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Applied ethnomusicology as an intercultural tool:
Some experiences from the last 25 years of minority research in Austria

Introduction

The article starts with explaining some my own discipline's background in order to enable interdisciplinary communication. I give a short theoretical survey of ethnomusicology and its intercultural potentials as well as of the concepts of applied ethnomusicology and minority research. These are the main tools to understand what follows: two case studies from Austria (Roma and Styrian Slovenes) and my own applied research over the years.
What I would like to do is to show potentials of such research in applied interculturality as well as critically reflect on some of these and point out weaknesses in order to stimulate discussion on the development of more useful strategies.

1. Theoretical background

1.1. The discipline ethnomusicology and its intercultural potentials in general

The history of ethnomusicology, a discipline that is said to have been founded by Guido Adler in Vienna as "comparative musicology" with the aim to compare different music cultures, shows some intercultural potential a priori.
1885 is the date when Guido Adler (1855-1941), the musicologist, for the first time used the term "comparative musicology", at least in the German speaking area in an article called "Umfang, Methode und Ziel der Musikwissenschaft" (Adler 1885).
The paragraph on comparative musicology is actually a very short one, but the whole article is important and influential because he systematizes the whole discipline. He uses comparative musicology synonymously with musicology and characterizes it as part of systematic musicology with the task to compare songs of different peoples, countries, and territories for ethnographic reasons and to categorize them according to their nature/character. This was

some years before he became professor for musicology, when the Institute for Musicology was founded in 1898.

If you want to compare different music cultures you have to try to understand them to a certain extent, and understanding might be a point of departure for interculturality. Unfortunately in the past this potential was seldom used and if on a rather doubtful level. Of course this is due to a certain extent to the parameters of comparison that were used in the early days (around 1900 and later). European classical music was the foundation for all comparison, in a very Eurocentric world view. "Primitive cultures" which were in fact all except European were seen as preliminary manifestations in the evolution of music towards the most refined European classical music.

The "other" was under research and it was seen as the opposite to European civilisation which functioned as the "self". Difference was mostly seen as deficiency. This is just one aspect of the history of my discipline, there are many others and also more positive ones, which others have dealt with in detail (see further Schneider 2005 or recently Dahlig-Turek 2009). When "comparative musicology" was replaced by the term "ethnomusicology" around the 1950s we find a shift from Europe to the USA as most influential area in the discipline.

But there is another influential research tradition based in Europe, which mainly was concerned with the "self". It is to be interpreted before the background of the emerging European nation state.

In the early days of folk music research, a tradition commonly understood as starting with Herder in the 18th century in Europe (at least in the German speaking area), mostly folk song texts were the primary object of research. These folk songs were seen as records of the "folk's" wisdom, a way of life, and a treasure of cultural heritage (Hemetek 2007).

Folk songs were seen as proofs of nationality. There is also intercultural potential in this approach and it lacks the racist, colonialist, imperialist tendency, because researchers only do research on their "own" culture, on something they are supposed to be familiar with. But of course it is strongly influenced by nationalism. Comparison was seldom done, although always projected (like by Béla Bartók in Hungary or Ilmahri Krohn in Finland).

The definition of the ethnomusicology by naming its objects was done by Jaap Kunst in the 1950s, who is said to have used the term or the first time[1]. Kunst sees the object of musicology as "all tribal and folk music and every kind of non-Western art music" (Kunst 1969).

[1] New findings show that the term actually was used in Poland und Ukraine already between 1928 and 1939 in academia (see Dahlig 2009), but Kunst was the scholar who made it known worldwide.

This makes a great difference compared to the evolutionists. We find the recognition of other musicals systems on the same developed level as European classical music. Of course colonialism is still virulent also in the concepts of ethnomusicology: the Dutch doing particularly research in Indonesia on Gamelan, the British on Indian classical music, the Germans on Namibia and so forth. Kunst clearly includes the European folk music research tradition into his definition.

Underlying we find the concept of homogeneity. Music cultures were still seen as homogenous bodies, not allowing individual or deviances for other reasons. Urban areas were no subject for research and popular music was clearly excluded. Neither were minorities and their music a subject for research with some exceptions: only if they were seen as "extension of the own nation" (see Hemetek 2007). The field opened for minorities with the recognition of heterogeneity, closely connected with urban areas as field of research.

