

TRANSMISSION OF MUSIC IN THE IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES FROM TURKEY IN VIENNA, AUSTRIA

STATISTICS AND NUMBERS

Austria has the fourth-largest Turkish population in Europe after Germany (where approximately 60 % of the Turkish immigrants in Europe live), France and Holland. The first guest workers came from Turkey and former Yugoslavia to Austria at the beginning of the 60s. Shortly thereafter, due to social and economic reasons, their families arrived and built up a new community in the diaspora. Today, the second and even third generation is growing up.

If we look at the census of 2001, we find that Vienna has 1 550 123 inhabitants. More than 400 000 are from immigrant backgrounds, and 248 264 have foreign citizenship (<http://www.wien.gv.at/statistik/daten/pdf/vz2001staatsang.pdf>). Approximately 70 000 come from Turkey, meaning that about 4,2 % of the Viennese population has a Turkish background, while 39 119 people in Vienna have Turkish citizenship.

SOCIO-POLITICAL CONDITIONS AND PROBLEMS

Integration means becoming a part of a society, enjoying equal rights and respecting their values and norms. The integration process should include at least two partners that should cooperate with each other.

Integration ist also ein Prozess wechselseitiger Anpassung und Veränderung zwischen einer aufnehmenden und einer aufzunehmenden Gruppe [Integration is thus a process of reciprocal adjustment between an already existing group and a settling group]. (Bauböck 2001: 14)

The 40-year-old migration history of communities from Turkey in Austria (as well as from former Yugoslavia) is considered by the majority as a problem of disintegration. A large part of the Austrian community defines integration mostly as assimilation. Integration policies demand the cultural change of immigrants rather than cultural exchange between the different communities in the country.

Although Austrian public opinion and the government do not consider the country as one of immigrants, it is one de facto. Xenophobia, racism, and hostility on the part of the Austrian majority, are proven through numerous studies and publications (Bauböck 1995; Bauböck 2001; Fassmann and Münz 1995; Fassmann 2007; Perchinig 2008 etc.). Strict legal frameworks regarding foreigners, discrimination in the job market and in lodging are daily problems for immigrants in Austria. In the education system, the language problems of immigrant children are considered the fault of the children and their families and therefore not solved through alternative education methods. Many pupils with migration backgrounds are usually sent to *Sonderschulen* [special schools for disabled children] because of their difficulties with the German language. Austria performs rather poorly with regard to the first stages of the education track and largely fails to exploit the academic potential of the Turkish second generation. In Austria and Germany, the second generation of Turks obviously is predestined by the education system to form the working class and is largely withheld access to white collar professions (Perchinig 2008). These conditions are far from an ideal basis for interaction and cultural transmission between the minority and majority communities in Vienna.

TRANSMISSION = COMMUNICATION?

Cultural transmission includes both the passing on of tradition from one generation to the next and the passing on of tradition to other communities that do not belong to a culture. It can create an important communication platform between communities living next to each other without knowing each other's mentalities. The best way to observe the process of cultural transmission is to analyse the influences and interactions between the immigrant communities and the native citizens in a country. Not only can it show us the willingness and cooperativeness of both sides for integration, but also the communication and interaction between these communities.

In our case, we analyse the musical transmission possibilities of immigrants in Vienna, which are – or could be – an important issue for the integration debate in Austria.

POSSIBILITIES OF MUSICAL TRANSMISSION

a) Internal transmission (Musical transmission within the community)

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. Informal musical transmissions pass on the musical identities through traditional ceremonies such as religious rituals, weddings, and concerts that are mainly for and by the community members. The informal transmissions are the educational activities of the cultural organisations of Turkish immigrants.

Music lessons, especially *saz* courses, are one of the most important ways of passing on traditional music to the immigrants from Turkey in Vienna, and there are numerous cultural associations of immigrants from Turkey that offer Turkish folk music lessons, all of which have *saz/bağlama*¹ courses. These courses offer not only *saz* but also folk dance lessons, or lessons of ritual dance of the Alevi², the *semah*. In addition, some of them offer *mey*³ and several other Anatolian wind instruments as well as guitar, sight singing and music theory courses. Some of the most well-known and active associations for those kinds of activities are the following:

