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Girls just wanna have Fun!
An Ethnography of young Filipinas’ Leisure Culture in Vienna

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1. Introduction

In this chapter, I am presenting the general framework of the text, which is split up into explanations that clarify the usage of certain terms and into the relevance of the chosen subject, with regard to the role of young people in the anthropological field. Before introducing the research questions and the assumptions, I will shortly describe how my topic actually developed. Lastly, a summary of the chapters will be given.

1.1 Central Notions

The people I interviewed and worked with during my studies were all young women with Philippine origins. That is why I chose to use the term ‘Filipina’. It can be ‘Philippines’ when referring to the country itself. I will be generally using ‘Filipina’, since there were no males interviewed in my research and whenever I will be talking about the people in general, I will use the terms ‘Filipin@ (singular) and Filipin@s (plural). The @ in Spanish is being used for both the female ending ‘a’ and the male ending ‘o’.

When quoting my conversations with the young women, I will simply take the words as they were spoken, for example ‘Filipinos’. ‘Pinoy’ is a self-definition, which will appear rarely.¹

The young women’s names are pseudonyms which were chosen by them. Since the interviews were conducted within one day, which was on the 3rd of January 2010, I will be leaving out the date at the end of every quotation. So, instead of mentioning ‘Interview with Sofia, 3.1.10’, I will just write (I|Sofia).

¹ See chapter 5 for a thorough explanation of the term.
Two of the three young women study at the University of Vienna, but I will only use the general term of the studies (= natural sciences), instead of specifying their majors. The third young woman still attends school, but here again, I will not specify which one. To protect their anonymity I also replaced the names of the young women’s friends and acquaintances.

The quotations of the literature are listed as footnotes in order to keep a clear structure and to guarantee fluent readability.

### 1.2 A Short Overview

My work is showing how young Filipina women as social agents actively shape their leisure time by dealing with dressing, music and new technologies in their everyday life. Apart from the focus on their leisure activities, the young women’s roles as multi-cultural actors are analyzed. Here, the emphasis is particularly laid on the parental Philippine culture which plays a crucial role regarding the young women’s regimented leisure activities. Despite of these circumstances (curfew, rules) the young women manage to claim spaces of their own. This work mainly covers the young women’s free time and not so much their educational and occupational backgrounds or relationships with boys. The latter relates especially to the Philippine community in Vienna which is so small that the danger of identifying one of the women was too much of a concern. Boys, both heterosexual and homosexual, were a subject of discussion and were sometimes involved when the young women and I hung out together, but they are not central to this work. Alcohol, drugs and cigarettes were not much of a topic since all three women neither smoke nor do drugs. They occasionally drank alcohol, but not in a conspicuous or abusive way.

Based on the theories from the two anthropologists, Helena Wulff and Vered Amit-Talai, I attempt to link the Filipina youth culture to their concepts of ‘microculture’ and ‘the multi-cultural of youth’.
1.3 What is Anthropological about this Topic?

One of the first anthropologists interested in studies on youth was Margaret Mead, who conducted fieldwork among Samoan youths in the traditional focus of kinship and family structures. Her results were recorded in her pioneering book *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928) where she compared the deviant Western youth with the trouble-free Samoan ones. Mead's conclusion that the process from childhood to adulthood is a transition without any psychological or emotional stress generated harsh criticism from American scientists - among them Derek Freedman (1983) who argued that she presented an idealized image of youth and that her fieldwork was strongly influenced by her own ideological considerations. But I agree with the anthropologist Christina Toren when she says that: “[...] it remains the case that she was one of the first anthropologists to realize that ‘childhood’ is culturally variable and that an understanding of how exactly a child becomes an adult is important for anthropology as a comparative study of human possibilities.”

From the 1990s on a great amount of academic work has been published on youth; but that had not always been the case. Youth studies are indeed young phenomena compared to other disciplines of the social sciences. Since the engagement with such a new field was disregarded for a long time, youth and children were hence imposed to a marginalized position. Children of immigrants were perceived as “appendages”\(^3\) of their parents and were therefore “not considered as complete social beings”.\(^4\) In addition, male youth cultures appeared to be the more interesting research topics, but were clearly presented from the adults’ perspective.\(^5\) This traditional approach mirrors both the exclusion of studying female youth cultures on the one hand and on the other, the lack of equal treatment of male and female youth in the social sciences in general, including Anthropology.

\(^2\) Toren 1996: 92  
\(^3\) Caputo 1995: 22  
\(^4\) Knörr & Nunes 2005  
\(^5\) see Bucholtz 2002
The collected volume *Youth Cultures: A Cross-Cultural Perspective* edited by Vered Amit-Talai and Helena Wulff is of great importance: Because the contributors work with new approaches in which young people are treated as social agents in their own right. This volume serves as constructive criticism to previous and limited approaches and proposes different and new ones in a challenging way. The successful attempt to get rid of the relatedness between youth and resistance – the latter is a long-lasting paradigm in sociology - is the basis of the authors’ works, who, simultaneously point out how various youth cultures construct meanings and how they negotiate culture in different ways. “Youth culture is what young people are concerned with, and there is more cultural agency in it than most earlier studies have acknowledged.”

1.4 The Emergence of an Idea ...

In the last decades, Vienna has (again) become a multicultural city with increasing immigration rates from different parts of the world. While Austrian anthropologists have focused strongly on the two prevalent immigrant groups in the twentieth century, namely Turks and immigrants from former Yugoslavia, there is much less empirical research on other immigrant groups.8

Anthropologists and experts on migration studies work a lot on the offspring of immigrants in Austria with different subject areas: integration and education, the psychological condition or socio-economic situation of immigrants or members of the second and third generation

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6 Wulff 1995: 1
7 ibid. 15
I realized that only little research has been done on Filipin@’s in general and on young female Filipinas in particular. As I have a Filipina background myself, I intended to explore and depict the social world of young Filipinas in Vienna.

Influenced by my minor subject ‘German as a Foreign Language’, my first idea for this thesis concerned foreign language acquisition of young Filipin@’s. However, I failed to put this into an anthropological context. The process of finding an appropriate topic was then sped up through conversations with my supervisor, Anna Streissler, as well as with Helena Wulff and Ulf Hannerz, whom I met at the ERASMUS Intensive Program 2009 in Vienna. The numerous speeches, presentations and discussions of the master students were essential support for thinking through a reflecting concept.

Specifically, I want to find out how young women deal with dressing, music and new technologies in different ways and to what extent popular culture and its consumption influence the youth cultures. Facebook, the most popular social network in the World Wide Web, is used as a tool for communication and information exchange regarding everyday life. It further played an essential role in the entire fieldwork as my research partners repeatedly discussed different aspects concerning their lives in this medium.

Philippine children in Austria learn Tagalog and English at home and German as soon as they enter kindergarten. As they grow older, they tend to use a mixture of the three languages when interacting with their parents or among themselves. As a researcher I felt lucky to be proficient, at least orally, in those three languages, because not only were they advantageous in the fieldwork, but also were they filled with cultural meanings that my informants and I share.

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9 See e.g. Torres D’Mello 2000; Le Espiritu & Wolf 2001; Reiterer 2007, 2008
10 At this point, I would like to express sincere thanks to Thomas Fillitz and Anna Streissler. Without them I wouldn’t have had the possibility of participating in this program.
I chose to work with young women not only because the access to them was easier than it would have been with young men, but the women's experiences were largely similar to mine.

Of course, it is an assumption when I contend that our common understanding led to a better and closer relation than it would have with young men. But partly due to the fact that we have the same gender and similar experiences at the same stage of life we were and still are on cordial terms with each other. Knowing about my topic from first time experience also had a drawback, namely the lack of analytical distance.

Finally, working on this topic became very important to me, as prior scientific contributions largely dealt with male youth and male youth gangs.

1.5 Research Questions

How do Filipina youth in Vienna re-/create and re-/produce popular culture as part of their microculture and multi-cultures?

This big research question certainly requires further questions on a smaller scale. In this respect, I was interested in the meanings that the young women ascribed to the various settings of their lives, but also how they organize, structure and create their leisure in everyday life. The following questions arose right after I started my fieldwork; they are basically concerned with the young women’s day-to-day life:

- In which ways do young Filipinas deal with dressing/music/gender/new technologies/social relations?
- Which meanings do they ascribe to them?
- How do the studied women deal with the multi-cultures that surround and influence them?
• What does popular culture and its consumption mean in their microculture?

1.6 Assumptions

My assumptions were largely influenced by the knowledge I had before my research proper started. Anna Streissler particularly taught me how to handle my bias by giving me constructive criticism and by sharing her anthropological knowledge and experience with me. While conducting the fieldwork, topics such as music and especially karaoke, clubbing, dressing, and the role of being female in a Philippine family or the upbringing method from the young women’s perspective were popular subjects of discussions. Here are the assumptions that are going to be repeatedly discussed in the course of the text, but especially in chapter 9:

1. Filipin@ youth define themselves culturally through consuming and producing music and dressing in their microculture.

2. Based on the upbringing method of Philippine parents, music and especially karaoke are central aspects of the Filipina youth culture.

3. Filipina women are brought up more strictly than men, which is why they feel more overprotected and underprivileged.

4. Clothing, jewelry and brands are of great interest because the outward appearance and the distinctive look are important to the young women.

5. Facebook, mobile phones and other forms of new technologies and media are indispensable tools of communication in their everyday life.
1.7 Structure of the Text

Chapter two is a first introduction to the microculture and gives first insights into the fieldwork.

The third focuses on the Philippine labor migration to Austria, providing important background information. Some statistical information about the Philippine second generation in Austria and mainly in Vienna will be shown, which will then be followed by the current state of research on second-generation migrants in general and particularly on the Philippine second generation.

The fourth chapter deals with the anthropology of youth, its role in the social sciences and the debates around it. I will give an overview about the emergence of youth in the social sciences in general and youth in anthropology in particular. Some pioneering studies and researches are presented. While in the first half of the 20th century youth had been associated with deviant behavior, violence, the street and males, one can note a shift from the 1970s on in the way of exploring youth: Scholars began seeing youth as social agents, who are actively involved in a given society; individuals who are capable of talking and acting on their own. The scientific interest also moved further to subjects such as femininity, consumption, shopping, and the roles of young women from different classes and ethnicities. The two essential and analytical concepts that I was working with were those from Vered Amit-Talai, the multi-culture of youth, and from Helena Wulff, the microculture. As popular culture and its consumption clearly influence the young women’s daily lives, an emphasis is thus laid on those with particular regard to leisure activities, consumption of music and dressing and its meaning in their everyday life.

The fifth chapter is an illustration of how the fieldwork was designed and which qualitative methods I used for collecting the data of my research. I will describe my first attempts of contacting female research partners. I especially deal with the role
of Facebook since it served as our connecting tool, but also as a virtual which made my fieldwork easier to some extent. I also reflect my role as researcher.

The sixth chapter is an introduction to the microculture that consists of three women. Let's call the members of this microculture Sofia, Summer and Bella. They are introduced in the context of their social backgrounds. The focal points in this chapter are their social relations, their environments (= multicultures) and the meaning of friendship. This chapter takes Swedish anthropologist Helena Wulff's concept of the microculture as a starting point.

Chapters seven and eight comprise the multi-culture of youth following the theoretical concept provided by Canadian anthropologist Vered Amit-Talai. The most present and up to date issues of their social lives, with which the women are dealing with, are discussed. From an analytical perspective, those are parental Philippine culture, hegemonic, occupational, and friendship based cultures. This chapter offers a detailed insight into the socio-cultural lives of the women.

At last, chapter nine presents a conclusion and a presentation of the most important results of my fieldwork with reference to the research questions and the assumptions. Some further considerations and questions which arose during this process, will be discussed.
2. A Typical Weekend Out: A first Introduction to the Microculture

In this chapter I am going to present how a typical weekend looked like in order to introduce the young women and to get an idea of their microculture. Yet, before doing so, I will introduce one after another, starting with the person whom I met first.

Sofia was nineteen years old when I first met her and turned twenty in autumn 2009. She had done her A-levels in the summer of the same year. Before starting her natural science studies she did an internship in a chemistry department together with her cousin and best friend Bella. Sofia is the eldest from the group and the only one who had experienced a serious relationship. She likes shopping very much.

In the course of my fieldwork, Sofia had different part time jobs (e.g. in telecommunication, in jewelry and fashion shops) in order to afford her passion for fashion, but also to save up some money and to increase her pocket money. Sofia is a nice, friendly and caring young woman, who – at the moment – is craving for independency due to a conflictive relationship with her parents. She has two younger siblings.

In the beginning of my fieldwork Bella was eighteen years old and turned nineteen around Christmas time. She had also done her A-levels the previous summer and decided to study together with Sofia. Like Sofia, Bella was frequently looking for a job. She firstly worked in a small shop selling clothes and eventually found a better-paid one in a bigger fashion store. Bella is someone who reflects a lot on what she is doing. She thinks about how to spend her money and knows how to deal with it. She is a passionate shopper as well and likes clubbings. Apart from being
communicative, funny and friendly, she reflects every situation in her life thoroughly. Bella has an older brother and a younger sister.

Bella’s best friend Summer turned eighteen in the summer of 2009. She still attends school, which occupies her very much. After finishing school she thinks about going to University, but this is yet unclear as she needs to focus on her A-levels, which she is taking in 2011. Summer is the youngest of the group and likes shopping as well. She is very reflective and a little bit quieter than the other two women, but she likes parties as much as Bella and Sofia. Summer is communicative and very busy with school.

All three women have a Philippine background and Bella and Sofia were born in the Philippines. Summer was born outside the Philippines, but moved there at a very young age and came to Austria when she was eight. The other two women came when they were nine and ten. Bella and Sofia started elementary school in the Philippines and continued their education in Vienna. Summer directly entered elementary school when she came to Austria.

The young women know each other from their childhood since their parents have a common friend through whom they were connected. Bella and Sofia are cousins and have two siblings each. Summer is an only child.

Now, I would like to describe a typical weekend in my fieldwork which is seconded by some of my fieldwork notes: In general, the weekends consisted of making an appointment for the same or next day and going to a party or clubbing after we decided where to go. The day after a party we usually talked about the events either on Facebook or on our mobile phones. At this point I need to mention that Summer was not allowed to attend every party due to her strict mother, who always wanted to know about an event a few days before.
Fri, Dec. 18th 2009 (Fieldwork diary entry)

*I talked to Bella on the phone and as usual we talked about everything, such as her first exams at the University and about cheating techniques, but also about how to spend the summer holidays, traveling. On this day I had no contact with Sofia. Summer and I, on the other hand, sent each other SMS like every other day without any special reason. Bella, Summer and I knew from previous days that we would go out on December 19th, but did not really talk about it on this day. We said we will talk about it tomorrow.*

Sat, Dec. 19th 2009 (Fieldwork diary entry)

*Earlier this evening Bella and I talked about her belated birthday party and where it should take place. She decided to have it at Volksgarten Banane and would arrange some free tickets. Like yesterday, Summer and I were in contact through SMS and so with Sofia. We were just checking if everyone would go to Bella’s party. […]*

The Volksgarten was a good place for conducting fieldwork because it was a place where the young women loved to go. The music – Hip Hop and R’n’B - and the ethnically mixed audience seemed to attract their interest in this club.

“[…] Music is very important when we go to these places [Volksgarten and other clubs], because when you know which music is played, you also know which kind of people go there.” (I | Sofia)

These aspects were the basis for going to any club; other requirements, for example, concerned their choice of outfit, which was accompanied by a long time of actually combining and creating them. The young women were very much preoccupied with what to wear because for them it was important to look sexy and attractive. This process consisted of changing their clothes several times. Bella already knew a day before what she would wear: Black skinny jeans, a violet-beige checkered chemise and black high heels. Of course, she had a matching handbag to her outfit and lots of accessories, especially big bangles and bracelets.

In my fieldwork diary I wrote about how the evening had started, here is how it continued:

[…] We agreed that we would meet around 0:00h in front of the club. My friend and I arrived on time and checked where the young women were. Because we couldn’t find
them I sent Bella and Sofia SMS. They answered that they had been waiting for their ordered taxi for more than half an hour. In the meanwhile my friend and I ordered drinks and met some other friends coincidentally. At the end, Bella arrived with Summer, Phoebe and Lucy at two o’clock. I asked were Sofia was; they said she was too tired and so she stayed at her boyfriends’ place.
The club was full of people (Blacks, Asians, etc.) already and the music was ‘old school’ Hip Hop and R’n’B. Before the girls got ready for dancing they went to the bar and ordered several tequila shots to heat up the atmosphere. The girls put their handbags on the table that my friend and I occupied before they had arrived. I didn’t feel like dancing today, instead I was concentrating on what the girls were doing. I couldn’t escape from not dancing because the girls always told me to join them and I also liked the music, so .. Why not? We headed to the dance floor. In the meanwhile Phoebe took some pictures and the girls were posing in front of the lens – so did I. Another round of tequila triggered an ecstatic situation in which the girls couldn’t stop singing with and dancing to the music. After a few shots and almost three hours of dancing we all decided to go home.

This clubbing experience, according to geographer Ben Malbon, is “a total experience”, which “encounters body and mind”.11 He further argues that “the consumption of the club experience is socially performed [...].”12 This social performance is different to the one in everyday life because the young women display other social practices, such as dressing in another way or being more relaxed than in other areas of life. The club offers, moreover, a social space where people are “actors and audience”13 at the same time. As I have experienced the microculture, I can think of two stages of performance: The first one is performed alone, which is the actual process of thinking about how to display oneself in public (here: the club). The second stage is the performance itself where each person presents him/herself in a group. The first stage contains considerations of how to dress and which kind of make-up to apply for the simple reason that the outward appearance is a presentation of oneself. The second stage is the part where the young women ‘lose’ their individual identity by acting as a group, i.e. collectively.
Social performance in this context is influenced by music and alcohol, which play a crucial role, for these are the actual elements that clubbers consume.

11 Malbon 1998: 270
12 ibid.: 270
13 ibid.: 267
Along with the bases for going to the right club (music and people) another circumstance is crucial: feeling comfortable in the chosen club. This is important insofar as the young women experienced racism in another one.

"We only go to places where they play music we like and places where there’s no discrimination. There are some clubs here in Vienna and they’re really discriminating, like Club Couture, because a black friend of mine and her friend couldn’t enter the disco because of their skin. It was too conspicuous, because they also showed their identity cards and they’re older than eighteen. Other clubs, like Volksgarten, Sass Club, Ramien Bar, Fragezeichen or Babenberger Passage are correct. And Praterdome is open as well, but they let enter ‘Prolos’14. But I wouldn’t go there anyways.” (I| Bella)

In the same conversation Bella also stressed that they - Filipin@s – did not experience racism directly, but they clearly avoid these places. The clubs Bella mentioned are largely located in the inner city of Vienna and the ones where people of different origins come together, may it be other Asian teenagers, young people with an African background, Austrians or teens from former Yugoslavia, respectively Turkey.

An event, such as the Asian Night, which is often held at the club called Moulin Rouge and sometimes at the Clubschiff, is mostly frequented by Chinese and Vietnamese youth, but also by Filipin@s and sometimes by people with an African background. These young people also bring their friends of the white Austrian majority culture, but the pan-Asian community outweighs due to the fact that it is an event meant for Asians.

During my fieldwork, the young women and I managed to go to an Asian Night once. The event was announced as the Asian party of the year (Dec. 25th 2009), because it celebrated its 8th year of existence. It took place in three different locations, the Club Catwalk, the Moulin Rouge and the Palais Eschenbach. We decided to go to the latter location. As far as I could observe the situation, people did not really mix among

14 Engl.: pleb
each other. Filipin@s were in interaction with other Filipin@s and the same situations occurred within the Chinese and Vietnamese communities. Instead, they had a scrutinizing look at each other and either checked the performances from one another or just did not care about what the others were doing.

Now, I would like to go back to the actual weekend and illustrate the day after our club visit at Volksgarten.

Sun, Dec. 20th 2009 (Fieldwork diary entry)

*Today was a typical Sunday: I slept long, had breakfast, watched a movie and met the girls on Facebook.* As usual, the pictures from the previous night were online. I’m not sure anymore, but either Phoebe or Bella uploaded them and tagged everyone. Of course, the pix were commented! And so I commented as well; nothing special, just funny things...

