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"Translocal Placemaking: The influence of translocality on Vienna's urban space with the example of the 'Brunnenmarkt'"

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ii

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Zusammenfassung

Wien ist die Hauptstadt Österreichs und gilt als multikulturelle Stadt. In bestimmten Gegenden lebt ein hoher Anteil an Personen mit Migrationshintergrund. Besonders im 16. Bezirk der Stadt leben viele Menschen aus verschiedenen Herkunftsländern. Am Brunnenmarkt, dem Fokus dieser Diplomarbeit, mischen sich zahlreiche Kulturen, Sprachen, und Menschen. Diese Aspekte haben einen großen Einfluss auf die Existenz der Translokalität am Markt. Translokalität beschäftigt sich mit transnationalen – über nationale Grenzen gehend – sowie wie mit lokalen Verbindungen und der Art der Pflege dieser Kontakte. Aspekte wie Mobilität und Lokalität spielen eine zentrale Rolle in der Diskussion über Translokalität. Mobilität ist einerseits wichtig, da ohne diese keine Migration entstehen könnte und Lokalität spielt eine tragende Rolle, da spezielle Orte im Fokus der Studien um Translokalität stehen. Im Rahmen dieser Arbeit werden auch weitere theoretische Konzepte als Basis der Fallstudie am Brunnenmarkt diskutiert. Das Ziel dieser Arbeit ist es, die Existenz der Translokalität zu beweisen, deren Produktion zu erforschen und deren Sichtbarkeit zu zeigen. Die Schaffung von translokalen Orten ist durch verschiedene Aspekte gekennzeichnet. Mit Hilfe der Forschungsfragen sollen die Sichtbarkeit von Translokalität, deren Produktion, die Diversität der Marktstände, translokale Netzwerke und die Meinungen der Verkäufer über den Brunnenmarkt dargestellt werden. Die Forschungsmethoden der Fotographie, der Beobachtung, der Kartierung und der Interviews dienen dazu. In einer abschließenden Diskussion werden die Resultate analysiert und illustriert. Zusätzlich werden ähnliche Studien untersucht und mit den Resultaten der Fallstudie verglichen. Studien wie zum Beispiel von HALL und DATTA (2010), ETZOLD (2010), oder MCGARRIGLE und ASCENSAO (2018), die sich mit Translokalität in den Städten London, Dhaka und Lissabon beschäftigten. Zum Schluss werden die Forschungsfragen beantwortet.

Abstract

Vienna, the capital city of Austria, is a diverse and multicultural city. Certain areas are highly populated by people from various countries. The 16th district, especially the area around "Brunnenmarkt" is a melting pot of different people, cultures, languages, foods, and other goods. These aspects contribute to the existence of translocality in the area. Translocality is a concept which refers to transnational – across national borders - as well as local connections which migrants maintain. An emphasis on mobility as well as locality is given. In this thesis, several theoretical concepts are provided and discussed to offer a better understanding of translocality and its various sub-concepts. The primary purpose of this thesis is to establish the existence of translocality, and to determine which features of the concept are produced and how they are visible at the "Brunnenmarkt". The translocal placemaking in the area is investigated through the research questions which are concerned with the visibility of translocality, the production of such, the diversity of shops, translocal networks, as well as salespeople's perceptions of the market. Additionally, different research methods to detect translocal elements will be applied, namely photography, observation, mapping and narrative interviews. Through establishing five categories, translocal and non-translocal shops are distinguished. These shops and the salespeople who work there were closely examined during the empirical research of this study. The existing patterns of translocality which are detected during the empirical research will be illustrated and discussed. Several scholars such as HALL and DATTA (2010), ETZOLD (2016), and MCGARRIGLE and ASCENSAO (2018) have conducted similar studies around the world, such as in London, Dhaka, and Lisbon, and these studies will be used as a tool for comparing the results of the case study. In conclusion, the research questions are answered.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

x

1. Introduction

"What we need, it seems to me, is a global sense of the local, a global sense of place"

(MASSEY 1994: 156)

As a starting point of this diploma thesis, I would like to refer to this statement by MASSEY (1994: 156), with which she indicated the importance of interconnectedness and globality in our modern-day world. This global sense of the local is crucial to this diploma thesis, as I believe that every place is affected by its people, and ultimately by their histories, journeys, memories, and stories. Migration, more specifically international migration, is highly important to this thesis as well, as through movements across national borders, the interconnectedness of the world is nourished. Within the past decades, numbers of international migrants have risen, according to FACCHINI et al. (2015: 511). In 2013, 3.2 percent of the world's population have lived in a country different to their country of origin. In 1965, the number of international migrants has been at 2.3 percent. These numbers indicate an increase in international migrants. Therefore, migration has become increasingly important in our modern-day society. Migration affects places and people, as through movements of people, places are shaped. The reasons for rising numbers of international migrants were investigated by MAYDA (2010) and ORTEGA and PERI (2013), as was stated by FACCHINI et al. (2015: 513):

> The determinants of international migration flows […] can be summarized as follows: Average income differentials between the home and destination countries; the distribution of income in the source and the destination countries; geographic and cultural distance; immigration networks; and immigration policies.

First, average income differentials largely impact migration decisions. In many cases, people choose to migrate to earn more money and to improve their livelihoods. In some countries, the average income is, however, higher than in others. Hence, such countries are more likely to attract immigrants than others. It was stated by FACCHINI et al. (2015: 513) that "international migration flows are highly responsive to per capita GDP in the destination country". If the per capita GDP was high, more immigrants would be attracted than if the per capita GDP was low. Second, the "distribution of income" in home and host countries is another determinant of migration (FACCHINI et al. 2015: 513). BORJAS (1987) provided a model of immigrant selection which divided migration into two different points of view. On the one hand,

immigrants are perceived as bright and skilled, and on the other hand, immigrants are seen as unskilled workers. The opportunities for immigrants may differ in their countries of origin and in their host countries, and not all immigrants have the chance to work in their acquired professions in their new destinations. Nevertheless, many still decide to migrate. Third, the distance between home and host country, as well as the cultural aspect play an important role concerning migration decisions. Migrating can be expensive depending on where the immigrants are headed and how they choose to travel. The internet often provides migrants with input on potential destinations before starting the migration process. Finances, finding work, housing, a community, and learning a new language are all aspects which must be taken into consideration when preparing for migration. Through the world wide web and improvements in technology, migrants are better equipped with knowledge about their destinations, and settling in may be eased. Fourth, communities and networks are important during the migration process, and such also affect migration decisions. The knowledge of immigrant networks which support and guide through the migration process may be helpful to migrants. Fifth, the tremendous differences between the global north and the global south have caused discussions on immigration policies. The more immigrants arrive in developed countries, the more policies are established or strengthened. Therefore, immigration policies are another determinant of migration (FACCHINI et al. 2015: 513-516). As a result, there are several aspects which determine migration and migration decisions. In addition to improving one's livelihood, migration is also caused due to war and political problems, for example. Wars in the Middle East or in Africa, have led many people to migrate.

In the case of the war in the Middle East, Europe has been highly affected by migration flows during the past few years. Destination countries are often affected by immigration flows, as was stated by FACCHINI et al. (2015: 516). The country, the government, the society, and the economy are all influenced by immigrants. First, countries are often faced with organizational problems to handle incoming migration flows. Second, the government is intended to provide support to immigrants. On the one hand, financial support is needed, and on the other hand, integration is an important aspect. Third, the society is influenced by large numbers of immigrants as well. Fourth, the economy can benefit from increasing numbers of workers, however, not all may be skilled, and hence, more time is needed to train the immigrants to provide satisfying results. Clearly, immigration has an impact on a destination country, and since Europe has been a prime destination for migrants for many years, I would now like to focus on Austria and its migration history.

1.1 Migration in Vienna

The city of Vienna has about 1.9 million inhabitants. There are 182 different nationalities which can be found amongst the population of Vienna. Alongside people with the Austrian nationality (71.4 %), there are many people from Serbia, Turkey, Germany, Poland, Romania, Bosnia, and Croatia, for instance (MAGISTRAT DER STADT WIEN 23 2017: 4-5). In figure 1, the population of Vienna referring to the year 2017 is depicted according to people's nationalities. A division into men and women can be seen as well. In Ottakring, which is the 16th district of Vienna and the focus of my field research, the number of migrants is much higher than in most other districts. The population of the 16th district largely consists of people with a migrant background. About 39 percent of the people living in Ottakring were born in a different country. This percentage is expected to rise up to 42 percent by the year 2034 (MAGISTRAT DER STADT WIEN 23 2016: 67).

	Herkunft ge-samt	Herkunft in Prozent	Frauen ge-samt	Frauen in Prozent	Staatsangehörig-keit gesamt	Staatsangehörig-keit in Prozent
Österreich	1.132.873	60,7	586.539	51,8	1.333.050	71,4
Ausland	734.709	39,3	371.919	50,6	534.532	28,6
davon EU/EFTA	296.975	15,9	157.912	53,2	230.605	12,3
davon Drittstaaten	437.734	23,4	214.007	48,9	303.927	16,3
1. Serbien	100.402	5,4	52.352	52,1	75.964	4,1
2. Türkei	76.523	4,1	36.291	47,4	45.838	2,5
3. Deutschland	56.807	3	29.236	51,5	43.837	2,3
4. Polen	52.997	2,8	27.158	51,2	41.260	2,2
5. Bosnien und Herzegowina	40.645	2,2	21.300	52,4	22.054	1,2
6. Rumänien	35.509	1,9	19.399	54,6	29.140	1,6
7. Ungarn	26.903	1,4	14.655	54,5	21.343	1,1
8. Kroatien	26.619	1,4	13.279	49,9	21.498	1,2
9. Slowakei	18.437	1,0	11.812	64,1	15.289	0,8
10. Bulgarien	18.160	1,0	9.774	53,8	15.841	0,8

Figure 1: Population of Vienna 2017 (MAGISTRAT DER STADT WIEN 23 2017)

Vienna has a long history of migration, and some of the most important characteristics of migration to the city will be briefly discussed in this section. Starting in the 16th century, Vienna has always faced large amounts of immigrants trying to start a new life in the city. People mainly came here to find work, and in the 19th century, most artisans who worked in Vienna were not originally from Austria. Back then, many immigrants came from Germany, or the Czech Republic. Due to expanding numbers of immigrants, Vienna's population rose continuously each year. There were more immigrants coming into the city than babies were born. The mass migrations of the 19th century were largely influenced by the Habsburg monarchy and mainly occurred within the borders of its territory. Moving on to the 20th century, after World War Two, Austria became one of the most important transit countries in Europe. Many refugees from Eastern Europe came either to Austria or crossed Austrian borders to find shelter in other Western countries. Therefore, Austria has a very long history of refugee and asylum politics. After the war, Austria was repeatedly faced with large numbers of immigrants arriving in the country due to conflicts in Hungary, the Czech Republic and in Poland. Furthermore, Austria hosted refugees from Chile, and many Jews from Eastern Europe (Bauer 2008: 3-9). In the 1960s and 1970s, migration in Vienna was mainly constituted by labor migrants. Most migrants came from Eastern Europe or Turkey. Starting in 1961, Italian workers began working in Austria, as the country was faced with a shortage in its labor force. During the 1960s and 1970s, about 265.000 people immigrated into Austria for work. In the following years, asylum and refugee politics were often discussed and conditions were changed. These discussions were influenced by the arrival of many Romanian refugees in the 1990s. Moreover, the war in Kosovo led to even more immigrants in the late 90ies. Afterwards, quotas were implemented to have better control over increasing numbers of migrants entering the country (Bauer 2008: 3-9). In addition to labor migration in Vienna, immigrants' families constituted a large percentage of immigrants in Vienna. Through the opening of the European Union's internal borders, migration patterns have changed. People from Eastern Europe and Turkey constituted most immigrants in Vienna between 2000 and 2009. Many immigrants who are living in Vienna have become Austrian citizens by now (Magistrat der Stadt Wien 23). Moreover, the refugee crisis in 2015 caused large numbers of refugees to cross Austrian borders. With ongoing conflicts, the numbers are expected to rise even more.

1.2 Research Interest

Vienna is a prime example of multiculturality and globality, as was implied in the previous section. It is a rather small city in comparison with large metropolitan areas, located in the center of Europe. Life in Vienna has a lot to offer as regards cultural experiences, traditional cuisine, music, and historic sights. Vienna's inhabitants share an abundance of cultural heritage and contribute to the city's perception. It is a multicultural city and a melting pot of different people, cultures, and languages. This diversity can be experienced in many areas, for example at the "Brunnenmarkt". It is a buzzing, diverse and interesting place in the 16th district of Vienna which is inhabited by a large percentage of migrants.

One aspect which can be studied, concerning the diversity of the city, is translocality. Translocality is a rather new concept and is based on studying migration. BRICKELL and DATTA (2011: 16) stated that "translocality is not a given fact that is automatically created through migration, but rather comes into being through regular communication, through the exchange of resources, and through investments in one's local and translocal network". The concept focusses on ties and connections which migrants have that can be transnational, but also translocal. Translocality includes many interesting aspects such as networks which exist in certain neighborhoods, as well as transnational connections which are created through movement. The concept indicates that the presence of people from different countries in a certain location influences the surrounding area. In some places, it might therefore feel like being in a different country. The reason behind this feeling of being abroad is the presence of translocality, as people from different countries produce new localities away from home. They may gather in groups, they may listen to traditional music, they may eat country specific foods and they may speak in their native languages. The influence on life in the city is clearly visible in certain areas and it is interesting to detect signs of translocality which are produced through migrants' daily practices. The city of Vienna has a history of migration, and therefore, a study on translocality at the multicultural "Brunnenmarkt" is relevant and long overdue.

Clearly, cities offer a lot more possibilities for immigrants than rural areas do. Immigrants, no matter if voluntary or involuntary, eventually will want to start a new life and find work. In cities, there are more job opportunities, more housing is available, and transportation is easily accessible. In addition, transnational and translocal communities exist and make the transition from life in home to life in host countries easier. Due to the history of migration in Austria,

and the rising numbers of migrants living in Vienna, it can be referred to as a multicultural city, and the translocality of which is worth investigating. Additionally, through examining the area, the aspect of what is foreign must be taken into consideration. It is crucial to establish my own point of view concerning the market and foreignness to provide a better understanding of my perception of migrants' practices. Clearly, otherness or foreignness is not essentially foreign to everybody.

To provide a better understanding of my personal interest in the research area, my own point of view and my own perception of translocality and foreignness, I am going to discuss my own roots and surroundings. I come from a very small town in rural Upper Austria. Most of my large extended family lived and still live near my parents' house. I attended a small school five minutes away from home. During my childhood, all I ever knew were the people from my hometown. The first contact I had with "foreigners", as people from different countries have usually been referred to in my area, – apart from family holidays abroad – was when I started going to school. There were a few children with Turkish roots. I remember a place in my town called 'Little Turkey', as only people from Turkey lived there. When I got older, I was very interested in meeting people from different countries, learning different languages, and asking many questions. I grew up with a clear distinction between foreign and local, nevertheless, I never personally excluded migrants living in my town. I have always been curious and interested. However, my hometown has highly impacted my perception of "foreign", as clear distinctions were made, and the differences were always visible, and still are. After spending a year abroad, I moved to Vienna. Since then, I have lived in areas of the city which are largely inhabited by migrants. Unfortunately, I have witnessed "othering" processes during my childhood in my rural hometown, which significantly shaped my attitude towards people from different countries. I now live in the 16th district of Vienna and I share my neighborhood with many multicultural people. When strolling around the "Brunnenmarkt", I perceive it mainly as "foreign", as many cultural influences of different countries are clearly visible. Characteristics which differ from what I was used to when growing up. The reason for telling the above story is not to establish what is foreign and what is not, but to explain what is foreign to me. My perception of foreign is, however, far from negative. I associate interest and curiosity with it, and therefore, I decided to investigate the "Brunnenmarkt" to learn more about it.

2. Research Aims and Questions

In this section, the research aim, as well as the research questions for this thesis will be explained and discussed. This diploma thesis aims to discover translocal patterns at the "Brunnenmarkt in Vienna". I want to find out if translocality exists at the market and how it is produced and visible. This should be reached through applying a broad spectrum of methodology in the field at the "Brunnenmarkt". Through an empirical study in the research area, I intend to discover the translocal physical, social, and cultural elements of the market, by looking at its appearance, foreign signs, and migrants' practices. I am interested in the visibility of translocality, its production, how translocal connections and networks are established between distant and local places, and I intend to find answers through applying photography, observation, mapping, and interviews in the field. In order to successfully reach the stated aim of this thesis, some detailed research questions have been developed and will now be discussed.

The process of developing valuable research questions was influenced by the large amount of literature on translocality and comparative studies. HALL and DATTA (2010), for example, investigated visual signscapes and the impact of foreign cultures on a local high street in London. I compared several studies with my own research interest, and I was largely influenced by the works of BRICKELL and DATTA (2011), as well as ETZOLD (2016), for instance. I concluded that to detect the translocal physical, social, and cultural elements of the research area, the "Brunnenmarkt", I had to formulate clear and distinct research questions which address the issues in detail. The following research questions will be answered after concluding my empirical research in the field:

How does translocality influence the urban space at the "Brunnenmarkt"?

The main research question concerning the influence of translocality on the market refers to the title of this thesis and provides the opportunity to formulate further, more detailed questions. As an aim of this thesis is to conduct a detailed investigation of the "Brunnenmarkt" to detect several interesting aspects of the market and its connection with translocality, the following questions are intended to offer more information. The influence of translocality on the urban space at the "Brunnenmarkt" can then be discussed.

1. How is translocality visible?

The visibility of translocality is an important aspect. Visual signs will be closely investigated, as well as shop decorations, and the products which are sold. Visual aspects can either consist of signs written in foreign languages, references to foreign places through shop's names, a multiculturality of products, and flags of different countries.

2. Which shops can be found?

Additionally, the question of which shops can be found must be answered. There is a large variety of shops and goods available at the market, and not every shop automatically transmits translocality. There are certain characteristics which influence the perception of translocality. It is crucial to state that it is my own perception of translocality, influenced by my own upbringing and world view. However, I tried to remain as unbiased and objective as possible when producing the characteristics of the 'translocal' shops. The characteristics will be addressed in section 5.3.

3. How do shops transmit translocality?

The investigation of shop arrangements is crucial, as it is intended to offer further information on visual aspects of translocality. Some shops may be arranged in certain ways through which translocality is transmitted.

4. In which ways is translocality produced?

The previously stated questions relate to this question, as visual representations, shop arrangements, product selection and the variety of shops that exist at the market influence the production of translocality. In addition, the languages that are spoken, as well as specific cultural and social practices influence the production of translocality.

5. How do salespeople's practices at the "Brunnenmarkt" impact the production of translocality?

I was concerned with salespeople's daily practices which may influence the production of translocality at the "Brunnenmarkt", as was stated above. Price negotiations, daily conversations, or discussions in different languages may influence the market, and translocality may be produced.

6. How is the area at the "Brunnenmarkt" influenced by translocal connections?

Moreover, the translocal connections which exist at the market must be detected during the empirical research process. Translocal connections can consist of friendships and companionship at the market, networks, and groups among salespeople at the market, connections of salespeople to people in other places, either close or distant, and connections of salespeople to family and friends.

7. Which networks do exist between salespeople at the market?

Potentially, the salespeople of the "Brunnenmarkt" have established networks to support each other. It is possible that friendships exist between salespeople, as well. Through the interviewing process of the empirical part of this thesis, such networks and friendships should be detected.

8. Which networks do exist between the salespeople of the "Brunnenmarkt" and their families and friends in their places of origin?

It is possible that networks between family and friends in migrants' home countries have influenced their migration process and still influence their daily life in Austria.

9. How do salespeople perceive the "Brunnenmarkt"?

Adding to my own perception of translocality at the market, I was interested in investigating salespeople's perception of the market, more specifically, migrant salespeople's perception.

3. Conceptual Framework

What follows is an account of useful theoretical concepts. This conceptual framework is used to introduce the many aspects of translocality, how the concept has developed, and which other theoretical concepts must be taken into consideration. A more detailed account of each concept is given in the following sections on mobility and immobility, transnationalism, and its development towards translocality, as well as translocal placemaking. Examples are provided in each section, and the concepts are thoroughly discussed with their connections to the case study of this thesis and with an inclusion of the relevant literature. This theoretical introduction is needed to fully understand the main ideas of this thesis and the case study. The concepts are all connected with each other, as mobility and immobility influence

transnationalism, as well as translocality. In addition, the various aspects of translocal placemaking contribute to the production of translocality in certain places. As a result, the interconnectedness of these concepts makes it necessary to discuss them before proceeding to the case study of this thesis. Lastly, this theoretical introduction into the topic is also a starting point for the case study.

3.1 Mobility and Immobility

The first theoretical concept which must be taken into consideration when studying translocality, is mobility. When thinking of mobility, different interpretations of the concept might occur. Mobility can be associated with movements, with traveling, and with migration, for instance. With regard to the case study of this thesis, mobility plays an important role. Most people of the "Brunnenmarkt" have been confronted with migration at least once in their lives. The salespeople who work at the market come from many different countries and they have differing stories to tell. Their experiences with mobility and migration may be different, and their lives in Austria may still be affected by their journeys. The access to mobility, either in a time of crisis or not, is what brought many of the salespeople to Austria. During wars and political instabilities, for example, many of the salespeople at the "Brunnenmarkt" migrated to Europe for a better future for their families and themselves. Some left their home countries to find better jobs in Austria, others were forced to leave due to a deteriorating situation back home. People's access to mobility may have been different, as some may have boarded an airplane and others may have travelled through several countries by foot, or by boat, for instance. Mobility influenced people's migration stories, their routes, their velocity of movements, potential frictions, their motive force, the rhythm of their movements, and their experiences along the road (see CRESSWELL 2010: 17). People's experiences with mobility may have impacted their identities and might still influence their lives in Austria, and hence, the concept is relevant for this thesis and the following case study.

To begin with, mobility is a phenomenon of modern-day life and has evolved alongside modernity, as was pointed out by scholars such as CRESSWELL (2006) and LEY (2011). Mobility can occur in different ways and might be represented and experienced differently. It can be associated with positive or negative ideas and mobility affects everybody. It is impossible to live a completely immobile life, as trivial practices can be referred to as parts of mobility as well. Such practices can be as simple as moving your hand or walking to the bus

stop. Mobility can also refer to traveling and summer vacations, or to migration, as is important for this thesis. Mobility is constituted by a large variety of representations and might be experienced differently among people. CRESSWELL (2006: 1) mentioned that mobility also influences culture, as culture is no longer perceived as located in one place, but as mobile and moving across different places. In addition, he stated that social practices are not fixed in specific localities – the places in which societies are located – but are found in various places. As a result, cultural practices and communities are highly affected by mobility as well.