Adelaida Reyes 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).

This statement of course implies that things have changed in ethnomusicology. The ideas of Bruno Nettl from 2005 on the definition of the subject are much more representative for me personally as an ethnomusicologist. He mentions two central attitudes: one is the centrality of fieldwork which he defines as the "ethnomusicologists bridge to the cultural 'other'" and the second one is "an interculturally comparative perspective" (Nettl 2005:10)

In his "Credo" Bruno Nettl mentions the following four "beliefs and understandings" what ethnomusicology is today:

1. Study of Music in Culture
2. Study of the Worlds Musics from a comparative and relativistic point of view
3. Study with the use of fieldwork – for the benefit of the people from whom we learn
4. Study of all the musical manifestations of a society: special attention to minorities

This is now a very broad approach that allows much freedom in choosing subject and methodology. Let me just point to two main differences to former definitions: the relativistic point of view has been added to the comparative to the comparative. And a most important aspect of application is added: for the benefit of the people we study.

This was somehow my own point of departure, when I started my research now many years ago.

1.2. Minority research and applied ethnomusicology

There are different ways to define "minority" and I will not go into this now. Just to mention two possible approaches: the definition primarily by cultural, ethic markers (for example Kühl 1993) or by socio-political power-relations (for example Reiterer 1996).
One definition that is used by the ICTM Study Group "Music and Minorities"[2] is the following: "Minorities = groups of people distinguishable from the dominant group for cultural, ethnic, social, religious, or economic reasons" (from 2008).
These minorities, however we define them, have something in common: there are some markers of "difference" facing the dominant society: language, habits, citizenship, outward appearance, religion, and so on and they face discrimination in one way or other.
Here is a rough overview over these groups (ethnic minorities) in Austria, including only the largest groups.

"Autochthonous" (*Volksgruppe*)	In their territory since:
Slovenes in Carinthia and Styria	9th century
Croates in the Burgenland	16th century
Hungarians in Burgenland and Vienna	10th and 20th century
Czechs in Vienna	19th century
Slovakians in Vienna	19th century
Roma in Austria	16th century

Foreigners: Immigrants and refugees (biggest groups)	In Austria since:
From former Yugoslavia	1960 onwards
From Turkey	1960 onwards

[2] The Study Group Music and Minorities in the International Council for Traditional Music has been founded in 1999 in is one of the most successful Study Groups of this international ethnomusicological organisation. The objective of the group is defined as follows: "The Study Group focuses on music and minorities by means of research, documentation and interdisciplinary study. It serves as a forum for cooperation among scholars through meetings, publications and correspondence" (from 2008).

From Czechoslovakia	1968
From Poland	1981
From Bosnia	1992

There are two different political categories that are most important. *Volksgruppe* (folk group) – is a political category in Austria and the equivalent to "national minority" in other states, granting the communities certain rights.

The *immigrant communities* remain without these and are additionally discriminated against on several levels: no access to political participation (no right to vote), in housing and on the labour market.

I have done research involving some of these groups. What I want to stress here is that in minority research itself there always is an aspect of interculturality. To include these aspects into the methodological approach is a must in modern minority research.

To deal with the music and minorities very often involves application of results. Here comes in what we call "applied ethnomusicology". In current discourses it might be defined in the following way. Maureen Loughran (2008) sees applied ethnomusicology "as a philosophical approach to the study of music in culture with social responsibility and social justice as guiding principles" (52). And Daniel Sheehy (1992) suggests the following strategies for applied ethnomusicology:

1. Developing new "frameworks" for musical performance
2. "Feeding back" musical models to the communities that created them
3. Providing community members with access to strategic models and conversation techniques
4. Developing broad, structural solutions to structural problems

In the two case studies some of these are applied.