This typical weekend was often followed by being online on Facebook or by going to our place of hang out – the Coffee Day. Facebook in general played a very important role in the course of my fieldwork. Because the young women always had access to the Internet via their mobile phones it was not too difficult for them to log on whenever they wanted or wherever they were (public transport, school, lectures at the University, café). Thanks to the advanced technology, the young women used Facebook on their smart phones as well. Facebook gained so much popularity and importance that it has become a part of their everyday life and thus an integral part of my fieldwork. The same applies to the Internet, because when it came to the young women’s interest in dressing, many ideas were collected online on fashion blogs. Magazines and the TV also served as platforms for fetching ideas:

“I compare frequently, especially when I browse the magazines. And who doesn’t look at people on the street? Everyone looks at everyone. I also like to surf on Philippine fashion blogs, most of the 'Fashionistas’¹⁵ have blogs.” (I | Sofia)

¹⁵ ‘Fashionistas’ are persons who follow the trends of high fashion.
Before I finish this chapter I would shortly like to give an insight into the young women’s diaries which they kept on my request. I generally have to note that the diaries were written differently but all regard the young women’s ordinary week. Sofia kept hers short, but wrote on a fancy background image, while Summer and Bella described each day precisely. Summer still attends school, for which reason the description of her week largely relates to school. Bella’s diary is like a monolog, which proved to be very valuable for the data analysis as she gave an insight into her personal thoughts. Sofia summarized each day by writing in keywords. While the other two women described their everyday life and which clothes they wore, Sofia skipped the former. Here is what they wrote in their diaries:

“I had class test in the first lesson straight away. The earlier, the better, I’d say. The next few lessons were all relaxing, although a little boring. That day we had one hour longer than on Monday. When I got home around 6 p.m., I needed to eat and took a shower afterwards. After that I surfed on the Internet and of course I’ve done some facebooking in order to be up-to-date. I called and texted some friends. Around 23h I got so tired and whacked, so I decided to go to sleep.”

**Outfit:** dark skinny jeans, white tank top, white long-sleeved shirt, necklace, grey jacket, printed scarf and brown boots

(Summer’s diary entry, Tuesday 15th December 2009)

“**Outfit:** pullover dress; **Accessories:** blue stockings, watch, Thomas Sabo bracelet, Swarovski heart-necklace, belt; **Shoes:** overknee boots”

(Sofia’s diary entry, Thursday 3rd December 2009)

This little insight shows how Summer structures her daily life: For one thing she talks about her education and for another, she refers to how she spends her leisure. The diaries generally give an idea of the young women’s daily routine, like what they do, where they hang out, which people they meet and which role dressing

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16 Bella’s diary entry will be illustrated and analyzed in chapter 8.2.
plays. But Bella aptly titled her diary with the following heading: *A normal week for just another teenager next door*...

This first introduction to a middle-class group of three young women - based on dressing, music and new technologies - gives an impression of the “cultural stuff” my ethnography deals with. The next two chapters form the scientific backdrop of my study. Whereas chapter three gives a historical overview of Philippine labor migration to Austria and the role of the Philippine second generation, chapter four treats the development and the actual state of knowledge of the anthropology of youth.
3. Philippine Labor Migration to Austria

When labor migration started in the 1960s and 1970s Austria recruited so-called guest workers mainly from Turkey and former Yugoslavia. Immigrants were basically male and low skilled, but got an opportunity that ensured a temporary job with which they either sent remittances back home or had their families come too. This recruitment occurred from 1961 to 1974.

The circumstances under which the Philippine labor migration took place in the early 1970s differ significantly from the Turks and immigrants from former Yugoslavia. Apart from the few Philippine families that came in the early 1960s for various reasons, most of them immigrated because Austria was in need of skilled nurses for its health care system. On this account the Austrian government started to recruit so-called Filipino overseas workers (FOW), but was only interested in young single women.

The municipality of Vienna recruited altogether 560 Philippine nurses between 1973 and 1982. In this period four to five groups – each counted around 20 nurses – were sent to Austria each year.\textsuperscript{17} Besides the temporary contract, they were also given the opportunity to stay and to extend their contracts. After the end of the recruitment program \textit{“the actual number of Philippine nurses working in Austria was much higher and also included males since, starting in 1975, many Philippine relatives entered Austria with a tourist visa but intended to stay and to acquire a permanent work permit.”}\textsuperscript{18} By that time, Austria was still lacking health care staff for which reason it was not too difficult to stay. Another occupational field that seemed interesting for FOW came with the establishment of UN-offices in 1979. Those who already had secured jobs grasped the opportunity to bring their relatives. The ones, who joined, also found employment in different fields, mostly in the service sector.

\textsuperscript{17} see e.g. Gisela Reiterer 2008

\textsuperscript{18} ibid.: 8
“Many of them, even if they have a Philippine university degree, work in fairly menial jobs. They can mostly be found in fast-food restaurants and restaurants or hospitals as kitchen hands, cleaners, janitors, bell boys, or cashiers in supermarkets.” In comparison to other EU-countries - where especially women work as household helpers or maids - the socio-economic situation of Philippine immigrants in Austria has been more secure.

In statistical terms, the actual number of Filipin@s in Austria is quite difficult to determine. Up until these days Filipin@s were summed up with other small immigrant groups as ‘others’. As a result of the last census in 2001, new data on migration provide a clearer picture of Philippine migration to Austria. Austrian political scientist Gisela Reiterer criticizes the alleged results in a way that “these data only cover migrants born in the Philippines or Philippine nationals resident in Austria, i.e. mostly first-generation immigrants.” Numbers on second-generation Filipin@s will be shown in chapter 3.3.

3.1 Migratory Life in Vienna

Right after the first group of women arrived in the 1970s, the first Philippine migrant associations were founded. Among them was the Association of Filipinos in Austria (AFA) which – in the beginning – had few members, but the number of participants increased as more and more Filipin@s were recruited. As time passed, several organizations with different purposes were founded. Most of them are cultural, social and religious oriented networks wherewith the maintenance and mediation of the Philippine culture and traditions, but also the engagement with leisure and cultural activities, are pursued. Being connected and giving the persons the possibility to participate in different networks are important and supportive aspects in a life of an immigrant.

19 ibid.: 10
20 see Waldrauch & Sohler 2004: 410
21 see ibid.: 11
22 see ibid.: 11
23 ibid.: 11
An interesting establishment came up with the employment of Filipin@s at the UN headquarter in Vienna: The importance of communicating with the Philippines generated a collaboration with the telecommunication company T-Mobile. The founder’s basic idea was to give UN-Filipin@ workers the possibility of contacting their families in the Philippines whenever they wanted. Because of the great response and the lucrative business the special T-Mobile tariff became accessible to every Viennese Filipin@ as well.

Many organizations have the main principle to passing on the culture, traditions and most importantly the languages to their offspring, but also to maintain the bond to their country of origin. The Philippine embassy in Vienna offers children and youth monthly lessons concerning the Philippine history and the official language – Tagalog.
According to the embassy there are 63 registered Philippine organizations in Austria:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Organization</th>
<th>Quantity of Organization/s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cultural</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural/Religious</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social/Charity</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-Cultural</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-Cultural/Political</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-Cultural/Religious</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umbrella Organizations</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unstated</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>63</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Embassy of the Republic of the Philippines in Austria. [www.philippine-embassy.at](http://www.philippine-embassy.at) / last access: 2nd of August 2009 (see same table in Gisela Reiterer 2008)

The socio-cultural organizations, for instance, are split up into the regional origins of the members. Some Filipin@s come from the Northern island Luzon, which again is divided in regions, provinces and cities, such as Cavite or Bicol. Other Filipin@s are from the Visayas – a region that comprises hundreds of islands, among them Cebu or Ilo-Ilo. So, the Philippine community consists, among other organizations, of the Cavite society or the Bicol society, which is also religious.
3.2 Second Generation

Research on second generation with a migration background is a young phenomenon that captured the researcher's attention only in the last decade.\textsuperscript{24} The term itself is connoted differently for which reason different perceptions are to be found. Political scientist Rainer Bauböck, for instance, perceives immigration as something that indicates movement, which means that young people who were born and grew up in another home country than their parents cannot be called immigrants (German: Einwanderer).\textsuperscript{25} The second generation therefore has immigrant roots, but cannot be perceived as a generation of immigrants itself.\textsuperscript{26} That means that \textit{Einwanderer} is not the correct term for the second generation. Instead, the correct term would be “persons with migration background” because neither do they imply movement nor does it determine the duration of the second generation's stay.

Many studies have laid the focus on the integration of second-generation migrants in mostly European countries and the US\textsuperscript{27}. In the course of this debate, two topics have crystallized. The first refers to the social integration of second-generation migrants and the second stresses the consequence of globalization in the sense that children of immigrants are now less likely to assimilate.\textsuperscript{28} Sociologist Maurice Crul argues that second-generation migrants tend to “\textit{develop bicultural or hybrid identities rather than adopting the majority identity}”\textsuperscript{29}. However, early research on second generation paid little attention to the integration process itself, but instead was policy oriented.

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{24} see Crul 2003: 965
\item \textsuperscript{25} see Bauböck & Volf 2001: 18
\item \textsuperscript{26} see ibid.: 18
\item \textsuperscript{27} see e.g.: Binder 2003; Chambers 1995
\item \textsuperscript{28} see Crul 2003: 966
\item \textsuperscript{29} see ibid.: 966/Whether one can talk of a majority identity is contested, especially in anthropology where identity is discussed as a much more dynamic term.
\end{itemize}
The largest second-generation migrant group in Europe\textsuperscript{30} is constituted by the Turks, numbering up to four million and residing, for the most part, in European countries.\textsuperscript{31} A great amount of studies on Turkish offspring emanated out of two reasons: Firstly, the quantitative importance of the group cannot be simply ignored and secondly, \textit{“the fact that Turks are often considered as particularly problematic with regard to integration.”}\textsuperscript{32} Thus, integration was an essential element for studying second-generation Turks with the main focuses on their educational and labor market status\textsuperscript{33}, but also their predominantly Muslim religion, which made them targets of anti-Islamic tendencies.

According to Austrian anthropologist Barbara Herzog-Punzenberger there are distinctions to be made when talking about the second generation. For her, the offspring from immigrants are those persons who either were born in Austria or immigrated before they reached school age. These again can be divided in three further categories, namely:

\begin{itemize}
\item 1) Persons who were born with Austrian citizenship
\item 2) Persons who were naturalized and
\item 3) Persons who do not hold Austrian citizenship\textsuperscript{34}
\end{itemize}

Citizenship is an essential indicator for capturing the number of the second generation. No other possible way can lead to more thorough results than the category of citizenship. That may be true for the largest immigrant groups on the one hand, but on the other, it does not really cover the immigrants who are

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{30} Crul’s and Vermeulen’s study focused on 6 European countries: Sweden, Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, France and Austria.
\item \textsuperscript{31} see ibid.: 968
\item \textsuperscript{32} Worb 2003: 1016
\item \textsuperscript{33} see e.g. Herzog-Punzenberger 2003
\item \textsuperscript{34} see Herzog-Punzenberger 2003: 7
\end{itemize}
subsumed with other immigrant groups in ‘others’. From this, it follows that the ‘others’ are even more difficult to detect.\textsuperscript{35}

According to Statistik Austria (April 2010), the number of second-generation migrants amounts to 385,500 and 265,000 acquired Austrian citizenship. The Turks number up to 60,500 and migrants from former Yugoslavia up to 23,400.\textsuperscript{36}

In comparison, second-generation Filipin@’s number up to more than 11,600, of them more than 7,200 acquired Austrian citizenship.

### 3.3 Research on Second-Generation Filipin@’s

Research on both the first and the second-generation Filipin@’s is sparse, at least in the European context. The existing contributions concern mostly FOW, i.e. the first generation. The ones who have been working on and with the offspring of Filipin@’s are American scholars\textsuperscript{37}, such as sociologists Yen Le Espiritu and Diane Wolf.

Le Espiritu mentions that even though Filipin@’s in the United States make up the second largest immigrant group, very little research has been published.\textsuperscript{38}

“Lamenting the neglect of Filipino Americans in the literature on U.S. immigration, ethnicity, and communities, others have declared that Filipinos are the “forgotten Asian Americans” (Cordova 1983); that “not much is known about them” (Cabezas, Shinagawa, and Kawaguchi 1986-1987: 1); and that there is “no history. No published literature. No nothing” (Peñaranda, Syquia, and Tagatac 1974: 49).\textsuperscript{39} In another article Wolf and Le Espiritu present a possible explanation for why the second largest Filipin@ immigrant group in the U.S. has been understudied and overlooked: „Some speculate that Filipinos are neglected by academics in part because they blend

\textsuperscript{35} see ibid.: 12
\textsuperscript{36} see Statistik Austria: http://www.statistik.at/web_de/statistiken/bevoelkerung/bevoelkerungsstruktur/bevoelkerung_nach_migrationshintergrund/033240.html / last access: 23rd April 2010
\textsuperscript{37} One possible reason for the US’ interest on FOW and their offspring is the common historical past.
\textsuperscript{38} see Le Espiritu 2005: 145
\textsuperscript{39} ibid.: 146
in so easily to the U.S. landscape, particularly those who arrived after 1965, due to their largely urban, professional, and middle-class backgrounds and lifestyles.\textsuperscript{40}

With respect to the Austrian context, second-generation Filipinos are hardly integrated in the academic debates. Maybe the same assumption that Wolf and Le Espiritu propagate is applicable to the Austrian situation regarding the middle-class lifestyle. What are certainly different are the dimensions of immigration and the lack of previous political ties prior to the first phases of immigration in the 1960s.

Arlene Torres-D’Mello, an Australian anthropologist, is one of the few scholars who works on first and second-generation Filipinos in Australia. Her book \textit{Being Filipino Abroad} (2001) deals with the socio-economic situation and with questions of identity. Filipinos who migrated to Australia (and to other Western countries) are often in a point of intersection where they experience conflictual situations with their offspring due to the varying experiences that parents and children have. Both find themselves in a situation of dilemma where they have to deal with maintaining the Philippine culture and assimilating to the new one simultaneously. Torres-D’Mello tries to deal with the perceptions of both the first and the second-generation Filipinos. At the same time she steps in as a mediator between those two.

As already mentioned above, Gisela Reiterer particularly deals with Austrian Filipinos and – like Torres-D’Mello – stresses the Philippine upbringing method. Through participating in Philippine celebrations and networking with the Philippine community in Vienna. She was one of the first or one of the few Austrian scientists showing interest to a middle-class immigrant group. Up until today she is dealing with questions of identity, education, migration, integration and society. Her current work is a comparison about how the first and second-generation Filipinos in Vienna deal with the society they live in.

\textsuperscript{40} Le Espiritu & Wolf 2001: 157
In previous works Reiterer stresses that capturing the number of the second generation seems to be difficult, also because a large percentage was born in Austria and acquired Austrian citizenship. This means that they do not appear in the statistics as Philippine citizens, just as all other persons with migrant background who now have Austrian citizenship.

Reiterer sums up some existing ‘numbers’ as follows: “Guesstimates by the Philippine embassy in Austria put the number of migrants of Philippine descent in Austria at 30,000-35,000. By 1 January 2007, according to the Austrian national statistical office (Statistik Austria) 11,623 people had a Philippine migration background. Of these, 7,762 or 66.78% were female, 3,861 or 33.22% male.”

### People with Philippine migrant background – Country of Birth

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of birth</th>
<th>Austria</th>
<th>Philippines</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In numbers</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>In numbers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Both sexes</strong></td>
<td>11,623</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>7,762</td>
<td>66.78</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>3,861</td>
<td>33.22</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1

Source: Reiterer 2008: 12

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41 see Reiterer 2008: 11/see Table 1
People with Philippine migrant background - Citizenship

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Citizenship</th>
<th>Austria</th>
<th>Philippines</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In</td>
<td>In</td>
<td>In</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>numbers</td>
<td>numbers</td>
<td>numbers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both sexes</td>
<td>11,623</td>
<td>7,254</td>
<td>4,257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>62.41</td>
<td>36.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>112</td>
<td>0.96</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>7,762</td>
<td>5,230</td>
<td>2,450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>66.78</td>
<td>67.38</td>
<td>31.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>82</td>
<td>1.06</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>3,861</td>
<td>2,024</td>
<td>1,807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>33.22</td>
<td>52.42</td>
<td>46.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2
Source: Reiterer 2008: 12

This statistics show the rather small Philippine community and that Filipinas are still the bigger group compared to Filipinos. Both groups exhibit high willingness to acquire Austrian citizenship, probably out of mainly economic considerations. The following chapter shows some of the migratory activities of a rather small group.

Looking at the body of literature, one can observe that plenty of contributions have been made regarding immigrant groups in Austria in the context of integration and migration. And while second-generation Turks and migrants from former Yugoslavia are well studied, second generations from other smaller migrant groups, among them Filipin@s, are still understudied.
4. Towards an Anthropology of Youth

“If anthropology is the study of humankind, why has it dealt mostly with men, to an increasing extent with women, to some degree with children and old people, but very little with youth as a subject matter?”

Research on youth or on young people can be traced back to the beginning of the 20th century when Stanley Hall introduced the notion of adolescence (1904) in his book of the same title. Adolescence as a category was then frequently studied from a biological and psychological perspective. Young people were defined through their biological age and their physiological development phase and were perceived as individuals in an exceptional period of life. Youth as a social category was not of interest back then. The transition from childhood to adulthood was understood as a life stage that was perceived as a troublesome phase of storm-and-stress bridging the two. Young people were thus assumed primarily as not-yet-finished human beings.

The social sciences’ body of literature (especially that of sociology) of the 20th century contains several contributions concerning youth, but dealing mostly with violent, delinquent and rebellious males and male gangs from ‘working class’ Western societies. This development stems, among other things, from the socio-economically oriented Chicago School that, especially in the first half of the 20th century put an emphasis on male youth from a criminological perspective. At the same time representatives of sociology and psychology dealt with youth as social problems strengthening the one-sided view of youth as deviant and troublesome.

42 Wulff 1995: 1
43 Bucholtz 2002: 529
44 see e.g. Thrasher 1927; Cohen 1959; Alexander 2000
British sociologist Deborah Chambers criticizes the way academic research became set on defining the term 'delinquency' - an idea that came up with the academic interest in teenagers, but mostly male - instead of shifting the focus on analysis of the lives of young women.\(^45\)

The Swedish media and communication researcher Johan Fornäs takes up a different approach by comparing the social sciences’ disciplines and concludes that “Among economically, politically, psychologically or pedagogically-oriented researchers it is much more common to see young people as a problem than it is among culture researchers, while cultural research is more often motivated by optimistic curiosity about young people's creativity or by a sense of solidarity in the face of shared difficulties.”\(^46\)

Other than the researchers of the Chicago School, those of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) at Birmingham laid an emphasis on the working class youth and their subcultures, but slowly got rid of considering youth as delinquent individuals. Another emphasis was working with meanings of class, race and gender with a theoretical background of structuralism, Marxist’s class theory and Gramsci’s theory of social and cultural hegemony. One of the main arguments of the Birmingham School was that the working class youth are subordinated groups of the hegemonic culture and that they create own meanings for their subcultures in order to resist the dominant ones.\(^47\) These theories were used for explaining the existence of mainly Western youth subcultures.

Sociologist Dick Hebdige (1979/1994), who studied at the CCCS, presents a pioneering work with his “Subcultures: The Meaning of Style” which contains essays about different subcultural youth styles in postwar Britain. Hebdige did not just investigate distinctive elements that form or mark a group; he is one of the first

\(^{45}\) see Chambers 1998: 10
\(^{46}\) Fornäs 1995: 3
\(^{47}\) see Chambers 1998: 13
researchers to explore the interaction between black and white youths. He himself notes that the subcultures “are all predominantly working class”\textsuperscript{48} and “cultures of conspicuous consumption”.\textsuperscript{49} More specifically, he looks at the way commodities are used by members of a subculture and explains how the subcultural styles are constructed by borrowing anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss’ concept of \textit{bricolage}.\textsuperscript{50} In this context, bricolage particularly means to give existing objects new meanings, but in a different context and with differing connotations than the original meanings they used to have. So, in sum the object and the ascribed meaning generate a sign which can be interpreted as an identifying characteristic of a youth culture: e.g. the Punks using safety pins as earrings.

4.1 A Paradigm Shift

In the late 1970s the subcultural approach experienced heavy criticism in which the focus was turned towards a preoccupation with female youth accompanied by the idea of detaching the negative notions of deviancy and delinquency. Feminist researchers encouraged the exploration of everyday life and practices of especially young women with different ethnic backgrounds and from different classes. Among them was Angela McRobbie, who, together with other female scholars, such as Charlotte Brunsdon, Dorothy Hobson and Janice Winship, founded a women’s working group at the CCCS. In 1978 they edited a collection of essays\textsuperscript{51} that challenged the androcentric way of scientific thinking, in a way that young women’s experiences were analyzed from a feminist point of view.\textsuperscript{52} According to McRobbie the inclusion of girls and young women in the field of research was not all about adding them to something that already existed, but accentuating their distinct cultures.