Mobility is constituted by many different characteristics. First, mobility refers to a simple movement from one place to another. Second, such movements are meaningful and there is a purpose behind them. Power relations remarkably influence mobility, as well. Furthermore, time and space are crucial to the concept, as they are "the fundamental axes around which life revolves", according to Kant (CRESSWELL 2006: 4). Mobility is not only viewed positively, as it can be associated with chaos, whereas sedentarism is perceived as less chaotic. Sedentarism refers to a static and immobile way of living. In our ever-changing world, movements, transfers, and connections are bound to increase. What is, however, most important concerning mobility is the previously mentioned meaning behind it. Mobility is not interesting without meaning (CRESSWELL 2006: 6). Meaning can be inferred by people, communities, practices, or social norms.

Furthermore, mobility is present in everyday life. People, data, vehicles, materials, and information are constantly moving. Improvements in technology and science facilitate an increase in mobility across the globe. "Issues of movement, of too little movement or too much, or of the wrong sort or at the wrong time, are central to many lives and many organisations" (SHELLER & URRY 2006: 208). Mobility hence directs our lives on this planet and becomes increasingly important. It is not always considered positive, as is the case in airport traffic and potential terrorists on airplanes, for example. Since 2001 and the September 11th attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City, controlling mobility has received a new meaning. As a result, surveillance and supervision of movement are large priorities in contemporary society. Airports are strictly protected and controlled, public spaces are often under surveillance, and potential threats may be extinguished before even surfacing. With an increase in mobility around the world, it is time for a new paradigm, namely the "new mobilities paradigm" (SHELLER & URRY 2006: 208). The paradigm was developed due to a demand to investigate especially the social sciences which have been perceived as "static",

through a mobility lens. Therefore, the importance of mobility in people's social lives is pointed out through the new mobilities paradigm (SHELLER & URRY 2006: 208-210). In addition, the paradigm uses new theories, questions, and methodologies to provide a different view on the world. It also implies an increase of connections across the world, but at the same time an exclusion of certain groups of people because of mobility.

Moreover, the "new mobilities paradigm", as was introduced by SHELLER & URRY (2006) and was further developed by CRESSWELL (2010), implies several aspects concerning mobility. First, "mobility exists in the same relation to movement as place does to location" (CRESSWELL 2010: 18; see CRESSWELL 2006), which means that mobility and movement are interconnected. Second, "mobility involves a fragile entanglement of physical movement, representations, and practices" (CRESSWELL 2010: 18). Third, "these entanglements have broadly traceable histories and geographies" (CRESSWELL 2010: 18); and lastly, there are "particular patterns of movement, representations of movement, and ways of practicing movement that make sense together" (CRESSWELL 2010: 18). As a result, there are three distinctions of mobility, namely "physical movement", "representations of movement" and "the experienced and embodied practice of movement" (CRESSWELL 2010: 19). In order to understand the full meaning of mobility, these three aspects must be perceived as interconnected. The first aspect is concerned with "the production of mobility" (CRESSWELL 2010: 19): the creation of actual physical movement which can be traced and observed. Movements can be displayed on maps, as well. The second aspect is concerned with the various representations of movement and mobility, for example, freedom, or the representation as a threat. Mobility arouses different feelings in different people, and therefore, representations of mobility often differ significantly from each other. The third aspect is concerned with the daily practices of mobility, which are visible in physical movement such as walking or driving. These practices are experienced differently, and the inferred meaning is clearly distinguishable. It is, however, possible that the representation of movement and the experience of it differ from each other. For instance, if driving a car is usually associated with freedom, the experience might be different when you find yourself stranded in a traffic jam (CRESSWELL 2010: 18-20).

Now, the six characteristics of a politics of mobility will be discussed. It was mentioned by CRESSWELL (2010: 21) that "by politics I mean social relations that involve the production and distribution of power. By a politics of mobility, I mean the ways in which mobilities are both productive of such social relations and produced by them". There is a large variety of

social relations, for example concerning gender, age, class, and race. Such power relations highly impact people's access to mobility, and hence, the following six aspects might produce advantages for some people, while they produce disadvantages for others. In this context, people's mobility often implies another people's immobility (CRESSWELL 2010: 21). The six factors of a politics of mobility are "motive force, velocity, rhythm, route, experience, and friction" (CRESSWELL 2010: 17). First, *motive force* refers to people's purpose of movement. Second, *velocity* is a synonym for the speed of movement. Third, *rhythm* implies different rhythms of movement and mobility, for instance, if there are pauses during long journeys, or if people move back and forth between places. Additionally, the *routes* which mobile people take are considered important. Moreover, people's *experience* of movement and the feelings towards their own mobility must be taken into consideration as well. Lastly, *friction* implies the point in time when movement stops and the way it does so (CRESSWELL 2010: 22-26). When studying these six characteristics, it becomes clear that some people's mobility might benefit, while other people's mobility might not. Consequently, power relations and the so-called politics of mobility are relevant for studying physical movement, representations of mobility, and the experienced practices of mobility, as well as their interrelatedness.

With regards to translocality, mobility plays a crucial role, as the concept would not exist without movement. Migration is one of the most important factors of mobility, as it opposes the concept of sedentarism (LEY 2011: 366). Migrants' mobilities create connections between different places, and hence, translocality is established. When speaking of mobility, not only the physical movement of people or goods is meant, but also people's fantasies of places, or their memories which create translocality, according to SUN (2006: 240). The consideration of this aspect is interesting and refers to the continuous development of translocality in different places (GREINER & SAKDAPOLRAK 2013: 376). For instance, one person's memories of home may be produced through wearing clothing specific to certain countries or through cooking traditional foods. This person may share the food with other people at the locale, and this action may then influence others to fantasize about their own home countries. As a result, the locale is impacted by simple fantasies and memories and not only by movement. GIELIS' (2009: 275) statement about people's "ability not just to experience the social relations that are located in the place in which he or she is corporally standing, but also to experience social relations that are located in places elsewhere" contributes to this assumption.

Lastly, translocality is also produced through a movement of goods or other material transfers. Therefore, mobility and improvements in our globalized world are crucial to the concept.

Remittances are a good example of such "material flows" (GREINER & SAKDAPOLRAK 2013: 376). The term *remittances* refers to money which is transferred from one place to another, when a family member who is affected by migration sends money to their family back at home, for instance. Additionally, "symbolic flows such as movements of styles, ideas, images and symbols" should not be forgotten (GREINER & SAKDAPOLRAK 2013: 376; see LANGE & BÜTTNER 2010; MA 2002; REETZ 2010). Such symbolic movements could refer to the transfer of a certain type of fashion style from one culture to another. Concerning imagery and signs, translocality is also produced through signs out on the streets or on shops' displays, or through the decoration of shop windows, for example. The way in which those are arranged and designed can create a sense of home. In addition, this feeling of home can be reached through smells, tastes, or sounds, as well. All such aspects contribute to a sense of belonging through the integration of different places (BRICKELL & DATTA 2011: 18). As a result, I assume that translocality could not exist in the same way without mobility and the influence of mobile people, their memories, their connections, and their daily practices.

As was stated above, some people's immobility is often caused by other people's mobility. Therefore, it is now necessary to discuss the concept of immobility. Immobility is the counterpart of mobility and is often experienced interrelatedly with the latter. Immobility not only negatively affects people in some cases, it also provides the infrastructure which is needed to facilitate mobility, for instance a gas station which provides gas for cars. Such places have been referred to as "moorings" (SHELLER & URRY 2006: 2010). A mooring can be associated with an anchor which holds ships in place, for example. Additionally, not only the infrastructure but also "legal frameworks" are needed to maintain mobility "while restricting others" and an "embodied politics of difference" is therefore implied (BLUNT 2007: 686).

The influence of mobility and immobility on migration is an important aspect concerning my case study. The two concepts are undoubtedly interrelated, and mobility often creates immobility and vice versa. Not all migrants who live in Austria, intended to come here in the first place. Many were interested in migrating to different places, however, they were faced with immobility and were hence unable to do so. In addition, migrants are often affected by immobility during their journeys. Due to these aspects, the concept of immobility is important for this case study.

When studying mobilities, scholars must pay attention to the immobile characteristics of mobility, such as borders and territories, for example (CRESSWELL 2010: 18). MOUNTZ et al.

(2012) contributed some valuable aspects of the concept for discussion. Mobility is often influenced by power relations and those in power can decide over people's ability to move in space and time, or to remain immobile. One characteristic of immobility is the practice of detention, which is often observed in the European Union. "These social practices of immobilization are fundamentally reliant on spatial tactics, or the use of space to control people, objects, and their movement", as was stated by MOUNTZ et al. (2012: 523). The practices which are referred to are such which facilitate detention and containment of immigrants, and thus, restricting their mobility. Imprisonment as a strategy to control movement and migration in general is used due to the so-called "fear of the unknown" (Mountz et al. 2012: 526). It is also applied to manage large flows of migration. In general, detention helps to "shape migrant mobility", and to transform it into a socially accepted way (MOUNTZ et al. 2012: 523-526).

Consequently, migrants who are held in detention centers often suffer negatively from the outcomes. This forced immobility produces new identities, more specifically "highly mobile 'illegal' identities", which accompany the migrants on their ways (MOUNTZ et al. 2012: 527; see ALBERTI 2010; COUTIN 2010). After being detained in isolated locations, migrants might be frightened of public places after their release. This is caused by the omnipresence of those in power and the constant fear of detention. An example for detention and exclusion of migrants are detention centers in Libya, which are maintained by the European Union to control its own borders and to prevent mass migration from Africa (MOUNTZ et al. 2012: 527-533). Detention is justified by fear and the need to control. However, migrants suffer tremendously due to such practices and better solutions must be found to manage migration flows.

Concerning translocality, such places of detention and immobility often influence migrants' experiences, and therefore, have an impact on the production of translocality. Their memories of stops on their migration route, either voluntary or involuntary, can be associated with people, smells, foods, and feeling. Such memories or connections with people can be shared, and reproduced, which contributes to the production of translocality. As a result, immobility plays an important role concerning mobility, but it is also important to fully understand the concept of translocality.

3.2 Transnationalism

The past section on mobility and immobility has demonstrated that the concepts are highly important to the concept of translocality, as well as to the case study of this thesis. It is now necessary to move closer towards the concept of translocality, with introducing transnationalism as a starting point. In this section, the impact of transnationalism on the concept of translocality will be discussed, as well as the influence of transnationalism on the case study.

Transnationalism is a concept which is concerned with migrants' transnational connections, meaning connections with family members and friends, for instance, which cross national borders. At the "Brunnenmarkt", there are many people working and shopping from different countries. These people often have family members and friends back in their countries of origin, or in other places across the world with whom they are in contact. Such connections can be referred to as transnational ones. Therefore, transnationalism is highly important to this case study, as communication patterns and connections with relatives in different places are crucial to the investigation of translocal patterns at the market.

Transnationalism was developed due to some scholars' need for a better understanding of migrant life. GLICK SCHILLER et al. coined the term (1992: ix) "to emphasize the emergence of a social process in which migrants establish social fields that cross geographic, cultural, and political borders". Furthermore, it was mentioned by GLICK SCHILLER et al. (1992: ix) that "migrants' involvement in both the home and host societies is a central element of transnationalism". They also stated that transnationalism can be referred to "as the processes by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement" (GLICK SCHILLER et al. 1992: 1). Migrants connect their original homes with their newly found homes through social contacts. SMITH (1999: 121) defined the concept through referring to cities which are linked to a large variety of places and should therefore be perceived as interconnected. Boundaries and the interconnectivity of the world are central to transnationalism. Through transnationalism, migration, and migrants themselves are studied and perceived differently. The focus has shifted to detecting transnational connections and networks. Hence, studying migration has changed through the implementation of transnationalism.

First, technology is an important aspect of transnationalism. Improvements of technology highly influence transnational connections. One of the leading scholars who studied

transnationalism is HANNERZ (1996). He worked extensively on the concept and introduced new implications of transnationalism. He stated that technology highly influences mobility and transnationalism, as the media simplify transnational connections for those involved. Distant places might appear closer than they are through the ties with people who reside there (HANNERZ 1996: 4). Such ties are maintained through social media and other technological connections. In addition, globalization is one of the leading factors of transnationalism. It was referred to as "a matter of increasing long-distance interconnectedness" (HANNERZ 1996: 17). Such interconnectedness implies an increase in trade across national boundaries and across the globe, as well as an increase in communication through technology, and a growing global economy. In ancient times, maintaining contact with people in distant places would have been impossible. Nowadays, it is inevitable and essential. Transnationalism is not only caused by the migration of refugees, for instance, it is also evoked by large corporations which benefit from a transnational work force. The business sector is growing along with the economy and many large companies expand their business contracts into different countries due to globalization. A study by KENNEDY (2004) on transnational connections in the building design industry was conducted. It was mentioned by KEARNEY (1995: 549) that "globalization means that we now work within a paradigm that allows us to consider networks and communities not as phenomena occurring within nations but rather where nations are becoming merely 'components' of global and transnational spaces". Many companies use these spaces to expand and increase their profit. The people who are affected by such expansions, who find themselves working overseas, for example, are eventually part of transnational communities (KENNEDY and ROUDOMETOF 2002: 6–8). KENNEDY (2004: 161) stated "that many transnational groupings will constitute something more durable and meaningful than a purely market or economic network based on short-lived and shallow exchanges". The friendships and networks that have been established by the people involved are much more meaningful and long-term than the contracts they are based on. As a result, not only technology impacts transnationalism, but also the development of globalization and of the business sector. Due to our globalized world, interconnectedness is crucial to a growing economy.

Furthermore, culture is influenced by transnationalism. HANNERZ (1996) focused on culture, and the large variety of concepts about and definitions of culture. Some definitions that were given imply that "culture is learned, acquired in social life" and that it can be "grasped as 'a whole'" (HANNERZ 1996: 8). Culture is a very abstract concept and it is difficult to define, however, according to these definitions, culture is an aspect that is transmitted through the

social contexts in which people grow up. Another definition implies that cultures can be viewed as "packages of meanings and meaningful forms, distinctive to collectivities and territories" (HANNERZ 1996: 8). The influence of transnationalism on these packages is tremendous. Such so-called packages might include social or cultural references and viewpoints which are meaningful to certain groups of people, located in a specific place. Through transnational ties and connections, cultural packages are transmitted, shared, and reproduced in different places and by different people.

In addition to implementing transnationalism into studying migration, migrants are now referred to as "transmigrants" (GLICK SCHILLER et al. 1992: 1). As a result, migration and migrant life are investigated and perceived more consciously and in more detail. *Transmigrants* impact transnationalism through their identities and social practices. They "arrive in their new country of residence with certain practices and concepts constructed at home" and apply such constructions in their host countries (GLICK SCHILLER et al. 1992: 4). Migrants "engage in complex activities across national borders", and as a result, their identities are influenced and potentially transformed (GLICK SCHILLER et al. 1992: 4). Another aspect of transnationalism implies migrants' usage of social ties and varying identities to adapt to new ways of living and potential challenges (GLICK SCHILLER et al. 1992: 4). It is important to mention that migrants who arrive in a new country of residence do not automatically forget about and lose contact with their former homes. They are unlikely to start a completely new life (KELLY & LUSIS 2006: 831). As a result, migrants maintain transnational connections. It was mentioned by PORTES et al. (1999: 219) that transnational connections require maintenance across borders. This fact implies the challenges and efforts that are made to preserve such connections and networks.

Transnational networks are considered a highly important aspect of transnationalism. Through "transnational practices" linkages are established, and networks are created; "they are networks of meaning, established between spatially and temporally situated social actors" (SMITH 1999: 125). Transnationalism had become increasingly important in the 1990s. SMITH (1999: 124) introduced four aspects of transnationalism. First, "the discursive repositioning of cities" concerning globalization; second, the creation of "crossnational, political, and institutional networks"; third, "the facilitation of transnational social ties" through technology; and last, "the spatial reconfiguration of social networks". These aspects indicate a broad research spectrum and lead to more detailed discussions on transnationalism.

Furthermore, transnationalism is a very complex concept which not only investigates connections from one place to another, but also indicates the complexity of *transmigrants*' lifestyles. To fully understand those, ROUSE (1992) provided an example of Mexican immigrants in the USA. Temporary migration from Mexico to the USA has been popular for centuries, however, Mexican immigrants had started to settle in the States in the 1960s. This example offers valuable insights on migrants' shift from living in one country or community to living in another. Mexican immigrants have developed communities which reach across national borders, through communication with families and friends back home in Mexico. They also created large communities in the USA with many people coming from the same area in Mexico. The study investigated two Mexican immigrants' lives in the USA and the challenges they faced. The two men, which were the focus of the study, learned to live life in America through confronting difficulties and differences. The respondents noticed that life and work standards differed quite significantly from each other in home and host country. After many years of living in the United States of America, the two men reflected on their lives and how they had adapted their lifestyles to fit in. Nevertheless, transnational connections were still existent and visible through remittances the men sent back home to Mexico and through the continuous contact they have kept with family and friends. Another result of the study implied that the two respondents still had values and beliefs which are anchored in their Mexican heritage. This example illustrates how migrants do not exclusively live the way they used to in their home countries, but that they also adapt to new ways of living, and still are able to keep cultural or societal perceptions of their home countries (ROUSE 1992). Hence, transnationalism is established within the community of Mexicans in the USA.

When studying transnationalism, the concept of grounded transnationalism must be taken into consideration as well. It can be referred to as the pre-stage of translocality. Grounded transnationalism is as important as transnationalism to the case study of this thesis. The concept emphasizes interconnectedness as well as situatedness. The people who work at the "Brunnenmarkt" are on the one hand largely connected with many different locales across the world, and on the other hand situated in Vienna, living and working at the "Brunnenmarkt". This situatedness influences migrants' daily lives, and their lives in Vienna shape their identities as well. During this process of settling and starting a new life, migrant salespeople make new friends and connections, thus they establish new patterns of life in the city. As a result, not only the international connections of migrants with their families and friends are crucial to the case study, but also their local connections with people, as well as their daily

practices at the market. The concepts of transnationalism, grounded transnationalism and translocality are significantly interconnected and equally important to this study.

The concept of grounded transnationalism leads to an implementation of translocality through highlighting the importance of situatedness (BRICKELL & DATTA 2011: 3). Scholars who wrote about grounded transnationalism are APPADURAI (1996a &b), MITCHELL (1997), and HANNERZ (1996), for instance. To begin with, APPADURAI (1996b) mentioned translocality at a time when locality was not perceived as relevant. He further stated that "local life is divided along a range of spatial horizons" (BRICKELL & DATTA 2011: 8), meaning that movements can cross borders of nations, or not; all movements must be included. Additionally, he stated that nationalism is created through a "multiplicity of mobile practices enacted among refuges, tourists, guest workers" and more (BRICKELL & DATTA 2011: 8). These aspects indicate that life in a nation is highly influenced by different movements and people and that mobility plays a crucial role, as has been discussed before. Moreover, MITCHELL (1997) implemented grounded transnationalism through fearing a "sense of dislocatedness" (BRICKELL & DATTA 2011: 8). In her opinion, works on transnationalism lacked situatedness which could lead to confusion and dislocatedness. In addition, she wanted to indicate the importance of spaces and places, as certain locales play important roles during movement in migrants' lives. The importance of such locales has become increasingly important when implementing translocality as a research concept.

3.3 Translocality

Before examining the various definitions and aspects of translocality, I would like to indicate the concept's importance to my case study. As the title of this thesis already indicates, translocality is what interests me the most. Translocality is what is being investigated at the "Brunnenmarkt", and its various characteristics will be discussed in this thesis. The case study is based on the concept of translocality, and the goal is to detect and illustrate translocal patterns in the field and to elaborate on migrants' stories which lead to the translocal perception of the "Brunnenmarkt" in Vienna. Translocality is crucial to the study, as I assume that migrant salespeople at the market not only connect with people internationally, but also locally. In addition, the influence of such connections, as well as the impact of people's daily practices and their countries of origin on the market is interesting and worth investigating.

Translocality is a rather recent development which stems from the concept of transnationalism, as has been discussed in the previous section. According to BRICKELL and DATTA (2011: 3), translocality "takes an 'agency oriented' approach to transnational migrant experiences". This means that personal experiences and day-to-day life are taken into consideration as well, when studying migration. Furthermore, OAKES and SCHEIN (2006: 20) mentioned that the concept "deliberately confuses the boundaries of the local in an effort to capture the increasingly complicated nature of spatial processes and identities". Through translocality, the identities located in specific places receive meaning and attention and that the local can be influenced by many different localities. The actions which take place in specific locales should be perceived as "place-based rather than exclusively mobile" (OAKES & SCHEIN 2006: 20), even though mobility highly impacts translocal patterns. The focus on rootedness and situatedness is crucial. Another important aspect of translocality is the establishment of "local-local connections" (BRICKELL & DATTA 2011: 3). Connections and networks which are formed in local places are as important as those across national borders. Lastly, "localities need not necessarily be limited to the shared social relations of local histories, experiences and relations, but can connect to wider geographical histories and processes" (BRICKELL & DATTA 2011: 3; see BURAWOY 2000). Hence, the influence of different places on specific locales plays an important role when defining the concept of translocality.

Translocality was further defined by GREINER and SAKDAPOLRAK (2013: 373) who mentioned that translocality "usually describes phenomena involving mobility, migration, circulation and spatial interconnectedness not necessarily limited to national boundaries". This aspect indicates the influence of transnationalism on the concept, as movements across borders must be taken into consideration as well, but not solely. The important roles of the local, and of "local-to-local relations" (GUARNIZO & SMITH 1998) are key factors of translocality. The local and connections which occur in this specific locale are part of migrants' daily lives. Furthermore, there are various other definitions of the concept by different scholars. TENHUNEN (2011: 416), for example, defines it as "relations that extend beyond the village community". This statement refers to ties with family members and friends, as well as acquaintances who live in different places or even in different countries. "A space in which new forms of (post)national identity are constituted" is the definition given by MANDAVILLE (2002: 204). Clearly, migration impacts people and contributes to the formation and development of their identity. Lastly, FREITAG and VON OPPEN (2010: 5) defined translocality as the "sum of phenomena which result from a multitude of circulations and transfers". Such

circulations could be created through communication, trade with friends or family in different countries, or locals at the given place.