My assumption is that applied ethnomusicology has a special relevance for studies on music and minorities (see also Hemetek 2006) and there is much evidence of that connection in recent publications, like Pettan 2008. Of course, studies in the context of music and minorities are not automatically applied ethnomusicology (Pettan 2008), but obviously it is a reality that very often scholars working with minority groups feel the need to apply one of the different strategies of applied ethnomusicology. In 2008 the new Study Group in the ICTM "Applied Ethnomusicology" has been founded and there is close cooperation between the two Study Group, also manifested by a joint meeting in Vietnam (July 2010).

I try to sum up in some keywords what were the main points of my arguments concerning the development of the discipline ethnomusicology. These keywords characterize the situation "nowadays" and "formerly" and touch the term itself, methodology and concepts.

Nowadays	*Formerly*
"ethnomusicology"	"comparative musicology"
mediation	comparison
intercultural approaches	essentialist static culture concepts
heterogeneity	homogeneity
working with "consultants"	working with "informants"
primarily for the "benefit" of the people	"benefit" of the researcher
applied work	ivory tower

2. Case studies of application in Austria from my own experience

The following will be only a brief glance into much more complex topics but still you might get some impression of what I mean. In both cases there was a close cooperation with NGOs. Both are to be understood from the background of the political situation of that time, and critical reflection is needed from today's standpoint.

2.1. Roma Music Activities: Public presentation as empowerment strategy (1989-1996) and its consequences

In the process of political recognition of Roma in Austria (initiated in 1989 and the following years) their traditional music and its presentation in public contributed to proving that a group of people who had been discriminated against and who formerly were merely seen as a social minority were in fact an ethnic one, with a distinct cultural heritage of their own. Several research projects by Austrian scholars on Roma music formed the basis for activities in the broadly conceived field of applied ethnomusicology, yielding results in the areas of cultural mediation, political activism, public promotion and education. I have written about all this in detail somewhere else and do not want to repeat it (Hemetek 2006). Therefore I choose only

one aspect as an example. I look back on some of these activities with mixed feelings. This ambivalence seems to make an interesting point for discussion.

It was in the late 1980s in Austria when there was a need for political action, simultaneously with a political movement of Roma, which included cultural self-representation. At that time in Austria there was little public knowledge about Roma, there were merely a lot of negative prejudices, like they steal, they are nomads, they are dirty and beggars.

That was the socio-political background for the first presentation of Romani culture in Austria in 1990. It was called “Exceptionally Gypsies”.

Fig. 1: Poster of the first presentation of Romani culture

It was meant as a counterpoint to prejudices and as a support for Roma political activities. The Prime minister had denied political recognition of Roma as *Volksgruppe* a year before

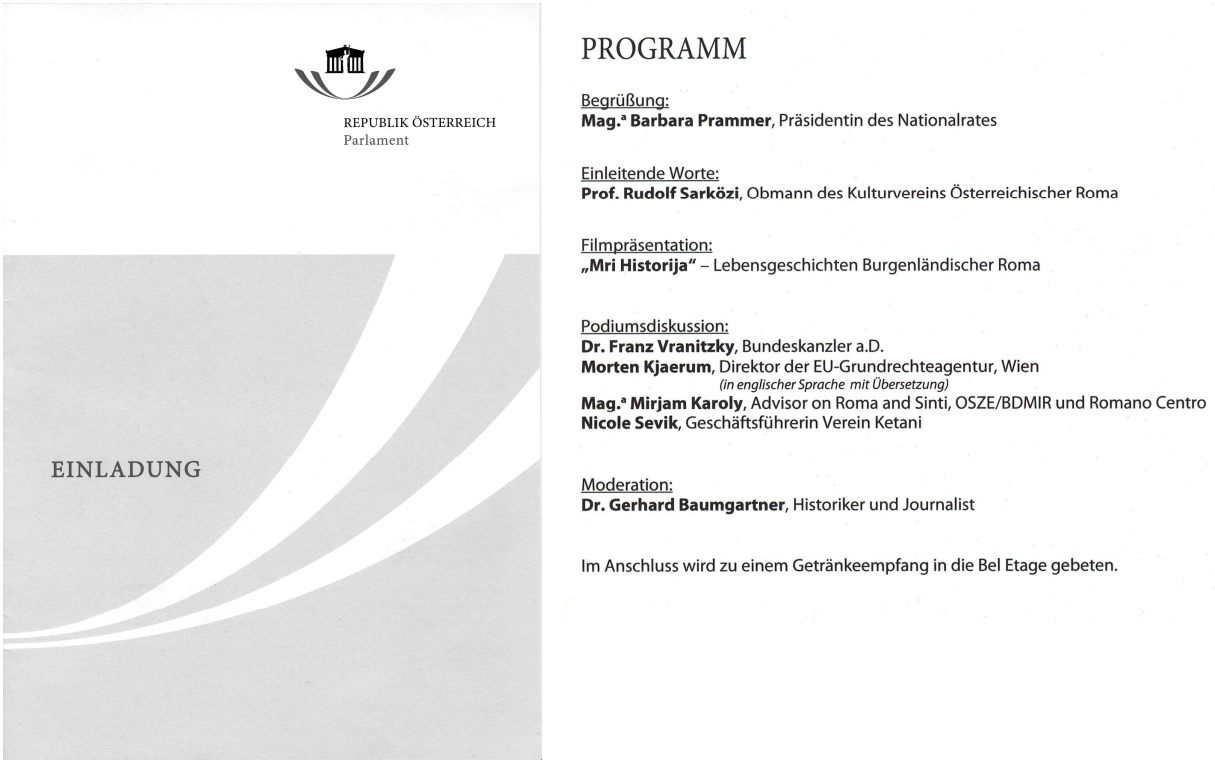
because of- among other arguments - “lack of cultural traditions”. So a proof of these was needed.