\textsuperscript{48} see Hebdige 1994: 102
\textsuperscript{49} ibid.: 103
\textsuperscript{50} Lévi-Strauss, Claude (1962): The Savage Mind
\textsuperscript{51} Women’s study group [eds.] (1978): Women Take Issue
\textsuperscript{52} see e.g. Chambers 1998: 16
In her article *Bridging the Gap: Feminism, Fashion and Consumption* McRobbie works on issues that concern questions of women and consumption and the fashion industry as a feminized sector. She criticizes the prior approach of the academic left by saying that they “often felt the need to disavow their own participation in some of the pleasures of the consumer culture for the reason that these were the very epitome of capitalism and also one of the sources of women’s oppression.” McRobbie further stresses the study of popular culture that allowed feminists to revise this traditional stance. Other aspects were then taken into account, such as the enjoyment people got from consumption, the inclusion of affluent upper working and lower middle-class or the perception of the consumer culture as an arena of female participation and enjoyment. New emphases of the consumerist studies have arisen and questions on what women and girls do with consumer goods and how commodities give rise to meaning-making processes are revised. These aspects open new doors allowing cultural researchers and anthropologists to explore youth cultures from a completely different angle.

A result of the paradigm shift is that studying youth was newly connoted because “[...] youth, their ideas and commodities move easily across national borders, shaping and being shaped by all kinds of structures and meanings.” This transnational character is especially visible in the fashion and music industry which are strongly determined by the US market, but not exclusively.

In this broad scope, the consumption of music and fashion are defining components of almost every youth culture through which the members express their intentions, identities and ideologies. They consume transnational commodities that are often being popularized by advertisements in the TV or in magazines that youth in turn,

53 see McRobbie 1997: 73  
54 ibid.: 75  
55 see ibid.: 75  
56 see ibid.: 74  
57 see ibid.: 77  
58 Wulff 1995: 10  
59 see for example Bollywood (Indian) or H&M (Swedish)
popularize for themselves and in their own ways. Commodities are being consumed and used as symbols for a certain kind of youth style. “Youth is what is young and what belongs to the future, and young people have repeatedly been associated with what is new in culture”.60 Apart from their importance as an entire consumer group, youth also comprise, determine and pioneer the modern.61

The following illustration shows the scientific preoccupation with young women:
Not so long ago, several scientists “demonstrate [...] much broader considerations of what young women do and what constitutes the ‘distinctive elements’ of their cultures”.62 Such as popular musicologist Marion Leonard, who wrote an essay about the Riot Grrrls (1998) of the 1990s as counter-example to the conventional male-biased contributions. Leonard delimits her research and focused on the Riot Grrrls’ magazine issued in Britain and the USA. The difference that the Riot Grrrls exhibit to other youth cultures is that they were not bound locally but spread geographically. They did not know each other personally but still created a subcultural network by publishing texts about politics, fashion, music, films and hobbies in fan magazines. The goal was to form a worldwide society that involved anyone in a space and medium of their own.

One scholar worth mentioning is Swedish gender studies researcher Hillevi Ganetz, who criticizes the fact that studies about the female creation of style itself are marginal. In her article The shop, the home and femininity as a masquerade (1995) she focuses on the different aspects that concern young women and their creation of style. She investigates four different settings that young women are dealing with: the shop and the fitting room, and the home and the girls’ bedrooms.63 She argues that “every young woman brings something of herself to her dress, and with increasing

60 Fornäss 1995: 1
61 see Boëthius 1995: 48
62 Chambers 1998: 17
63 see Ganetz 1995: 72
clarity creates her own style. One strong tendency seems to be that the search for the self runs parallel with the symbolization of femininity”.

Unlike Leonard and Ganetz, Helena Wulff comes up with a different approach of examining female youth: In South London, Wulff conducted ethnographic fieldwork for her dissertation among twenty girls of mixed origin. She herself participated in their everyday life by dressing up as the girls and by hanging out with them. Her purpose was driven by the idea of examining the life worlds of these girls from a micro perspective and how larger forces – the macro perspective - influence it. While individuals interact (= social agency) they “form cultural meanings out of their specific experiences [...]” through which they again shape, influence and re-/produce their surroundings.

4.2 Microculture

To capture processes of cultural production and reproduction Helena Wulff introduced the concept of microculture. She was influenced by other anthropologists working on transnationalism, like Arjun Appadurai and Ulf Hannerz. Wulff analyzed the ideas behind “flows of meaning, which are managed by people in small groups that meet on an everyday basis”.

According to her, cultures consist of those flows that – in the context of a microculture - “can be seen as distributed over personalities, localities and events”. Flows of meanings are created through the interaction of every single member of a microculture and are also generated from the collected, respectively collective experiences. This idea allows the researcher to explore the microculture of interrelated persons and to participate in their specific practices.

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64 ibid.: 77
65 Wulff 1995: 63
66 ibid.: 65
67 Wulff 1988: 24
68 see ibid. 24
Helena Wulff's research among a rapidly changing community – namely in a youth club – and her openness towards the intersectionality of the ethnically mixed group of young women made her study special as she illustrated the urban social processes of this group.

PERSONALITIES

People regard one another as individuals that are characterized by a combination of different features.⁶⁹ They indeed distinguish themselves from one another because everyone has his/her own personality, but it does not necessarily mean that they do not influence each other. Through constant interaction within a small group - and also with individuals from the outside – particular features are influenced and formed, which again can be seen as embedded in a more general structure. This structure and the particular individuals are interrelated as well and re-/form one another by interacting.

“For people who are engaged in a microculture to get the opportunity to build up notions of each other as representing particular sets of meanings, it is obvious that the microculture cannot involve too many people”.⁷⁰ At this point, I would like to note that I will avoid talking about “individuals” and will use the term “persons” instead. While “individual” is unrelated to any context, “person” on the contrary, has a context-specific meaning and indicates the involvement in a social context (= society). Whereas “person” features the possibility of relations within a group and within societies, respectively between countries, “individual” indicates “individualism” and the possibility to exist apart from or outside a social network or context. So, this Western concept of a dichotomy between “individual” and “society” will be avoided.

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⁶⁹ see ibid. 24
⁷⁰ ibid. 25
LOCALITIES

According to Helena Wulff, localities are places where members of a small group meet; they are places of interaction and of piling up experiences collectively – may they be recurrent or unique.\textsuperscript{71} Localities can be certain streets or street corners, shops or malls, rooms or apartments, clubs or bars and so forth. Meanings that are produced by persons here are thus bound to particular places. \textit{“People in a complex society who are most closely linked to one local setting may assign special importance to the relationship between their experience and the particular traits of that setting”}.\textsuperscript{72}

In the ethnographic example presented in chapter two, Volksgarten, Volksgarten Banane, Moulin Rouge and other clubs are the localities significant for the three young women Sofia, Bella and Summer.

EVENTS

Events are linked to experiences that members of a microculture experience together; they become symbols of a shared biography and generate – as their experiences increase – allegiance.\textsuperscript{73} Events can take place on an everyday basis or on rare occasions, such as the clubbing experience described in chapter two.

Helena Wulff is aware of the parallel existing microcultures, but works on one, in order to achieve detailed and accurate results. She herself argues, \textit{“by focusing on a small group, I have had the opportunity to form a relatively complete picture of its daily life”}.\textsuperscript{74} She would not have obtained thorough results through the concentration on a small group alone. It was the strength of the anthropological

\textsuperscript{71} ibid. 25
\textsuperscript{72} ibid. 26
\textsuperscript{73} ibid. 26
\textsuperscript{74} ibid. 27
method of participant observation that revealed the less visible practices of everyday life.

Since every person is surrounded and part of many microcultures, people can simply change environments depending on certain situations or backgrounds. One might assign a microculture more importance than another, for instance, the microculture of work versus the microculture of friends: Experiences are shared in both, but are given different meanings, symbols and values. The interaction or as Wulff calls it the *face-to-face social relationships* among members of some microcultures might be more intensive than in others.75

4.3 Multi-Culture

Similar to Wulff’s concept, Amit-Talai’s idea of the multi-culture of youth points out the importance of treating youth as social agents and culture producing persons. They are further involved with multiple frameworks in a way that cultural production is “multi-cultural”.76 The fact that youth adapt, re-/produce and live with different cultures means that they are multi-cultural actors – capable of shifting their environments. Gerd Baumann, Dutch anthropologist, defines this process briefly and succinctly as “making culture” rather than “having culture”.77

In the case of the Filipina young women those multiple frameworks were among other cultures, the leisure culture, the parental Philippine culture, the occupational and educational and the youth and friendship culture. These are cultures that all exist at the same time; surrounding persons in their everyday life, but have little to do with “ethnic” or “national” cultures.

Amit-Talai takes a look at social agents and argues that a multi-culture consists of multiple frameworks that surround these agents, who in turn produce and influence

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75 Wulff 1995: 65
76 see Amit-Talai 1995
77 see Baumann 1996: 6
their multi-cultural surrounding by interacting through activities (= cultural production). Wulff’s approach on the other hand, focuses on three dimensions out of which a microculture is formed: Personalities, localities and events. These three she encapsulates as flows of meanings, which are produced by the interrelated persons through interaction within a microculture. When we go one step further, we can close the circle, as the microculture can also be perceived as spanning a number of cultures, together making up a multi-culture.
When it comes to my fieldwork, these two concepts can be applied insofar as the three young women build a microculture, which is – as just mentioned – multi-cultural.

4.4 Popular Culture

Popular culture as a field of research did not emerge until the mid-twentieth century. “Despite its embeddedness in everyday life (or perhaps because of it), popular culture’s location in the academy has long been problematic.”78 In general, it concerns both small and large groups of people and at the same time it has a powerful impact when it comes to reaching them in a fast and easy way. Popular culture is closely linked to consumption. People produce meanings for themselves through consuming spaces, places and commodities. It is “the active process of generating and circulating meanings and pleasures within a social system [...]”79 That is, the social system provides consumers with cultural resources, but only consumers alone can popularize objects and practices.80 American sociologists Lee Harrington and Denise Bielby define what popular culture in everyday life means: “[...] popular culture also includes [...] beliefs and practices that comprise our everyday lived experience: the food we eat, the clothing we wear, the people we spend time with, the gossip we share, the roadways we travel, and so forth”.81 Yet, Harrington’s concern

78 Harrington & Bielby 2001: 2
79 Fiske 1989: 23
80 see ibid.: 23
81 Harrington & Bielby 2001: 2
lies in resolving the extent people make the popular.\(^{82}\) If we stick to Harrington and Bielby’s definition of popular culture, we may notice that it is closely related to the chosen theories from Wulff and Amit-Talai: The everyday lived experience is a part of popular culture. Here, experiences are formed out of agency and social practices that in turn can be understood as cultural production. So, according to Amit-Talai, people constantly deal with cultural production in a multi-cultural way. And young people in particular are *culturally-oriented, express themselves to an unusual degree in texts, pictures, music, styles, and are considered by others as publicly culturally significant*".\(^ {83}\) Every person is involved in and a part of popular culture through his/her role as social agent and stands in a reciprocal relation to it. For instance, the inquiries determine the production of commodities depending whether persons consume or not. Here, consuming is not only linked to financial issues but also to social and cultural practices. Youth, in this respect, stroll or hang out in malls and due to the fact that they do not have much money to spend they therefore consume the mall as space. This can comprise window-shopping or the food stalls.

The focal point of scholars from popular culture is first and foremost the engagement with the larger *audience*\(^ {84}\) and the impact that commodities have on them. For my study, the preoccupation with popular culture was interesting insofar as the Filipina microculture constitute as audience, but more importantly as producers. Popular culture can therefore be seen as one of Amit-Talai’s multiple frameworks.

\(^{82}\) See ibid.: 9  
\(^{83}\) Fornäs 1995: 5  
\(^{84}\) Fiske 1994
5. Fieldwork Setting

My fieldwork started in September 2009 and ended in February 2010; i.e. all in all six months. It was conducted in Vienna – my hometown – out of two reasons: Firstly, I was not well equipped financially to conduct fieldwork outside my hometown and secondly, the idea of conducting research on young Viennese Filipina women caught my interest.

Although I am Filipina, I first had trouble finding young women who were willing to become my research partners. I eventually contacted Sofia, a godchild of my parents, whose confirmation party I attended months before but whom I had never met personally. I sent her a message on Facebook, explaining my plans and intentions. It did not take long and she answered right away by saying that she would love to participate.

She asked her cousin and at the same time best friend, Bella, if she would also like to join. She, too, was delighted and showed great interest. We fixed our first appointment and met at the Badeschiff on the Donaukanal. Our first meeting was very fruitful: We talked about my plans and to what extent they would be involved and got to know each other a little. The young women were truly excited and so was I about what would come up for us. The third young woman is Summer, Bella’s best friend, who unfortunately could not come when I had the first meeting with Bella and Sofia due to her long school schedules. So Summer and I met separately and I talked with her about what I had explained to the other two women. At the end I guaranteed anonymity and their authority to decide which information I am allowed to use and which not.

I worked with a small group of three young women who have known each other from their childhood. Because of the urban networks that do not allow a clear
boundary among the social relations I will therefore include further acquaintances that show the expanded relations of the group. These include friends from school and people from their childhoods.

I chose qualitative methods because they were essential to capture the face-to-face relationships. The next chapter explains the methods chosen as well as my role as a researcher in more detail.

5.1 My Role as Researcher

Generally speaking, I am not much involved in the Viennese Philippine community, which means that I have acquaintances with the offspring of my parents’ friends, yet I do not really know them well. Still, I am undoubtedly biased since my parents imparted elements of the parental Philippine culture to me (more on this, see chapter 7.1).

The bicultural agreement between the Philippines and Austria contained the recruitment of skilled nurses for Austria’s health care system. My mother was one of more than 500 nurses to immigrate; she came in the year 1981. After a few months of working, she helped my father to come as well, who also worked as nurse.

Just like the three young women, I enjoyed the Austrian education system with the slight difference that – other than the young women – I was born in Vienna.

The relation between my research participants and me was partly influenced by the elements of the parental Philippine culture, that is, for instance, respect. Respect is not specifically Philippine, but is reinforced by linguistic terminologies of kinship and therefore builds hierarchical relations. Here is an example in order to understand what I mean: Because I am older than the young women, the “right” terminology they would use to address me in Tagalog is “Ate”. The terminology of the male counterpart would be “Kuya”.
Ate stands for females who are older than other females from the same generation and implies a respectful relation between the younger and the older female. Problems that younger females experience are shared with the older ones only to a small extent because the latter person has the role of an advisor which should not be questioned. One of the three women once tried to confide in an Ate and realized that the Ate talked about her own experiences, which is generally good advice. The problem in this case was that one of “my” girls did not share the opinion and did not risk arguing on the issue.

In the beginning of my fieldwork I knew that I had to clarify this internalized fact in order for our relations to work. I did not want to be in an obviously higher position and so I asked them how they felt about addressing me with Ate. For me, it was difficult to believe that the term Ate would not stand in our ways, but in the course of time I realized that it truly did not matter due to the fact that the young women confided in me by telling and talking with me about their problems that went beyond the topics of love life and family - issues that would normally not be talked about in the status of Ate. The concept of Ate got blurry: On the one side, the young women respected me in a way they respect their parents, but on the other side they had seen our friendship as cultural resource.

When I entered the field, the young women and I got along pretty well, although we did not know each other. The fact that they were surprisingly open eased the situation and helped me a lot in getting my fieldwork started. Over time, I met the young women’s friends from school – Phoebe and Lucy –, and their friend Peter and Sofia’s boyfriend as well.

I generally had the feeling of acting as an advisor, since the young women raised questions with respect to university, work, finding an apartment or relationships.

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85 No names will be mentioned.
86 Names were changed.
These concerns are certainly important aspects regarding their future visions, especially in a phase where they have to cope with new challenges independently.

In the beginning of my fieldwork I used to talk a lot of German, but soon realized that the young women talked a mixture of German, Tagalog and English. I assimilated quickly and learned how to mix the three languages constantly which I usually do not do with my own friends. Mixing the languages was familiar to me insofar as I have known it from my parents, but still it was different to what the young women and I spoke.

During our meetings – many of them in bars - I often paid for what the young women consumed. In this way I was showing how thankful I was that they participated in my project and for taking time to spend with me. Not to mention my financial advantage; I am working a lot more than they do and so it was simply appropriate to account at least for their drinks. To a certain degree this might have helped to reinforce my status as hierarchically higher person. The young women however, proved me wrong by involving me in their leisure activities and by talking about topics with which they also talk about with other friends of their age. Through trust and confidence we built a friendship lasting beyond my fieldwork.

Another aspect concerned my bias: I was in a two-edged position because I tried to approach the field from an emic as well as from an etic view, which I realized was difficult.

5.2 Methods in the Field

Now, I would like to talk about the fieldwork and the different methods I used: I did participant observation including keeping a field diary and recorded once semi-structured interview with each of them towards the end of my fieldwork. The women took photos concerning their everyday life in the context of dressing, music and new technologies on their own accord, which I will present and analyze in
chapter 8. I further gave them the task to keep a diary of their own and I am presenting some extracts also in chapter 8. This mixture of complementary methods plays an essential role when it comes to ethnographic fieldwork “[...] as the most important source of new knowledge about society and culture”.87

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

Participant observation is one of the most important methods for every anthropologist. It helps making less visible structures more visible, like for example the everyday life. Writing a fieldwork diary and short notes are important parts of participant observation since they help the researcher to organize thoughts and later to analyze the collected data.

American anthropologist Harry F. Wolcott’s experiences with students published a volume reflecting his lifelong concern with qualitative methods, mostly participant observation. Here, I would therefore like to refer to his helpful strategies for dealing with the data collection, which proved to be useful advice. He stresses repeatedly the process of observing rather than the observation itself. Not what, but how to observe is his basic idea.88 Wolcott’s strategies of data collection included four points: 1, observe and record everything, 2, observe and look for nothing – that is, nothing in particular, 3, look for paradoxes and 4, identify the key problem confronting a group.

Wolcott’s first point played an important role by the time I entered the field. Because I wrote down a large part of my observations in my field diary I could follow his points three and two which was approximately at half time of my research. Number four got important by the time of analyzing the collected data.

The role of the researcher can be that of an active or passive observer. I chose my role, as active participant observer according to Swiss sociologist Peter Atteslander,

87 Eriksen 1995: 24
88 see Wolcott 1994: 149
who explains that the active participation in a social life of the persons examined requires intensive contact.89

In my own study I did participant observation in many different fields: The Coffee Day on the opposite side of the University of Vienna, my apartment, fast food restaurants, shopping streets, clubs and Facebook.

A DIFFERENT KIND OF DIARY

What do I mean with a different kind of fieldwork diary? As an anthropologist I used the method of keeping a diary. But I was not the only one who wrote one. The young women themselves kept one of their own too, not for the same period as I did, but for one week. The goal was to find out if patterns regarding their everyday life could be generated. After our first encounters I figured the importance of fashion and dressing. Thus, it came to my mind that I could actually let the teenagers write a diary about the things they are dealing with. This task was well received, also because they were interested in how they would create their own outfits in a certain period of time. And most importantly, they were actively involved in the fieldwork by observing themselves and by writing their own diary. The writing process itself was a little bumpy since the diary was not written within a week, but instead within four or five. Still, the data show an insight into the young women’s everyday life which largely concern school, university and their free time, but also what they wore within this week.

PHOTOGRAPHY

In the beginning of my fieldwork I wanted the young women to write an essay about dressing and music, but abandoned this idea after talking to my supervisor. Our concern for not using this technique was that it had too much the touch of writing

89 see Atteslander 2000: 96
something for school. Photography seemed to be more fun and personal and something with which the young women knew how to operate with. The two English sociologists Michael S. Ball and Gregory W. H. Smith find that “visual information of what the people and their world looks like provides harder and more immediate evidence than the written word; photographs can authenticate a research report in a way that words alone cannot”. This useful technique can be seen as a visual guide that help both the girls to delineate the meanings of what is shown on the pictures and the researcher to serve the purpose of a better and deeper understanding in a written as well as in a visual way. Ball and Smith further describe the camera “as a mirror with a memory. Photographs are thus linked to the world’s appearances by a “binding” or necessary tie, and it is this feature that lends credence to whatever they depict as somehow “actual” and to the belief that they mirror “reality”. This is something I have learned in course of my fieldwork: Pictures are indeed helpful evidence when it comes to reconstructing situations.

Due to ethical considerations, I do not include pictures of events in my thesis in order to protect the anonymity of my research partners. In chapter eight, however, I present how the young women used photographs mainly from fashion magazines in a collage to describe their interest in and taste for dressing and music. Furthermore, such tasks as writing a diary and making the collages gave them a sense of actively contributing to my research.

I analyzed the photographs according to Ball and Smith's content analysis by putting them into context with the young women’s interviews. The pictures and collages are inserted in chapter 8. They are allocated into the relevant categories respectively subchapters (= dressing, music, new technologies).

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90 Ball & Smith 1992: 9
91 ibid.: 16
92 see Ball & Smith 1992: 20ff.
INTERVIEWING

According to anthropologist H. Russell Bernard, informal interviewing is “the method of choice at the beginning of participant observation fieldwork [...]”93 Using this method at the beginning of a fieldwork is the best way to get to know the people and the environment one has to work on/with. In addition to informal interviewing, I used semi-structured interviewing with an interview guide that was divided into the following categories: Introductory questions, music, clothing, new technologies, family and friends.