ATIB [Austrian-Turkish Islam Union], *KIB* [Kurdish Association], *Saz-Verein* [Saz Association], *Eurasya* (Association for the Integration of Young Immigrants in Vienna), and *Kulturverein der Aleviten* [Alevi Culture Centre]: In these associations of Turkish immigrants in Vienna, education is considered one of the most important issues for the next generation. I conducted several interviews with representatives of these associations mentioned above. All of the teachers said that they would like to pass on their knowledge of their musical culture not only to the new generations but also to the Austrian majority as well. Unfortunately, only *Saz-Verein* has Austrian students in its *saz* classes; the other courses only address the community members. Many of these courses do not intend to be integrative because in reality, the target group is composed of insiders, and lessons take place inside the community; that is why I call the activities of these associations ‘internal transmission’.

1 Saz (or bağlama) is a long necked fretted lute. It is the most common musical instrument of Anatolia.

2 The Alevis constitute the second largest Islamic group (after Sunnis) in Turkey. Today, in Vienna there are around 20 000 Alevis from Turkey.

3 The mey is a cylindrical double reed instrument in the oboe family.

ATIB is the largest and most important Islamic-Turkish association in Austria. Funding for its activities comes from the donations of community members. As the Islamic religious community of the Turkish immigrants in Vienna grows, so too does the association. Until 2006/2007 it had a small centre where it could offer only Quran classes. In 2007, it bought a new building in the tenth district, which has the largest Turkish population. Now it is able to offer numerous courses: Apart from additional instruction (mostly German for the pupils) and Quran classes, it offers lessons in guitar, saz, *ud*, *ney*, flute and *kudüm*.⁴ The headmaster of the cultural department of the association, Mr. Orhan Çakmak, told me that in November 2007, they had introduced music lessons and already had around 90 students. The centre is open to students who do not have a Turkish background. But unfortunately there has not been any demand for it. Therefore, they hold the lessons in Turkish, which is very helpful for the second generation with a Turkish background who speak German better than their parents' mother tongue. They have the opportunity to learn musical instruments from their mother country at the same time as improving their mother tongue. Education has not been conceived in a systematic way: The goal is not artistic ability, but the passing on of tradition and the musical identity of the country of origin. It is possible to get information on the Internet from *ATIB* webpage (www.atib.at), but unfortunately it is only in Turkish. Word of mouth is the main advertisement strategy for the courses.

Eurasya is an association for migrant youths. Almost all the employees of this association are from Turkey and their main target group are Turkish immigrants and their children. The association offers social and legal advice, cultural and sport activities. The only music lessons are saz classes. The homepage is in German, English, and Turkish. *Eurasya* advertises with flyers and posters that are distributed only in Turkish localities, mostly in the tenth and eleventh districts where the association is located. The Turkish community is the main target group.

In the Kurdish association *KIB* [*Kurdish Information Bureau*], there are several folk dance and folk music lessons for different age groups. These ensembles often perform in Kurdish events such as *newroz*, the spring festival of the Kurds. The classes take place mostly on weekends. It is only possible to know about the activities of this association through acquaintances. *KIB* usually does not advertise publicly or on the Web. After several talks I found out that it sometimes receives Austrian students.

4 The *ud*, *ney*, and *kudüm* are classical Turkish music instruments.

The *Alevi Culture Centre* offers music lessons as well as extra instruction for Turkish children to solve their educational problems which they have in the school. The music lessons aim to pass on their religious identity, philosophy, and values to the second and third generations. Almost all the students in this association are Alevis and they also do not advertise publicly or on the web. The goals and methods of all of these associations' initiatives differ widely; nevertheless they have one thing in common: To transmit their culture to the next generation through music lessons.

b) External transmission (Musical transmission to 'other' communities)

Saz-Verein [Saz Association]

Among all these courses, the Mansur Bildik saz lessons have an additional function on top of passing on traditional music: To make Turkish music accessible for the Austrian community. At the beginning of his career, Mr. Bildik played music at Turkish festivities (such as weddings, henna nights etc.) and at Turkish restaurants and bars with live music. Soon afterwards he started teaching, from 1984 at the Franz-Schubert conservatoire (a private conservatorium in Vienna) until 1994. He then gave lessons in saz playing at an adult education centre (Polycollege) for some years. His students were not only children and adults with Turkish background but also Austrians. An important step on the way was the founding of the Saz Association 15 years ago, in 1993. The association organises saz lessons, workshops, and concerts. The lessons and periodic student concerts take place in a central district of Vienna, which is not the case for the other courses. 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 at their disposal. Especially before concerts, students can practise with Mr. Bildik until late in the night (see: Bildik and Fuchs 2008).