The only Austrian Roma organisation at that time – “Roma Verein zur Förderung von Zigeunern” was involved in the preparation, although it were actually two Non-Roma intellectuals and one Rom artist who did the job: Mozes Heinschink, the leading linguist and expert in Romani culture, Ilija Jovanovic, a romani poet and me, an ethnomusicologist. The program consisted of different aspects of Romani culture: music, painting, literature and film. The whole event covered a month, 3 evenings a week, the exhibition of paintings by Karl Stojka being the frame for film presentations followed by discussions, Romani literature with music, concerts and a political podium discussion. The location was a gallery-pub of Vienna’s alternative scene, and there was free entrance to all events. Additionally we had a book exhibition and other information material. We discussed the title of the event and the presentation material a lot. “Exceptionally Gypsies” obviously did stem from the socio-political situation of the time concerning Roma: clichés and ignorance. We felt that we had to use the word Gypsy – *Zigeuner*, although it was pejorative but if we had used Roma instead nobody would have known what this event was about. The sujet of the poster again is a cliché – a dancing Gypsy girl – and was created on the basis of an ethnological photograph by Eva Davidova. It was about how the Non-Roma community perceives the Gypsies. It was the outward glance on an ethnic group meant to attract the non-Roma.

It would be by no means politically correct and appropriate to advertise a Roma-event in such a way nowadays in Austria and probably it was not at that time. Austrian media covered the event very positively in general but I do remember one article that criticized especially exoticism and of course this critique was adequate.

From my standpoint nowadays I see this “construction of ethnicity” by outside researchers very critically. But finally all these activities served the purpose of political recognition of Roma in Austria as the 6th *Volksgruppe* in 1993, among many other efforts. Politicians wanted to see ethnicity in order to recognize an ethnic group. Obviously politically it was the right thing to do at that time. In so far it was a successful empowerment strategy. This political recognition was the goal formulated by Roma organizations of the time and public presentations of Romani culture served the purpose.

Romani culture has arrived at the mainstream level in Austria, it has to a certain extent become part of Austrian cultural consciousness. I can tell the difference from many experiences, on proof would be that the international Roma day, 8th of April, that means today, is celebrated nowadays in the Austrian parliament, something unthinkable 20 yeas ago.