The previously mentioned definitions clearly indicate the importance of interconnectedness with different places and people. Such places and people can be connected through movement, communication, and daily practices. Through migration, as has been mentioned, people affected often identify themselves with various places, for example their country of origin, their new home, and even homes along the route. Hence, OAKES and SCHEIN (2006) clarified that translocality can refer to "being identified with more than once location". Translocality indicates both the importance of mobilities, but also of localities. The identification with various places is created through mobility. The importance of mobility is dealt with in section 3.1. Through being mobile a so-called "dichotomy between 'here' and 'there'" is established (HEDBERG & DO CARMO 2012). Both locations remain equally important to the concept of translocality.

As locality is one constituent of translocality, this will be a brief introduction into the production of locality, which has been discussed by APPADURAI (1996b). He stated that "on the one hand, the production of locality challenges the order and orderliness of the nation-state. On the other hand, human motion in the context of the crisis of the nation-state encourages the emergence of translocalities". Localities can be produced through histories and memories of people, and local and translocal connections. This production of locality contrasts the viewpoint of the nation-state and its order as such. The nation-state is influenced by a "circulation of people" which changes the population and order within (APPADURAI 1996b: 43). Such circulations are caused by different phenomena, such as labor migration, leisure, tourism, or catastrophes. As a result, different localities are produced and connected, and translocality develops. Translocality might disrupt life in the nation-state, but it also creates a new way of living, which is present in our modern-day world, and which is considered important.

Furthermore, one challenge of translocality is to establish the importance of different places during migration. Such places could be stops along the migration route, which has been stated above, places where such journeys are planned and controlled. Even the people themselves must be taken into consideration (BRICKELL & DATTA 2011: 4). It has also been mentioned that in addition to movements across borders, movements within countries should be examined as well. Internal migration is much more common than migration across borders, but is often neglected in research, especially in research on transnationalism (GREINER &

SAKDAPOLRAK 2013: 374). Therefore, the focus on transnationalism is no longer enough. Even though the concepts of transnationalism and translocality might be perceived as synonyms (GREINER & SAKDAPOLRAK 2013: 373). My case study focuses on international migration.

Additionally, the concept of translocality can be understood as a "situatedness across different locales" (BRICKELL & DATTA 2011: 4). Migrants are often influenced by their country of origin, by other countries they have traveled through, and by their current location. Therefore, many different locales impact their lives and these influences might become visible in day-to-day actions and practices. It is important to understand that migrants can experience a "groundedness during movement", as was mentioned by BRICKELL and DATTA (2011: 4). Their daily practices are influenced by transnational movements, as well as by local ones, while remaining situated. Additionally, places along migration routes might function as temporary homes, and therefore, migrants can be grounded during movement. Areas which are connected to different places and which are locally embedded are referred to as "translocal geographies" (BRICKELL & DATTA 2011: 4). Such translocal geographies are crucial to this thesis.

The impact of transnationalism on translocality is still clearly visible, especially concerning translocal networks. Networks are created through ties, and GREINER and SAKDAPOLRAK (2013: 375) stated that "translocality thus refers to the emergence of multidirectional and overlapping networks that facilitate the circulation of people, resources, practices and ideas". In chapter 3.4, interconnectedness and translocal networks will be discussed thoroughly. Such networks are highly important in migrants' lives and therefore, the aspect of local to local connections has been added. The reason for this is the influence of such connections on transnational networks. BRICKELL and DATTA stated (2011: 3) that "research on translocality primarily refers to how social relationships across locales shape transnational migrant networks". Therefore, local contacts are implemented into transnational networks which are then transformed into translocal networks. This and further aspects of translocal placemaking will be analyzed in the following section.

3.4 Translocal Placemaking

Translocal placemaking is influenced by a large variety of aspects such as the daily practices of people, and people's interconnectedness with different locales. In this section, I would like

to discuss a broad spectrum of terms and concepts which contribute to the understanding of a translocal place.

To begin with, studies on translocal placemaking stem from investigating urban life. Hence, cities can be referred to "as sites of translocality par excellence harboring places of origin, settlement, resettlement and transit" (BRICKELL & DATTA 2011: 16). 'Translocal city' is a very broad term, as translocality can be described in many ways. In general, a translocal city is inhabited by people from many different places, either from across borders, or from within the country, and these people impact the urban space through various aspects. As a result, Vienna could be referred to as translocal simply through investigating the large number of Austrian students moving to the city from their rural homes each year. Nevertheless, a study on the influence of this group on the city is not the focus of this study. Migration is what interests me, more specifically, international migration from places across the globe, to the city of Vienna, Austria. The concept of translocal cities is essential to this thesis and to the qualitative study which was conducted at the "Brunnenmarkt". The reason for discussing this concept is because I assume that Vienna is a translocal city, and the production of translocality at the "Brunnenmarkt" contributes to this understanding.

On the one hand, cities often offer jobs available for migrants, on the other hand, certain neighborhoods exist which attract migrants not only through affordable living conditions, but also through familiarity and a sense of belonging. Additionally, BRICKELL & Datta (2011: 164) argued "that cities are vital sites of transnational ties that link people and places across the world and that there is a strong sense of commitment and locatedness within the local context in urban areas" (see SMITH 2005). This statement emphasizes the importance of locatedness, as well as interconnectedness within cities. As previously mentioned, not only cities themselves are translocal, but also specific locales within cities as settings of daily life (BRICKELL & DATTA 2011:17).

Even though, my case study focuses on international migration, I would now like to provide an example on internal migration. This example thematizes migrants' movements in Bangladesh, with a focus on the city of Dhaka, and the way in which they produce translocality through their daily practices and therefore, influence the urban space and transform Dhaka into a translocal city. The example of Dhaka represents a "transient urban space" (BORK-HÜFFER et al. 2014), which includes aspects of translocality and transformation of the city (ETZOLD 2016: 171). Such "transient urban spaces are the social, political, and economic spaces in cities that are produced and reproduced by people's everyday practices,

interactions, and imaginaries" (ETZOLD 2016: 171). As people's daily practices, communication and memories are crucial when studying translocality, the aspect of the transient urban space must be taken into consideration.

Dhaka can be referred to as a translocal city. The sense of translocality is reached through Dhaka's various connections to different places across the country; connections and networks which are created by migrants living and working in the city and their communication and socialization with family and friends back at home. Without migration, translocality could not exist. In the case of Dhaka, on the one hand, "rural-urban migration has contributed to transforming Dhaka from a large provincial capital to a globally embedded megacity" with a growth in population and the economy (ETZOLD 2016: 174). Additionally, the city has grown itself. ETZOLD (2016: 175) stated that most people who live in Dhaka's slums are migrants from rural areas. Migrants do not only contribute to the city's transformation through living in Dhaka, but they also influence the urban space through working in the city (ETZOLD 2016: 174-175; see AFSAR 2005; ISLAM 2005; SIDDIQUI et al. 2010; KHAN & KRAEMER 2013). One of the major domains in which work is found is the street food business. There is a high requirement of affordable street food in Dhaka, and as a result, many migrants operate street food shops in the city. Such food vendors reproduce their own identities through selling specific foods and the urban space is, hence, shaped. Translocal networks exist frequently among the food vendors, as often, family members follow other migrants from within the family. Little businesses are set up and while many men are working in the city selling food in the streets, women and children remain at home and live off remittances. Additionally, the translocal networks among food vendors and their families offer support and security in times of crisis (ETZOLD 2016: 177-179). Dhaka is a translocal city due to large amounts of migrants living and working in the city, and through their daily practices and their translocal identities, translocality is produced and the city of Dhaka is transformed into a translocal urban space.

Furthermore, I would like to discuss the city of London, which can be referred to as a translocal city as well. Cities should not simply be perceived as simple "destinations for migrants"; "rather as a space that is fractured through migrants' geographies of movement across different spaces and places" (DATTA 2011: 73). The city of London has been the subject of many studies on translocality due to its large diversity of people and neighborhoods. This example is relevant to the case study which was conducted at the "Brunnenmarkt", as it focuses on international migration, in contrast to the previous example on internal migration. Many migrants from the Eastern part of Europe, for instance, chose

London as a destination to "become part of the West", and not only to find work (Datta 2011: 78). An example of Polish migrants in the city provides crucial information on migrants' intentions when first arriving in 'the West'. Many immigrants interacted with the city through exploring the cultural and social capital of the city. Some had the opportunity to study while working in the city, which offered them the possibility of traveling. This was the case with Ryszard, a Polish immigrant who went on archaeological field trips across Europe and hence, connected and associated with other places. Additionally, Polish immigrant Karol, traveled across Australia and collected stickers of all the places he had visited, and he himself indicated how his identity was influenced by his travels and his connection to different localities (Datta 2011: 78-80). These two examples show the influence of a multitude of places on Polish immigrants in London. But not only London is a prime example of a translocal city. During the empirical part of this thesis, it is intended to establish Vienna as a translocal city through investigating the "Brunnenmarkt". Translocal cities are characterized through a multitude of people from different countries, their processes to form mobile but situated identities, and their daily practices. Through these aspects, translocal streets are created as well.

The Brunnengasse, which is the location of the "Brunnenmarkt" can be referred to as a translocal street, and therefore, this concept is relevant for discussion. The street is translocal due to the multiculturality of its people, their daily practices, the languages spoken, and the symbolic and visual representation of translocality. The qualitative study which was conducted at the "Brunnenmarkt" aims to discover signs of a translocal street. Through various research methods, characteristics of a translocal street are established and illustrated.

In many large cities, translocal streets exist. When imagining a translocal street, shop signs in different languages appear, multicultural foods and people from different places are seen, a broad variety of languages spoken is heard, exotic smells are to be noticed, and a feeling of being abroad is evoked. I suggest that the "Brunnenmarkt" which runs along the Brunnengasse is a translocal street. Through the influence of translocal patterns on the area, this street can be defined as such.

A very good example of a translocal street was provided by Hall and Datta (2010), when they published an article on London's Walworth Road, which in their opinion classified as a "translocal street". It was stated by the authors that most people with migration background living in the United Kingdom chose to live in London. The influence of this large amount of people with different countries of origin is clearly visible in the Walworth Road. Hall and

DATTA (2010: 69) investigated "shop front displays" of stores located in the road. The authors intended to "explore experiences of emplaced mobilities, the complex overlaps between transnational and translocal identities, and the reworking of social differences" through such "visual signscapes" (HALL & DATTA 2010: 69-70). Signscapes are visual productions of translocality. Furthermore, the authors referred to the routes which migrants took, and which ultimately lead them to the Walworth Road and in which way connections were made which resulted in a perception of translocality. Additionally, the aspect of "emplaced mobilities" (SMITH et al. 2011) is crucial, as shop owners' mobilities and migration histories highly impact the way they arrange their shops in London. The notion of "situatedness" (OAKES & SCHEIN 2006) is important as well, as the specific localities' importance was established by HALL and DATTA (2010: 70).

The study began with walking along the Walworth Road to create a map of different places around the world and their connections to the small shops. Then, the shops were all photographed to illustrate the signscapes that were found. Additionally, the shop owners were surveyed as well. The results of the study showed that people from more than 20 countries of the world owned shops at the Walworth Road. The perceived diversity and multiculturality is therefore produced by African barber shops, and Turkish restaurants, for example (HALL & DATTA 2010: 71). The impact of shop owner's countries of origin, their cultures, food, languages, and more is clearly visible. HALL & DATTA (2010: 72) therefore stated that "Walworth Road is shaped by passages and journeys of a variety of individuals, who travel, literally and figuratively, between more than one […] local place". According to this statement, migrants' journeys, their past, and their present imaginations of what was once referred to as 'home' highly impact the Walworth Road. The arrangement of shopfronts by shop owners is determined to attract very specific clientele, for instance, an African barber shop might intend to attract African people, as well as a Turkish supermarket might want Turkish customers buying their products. It was mentioned by the authors that through visual signscapes shop owners communicate with their customers, and the decorations and signs "combine entrepreneurial and cultural expressions", as salespeople do intend to make profit after all (HALL & DATTA 2010: 73).

To be more specific, an example of such visual signscapes was provided in the article. One shop was owned by a man from Sudan. He used signs written in English and Arabic to attract a broad range of customers. His chosen name of the store was "Absar Food Store. Camberwell Halal Nutchers and Grocery. Afro Caribbean and Mediterranean Fresh Fruit and

Veg" (HALL & DATTA 2010: 73). This example clearly indicates the type of customers the owner wanted to attract. Customers might be interested in buying Halal, or Afro Caribbean, or Mediterranean products. The study also showed that in the back of his store, he arranged an area which was specifically aimed at Muslim customers to fulfill their needs through an area for prayer, for instance. Furthermore, not only customers with very specific needs were targeted, but also an increase in customers was the goal. Due to that, many stores had very long names and a large variety of products to sell, in order to appeal to many potential customers. The shop displays which were found at the Walworth Road included many "cultural and spatial references" and produced translocality through the creation of shop owners' identities but also of the awareness of situatedness and the awareness of other people's identities (HALL & DATTA 2010: 73). Meaning that migrant salespeople at Walworth Road produced translocality through their own identity, but at the same time they were aware of other people's identities and the countries they came from to gain them as customers (HALL & DATTA 2010: 73).

As a result, the Walworth Road is a place that is largely impacted by shop owners' migration routes and their countries of origin. The shops were arranged in certain ways to attract customers, shop displays functioned as communication tools, and the "arrangement of spaces […] appeared as a primary medium for cultural and social exchange (HALL & DATTA 2010: 74). The "visual displays serve to communicate the multiple connections that individuals accumulate and maintain as they move within and across cities" (HALL & DATTA 2010: 74). Translocality is, hence, visible at London's Walworth Road through the migration movements and shop owners' mobilities, as well as the way in which they produce their own identities.

The production of immigrants' identities may also be influenced by their social surroundings and networks. Therefore, I would now like to turn to the discussion of translocal networks, and how important they are. Translocal networks are crucial to this thesis and the following case study, as such networks often influence people's migration stories and their daily lives. With regards to the case study, one aspect which was investigated during the qualitative study was whether translocal networks exist at the "Brunnenmarkt" and whether networks in general have influenced the salespeople's migration process to Austria. In order to successfully examine the existence of such networks, the concept of translocal networks must be discussed thoroughly beforehand.

Different places, people and homes are connected and, therefore, networks are produced. Translocal networks exist through people's communication, trade, transfers, and movement.

These networks could not sustain without such practices, however, the networks themselves are needed to facilitate communication and actions, for instance (GREINER & SAKDAPOLRAK 2013: 376). This means that networks are on the one hand used as facilitators for communication, transfers, and movements, and on the other hand, these practices create and maintain networks. Before the rapid rise of improvements in technology, and the implementation of certain technological communication tools, migrants' contact with family members and friends back at home was limited, which was stated before. With technological developments, migrants' exclusion and separation from their loved ones changed in the 90ies. Through communication via technological tools, "migrants were part of social networks both here […] and there" (GIELIS 2009: 271). As a result, communication within translocal networks is essential and valuable, and the role of the internet, telephones and other communication media is paramount.

To be more specific concerning networks, it is helpful to apply a "place lens", as was suggested by GIELIS (2009: 275). This lens supports the understanding of how people in one place are connected with people in other places, and as such create networks. The importance of places is, once again, emphasized as "people always find themselves in places" (2009: 275). Which is true, as people are constantly in one or the other place, and they are never not placed. Therefore, social networks have places as well. According to APPADURAI (1995, 1996a & b), "this placial conception of social relations also applies to people who construct social relations across borders, such as transmigrants. Moreover, these social relations are experienced localities and, in this way, transmigrants live in translocalities" (GIELIS 2009: 275). As a result, social networks are a crucial aspect of translocality and are of large importance to migrants and the formation of their identities.

In translocal networks, not only migrants are included but also non-migrants (STEINBRINK 2009). Non-migrants are part of such networks through living their daily lives in certain locales which are affected by translocality. Migrants are not only in contact with other migrants, but also with locals, and therefore, a large variety of people is included. Networks are used to maintain friendships, to connect with family and friends, to support each other in daily life, and to help other migrants who lack the necessary resources during migration (GREINER & SAKDAPOLRAK 2013: 377). Local people are valuable as regards the support of migrants: to provide work and to help with housing, for example. The integration of migrants can be challenging, and it varies, depending on the acceptance of the locals. Hence, many

immigrants choose to live in neighborhoods which offer support and a sense of belonging after migration.

Translocal neighborhoods are an important aspect of translocality and may be created through translocal networks. Such neighborhoods are also interesting to my case study, and hence, the concept will be discussed thoroughly. Translocal neighborhoods often provide a familiar setting for migrants in places far away from home. Such neighborhoods can consist of people from the same country, as is the case in many areas around the "Brunnenmarkt" which are specifically Turkish, for instance. Furthermore, translocal neighborhoods may inhabit many immigrants with similar migration experiences who help to ease the transition from home to host countries. Connecting with people from either the same country or with people who have experienced migration as well might help with settling in.

Neighborhoods can be very different. A neighborhood can be a place of belonging, a place of familiarity, and a place which offers support. In a neighborhood, interconnected social systems, large families, and groups of friends can be found. In a translocal neighborhood, the influence of migrants' countries of origin is often clearly visible. Some definitions of the concept have been provided by scholars such as BRICKELL and DATTA (2011: 15), who referred to neighborhoods as places where communities create "social actions and activities which are informed by multiple places elsewhere". Furthermore, "neighborhoods are negotiated through migrants' personal histories, memories and a spatialized politics of difference" (DATTA 2011: 73). Additionally, neighborhoods highly influence people's views of their own identities, according to BRICKELL and DATTA (2011: 15; see BROWN & PERKINS 1992). Therefore, neighborhoods are spaces in which people's identities can thrive, social and cultural actions are influenced by people's heritage, and a social and spatial difference is produced and is visible as such. In neighborhoods, identities and social actions which are influenced by a multitude of places are created (BRICKELL & DATTA 2011: 15). Migrants' identities are impacted by their migration routes, histories, and nationalities (DATTA 2009b). These aspects contribute to the production of neighborhoods and impact the perception of such.

In many neighborhoods, people from the same country can be found, for example in Chinatown, a neighborhood that exists in many large cities across the world such as New York City, or San Francisco. The communities which live in neighborhoods shape the area and produce a sense of belonging for the locals, as well as the feeling of being abroad for visitors. Through studying neighborhoods, the daily practices of migrants' lives, their

"mundane activities of working, eating, sleeping, walking, socializing" and more are highlighted and considered important (DATTA 2011: 74). It was further stated by DATTA (2011: 74) that such daily practices divide the city into a multitude of places, for instance parks, neighborhoods, and houses, which are "defined by their specific social, material, cultural, political and geographic connections to other such locales". There are different places for work, leisure, and eating for instance, and each of those places might have various connections to other locales. As a result, a translocal city is constructed and "the city itself is experienced as a set of interconnected spaces and places that are material, social, and embodied" (DATTA 2011: 74). The places are embodied through migrants' movements and their mobility during daily life. Neighborhoods are, hence, very important to the concept of translocality.

Nevertheless, the concept of neighborhood experienced much critique, mainly by APPADURAI (1996a, 1996b, 2005) who argued that "locality and neighborhoods are both processes rather than products", and he "bases his critique of neighborhood as relationally opposite to locality" (DATTA 2011: 75). Instead he indicates the existence of "ethnoscapes" – "a spatialization of migrant identity", in which migrants' practices create identities which refer to their countries of origin (DATTA 2011: 75). Ethnoscapes are APPADURAI 's version of neighborhoods. However, the concept of ethnoscapes portrays migrants in an excluded, exposed, and sensitive way. Consequently, his arguments are outdated and the newly created importance of places of migrants' daily lives and their inclusion in local life is highlighted.

An example of a translocal neighborhood was provided by DATTA (2011), who wrote about Polish migrants in London. Dawid is a migrant from Poland who decided to live in Green Lanes, a Turkish/Kurdish neighborhood in London. It was stated by Datta (2011: 73) that Dawid felt at home and that he developed a sense of belonging. Neighborhoods provide familiarity and homeliness through "encounters with 'others' who might also be migrants like oneself" (DATTA 2011: 73). Exchanges with people who share a migration experience may be important to migrants and such exchanges might lead to the development of friendships and local-local connections. These local-local connections then influence the production of translocality. DATTA (2011: 73) investigated the influence of migrants' lives on the city of London, more specifically, on certain neighborhoods "that are connected to a range of other localities within and beyond the nation". In this context, translocality is defined "as a process that 'situates' diverse spaces and practices within different locales" (DATTA 2011: 74). Highlighting the importance of situatedness and interconnectedness.

Furthermore, in Sydney, Australia, the neighborhood of Ashfield can be considered a translocal neighborhood. It is also referred to as 'Little Shanghai' with many high streets offering a large variety of Chinese shops and restaurants. In these shops, many different goods reminding buyers of their Chinese homes are sold. WISE (2011: 95) mentioned that "these migrant place-making practices can be described as a process of creating and reproducing translocal neighborhoods", and therefore, a connection between Ashfield and Shanghai is established. A neighborhood such as Ashfield is produced through the daily practices of Chinese immigrants who sell Chinese products and food, who speak Chinese, who arrange their shops traditionally, and who use signs written in the Chinese language. Migrants' sense of belonging is thus clearly visible in the area. Not only personal and imaginary connections with Chinese immigrants' homes are produced, but also spatial connections which lead to the creation of the physical translocal space of Ashfield. Migrants' ability to create such translocal neighborhoods implies the aspect of power. It is very common, however, that residents in certain neighborhoods, who are for example not Chinese, have a contrasting viewpoint on the 'foreign' signs that are used in the area (WISE 2011: 95).

Nevertheless, Ashfield, especially Liverpool Road is a prime example of a translocal street. The references that are produced through signage remind Chinese immigrants of very specific localities in China, mainly Shanghai. For instance, names of temples are used, or those of rivers. These connections and references evoke smells and memories in the Chinese population living in Ashfield (WISE 2011: 95). As a result, translocality is clearly present and repeatedly produced by the inhabitants of the neighborhood. Within such neighborhoods, homes of immigrants can be found. The notion of 'home' and a sense of belonging is essential within translocal neighborhoods. Therefore, I would now like to turn to a discussion of the concept of 'home'.

