Immigration and Music”. *Migracoes*. Journal of the Portuguese Immigration Observatory special issue Music and Migration ed. by Maria de Sao Jose Corte-Real, #7 October 2010, Lisbon, pp. 115–138.
- Hemetek, Ursula and Sofija Bajrektarević. 2000. *Bosnische Musik in Österreich. Klänge einer bedrohten Harmonie*. (= klanglese 1), Wien: Institut für Volksmusikforschung.
- Johnson, Henry. 2007. „‚Happy Diwali!‘ Performance, Multicultural Soundscapes and Intervention in Aotearoa/New Zealand”. *Musical Performance in the Diaspora*. Special Issue of *Ethnomusicology Forum*, Vol. 16, No. 1: 71–94.

- Kim Kwok. 2008. "Das Reich der Mitte auf der ganzen Welt" (China All Over the World). *Integration im Fokus*, 2008/3: 40–43.
- Nettl, Bruno. 1992. "Recent Directions in Ethnomusicology". Pp. 375–403 in Helen Myers (ed.). *Ethnomusicology: An Introduction*. New York – London: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Pettan, Svanibor. 2001. Encounter with "The Others from Within": The Case of Gypsy Musicians in Former Yugoslavia. *The World of Music* 43 (2/3): 119–137.
- Ramnarine, Tina. (ed.). 2007. *Musical Performance in the Diaspora*. Special Issue of *Ethnomusicology Forum*, Vol. 16, No. 1.
- Reyes-Schramm, Adelaida, 1979. "Ethnic Music, the Urban Area, and Ethnomusicology." *Sociologus* 29: 1–21.
- Reyes, Adelaida. 2007. "Urban Ethnomusicology Revisited. An Assessment of Its Role in the Development of Its Parent Discipline". Pp. 15–25 in Ursula Hemetek and Adelaida Reyes (eds.). *Cultural Diversity in the Urban Area. Explorations in Urban Ethnomusicology* (= klanglese 4). Wien: Institut für Volksmusikforschung und Ethnomusikologie.
- Sağlam, Hande. 2007. "Musical Practice of Immigrants from the Former Yugoslavia and Turkey in Vienna II: Musical Identification and Transcultural Process among Turkish Immigrants in Vienna". Pp. 63–75 in Ursula Hemetek and Adelaida Reyes (eds.). *Cultural Diversity in the Urban Area. Explorations in Urban Ethnomusicology* (= klanglese 4). Wien: Institut für Volksmusikforschung und Ethnomusikologie.
- Sağlam, Hande. 2008. "Cosmopolitans and Locals – Music Production of the Turkish Diaspora in Vienna". Pp. 37–48 in Ursula Hemetek and Hande Sağlam (eds.). *Music from Turkey in the Diaspora* (= klanglese 5). Vienna: Institut für Volksmusikforschung und Ethnomusikologie.
- Sağlam, Hande. 2009. "Transmission of Music in the Immigrant Communities from Turkey in Vienna, Austria". Pp. 327–343 in *Music in Motion. Diversity and Dialogue in Europe*. eds. Bernd Clausen, Ursula Hemetek, Eva Saether for the European Music Council, Bielefeld: transcript Verlag.
- spoton magazine*. 2009. Konzerthausnachrichten Nr. 12.
- Statistik Austria (ed.): *Bevölkerungsstand*. Wien 2011.
- Stokes, Martin. 1994 (1997). "Introduction: Ethnicity, Identity and Music." Pp.1–28 in Martin Stokes (ed.). *Ethnicity, Identity and Music. The Musical Construction of Place*. Oxford/New York: Berg.

References on the Web

- www.konzerthaus.at (11. 10. 2009)
- www.chinamusic.cn (January 2008)
- www.tschuschenkapelle.at/pages/presse-en04.htm (25. 1. 2012)
- www.ikkz.at (19. 5. 2008)
- www.balkan-fever.at (2010)
- www.salam-orient.at (2010)