The interviews were conducted in my apartment since the young women could not decide where they wanted to give their interviews. So I invited them and prepared lunch to loosen the situation and create a pleasant atmosphere. While one of them was interviewed the other two women watched TV. The interviews were recorded with a digital dictating machine and each of them took around one hour.

Although the young women and I had known each other for a few months already, they felt nervous when thinking of the interviews. The interviews themselves were then easy-going, especially after the first few minutes have passed and the girls got relaxed. While conducting the interviews, I soon noticed that my guideline was not well prepared enough. As our conversations started flowing I suddenly realized that the guideline did not matter at all, as the young women generated their answers from our collected/collective experiences.

The interviews were entirely transcribed and the “uhs” and “uhms” were cut out, except when they were important to emphasize the content. The content analysis was conducted with reference to psychologist Philipp Mayring – teaching at the University of Klagenfurt. The transcripts were split into paraphrases and eventually reduced to keywords.

93 Bernard 2006: 211
FACEBOOK AS A PART OF PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

I have already mentioned before how I used Facebook to contact the young women. For me, it seemed to be the fastest way of approaching people nowadays, especially if you do not know each other very well.

Besides the Coffee Day, Facebook and later on Googlewave were important ‘places’ of encounters. An illustrative example was Phoebe’s 18th birthday, one of the friends of the three women. Phoebe was occupied with uploading pictures that were taken on her party. More than four people uploaded pictures from the same event and all of them were fiercely tagging\textsuperscript{94} people, who attended. The young women commented on almost every photo and made some small talks beneath the most conspicuous and the funniest ones. The intensive virtual communication turned out to be a part of their daily life, which I had to learn at the beginning of my research.

In the middle of my fieldwork the young women and I established a Facebook group of our own, which made the communication among us even easier. We used the own created virtual space for making appointments, talking about relationships and boys or about the live show \textit{Pinoy Big Brother}\textsuperscript{95} in the Philippines, which Bella watched daily.

Our Facebook group was functioning well, at least at the beginning, where we talked about their pseudonyms for this text at hand. Shortly after creating our group, we discussed topics, such as where to go clubbing, organizing sleepovers and cocktail nights or what to do when having an interview for a job. About a month later it seemed that the girls lost interest in the group. Other ways of communication, \textsuperscript{94} To tag someone means to link a person’s profile with a picture, which another person uploaded. \textsuperscript{95} Big Brother is generally a reality show that broadcasts the lives of people who live together. \textit{Pinoy Big Brother} in particular is the Philippine version of this show. The self-definition ‘Pinoy’ is characteristic for distinguishing themselves from others. This notion came up when the first migration wave to the United States occurred. At first ‘Pinoy’s’ were the ones who migrated, but the term slowly became popular in the Philippines as well. Up until today, it gained mainstream usage and is meanwhile part of the Philippine language. Two illustrative live series are ‘Pinoy Big Brother’ and ‘Pinoy Idol’ that contribute to the development of the Philippine national and cultural identity. Many Filipinos who live abroad subscribe to the Philippine channels in order to watch series such as the two mentioned.
however, were still working well, like leaving messages on the walls\textsuperscript{96} or sending private messages\textsuperscript{97}. This shift might have happened because we got to know each other better; instead we switched to our mobile phones for organizing activities. Those activities are presented in the next few chapters.

5.3 First Observations

The first meetings were all about getting to know each other and the interest for each other was on both sides. We introduced ourselves and talked about what we do, where we live, what we work and so forth. It was also important to reveal information about myself in order to obtain their trust.

I generally have to say that dressing has been a subject of discussion since the beginning of our encounters. I am not sure if they were influenced by what I revealed about my thesis right from the very start, but there has been a lot of talk about dressing whenever we met. Another aspect that made me notice their intense fascination with dressing was the fact that whenever we spent time together, the girls always looked through the fashion magazines that were lying around in different parts of the bars.

We normally met somewhere outside: We either sat in a café, ate junk food in fast food restaurants, went strolling on the Viennese shopping streets or sat in front or outside the clubs, spending time talking and gossiping about the latest news. And from time to time the young women hung out at my place. I assume that we never met at their places because their parents were present, which seemed to be an awkward situation.

\textsuperscript{96} The wall is a virtual pin board where friends can post photos and messages.
\textsuperscript{97} Private messages can be used to deliver messages on a personal level.
However, the Coffee Day turned out to be our place of hangout, where we talked about family, school and my thesis. After our first meeting, Bella and Sofia invited me to the 18th birthday of another best friend of theirs, Phoebe, which was held in the Ramien Bar. I certainly felt happy about this opportunity and was glad about the fact that my fieldwork finally began.

Phoebe herself did not have a Philippine background, but a lot of Filipin@ youth were at her party. What really astonished me on this evening was the fact that she had a huge knowledge about the Philippine language Tagalog. She did not only know a few phrases, but was able to communicate on a beginners’ level.

In the course of my fieldwork I soon learned that language played an essential role in the girls’ microculture. While communicating with each other we used a mixture of German, English and Tagalog. And also, we somehow managed to mix them in different situations: Talking to each other meant a mixture of those three, writing short messages on our mobile phones or on Facebook was mostly in English and German. Spending time with older people like, for example, our parents, or being in situations in which we did not want to be understood by others, Tagalog was the main language we used. When I started my fieldwork, we stuck to the German language, which I think derived from our mutual unfamiliarity. As we got to know each other better, we mixed the three languages more freely. Here is a short illustration from my fieldwork diary:

Wed, Sept.23rd 2009

*Our common language is German; they speak English with their friends of both sexes (Filipin@s as well?); with their parents it’s Tagalog.*

Sun, Oct.11th 2009

*Meanwhile I’m speaking a mixture with the girls, something which was really hard for me in the beginning. I, more and more, mix English with Tagalog and sometimes with German. Weird, cause it’s Tagalog and German with my parents. 😊*

Before their studies began in October Sofia and Bella had plenty of free time. We talked a lot about the University and how the whole system works. They had many
questions concerning their own studies and the university in general: How long prior do we have to prepare ourselves for the exams? Where will we find the grades? When will we get the grades? How do you put together your timetable? And so forth. I remembered the day when I had enrolled for my own studies; I had found myself in a very complicated situation and felt lost at the beginning. I was happy that I could assist them and show some support as they helped me with my thesis.

Yet, I would like to mention a very memorable situation which took place one month after I had started my fieldwork. Sofia celebrated her 20th birthday with the ones who were closest to her: Her family and best friends. A few days earlier we talked about her family celebration and the official birthday party. Considering that I was neither part of her family nor her best friend, I felt indescribably happy to be invited and get an opportunity to get to know her private space.

This chapter showed my first observations. The next chapter treats the microculture of the young women and is linked to Helena Wulff's theoretical concept.
6. The Microculture of Filipina Youth

In this chapter I am going into detail of the young women's microculture. The emphasis lies on questions of friendship and social relations in their environments, but also important places of hangout and special experiences of the microculture. This chapter also deals with the following questions: How do the young women connect with each other through friendship? What is the meaning of friendship in their microculture? What cultural influences shape their microculture? With which activities are they engaged?

The microculture is the one which they share and live in and with which they produce and reproduce. It is an area where they can permanently work on their identity by interacting with the ones they love, like and don’t like and where their sometimes conservative and authoritarian parents don’t figure.

What connects them is not only their deep friendship, but also the fact of growing up together. They have experienced and are still experiencing the most important events in their lives together and are having fun at the same time. What distinguishes them from other youth cultures is their constant connection to being a Filipina with all its good and bad aspects and the fact that they all have a Philippine background. The young women also described themselves as ‘we’ Filipin@s and made distinctions between them and other Filipin@ groups, but also other youth cultures and other national cultures.

When I asked Sofia what she meant by ‘we’, she referred to ‘we’ as Filipin@s youth, but refused to identify as ‘we’ when talking about the Filipin@ adults. The distinction between first and second-generation Filipin@s in Austria seems to be of high importance for the young women.
Besides friendship, dressing played a great role in their microculture. For them, dressing includes shopping, styling, advertisement, clothes, accessories and cosmetics, but also dealing with new technologies, like trendy and new gadgets, such as their Mac Books or Blackberries. These aspects are similar to those of the parental Philippine culture since possessing trendy gadgets and nice clothes mark social status – a value that is shared by both parents and children.

Referring to the social status it is clear that they have different views. For example, the possession of computers, mobile phones and digital cameras is common in both cultures (first and second generation), but used differently. Something which I observed concerned the handling of digital cameras: Not only on parties, but also in less eventful situations were the cameras present.

In the course of my fieldwork one of three birthday parties took place at Sofia’s home. All her friends brought their digital compact cameras and her father used a single lens reflex camera. Everyone was preoccupied with taking pictures the whole evening, except for her parents; they indeed provided the camera, but were not as much involved in taking pictures, as were the young women. Another difference between their parental culture and their own concerned sharing and commenting on the pictures made, mostly over Facebook.

What I want to show is that the three young women use their gadgets to a larger and more intensive extent compared to their parents. One reason for this might be their large amount of leisure time. Here is an illustration about what Bella said about the use of her computer:

“I spend at least five hours a day on the Internet. It’s not that I always watch TV, but I use the Internet for watching series.” (I| Bella)

The young women indeed share most of the traditional values of their parent Philippine culture, but – as common among youth cultures – ascribe different meanings to them that are reinterpreted and reflected in other ways.
6.1 Personalities and Social Backgrounds

This subchapter deals with each of the three young women’s social backgrounds. All three still live with their parents, Bella and Sofia in the Eastern and Summer in the Southern part of Vienna.

Two of the three women’s mothers work as nurses, the third mother and all three fathers work in the service sector. The parents all lived in the Philippines and finished their education before they left their home country to work abroad. All of them have some high school education or a bachelor’s degree in nursing, something which they also wish for their children. They all work in relatively secure jobs, like most other Philippine migrants in Vienna. "Thus, they enjoy a better socio-economic status and a higher degree of acceptance by the native population than other early immigrant groups and are concentrated in the Austrian middle class".98

As mentioned earlier, Bella and Sofia attended the same school and finished their A-levels one year ago (2009). Summer is still in school, but finishes in 2011. Their parents have high educational aspirations for their offspring for which reason the young women have to study and work very hard.

"The top priority is education (.) always! And that’s why the activities in the leisure time are strictly limited. They [parents] immediately think that we get lazy as soon as we have fun.” (I| Sofia)

98 Reiterer 2007: 151
6.2 Localities

Localities, as explained in subchapter 4.2, are places where people of a microculture meet and interact. In Helena Wulff’s study, she focused on four that played important roles in the lives of the teenage girls: the girls’ club, a street corner, their school and homes.

In my own study I did not focus on specific localities, but some locations appeared to be important in the course of my fieldwork. We often met at the Coffee Day, which is located in front of the University. This place turned out to be our place of hanging out since two of the three young women had their lectures on the opposite side of the street. In the evenings, we often met on Facebook, which for me, turned out to be a locality as well. Other popular spaces were the inner city, such as the bars in the first district of Vienna or the clubs. At the end of my fieldwork – when the young women had less time because of their studies – our interest in the Coffee Day decreased. Instead, we met in some other cafés in the city or at my place. The reason for not including their homes as localities regarded their concern towards their parent’s interference when someone would come to visit. Meeting before or after school/university seemed the easier way for the young women and me.

In subchapter 8.1 I will return to localities, spaces and places in the context of which meaning these have in the young women’s everyday life.

6.3 Events

Events can be understood as a series of happenings, may they be random, planned, unique or recurrent, mundane or festive. Involved persons of a microculture determine the events and create symbols of their shared biography, which grow over time.\(^{99}\) To put it briefly, everything that is experienced collectively is a result of this series of happenings that deepens the sense of belonging among the actors, i.e.

\(^{99}\) see Wulff 1988: 26
their friendship. Some are given more/deeper meanings depending on the importance of an event. In Helena Wulff’s study, she argues that the girls’ lives can be seen in terms of following focal concerns: growing up, ethnicity and excitement. The latter is very much linked to events due to the girls’ experiences, “such as being chased by the police after swimming in a closed public swimming-pool [...]”. Excitement, Wulff defines, means positive experience accompanied by joys and thrills which are distributed over many different situations.

While conducting fieldwork, we experienced several different types of events: Birthday parties, having coffees or eating junk food, strolling around in the city of Vienna or (window-) shopping, but also chatting on Facebook or talking on our mobile phones and hanging around at my place.

In my view, Sofia’s birthday was a very exciting event, especially for her, but also for her family and friends. Everyone who attended brought a camera and when Sofia opened her gifts, all cameras were directed to her.

Wed, Oct. 23rd 2009

She was happy about every single gift and full with emotions; smiling all the time [...]. Sofia mostly got jewelry, like bracelets, from all kinds of designers, such as Giorgio Armani, Gucci or Swarovski. She couldn’t help her emotional flow, she was just so happy.

This exciting situation shows how ‘eventful’ this day was, which is – as Wulff described – a positive experience filled with joys and thrills. Other less ‘eventful’ experiences were those of enjoying, for example, food. The thought of getting food at Happy Noodles triggered happiness and appetite because it is one of the young women’s favorite places. This again was accompanied by a nice chat, mostly about

100 see Wulff 1988: 28
101 Wulff 1995: 67
102 see Wulff 1988: 34
103 ibid.: 29
104 Happy Noodles is an Asian fast food stall situated in a crowded part of the inner city in Vienna.
food. When we ate at Happy Noodles we decided spontaneously; we sometimes shared the food, but mostly we each had our own boxes of fried noodles with vegetables and roasted duck. In any way, these less eventful situations at Happy Noodles were the ones that were always linked to talking which in turn meant that we worked on the process of our friendships. The next chapter deals with what friendship means to the young women in more detail.

6.4 The Meaning of Friendship

Friendship is a truly important aspect in a person’s life. Getting an idea of how a friendship looks like or what it is built upon is not done with interviews alone. It requires an intensive and long-term preoccupation and involvement of the researcher.

When asking the young women about the meaning of friendship the answers were similar: Firstly, the number of acquaintances is small and secondly, the few enduring friendships they have are close, deep and respectful. Thirdly, being there in good and in bad times marks the importance of a friendship:

“Friendship is very important and I put it on a level with the family, because in my opinion it’s difficult without them.” (I| Summer)

“Friendship means consolation and also love [...] but also and most importantly seeing who the true friends are when someone experiences hard times. So, friendship is ever-present, not only in good times.” (I| Sofia)

“I’ve only a few real friends, but I like it more than having plenty, who aren’t true to me or just fake. And (.) that’s the reason why I’ve already lost some friends, even though we were close friends, because I realized that they weren’t true to me and sometimes that’s where we parted. A friendship emerges, but sometimes we drift apart.” (I| Bella)

These fundamental aspects give a deep insight into how the young women perceive friendship. British anthropologists Sandra Bell and Simon Coleman describe the
approach of friendship, to which the young women seem to subscribe, as follows: “friendship is a topic with much moral weight. From our friends, we hope to derive emotional support, advice and material help in times of need. Through the ambiguities and ambivalences involved in establishing and keeping friendship alive, we learn about how others see us and therefore, in some sense, how to view ourselves”.

It is obvious that persons live with different kinds of relations, be it a child-parent-relation, a student-teacher-relation, a business relation, be it a casual or deep friendship or relationship, people are somehow connected and can hardly escape from this. Friendship, however, indicates that the interacting persons reflect one another, that is “a friend comprehends you and elucidates you to yourself; a person can see himself reflected in a friend”.

Due to the young women’s longstanding friendship they know each other very well, which is visible in how they treat and refer to each other. They repeatedly said that they need to meet their friends at least twice a week and apart from seeing each other in person, they also talk a lot on their mobile phones and over the Internet.

Like in Wulff’s study “the principal activity of friendship was talking […].” The conversations concerned topics of their everyday life, such as learning for exams, conflicts with parents, going shopping, parties taking place on weekends, watching the latest movies and series, exchanging the latest news about fashion, gossiping about colleagues, worrying about moving out from home, searching jobs and last but not least, talking about boys and relationships.

These talks were often combined with activities in different places around the city:

105 Bell & Coleman 1999: 1
107 Wulff 1988: 73
“No matter where we are, we always have something to talk about or to do, we’re never bored when we’re together, because we just know each other so well. So we just do whatever we feel like to do. We go out, have coffee somewhere, just to chill and talk. And we go to the movies, sometimes we chill at our place or somewhere else, yeah, we take a walk. We’re at our home or in cafés and restaurants, because we always talk a lot and there is always something to talk about.” (I| Bella)

The topics of their conversations and their activities were closely connected since the talking always concerned their activities and the activities determined their conversations. Here is an entry from my fieldwork diary illustrating a day full of activities:

Fri, Oct. 16th 2009

On this day, Sofia was sick, so she couldn’t come. I met Bella in front of the University and together we went to downtown to buy Sofia’s birthday gift. Actually it’s okay that Sofia wasn’t present ... We went to the jewelry store Thomas Sabo and looked at the products. Bella liked the watches very much, but they were way too expensive. Anyway, we found what we wanted and continued our window-shopping tour. Unfortunately, now is not the time for sales, so we just strolled around and talked about the latest fashion. After a while Bella’s gay friend, Peter called and wanted to meet up with us on Stephansplatz. Together we went to Mariahilferstraße to window-shop a little. After a while we got hungry and headed to the nearest McDonald’s. We sat there a long time and talked about Peter’s work and which celebrities come to eat and drink there. Right after we had finished eating, Summer came to join us as well. We talked about her day at school and about how school exhausts her. We then left McDo together and walked down the Mariahilferstraße. While walking, we commented on clothes, shoes and jewelry, which all seemed unaffordable. [...] At the end of the day we all headed back home and planned our next activities on Facebook.

Bella and Summer see a shopping day – as just described – as activity in which they can both exchange news/thoughts and shop at the same time. For them, it is an activity seen as a communication tool.

“It plays an important role [shopping], because you do it together with friends, but also with the family. I, for example, go shopping with my mom and aunt. Sometimes you just enter the shops and talk, it’s like having a coffee together.” (I| Summer)

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108 Name was changed by the author.
“I always go with friends or with my mother. But, I don’t like to shop alone; because it’s way too boring and I don’t have any advisor. [...] I couldn’t go shopping by myself, I feel lonely, I don’t know; you can’t even talk to anyone!” (I| Summer)

Sofia thinks differently compared to Summer and Bella. She also goes shopping with her friends, but she would actually rather be on her own, apparently for good reason:

“Most of the time I’m with friends, but I prefer to be alone, because I’m a person that other people lose easily. (laughs) I don’t know, because when I see something, I just head that direction without saying anything, I simply forget them.” (I| Sofia)

Activities, whether alone or together, are planned and later commented on. Talking about and during the activities is closely linked to their activities as such.

With this chapter I intended to show the social relations among the members of the microculture. The next chapter regards the multi-cultural sphere with which the young women are engaged.
7. The Multi-Culture of Youth

When we think of Amit-Talai’s concept of the multi-culture of youth we may focus on different cultures (= multiple frameworks). However, it is clear that the young women live with and in more than these cultures, for example the working culture or the culture of school/university, but those are not taken into account, as it would go beyond the scope of this work.

Before introducing the multi-cultures I would like to point out that these are embedded in a much broader structure, which – in this case – can be perceived as the hegemonic culture. The hegemonic culture must be thought of as something that runs through and crosses the multiple frameworks. It cannot be seen as national or ethnic culture. Hegemonic culture can be imagined as circle that consists of plenty of pieces. The multicultural actors only consume those pieces they need for re-/producing their microculture, but are also influenced by them; see, for example, the parental Philippine culture, which the young women do not directly choose to form their microculture.

One piece can be the structural elements of a culture in which the multi-cultural actors partake daily: work, school, university, etc. Another piece could be formed by a global/transnational culture, where new technologies, dressing and music can be added as multi-cultural elements. The pieces also overlap; they are interwoven and cannot be thought separately. It is somewhat an interplay of forces and a cooperation of those in which the young women act multi-culturally by making use of the different elements.