REPUBLIK ÖSTERREICH
Parlament

EINLADUNG

PROGRAMM

Begrüßung:
Mag.ª Barbara Prammer, Präsidentin des Nationalrates

Einleitende Worte:
Prof. Rudolf Sarközi, Obmann des Kulturvereins Österreichischer Roma

Filmpräsentation:
„Mri Historija" – Lebensgeschichten Burgenländischer Roma

Podiumsdiskussion:
Dr. Franz Vranitzky, Bundeskanzler a.D.
Morten Kjaerum, Direktor der EU-Grundrechteagentur, Wien
(in englischer Sprache mit Übersetzung)
Mag.ª Mirjam Karoly, Advisor on Roma and Sinti, OSZE/BDMIR und Romano Centro
Nicole Sevik, Geschäftsführerin Verein Ketani

Moderation:
Dr. Gerhard Baumgartner, Historiker und Journalist

Im Anschluss wird zu einem Getränkeempfang in die Bel Etage gebeten.

Figure 2: Invitation for the Enquete in the Austrian parliament on the occasion of the international Roma day

Many of the Roma activists have been awarded officially by the Republic of Austria, among them Mozes Heinschink, Ceija Stojka, Rudolf Sarközi, Karl Stojka.
But this does not mean that Roma in Austria are not discriminated against any more. Discrimination concerning the labour market, housing and education as well as everyday racism still persists. A bomb attack in 1995 (February 4th) aimed at Burgenland Roma in Oberwart, killed four Roma and was the most severe assault in Austria's history since World War II. It was committed by a right wing terrorist who was well informed about Roma, perhaps due to all the mentioned public campaigns. He masked the bomb with a sign saying "Roma back to India".
After the bomb attack things looked different. Some Roma blamed the political and cultural activists, saying if they had been silent they would not have stirred the hatred. And there were others who opposed these critics, like Ruža Nikolić- Lakatos, who made a mourning song about the four victims and in doing so also gave a political statement. There were discussions

about responsibility also among scholars. I cannot offer any solution here, as this stays one of the well known dilemmas in ethnomusicology.

I present here the mourning song Phurde bajval phurde (Blow, wind blow the leaves to cover the bodies of the good boys), the political statement of Ruža Nikolić-Lakatos in order to let her speak for herself. The dilemma stays unsolved: The music only achieved public attention because of applied ethnomusicology. But on the other hand if the Roma had stayed unnoticed by public, there probably would not have been any reason for Franz Fuchs to commit the assault.

Figure 3: Mourning song by Ruža Nikolić-Lakatos based on a traditional Roma melody on occasion of the bomb attack in Oberwart 1995. Recording and transcription: Ursula Hemetek

2.2. Research on Slovenes in Styria: Fieldwork as political act (1999-2001)

My second example comes from a very different background. It is about a minority, the Slovenes in the southern parts of Styria, which officially did not exist when we started doing fieldwork there in 1999. It is an example how ethnomusicological field research itself, combined with public activities enabled a change in the approach of the consultants themselves concerning their own identity.

Due to the history of conflict in that region, being located at the border between the former Yugoslavia and Austria, especially during both World Wars, the existence of a Slovenian speaking part of the population of the region was denied in official Austrian politics, as well as by some part of the population there. But besides well founded linguistic and historic studies there was also evidence of the existence of Styrian Slovenes in the form of political activities by NGOs, one of them named “Article 7”. The name was chosen because of article 7 of the Austrian constitution and this article actually was their main political argument. In this article of the Austrian constitution from 1955, which is still valid, the political and cultural collective rights of some “autochthonous” minorities are mentioned.

Slovenes in Styria are named explicitly here, and they are granted certain rights, like the Slovenes in Carinthia and the Burgenland Croats.

Figure 4: This map from 1996 shows where the Slovenian-speaking communities live in Styria (Österreichisches Volksgruppenzentrum 1996: Bd. 9: 23)

I had known of their existence since my involvement in minority politics in Austria from 1988 onwards, and had followed the controversies to a certain extent. These arose from the legitimate request of the Article 7 organisation to implement the rights that had been granted in 1955. This would have meant recognizing the Styrian Slovenes as a *Volksgruppe*. In 1988 it seemed very unrealistic to reach that goal. Colleagues from the Institute of Ethnology in Graz had tried to do fieldwork in one of the villages, called Blatten, in 1988. Part of their research team was a colleague from Slovenia, at that time Yugoslavia. The Yugoslavian registration of his car – representing the communist enemy on the other side of the border - as well as the researchers' questions about Slovenian roots and Slovenian identity alarmed people and resulted in informants calling the police to get rid of the researchers. They fortunately did publish a study that dealt with the failure of their project, and it was very useful for me when getting interested in the matter (Moser/Katschnig-Fasch 1992).