Before delving into the concept of translocal homes, and 'home' in general, I would like to indicate the importance of the latter to my case study. The migrant salespeople at the "Brunnenmarkt" have all left their original homes in their places of origin to live a better life in Austria. Their definitions of 'home' might differ, as in some cases, their homes may not exist anymore due to war, for example. Others may have gathered new homes on their migration routes. Many may refer to Austria, or more specifically, Vienna as their 'home'. Some may even consider the "Brunnenmarkt" to be their 'home'. The concept of 'home' is thus important, as migrants might identify with several places, and all such places have an impact on how they live their lives in Vienna. These places might affect selling practices at

the "Brunnenmarkt", shop owners' product selection, and the customers which they want to attract, as well as their friendships and connections. As a result, a detailed discussion of translocal homes is necessary to provide a better understanding of the concept of 'home' and why it might be important for studying translocality at Vienna's "Brunnenmarkt".

As a starting point for this section, a definition of what is meant by 'home' is provided. "Home as a concept is primarily understood both as a physical location of dwelling as well as a space of belonging and identity" (BRICKELL & DATTA 2011: 13). More specifically, "the home as an actual place", and "as a metaphorical or discursive space of belonging and identification" (BRICKELL & DATTA 2011: 27; see ARMBRUSTER 2002; BLUNT & DOWLING 2006; RAPPORT & DAWSON 1998). As a result, there are two types of home. Another definition of 'home' was given by ARNOLD (2016: 161) saying that "home is characterized by stable social relations existing on a daily basis where regular routine activities take place in a given location and at a given time". Additionally, it was defined as "a place, region or state to which one properly belongs […], or where one finds refuge, rest or satisfaction" (MORLEY 2000: 16). Lastly, RAPPORT and DAWSON (1998a: 6) described 'home' as "a safe and still place to leave and return to". Therefore, homes are important places due to social and spatial factors. These and further definitions of the concept indicate the emotionality of home and the importance of specific places for people.

Migrants are affected by the loss of their homes through moving, either voluntarily, or involuntarily. Homes can be much more than simple locations, they might also evoke memories, "past, present, imagined or future 'homelands'" or a "linked range of localities" (BRICKELL & DATTA 2011: 14; see SKRBIS 1999; BURRELL 2008; DATTA 2008; JACOBS 2004: 167). Homes of migrants are highly influenced by their stories and memories. Specific smells from traditional foods might occur, remittances might have been used to build the home, or country-specific decorations might be displayed. Therefore, migrants' past is visible and detectable. It was mentioned by BRICKELL & DATTA (2011: 14) that within such homes, "otherness is constructed". This means that cultural practices which influence the process of othering from local people, or which highlight the otherness of migrants are often found in the home, as homes are regarded as private and safe places.

Furthermore, translocal networks are important to the concept of home. Migrants are inclined to maintain the contact with their loved ones back at home, and through such processes, networks are created. Connections are not only important to migrants, but also to their families, as "transmigrants are not only those who leave […] but also those who stay behind"

(Skrbis 2008: 238). Research on transnational networks and homes suggests that longing for people and places is just as important as creating a sense of belonging.

There are "four scales" of translocality, which have been established by Brickell (2011: 24) concerning the aspect of 'home'. Some of these characteristics are repetitions of previously stated explanations of translocality itself. First, the importance of connections and movements within nations, in addition to movements across national borders. Second, the emphasis on location rather than constant movement is crucial to the concept of translocality. Migrants do not have to be moving continuously and translocality is not a synonym for mobility, as the internet facilitates communication with families and friends in different places and establishes a simple connection to so-called "homelands" (Brickell 2011: 26). The internet is indeed a very valuable tool for migrants. In some cases, young people with migration background might relate to their parents' countries of origin through music and photographs, for instance. Therefore, translocality is not limited to first generation migrants, but also applies to further generations who establish connections with distant 'homes' via the internet or in other ways, in contrast to sole memories. The concept of translocality indicates the importance of places, as has been mentioned before, and an "emplaced mobility" was implied (Brickell 2011: 26). Mobility still highly impacts migrants through connections, memories, and communication, even though they have settled in places. Third, "the interconnected scale of the domestic" is important (Brickell 2011: 26). Additionally, much work and research on 'home' refers to transnational migrants. Both types of home exist for internal migrants as well. Going back to the four scales, the last one emphasizes "conceptual questions over 'homeland'" with the importance of local politics in contrast to national politics. These four scales - with an emphasis on technology and interconnectedness - were applied to a study on Cambodian migrants who were displaced from their villages in the 1970ies and who restructured their family lives with upcoming work opportunities in tourism. People's migration histories were taken into consideration; however, the focus of the study was to investigate translocality in present-day life and future outlooks of the people in Cambodia (Brickell 2011: 24-29).

Now I would like to provide an example to demonstrate the importance of technology and the perceptions of 'home' in Cambodia. One of the respondents of the study by Brickell (2011) was Channery who faced displacement and migration when she was young, and then decided to migrate to work in the tourism sector in Siem Reap. She wanted to be able to finance her son's education. Through the mobile phone, networks were established and connections with home were maintained. Gielis (2009: 280) indicated that through improvements in

technology, such as computers and mobile phones, "migrant places are no longer localities, but have become translocalities". Through the communication with family members at home, migrants in Siem Reap were "sustaining the possibility of a translocal home" (BRICKELL 2011: 30). Home was distant but close at the same time. As a result, the virtual and emotional proximity of distant places influenced the perception of translocality in the area.

In addition to Channery's example, other respondents of the study by BRICKELL (2011) indicated the importance of technology as well. They relied on technology to remain connected with family members during the duration of their migration. One respondent was called Setha who referred to the previously mentioned two types of home: home as an actual, physical place, and home as a place of belonging. The existence of 'home' through a sense of belonging leads to the identification with several actual places, and therefore, several homes. As Cambodia's inhabitants have a history of migration, they often identify themselves with several places which they call 'home'. To sum up, the increase in tourism in the country leads to migration and the creation of translocal geographies through connections (BRICKELL 2011: 30-38). These translocal geographies are influenced by a variety of interconnected homes. Such homes may be affected by people's attachment to places, and therefore, I would now like to turn to evaluate some aspects of the concept of place attachment.

As 'homes' are places which people are often attached to, an elaboration on the concept of place attachment seems logical and is necessary. Place attachment also significantly affects people at the "Brunnenmarkt". As was discussed in the previous sections, people may identify with several places and the impact of such places has an effect on their daily lives in Vienna. The effect of place attachment may be visible in salespeople's products, and the languages spoken at the market. Through speaking a certain language or dialect, for instance, some sort of attachment to a specific location is expressed. Similarly, the product selection of salespeople at the "Brunnenmarkt" may be very specific and may imply a symbolic attachment to certain places. Hence, place attachment is crucial to the case study, and it is a concept worth investigating.

The concept stems from the field of social sciences and the scholars ALTMAN and LOW (1992: 4) suggested that place attachment "is a complex phenomenon that incorporates several aspects of people-place bonding". This means that – as the name already implies – people's attachment to specific places of importance. Characteristics which are crucial to the concept are emotions, feelings, and affection, as it concerns people's individual bonding mechanisms and their feelings towards places (ALTMAN & LOW 1992: 4). BROWN and PERKINS (1992)

additionally refer to the significance of "emotional embeddedness". This aspect is important when studying the notion of home and people's physical, as well as emotional embeddedness into certain places. Furthermore, place attachment was defined in two ways through distinguishing between place and attachment. "'Attachment' emphasizes affect; the word 'place' focuses on the environmental settings to which people are emotionally and culturally attached" (ALTMAN & LOW 1992: 5), which means that there are certain features of places which are significant to people and which people are attached to, or emotionally connected with.

Moreover, place attachment does not only refer to spatial aspects of places, but also to social aspects. The concept implies that people are also attached to people who live in certain places, such as family or friends. The presence of these people is highly important and emotionally affects notions of place attachment. Next to social aspects of the concept, the temporal aspect is considered essential as well. Some people might be attached to meaningful places of their childhood, for instance. Scholars have wondered how place attachment arises, and ALTMAN and LOW (1992: 8) indicate that "four processes" are involved in the creation of an attachment to places: first, "biological", second, "environmental", third, "psychological", and fourth, "sociocultural" (1992: 8). The biological aspect refers to "evolutionary and physiological adaptations […] to particular environments", the environmental aspect was suggested by RILEY (1992) and HUFFORD (1992) who think that "environments create people-place relationships" through various aspects (ALTMAN & LOW 1992: 8). In addition, the psychological aspect refers to "individual experiences in places during childhood" (ALTMAN & LOW 1992: 9). Lastly, the sociocultural aspect implies how "social norms and ideologies influence attachments" (ALTMAN & LOW 1992: 9). As a result, there is a broad variety of features which characterize place attachment and which impact people's intensity of feeling attached to certain places. Psychological aspects are considered highly important, as they have been discussed frequently (see COOPER MARCUS 1992; CHAWLA 1992; RUBINSTEIN & PARMELEE 1992: BROWN & PERKINS 1992).

Further important aspects concerning place attachment might occur during the dislocation from a meaningful location. Mobility in this case can be either voluntary or involuntary. The experiences and emotions directed towards home can differ between voluntary and involuntary migrants. First, voluntary movements are investigated. Feelings that might occur are those of homesickness, for example. Homesickness refers to people's longing for being at home. It can either be the spatial aspect of home, or the social aspect containing beloved

people. It was mentioned that "the feelings that focus on loss of place and people are often called homesickness" (BROWN & PERKINS 1992: 289). Coping mechanisms to reduce homesickness include forming and maintaining connections with the people at home. Another crucial point is the identification process with the new home. The harder a person works on integrating themselves into a new place, the easier the transition between former and new home will be (BROWN & PERKINS 1992: 289-290). Second, involuntary movements imply different feelings towards former and new homes. Feelings of homesickness might be stronger, and the identification with a new place might be more challenging for migrants. Hope - to return to the former home - might play an important role as well and potentially creates challenges for migrants who are settling in. During the settling process of immigrants in a new location, the notion of 'habitus' plays an important role as well.

Th concept of "habitus" was introduced by BOURDIEU (2002). This concept is of interest to the qualitative investigation of the "Brunnenmarkt" due to its emphasis on daily practices. As daily practices and people's routines and attitudes towards such are meaningful to my case study, this section offers valuable information and a better understanding of the concept of habitus. DATTA (2011: 76) mentioned that "Habitus provides the fields of meaning to different forms of […] capital", and that "actors must learn how to exchange between different modes of capital in different fields and operate effectively through everyday practices". This refers to humans' ability to produce accepted social practices, for instance, in a very specific field. The concept of habitus is used for "understanding the value assigned to economic, social, and cultural forms of capital" (KELLY & LUSIS 2006: 831). Additionally, "a habitus provides the context in which capitals of various forms (economic, social, cultural) are valued and given meaning" (KELLY & LUSIS 2006: 833). MCKAY (2006) refers to habitus "as a framework that works as a practical sense of place, producing the embodied rituals of everyday life" (KELLY & LUSIS 2006: 836). Such definitions of habitus must be elaborated to be fully understood.

There are "three types of capital: economic, social, and cultural capital" (BOURDIEU 1986: 243). The economic capital of a person indicates their "financial worth" (KELLY & LUSIS 2006: 833). "Social capital is found in the networks and connections" which are established and maintained by migrants in their host country (KELLY & LUSIS 2006: 834). Furthermore, "cultural capital refers to the symbolic assets" of people, for instance cultural values and lifestyles (KELLY & LUSIS 2006: 834). It was stated by KELLY and LUSIS that the types of capital are "contingent, in the sense that their valuation is determined within a particular

social and spatial context" (2006: 834). Lastly, "central to the concept of habitus is the internalisation of social expectations and value systems and their incorporation into bodily dispositions" KELLY & LUSIS (2006: 834). All these features indicate the presence of different forms of capital in daily life which are perceived and produced practices of people. They are produced by migrants as well as non-migrants, but in the context of this thesis, the habitus refers to practices of migrants in their host countries which might be country specific to their homes. When entering different countries and settling into new homes, migrants are confronted with a new form of habitus which they must adapt to. Through migration, people are confronted with discovering and producing a new habitus in a new place. Habitus explains the social norms and practices which are specific to countries, or aspects of daily life and which are acquired through living in certain places and through interacting with people. The habitus of migrants moving from one place to another might be affected by various localities and might therefore be different. The production of a new habitus may take time but is crucial to settling into a new home.

3.5 Summary of the Conceptual Framework

To sum up, these previously discussed theoretical concepts provide a starting point for the empirical research for this thesis and help to fully understand translocality and all its important characteristics. Migration is a key factor of translocality, however, translocality is not simply established through the occurrence of migration.

First, mobility plays an important role and influences translocality. Mobility is a phenomenon of modern day life, as was implied by CRESSWELL (2006) and LEY (2011). Mobility affects everybody, as it can be constituted by different types of movement. Trivial movements and daily practices are included into the concept of mobility. Mobility therefore refers to different types of movements of people - including migration -, goods, and thoughts. Such movements have increased within the past decades. Migration has increased due to wars and political problems across the world. As a result, the "new mobilities paradigm" was introduced by SHELLER and URRY (2006), which addresses mobility in people's social lives and emphasizes the importance of the individual. The paradigm also provides a different view on the world and its increasing connections. One person's mobility can equally mean another person's immobility. Hence, immobility plays a crucial role when studying migration and translocality as well.

Second, transnationalism is affected by mobility through migration across national borders. Transnationalism refers to connections of people which cross borders and it was implemented to better understand migrant life and international migration (GLICK SCHILLER et al. 1992). Another aspect of transnationalism considers the linkage of migrants' former homes with their new homes. Technology plays a crucial role in this process, as was stated by HANNERZ (1996). Technology is needed to maintain the transnational connections and it also influences globalization. Hence, globalization is another important aspect of transnationalism. The world is faced with a growing global economy which is primarily caused by a large number of global connections. Furthermore, culture is an essential characteristic of transnationalism, as it is transmitted through social fields during people's movements. Lastly, the pre-stage of translocality is the so-called grounded transnationalism which focuses on interconnectedness as well as situatedness. This concept was coined by MITCHELL (1997) and HANNERZ (1996).

As was indicated by MITCHELL (1977 and HANNERZ (1996), who wrote about grounded transnationalism, local places are crucial when studying migration. Translocality does not only include connections across national borders, but also emphasizes the importance of day-to-day life and migrants' personal experiences, as was mentioned by BRICKELL and DATTA (2011). Translocality was defined in many ways, and OAKES and SCHEIN (2006) stated that "the local can be influenced by many different localities". Situatedness is an essential feature of translocality, as was mentioned above. "Local-local connections" have been indicated by BRICKELL and DATTA (2011: 3), which consider the connections which migrants establish with their local neighbors and colleagues, for instance. Such connections add to broaden the networks in which a "multitude of circulations and transfers" occurs (FREITAG & VON OPPEN 2010: 5). All these characteristics of translocality are crucial to the case study at the "Brunnenmarkt" and there is a large variety of aspects which influence the translocal placemaking that occurs in the area.

Translocal placemaking often occurs in cities. According to SMITH (1999), cities can be referred to as interconnected places, and hence, a translocal city is a place which has been affected by various translocal placemaking strategies. Translocal placemaking does not only occur in cities themselves but it is often also experienced in more specific locales such as translocal streets, in networks, in neighborhoods, and even in the homes of migrants. In the previous section, examples for translocal cities have been named, such as Dhaka or London, and it was assumed that Vienna is a translocal city as well. In the city of Vienna, translocal streets exist, such as the Brunnengasse, the location of the "Brunnenmarkt". Translocal streets

exist in many other large cities as well. In translocal streets, different patterns of translocality can be found and migrants often connect with each other, and hence, networks are created. These translocal networks exist through communication, trade, transfers, and movement within a community. If networks exist, it is likely that translocal neighborhoods are established as well through the previously mentioned practices. Neighborhoods can be referred to as places of belonging and are associated with familiarity, as was stated by BRICKELL and DATTA (2011: 15). In neighborhoods, identities can thrive, people's cultural heritage is exchanged, and social contacts are established. Within such neighborhoods, migrants may also create their new homes, far away from home. BRICKELL and DATTA (2011) discussed the different representations of home, namely the physical and the emotional location. These types of home are created through mobility and through translocal communication and placemaking strategies. Additionally, it was stated by SKRBIS (2008) that networking is an aspect of the concept of home, which leads me back to the aspect of translocal networks and proves the interconnectedness of these concepts. Furthermore, place attachment plays an important role concerning translocal homes as well, and place attachment is created through mobility, according to ALTMAN and LOW (1992). Lastly, the habitus which was introduced by BOURDIEU (2002) is an important aspect of the settling process within a neighborhood or a home. Habitus refers to the daily practices of people and "provides the fields of meaning to different forms of capital" (DATTA 2011: 76). Capital can either be economic, social, or cultural, and it may differ in different countries or cultures (BOURDIEU 1986: 243). Additionally, habitus refers to "rituals of every day life" (KELLY & LUSIS 2006: 836) which leads me to the assumption that the habitus is an important concept for my case study due to the study's focus on salespeople's daily practices and everyday life at the "Brunnenmarkt". To sum up, these previously stated concepts are all interrelated and contribute to the existence and production of translocality.

4. Methodology

After introducing several theoretical concepts to build a framework for the empirical part of this thesis, I would now like to discuss the research methods which were applied to the study. The empirical research was conducted in the field, more specifically at the "Brunnenmarkt" and a variety of research methods were used to answer the research questions and to reach the

research aims. This section intends to explain the different methods, as well as the reasons for applying them to the empirical research.

The research questions were the following:

How does translocality influence the urban space at the "Brunnenmarkt"?

1. How is translocality visible?

2. Which shops can be found?

3. How do shops transmit translocality?

4. In which ways is translocality produced?

5. How do salespeople's practices at the "Brunnenmarkt" impact the production of translocality?

6. How is the area at the "Brunnenmarkt" influenced by translocal connections?

7. Which networks do exist between salespeople at the market?

8. Which networks do exist between the salespeople of the "Brunnenmarkt" and their families and friends in their places of origin?

9. How do salespeople perceive the "Brunnenmarkt"?

4.1 Observation

In this section, I will discuss the methods of direct observation and participant observation which were applied to my research in the field at the "Brunnenmarkt". To begin with, the direct observations of the research site were one of the first methods to be applied. Direct observation is a simple research method. It is "the oldest […] instrument of scientific research", according to JERSILD and MEIGS (1939: 472). The method was developed by several scholars in the early 20th century, especially to observe the behavior of children. It has been primarily used to investigate children's behavior in various situations. "The method of direct observation has been applied in situations that are 'free' […] or manipulated […] or partially controlled" (JERSILD & MEIGS 1939: 473-474). The circumstances of this research method can therefore be adapted, depending on the research interest. Direct observation,

however, is not confined to observing children's behavior, it can also be applied in many other situations.

During the observation process, findings can be recorded through note-taking and checklists. In addition, technology can be used as well, for instance through voice recordings of thoughts and observations. Furthermore, the length of the observation period may vary depending on what is observed. It is also important that the observers themselves are reliable (JERSILD & MEIGS 1939: 474-478). The introduction into direct observation given by the authors is relatively old and presents the early stages of research through observation. The method of direct observation is, however, not outdated, as it provides interesting information on behavior, practices, or certain areas, depending on the research interests. The reason for applying direct observation to this empirical study is to explain the site in detail, to produce categories for the process of selecting interviewees and to better understand the "Brunnenmarkt". Through close observations, many details can be detected. This phase of the research was crucial.

Another method which was applied to this study is participant observation. This method stems from the field of ethnology and helps to provide a better understanding of the daily practices of 'foreign' people. The concept of 'foreign' in this case refers to different cultures which are unknown to the observer. Through participating in people's daily lives, the observer should be able to detect the daily practices that are meaningful and specific to a community. This method allows the observer to critically reflect their own institutions, practices, and norms (KOHL 1993: 95). Only through this process of reflection, it is possible to successfully observe 'foreign' cultures. In the field of ethnology, KOHL (1993) provided interesting information on observing different cultures and partaking in their daily life. Ethnology refers to the study of foreign cultures and communities (1993: 99).

In his work, KOHL (1993) referred to the method of participant observation as a form of research. Observing plays an important role in this method, but it is crucial not to passively watch ongoing life and practices, but to focus on what is going on and the potential meaning of certain practices. Beforehand, it is necessary to study the community, culture, or area extensively to be able to correctly observe (KOHL 1993: 110). Furthermore, the observer must be involved in the daily life to extract large amounts of important information (KOHL 1993: 114). Some ethnologists would spend weeks or months living in foreign communities to learn about them. In the context of this thesis, it is interesting to detect information about the

different cultures and communities found at the "Brunnenmarkt", and therefore, participant observation is a valuable research method which helps to achieve my research aims.

The reason for applying this method to the empirical research is to learn more about the "Brunnenmarkt" and the people who work and those who shop there. The method was adapted, as it was not intended to live at the market during the research process. However, a lot of time was spent at the market: ten days, two hours each day, to extract valuable information on the daily practices. The observations included price negotiations, conversations between salespeople, curious tourists strolling through the market, and women doing their grocery shopping, for example. A lot of observation time at the market was spent during Ramadan. Ramadan is a religious fasting practice which is practiced by Muslims. As many migrants who work at the market are Muslims, this time of the year is highly important to them. A lot of the salespeople would sell specific Ramadan products, or give Ramadan discounts, for instance. Many salespeople stated that they were currently fasting and that they enjoyed this practice.

4.2 Photography

Furthermore, photography was applied to this empirical study as a research method. In many studies, photography is used to depict life in certain localities. Photography is not only used for research, but also by the media, for documentation, or simple leisure. COLLIER and COLLIER (1986) wrote a book on photography as a research tool in anthropology. They stated that during research, photography can be used to provide orientation, especially in the beginning of a project. Photographs can depict what certain areas look like, what the people look like, which social roles exist, and much more.

The method of photography was applied to this empirical research, as it was aspired to include the visual aspects of translocality into the study. It might be quite challenging to illustrate translocality and its visible elements at the market without photographs. Drawing would be another option; however, photography has proven to be more efficient and easier to apply. The orientation phase was also essential to this empirical research project. In the beginning, I often went to the "Brunnenmarkt" to take photographs which I would then study and analyze thoroughly. Photography alongside observations facilitated the categorization of the market into translocal and non-translocal shops, as well as it provided an overview of the large diversity of stores at the market. Additionally, it introduced me to curious shop owners

at the market and offered the opportunity to start conversations with the people who work at the "Brunnenmarkt". The reactions to applying photography as a research method were quite different. Most shop owners were unbothered by this method, however, some were interested and asked why their shops were photographed. I tried to capture the stores without showing people, in order to protect the shop owners' privacy. Nevertheless, in some images, people may be visible. As the market is a popular tourist attraction in Vienna, as well as a commonly documented area in the media, it was assumed that most salespeople at the market were used to the method.