For a better understanding of how the pieces were involved in the young women’s microculture, the following subchapters will elaborate on those.
7.1 Parental Philippine Culture

"The family' seems to offer an extremely magnetic and positive basis of Filipino identity for many children of immigrants, yet it is also a deep source of stress and alienation, which, for some, has led to internal struggles and extreme despair".109

This conclusion stems from the American sociologist, Diane Wolf, who analyzed the situation of second-generation Filipinos in two Californian sites with respect to some issues and problems with which the youth are confronted. One of those problems, she argues, is that parents try to impose their values on their children in a completely different social context. Wolf also concludes that “immigration and transnationalism are gendered processes in which control over women’s bodies, mobility, sexuality, and education plays an important role, which affects the future success of Filipina children of immigrants”.110

Diane Wolf speaks explicitly about female Filipina children and highlights that they are more affected by the parents’ values than their male counterparts. The young women of “my” microculture discussed this “problem” in the interviews as well and connected this issue with their gender, always as opposed to the males. When asking the young women to tell me about how they perceive the different situations boys and girls grow up in, they answered the following:

“It’s like; the boys are always allowed to do what they want. When I ask my mother: “Why can’t I do that? – Because you’re not a boy.” Which is really odd, because I don’t even have a brother. (laughs) And it seems to me that boys get what they want quicker. Because we [girls] only are allowed to do things at an older age and it’s different with boys.” (I|Summer)

109 Wolf 2005: 348
110 Ibid.: 372
“YAH! It’s SO unfair! Parents are more relaxed with their sons than with their daughters. They maybe think that the girls are too weak and aren’t able to defend themselves or whatever.” (I Sofia)

The description of their situation is an aspect that is surely not a typical Philippine phenomenon; it is applicable to other families as well – with or without migration background -, but it is closely related to patriarchally structured societies. A good example for this purpose is from Austrian anthropologist Anna Streissler, who conducted fieldwork among Columbian youth in 1995/96. Among other aspects she examined the influence of the machismo system on the youth. One of the main features of this ideology consists of shame and honor. Children are exposed to high pressure from the adult’s side due to expectations which their offspring have to conform. That means that uncomfortable topics and difficulties within the families, like sexuality or drugs, have to be kept a secret. Families want to attract attention as little as possible mainly because of the avoidance of being gossiped about. Once it happens, people lose face and their honor is defamed. The reason why I mention Streissler’s study is because of the similarities with my study. Keeping this comparison in mind, the following aspects will show parallels.

As opposed to Bella, Summer and Sofia only describe how they experience the parent’s differing dealings with female and male children indirectly since none of them have brothers and therefore cannot speak from experience. But as their parents project a value of a certain image of family the young women are thus oriented towards this thinking and reproduce some parental cultural elements.

The Philippine family construction is hierarchically structured. Bella refers to the term “padre de familia” in the interview, which is Spanish and means “the father/head of the family”. The father’s role is that of an authoritarian figure whereas the mother holds the loving and caring position, but is yet on the father’s side when it comes to conflicts.

The conflicts between parents and children generally exist everywhere. The young women in my study especially complained about how their parents deal with them.
“Parents are always in the right, always. Although, sometimes, they do realize that they have done a mistake, but they’re in denial about it and therefore won’t apologize.” (I|Bella)

“Even though my parents forbid me a lot of things, it’s very hard for me to not be obedient. I’m different to my sister, I don’t know.” (I|Bella)

Bella shows that she comes up against a lack of understanding from her parent’s side. Her parents have no guilty feelings about how they deal with conflicts between them and their children. They want to push through their values, which among other things are respect and pride. Some of Diane Wolf’s research participants referred to these as well, when she asked them about what being Filipin@ meant to them.111 Here is what the young women of my study said when I asked them the same question:

“You should and have to respect your parents, but also persons, who are older, like we have this ‘Kuya’ and ‘Ate’, ‘opo’, ‘po’ and you should always stick to the rules, like getting home punctual.” (I|Summer)

“The fathers are the ‘padre de familia’, which means that you always have to obey your parents, even though you’re right and they’re wrong. You always have to respect them. And you have to show respect to older people, ‘mano po’112.” (I|Bella)

“Being Filipino means respect, which is very important.” (I|Sofia)

Some of the parental Philippine values, like the maintaining of their reputation, encounter resistance. Through the compulsive imposition of these values the young women experience a lack of mutual understanding and communication and therefore feel an alienation from their parents. One example is, as Gisela Reiterer calls it, the “tradition of debt-of-gratitude”113 which is very much interwoven with respect. Respect is deeply rooted in the parental Philippine culture and is visible in

111 Wolf 2005: 353
112 ‘Mano’ is a way of showing respect to older people when greeting each other. The person who performs ‘mano’ takes the hand of the older person and touches it with her/his forehead. The ‘po’ is a polite form of addressing the person one is talking to.
113 Reiterer 2007: 154
different socio-cultural aspects, such as the language or gestures. Showing respect to elderly people or parents is seen in the usage of the language. Younger persons address older ones in a polite form\textsuperscript{114}, which indicates a distanced relation.

Gisela Reiterer’s (2007) work among 42 second-generation Filipin@s is a study that investigates the integration and identity formation of young Filipin@s in Vienna. She took a scrutinizing look at the Philippine standard of upbringing from the youths’ perspectives and explains the problem of the “\textit{tradition of debt-of-gratitude}”. It means that Philippine parents expect from their children a stance of showing gratitude, which is understood as being thankful for sacrificing themselves for their offspring. As already mentioned before, this stance is linked to respect and no matter what the parents do, their children are not supposed to raise questions about the way parents handle the situations, but are supposed to show respect. Here is a short illustration of what Summer thinks and Sofia’s criticism:

\begin{quote}
“The Philippine method of upbringing is really strict; very strict. And conservative and there’s this phrase: “Why can’t I do that? Because you’re Filipina.” (laughs) [...] And they also say: “You couldn’t behave that way in the Philippines.” (I  Summer)

“Parents have to understand that appreciation is the most important thing. It’s also important that they listen to us, but that’s not the case, because they’re stubborn and they try to enforce only their opinions.” (I  Sofia)
\end{quote}

Once the children behave contrary to their parent’s family ideology, a conflict is predestined and a problem emerges. One of Wolf’s findings concern the Filipin@ family ideology which taught her research participants that “\textit{all problems should be kept in the families. A child’s problem that is revealed to an “outsider” be (s)he a friend, teacher, or, in the worst case a counselor, would create gossip and bring shame (hiya) and embarrassment to the family because it insinuates that they have a problem}”.\textsuperscript{115}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{114} It additionally means that younger people add ‘po’ in the sentences and show great respect by using this word.
\item \textsuperscript{115} Wolf 2005: 364
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
So, once the children do not act according to their parent’s family ideology, parents fear the damage of their reputation and that the Philippine community would gossip (tsismis) about their family.

“Yeah, they say, when you’re part of the Philippine community you should really be precautionous, because they always say: “That’s just between us.” And the next day, well, the whole city knows about it.” (laughs) (I| Summer)

“It means rumors and it affects everyone. Everyone knows everyone in the Philippine community in Vienna and everyone has to say something about someone. And it really spreads way too fast in the Filipino communities, because they all know each other. And (.), for example, in every party there’s always someone who says something, who does ‘tsismis’. That’s something that can’t be missed. And also in the church – even in the church – people are praying, but there’re always people who are whispering about the news: (imitating) ‘Kilala mo yun?’116 Do you know this and that? Do you know her/him?’. That’s why, especially women go (.) their garment, they get dressed up very nicely, in order to avoid ‘tsismis’. (..) It shows social status and that they can afford nice clothes.” (I| Bella)

Bella also stresses the “appropriate” way of dressing in the manner of keeping the outward appearance by showing the socio-economic situation. Sofia expresses this issue similarly and indicates the importance of a high social and financial status in the Philippine community:

“It also means ‘being aware’ of the outward appearance, because it shows status. Not everyone has a high status and that’s why it’s important.” (I| Sofia)

Going back to tsismis, Sofia agrees with Bella, but makes a distinction:

“Tsismis is fun, but when you’re part of it, it’s not fun anymore. Tsismis is to compare our selves with others and people do it in order to feel good. It’s about gossiping (.) about the negative features of others. But there’s also this kind of tsismis where people just talk about news and facts without any ulterior motives.” (I| Sofia)

Tsismis is indeed a part of the Philippine group identity, which seems to be much more pronounced among Filipin@s who live abroad, for the simple reason that the

116 ‘Kilala mo yun?’ means ‘Do you know this person?’
community contains a small number of members. Because the community is so small, people are much more dependent on each other. The members position themselves as opposed to other members. Keeping up appearances and their reputation to the outside are the conditions that help avoiding tsismis. In Wolf's study, one interviewed Filipin@ student explains the direct link from his/her family:

“You know, Filipino families, it’s just whenever there’s a problem, we don’t tell anyone else, because it would bring shame to our family; it would say that we don’t know how to take care of our own. And if there’s a problem we, the unit, the immediate family, can deal with it, or will have to deal with it. Well, once in a while, you know, mom and dad just can’t take care of it, and so, now you’re getting, like, mixed signals. You know you’re supposed to come to mom and dad, but you know mom and dad can’t help you, so can I go to a counselor? Oh no, I can’t. Why? Because I’d bring shame down on them ... you’re just not supposed to tell anyone about “our” family problems, about anything that happens with you, or with your brothers and sisters or your family because that would just bring shame on to the family”.

Sofia and Summer answered following when asking them about keeping up the outward appearance:

“[…], because it shows status. Not everyone has a high status and that’s why it’s important to have a well-groomed appearance.” (I| Sofia)

“When you’re on the street, you should behave properly, because they say: “You never know who you’ll meet.” (I| Summer)

What is meant by Summer’s statement concerns the importance of being seen in public. In order to not be talked about children need to comply with the high expectations of their parents, in both the Philippine American case study and my Philippine Austrian case study.

The young women associated those expectations mostly with education and their future lives. The next subchapter will deal with this point.

7.2 Educational and Occupational Culture

Education plays an important role to the young women’s parents. Both parents and children think and act differently when it comes to education. Parents have principally very high educational aspirations for their children and produce a lot of pressure among their offspring. Diane Wolf found out that “This pressure was attributed to parents being immigrants, their desire to succeed, and their desire for their children to achieve at least their same middle- to upper middle-class status”.118

Speaking about her parents’ ideas about her own life, Sofia says:

“The top priority is education (. ) always!” (I | Sofia)

In one of our informal conversations Sofia and Bella told me that their parents always wanted them to have the best grades. Even when they came home with good grades, they always wanted their children to learn and study more and much harder. Good was not good enough, best was better. These are aspirations from their parents, who don’t have much control over the educational culture, whereas teachers and co-students do.

Compared to the educational culture the occupational culture was relatively uncontrolled by the young women’s parents. They may have special imaginations of what their daughters will work one day, but as long as they study, having a part-time jobs of whatever kind is good. The occupational culture is particularly relevant for Bella and Sofia, as they have finished high school. While starting their studies the importance of having a part time job became more and more a topic of discussion. It is indeed common that students take on casual jobs besides their studies. Summer still attends school, which is why she is relatively unconcerned with a part time job. At the beginning of Bella’s and Sofia’s studies we talked a lot about different jobs that suit especially students. They applied to many retail shops, which sell mainly

118 Wolf 2005: 355
clothes or accessories. Taking a part time job and earning a small amount of money are important not only for the personal development, but also for the gradual and economic independence. In this way they have the possibilities for either saving up some money or spending it for shopping or traveling. The young women's parents all send remittances back home to the Philippines and try to support their families. Bella was the only one who also sent remittances to her family, also out of educational reasons:

“[…] I really want to help my cousins in the Philippines; like with school and (.) that’s my dream. I mean, I send some money now too, now that I have a job, but that’s not my number one priority at the moment, but I really want to help them”. (I | Bella)

Both of them found jobs, but changed employment after a few weeks, due to misunderstandings with their managers. Bella found employment at a clothing store and Sofia worked for a mobile phone company. Summer thinks about work after school too, but does not yet worry about it.

The young women are in a two-edged situation: On the one hand, they want to give their parents satisfaction by complying with their expectations, but on the other hand they want to live their own lives.

After several discussions with Filipin@ youth with whom I partly grew up with the experience shows that the relationship to their parents changed in a positive way after they left parental home. It gets easier to satisfy parents, being autonomous and independent at the same time.

7.3 Microculture and Popular Culture

In this subchapter I will give two examples of which role popular culture plays in the microculture. These two examples are important in both the young women's everyday life as well as in events. The latter was connected to what they identified
as Philippine social practice. When Diane Wolf asked her research participants about what they associate with a Philippine social practice in their families, they largely referred to get-togethers. In my study the young women referred to get-togethers too and stressed the importance of food, gossip and karaoke. So I will turn to karaoke as social practice.

“[…] Karaoke is important for Philippine festivities. There are hardly any parties without karaoke. […]” (I | Sofia)

KARAOKE

Karaoke is not per se a social practice performed by youth alone. Instead, both young and old people are involved in it. As Sofia says above, karaoke is a central element in Philippine get-togethers. No matter if Filipin@s celebrate or play it out of no special reason.

It was invented in Japan in the beginning of the 1970s, spread rapidly in Asia, then to North America and lastly to Europe. At first, the karaoke machine consisted of two parts – a stereo and a microphone that was connected to it. The songs were recorded on a cassette, which was inserted into the stereo. As it gained so much popularity it had to be ‘re-invented’, in a way that people should get a much greater range of songs. Meanwhile, instead of the cassette, the songs were recorded on a medium - which is comparable to a USB stick – which again is inserted in the microphone. The songs are pre-recorded and the persons can sing along. The lyrics and the songs are transmitted to a screen/TV set and the singing has to be done by the person holding the microphone.

119 see Wolf 2005: 353
120 see Mitsui & Hosokawa 1998: 3
Only when it started to spread as an entertaining game, it captured the academic interest in the mid-1980s. The editors of *Karaoke around the world: Global technology, local singing* (1998), Toru Mitsui and Shuhei Hosokawa (both Japanese cultural and media researchers) for example, stress its global and local effects from a social and cultural point of view. A serious scientific engagement with this subject arose in the mid 1990s when several academic contributions appeared in magazines. Even books and romances about and around karaoke were written and conferences regarding different aspects of 'karaoke-singing' were held.

Jonathan Orpus Ong is one of the few scholars who examined karaoke as a social practice among Filipin@s. His research concerned London-based Filipino migrants and their identity constructions that were expressed through the perception of news and karaoke. Ong’s fieldwork among seven Philippine families showed that “singing karaoke, it seemed, was what brought Filipinos around the TV and, perhaps, was what brought them “home”.” Filipin@s tend to claim that karaoke is a clearly Philippine practice or what Ong calls it “the claim for cultural ownership of this activity”.

Summer also make this claim:

“You have it [karaoke] in every party, it's very Filipino.” (I | Summer)

Mitsui and Hosokawa aptly describe that it is not only about singing; “*The karaoke machine is more than just a machine that allows one to be a star for three minutes. It combines at the same time musical technologies, personal experiences and collective memories that go far beyond microphones and pre-recorded accompaniment*.”

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121 see ibid.: 3  
122 see Ong 2008  
123 Ong 2008: 2  
124 ibid.: 15  
125 Mitsui & Hosokawa 1998: 3
Bella, for example, repeatedly emphasized Karaoke as a linking tool between persons and sees the social tie between the actors when practicing it:

“Before we go out, we sing karaoke, because it’s good to have a chat with friends first, you know, before going to the clubs. So, we spend time together or sing, whatever. When you go to the clubs directly, you only dance and you don’t have the chance to talk to each other.” (I | Bella)

Although karaoke is not particular Philippine it is very much integrated, respectively involved in the microculture’s everyday life and is, like tsismis – a part of the group identity.

With respect to popular culture, karaoke is a commodity being consumed by large and small groups. The young women of the microculture practiced karaoke in their everyday life, sometimes without using the typical microphone; instead they accessed the Internet and searched for instrumental versions of songs they like. Youtube\textsuperscript{126}, for example, is a great source that offers a much broader range of songs than the karaoke machines of their parents or of the bars. The young women reproduce the mediated karaoke ‘know-how’, but make something new out of it by handling karaoke on their own way. This kind of cultural production calls to mind Lévi-Strauss’ concept of bricolage which Hebdige used for explaining meaning making processes within subcultures.

FASHION AND DRESSING

Although dressing is strongly embedded in our daily life fashion and shopping are two research fields that found their way into the scientific world only in the last decade. Within the studies of youth cultures many scholars focused their attention on subcultures and their styles. Fashion and shopping as cultural practices of youth however, were rarely investigated on a day-to-day-basis.

\textsuperscript{126} Youtube is a website that allows users to upload different types of videos, such as music video clips, self-made videos, series, etc.
Hillevi Ganetz was one of the first scholars from Gender Studies who elaborated on the everyday life of fashion-interested girls. She focuses on “how young women utilize the market for their own style creation [...]” and argues that through mass-production, clothes became affordable for the masses, which leads to a blurriness of the boundaries between class, gender and nationality on the symbolic level. The hegemonic culture influences this aspect of popular culture, too ‘liking’ a certain style is not just about individual taste but trying to comply with certain images of woman/man/occupation/ideology. New forms of differentiating styles and tastes have arisen, e.g. music and art.

Ganetz relates style to the body as an instrument of representing the self, which again is constructed through the “balancing act between the collective and the unique”.

When I asked Bella if she makes any distinctions between her own style and that of others, she answered as follows:

“Yes, sometimes. But not like Lady Gaga; that’s too ‘over’. Yeah, because sometimes, when you [friends] have the same outfit or style, you aren’t seen anymore or you’re seen as a group. Sometimes it’s good being unique; when you wear something different than others, but sometimes one has to assimilate too, especially when you’re with friends, you don’t need to shine out.” (laughs) (I | Bella)

In her own words, Bella exactly describes the balancing act that Ganetz refers to. The distinction making between them (= microculture) and other people are extensively elaborated and is especially seen when they relate to their clothes and accessories which they bought either in the Philippines or in the USA. This distinction making marks that having something others don’t have makes their style more unique. By distinguishing themselves from others through their ways of dressing they emphasize the balance between assimilation and standing out when

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127 see Ganetz 1995
128 Ganetz 1995: 73
129 ibid.: 75
130 Ganetz 1995: 78
131 Lady Gaga is an American pop singer, who has an edgy and eye-catching style.
they are together in the group. This process is a social and individual identity work on the one hand and on the other the consumption of clothes, styles and the Western market. The young women love Lady Gaga’s style, but would never dress like her; they describe her as too overdressed. Instead, role models such as Marilyn Monroe or Leighton Meester\textsuperscript{132} were the ones the young women admired. The identification with clothes is more than body-awareness; it is a product of identity that in turn produces identity and therefore an illustration of self.

When it comes to youth, dressing plays a crucial role. In dealing with their outfits and being confronted with that of others, they create and shape their own dressing culture. Even though youth produce cultural meanings independently, the Western market is oriented towards youth’s interest and perhaps the youth’s sense for the “modern”. \textit{“Consumption has been linked to youth culture all the way back to the 1950s when the concept of the teenager was introduced by the flourishing Western market creating special teenage goods and items for consumption [...]”}.\textsuperscript{133} Since then youth actually determine and pioneer a considerable part of the cheaper, quickly changing fashion market in Western countries.

Popular culture comprises more aspects than karaoke and dressing. Other aspects, such as watching TV and series, going to the movies\textsuperscript{134} and shopping, but also food were a great deal in the microculture. We never went to the movies together, but talked about the latest releases, which concerned mostly mainstream films. Sofia and I exchanged movies and especially series that we had on our computers.

\textsuperscript{132} American actress
\textsuperscript{133} Wulff 1995: 70
\textsuperscript{134} Vienna offers an international film festival yearly, which is called VIENNALE. The last VIENNALE was particularly interesting because of a tribute to a Philippine gay filmmaker, Lino Brocka. I told the young women that we should go and watch some of his movies, since most of them were banned in the Philippine film landscape out of two reasons: First, due to the dictatorship of the 1960s until the late 1980s homosexuals were not accepted by the majority of the Philippine society second, because the Philippine government could not take Lino Brocka’s socio-political criticism. Thus, the possibility to watch one of Brocka’s films was a great opportunity and a once-in-a-lifetime chance. The young women showed great interest, but never accompanied me.
Summer and Bella downloaded movies by themselves and were not interested in exchanging.

For the young women (and for everyone else), popular culture just offers options and resources for shaping their free time. More examples on this are shown in the next chapter.
8. Cultural Production in a Microculture

When we recall Vered Amit-Talai’s concept of multi-culture, she stresses cultural production. Cultural production is embedded in everyday life and is produced through social practices, which can be understood as agency or simply as collecting experiences when a person interacts with his/her environment and the people that surrounds him/her. Cultural production is dealing and living with, adapting and recreating multi-cultures, such as the ones discussed in chapter 7. One possible result that emerges is a differently thought culture; a reproduced, but newly connoted and relatively independent culture as youth cultures have proven to be in the past few decades. All cultures (occupational, ethnic, age group, etc.) are concerned with creating and maintaining collective identities among themselves and vis-à-vis other groups of cultures.

A great deal of cultural production occurs either in the girls’ bedrooms or in places where parents and other adults or authorities are beyond reach. The following subchapter deals with the role of spaces in the young women’s lives.