The article 7 NGO went on with their work and they managed in 1998 to found the "Pawel Haus" as a Styrian Slovenian cultural centre in Laafeld (see www.pavelhaus.at , one of the villages that were said to be Slovenian. From the very beginning, they tried to use art and

science to convey their message. Their events evoked controversial reactions. Literature served as one means, promoting the Slovenian language. There was one author living nearby, an old woman, Pepika Prelog, who wrote and published in Slovenian and who read her works in public, in her home region as well. It is hard to imagine nowadays that she was physically attacked for using her mother tongue in public, by having tomatoes thrown at her. That happened in the 1990s. The same experience had politicians who raised the topic of Styrian Slovenes in public. There were repeated physical attacks. When seeking employment it was not wise to mention any Slovenian affiliation in that area. And I could go on naming examples to prove this severe discrimination.

In 1998, I got in personal contact with Michael Petrowitsch, one of the founding members of the Article 7 NGO and he thought it would be a very good idea to do ethnomusicological fieldwork in the region in order to prove the existence of a minority that obviously wanted to be recognized but was not accepted. Due to the controversial climate in the region taking into consideration the experiences of the ethnologists in 1988, we planned to proceed carefully and sensitively. The goal of the research was to record songs and instrumental music in the region, mainly focussing on people that might have knowledge of Slovenian traditions. We made contacts via the “Pawel Haus” but also via priests and school teachers. We (mainly staff and students of the Institute for Folk Music Research and Ethnomusicology otgethe with the Styrian Folk Song Society) organized fieldwork in several teams which had an exploratory as well as documentary character. We never started by asking people about Slovenian songs, but asked about musical activities in general. We also documented events in the villages. Coming from far away (from Vienna) was definitely an advantage as we were not involved in any local conflicts. We conducted this fieldwork from 1999 to 2001, visiting some people repeatedly. The first person we spoke to was the previously mentioned author Pepika Prelog, who proved to be a wonderful source of knowledge.

Figure 5: Ursula Hemetek and Pepika Prelog the consultant, during fieldwork in 1999. Photo: Michael Aschauer

By coming back the next year and the year after, we could witness the considerable change in the whole climate that had occurred during these three years[3]. Some people during our first visit had said that they never had spoken Slovenian in their lives, and denied to be Slovenian, although their knowledge of Slovenian songs had been considerable. Three years later the same people declared themselves to be Styrian Slovenians by birth. In the third year, questions about Slovenian songs and culture—questions that had to be avoided the years before— were welcome – people were "outing" themselves. Of course we were very happy about that result because it had been our goal from the beginning. How did that change happen? Apart from a normal process in successful fieldwork – that people begin to trust each other only after some personal experiences – there were other factors. One reason definitely was the changing image of Slovenia in the eyes of many people in the region: Formerly a communist region, now an independent state about to join the EU[4]. Economically, knowledge of the Slovenian language was profitable now, because intensive bilateral commerce started up. The political lobbying of the Article 7 NGO could be more successful under such circumstances.

[3] For further documentation of data and recordings see Hemetek 2003.
[4] Slovenia already gained independence in 1991, but the war in the former Yugoslavia went on much longer. In 1995 the Dayton Agreement was intended to bring peace, but the conflicts in Kosovo lead to another Serbian invasion followed by the NATO bombardment of Serbia in 1998. Slovenia joined the European Union in 2004.