Furthermore, photography is a good method to capture moments during observation. As part of the study consists of observation, photography was a useful tool to depict the observable. Eyes can capture moments; however, cameras provide the ability to save them. Photography can be used to create maps of areas, as well (COLLIER & COLLIER 1986). The authors provided a large variety of circumstances in which photography can be applied, for instance during interviews (COLLIER & COLLIER 1986).

Lastly, I want to address the usage of photos for the depiction of interaction and social practices. Photos make practices and processes easily visible, including some aspects which people might be unaware of (COLLIER & COLLIER 1986). There are certain limitations of this research method, which must be kept in mind. "Total documentation is almost always impossible", and the "overload of complex details" implied by total documentation might be too challenging for research (COLLIER & COLLIER 1986: 162). It is crucial to select wisely to reach satisfying results and to maintain a successful research process. Therefore, I decided to capture each store at the market exclusively, to provide a better view of the products sold and to allow viewers to study the images extensively. In my case, the collected data are represented by the translocal or non-translocal elements of the shops.

Moreover, photography or the visual depictions of moments have a long history. Even 30,000 years ago, people captured moments through drawings in their caves. Moving on further to the present, "Arabs of the eleventh century invented the tools and the theory that paved the way for the development of modern visual technology", a technology which has improved throughout the years and will improve even further (EL GUINDI 2004: xii). In addition to photography, filming has become increasingly important in visual anthropology, as was mentioned by EL GUINDI (2004: 89). The goal of visual anthropology is to accurately present cultures. The term was introduced by WORTH (1980: 7) and it "became associated with conceptualizations and research activities integrated with the use of visual tools to make

records about culture and to study social systems" (EL GUINDI 2004: 23). The usage of photography and filming is therefore necessary to create visualizations of culture, and in a way, the empirical research which was conducted at the "Brunnenmarkt" could be perceived as part of visual anthropology as well. One part of this research was to depict the visual aspects of translocality which might be aspects of culture as well, and hence, the connection with visual anthropology had to be established.

4.3 Mapping

Furthermore, the practice of mapping was used during the study conducted at the "Brunnenmarkt". The method of mapping was applied in two different ways. On the one hand, cognitive maps were created by myself to categorize the market and to find respondents for my study; as well as to provide my own perception of the market. In addition, I asked the respondents of the study to illustrate their own perception of the market through maps. It was intended to discover translocal networks, friendships, and further details of the market which might be invisible to people who are unfamiliar with the research area. On the other hand, a mobility map was created to visualize the interconnectedness of the "Brunnenmarkt" with the world.

First, cognitive mapping will be discussed. A definition by DOWNS and STEA (1977: 6) stated that "cognitive mapping is an abstraction covering those cognitive or mental abilities that enable us to collect, organize, store, recall, and manipulate information about the spatial environment". The way our spatial environment is perceived differs from one person to another. A characteristic which influences one's perception is age, for example. Furthermore, cognitive mapping is referred to as an activity and a process. Cognitive maps aim to depict the way people understand and perceive the world. Such viewpoints can differ quite significantly and might be impacted by personal experiences. The maps which develop through the process of cognitive mapping are the products which show "a person's organized representation of some part of the spatial environment" (DOWNS and STEA 1977: 6). For instance, "a sketch map showing the route to your house; a list of the places downtown that you avoid because they are dangerous; a child's painting of his house and neighborhood" and more (DOWNS and STEA 1977: 6). Such maps can easily be applied to this empirical research as well.

Moreover, cognitive maps have important temporal aspects. DOWNS and STEA (1977: 6) mentioned that "a cognitive map is a cross section representing the world at one instant in

time. It reflects the world as some person believes it to be". It is crucial to know that cognitive maps do not have to be correct. There is no correct or incorrect in cognitive mapping, as personal perceptions are depicted, instead of factual representations of places. It was interesting to see how people who work at the "Brunnenmarkt" perceive the market. It was essential to highlight that the maps are only analyzed as personal reflections and that there is no right or wrong, in order to provide a welcoming and accepting atmosphere for the participants. There are some examples of cognitive maps which have been provided by DOWNS and STEA (1977: 8-11). The maps illustrate people's views of certain countries, for example the USA or Canada. The example of the "Texan map of the United States" implies the different spellings and names for places (DOWNS and STEA 1977: 8). Some of these names might have been influenced by cultural differences. As a result, cognitive maps often include cultural references, different languages, sizes and scales of places or countries.

Furthermore, there are four reasons why cognitive mapping is important. First, people must know where certain things, people, or places are located. Second, they should be able to identify how to get to these locations. Third, daily actions and practices should be easily located, as well. Every action is spatially connected to some sort of place and through an increase in mobility, people's cognitive maps of daily activities might become larger as well. Fourth, tourism plays an important role in cognitive mapping. People should be able to plan their routes and journeys (DOWNS & STEA 1977: 12- 19). These characteristics of the importance of cognitive mapping indicate the frequency of using cognitive maps daily. Cognitive maps do not have to be necessarily drawn, they often exist in people's minds. A cognitive map can be created through thinking about going to the supermarket and planning the route beforehand, for example.

Having discussed cognitive maps, I would now like to turn to mobility maps. Mobility maps are used to illustrate people's movements. They help to understand certain patterns of movements of individuals or groups, and to determine problems and challenges of such movements. Mobility maps can be drawn by groups or by individuals, depending on the research interest. The participants of a study based on mobility maps should be selected wisely and according to the research intentions. The sample should consist of men and women, except when women are not represented in the investigated group. An example of producing such maps is to ask people to draw a circle which represents their current location. Afterwards, the participants are asked to illustrate their daily movements. The representation of distances might differ among participants. Additionally, the participants are asked to

distribute symbols according to the purpose of visit to the different places or institutions. The maps can be explained afterwards, and additions can be made if necessary. Mobility maps might be used to detect where certain facilities are needed and to see which movements migrants take, for example (NARAYANASAMY 2009). Hence, mobility maps are necessary to plan and create infrastructure in certain localities.

I decided to apply mobility maps to this empirical research. However, the method has been adapted to fit the needs and interests that are crucial to this study. Participants were not asked to draw mobility maps, as they were asked to create cognitive maps and representations of the research area. During the interviews, salespeople at the market were asked where they came from and whether they moved directly to Austria, or whether they crossed different countries during their migration. The mobility map that was created resulting out of those conversations depicts the connections of the "Brunnenmarkt" with different countries according to the respondents' countries of origin, their travels, and their transnational and translocal connections. It aims to illustrate the interconnectivity of the city with other places and it emphasizes the existing multiculturality at the "Brunnenmarkt".
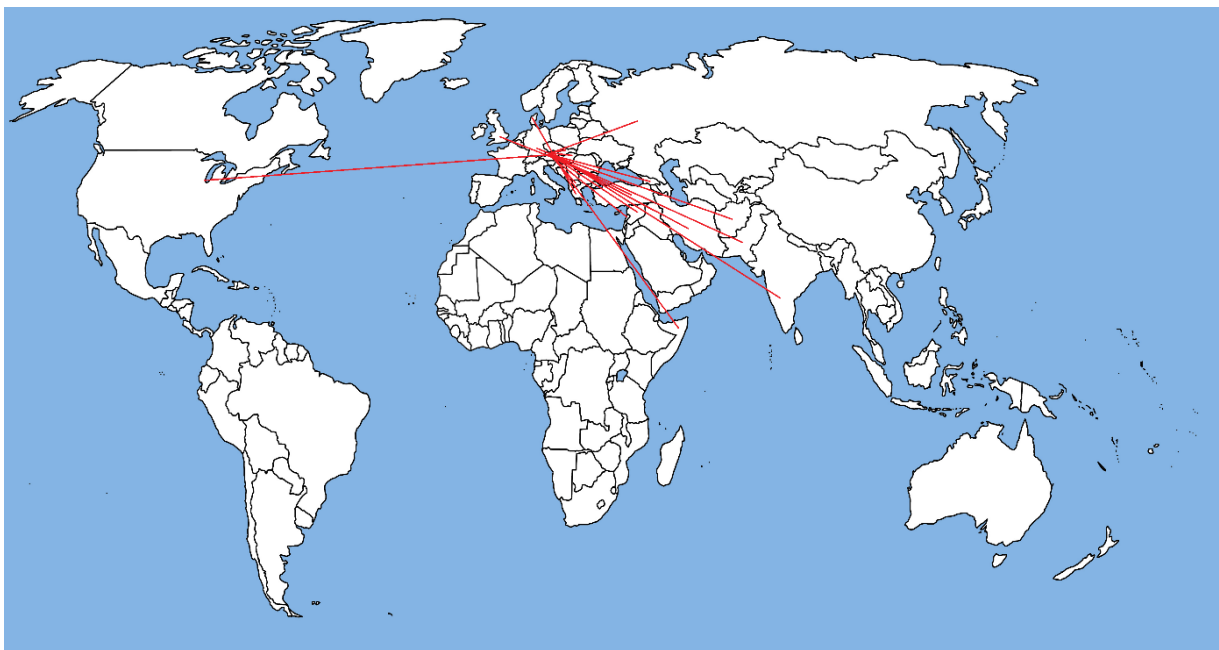
Figure 2: Mobility Map: The interconnectivity of the "Brunnenmarkt" with the world according to the results of the case study (created with WIKIA GERMANY 2018)

In figure 2, the multiculturality of my research area is stressed through showing its interconnectedness with the world. The mobility map illustrates respondents' connections with home countries, family members, and other important places during their migration. The

twelve respondents of the empirical study offered information on their countries of origin, their connections with people in other countries, and their migration routes. Some offered more detailed information than others. Some respondents mentioned the countries they had passed through during their migration, others only emphasized that they had passed through several countries not clarifying which countries they had been to. Nevertheless, a map was produced to show how interconnected the "Brunnenmarkt" is and which places influence the market by only looking at twelve salespeople's stories. The major countries of origin which were stated were Afghanistan, Syria, and Turkey. Three of the interviewees come from Afghanistan, two migrated from Syria to Austria, and two come from Turkey as well. One respondent each migrated from Somalia, Pakistan, India, Georgia, Iraq, and Macedonia, and some of these respondents migrated through Arabic and Eastern European countries to reach Austria.

Furthermore, the interviewees also offered information on their families' locations. Many members of their families still reside in their home countries, however, some family members migrated to the USA, to Germany, Denmark, and Israel. Additionally, there are connections with places such as the United Kingdom, Russia, or Hungary for instance. Some respondents stayed in these countries for a longer period of time before coming to Austria. Clearly, there is an abundance of connections with different places at the "Brunnenmarkt" which makes it a very interesting and multicultural place. The influence of the respondents' countries of origins, their connections with family and friends in different places, and their migration routes is still visible at the market and can be experienced in migrants' daily practices.

4.4 Narrative Interviews

In qualitative research, interviews of different kinds are very common and popular among researchers. Qualitative interviews play an important role in ethnographic studies, and in studies based on observation (HOPF 2017: 350). As observation is an important method of this empirical research, the method of using qualitative interviews is ideal to investigate the research area. Interviews are also used to extract expert knowledge, and to capture large amounts of information. Interviews might be recorded, filmed, or written down. There is a broad variety of interviews such as structured interviews, clinical interviews, biographical interviews, focused interviews, and narrative interviews, for instance (HOPF 2017: 350-355). I

opted for narrative interviews, as this method implies the best results for the given research aims.

Narrative interviews were developed by SCHÜTZE (1976) in connection with the investigation of participants' lives, their stories, and personal experiences. FISCHER-ROSENTHAL and ROSENTHAL (1997: 414) introduced some important characteristics of narrative interviews. First, the question or the prompt must invite the participants to speak freely and to tell their stories. Second, the structure of the interview should be based on an autonomous narration of the participant. Third, questions which positively affect the narration process should be asked if more information is needed. In narrative interviews, it is crucial to focus on the participant's narration and to minimize questions. However, in order to cover all research questions, the interviewer must ask more detailed questions. This act should follow the narration of the participant to allow his or her unrestricted narration and is aimed at reaching all research goals. Examples for successful prompts or questions to initiate a narrative interview could focus on specific times in the life of the participant, and to invite them to think about such times (HOPF 2017: 355-357). This process evokes memories and might initiate the narrative process.

During the qualitative study of this thesis, narrative interviews offered valuable information and insights into respondents' lives and their work in the research area. Migrant shop owners and salespeople at Vienna's "Brunnenmarkt" were interviewed. The interviewees were invited to tell about their lives and work at the market, their migration history, their families, and friendships. In addition to initiating prompts and questions, many detailed questions followed the narrative process of the respondents. Due to the very detailed research questions and the research aims, it was necessary to address certain issues and events in the lives of migrant salespeople at the market.

Each of the twelve interviews lasted between 15 and 60 minutes, creating an average of 27.92 minutes per interview. The length of the interviews depended mainly on the respondents' availability, the current work load at the market, and the time of the day. Some of them were slightly reserved, however, the longer the conversation lasted, the more they revealed about their lives. Two respondents were questioned twice, to add some more detail to the conversations. Clearly, some respondents experience a serious amount of stress daily, therefore, not all of them answered the questions in as much detail as some did. Some were very happy to tell about their life and work at the market, and they allowed me to stay up to one hour. In addition, I tried to choose less busy days at the market to reach the best results

during my interviews. Nevertheless, only one woman was willing to participate in the study and in general, most shop owners at the "Brunnenmarkt" are male.

5. Case Study: "Brunnenmarkt"

In this section of the paper, the research process of the empirical study will be discussed, as well as the research area, the research phases, and the difficulties that occurred. Every research process has its challenges and is characterized through several steps and research phases. Therefore, difficulties and challenges which occurred are mentioned as well. The following sections also provide valuable information on limitations of the study, the respondents and the interview questions which were asked during the interviewing process.

5.1 Research Area

The location of the empirical research for this thesis is the "Brunnenmarkt". It is one of the largest continuous street markets in Europe, and Vienna's cheapest market, in comparison to the popular tourist attraction "Naschmarkt", for instance. The "Brunnenmarkt" is the second largest market in Vienna and is 600m long. It starts at Thaliastraße and ends at Payergasse, both are streets in the 16th district of the city. The market's location is illustrated in figure 3. DLABAJA (2016: 80) mentioned that the "Brunnenmarkt" is the longest "Detailmarkt" in Central Europe. Usually, such markets are characterized through the deconstruction of the shops at night. However, most shops remain at the "Brunnenmarkt" overnight, nowadays. It is characterized through its multicultural and buzzing atmosphere and through the large variety of people from many different countries. Therefore, it is often referred to as the 'the orient around the corner' by local Viennese people. This connection makes sense, as many products from Arabic countries, for instance, are available for purchase at the market (LIPPITSCH 2009: 133; DLABAJA 2016: 80-83).
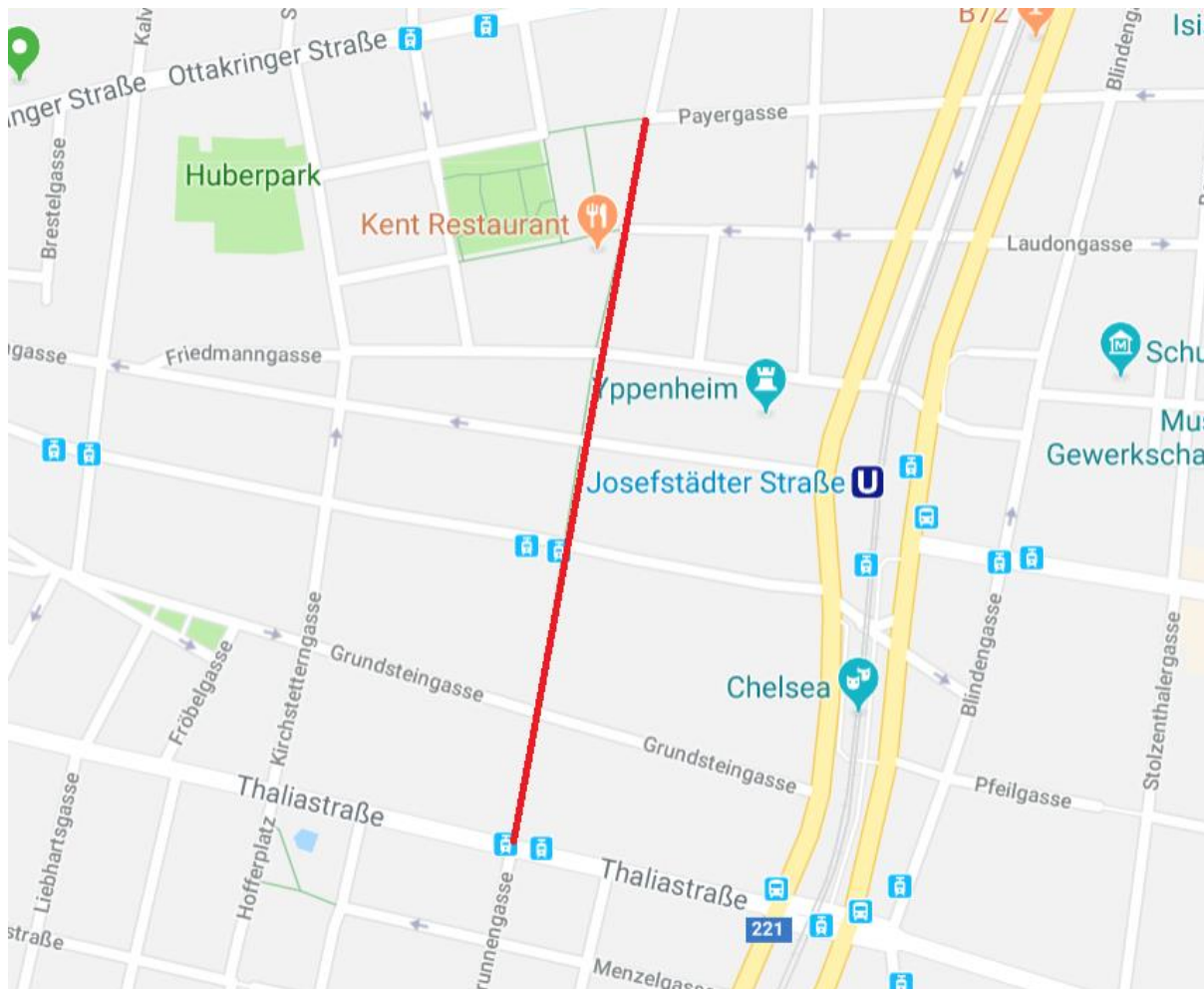
Figure 3: Map of the "Brunnenmarkt" (created with GOOGLE MAPS)

The "Brunnenmarkt", which is depicted in figure 4 is a popular location for trading foreign goods from Eastern and Southern countries. In addition, Austrian products can be purchased as well, however, the abundance of foreign products is characteristic to the market. The number of shops at the market can vary, as not all shops are always open. On Saturdays, nearly 200 stores can be found at the "Brunnenmarkt". In addition to the market stalls, there is a large variety of stores within buildings at Brunnengasse which belong to the market as well. 20 of the market stalls are allocated every day which means that they are not owned by a salesperson. It is compulsory that 60 percent of the shops sell groceries, and 30 percent are used for food and restaurants. The remaining 10 percent can be used to sell goods of all kinds (LIPPITSCH 2009: 133; DLABAJA 2016: 80-83).

Figure 4: "The Brunnenmarkt" (WERBEAGENTUR IDEA PRO & DIJASPORA MEDIA 2018)

Moreover, the majority of salespeople at the "Brunnenmarkt" originally comes from a country other than Austria. It was stated by LIPPITSCH (2009: 133) that 79.5 percent of shop owners at the market have migration background, coming from different countries but mainly from Eastern Europe and Asia. However, there have been a lot of changes during the past decades. In the 1980s and 1990s, the market was affected by a dramatic change of shop proprietors. Many shop owners came from Austria, Poland, and the Czech Republic, and were elderly people at that time. Therefore, as soon as the old proprietors left the "Brunnenmarkt", new proprietors from Turkey and Serbia took over their businesses. As a result, different products were introduced and established at the market. The "Brunnenmarkt" was a good opportunity for many immigrants to improve and stabilize their livelihoods. Nowadays, many people from Turkey do not only work at the market, but they also live in the area. The area around Neulerchenfelderstraße is hence referred to as "Little Istanbul" and can be seen as a neighborhood. This area is highly affected by its inhabitants and most stores are owned by Turkish people. The main language which is spoken is Turkish (LIPPITSCH 2009: 133; DLABAJA 2016: 80-83).

Furthermore, the area around the market can be referred to as a typical "Grätzel" in Vienna. Many locales are referred to as such within the city. It can be simply explained as a very characteristic small area within a district with many local people and traditional restaurants

and bars. DLABAJA (2016) analyzed the space around the market concerning its spatial and visual characteristics. The author discussed the concept of the production of space and which actors influence the urban space in Vienna. She clearly indicated the impact of people on urban spaces. Hence, the influence of the market's proprietors on the area should be investigated. The market can be found in an area which is called the "Brunnenviertel". The area expands over 0.2km² and inhabits about 7000 people. Concerning the population of this area, 41 percent of these 7000 people come from families with migration background or have migrated themselves (DLABAJA 2016: 78). In addition, the "Brunnenviertel" has experienced a decrease of the native Austrian population and an increase of non-Austrian people between 1991 and 2001 and between 2001 and 2011, the population in the area showed an increase of 25 percent including non-migrants and migrants (DLABAJA 2016: 78-79). In this study concerning the usage of the urban space in the "Brunnenviertel" of Vienna, many people were observed and questioned. On the one hand, a large number of people who live in the area also use it to relax, to spend time outdoors and to run errands. On the other hand, many people visit it on weekends to explore or to buy very specific products (DLABAJA 2016: 89-90). As a result, the market is used by a broad range of people for different purposes.