8.1 The Meaning of Spaces

“The interrelationship between people and space has become an important topic within anthropology during the last few years. It has been argued that the time-worn anthropological tradition of viewing culture in terms of separate, spatially incontiguous entities, each placed in their own territories, bears little resemblance to the mobile and culturally lives that people can be seen to lead today”\textsuperscript{135}

Danish anthropologist Karen Olwig argues that people and spaces cannot be thought separately, but also that spaces cannot be perceived as separate units.

\textsuperscript{135} Olwig 1997: 33
Instead, the dynamic interaction between space and people need to be linked to one another due to the fact that social actors move variably between spaces and therefore cultures. The young women of “my” microculture determined their spaces mostly outside of their homes: Coffee Day, Vienna’s shopping streets and clubs, but also Facebook. In this respect, I borrow American anthropologist Mark Liechty’s notion of “actively constructing [...] cultural space”. In Liechty’s study on Kathmanduan youth he links this notion to the interrelationship between the local culture and the forces of modernity that accelerates the development of a meanwhile rapidly changing community. This great impact results in a “new form of youth expression” which leads to new connoted meanings of cultural space.

Youth, in general, need to create and claim their self-defined spaces in order to demarcate themselves from the parental culture. Swedish gender studies researcher Hillevi Ganetz also stresses the importance of spaces in her study among young women and their creation of style: “[...] one of the distinguishing features of youth culture is just this search for places where one can be in control; a place to be alone with friends, a place free from parental or other adult interference”. Ganetz elaborates on four settings (shop, fitting room, home and girl’s bedrooms) in which her research participants experience the process of creating their own style. The result of the created style, she argues, is the product shown to the outside.

This distinction making is necessary and essential for the shaping of young women’s identities. At times of the Internet, however, the boundary or rather the intersection between parents and children gets blurry: Facebook is an illustrative example, where the boundary becomes indistinct. The Austrian daily newspaper DerStandard reports on the increasing Facebook-registrations of women older than 55. Wolfgang Reißmann, from the University of Erfurt, states in the interview with DerStandard that younger users “should think about what they want to reveal from

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136 see Liechty 1995: 192
137 see ibid.: 192
138 Ganetz 1995: 87
139 http://derstandard.at/1262209606418/Hilfe-meine-Mama-ist-auf-Facebook
themselves to their parents when accepting their friendship requests. It's about personal boundaries.” The users as well as the creators of Facebook reacted: The former created groups, such as “Mum, get off Facebook” and the latter offers the possibility of categorizing the contacts in family and friends. This way, parents and their children can still be “friends”, but with the option of limited insight of one another. The article further quotes social media researcher Danah Boyd – from the University of Berkeley – that by the time the social networks like MySpace or Facebook emerged, teenagers perceived those as space where they could present their identities and make contact with people of the same age. Reißmann argues that the young people should make the decision for themselves, because they have also the right to be let alone – a very Western concept of youth in itself.

On the other hand, social networking was not only created for young people, yet the youth feel constrained. The young women’s mothers of my study registered as well, but are not able to see the entire profiles of their daughters, as they blocked some of their functions in order to keep their privacy. Among these functions was, for example, the deactivation of viewing the young women’s photo albums. Especially photos from parties, clubbing and with boys were a delicate issue because they somehow show too much about how the young women spend their free time, something which they only mean to share with friends.

In our own created group Sofia wrote on the wall:

“Have you also noticed that suddenly a lot of parents are on Facebook? My parents are crazy about it!” (Nov. 2th 2009, Facebook)

This is indeed a problematic aspect. The young women are old enough to decide what is best for them without having their parents interfere in their private spaces. As far as I observed, respect, as discussed above, is heading in only one direction and reciprocity is blanked out to a large extent. The young women must show respect to older people, yet it is not the case the other way around.

140 Interview with DerStandard. Article published on Jan. 15th 2010
The constant search for self-claimed places is an ongoing quest until the young women leave their parental home. Most of the microculture's spaces were outside their homes, because being outside meant that their parents were beyond reach, whereas in their homes they only had their bedrooms for themselves.

The “bedroom culture” is a term that among other researchers was used by Helena Wulff in her study among twenty girls as contrast to the “street corner society”.141 The idea behind the concept of bedroom culture points out the bedroom as protected area in a young woman’s/girl’s home. At the same time they are much stronger under the control of other family members. By contrast, the concept of the street corner society is about how young men/boys use public space, such as the football and basketball cages that are spread in the city (of Vienna).

The bedroom culture is at least as important as any other one analyzed in this text since the bedroom is a private space where young people are under their parent’s watch, where they can re-/produce culture, but also where they are entertained, when it comes to electronic equipment, such as computer, stereo or TV. But within this scope, it is impossible to elaborate any further, as the young women and I spent more time outside.

Shopping and going to cafés, for instance, were two of the few activities where the young women were able to escape from parental guidance, at least for a short moment.

8.2 The Meaning of Dressing

In this chapter I am trying to deal with the different aspects of dressing in the context of the microculture’s interests. These aspects largely refer to communication, identity work, the role of shopping as an activity and the cultural meaning of dressing. The young women’s photos on dressing and personal things will also be presented.

141 see Whyte 1943
THE MICROCULTURE GOES SHOPPING

Going shopping with close friends is socially important in a way that communication is constantly present and practiced. It is less about purchasing goods or going after sales, but more about hanging out together in places where they feel comfortable and enjoy a relaxing atmosphere. On the one hand the distinction between street corner (male) and bedroom (female) culture does not hold true anymore, at least in this context, due to the fact that the young women also feel safe going from one shop to the next with the advantage that they are away from home. On the other hand, it is just that they have more spaces which they can claim as their own and they also have the virtual space of the Internet where they spend so much time.

The young women described shopping as an activity that was connected to communication.

“It plays an important role [shopping], because you can do it together with friends, but also with the family. I, for example, go shopping with my mom and aunt. Sometimes you just enter the shops and talk, it’s like having a coffee together. [...] I couldn’t go shopping alone, I feel lonely, I don’t know; you can’t even talk to anyone.” (I | Summer)

For the anthropologists, Daniel Miller et al., shopping is a complex social activity that for the main part indicates social interaction, be it between salesperson and shopper or among shoppers.142 The authors conceptualize shopping as follows: “We take it as axiomatic that we live through others, in joint action with them. It is no surprise, then, that shopping is as often about others as it is about self (and even when it is about self, it is often still about others).”143

142 see Miller et al.: 1998
143 ibid.: 17
Summer fittingly describes how she feels about dressing and affirms Miller’s statement.

“Sometimes, I don’t feel good when I think of my outfit, because I then think that it doesn’t look good. And I often ask my friends if my outfit looks good, appropriate and okay.” (I | Summer)

Based on Miller’s point of view and according to Hillevi Ganetz, shopping as an activity implies an identity-working process, especially when young women go together:

“For girls to go shopping together for clothes is to confirm each other’s taste and style. It is very difficult to be accompanied by someone who has the opposite taste – and it ruins all the pleasure of it. It is about confirming each other, at the same time as the other person is expected to give personal advice on what works and what does not, what suits and what does not. Both parties need to be in agreement about what is ‘nice’ and what is ‘ugly’ in general fashion, and that the one party can give the other advice on what suits her personally. In other words, it is necessary that they know each other well; if they do not, the shopping functions as a mutual experiment: ‘Do you understand who I am?’, ‘Can we become friends?’” 144

When we recall Helena Wulff’s microculture, she talked about the activities that were accompanied by talking most of the time. For the young women in my study, talking was an activity that was also bound to the activity of shopping. What became clear in the course of my fieldwork was that talking about shopping was more important than actually going shopping. Bella and Sofia planned to spend their semester break in the Philippines and therefore envisioned what to buy there. Whenever we met for a shopping stroll, the young women only took a look at the new trends and got ideas of what to shop in the Philippines.

For the young women, the activity of shopping is closely linked to emotions:

“Shopping makes me feel good, but afterwards, when the money is gone, it hurts. But I always imagine that my money is gone on the one hand, but on the other, I’ve won something for it.” (I | Sofia)

144 Ganetz 1995: 86
“Shopping is stressful. (laughs) I mean, it's fun indeed, but it depends if you have money or not.” (I | Summer)

Cultural researcher John Storey aptly points out the relevance of consumption in everyday life and relates it to emotions:

“Consumption is always more than an economic activity – the consuming of products/the use of commodities to satisfy material needs. Consumption is also about dreams and desires, identities and communication. In Britain and the USA, behind watching television, shopping is the most popular leisure activity. In short, shopping has become popular culture”.145

In my own study, I always had the feeling that shopping was a kind of ritual for the young women, which I would describe as something that consists of three successive steps. The first one concerns the intention of going shopping which is tied to mental preparation and motivation. The second step moves further to the actual activity and is linked to fun and desire. The last step regards the choice of purchasing a good or not. While the former is linked to satisfaction and joy, the latter was then connected to disappointment and discontent. A phase in between these two might occur when the young women bought something, but were not satisfied with what they purchased.

A good example for being discontent occurred when Summer bought boots. After purchasing them, she was not sure if she should keep or change them in the shop. As long as she was in the shop, she felt attracted by the boots and once she got home, she thought of giving them back, which she did at the end.

The second scenario only occurred when the young women could not afford particular goods, but they had different views on this. While Sofia sees it more relaxed, Summer shows conflicting emotions:

“When I find something that pleases me, I grab it, but only as long as I have money, otherwise I just wait ‘til I’ve money again.” (I | Sofia)

145 Storey 1996: 132
“Well, window-shopping is okay, but you're depressed afterwards, because you'd like to buy it, but can't. [...] Sometimes you're happy and you just think: “Ah, I'd like to have this and that.” And sometimes you're just sad, because you think: “Oh no, I can't afford that.” (I| Summer)

“When you shop and see nice things, but you don't have any money, it's difficult, because you know that you simply can't buy it.” (I| Bella)

The emotions towards shopping are very much socio-culturally influenced. The young women create a persona through consuming and the products affirm and help construct who they want to be. Sofia further links shopping to an area of creativity and expression of self:

“Shopping also shows how creative we [women] are and how we combine our things.” (I| Sofia)

She claims the shopping area as womanized by stressing the boy-girl-dichotomy. She talks of ‘we’, the women and ‘them’, the men, who are completely blanked out while talking about shopping, which indicates the categorical expulsion of men in the women's territory. The following section is an illustration of the young women’s perception of dressing which is illustrated by the pictures they made themselves.

THE MICROCULTURE AND THE BODY

Apart from the feeling of satisfaction, shopping also triggers a passion for a feeling of pleasure. The young women associate shopping not only with commodities, but also with bodily wellbeing. This body awareness is thus important to feel beautiful for oneself, in order to show beauty to others. Bella took a picture of her favorite hygiene products from the company Bench. These products refer to her body awareness and belong to the basic contents of her handbag.
For Sofia, bodily wellbeing is expressed through clothing:

“Clothing plays a very important role! I wouldn’t go out if I weren’t dressed up nicely. [...] I like being sexy, but also casual.” (I| Sofia)

The criteria for ‘looking good’ as such were expressed in different ways: The first aspect regarded the young women’s everyday life, the second their moods and lastly events or occasions. The following collages and photos show what the young women connect with dressing in these three aspects. They took the pictures either by themselves, got them from the Internet or cut them out from fashion magazines. Their point of view will be seconded by some of their diary entries. I also took some notes about their interpretation after our meetings. Before moving further to the photos I would like to give an insight into my fieldwork diary:

Oct. 11th 2009:

*Actually, I thought we would discuss the pictures today, but I was surprised in a positive way, as the girls delivered something else; something new; something which I didn’t expect.*

Nr. 1: Bella’s Bench products
Ill.1: Sofia's collage

On Sofia’s left side of the collage we see a woman in a yellow dress which stands for her favorite color. The colorful and eye-catching dress next to it stands for a peacock that radiates attractiveness. The last image represents Rayban sunglasses; her favorite model is called ‘Wayfarer’. The people on Sofia’s collage are famous in the music industry, but were never a subject of discussion.
For Sofia, the woman in the middle of the second collage represents an accentuated, but simple and comfortable style, whereas the woman on the right was related with sexiness. On the one hand Sofia likes the half-naked woman’s outfit, but on the other she would not wear it because it shows too much skin. The woman on the left side wears a hat in the style of the 1940s which Sofia associated with a sophisticated appearance.

I would say that both collages show some features of Sofia’s personality, especially when it comes to femininity. Among these features are sexiness, beauty, being simple and sophisticated, feeling comfortable and attractive. At the same time, the media’s influence is obvious. Not only does she shape her identity with the utilization of magazines, fashion blogs or the TV, she is also oriented to how media represents fashion and the latest looks, which in turn is reproduced by her.
Bella’s “Style” collage is a representation of which role dressing plays in her (everyday) life. It shows her taste in style and illustrates different commodities that she makes use of, such as the sunglasses, the shoes, cosmetics, lingerie or accessories. Here is an example from Bella’s diary (which was kept on my request) about her own style:

“Outfit: Lacoste boots (brown), black leggings, Zara Michael Jackson touch jumpsuit (black).”

(A part of Bella’s diary entry, Tuesday, Dec. 15th 2009)

To her diary entry she added following image:

“The Zara jumpsuit looks like this, but in black and the buttons are different.”

A more thorough description of Bella’s daily dressing was combined with her leisure activities. Here is what she wrote:
“I didn’t go to the other lectures since I still continued learning till 2am last night. The exam was at 3:30-4:45pm. Gee, it was OK. The studying was all worth it, I guess. After the exam, me and my sister soul went straight ahead to Mariahilferstraße to meet up with our Tussi\textsuperscript{146}-friends. It’s my friend’s actual birthday, so before meeting up with them, we bought his Fashion Bible book from A to Z – our gift for him. I had to carry two heavy books, since that Fashion Bible is divided into 2 books weighing about 5 kilos! Guess I already pumped iron just by carrying it all the way. We actually met the both of them at Café X Bar – a bar for homosexuals. Quite interesting place since me and my sister are heteros. The atmosphere was just different but chill.”

**My outfit:**
Boots borrowed from my mom (black), Leg warmer from H&M (black), Jag Jeans, white pullover from Zara – kept everything simple and very comfortable for the exam. Hate it when I’m too pimped for my exams. And to show my “being-genius” I wore my eyeglasses instead of my contacts. 8-

(Bella’s diary entry, Monday 14\textsuperscript{th} December 2009)

Bella gives an insight into how she spent this day by writing about her exam and by illustrating her social relations. She and her sister went to go shopping for a friend’s birthday, who is homosexual. His party took place at a bar for homosexuals which Bella describes as interesting due to her heterosexual orientation. Her outfit was being kept simple as she wanted to feel comfortable for her exam. To show how “sophisticated” she is, Bella wore her eyeglasses instead of her contact lenses.

Now, I will show some of Summer’s images and add one of her diary entry in order to get an insight into her interest in dressing and its role in her everyday life. I generally can say that Summer could identify with almost every photo because the combinations of clothes fitted her taste. Basically, Summer likes to wear jeans as photos number 2 and 3 show. They are comfortable and in her opinion can be worn everyday.

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\textsuperscript{146} A German expression for ‘chick’.
Images 2 and 3 also stand for simple, but trendy outfits, descriptions which also fit photos number 4, 5 and 6:

Summer's diary entry on her outfit shows a combination of clothes which she wore for school:

“Outfit: dark skinny jeans, black tank top, light pink blouse, black cardigan, bracelets, beige Converse, grey Longchamp, grey-green-pink scarf, grey cardigan”

(Thursday, Dec. 10th 2009)

Sofia’s pictures were very different to Summer’s. On the photos we can see personal and private things of her, but also commodities that she uses every day, such as her MacBook and her Blackberry:
Among the personal things are pictures from her parents and siblings. While discussing the pictures and social relations she stressed that family always comes first. At this point, I would like to mention that her thought about the family (and it is not only hers) is in an intersection between the normative thinking she gets mediated from her parents and the experienced situation that is differently lived.147

Now, let me go back to Sofia’s pictures.

Picture number 9 shows her make-up collection, which she defines as tool to enhance femininity and beauty, but also understands it as artistic work. She herself puts on make-up every day. Photo number 10 shows a 100 Pesos banknote, which stands for her affinity to the Philippines and to shopping.

Bella’s photos on clothing are tied to the activity of shopping. Photo number 11 stands for her favorite shop ZARA in which she buys almost all of her clothes and from which she owns several collections. The bag on picture number 12 is from the brand Longchamp, which is very popular among (young and/or Asian) middle-class

147 see Diane Wolf (1995) for an in-depth overview on this topic.
women. Bella highly praised this bag because of its functionality, its stability and its classical look.

Nr. 11: Bella’s ZARA piece  
Nr. 12: Bella’s handbag

On picture number 13 we can see an oversized bangle which represents Bella’s affection towards accessories. Last, but not least is photo number 14 which stands for her passion for collecting shoes.

Nr. 13: Bella’s accessory  
Nr. 14: Bella’s shoes

Other things, which the young women pay attention to, are commodities such as cosmetics, shoes and clothes that contribute to their comfort. They symbolize femininity and beauty and are consumed to accentuate their bodies: Cosmetics are used differently depending on occasions, but make-up is applied daily. Perfumes, cosmetics and hygiene products, like hand creams, tissues or sanitizers are always part of their handbag content and symbolize both body and hygiene awareness. The girls attach utmost importance to neat and long hair as well as manicure, which
stand for attractiveness and highlight their femininity. High heels also contribute to a sexy appearance, which has an impact on increasing their self-esteem.

Dressing, in general, adorns the body and expresses beauty at the same time. By organizing their outfits and spending money on them, they give themselves the feeling of being alive, beautiful and feminine.

“The thing is, whenever I go out I need to know beforehand what to wear and sometimes (.) no (.) quite often, I buy new stuff, so I can wear them when I go out. [...] And new outfits are always a boost to my ego. That’s why I don’t go out frequently.” (I| Bella)

What Bella understands as a boost to her ego is connected to buying new things and wearing them to show them to the outside, especially when she goes out on weekends. Feeling good in her newly purchased clothes is another aspect that contributes to the shaping of her identity.

“I like buying new stuff before we go out; it’s like a tradition. It doesn’t matter what we buy, it could be a top, a pair of earrings or cosmetics.” (I| Sofia)

Sofia describes the purchase of new commodities as a tradition before she goes out. She, like Bella, experiences a boost to her ego through the affirmation of the products she consumes.

We see in both statements that clothes influence the young women’s identities to a large extent and also that emotions play a big role. The construction of meanings for the clothes they wear often resulted in feeling good and happy. The identification with the clothes they like determined their mood which was noticeable in how they acted. Bella points out the meaning of dressing by saying that it is important to wear an appropriate outfit, yet it should be well-thought-out. Consuming makes them happy; they socialize themselves and are socialized to become a part of the middle-class consumer society.
Because at the end, it is about exposing themselves what they show to the public and what they rather leave hidden. In the following statement Summer expresses the role of clothing in her everyday life:

“Clothing is strongly involved, because that’s the first thing I think about. And when I go to sleep I also think about what to wear the next day. And it’s also – I recently talked with my friend about this – when you’re not content with your outfit your mood is bad automatically.” (I Summer)

When it comes to the young women’s daily engagement in finding the right combinations of clothes, their answers showed that it would depend on the occasions.

“It depends, when I go to the lectures I don’t want to be flashy, especially because I’m a natural science\textsuperscript{148} student and it’d be very eye-catching if I styled myself too much. Because a lot of fellow students are styled differently and that’d be kind of silly. I mean it shouldn’t be embarrassing because you are who you are, but still! (laughs) When we go to Philippine festivities or to church we should adapt ourselves and we shouldn’t show too much skin, because ‘tsismis’ starts right there! (laughs) And yeah, when we go out it’s okay to look slutty, but trendy!” (I Sofia)

“Normative appearances are most often expressed as individuals strive to fit into their social and cultural context”.\textsuperscript{149} Sofia ponders about the different situations and determines her way of dressing according to what event comes up. A peculiarly Philippine cultural characteristic reveals her worries towards ‘tsismis’, which makes her cautiously choose ordinary or unflashy garment in order to avoid a situation in which she would be gossiped about, even though she stresses the importance of being who you are. Her explanation is a wonderful illustration of the different microcultures in which she acts. Staying true to herself but adapting to the norms of the different cultures as much as she thinks necessary and corresponding to what these cultures require from her.

\textsuperscript{148} The original quote contains her real studies. The author changed it on purpose in order to not reveal her identity.
\textsuperscript{149} Lynch 1999: 4
Bella thinks similarly and points out the problem about tsismis after talking about the role of clothing in her everyday life.