The two most important goals of the association are the transmission of the saz, and making this Anatolian musical instrument known beyond the Turkish community. Mansur Bildik, within the framework of his Saz Association gives saz lessons, regularly performs with his students at concerts, and organises concerts with famous saz virtuosos and other musicians as well as workshops for Anatolian music. After reaching a certain level, some students have the opportunity to perform with famous musicians from Turkey on the stages of Austria and Turkey. Apart from the Turkish tradition, there is an interest in opening new musical ways for saz. The association has an interest in increasing cultural contact between the West and the East and to help reduce prejudice. The association has members-students from different countries such as Austria, Turkey, France,

Israel, and Germany among others. Professor Dr. Karl Grill, a teacher at the technical university in Vienna, is the chairman of the association. His deputy is Dr. Bernhard Fuchs, who teaches at the Institute for European Ethnology. Mansur Bildik is a proponent of the association and the artistic director (www.mansur-bildik.com).

Mansur Bildik and the members of the association not only offer saz classes, but also promote Austrian and international events with other migrants and with Austrians; that is the way to create a cultural exchange in which Turkish culture is presented.

Mansur Bildik is a Kurdish-Alevi musician from Turkey. Nevertheless, he does not want to define himself solely as a Kurdish-Alevi musician; he considers himself a musician from Anatolia who lives in Vienna and makes “his own music, which is based on Anatolian music” (personal communication).

That might be the secret of the success of his saz lessons. My field research showed that all the other saz courses were more or less ethnic or religious ghettos. The reasons lie in two main conflicts: One between Alevi and Sunni, and the second between the nationalistic Kurdish and Turkish associations. They do not separate these themes from their teaching. But Mansur Bildik tries to make his saz lessons as multicultural as possible and “to build a bridge between the cultures through the saz, and to internationalise the saz” (from a private talk). These are the reasons why the lessons as well as the concerts are so important for him.

Interviews with his students

Mr. Bildik has an average of 15 to 30 students. He also has two students who perform at almost all his concerts, Marianne (Nanne), and Nikolaus (Niki).

Nanne met Mr. Bildik 18 years ago at an integration festivity. That was the first time she had heard and seen a saz and she began to have lessons with him at the adult education centre (Polycollege). She now plays at almost all of his concerts and helps organise them. The Saz Association was founded by Mr. Bildik, Nanne and Karl Grill. Nanne says that she has a deep esteem for the association and regrets that the association does not get essential funds. She thinks that Mr. Bildik plays a major part in integration work within the association and with his lessons.

He doesn't only want to show his own culture to others, but he wants to get to know other cultures and wants to fuse them with his music,



Fig. 1 – Nanne, student concert in Amerlinghaus 6th December 2005.

Photos by Hande Sağlam, 2005, IVE Vienna



Fig. 2 – Niki, student concert in Amerlinghaus 6th December 2005.

compare them or mix them with individual motives, and everything with virtuosity, that's his extraordinary ability.⁵

Niki (Nikolaus Grill): Mr. Bildik defines him as his assistant. Niki has been taking lessons with Mr. Bildik for seven years.

The interest comes from his family: His father Prof. Dr. Karl Grill was also a student of Bildik's and is the chairman of the Saz Association. For his *Maturaarbeit* [A-levels exam] he wrote a paper on the saz and Turkish folk music.

This work was very interesting for me as well as for my teachers at high school. My teachers were a bit sceptical at the beginning because they didn't know anything about Turkish music, but after the exam they got to know a lot about the music style. They would probably never have gotten this kind of opportunity if I had not visited Mr. Bildik's courses.⁶

Mr. Bildik and his lessons changed Niki's life a lot. Meanwhile Niki can not only play saz perfectly but also can speak Turkish fluently and is studying Turcology in Istanbul. He wants to build his career around Turkish culture and music.