5.1.1 History and Development of the "Brunnenmarkt"

The "Brunnenmarkt" has a long history, starting in the 18th century. The area around the market is characterized by old buildings which were erected between 1848 and 1918. It was founded in 1786 in the former Viennese suburb Neulerchenfeld and it was built around a fountain; therefore, the name "Brunnenmarkt", which can be translated into "fountain market", was given. In the 1830s, a small market in the same area, yet with a different location existed (MAGISTRAT DER STADT WIEN 59 2018). Starting in the 90ies, the market and the surrounding area were slowly improved and changed. Inhabitants were involved in the planning process. In 2005, the market was renovated and redesigned by the architects Maczek and Mateovics. Part of this redesign was the traffic ban at Brunnengasse, the road on which the market runs along. Nowadays, the Brunnengasse is a pedestrian space, reserved for the market's shops. Since 2006, the shops have remained at the market even at nights, which used to be different before that time. In 2009 the small "Yppenmarkt" and the large "Brunnenmarkt" melted into one large market with a broad variety of products to purchase. In

2010, the market was modernized and improved and the "Yppenplatz" was redesigned as well (LIPPITSCH 2009: 133-134; MAGISTRAT DER STADT WIEN 59 2018).

Now I would like to point out the arrangement of the "Brunnenmarkt". It can be divided into three main areas. First, from Thaliastraße to Neulerchenfelderstraße, second, from the latter to Friedmanngasse; and third, from Friedmanngasse to Payergasse. These divisions exist due to the roads which cross the market at Brunnengasse. There are two different types of so-called 'stages' at the market. On the one hand, the one stage which is accessible from the middle section and the most frequently used pathway at the market, and on the other hand, the stage which is located behind the shops. This area is specifically used to store items and it is also used for deliveries. The most frequently used division of the market is between Thaliastraße and Neulerchenfelderstraße. Many people use this part of the "Brunnenmarkt" to buy groceries and other products. The second part has experienced fewer changes than the other ones and is therefore closest to the original market. The third division is popular among visitors of the market. This area consists of several market stalls and a plaza called "Yppenplatz" with different bars and restaurants which visitors enjoy (DLABAJA 2016: 106-110). Overall, the "Brunnenmarkt" is a popular street market which has a long history, and which has experienced an impressive development within the past years. It is a busy and noisy market with large crowds passing through. There are many interesting aspects which make this place worth a visit and even more interesting to investigate.

5.2 Research Phases

The research process can be divided into six phases which include the preparation process, the conduction of the empirical field work at the "Brunnenmarkt" and its several steps, as well as the analysis and writing process of this thesis. These following six phases of the qualitative research at "Brunnenmarkt" were very insightful.

Phase 1

During phase one of this research process, the concept for this diploma thesis was produced. It was crucial to create a detailed concept which supports and guides through the research process beforehand. The problem context was developed, as well as a short introduction into the topic and research area. Furthermore, research questions and aims were developed which are important to the success of this thesis. Additionally, research methods had to be found

which were suitable for the empirical part of the thesis. It was also important to thoroughly examine comparative studies and theoretical concepts. Lastly, a time frame was developed, and a provisional structure of the paper was created. During this phase, research on various methods was conducted and the previously mentioned six research methods were chosen to reach the given research aims.

Phase 2

Afterwards, in phase two, a lot of time was spent with strolling through the market. Many photographs of the research area and the individual shops at the "Brunnenmarkt" were taken. The photos were taken within two days in April 2018, however, some were retaken in June due to the lacking quality or necessary improvements which had to be made. Additionally, the daily life and practices at the market were observed. The photographs as well as the observation process supported me in selecting respondents for the study. These results were also necessary to produce a map of the market, and to categorize the shops into translocal and non-translocal. The process of direct observations lasted for approximately one week in May 2018. A large variety of situations, people, and practices were observed and documented through either voice recordings or note-taking.

Phase 3

As a result, I was able to start phase three, the narrative interviews, with the creation of participants' cognitive maps mid-May 2018. The first two interviews were concluded in the first week of June as some additions had to be made, and the interview guide had to be improved and changed as well. More detailed questions were added to the guide and the sequence in which the questions occurred was changed. The first two interviews were both very different, but successful. The motivation which was caused by those experiences was then carried on to the following interviews which started in the first week of June. By the end of June, twelve interviews were completed. Overall, I spent six weeks at the "Brunnenmarkt" conducting qualitative research through narrative interviews.

Phase 4

Phases three and four overlapped during my research process, as some stages of these phases occurred at the same time. In phase four, two hours each week for four weeks in June were spent at the market to observe and to connect with the proprietors. Several products were purchased at the market, such as spices, or food, for example. This act of participant observation offered deep and interesting insights into life and work at the "Brunnenmarkt".

The observations lead to conversations with interested customers and proprietors. We talked about products, migration, and life in Austria, for example. Many of the shop owners reacted very positively to my research and were therefore happy to see me day by day. Some were interested in my results and my progress, as well.

Phase 5

Furthermore, in phase five, a mobility map was created based on the research results. A map of the world was adapted, and the city of Vienna was connected with several locations across the globe. This map was then used to illustrate Vienna's interconnectivity with the world, and the multiculturality of the people working at the "Brunnenmarkt".

Phase 6

Lastly, in phase six, I transcribed and analyzed my interviews through creating categories, and then I put my findings into writing. The content analysis is based on MAYRING (1997). This process of analyzing interviews based on categories offers valuable information and eases the interpretation of the interviews. Most interviews were not recorded as some respondents did not give their consent. Nevertheless, the results were put into writing immediately after the interviews to achieve a realistic description of the interviews. The transcripts and reports were then categorized into inductive and deductive categories. Inductive categories were extracted directly from the interview content. Deductive categories were produced beforehand and are based on the research questions. Each category received a color code, and as a result, it was possible to code the results. In addition, the results were sorted within their own categories and a document with all the results was created. During the writing process, the results were then easily accessible.

5.3 Selection Process of the Respondents

In the first few weeks of my empirical research, during phase two, I investigated the "Brunnenmarkt" thoroughly to understand its structure, the variety of stores, and to get to know the people who work there. This improved my understanding of life at the market and led me to the selection process of potential respondents for my study. Before proceeding to the explanation of this process, I would like to introduce my personal characteristics of translocality, more specifically of 'translocal' shops, which influenced my selection.

Influenced by the definitions of translocality provided in section 3.3, I intended to characterize a 'translocal' shop, translocal and foreign, based on my own upbringing and view of the world. I reflected on the existing literature on translocality, and I concluded that translocality might be perceived differently depending on where you come from and what you are used to. As mentioned before, I come from a small town in rural Austria and there are a lot of elements at "Brunnenmarkt" which I consider translocal.

Such translocal elements are:

1. The existence of signs in different languages

2. Flags of different countries visible at the shops

3. Products with foreign names, from different countries

4. Traditional decorations, or country-specific decorations

5. Products that are specifically sold to certain customers (for example Halal products)

I established these five characteristics prior to my empirical field work. I was able to create the characteristics after spending some time strolling through the market and looking at the different shops and products. Next to typical 'translocal' shops, there are various other shops which transmit less translocality. Such as clothing shops, fruit and vegetable shops, some shops which sell fish or meat, or shops that sell a large variety of other goods. Some of these stores, however, offered signs in different languages which indicated some sort of translocality. I counted 112 shops at the "Brunnenmarkt", however, it is often assumed that there is a larger number of shops to be found, as was previously mentioned. In addition to the small market stalls, there are many stores within proper buildings that also transmit translocality. Nevertheless, I focused on the small market stalls which are found on both sides of the street. Out of these 112 stores, I selected 40 'translocal' ones which met my criteria of a translocal shop. However, it would be possible to investigate the remaining shops as well.

5.4 The Respondents

The sample for my qualitative field work was chosen randomly. Before selecting potential respondents, I categorized the market through a cognitive map which was created by myself. I chose 40 locations (shops) at the market, which imply translocality in my point of view and according to the previously mentioned characteristics. Out of these 40 locations, I chose every

4th shop to partake in my study. However, not all selected proprietors were willing to participate. Therefore, I chose different shops out of my 40 potential respondents through moving on to the next potential interviewee. I interviewed 12 salespeople, 11 men and 1 woman, at the "Brunnenmarkt" over the course of six weeks.

The twelve salespeople at the "Brunnenmarkt" who were willing to partake in this empirical study come from eight different countries. There are eleven men coming from Afghanistan, India, Iraq, Macedonia, Pakistan, Somalia, Syria, and Turkey. The only woman who wanted to be part of this study comes from Georgia. The participants are approximately aged between 25 and 70 years. Some showed excellent German skills as they have lived in Austria for over 30 years, others were still acquiring the German language. Some of the respondents migrated to Austria only three years ago. The diversity of this sample already indicates the diversity of the entire market. Some of them came to Austria by themselves, some brought their families, others started theirs in Austria. The interviewees implied that they wanted a better life for themselves and their families, even though they are not always happy with their life in Austria. The Austrian state does not offer a lot of support for immigrants, according to the respondents of this study. Nevertheless, most of them are very happy and remain positive despite their migration stories and their fate.

Furthermore, some of the interviewees own stores at the "Brunnenmarkt". A few indicated that they own several stores at the market and that they have employees as well. In general, shop owners were more likely to participate in the study, as salespeople were often uncertain whether their bosses would allow them to talk about their work at the market. Half of the respondents do not own stores at "Brunnenmarkt", nevertheless, they were able to partake in the study as well. These twelve salespeople are of different ages, some have families, they have different migration stories, and they sell different products. However, they have a lot in common. They live in Austria and work at the "Brunnenmarkt" to offer their families and themselves a better life and future. Some enjoy their work at the market, others would prefer a different profession. Their stories will be discussed in detail in section 6. Now I would like to focus on the individual respondents and their stories. Each of the twelve interviewees will be described in this section and their names will be left out to respect their privacy.

Respondent 1

Respondent number one is a young student in his twenties who came to Austria about ten years ago. He grew up in Syria, but due to the deteriorating situation in the country, his parents decided to take him to Austria when he was fifteen years old. His father is a diplomat,

and therefore, the family's migration to Austria was easy. He now lives by himself in Vienna, owns several stores at the "Brunnenmarkt" and studies at university.

Respondent 2

Respondent number two is a young man from Turkey. He came to Austria about sixteen years ago. He now works for a company and sells meat at the "Brunnenmarkt". He enjoys visiting his family and friends in Turkey, but he appreciates life in Austria as well.

Respondent 3

Respondent number three is a man from Pakistan. He has not worked at the "Brunnenmarkt" for a very long time. He is quiet, and his German skills are poor. Nevertheless, he put a lot of effort into partaking in the study and he was very motivated. He has lived in Austria for three years and he misses his family who still lives in Pakistan. Fortunately, his friend offered him help and housing after his arrival.

Respondent 4

Respondent number four is the only woman who was willing to participate in the study. She refers to herself as the queen of the "Brunnenmarkt". She is approximately in her sixties and she has lived in Austria since the 1970s. She has worked at the market for decades, and hence, she knows everybody. Her children are pursuing excellent education in Austria and she is very proud of them. During her migration to Austria, she has spent a longer time in Israel. Most of her family still live in Israel, and therefore, she considers Israel to be her home, alongside Austria and Georgia.

Respondent 5

Respondent number five comes from Syria. He is a refugee who arrived in Austria about four years ago. Before coming to Austria, he stayed in Hungary for a while. The man came to Austria to provide a better future for his wife and children. He now owns several stores at the "Brunnenmarkt" and has employees who work for him.

Respondent 6

Respondent number six comes from Afghanistan and has lived in Austria for six years. He has moved back and forth from London to Vienna as he has had difficulties to receive asylum in Austria. The young man would have preferred to live in Italy or Germany. He now sells meat at the market in Vienna.

Respondent 7

Respondent number seven comes from Somalia. He has lived in Austria for fifteen years. The man has worked at the market for about 2 years. He enjoys working at the "Brunnenmarkt" and helping his friends with country-specific foods and loans. He has two young daughters who go to school in Vienna. He would like to return to Somalia, but he knows that this is not possible for him and his family due to the problematic situation in the country.

Respondent 8

Respondent number eight comes from Afghanistan and has lived in Austria for fourteen years. For almost two years he has owned a store at the "Brunnenmarkt". He enjoys working at the market. The man lives in Vienna with his family.

Respondent 9

Respondent number nine is a middle-aged man from Iraq. He and his family have lived in Austria for three years. The family lives outside of Vienna. Unfortunately, he has lost some of his children. The man sells country-specific food from Iraq at the "Brunnenmarkt" and enjoys sharing his culture with different people.

Respondent 10

Respondent number ten has lived in Austria for more than three years. He comes from Macedonia and now has a family with two young children in Vienna. His uncle has lived in Vienna for several years, and therefore, he moved to the city as well. He visits his family frequently, and they enjoy coming to Austria as well. At the "Brunnenmarkt" he sells meat, but he would prefer having a different profession.

Respondent 11

Respondent number eleven comes from Afghanistan and has lived in Austria for over five years. He is a young man in his twenties and he sells fruits, vegetables and country-specific foods. He works for a company, but he does not like his work at the market.

Respondent 12

Respondent number twelve is a man from India who is approximately 70 years old. He has lived in Austria for more than 30 years. He sells clothing at the "Brunnenmarkt". The man owns his store and he knows everybody at the market. He and his family are happy in Austria, and he enjoys visiting his family in India every year as well.

5.5 Interview Questions

The interview guide which is depicted below shows the questions which the respondents of the study were asked during the narrative interviews. In most cases, the questions were rearranged during the interviews according to respondents' replies. Nevertheless, all questions were asked in all interviews. Some respondents offered more detailed answers and referred to stories of their lives or issues at the market which were not asked for. This gave me the opportunity to learn more about the salespeople at the market.

The first question invited the respondents to draw a cognitive map of the "Brunnenmarkt". Their personal perception of the market as well as their connections with other salespeople had to be depicted. Afterwards, the respondents were asked to indicate their own stores at the "Brunnenmarkt". In most of the cognitive maps, the stores of the interviewees were either marked with a cross or a dot. Question number three then led to the interconnectedness of the market and salespeople's personal knowledge of the market's multiculturality. The respondents were asked to talk about the different shops at the market and the salespeople's countries of origin. During question number four, the salespeople offered information on their personal connections with other salespeople at "Brunnenmarkt". Some talked in detail about how they support each other, and which problems might occur between shop owners. Others indicated friendships, for instance.

Furthermore, question five invited the respondents to speak freely about their life and work at the "Brunnenmarkt". They were asked to narrate their personal experiences, their working life, and what they enjoyed about working at the market. Some indicated their attitudes towards work, and their opinions about the "Brunnenmarkt", others talked about how they found a job at "Brunnenmarkt" and for how long they had worked there. Question number six focused on respondents' migration stories, their home countries, and potential migration networks along the way. Some of them talked about the countries they had passed through, the people they had met, and for how long they had lived in Austria. Others indicated personal opinions about their home countries.

Additionally, question number seven drew attention to the migrants' new lives in Austria, potential initial challenges after arriving, and connections they may have had. Question number eight then focused on migrants' perceptions of the market and the 16th district and whether they lived in the area or not. After getting to know the respondents, question nine was concerned with the products and the translocality which may be created through selling

specific products at the "Brunnenmarkt". The respondents were asked about the products' origins and the customers who purchase those products. Questions ten and eleven drew attention to salespeople's connections with family and friends in other countries. The respondents were asked about their families, their home countries, and friends they may have in different countries. Lastly, remittances and potential family reunions were discussed as well.

The interview guide supported me during the empirical research in the field at the "Brunnenmarkt". Some of the questions are typical narrative questions, and additionally, more detailed questions were asked to receive further information on the interviewees' lives and stories. The following interview questions were translated from German into English. The original questions and results – as the interviews were conducted in German – can be found in the appendix of this thesis.

Interview Questions:

1. Please draw a map of the "Brunnenmarkt" and illustrate how you perceive it. Indicate your shop's location, as well as the other shops' locations.
2. Where is your shop located?
3. Which other shops exist? Where are the shop owners from?
4. With which other shops/ salespeople are you in contact? Why are you in contact? Do you have friends at the "Brunnenmarkt"?
5. Please tell me about your work at the "Brunnenmarkt"!
   For how long have you been working here? Did you get this job through contacts? Do you like working here? Are there any problems?
6. Where do you come from? For how long have you lived in Austria?
   Please tell me about your migration to Austria!
   Were there any networks or contacts which supported you during your migration to Austria? Was it expensive to come here? Did you stay in any other countries during your migration?
7. How was your arrival in Austria? Tell me about it please! Which difficulties did you have in the beginning? Was it difficult to find housing or work? Did you have any contacts who helped you in the beginning?
8. Do you live in the 16th district? What do you think of the area?

9. Please tell me about your products! Which products are you selling? Where do your products come from? Are these products typical for your home country? Who buys your products?

10. Do you have family or friends in your country of origin? Are you still in contact with them? Please tell me about why you talk to them, what you talk about, and how frequently you communicate!

    Do you plan to reunite with your family?

11. Do you exchange any remittances with your family back at home?

5.6 Difficulties and Limitations of the Case Study

While conducting the empirical research in the field, I was faced with some difficulties, some were expected, others were unexpected. In the beginning of phase one, I prepared myself for potential challenges. In this section, the challenges which occurred during the empirical research are stated and divided according to the research phases.

Phase 1

This phase consisted of the preparation process and the production of a concept for this thesis. I was confronted with difficulties during the production of the concept, as it had to be revised several times.

Phase 2

This phase consisted of photography and detailed site observations, as well as the categorization process for the creation of a map. Photography was used as a research tool to depict the individual stores and visual characteristics of translocality of the "Brunnenmarkt". Prior to capturing such patterns, I expected rejection by proprietors towards my research. However, only few salespeople asked about the reason behind the photographs. The remaining number of salespeople were unbothered by this method. Furthermore, the process of observing, taking notes, recording my own thoughts, and drawing sketches of the market was sometimes challenging, as many shop owners were confused by these practices. One proprietor asked whether he would get into trouble, but I explained my research to him and he reacted very positively. In addition to confused looks, the large amounts of people at the market, especially around noon, posed a challenge. The noise interfered with my voice recordings, and busy people often obstructed my research through their movements.

Phase 3

In this phase, the narrative interviews were conducted. Prior to conducting the interviews, it was difficult to create a useful and detailed interview guide which would support me successfully during the interviews. After concluding the second draft of the guide, I interviewed two salespeople at the market and adapted my interview questions afterwards. It was necessary to add questions, change questions, and alter their sequence. The result was a very detailed and long interview guide which offered successful support during my qualitative research at the "Brunnenmarkt". However, this phase was the most difficult one, and it was personally challenging.

In the beginning of this phase, I was very nervous about asking people to partake in the study. I expected rejection and disinterest, nevertheless, many proprietors reacted positively. However, it was still a challenge to find respondents, especially due to the busy circumstances of the market. Furthermore, language barriers posed a challenge as well. Many potential respondents stated that they did not understand German, and therefore were unwilling or unable to partake in the study. I assume that many salespeople at the market have lacking German skills, however, I believe that many of those who were asked to participate simply did not want to. Nevertheless, I found willing and interested respondents for my study who spoke German very well. Some participants had rather poor German skills, but the conversation was still intelligible and valuable. I was especially satisfied by their motivation to participate even though it was clearly difficult for them.

In addition to language barriers, time limitations of the respondents were challenging as well. Depending on the time of the day, shop owners are usually very busy at the market and there are a lot of customers to serve. 11 out of 12 participants were unable or unwilling to sit down with me during the interview process or to arrange a different time for the interview. They had to work, and they preferred to answer the questions while working. It is understandable that after a 10-12-hour shift at the "Brunnenmarkt", most salespeople want to go home. During the interviews, I had to take breaks to allow the salespeople to sell their products. It was important to clarify that before the process of interviewing started. The breaks were useful moments for me as well to organize myself and to observe the market, as well as to complete my notes. During these breaks I was introduced to customers at the market and to the friends of the shop owners. This time offered me the opportunity to hear about customers' stories, their reasons for shopping in the area, and the various connections and networks that exist at the "Brunnenmarkt".

Moreover, the weather played an important role during the interviewing process. On the one hand, good weather leads to a lot of customers at the market and hence, the market is busier. On the other hand, pouring rain is not an ideal circumstance for interviewing. Luckily, the forecast was mostly good during the six weeks of interviewing at the "Brunnenmarkt" and days with good weather conditions were chosen.

In addition, many of the interviews were conducted during the fasting period of Ramadan. During this time, Muslims are not allowed to eat or drink at daylight and they are bound to pray excessively. Some shop owners told me that they were minding their colleagues' stores during their time of prayer. I also heard stories about the difficulties of neither eating nor drinking on very hot days. Nevertheless, Ramadan only slightly affected my research as some shop owners were not present at the market due to their prayers. Their process of fasting did not affect their motivation to partake in my research. Most salespeople who participated in this study during their process of fasting talked about the benefits of Ramadan.

Furthermore, the respondents' creation of cognitive maps was less successful than expected. Before starting the empirical research for this thesis, cognitive maps were introduced as a method to show existing networks and connections at the market, as well as respondents' perceptions of it. However, it was very challenging to explain the task of drawing a map to the participants. Some maps depict the market's multiculturality and interconnectedness, but most maps are not useful, unfortunately. The method of cognitive maps might be more useful for more detailed interviews and with fewer respondents. Potentially, a different research interest might be more beneficial as well. Nevertheless, it was interesting to apply this method in practice.

Finally, salespeople's fear of partaking in interviews was a major challenge. I came across some very fearful and rejecting migrants who work at the market, who were unwilling to be part of the study. I accepted their decisions, nevertheless, I wondered what scared them. Some respondents asked whether I was checking anything at the market prior to starting the interviews. I assume that there are many controls and check-ups at the market for hygiene and such. As a result, many salespeople were afraid to talk to me. Initially, I intended to find 15 respondents out of the previously selected 40 shops. However, only 12 salespeople were willing to partake, and consequently, I was unable to find more participants. It would have been interesting to examine some stores which were excluded and whether they would have offered different results.

Phase 4

During this phase of the study, which was less challenging than the other phases, the method of participant observation was applied alongside my narrative interviews, as some extra hours of observation were simply added to my time at the market. As mentioned above, some observations were made during the interviews. Part of participant observation were focused examinations of the practices. Additionally, I had further conversations with some respondents who told me more about their families, and who introduced me to culinary delicacies from Afghanistan or Iraq, for instance. Only few proprietors were confused by my observations.

Phase 5

Moreover, during phase five of the research process, I was faced with some challenges as well. I aspired to produce a mobility map to depict the interconnectedness of the "Brunnenmarkt" with the world. It was challenging to find a suitable map and to acquire the necessary skills to edit the map. Despite the initial difficulties, this process was successful.

Phase 6

Lastly, in phase six, challenges occurred while analyzing the interviews. Initially, I was unaware of content analysis and proper ways to conduct such. A lot of research had to be done before I was able to start analyzing the interviews. The creation of categories for the analysis was difficult in the beginning. Afterwards, I found it challenging to discuss and compare the results with existing literature.