“At work I’m unable to wear high heels; I simply wear cozy things, in order to be able of walking afterwards. At home I just want to be comfortable and Filipinos say ‘Pambahay’\(^{150}\), I always wear them, it’s like a pajama. For home, it should be something comfy and baggy. As soon as I arrive at home I change into my ‘pambahay’. I don’t wanna wear the jeans at home, because they’re tight and you can’t really move and at home you should feel comfortable. When I go out, it’s important for me to look good. (laughs) And when I go to the University it depends on my mood. If I’m not too lazy I create an outfit beforehand, but sometimes I just want to feel comfortable without too much of styling. And at Philippine celebrations it’s important for me to present myself in a good way. (laughs) Yeah, because of ‘tsimis’ and stuff like that. I mean, I don’t know, it’s just Filipino-ness. If it wasn’t a Philippine celebration it would still be important for me to dress up appropriately; not over styled, but well-thought-out.” (I| Bella)

While Sofia tries to assimilate to most of her multi-cultures, Bella stresses the importance of feeling and being comfortable when going to the usual places, such as work, home and University. The parental Philippine culture, however, is indoctrinated differently. The awareness of presenting oneself on Philippine festivities is highly pronounced and is again linked to the avoidance of tsismis.

In Bella’s explanation we can also nicely see her role as multi-cultural actor and her multifaceted perceptions of dressing. As every multi-culture has its own rules she ascribes different meanings by dressing according to those.

Summer perceives the problem with presenting oneself on Philippine get-togethers in a more differentiated way, but does not really connect it to gossiping.

“I’m always wearing my pajamas when I’m at home, except when we have some people over. In school there are some people dressed as if they’d go out, yeah, but I couldn’t go to school that way. I just wear jeans or a skirt. At Philippine parties it depends if it’s formal or semi-formal. When it’s semi-formal you’d wear jeans and a blazer and when it’s formal you’d wear a dress.” (I| Summer)

\(^{150}\)‘Pambahay’ is the Tagalog translation of ‘pajamas’.
Apart from the different types of dressing that are connected to the young women’s multi-cultural surrounding, they also dress themselves as opposed to other people. They compared people on the streets and celebrities in magazines, TV or the Internet. In doing so, they collect new ideas for their own creation of style, which has a self-confirming impact on their selves.

“I compare, mostly on the street, always. I don’t know, when I see someone who’s really well styled I think: “Wow, I’d also like to be as styled as this person.” I also look at photos of celebrities, magazines, blogs, yeah.” (I | Summer)

“I mean, I compare (.) because they don’t say: “to steal an idea!” They say “to borrow it.” (I | Sofia)

What Sofia means here, is getting ideas of styles through the media and new technologies and shape them the way they fit her.

At last, the roles of their favorite clothes are important to mention since they determine the young women’s moods and define their body awareness. At the same time they have a processing impact on their identities.

“They’re my favorite things, because they make me happy; because they make something of myself. They show my taste, but also myself.” (I | Sofia)

“When I wear my favorite things, I’m confident and I feel happy, because I have what I like.” (I | Bella)

In this subchapter I tried to contextualize the different aspects of dressing, which are deeply embedded in the young women’s daily routine. How important clothes are for the young women’s identity could also be seen from their creative collages on fashion that they created for my research.
8.3 The Meaning of Music

This part will be dealing with the role of music in “my” particular microculture. Like dressing, music is a part of different areas and settings. Karaoke, clubbing and music in everyday life were the topics we discussed most. Thus, I will be elaborating on the role of karaoke in the Viennese Philippine community, especially how the young women perceive it.

When asking the young women which kind of music they listen to and why, they answered following:

“Music has to be fun, because there’s this kind of music I don’t like, for example, metal, punk. That’s the kind of music I don’t listen to at all; I get a headache from those. I love listening to R’n’B, Reggaeton, and yeah. Pop, not so much anymore, I prefer R’n’B and Reggaeton, because I can dance to this kind of music. But there’s also soft-R’n’B, that’s just nice to listen to, I don’t know.” (I | Bella)

“I mostly listen to R’n’B, Soul, Hip Hop and also Old School. But Old School wasn’t really in my days; I just know it from my cousins. I listen to this kind of music because I can imagine myself singing along with it or producing it on my own.” (I | Sofia)

Summer expresses the role of music differently compared to Bella and Sofia, but from what I can say, she likes a similar style of music:

“I mean, it’s often that way: I’ve heard a song somewhere at some time and every time I listen to the song, I have the same emotions. I listen to everything; I listen to the music I like, apart from metal. I don’t like it at all.” (I | Summer)

The following pictures are again from Bella’s and Sofia’s collection. Photo number 15 was taken by Bella and shows the seats of a subway. She annotated this picture with following phrases: “Music kills boredom; Music keeps you sane; Music gives you a moment of ease; Music should simply be EVERYWHERE.” These phrases clearly show which meaning she ascribes to music and the public space.
When Bella and I had the interview, she again talked about music in public, especially in the public transport:

“I’m really bored when I’m alone and it’s boring to not listen to music. In the subway, for example, or bus or tram, I need to listen to music, because I feel like being gazed at, when I don’t listen to it. And when I have my headphones on, I don’t care about the people around me.” (I | Bella)

Sofia’s picture shows a stereo which stands in her bedroom and runs the whole day.

THE MICROCULTURE SINGS

Although the young women were always surrounded by music in different kinds of ways, karaoke seemed to have another quality than, for example, clubbing. In order to get a better understanding which part karaoke played in my fieldwork I would like to demonstrate a hilarious situation of us singing karaoke at Sofia’s birthday party at her home:

The evening began quietly and the guests sat with their loaded plates of food around the living room table and ate. Right after finishing dinner the karaoke device was connected to the television set, but no one volunteered to take the microphone.
So, all the persons present were trying to communicate with each other, which resulted in numerous small talks. No one wanted to break the ice and everyone passed the microphone on to the person sitting next to him/her. The crunch point in this situation was taken care of by Sofia’s parents, when they brought a tray fully loaded with red wine. Everyone grabbed a drink and waited for someone to start with the singing. We talked about our parents and analyzed their relation to the karaoke machine. As opposed to our singing behavior, Philippine parents always find a volunteer who starts the karaoke session. And in addition to that, they already know the codes\textsuperscript{151} they need for their chosen songs. “Our parents are so funny, they know every single code by heart.” (Attendant, Oct. 23\textsuperscript{rd} 2009)

After a while, Phoebe got tired of waiting for someone to break the ice. She reacted quickly, grabbed the microphone and started singing a random song. Everyone was happy about the fact that the warming up had started. After a few glasses of wine and several songs, people were obviously loose and funny. Sofia’s father, her uncles, her friends’ boyfriends and brothers got together at the dining table and opened a bottle of Rémy Martin. So the mothers, daughters, best friends and sisters gathered together in front of the TV. The karaoke session started rolling: Two to three girls were sharing the microphone, a little later it was not even needed anymore, because everyone gave their best and sang at the top of their voices. Singing collectively was obviously fun for everybody. The difficult parts of some diva songs á la Mariah Carey or Whitney Houston were the funniest. We tried to reach the high notes enthusiastically and squeezed them out of our bodies. Everyone was happy about the fact that no one was actually able to sing like a star, but still, everyone felt like one.

The women as well as the men laughed the whole time and interacted while the men were drinking and the women singing. Every now and then, the males grabbed the microphone to sing a duet or a solo. At this moment, it was clear that it was not all about the singing itself, but also the social bond that tied us together which

\textsuperscript{151} The karaoke microphones are controlled like a remote control for TVs. The inside of the microphone has built-in memory cards on which hundreds of songs are saved. In order to access and choose songs, the keypad has to be used from the outside. The songs are marked with a combination of numbers. Pressing a certain code, leads to the chosen song. The TV projects both the song and the lyrics.
somehow created a sense of belonging. These are the moments which Helena Wulff
describes as excitement: the positive experiences that are filled with joy.

Tagalog songs were not popular at all; instead Anglophone pop songs from the
1990s and the early 21st century were favored. Three of the girls decided to sing a
tribute to Michael Jackson, which was well received by the non-singers.

“That [karaoke] connects us Filipinos, I guess. Not only Filipinos, but also most of
the Asians. Everyone has fun, even if someone can’t sing well. You’re surrounded by
people, everyone sings along, even if you’re the one with the mic, everyone joins in
singing and it spreads a merry atmosphere.” (I| Bella)

The young women’s personal standpoints towards karaoke were explained
differently. When asking them to tell me something about karaoke, their first
associations were the following:

“You have it in every party, it’s very ‘Filipino’, but now, there’s also sing star.
Everyone wants to sing, but most of them don’t have the guts and then there’re
others who sing the entire evening.” (I| Summer)

“You can improve your voice with karaoke and you can practice a lot. You don’t
have to study music in order to sing well, you just need practice. […] Karaoke is also
important when it comes to enjoyment, especially when you’re drunk, because then
you have more courage to sing.” (I| Sofia)

“Karaoke is never absent in Philippine celebrations. The thing is, even though I can’t
sing very well, I still love singing.” (I| Bella)

Summer stresses the roles of the karaoke singers and split them up into the
audience and the performers. There is also a difference when singing with friends
or in front of an audience, like in the bars. Karaoke is not only an entertaining tool in
Philippine get-togethers; it is also used as an exercising device. Bella connects it
with fun, while Sofia trains her voice.

The role of singing karaoke at Philippine festivities is a great one. Karaoke is always
part of the parties and cannot be missed. It serves as an entertaining instrument,
but also as Philippine socio-cultural activity. It encourages social relations between the non-singers and gives space for catching up on news at the same time. For Sofia it is more about the singing itself and less about the social aspects. Summer thinks of karaoke as fun and Bella stresses the importance of a sense of belonging.

“At Philippine celebrations karaoke plays a very big role, because at those there’s either a disco or karaoke. But it’s karaoke most of the time. And mostly they already know who’s a good singer and then they say: “C’mon sing one song! The song’s code is 2586152.” (Imitating & laughing) When I sing for myself, it’s more out of fun.” (I| Summer)

“Karaoke is a great deal at Philippine celebrations, because the men drink and the women? What do they do? They eat and that’s boring. That’s why they also sing. […] People deal with each other and it’s bonding and the atmosphere is wonderful. Cheerfulness!” (I| Bella)

According to Bella, the gender roles are clearly divided, but from my experience with the young women I witnessed differently, because the male guests sang as well, even though they had their space (dinner table) territorialized.

When asking the young women why they think that karaoke grew part of the Philippine party culture they answered following:

“Because we’re talented in music and we love to sing and dance, but more singing than dancing, I’d say.” (I| Summer)

“It’s standard, perhaps because (...) we’re talented.” (laughs) (I| Sofia)

The three young women refer to karaoke as typically Philippine which is surely an influence mediated by their parents. Karaoke is simply a part of the get-togethers and the young women maybe do not know otherwise, because as far as I observed I cannot remember them relating to get-togethers outside of the Philippine community or any other parental cultures in general.

152 This code is random. The codes of the songs are different on every karaoke machine.
At last, we talked about how they perceive a typical karaoke situation at a Philippine party. This is what the girls answered:

“In the beginning one or two persons sing and then (.) all of a sudden – and you just don’t notice – the others sing along too. It’s not that they just watch, while the others sing, but they have fun as well. It’s always a kind of teamwork; I mean not teamwork, but something like that. And at the end of the evening, when people get tired, only few of them continue. So that’d be the hard core.” (laughs) (I| Bella)

“There always comes a time when everyone decides to turn on the karaoke machine and then you immediately notice the people running towards the songbook, but mostly they know the number of their songs by heart.” (I| Summer)

Philippine get-togethers can be imagined in three different settings with various combinations of people: The first setting refers to a small group which consists of the hosts, their family and their friends. This get-together mostly takes place in someone’s home. The second type of get-together is organized to a much greater extent where the hosts invite people to rented places, like Chinese restaurants, parish halls or even conference halls of hotels. The third setting is simply a karaoke club, such as the Soho Bar, located in the Millenium City, or the Subway Karaoke Bar, located in the 15th district of Vienna, whose owners are from the Philippines.

During my fieldwork the young women and I never went to a karaoke bar, even though we planned to go several times. We either talked about their experiences in the Soho Bar or sang karaoke at someone’s home.

In the beginning of an event, people gather around the living room table and eat. They talk with each other while eating, and start drinking and singing afterwards. When the moment comes in which everyone is involved in singing, it seems that all people enter a trance. This trance can last for hours resulting in getting tired at the end of the evening. While in this trance, the attendants keep singing, dancing, drinking and gossiping. Tired, but content and happy people head home.
Like in any other party the situation needs to loosen. The passion for music is being lived and linked to fun. Karaoke produces social bonding and is gladly consumed by the ones who practice it. The people are in constant exchange with each other and therefore re-/produce culture.

THE MICROCULTURE GOES CLUBBING

Clubbing and music are linked to one another since clubbing is impossible without music. The young women like Hip Hop, R'n'B and Soul best, but reject Metal and any other “loud” type of music. They therefore go the clubs that play their favorite kind of music. Like shopping and karaoke, clubbing requires a long preparation time, which includes buying new things for their outfit followed by actually arranging it. The hair-do and make-up have to be perfect and the combinations of shoes, accessories and the colors in general have to appear as well chosen ensemble.

The purpose of meeting one another at someone's place is to have alcoholic drinks and chitchats before heading to the club. Drinking beforehand is an important financial issue since the drinks at the clubs are hardly affordable for them. What the young women merely consume in the club is the music that is played.

Bella defines her style through music. It is therefore – like dressing – an expression of and a way of dealing with identity and at the same time a representation of the person’s self.

“Music also influences my style, because Punks, for example, dress up as punks and are different from others. And there are the hip hoppers who wear wide shirts and wide stuff.” (I | Bella)

For Bella, music is more than style; she also links it to emotions:

When I’m angry or when I feel down I turn on the music as loud as possible, like in my bedroom. Sometimes, when I’m alone at home, I surf on Youtube and sing karaoke. (laughs) Yeah (.) music influences my mood, but my mood influences the music.” (I | Bella)
The medial influence and the presence of the new technologies are noticeable in what Bella described: In her bedroom, she accesses Youtube to sing karaoke, turns on the music to the maximum volume and vents her emotions. She also expresses the correlation between her mood and the music.

“Music is a linkage between different people, meaning that it’s an interest shared by a lot of people. Music becalms the soul, especially when you need a break and you want to be alone. And on the other hand, I can also listen to loud music. (laughs) [...] I listen to music on the Internet (laughs), Youtube! You can find everything there! Karaoke! I like singing karaoke.” (I| Sofia)

Sofia describes the bonding effect of music and the situations of how she makes use of music. Like Bella, she brings up the connection between music and Youtube and at the end stresses karaoke.

Music is involved in every area of the young women’s lives and shows the importance of it in their daily routine. The need to sing alone is often happening in their own bedrooms, where they feel safe, undisturbed and comfortable, which is again a process of shaping their identities.

“Music isn’t just part of my free time; I listen to music every day: I wake up and turn on the music instantly, then I change my clothes; it doesn’t matter what I do, I must listen to music! It’s running the whole day.” (I| Sofia)

“Hm, it’s impossible without music! (laughs) (I| Bella)

In this chapter, the young women talked about the role of music: For them, it is an integral part of their daily routine. No matter what they do, where they are and in which mood they are, they feel the need to be surrounded by music.
8.4 The Microculture goes for New Technologies

When I think of my fieldwork, the young women and I hardly talked about new technologies directly. Yet, as time passed it became clear that new technologies played an important role indeed, in both the young women’s day-to-day life and in the special events and occasions. Greg Dimitriadis – American urban researcher – fittingly defines the significance of new technologies in youth’s lives: “Young people today are using ever ubiquitous media forms and technologies to define themselves and to map their daily lives”.153

With respect to the daily routine of the three young women, their computers and mobile phones were the most important gadgets. The computer not only served as music, photo and movie collection storage, but also offered the possibility of surfing the Internet. The former involved, for example, an exchange of series or movies, especially between Sofia and me, whereas the latter mainly concerned Facebook. The young women used the Internet particularly for being connected with their friends and their families abroad. They valued Facebook highly because people can be reached easily and in a fast way. Most importantly, the Internet stands for a good opportunity of keeping in touch with their extended families in the Philippines.

“The Internet means connection; connecting people! (laughs) No, but, for example, Facebook! You can reach people easier through Facebook. I also use the Internet for my studies and I don’t really chat, only with my family in the Philippines; to not lose contact with them and it’s not too expensive. Yeah, Facebook – Stalker town (laughs): Sometimes when I’m online I see what people do and when I’ve nothing to do, I nevertheless surf on Facebook. It’s like a curse.” (I | Bella)

Bella laughs because she linked the slogan “Connecting people” to the mobile phone company Nokia with which mobile phones are being advertised. This again shows how much the media and the advertisements influence her. She clearly points out what Facebook means to her and describes the social network as “stalker town”. It is somewhat a virtual culture because a lot of cultural production occurs there too,

153 Dimitriadis 2001: 29
though on another level. Even though the users do not interact on a face-to-face basis, exchanging information yet connects them.

The Internet is simply a convenient instrument for networking with other people, but also a fast way for doing research or just watch (Philippine) series and movies, like “Pinoy Big Brother”. The intensive usage of the Internet takes in a large part of their free time, because they have access to the Internet not only via their computers, but also via their phones.

“I’m on the Internet every day; at home and in school, and also through the mobile phone. I’m on Facebook, I chat and also look at pictures. I’ve tried to avoid it lately, just to see what happens, but it’s simply that way that you log on every day, even several times. And they also say: “D’you have Facebook? – What? You don’t have Facebook? I mean, where do you live?” (imitating & laughing) But it’s also important for school, like when I do research on a certain topic. You simply need the Internet, because we haven’t learned how to do research without the Internet. My mom had to do research in a more complicated way.” (I | Summer)

Summer also refers to Facebook and describes her unsuccessful attempt to avoid it for a few days.

“Facebook is extremely addictive, because you see exactly what people do. I’m on Facebook every day, because my computer loads it automatically.” (I | Sofia)

Sofia describes how she uses Facebook which she presents as if her computer tells her what to do, but what Sofia means is that she marked Facebook as starting page of her Internet browser. During my fieldwork I noticed that she indeed spent at least the half day online doing quiz, commenting on her friends’ wall, uploading music video clips and pictures. The latter is again a great deal in the context of new technologies because Sofia as well as Bella and Summer (and all their female friends) are in possession of digital cameras. They always carried their cameras with them no matter if they met in a café or in a club. The photos were uploaded on Facebook to share it with their friends. Looking at the pictures, especially after a

154 Summer refers to people in her peer group.
party, can be understood as virtual prolongation of their performances in the clubs. So in this situation the young women are both, audience and actors.

Their computers are always connected to the Internet, which gives them the possibility of structuring their lives by saving all their data online and on their hardware. They identify themselves with their computers since everything that constitutes them is saved in this one single device.

“Internet means a lot to me, because it offers networking with other people and with the entire world. I use the Internet for chats, for my studies and I also used it for school. [...] My computer is my life, as well as my mobile phone, because I’ve all my data saved there; my whole life, all my photos and therefore memories.” (I| Sofia)

Besides saving her data on the computer, Sofia also uses her mobile phone as backup. Their music libraries, for example, are saved on hardware and on their mp3-players which they carry in their handbags all the time. The young women’s mobile phones were all smart phones from Blackberry and Nokia. Along with the iPhone, these models (and also some others) have all access to the Internet and a built-in camera.

“It means the world to me. I feel lost without it. No, really!!! I mean it. Because I’m not an expert when it comes to getting my bearings, that’s why I really need it.” (I| Sofia)

“I couldn’t go anywhere without my mobile phone.” (I| Summer)

While Sofia would get lost in the literal sense without her mobile phone, Summer stresses that she wants to be reached all the time.
For Bella, the computer is more important than her mobile phone:

“My mobile phone is always with me, but sometimes I like the computer more than my mobile phone. Okay, when I'm not at home I always take it with me. It's good to be reachable and to call friends.” (I | Bella)

This photo was taken by Bella and shows four different mobile phones from her and her friends. Like the subway seat picture, she annotated this one as well: “Those with the latest gadgets are IN!”, “Totally LOST without my phone!!!” and “Work, Friends, Family”. Comparing her comment on the image with her statement, it is obvious that the latter is more mildly expressed. Like Summer, she sees her mobile phone as convenient communication tool with which she can be reached by her work, friends and family and the other way around.

The new technologies are so easily accessible and more importantly so portable that the young women carry their gadgets with them most of the time, even their computers, because they all have laptops. They have their smart phones which connect them to their friends, their mp3-players that they mainly use in public and their digital cameras. The laptops were mostly used in the lectures, but not in public spaces that offered free wireless LAN. So, although we did not talk a lot about their technological instruments it was obvious that they formed an integral part of their microculture.
9. Conclusion

This final chapter comprises the presentation of my fieldwork results and is divided in four subchapters. In a first step, I give a summary of my subject in terms of the impact of dynamic processes on the examined microculture. In a second step I present a discussion of the assumptions. The third part deals with the anthropological contextualization and relevance of this thesis. Finally, I present further scientific ideas and considerations.