5 From an interview with Nanne on 27th December 2005, Archived at IVE, Signature: EMW 158.

6 From an Interview with Niki on 27th December 2005. Archived at IVE, Signature: EMW 158.

I attended Mr. Bildik's lessons, and in my opinion he has a lot of teaching experience. He also has knowledge about different perceptions due to cultural differences. Bars such as 5/8, 7/8, and 9/8 are especially difficult for Austrians because they did not grow up in musical environments with those kinds of rhythmic patterns. I observed how he taught an Austrian those uneven bars. His method works in a very short time and the Austrian students were soon able to play a 5/8 bar easily. After my interviews with some of his students, I could appreciate that he is acclaimed by his students not only because of his pedagogical abilities but also because of his liberal perspective of the world, his tolerance towards other cultures and his rich knowledge of Turkish music and its history.

He and the association have three goals:

1. Transmission of traditional music;
2. Young people with Turkish background should about learn their traditional cultural heritage;
3. Austrians should get to know and understand the values of Turkish culture, but it also should work the other way around.

If we define the term 'cultural transmission' as 'the process of passing on culturally relevant knowledge, mentalities and values from person to person', we can definitely say that Mr. Bildik's courses are successful. He loves his job, but he has the feeling that other people do not appreciate his work. He says:

"Just because I don't have an ideal infrastructure I'm not going to stop doing my work. This work is my life and I intend to open a real music school in which Turkish music will be taught" (personal communication). He always emphasises that he needs funding from the state to develop his work.

Mr. Bildik had the honour of receiving an unexpected recognition when the provincial government of Vienna decided in January 2008 to confer to



Fig. 3 – Mansur Bildik, enfranchisement.

Photo by Hande Sağlam, 2008, Vienna

him the *Goldenes Verdienstzeichen des Landes Wien* [Golden Distinguished Service Decoration of the City and Federal Province Vienna] in recognition of his services (Fuchs and Bildik 2008), even though he does not have an official job. He teaches at the *Saz-Verein* but he is not employed and does not have a regular salary. He goes monthly to the *Sozialamt* [social administrative] to get his *Sozialhilfe* [social help]. It is difficult to understand why, despite his success as a teacher and musician, Mr. Bildik doesn't get any aid to continue and develop his integrative musical transmission that he has achieved through his lessons

Makamhane

Makamhane is an association that promotes and transmits classical Turkish music (so called Ottoman Court music), and as well as *Tassavuf Müziği*, mystical and religious Turkish music.

The main goals of this association are instrumental lessons (the ud, ney, *rebab*, kudüm, *kanun*), and to promote workshops, concerts, and lectures. It would be important for them to get the opportunity to cooperate with several universities, thus giving them the opportunity to transmit this musical culture more easily and professionally. Apart from this, the association also wants to be an information centre and a meeting point. It offers regular courses and has several workshops every year with professional musicians from Turkey, such as Ömer Erdoğan (ney), Necati Çelik (ud), Oruç Güvenç (rebab/kniveolin), Habib Samandi (*darbuka*), Sadiye Erimli (singer of classical Turkish music) and Mustafa Buyurgan (*dombra*).

Makamhane was established in 2004 by two Austrians who have a relatively good knowledge of Turkish music and culture. Mr. Denis Mete, the founder of the association, is half-Austrian and half-Turkish. He only began to find out about his Turkish background only at the age of 20 when he started learning about the Turkish culture and language. Now he can play several Turkish instruments. Ms. Sonja Siegert, the other founder, speaks Turkish very well, and plays the ney. She has a large interest in Turkish music and knows the mentality very well. Both of them want to promote Turkish art and music in Austria. Their motto is *encounter through music* [Begegnung durch Musik]. They want to bring together people of different origins, religions, and languages who love and want to learn *makam* music⁷. They did an interesting experiment in 2006: they organised a concert in a Catholic church in Ottakring (a district where lots of working-class Austrians, former Yugoslavians and Turks live) with the music and poetry

7 Makam is the principal structural and melodic concept in Middle Eastern musical style (see also: Singell 1977).



Fig. 4 – *Semazens in the church.*

Photos by Makamhane 2006



Fig. 5 – *Two Austrian women at the event.*

of Mevlâna Celâleddîn-î Rûmî.⁸ The concert was called *encounter between Christians and Muslims* [Begegnung zwischen Christen und Muslimen], a very well-organised multicultural evening. The following comment can give us a better idea of the evening: “A ney concert, whirling dancing in our Catholic church (...) Christians and Muslims, Austrians Turks and Greeks, different languages, cultures and religions, people of good will. (...) And so it was a nice evening with interesting encounters and conversations.” (<http://www.neuottakring.at/Aktuelles/neykonzert06.htm>, 18th May 2007).