Our research had had some effect as well. After the first year, members of the research team published a first song collection, bilingually of course, which was well accepted by the informants themselves (Hois/Logar 2000) and a second in 2001 (Hemetek/Kapun 2001). Before we started our third field research project (May 2001) there was a public celebration of Pepika Prelog's 75th birthday in the "Pawel Haus" in March 2001. She presented her autobiography (Prelog 2001) and the second collection of songs was promoted by some of the musicians we had met. This turned out to be a very successful event. Many people attended who up to that moment never had thought of entering the "Pawel Haus". Even the ambassador of the Republic of Slovenia was present, as well as some local political officials.
Obviously it was Pepika Prelog, the writer and singer, who drew the people's attendance. Her role in the change of the climate should not be underestimated, as she personifies Styrian Slovenian culture in many aspects.
Styrian TV covered the event, which proved to be influential, culturally and politically. Soon after that the head of the regional government of Styria, Waltraud Klasnic, officially visited the "Pawel Haus", which meant a first step towards recognition. Nowadays, in 2009, the Styrian Slovenes are officially recognized as part of the Slovenian Ethnic Group in Austria and I suppose that people with Slovenian roots may now define their ethnic identity in the way they wish. Unfortunately, I do not have more detailed statistics and surveys that would prove my observations about the change of the political climate in the region. This would definitely be desirable for further research.
Neither can I prove how much ethnomusicology contributed to that process, and it was more a report than an analysis what I presented here. Of course we will have to watch the further development in the region if this "outing" of consultants finally was for the benefit of these people. What I can prove is the inclusion of Slovenian songs into a publication of the Steirisches Volksliedwerk Klangbild Südsteiermark in 2006, in cooperation with the Pawel Haus, something unthinkable in 1999 when we started our research. And it has got a cover text also in 'Slovenian!

3. Concluding remarks

What I wanted to show you was first of all the prosperous potential of ethnomusicology in applied interculturality research. On the other hand, even with that potential, things get more complicated when looking into the concrete examples. Let me add some thoughts on problems of an "applied interculturality research" in ethnomusicology that can be drawn from

my presentation not in order to discourage that kind of research but in order to learn from it for further projects.

In the whole complex of "minorities" we have to face "ethnicity" with all its connotations. Ethnicity concepts do play a major role in applied interculturality activities, especially in the performative segment and to a certain extend has much to do with "administering ethnicity". Timothy J. Cooley, an US scholar who did research in Poland with the Gorale over many years, speaks about an "invention of ethnicity" by researchers (Cooley 2005). To a certain extent this happened in the presentations on Roma culture in my example. Ethnomusicologists usually present "their" musicians in public performances. The intellectual ethnomusicologist presents the lets say "authentic, prototypical" musician to an audience that probably hears this kind of music for the first time. The way this music is presented and the additional information that is given by the ethnomusicologist influence the perception and reception. This way of presentation also influences the musicians themselves. Ruza Nikolic-Lakatos for example started naming herself the "ambassadress of Romani culture" after I had used the word in one of the presentations, and Harry Stojka the Roma musician, who had played simply Jazz in 1990 started to search for "ethnic roots" in his music in the 1990s. I put myself the question in how far ethnomusicological activities have contributed to an **invention of Roma ethnicity** and Roma tradition in the 1990s. This might also hold true for the other mentioned example, the Styrian Slovenes.

One could say this can be avoided by the close cooperation with representatives of the minorities, with NGOs. But the Austrian situation concerning the issue of representation is quite special: we have numerous *Vereine* and any private person can found such a *Verein*. It is the sine qua non if you want to apply for funds. In minority issues these are very important and are usually seen as the representatives of the community, because there is no such thing as "ethnic" parties in Austria. But often community members do not feel represented by certain organisations. Minority community are no homogenous bodies. If we do applied research or research that should be applied for the benefit of a certain group of people it is obvious to involve representatives. But as there are so many different representatives- Vereine- that only represent small segments of communities and often work against each other it is sometimes not easy to find the right partner. Roma in Austria nowadays are "represented" by about 25 different organisations……..

In the end I want to mention one interesting example of how "ethnic differences" can be avoided in cultural presentations concepts, even if it is a Roma cultural presentation (see www.akademie-graz.at). This seems to be a promising approach for the future. The motto is

"Empty the boxes" and the explanation the following: "Instead of boxing people up concerning their ethnic difference, we focus on the multilayered individual identity. The attribution of certain identities starts the mechanism of exclusion…..The ROMALE10 breaks with stereotypes and mutual attributions and presents contemporary positions in art and social-politics in cooperation with Roma associations and Roma activists" (ROMALE 10, program folder 2010). This might be probably one possible model for future action of applied interculturality.

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