Concerning the limitations of this study, some aspects will now be addressed. There are certain limitations to most qualitative studies. This empirical study was confined by certain limitations as well. It is simply impossible to cover all aspects which may have been included in a study of a larger size. Clearly, time is an important issue which highly impacts qualitative fieldwork. In this case, there was only a limited amount of time available to conduct empirical research in the field as certain personal deadlines had to be met. Furthermore, not all shops at the market were included into the study. Prior to surveying the salespeople at the market, a sample of translocal shops was chosen and out of this sample, the participants were selected randomly, depending on their personal interest to participate. Towards the end of the research, it became clear that salespeople were less willing to partake in the study. As a result, it was impossible to interview more than twelve salespeople at the "Brunnenmarkt". Therefore, the results are limited. The results, however, could have differed among the other salespeople at

the market, but clearly, it is necessary to confine a sample to a realistic size, as the market consists of about 200 stores. In addition to excluding non-translocal market stalls, there are many other shops at the "Brunnenmarkt" which were excluded as well. These stores are located in buildings, and the focus of this study was to investigate the market stalls at Brunnengasse. Nevertheless, translocality may be produced by the owners of those stores as well. Translocality is clearly visible in the area, as there are many shops owned by foreign people, not only at "Brunnenmarkt", but also in the surrounding area, and those stores are often influenced by translocal practices. It would be possible to investigate the entire "Brunnenviertel" concerning translocal patterns and connections, but this would not have been manageable for this empirical study.

Another limitation consists of the non-migrant salespeople at the "Brunnenmarkt" which were excluded, as well as the people who shop at the market. There is a large variety of perceptions of the market and each person who either works or shops at the market has their own perception and personal background. Hence, it would be possible to compare such opinions in a similar but broader study. As a result, thesis could be expanded, and the research could be conducted in a more detailed and extensive way.

6. Discussion

In this section of this thesis, the results of the qualitative research at the "Brunnenmarkt" will be discussed and compared to other studies on translocal places. There is a large amount of results which has been collected during the empirical fieldwork at the market. The discussion will be divided into sections based on my research questions. To begin with, I would like to draw attention to the expectations I had before starting the research process in the field. Concerning translocality, I expected a large amount of transnational connections with family members and friends across the world. I also expected the salespeople to have traveled through many different places and to have established networks which expand across the globe. In addition, I thought that there might be networks at the "Brunnenmarkt" as well, between migrant salespeople and their customers, for instance. Through getting to know the area, I was certain that shop arrangements at the market contribute to the production of translocality and that the diversity of people, products and languages influences such. Lastly, I expected to reach a large variety of results, due to the diversity of the people at the "Brunnenmarkt".

6.1 Migration Stories of the Respondents

As a starting point, I would like to discuss the interview results on salespeople's migrations stories, and what led them to the "Brunnenmarkt". In addition, I will briefly discuss some of the results of salespeople's distinctions and descriptions of 'home'. The respondents of this qualitative study have lived in Austria for several years. One respondent arrived 47 years ago, others have been here for only three years. Their migration stories differ quite significantly, as well.

First, the respondents of this study have made different migration experiences on their way to Austria. Respondent number 1, for instance, talked about his diplomatic father, and hence, his migration to Austria was quite simple. The respondent mentioned: "I am the son of a diplomat, to be honest. I came to Austria without a visa. I came here directly. This was possible due to the diplomatic position of my father. It was in 2008, before the war has started" (Respondent 1, Brunnenmarkt, 21.05.2018). He added that his parents accompanied him on his journey, however, they returned to Syria a few years later. In contrast, respondent number 3 was not as lucky as the latter. His migration experience was long and challenging. Fortunately, he was in contact with his friend who helped him in the beginning. He stated:

> It was very difficult and expensive to come to Austria. I came here by myself. I passed many countries on my way to Austria. I stayed there only shortly, though. I do not even remember which countries I have been to. My friend was here before me. I came here because of him. I did not know anybody else (Respondent 3, Brunnenmarkt, 05.06.2018).

Clearly, the process of migrating to Austria from places such as Syria, Pakistan, or Afghanistan can be very long, expensive, and difficult. Interviewee number 5 had similar experiences during his journey from Syria to Austria. The man mentioned:

> I fled to Austria. On my way to Austria, I stayed in different countries along the way, such as Hungary. In every country, I stayed only shortly, especially in the Arabic countries. I'm not in contact anymore with any of the people who I met on my journey. I then stayed in Hungary for two months, where I heard a lot about Austria. The migration was expensive and difficult, and it lasted for a long time. I did not stay in any other European countries other than Hungary. I did not have any contacts here in Austria, I only heard about it (Respondent 5, Brunnenmarkt, 05.06.2018).

Furthermore, a woman from Georgia talked about her migration to Austria which happened over 40 years ago. She indicated that it was challenging, as her family was denied access to most countries. The family stayed in Israel for a few years before moving to Vienna. The respondent stated: "We also stayed in Israel on our way to Austria. It was very difficult to

come here because we were denied access to many countries. We were barely accepted anywhere. We then stayed in Israel for a while. The journey was expensive as well and we did not have any contacts" (Respondent 4, Brunnenmarkt, 05.06.2018).

Moreover, respondent number 6 implied the difficulties of receiving asylum in Europe. On his way to the European Union, he went through countries such as Turkey and Greece. He then arrived in Austria where his fingerprints were taken. As a result, he was unable to move to further countries within the EU, even though he would have preferred to live in Germany or Italy. The young man's right to stay in Austria was however denied. Hence, he moved back and forth between Vienna and London. Luckily, he was then able to remain in Austria. He stated:

> The journey was difficult and expensive. I did it all by myself. I also went through Turkey and Greece, but only briefly. Then, I came to Austria. I did not even want to stay here, as I wanted to move on further to Germany or Italy. However, they took my fingerprints when I arrived in Austria, and hence, I had to stay. Once they take your fingerprints in a country, you must stay. Unfortunately, that is how it is. I did not know anybody, as I had no contacts. I did not receive asylum in Austria, and hence, I went to London in 2013. I came back to Austria and tried it again, but I was unsuccessful. I returned to London and came back to Austria shortly after. Finally, I was guaranteed asylum in Erdberg (Respondent 6, Brunnenmarkt, 08.06.2018).

Many of the respondents implied the difficulties and the large expenses of their migration to Austria. Some also talked about their home countries, and which opinions they have about these places. It was, for instance, stated by one of the respondents that in Syria, people are unprotected, there are weapons, and war missiles are visible. Safety was commonly mentioned as an issue which led many respondents to leave their home countries. Wars and political inconsistencies triggered the interviewees to move across the world and provide a better future for themselves and for their families.

Only two respondents spoke positively about their home countries, such as Israel or Somalia. However, they prefer living in Austria, as there are still some problems in those countries. Clearly, moving to a different country in a time of crisis must be terrifying, especially when being alone, as many of the respondents stated. Arriving in a foreign country without any contacts, with lacking language skills, without a job, without a home, and potentially with little money added to the traumatic experience of some of the respondents' migration stories.

I would now like to provide an example of a similar study which investigated Indian immigrants in Lisbon, Portugal. The study was conducted by MCGARRIGLE and ASCENSAO (2018) and it showed that most migrants experience several challenges during their journeys.

An example provided in the study explained the migration process of one Punjabi immigrant to Lisbon. The man indicated that social networks and contacts were crucial during his migration process, as well as finding work and earning money. He crossed through several countries, and in some countries, he stayed for a short time to earn money and to plan the next step of his journey.

At the "Brunnenmarkt", however, many immigrants stated that they did not have any contacts and social networks during their migration process to Austria. Some implied that they had either friends or relatives who had already lived in Austria, nevertheless, most talked about the challenging experiences of migrating without any social connections. Presumably, the migration process would have been easier with the help of friends, family, or other contacts. Luckily, all respondents safely arrived in Austria and were able to start a new life, find work, and find housing. Finding work and housing can be difficult, though, and therefore, I would now like to turn to the initial difficulties the respondents were faced with after arriving in Austria.

6.2 Arrival in Austria: Initial Challenges of the Respondents

Arriving in a new country can be challenging. Especially for immigrants who have potentially experienced a difficult migration process. There are many difficulties which the respondents of this study have been confronted with, unfortunately.

First, it was difficult to find work and housing for many of the respondents. In order to find a home, it is necessary to have the financial resources. However, finding work is equally difficult. Hence, starting a new life can be very challenging. One of the respondents mentioned that he enjoys living in Austria, however, his arrival was challenging. Luckily, one of his friends supported him during his initial time in Vienna, and through contacts he was then able to find work at the "Brunnenmarkt". The man mentioned:

> Austria is a very good country. In the beginning, it was very difficult and expensive, and the arrival was challenging as well. I did know my boss here at the "Brunnenmarkt" before starting to work, and that is how I got the job. Before that I had a different job. It is also not easy to find housing; luckily, my friend offered to stay with him. I still live there. He helped me a lot in the beginning (Respondent 3, Brunnenmarkt, 05.06.2018).

Often, migrants are denied working opportunities, due to their asylum status. One respondent referred to this situation, and added that he would have liked to work, but was unable to. He

mentioned: „I did not have my documents for the first 1.5-2 years and I also did not obtain asylum. Hence, I was not allowed to work. I would have liked to work, but without the right to stay you cannot work" (Respondent 6, Brunnenmarkt, 08.06.2018).

Second, it can be difficult for immigrants to be accepted within their new community. One of the interviewees mentioned that many years ago, after arriving in Austria, most Austrian citizens were not welcoming towards foreign people. Consequently, life after the arrival was particularly challenging. Additionally, it was stated by the respondent that there was no financial support for immigrants, when she arrived over forty years ago. Therefore, she and her family had to work very hard. The woman stated:

> Arriving in Austria was very difficult because of the unacceptance of the Austrian citizens, who constituted most of the population back then. The Austrians did not accept us, and it was a difficult situation. There were fewer people from different countries back then and nobody supported us in the beginning. We had to do everything on our own and we had to work very hard, as there was no financial support (Respondent 4, Brunnenmarkt, 05.06.2018).

Third, starting a new life without the necessary language skills can be difficult. One of the interviewees mentioned that it was challenging to acquire the German language, and that his English skills helped him in the beginning. He now speaks German very well, and he emphasized his good grammatical knowledge. The respondent mentioned:

> I did not have anybody in the beginning. It was most challenging to find an apartment and to learn the language. Luckily, I spoke English, which helped me in the beginning. I had to start from the beginning with learning German, but now, my German skills are pretty good. My grammatical knowledge is good too (Respondent 5, Brunnenmarkt, 05.06.2018).

To sum up, there are many challenges for immigrants who arrive in a foreign country. In the case of my study's respondents, for some it was particularly difficult. It is not only challenging to find a home, but also to find work, and to be allowed to work. In addition, language skills are needed, and for some it might be hard to acquire a new language. Another aspect which contributes to the initial challenges of immigrants in Austria, is the attitude of the Austrian community towards them. Lastly, starting a new life in a different country without any contacts can be very difficult too. The interviewees of the study were confronted with these and further challenges, and many more migrants across the world face these problems daily.

The reason for implementing salespeople's migration stories and their personal challenges into this discussion part is to indicate the importance of each individual person who

contributes to the creation of translocality at the "Brunnenmarkt". Translocality should not only be perceived as the big picture of a certain locale, but the individual people, their stories, and memories which impact these locales should be taken into consideration as well. After having established the challenges of migrating to Austria and starting a new life abroad, I would now like to move on to some important aspects of translocality at the "Brunnenmarkt", which have been investigated during the empirical field work.

6.3 Visibility of Translocality at the "Brunnenmarkt"

As the aim of this study was to identify translocal patterns at the "Brunnenmarkt", the visibility of such plays an important role. The visibility of translocality was investigated through observation and photography. In this section, visualizations of the "Brunnenmarkt" are provided and discussed. Before applying photography to my qualitative research in the field, I observed the area, its people, and the variety of stores to get a better understanding of the "Brunnenmarkt" and in which ways translocality may exist. I was then able to visualize some potential translocal aspects of the "Brunnenmarkt" such as visual signs in foreign languages, names of stores which imply translocality, and a large variety of foreign products which are available for purchase. I collected information on the market's variety of stores, and hence, I was able to distinguish between translocal and non-translocal shops, as was stated in section 5.3. Some shops are arranged in certain ways and hence transmit translocality through the previously mentioned features. In this following section, I will discuss the visible elements of translocality at the "Brunnenmarkt" as well as the broad variety of stores that exist at the market.

First, some stores use either cultural or country-specific references to attract customers. In figure 5, it is visible that the market stall is named "Ankara Market". This name indicates a reference to Turkey, as Ankara is a city in Turkey. However, the products which are sold at this store might not be originally from Turkey, even though the name implies it. It is possible that the proprietor of this store wants to attract customers from Turkey, or they might be from Turkey themselves; it is also possible that some Turkish products are sold. Many stores at the "Brunnenmarkt" have similar names which indicate a foreign origin of the shop owners, or a multiculturality of products.

Figure 5: Ankara Market (Photograph by author)

Another example of the visibility of translocality through stores' names is illustrated in figure 6. The store is named "Serhad Kebap". Serhad is a Turkish name, and hence, a reference to Turkey is established. Nevertheless, the store owner mentions a variety of other products within the name, such as Schnitzel and Toast, for instance. The proprietor might want to attract a large variety of customers from different countries, in addition to Turkish customers. In general, for many salespeople at the "Brunnenmarkt" profit is vital. Clearly, they want to make money and as a result, most of them may want to attract as many customers as possible. Naming the store is an important practice and may influence potential customers.

Figure 6: Serhad Kebap (Photograph by author)

In addition, in figure 7, the name "African Meat Joint" immediately establishes a connection with Africa. Customers may assume that specific African meats are sold. It is likely that the meat, however, does not stem from Africa, as transport would last too long. Nevertheless, some very specific parts of meat might be sold, which are particularly used for African dishes, and hence, African customers might enjoy shopping at this store. During the observation process, I witnessed large numbers of African customers at this meat shop.

Figure 7: African Meat Joint (Photograph by author)

Furthermore, as previously mentioned, the selection of products can contribute to the visibility of translocality as well. Figure 8 displays a broad selection of products, such as spices, rice, and canned goods. Many salespeople sell similar products, and hence, competition may be an issue. Figure 8 depicts a selection of similar products, to the shop in figure 6. This shop's owner sells a broad variety of spices and other foreign goods. In the center of the image, a sign in foreign writing can be seen. Many signs of this kind exist at the "Brunnenmarkt" and imply multicultural references and translocality. The spices which are sold at the shop in figure 8 include some country specific products which establish translocality as well. Through the observation process, I found a spice specifically made for cooking Shawarma, a traditional Arabic dish. Such products are usually imported through large distributors which provide supplies for many stores at the "Brunnenmarkt", as many salespeople indicated.

Figure 8: Spice Shop (Photograph by author)

Moreover, there are not only translocal stores at the "Brunnenmarkt", but there are other stores which imply less translocality, or none, as well. Such as in figure 9, in which a vegetable stall can be seen. There are many stores at the market which look the same. There is a large number of shops which sell fruits and vegetables at cheap prices. Therefore, the "Brunnenmarkt" is a popular shopping location for migrants and non-migrants, as well. Furthermore, alongside fruit and vegetable shops, such as in figure 9, textiles or other goods can be purchased. Most shops of this kind look like the ones in figures 10 and 11. Usually, clothing and sunglasses are sold at very low prices and most shop owners are willing to negotiate such. Sometimes Austrian customers like to buy clothing at the "Brunnenmarkt", as I witnessed during the observation process. Many customers shop frequently at the market, and hence, the salespeople know them. In some stores, clothing and further goods must be stored in a different place overnight and set up again in the mornings. In figure 11, various goods are depicted. In most cases, similar stores sell small electronic devices, kitchen devices, cutlery, dishes, batteries, toys, or sunglasses. Some of these stores are allocated daily, and therefore, the selection can vary.

Figure 9: Vegetable Shop (Photograph by author)

Figure 10: Textile Shop (Photograph by author)

Figure 11: Various Goods (Photograph by author)

Even though there are many non-translocal stores at the "Brunnenmarkt", some are very much translocal. The photographs were used to visualize what the market looks like, which stores exist, and in which ways translocality is visible at the "Brunnenmarkt". Through analyzing the images, I claim that translocality is clearly visible at some of the market stalls through signs in foreign languages, products and foreign goods, and through the names of the stores. This visualization of a foreign identity on the one hand shows the multiculturality of the market's people, their interconnectedness, and their mobile identities, but on the other hand also refers to the salespeople's situatedness and their creation of new identities and lives far away from home.

In a similar study, various visual aspects of translocality have been detected in the Chinese neighborhood of Ashfield, Sydney by WISE (2011). This neighborhood has been discussed in section 3.4. as well, however, now I would like to draw attention to the visual signs of translocality in the area. First, in Ashfield, which is referred to as 'Little Shanghai', due to the Chinese predominance within the neighborhood, there are several stores which imply Chinese origins through signs. Shops are called 'Xin Sa', or 'New Shanghai', for instance. Both names imply a connection of the shop owners with China. Second, WISE (2011: 95) discussed the visual signs that are found in Ashfield. Several signs written in Chinese are visible, and therefore, translocality is produced and clearly visible. Furthermore, it was stated that in supermarkets, traditional Chinese goods are available for purchase such as noodles, or

77

Chinese tea (WISE 2011: 94-95). WISE (2011: 94) mentioned that "Chinese immigrant entrepreneurialism has brought a series of rapid and profound changes to the landscape" within Ashfield, and therefore, translocality impacts the urban space of Sydney, Australia.

Moreover, as previously mentioned in section 3.4, the Walworth Road in London is a prime example of a translocal street. The road was investigated by HALL and DATTA (2010), and the authors implied a series of visual translocal aspects. First, the shops received very significant names that imply translocality. Second, the selection of products evokes a sense of being abroad, and third, the usage of various languages on either shopfronts, or other signs attract a multitude of people, and hence, translocality is produced.

Compared with my study at the "Brunnenmarkt", similarities of this area with the neighborhood of Ashfield, as well as with the Walworth Road in London are clearly visible. All three areas show signs written in different languages which are aimed to attract a diverse clientele. Shop names are constructed to reach larger crowds and imply several translocal aspects. Additionally, a large variety of international products can be purchased at the "Brunnenmarkt", in Ashfield, and at the Walworth Road, as well. Therefore, the production of translocality is a commonly observed phenomenon in many large cities across the world, and in the following section, I would like to focus on the production of translocality at the "Brunnenmarkt".

6.4 Production of Translocality at the "Brunnenmarkt"

The previous section emphasized the existence of translocality in the area and I was therefore interested in which ways translocality may be produced. Potentially, translocality is produced through a multitude of languages spoken, through the multiculturality of the market's people, through the diversity of products that are sold, and through migrants' daily practices. Translocality is not only produced through visual signs, as was mentioned in section 6.3, it is also evoked through the people themselves. During the interviewing process, many questions were asked to twelve different salespeople at the "Brunnenmarkt", and the results will now be analyzed. Before discussing the interview results, I would like to briefly talk about the observation process in the field.

On most days, the "Brunnenmarkt" is rather crowded starting at ten or eleven in the morning. Around noon, most shop owners and salespeople are busy selling their goods and negotiating

prices. Less busy times at the "Brunnenmarkt" are between eight and ten in the morning and around two in the afternoon. Fridays and Saturdays are usually the most crowded days. People purchase products at the market due to the cheap prices and due to the large selection of goods. The customers come from many different countries. There are migrants, for instance, who come to buy country-specific products, and there are non-migrants who are interested in the large amount of exotic goods which are available for purchase. Many salespeople know their customers well, indicating frequent purchases of the latter. Migrant customers visit the market to buy products from their home countries to cook traditional foods, for example. Many people who shop at the "Brunnenmarkt" are interested in very specific products, indicating prior knowledge of the salespeople's product selection. Presumably, many people shop regularly at the "Brunnenmarkt" and for very specific products. This diversity of people and their reasons for visiting the market impact the production of translocality. Some further aspects will now be discussed.

First, translocality is produced through salespeople's product selection, as was indicated in the previous section. The respondents of the study were asked about their product selection. Many indicated to sell products from a variety of different countries across the globe. Respondent number 4 mentioned: "My products come from across the world. They come from the East and the South, but also from the West and the North" (Respondent 4, Brunnenmarkt, 05.06.2018). Others implied personal connections with the products' origins, as some salespeople sell products from their home countries. Respondent 5 mentioned: "I am selling Arabic, Serbian and Turkish products, but also delicacies from Syria, my country of origin. My products come from many different countries" (Respondent 5, Brunnenmarkt, 05.06.2018). Clearly, there is a broad selection of products at the "Brunnenmarkt" and people can purchase goods from many different countries. These products produce translocality and a feeling of being abroad.

Furthermore, another respondent stated that he opened the store at the market to sell products for his friends. His friends, coming from many different places, used to look for their traditional products from either Syria or Turkey, for example, and were unable to find them. Hence, the man from Somalia decided to open a store at the "Brunnenmarkt" and as a result, he offered his friends the opportunity to buy their country-specific products. He stated: "I opened this shop to give my friends the opportunity to buy their products from home, from Syria or Turkey, for example. My friends always tried to find these products, and therefore, I decided to do this" (Respondent 7, Brunnenmarkt, 08.06.2018). In addition, he mentioned that

he sells a large variety of products from many different countries such as Syria, Lebanon, Turkey, and Somalia. He implied that his customers come to purchase foods and other goods from their home countries; products which remind them of home. This is a very important aspect, as translocality is not only established through physical connections and material goods, but also through memories as was stated in section 3.4 concerning 'home' and 'place attachment'.

Moreover, respondent 9 indicated to sell country-specific bread from his home country Iraq. He mentioned: "I sell traditional bread from Iraq. It is baked in the oven with the coals underneath, and then wind is produced. The bread sticks to the walls of the oven. That is how it is made" (Respondent 9, Brunnenmarkt, 18.06.2018). Through applying such country-specific techniques at the "Brunnenmarkt", translocality is established as well. Another important aspect is that some shops sell specific Halal meat, which excludes pork, to their Muslim customers. Respondent number 6 stated that "the products are halal. This means no pork. This is for my Muslim customers "(Respondent 6, Brunnenmarkt, 08.06.2018). Through this process of offering and selling products to a specific group of people, translocality is produced as well.