The association *Makamhane* wants to promote the contact of the cultures, and they were very successful in organising that concert, but probably because both founders are Austrians and have better contact with the Austrian majority.

When I first contacted the association in 2005, I expected that they could reach a wider public, but when I visited them in 2008 I realised that although they are still working they have reached a dead end because their conditions have not changed since then. It is obvious that an education centre can only survive with support from the government. When I interviewed Denis Mete in 2005, he told me that the education system in Austria did not offer educational programmes in the music of the minorities, and that is why it is almost impossible to work with high schools or universities continuously.

To introduce the music of the minorities in public schools would be a very important step towards integration and better communication between

8 Mevlâna Celâleddîn-î Rûmî was a 13th century poet and theologian. He lived in central Anatolian city of Konya. He was the founder of a new Islamic perception and philosophy called *Sufism*.

cultures. It would be a sign of progress to pull the Turkish musical tradition out of the internal spaces of the Turkish community, and to present and integrate it into Viennese culture. The two chairpersons of the associations agreed that immigrant musical culture should be integrated into the school system from primary school, to avoid discrimination and prejudice due to lack of knowledge. The culture of the immigrants should not be presented as 'others' as 'not from here' but as a part of the diversity of the city. That is why the *Saz-Verein* and *Makamhane* would like to work with universities to set up workshops on Turkish music for students. If the students (especially the students of music education at the music universities), who are the future teachers, could visit workshops about the music culture of Turkish immigrants, then they could transmit that knowledge to the majority, and improve communication.

TRANSMISSION POSSIBILITIES IN THE MAINSTREAM INSTITUTIONS

In Vienna, there are no official and regular possibilities in primary school to receive musical education in Turkish music.

I had to search for a long time before I could find only one *Gymnasium* [high school] where the music of immigrants from Turkey was taught, and unfortunately it was not part of the official teaching programme but an optional activity.⁹ The description they give in their webpage is follows:

The *Ud* and her relatives: Turkish music live and in the classroom: One of the most important subjects in music lessons for the fifth grade is the study of the different musical instruments of the world. (...) This year in October students had the opportunity to experience some of the plucked instruments from Turkey. Mr. Sağlam, the father of one of our students came twice to the school and played for the students the *ud* – the Arabian *lute* –, the *saz* – an instrument for dance music and the *Djümbüs* – very similar to the American banjo and even an instrument built by him. The students could clap and dance with the music. Our director attended one lesson and he also clapped and danced enthusiastically. (http://www.grg23-alterlaa.ac.at/musik/musik_kreativ.html)

9 There could be some other offers which I could not find during my research. It is difficult to get information because they are all optional activities and most of them are offered only a few times.

It is obvious that the initiative of the high school in the 23rd district was quite superficial. Not even the description of the instruments on the webpage was correct.

Surely they meant well, but this activity had too little background information. The school did not take the advice from experts, and if the students come together by clapping in accompaniment, then that was multicultural enough. And this is not a single case. While I was studying, I had several invitations for such ‘intercultural projects’, which were always single events. Every time they wanted me to teach the children a Turkish folk song and every time the teachers found the Turkish language too difficult and always wanted me to show them a nursery rhyme. Learning a Turkish song under the direction of a musician ‘with immigrant background’ is too little for so-called ‘multicultural projects’, whose purpose is to create interaction, understanding, and transmission between children with different backgrounds growing up together in Vienna.

Such extraordinary lessons are pedagogically very questionable. They only accentuate the ‘differences’ of the immigrants with this approach. There is no interaction, only momentary observation and participation in what ‘the others’ do. Under the best of circumstances, Austrian children think it is nice and funny, but they do not think its part of ‘their society’, although this has been the case for the past 40 years.

PUNKITITI – DOCUMENTATION OF A MUSICAL EXCHANGE PROJECT

One of the highlights of Vienna’s 2006 Mozart Year achieved a bridge between experiencing music and expressing the self through music (Drechsel-Bukhard and Simma 2006: 7).