9.1 Summary

In my ethnographic fieldwork I examined the everyday life of a Filipina microculture in Vienna with regard to aspects that the three young women dealt with in their leisure: dressing, music and new technologies. I looked at how the young women as social and multi-cultural actors re-/produce and re-/create popular culture by focusing on their leisure activities (shopping, karaoke, talking). Using qualitative methods helped me to elaborate on the main question that looked at the interrelationship between the social actors and their social environment which can also be perceived as microcultures. One of many microcultures was the parental Philippine culture that mediates particular cultural elements, which in turn were significant for the development of the young women's personality. These cultural elements are adapted, newly connoted and put in a different context. Interacting with the parental Philippine culture, but also with popular culture equally constitutes this dynamic of the meaning making process. In this specific study popular culture was consumed through dressing, music and new technologies. Accordingly, the focus of this work lies particularly in the investigation of “making culture” instead of "having culture".155

155 see Baumann 1996: 6
9.2 Recalling the Assumptions

Based on my personal experience and what I had read about Philippine (youth) culture outside the Philippines, I started my research with the following assumptions concerning mostly the leisure time of Filipina youth:

1. Filipin@ youth define themselves culturally through consuming and producing music and fashion in their microculture.

2. Based on the upbringing method of Philippine parents, music and especially karaoke are central aspects of the Filipina youth culture.

3. Filipina women are brought up more strictly than men, which is why they feel more overprotected and underprivileged.

4. Clothing, jewelry and brands are of great interest because the outward appearance and the distinctive look are important to the young women.

5. Facebook, mobile phones and other forms of new technologies and media are indispensable tools of communication in their everyday life.

In the next section I turn to each of these assumptions in the light of my empirical data.

1. Filipin@ youth define themselves culturally through consuming and re-/producing music and clothing in their microculture.

This assumption is related to popular culture and consumption, which is determined largely by a globalized Western market providing social actors with cultural resources.
The microculture operates with the offered resources that in turn are reproduced, consumed and popularized in their own way (= cultural production). An example is the young women’s dealing with karaoke: This entertaining machine originated in Japan and spread rapidly across the entire globe. The Filipin@s popularized and claimed it as their own cultural practice. The young women however, also practice karaoke outside the clubs, namely in their bedrooms where they download the songs on Youtube and sing along. So they are at the same time reproducing karaoke in one context and giving it a new space and meaning on their computers in their bedrooms.

The same meaning making process occurs when it comes to clothing. The Western market determines the latest trends/looks and uses media and new technologies to provide social actors with ideas of what is “in”, “trendy” and “sexy”. In further consequence, the Western market orients itself to how the social actors re-/produce their ideas. This intertwined dynamics also apply to the cultural re-/production of the microculture. The young women looked up the latest styles, purchased and combined similar clothes and wore them in their own way.

The young women think of music and dressing as aspects that define and equate with not only their taste, but also their style. Other aspects like the use of new technologies, the consumption of cosmetics and accessories or the parental influence are also important features of their microculture. So, although music and dressing play an important role, other aspects do, too, that is why I am falsifying my assumption.

2. Based on the upbringing method of Philippine parents, music and especially karaoke are central aspects of the Filipina youth culture.

By means of qualitative methods I can partly confirm this assumption: On the one hand, music is ever-present in their daily life, be it the music they store in their
computers or mp3-players, be it the music video clips on Youtube or the music in the clubs they go to. On the other hand, as an integrated part of the parental Philippine culture, karaoke played an important role insofar as the parents mediated it. The young women described this social activity as bonding tool among the performers. Apart from fun, karaoke encouraged social interaction between the ones who sing and don't sing. They also perceived karaoke as a part of the entertaining landscape due to the fact that Filipin@ parents turn the machine on whenever they have get-togethers.

Through the influence of the young women's parents, the microculture reproduces the mediated karaoke “know-how”, but from the microculture's perspective they have a different way of handling karaoke. Youtube is the best example. When it comes to the young women's everyday life singing karaoke on Youtube played a more dominant part. It also seemed that Youtube was ascribed an equivalent role to karaoke, only without a microphone.

Whether the young women were in their bedrooms, in public space or in a club, music always surrounded them and in further consequence influenced their moods. It was also described as an expression of their identity and understood as a linkage between people who share the same interest, taste and style.

Music and especially karaoke are ever-present within the parental Philippine culture and as a result of that, children learn singing and dancing at an early age. But thanks to new technologies, the second generation develops its own take on karaoke, settling on cheaper technologies which they can turn to on an every day basis, without even leaving their home. So just with my first assumption the answer is: Music is generally important in the Filipina youth culture, karaoke as their parents practice it however, is only reproduced in part, but more importantly it is newly produced.
3. Filipina women are brought up more strictly than men, which is why they feel more overprotected and underprivileged.

This topic is extremely gendered due to the fact that the parental Philippine culture is structured patriarchally.

The microculture repeatedly stressed the strictness of Philippine parents and talked about their roles as females in a Philippine family as opposed to the male ones: The young women feel restricted and underprivileged compared to their male counterparts. Furthermore, the parents encourage an obedient attitude of their daughters by having much higher expectations, especially when it comes to educational aspirations. This point of view of the young women is probably one-sided since only one of them has a brother in the nuclear family. The interaction with the Philippine community nevertheless gives them an insight into how Philippine parents treat males and females differently.

Overprotection was not explicitly discussed, but was shortly mentioned and connected to the weakness of a woman to defend herself.

Another aspect that should not be forgotten is that once the young women conform to their parents’ expectations, the relation between them gets more relaxed, but is still accompanied by further expectations. As long as the young women live under their parents’ roof, they have to follow their rules and are not supposed to raise questions.

I can only verify the aspects discussed by the young women, since no males were included in the fieldwork.
4. Clothing, jewelry and brands are of great interest because the outward appearance and the distinctive look are important to them.

I can confirm this assumption for two reasons: The first matter is linked to the influence of the middle-class parental Philippine culture, whereas the second pertains to the young women themselves, but both are somehow intertwined. The former implicates most of all the presentation of both financial and social status among Filipin@s as well as outside the Philippine community. The latter aspect diverges from the group allegiance and rather regards the more personal level. The young women themselves are dealing with how they appear in public spaces and imagined how “others” would perceive them. In doing so, a lot of identity work occurs which again is extroverted to the outside. The aspect of the outward appearance is shared and lived in both cultures.

Apart from the two mentioned reasons, other things were pointed out: Emotions, for instance, played a great role since they influence the choice of how to dress and the other way around. Feeling comfortable, feminine, beautiful, and sexy and being creative were the depicted emotions when the young women thought of dressing and shopping. Jewelries, accessories and brands were important for accentuating their outfits, especially when it came to handbags (e.g. Guess, Longchamp) and bracelets (e.g. Swarovski). The young women did not exclusively wear branded items, but also accessories from no name producers.

On the one hand, the young women’s critical attitude towards showing off with one’s socio-economic situation was what kept our discussion rolling, on the other, however, they were pretty much aware of how to present themselves when attending Philippine get-togethers. The influence of the parental Philippine culture is reproduced to some extent, but the young women also produced something completely new by testing their limits.
5. Facebook, mobile phones and other forms of new technologies and media are indispensable tools of communication in their everyday life.

Facebook and mobile phones played an essential role in the young women's everyday life. Both serve as connecting media between them and their social relations.

For the microculture, Facebook and therefore the Internet take in a large part of the free time. Because of the possibility of accessing Facebook on their phones and computers it is thus not so difficult to be online every day. The young women stressed the importance of keeping in touch with their extended families and friends, but also the fact of following their friends’ latest news. The new technologies and the media make it possible to maintain relationships with people they care about in an easy and fast way.

Briefly speaking, I verify this assumption.

9.3 The Research Question and its Anthropological Relevance

This part offers a discussion of my research question and the anthropological relevance of this thesis.

*How do Filipina youth in Vienna re-/create and re-/produce popular culture as part of their microculture and multi-cultures?*

A lot has happened in the last two decades in the field of youth studies. Its research fields were broadened and new aspects were taken into account: female youth and femininity, popular culture and consumption, leisure activities and lifestyle, globalization and much more. Anthropologists have taken up these aspects and linked them to the investigation of youth cultures.
I was attracted by these aspects and now want to show which role they played in the microculture that I investigated:

FEMALE YOUTH

In anthropology and in other disciplines of the social sciences, youth and especially female youth were not considered as independent field of research for a long time. As already mentioned in the theoretical part, Angela McRobbie was one of the first to criticize this stance. In this respect, Helena Wulff’s comprehensive fieldwork among twenty girls of mixed origin is an important anthropological contribution. What makes her study special is her illustration of urban social processes in a rapidly changing community. Comparing Wulff’s study to my own, there are important differences between our studies: Her girls were younger than my research participants and were less restricted by their parents. She worked with twenty working-class girls of ethnically mixed origin who spent a lot of their leisure in the youth club – a central setting in Wulff’s fieldwork. In my study however, I worked with three young Filipina women from the middle-class who concentrated their leisure activities mostly outside their homes. Whereas Wulff’s girls liked risky and exciting activities, my girls avoided confrontations. The young women from my study were in addition much more mobile compared to Wulff’s girls due to the fact that Sofia, Bella and Summer live in well-developed areas regarding public transport and shopping facilities, whereas Wulff’s girls lived in the suburbs of South London, having smaller economic resources.

Based on McRobbie’s and Wulff’s work I tried to elaborate on “invisible” female youth in Vienna. In general, there is hardly any comprehensive or detailed contribution concerning Filipin@ youth and even less about female Filipina youth. For me, it was clear that my fieldwork must focus on these persons, since no Austrian anthropologist had considered them worth studying so far. As it was impossible for me to study an entire youth culture for my master thesis, I concentrated on a small group of three young women and their leisure activities.
Compared to Gisela Reiterer’s case study, I can refer to one similarity that she calls the Philippine parenting. Her interviewees also talk about their authoritarian parents. One major difference that distinguishes my work from hers is the role of the combination of a number of cultures in which my research partners act as social and multi-cultural persons. Reiterer on the other hand, looks at the youth’s impact on the Austrian society and talks of hyphenated Filipin@s (= Austro-Filipino) and their identity formation in the Austrian society. Whereas Reiterer examined the youth’s role in Austria, I focused on how Filipina youth re-/produce different cultures on an everyday basis. In my work, ethnic culture is only one culture among many. The fundamental difference however is that I as a Filipina had examined the research field from an emic view. And this in combination with the method of participant observation gave me insights which Reiterer did not get.

Marion Leonard’s article about the Riot Grrrls of the 1990s is also an important study for comparison. One similarity that her study exhibits to mine is that we both looked at female youth cultures. She however focused on how the Riot Grrrls built a youth culture by communicating through fan magazines. Her girls were spread geographically and didn’t know each other personally, whereas “my” girls live in the same area and interacted personally and through the use of new technologies.

POPULAR CULTURE AND THE ROLE OF MULTI-CULTURES

I am recalling the concept of the Canadian anthropologist Vered Amit-Talai as she rethinks the concept of youth by proposing that youth (and also adults) are multi-cultural actors, competent in switching between different cultures through cultural production.

The British media and culture researcher, John Fiske argues “cultural production is an act of consumption [...]” that is embedded in everyday practices and experiences. In my own fieldwork I examined the everyday practices of a

156 Fiske 1989: 35
microculture and brought following aspects into focus: (a) dressing, (b) music and (c) new technologies.

(a) For the young women, clothing played an important role out of various reasons: Firstly, it concerned the consumption of dressing in the sense of Angela McRobbie, who links consumption to pleasure and enjoyment. In the context of the three young women, purchasing and combining clothes and getting ideas from the media triggered a feeling of pleasure which was performed and showed to the outside to make a good impression. The outside performance is what Dick Hebdige calls the process of “conspicuous consumption” through which identity work occurs. While Hebdige’s notion was linked to the male working-class, my study shows that it can also be linked to female middle-class youth.

Secondly, the socio-economic aspect cannot be ignored. The young women expressed this point especially by referring to the financial and social status of the parental Philippine culture. Even though they criticized the way of how Philippine parents show off, they did not really act differently, but rather reproduced this viewpoint. The Philippine festivities were the events where a part of the Philippine community came together. Festivities offered the possibility of presenting oneself to the others and at the same time looking at what others had to present. When someone does not conform to the image of being appropriately dressed, people would start gossiping.

Thirdly, the problem of tsismis (gossiping) is not directly linked to dressing alone, but also to keeping up the outward appearance of one’s own family. This in turn is a situation where the children experience pressure. This problem leads to conflicts insofar as the offspring have to cope with both growing up in a different social context than their parents and reproducing/maintaining their parents’ values.

157 see McRobbie 1997: 75
The fourth point regards the functional aspect of dressing in the different areas of the young women's lives. While all of them wear the so-called pambahay (pajama) at their homes, in work and in school or University they preferred casual, but sexy and comfortable clothes. When having a party they all styled themselves and mostly bought something new that contributed to their outfits, even if it was only a small accessory.

The last aspect points to the self-perception of the young women. On the one side, they accentuate their femininity for their own pleasure, but on the other side they represent a conservative and classic image of woman in a way that they had internalized the male viewpoint. The young women accept the gender roles in the family but also the clear distribution of gender roles in the larger Philippine migrant community.

(b) Music played different roles on different levels. What is clear, however, is that music is a social and cultural practice in the ethnographic context at hand. The best example herein is karaoke, which brings social actors together. The collective musical experiences are, according to the young women, bonding and deepen the sense of belonging. The performative part – singing and dancing – triggers emotions of happiness and serves as entertainment for the ones who are not actively involved. In this context, the parental Philippine culture holds a significant position since the parents are the ones who mediate this social practice. The young women, however, have expanded their cultural know-how about karaoke and are using Youtube as equivalent medium for singing and dancing. This newly connoted practice is often performed in their own bedrooms, which serves as private space where they can be who they are and want to be, and do whatever they want. Based on Dick Hebdige's use of bricolage, the meaning making process occurs here as well, but not – as he argues – only by ascribing meanings to an object, but rather to the social practice itself.

When it comes to popular culture the microculture is mainly influenced by the US music industry, especially in terms of Black Music (Hip Hop, R’n’B, Soul). When
going out with the young women they always decided to go to clubs where Black Music was played, e.g. Volksgarten, Volksgarten Banane or Moulin Rouge. The clubbing experience was, like karaoke, a performative one where people are audience and actors at the same time.\textsuperscript{158}

Apart from consuming music collectively, the young women experience music on a more personal level. Due to the fact that they always carry music with them (e.g. on their iPod) they are always surrounded by it. At home their stereos or computers are turned on the whole day.

(c) The third and last factor regards new technologies with which the young women were preoccupied with several times a day. The Internet was the most important form of social interaction between the microculture and me. Towards the end of my fieldwork, however, it was the mobile phone as we got to know each other better. According to the young women Facebook is the most important social network online and helps them to stay in touch with their extended families abroad. Having a Facebook account served as the representation of their identities in the World Wide Web. The intensive engagement with Facebook somehow created a virtual culture where communication and interaction are happening, but where social actors do not cultivate a face-to-face relationship.

Other forms of new technologies encompass their MacBooks, their compact digital cameras, their smart phones and their iPods. The computer was mainly used for surfing the Internet or watching (Philippine) series and movies online. The educational aspect, like doing research for their studies, was peripheral due to the fact that they always learned from their books.

The young women conceive of their digital cameras as collectors of memories. The pictures were then displayed either on Facebook or simply were saved on their computers and iPods.

\textsuperscript{158} see Malbon 1998: 267
REFLECTIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH CONSIDERATIONS

This subchapter suggests further ideas and aspects that I unfortunately couldn’t take into account. A more open approach might have made my fieldwork more exciting and would have broadened the image of a Filipina youth culture, especially regarding a female urban leisure and lifestyle. Here, I showed the everyday life of middle-class teenagers and early twens that are probably not so different from other young people with or without migration background in Austria in 2010.

A further consideration is to work with a larger group, of mixed gender, classes and ages, and for a longer period of time. Taking into account the roles of education and occupation would also contribute to a comprehensive image.

Another idea that I would see as an exciting study is the investigation of young Filipin@ homosexuals from the lower, middle and upper classes. Because homosexual oriented Filipin@s are meanwhile largely accepted in the Philippines (compared to the times of dictatorship), a European/Western view in comparison would offer a meaningful and additional expansion of the anthropological research fields.

The inclusion of male Filipinos would have been interesting as well since groups of friends are never homogenous, especially not in an urban area where the community and the social networks are so mobile and rapidly changing.

A comparative ethnographic fieldwork in Austria and the Philippines would also be meaningful due to a general lack of studies among Filipin@ youth especially in Austria. Research topics such as alcohol, intimate relationships and sexuality would be interesting, partly because of the patriarchally structured system that exhibits elements from the machismo ideology similar to what Anna Streissler elaborated on in her own thesis about Columbian youth.
Finally, a detailed study on languages from a linguistic anthropological perspective would be another interesting field of research, also because Filipin@ (youth) living in and outside the Philippines speak more than, for example, Tagalog or English; an aspect that in part played a role in my own study.

CLOSING REMARKS

For me, it was important to present an image of the young women’s leisure activities in order to reveal the social practices that occur in everyday life. The title of this thesis “Girls just wanna have fun” implies not only the “fun” sides, but also the less “fun” parts of life when growing up. While the young women are preoccupied with re-/shaping their leisure culture, they also had to experience the interference and regimentation from the parental Philippine culture. Despite this circumstances the young women manage to claim spaces of their own, mostly outside their homes. In either way they will grow up ascribing new cultural meanings to social practices and relations that they will keep experiencing.

With this work I hope to contribute to the anthropology of youth. I tried to show how three young Filipina women perceive (and interact with) their social surroundings and deal with different cultures that are all integral parts of their everyday life. A mixture of qualitative methods was useful because the methods complemented each other. This, I observed especially when comparing the data from the interviews and those from my fieldwork diary.

Due to my own Philippine background I was excited by the idea of conducting fieldwork among Filipina youth. As there were no Austrian scientific works about Filipin@ youth in general, I was all the more eager to work on this topic. Still, if I wrote this thesis again I would do a lot of aspects differently, like focusing on a broader frame, discussing certain aspects with colleagues or being more reflective about my personal bias. Yet, it was an enriching experience, because studying
anthropology and especially writing this thesis changed my personal view about being a Filipina in Austria.
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Appendix

Interview Guideline

1. Introductory questions:
   • How does your typical day/week look like?
   • What do you do in your free time/on weekends?
   • What are your hobbies?

2. Music:
   • Please tell me something about how music is involved in your life.
   • Which role does music play in your life/free time?
   • What does music mean to you?
   • Which kind of music are you listening to? (Why? Where?)

   a) Karaoke
   • Please tell me something about karaoke.
   • Which role does it play for you when going out/when singing in a Philippine get-together/when singing alone?
   • Please describe a typical karaoke situation.
   • When do you sing karaoke? (Why? With whom? Where?)
   • Why do you think is karaoke a part of Philippine celebrations?

   b) Clubbing
   • Please tell me about your way of clubbing.
   • We already talked about your free time on weekends. Can you please tell me more about going out? (e.g. Where do you go out and why?)
   • Please tell me about the role of music when you go out.
   • Which role does clothing play when you go out? And why?
   • Which utensils do you need for going out?
3. Clothing:

- Please tell me something about the role of clothing in your everyday life.
- How do you create your “look”? 
- What are the differences between your own “look” and the “look” of others?
- Please describe your closet/wardrobe.
- Please tell me about your favorite clothes/accessories/shoes.
- What do they mean to you and your everyday life?

- Please tell me something about what shopping means to you.
- Why do you shop?
- What role does shopping have in your everyday life?
- What do fashion magazines mean to you?

4. New Technologies & Commodities:

- Please tell me in which different ways you use new technologies.
- Which role does the Internet play?
- How do you use the Internet?
- Do you create something in the Internet by yourself? If yes/no, why?
- Which role does Facebook play for you?
- Which role do your computer and mobile phone have in your everyday life?
- In which different ways do you use them? And why?

5. Friends:

- Please tell me something about what friendship means to you and describe your circle of friends.
- What are your common interests? And why?
- Please tell me about the time you spend together.
- Where do you usually hang out? Why?
- How do you communicate? (Which languages? Why?)
- What connects you with your friends?
6. Family & Parenting:

- Please tell me about how you experience the Philippine way of parenting.
- Please tell me about your family.
- When and why did your parents come to Vienna?
- What are the professions of your parents/siblings?
- Please tell me about your family in the Philippines. How does the contact to the Philippines look like?
- Please tell me something about your education.
- Please tell me about your parents’ education.
- Can you please tell me about your relation with your family?
- Please tell me about ‘tsismis’.
Abstract


Demnach liegt der Fokus dieser Arbeit mehr in der Auseinandersetzung mit „Kultur erzeugen“ statt mit „Kultur haben“ und soll aufzeigen, welche Bedeutung die Interaktion verschiedener Mikrokulturen für die drei jungen Filipinas darstellt.
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