The project gave children a direct approach to Mozart as a person and his work. This happened during an intensive workshop in five primary schools, with music, theatre, concerts and dance performances. During performances and workshops children could get to know Mozart’s music. They put an emphasis on different listening experiences. An important part of the project was the openness Mozart had toward other cultures which was a mirror of the enlightened soul of the time. (Marte et al. 2006: 13–14)¹⁰

10 Translated by the author.

To work on that theme they cooperated with Mr. Bildik and as part of a project they created a stage production called *Mozart alla turca* (Director: Dietmar Flosdorf), The scenario (written by Eva Steinhauser) of this production was as follows:

Ali Mehmed Osman, a fairy tale narrator from the Orient, flies in 1790 with his 'turbo carpet' from Istanbul to Vienna and back. During the trip he gets to know the different musical cultures: Turkish saz and dance music, the music of Mozart as well as military music from the Ottoman and Habsburg empires. (...) After that trip he feels like listening to both music cultures in one place, and his wish comes true. A music piece starts to play in which both cultural styles blend together ... (Marte et al. 2006)

It was a co-production between the University of Music and the *Saz-Verein* (Mr. Bildik and his students) with the collaboration of several primary schools of Vienna. The students of the University of Music showed the children musical instruments, music styles, musical culture, the world of Mozart, the world of the Turkish music and the influence of the Turkish music in the life and work of Mozart.

Mr Bildik and his saz ensemble played arrangements of Mozarts *Alla Turca* and *The Abduction from the Seraglio* on the stage. There was an encounter between two cultures on a musical level which gave knowledge about the historical and cultural life in Vienna to the children.

They did not emphasise the differences or being different, but the similarities. They put an emphasis on the things Austria has adopted from the Ottoman and Turkish culture. The cooperation of the professional



Fig. 6 – *Mozart alla turca*, the stage production of Punkitititi.

Photo by Hande Sağlam
2006, Vienna

institutions, advice from professionals (Mr. Bildik about music from Turkey and the students of the University of Music about general knowledge of music) and the pedagogical approach made it possible for the children to get a better and more objective picture of cultural diversity.

CONCLUSION

It is evident that musical transmission is one of the most important paths for integration. If we want to make integration possible, we must include it in the education system of primary schools and high schools.

Studies show that traditional music is a significant part of identity, and it is essential to pass it on to the next generation to ensure the continuity of the cultural tradition within the community, and to avoid assimilation and social exclusion. Music can have a completely different function for immigrants: It can manifest their own nationality, or serve as confession of their own ethnic or religious identity. Another fact is that passing on the cultural tradition to the younger generations as well as to young majority generations influences consciousness, and supports the integration process.

Traditional music can also be used as a means of communication with the majority, whether in cultural events or in the school system (Hemetek, Sağlam and Bajrektarević 2006).

Immigration is a transculturation process and transculturation does not only mean the modification and development of the minority culture through new environments, possibilities and infrastructure in a dominant culture, but also the modification and development of the dominant culture through this new capital. With knowledge, there is no room for 'assuming' or 'believing' in prejudices. In Vienna, we find hardly any musical interaction between people of different cultural backgrounds with the purpose of being together, especially at school. This is a big gap in a city which is known to be the 'city of music', due to the variety of the creative potential, and it mirrors what the government thinks about integration.

Vienna is very appealing for musicians from all over the world and also from Turkey, due to its fame as the city of music. This and over 40 years of immigration culture in Vienna is a great potential for musical interaction between communities. Internal and external musical transmission takes place in some teaching situations (such as the *Saz-Verein* or *Makambane*). But the area of intercultural musical communication mirrors the socio-political situation. The offers come mostly from the immigrants with few exceptions (*Makambane* or *Punkitititi Mozart für Kinder*, Mai 2006). This is a good example of cooperation between 'insiders' and 'outsiders' with the

support of the state. Through these kinds of activities, musical transmission can take place within the Austrian community, with or without immigrant background.

There are two options if the government does not support musical transmission in the school system: To forget or to give up cultural identities, or to keep their cultural identities through in individual ways (private lessons and concerts within the community). The first option is an assimilation process that has not worked over the last 40 years. The second option could create a ghetto, which has lots of disadvantages such as lack of integration, transmission and cultural exchange.

The precondition for integration is equality in life's opportunities, and if the government does not grant them, then the immigrants have to find their own way to take care of their cultural traditions.

More than 25 % of the Viennese population has an immigrant background.

To promote and support the transmission of immigrant culture would improve integration and also cultural interaction between the different ethnic groups, religions, and individuals.

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