Additionally, translocality is not only produced through the diversity of foods and further goods at the "Brunnenmarkt", but also through a multitude of languages spoken. Five of the respondents of the study spoke about their ability to speak many languages to properly communicate with all customers. One respondent mentioned: "I can speak Persian, like in Iran, and that is how I communicate with most of my customers. We have many common languages" (Respondent 6, Brunnenmarkt, 08.06.2018). Another respondent indicated to speak many languages as well. He added that "Arabic is very useful here" (Respondent 7, Brunnenmarkt, 08.06.2018). Additionally, he pointed out that he speaks Turkish and Arabic. He referred to how important it is to speak different languages at the market, and the more languages one speaks, the easier it is to communicate with different customers.

Clearly, languages and the ability to speak such are important aspects of the daily life at the "Brunnenmarkt". Many languages spoken and the resulting signs which are created in such languages contribute to the production of translocality as well as the visibility of translocality at the market. The multitude of languages spoken results in people's countries of origin. The respondents stated their countries of origin, as well as their customers' home countries. Many customers come from Turkey or from Arabic countries. One respondent mentioned that the people who work at the "Brunnenmarkt" come from Romania, India, Turkey, Bulgaria and

from Arabic countries. She implied the diversity of people who work at the "Brunnenmarkt". Most of the respondents stated that they sell their products to many different people from different countries. Some indicated that they specifically enjoy the multiculturality and the opportunity to speak with a diverse clientele. Respondent number 8 declared that "there are many cultures and languages, this is nice" (Respondent 8, Brunnenmarkt, 18.06.2018).

The previously stated aspects contribute to the production of translocality. First, a broad selection of products from many different countries supports the presence of translocality. Second, a multitude of languages spoken influences the perception of translocality and the feeling of being abroad in the area. Last, people's home countries impact their lifestyle in Vienna and their production of a mobile but situated identity. Hence, translocality is produced in many ways through people's daily practices of selling, negotiating, and communicating, and is therefore present at the "Brunnenmarkt".

I would now like to compare my investigation at the "Brunnenmarkt" to a similar study on translocality, in which the production of translocality in Lisbon, Portugal was investigated. The study was conducted by MCGARRIGLE and ASCENSAO (2018); during the study, the migration processes of Punjabi Sikh to Portugal have been observed and investigated. The Sikh are a religious group, and this religion was founded in the Indian region of Punjabi, hence the name. A special role in the study plays the Sikh Gurdwara in Lisbon, the "Sikh place of worship and community gathering" (MCGARRIGLE & ASCENSAO 2018: 810). It was stated by the authors that the Gurdwara is an important place concerning translocality, as many practices at the Gurdwara contribute to the production of translocality in Lisbon. First, local networks exist which support newly arrived Punjabi immigrants in Lisbon. Second, meals are provided for free through the practice of langar – an open kitchen practice which is rooted in the Sikh culture. Third, children are offered Punjabi classes, as well as cultural TV programs to learn about their roots and culture. Furthermore, Indian food is imported and sold at the location in Lisbon. Remittances also play an important role at the Gurdwara, as many community members either send them back home individually, or as a collective group as donations. Another interesting aspect which contributes to the production of translocality at the Lisbon Gurdwara is that important religious figures regularly visit. Moreover, Indian music is played at festivities. In general, the "Sikhs residing in Portugal feel less isolated by marking their place in the Sikh ethnoscape", a term which was previously discussed (MCGARRIGLE & ASCENSAO 2018: 820- 821; see APPADURAI 1990). An ethnoscape is a

certain area in a city that inhabits large numbers of people from a specific country or region with the same language and culture. It can also be referred as a neighborhood.

As a result, through all these practices, translocality is produced and evokes the sense of being in India, in the metropolitan area of Lisbon, Portugal. It becomes clear how effective such place-making strategies are, not only to provide a sense of belonging to the Sikh community, for example, but also to the urban space of Lisbon, which is affected by such practices. Additionally, MASSEY (1991: 28) implied the importance of places such as the Gurdwara as "places can be imagined as articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings". The Gurdwara offers a community to Indian immigrants in Portugal, cultural familiarity, traditional foods, as well as festivities, and therefore, has become a crucial social place for Punjabi immigrants.

In comparison with the empirical study at the "Brunnenmarkt", there are several interesting aspects on translocality which have been investigated in Vienna and in Lisbon. Both locations offer a broad range of translocal aspects which influence the urban space and make it more welcoming towards people from similar cultural groups. The production of translocality is influenced by different languages, traditional foods, people's multiculturality, country-specific music, and religious practices. Hence, the urban space in both cities is highly influenced and shaped.

6.5 Transnational and Translocal Connections at the "Brunnenmarkt"

Having discussed the results on the production of translocality in the area, let us now consider the translocal connections which exist at the "Brunnenmarkt". In general, translocal connections can reach from local-local to international connections. As there is a broad diversity of people who work at the "Brunnenmarkt", it is assumed that there are various ties with different places and people across the world. During the interviewing process, the respondents of the study were asked about networks with family members and friends in their home countries. Overall, eleven out of twelve interviewees implied a connection with their family members in their home countries, however, not all the respondents are still in contact with friends and family. In addition, the interviewees talked about the frequency and type of communication, as well as the reason for keeping in touch. Eight respondents spoke about their frequent communication with family via the internet or the telephone. Only three admitted to speaking rarely with their loved ones.

To begin with, through the process of migration, families are often separated and relocated in various locations. One interviewee stated that his family is spread across different countries. He himself grew up in Syria and he mentioned: "My mother lives in Syria, my brother studies here in Austria, and my father lives in Germany" (Respondent 5, Brunnenmarkt, 05.06.2018). In addition, the man mentioned that he often speaks with his family members. "I'm in contact with my parents daily", he stated. "We talk on the phone quite often, and even more on the weekend. I always ask them how they are feeling, and about the current situation in Syria with the war. My mother is fine. She talks about the war, but also about her own store in Syria" (Respondent 5, Brunnenmarkt, 05.6.2018). Most of the participants added that they talk about trivial things when they speak with their families. They ask about their day, their lives, and how they are feeling. Respondent number 9 stated: "My family lives in Iraq, Germany, Chicago, and Denmark. We communicate very often, and we ask each other how we are doing" (Respondent 9, Brunnenmarkt, 18.06.2018).

Furthermore, some migrants made during their process of migration. One respondent talked about his time in London before living in Austria and he mentioned: "I am not in contact anymore with the people who I met in England. Some time ago, we still talked, but now too much time has passed" (Respondent 8, Brunnenmarkt, 18.06.2018). Such local connections during the process of migrating can function as important social support systems and as networks. Such networks may also be created through socializing in local places in Austria. In addition to transnational connections, translocal ones are established, as was stated by respondent 9, from Iraq. He mentioned that he initially moved to Lower Austria after arriving in Austria. The man said: "In Lower Austria, everything was great. There are a lot of elderly people who do not work anymore, and who like to help. Many people supported me when I was there. I now live in Burgenland and it is the same. We all know each other and support each other" (Respondent 9, Brunnenmarkt, 18.06.2018). Clearly, translocal networks are highly important to improve immigrants' wellbeing and acceptance in their new surroundings and to offer support. Local contacts are therefore very valuable.

During the interviewing process it was interesting to find out how serious and tragic many of the respondents' stories about war and family separation were, but how bravely they spoke about those experiences. Many interviewees have families who still live in war zones, but only one clearly indicated to plan a family reunification. Interviewee number 3, for instance, mentioned that he would love to reunite with his family in Austria, however, "I am unable to reunite with my family now. As soon as I have more money, I would like to bring my family

to Austria as well. Austria is beautiful and a good place to be" (Respondent 3, Brunnenmarkt, 05.06.2018). Nevertheless, most of the interviewees do not plan on reuniting with their families, such as respondent number 11 from Afghanistan. He stated: "I do not want to bring my family to Austria. They are well in Afghanistan and I want them to stay there" (Respondent 11, Brunnenmarkt, 19.06.2018). There are differing opinions on family reunification and not all respondents are equally able to help, as has been established. However, not all families require help.

During this qualitative study, it became clear that not all immigrants come from poor families. Many come from families with their own businesses and regular incomes. Therefore, many families would rather stay in their home countries if possible, than to migrate to Austria and start over. It is understandable, as migrating on the one hand is a challenge itself, and on the other hand, there are further difficulties which migrants may face when entering Austria, for example. Some of such difficulties have been discussed in section 6.2.

Moreover, remittances are an important aspect of transnational and translocal connections. Remittances are often exchanged between family members in home countries and migrants living away from home. At the "Brunnenmarkt", some respondents talked about sending money to their families to support them. More specifically, two respondents regularly transfer money to their families. Two further respondents mentioned that they would like to help but cannot. Even though some interviewees stated that they are financially unable to help their families back at home, some can, such as interviewee number 7, who frequently supports his sister in Somalia. He mentioned: "I often transfer money to my sister in Somalia to help her. […] She needs my help" (Respondent 7, Brunnenmarkt, 08.06.2018). Interviewee number 5, however, admitted to not sending remittances to his mother due to her being financially stable in Syria. The man mentioned: "My mother is fine. She does not need money, as she works a lot in her own store. I do not send her any money" (Respondent 5, Brunnenmarkt, 05.06.2018).

As a result, it is evident that the respondents of the study come from different backgrounds. Some frequently speak with their loved ones, others do not. Some support their families, others are either unable to, or remittances are not required. In general, communication is less about money and support, and more about emotional and physical well-being, and day-to-day conversations. Through the communication with family members and friends in migrants' home countries, or in other places across the world, transnational and translocal connections at the "Brunnenmarkt" are established. Concerning the existence of networks between

salespeople and their families and friends in their countries of origin, most of the salespeople at the "Brunnenmarkt" have networks of support abroad. Nevertheless, none of the respondents implied the existence of strong networks which helped during the migration process. Only few interviewees indicated existing contacts during their migration. Interviewee number 10 stated that his uncle supported him: "I have been to Austria 2-3 times before I moved here. My uncle has lived in Austria for a long time and he always told me to come here" (Respondent 10, Brunnenmarkt, 18.06.2018). In two similar studies, translocal and transnational connections were investigated as well. These two studies aim to function as further examples.

The first example is concerned with translocal connections of migrants who migrate from rural to urban areas in Bangladesh. Most movements are those of internal migration, however, international migration plays an important role in Bangladesh as well. It was stated that 81 percent of moves were from rural to urban areas, 13 percent occurred internationally, and the remaining 6 percent consists of movements from rural to other rural areas. In the study by ETZOLD (2016) it was mentioned that most migrants move to urban areas to improve their education or for better job opportunities. In addition, agricultural migration exists as well. During the process of migration, family networks and translocal connections play an important role. Many migrants support their families in urban areas through remittances, and as a result, further people from their rural home towns migrate to urban areas to achieve similar results. Networks are created through such movements, and further people are then able to create more stable livelihoods (ETZOLD 2016: 172-180). Furthermore, migrants often commute to their rural home towns to maintain the relationships with their families. ETZOLD (2016: 180) stated that "translocality is then an everyday practice". The remittances are used to create livelihoods, to build homes, and to cover the daily expenses. Therefore, translocal connections play an important role in the daily life of migrants in Dhaka, Bangladesh, and they also influence life at the "Brunnenmarkt" in Vienna. Even though this example was concerned with internal migration in Bangladesh, it was useful to illustrate the existence and importance of translocal networks. The following example is concerned with international migrants who were the target group of my study.

Transnational connections are very common among international migrants, and social networks play an important role in their lives. A study by HEIKKINEN and LUMME-SANDT (2013) investigated transnational ties of older migrants. Nevertheless, the results are equally important as those of studies on young or middle-aged immigrants, as maintaining contact

with family members is important to most of them. The results of the study suggest that migrants maintain transnational connections on the one hand, to "keep away from longing" and from missing the home country, and on the other hand, "to belong to one kind of community" (HEIKKINEN & LUMME-SANDT 2013: 201). Presumably, it is challenging to leave the home and its people behind, and therefore, a sense of belonging to the former community is important to stabilize one's emotions and to pursue a new life abroad.

Concerning my qualitative study, it is important to immigrants at the "Brunnenmarkt" to keep in touch with their families, and to support them. On the one hand, some immigrants have translocal connections with either neighbors or friends in specific locales in Austria, and on the other hand, they maintain strong connections with their families in different countries. Both types of connections are important to live a successful life at the "Brunnenmarkt". The translocal connections and networks are crucial to find friends, to receive local support, and they also offer a positive outlook on the future, and the transnational ties contribute to the emotional well-being of the immigrants. Existing contacts may also be useful concerning immigrants' businesses, when importing certain goods, for instance. However, most migrants stated to receive their products through distributing companies. Having established the impact of translocal and transnational connections on the "Brunnenmarkt", I would now like to illustrate how strongly the salespeople of the "Brunnenmarkt" are connected with one another.

6.6 Translocal Networks in the "Brunnenmarkt" Neighborhood

During the interviewing process, I intended to detect the existence of translocal networks at the "Brunnenmarkt". I assume that the "Brunnenmarkt" area is a multicultural neighborhood due to the diversity of people and their interconnectedness and that translocal networks exist within the neighborhood. In addition, I assume that the immigrants who work at the market are strongly interconnected and support each other. The results of the study show that all respondents implied a strong interconnectedness with some of their colleagues. I will now discuss the results of this investigation. Afterwards, results of one similar study will be analyzed, and the studies will be compared.

As a starting point, I would like to refer to the existence of translocal networks at the "Brunnenmarkt". Respondent 1 of the study clarified that networks clearly exist at the "Brunnenmarkt": "Yes, networks definitely exist" (Respondent 1, Brunnenmarkt,

21.05.2018). He added that it depends on the shop's location and that generally, most shop owners are in contact with their shop's neighbors. The young man stated, "it is pointless to keep in touch with all salespeople at the market as we share no common interests concerning our work" (Respondent 1, Brunnenmarkt, 21.05.2018). Furthermore, interviewee number 2 mentioned that he keeps in touch with all his neighbors as well. The young man from Turkey implied connections with the stores closest to his, which are food vendors, a meat shop and a fruit and vegetable shop. He added that "the salespeople at the market support each other" (Respondent 2, Brunnenmarkt, 21.05.2018). In his opinion, it is important to help one another. The man mentioned that he has many friends at the "Brunnenmarkt" among his colleagues and customers.

Furthermore, respondent number 4 stated that she knows everybody. She is not just close with her shop's neighbors, but with all the salespeople at the market. She mentioned that she mainly keeps in touch with her neighbors, however, everyone knows her. She clarified: "I am the queen of the market or the mother" (Respondent 4, Brunnenmarkt, 05.06.2018). The woman added that she has known many of the salespeople for almost 40 years and that friendships exist, either between colleagues or with customers. Additionally, the woman emphasized the importance of such close connections and networks. She mentioned: "Whenever I need a glass of water, for example, I cannot simply call my family back at home. I must ask my colleagues here to help me. We support each other, and this is important" (Respondent 4, Brunnenmarkt, 05.06.2018).

Moreover, due to the multiculturality of the market, many respondents have made friends from different countries. Interviewee number 6 talked about his multicultural friends due to his work. He stated: "I have many friends in Austria and they come from many different countries. The colleagues and customers are my friends" (Respondent 6, Brunnenmarkt, 08.06.2018). The man added that his colleagues purchase his products as well, and that they support each other. He indicated the importance of a close connection with his neighbors, and with everyone else as well.

Lastly, the "Brunnenmarkt" is not only a place of support for its salespeople, it is also a location for newly arrived immigrants to find help. One of the respondents, a man from Somalia mentioned that he keeps in touch with the other salespeople at the market. Many of them, including his friends, purchase his products. His friends come from different countries such as Syria or Turkey. He added that the salespeople support each other and that he has

many friends among them. Additionally, the man supports his friends whenever needed. He mentioned:

> I offer them loans. […] I like helping people. Many come here because my products are cheaper, and a lot of people do not have enough money for food. […] Many come here for loans or they want me to give them contact information on how to find housing or work, for example. I have a lot of connections to different organizations which can help. I also read letters and translate because many people do not know the language. It is important to help one another as everything is so difficult (Respondent 7, Brunnenmarkt, 08.06.2018).

During the observation process and through partaking in daily life at the market, I got to know the "Brunnenmarkt" and its people, as well as the existing networks of the market. I was able to have some very insightful and interesting conversations with the people who shop and work there. In addition, I observed conversations of shop owners and their customers and I witnessed deliveries, for instance. The results of these observations are provided to show some further aspects of translocal networks in the area.

I would now like to provide an example of a translocal network at the "Brunnenmarkt" which facilitates access to social and financial support for a young woman from Somalia. It is possible that most of the market's customers live in surrounding areas, however, some of its customers visit the market from outside of Vienna, such as the Somalian woman. She lives in Lower Austria and comes to the market frequently. The young woman, approximately in her early twenties, has lived in Austria for about three years. She came to Austria because in her home country, there was war, political inconsistencies, and many other problems. She left her home to start a new life in Austria, but the beginning was very challenging for her. She particularly enjoys being at the "Brunnenmarkt" because she can talk to people from her home country, such as the shop owner from Somalia, or to other migrants living in Austria. She mentioned that she often comes to help her friend who works at the market, she talks to customers, and she introduced some of the products to me. This social network and the community at the "Brunnenmarkt" offer support. Furthermore, she talked about her school education which she is currently pursuing to have a better life and she might want to work at a supermarket or any other store if possible. The young woman speaks a lot of languages including English, and she is trying to learn German as well. She seemed very shy and quiet, but she opened quickly to tell her story. Another reason for coming to the "Brunnenmarkt" is her financial instability. She barely has enough money to buy food, and hence, she is dependent on her friends at the "Brunnenmarkt". She seemed very unhappy with her situation, however, she is determined to educate herself, find work, and live a better life. She knows that

she cannot return to Somalia and therefore, she wants to improve her living condition in Austria. Her story and her personal strength were very impressive, and her statements emphasize the importance of translocal networks at the "Brunnenmarkt".

Furthermore, I met immigrants from Syria who are included in a translocal network at the "Brunnenmarkt". The family was recently reunited through a family reunification process. The husband of the family came to Austria prior to reconnecting with his wife and child. He was finally able to bring them to Vienna not long ago. However, the family seemed unhappy in Austria. I assume that the cultural differences and language barriers must have been overwhelming for the young wife and their little son. The family regularly visits the "Brunnenmarkt" due to the availability of Syrian products which may ease the transition from home to host country. At the market, the family can communicate with other migrants, they can speak in their own language, they can buy their traditional products, and they are offered support from within the network of salespeople and customers at the "Brunnenmarkt".

Clearly, there are various strong connections and networks between the people of the "Brunnenmarkt", as the interview results and the examples have illustrated. Many of the salespeople support each other, they purchase one another's products, and they keep in touch. Especially among neighbors, the interconnectedness is strong. The networks expand across the borders of the market, as many people come and seek for help, which is offered by some salespeople. The interconnectedness and support between the people of the "Brunnenmarkt" contributes to the creation of a neighborhood. This neighborhood is hence popular among newly arrived immigrants who seek for help, familiar foods, and people from their home countries.

In addition, during the empirical field work, cognitive maps were created by the respondents to depict the existing networks of this neighborhood. The application of cognitive maps to this qualitative study was very challenging as was mentioned before, nevertheless, some cognitive maps provided valuable information. Three of those will now be analyzed. The maps were intended to provide information on salespeople's knowledge of the market, its multiculturality, and its interconnectedness.

In figure 12, the first map which was drawn by a one of the respondents is depicted. The respondent has worked at the "Brunnenmarkt" for a very long time. She indicated that she knows everybody at the market, and all salespeople know her as well. She is aware of the problems, but she thinks that overall, the support system and network between the salespeople is good. She implied her friendships through stating "I get along well with everybody" on the

map. The participant offered valuable information on the market's multiculturality. In the area close to her market stall, people from Romania, India, Turkey, and Bulgaria, as well as Arabs own shops. In figure 13, a similar indication of the different nationalities of the salespeople was given. The participant referred to Indian, Turkish and Arabic salespeople in his proximity.
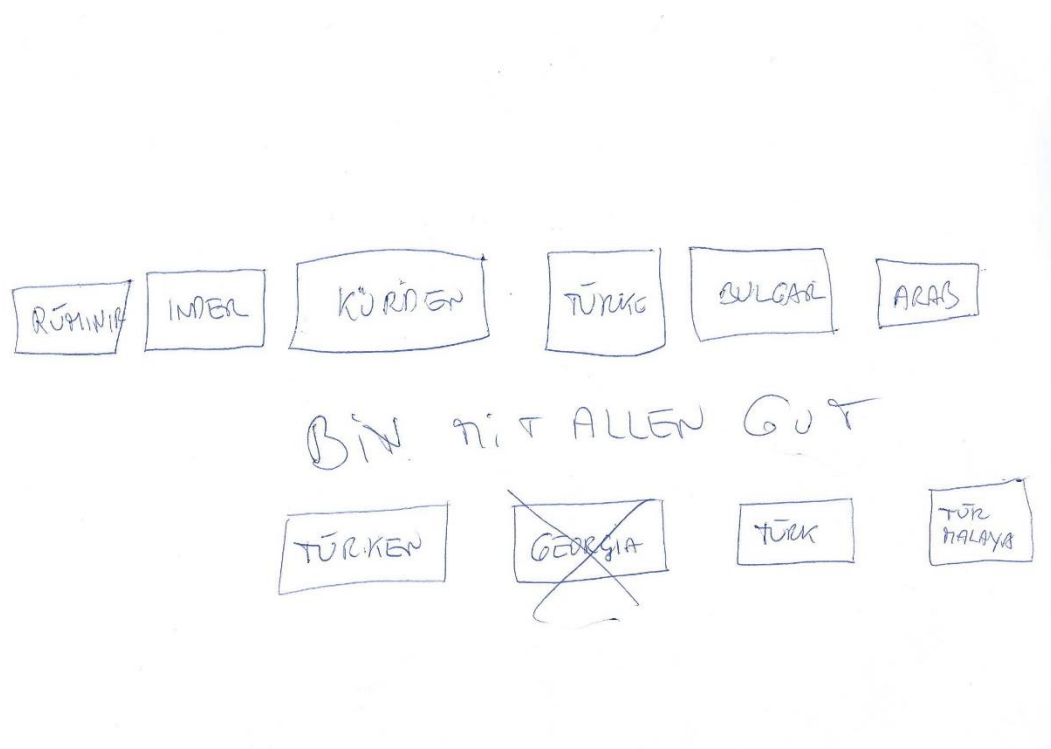

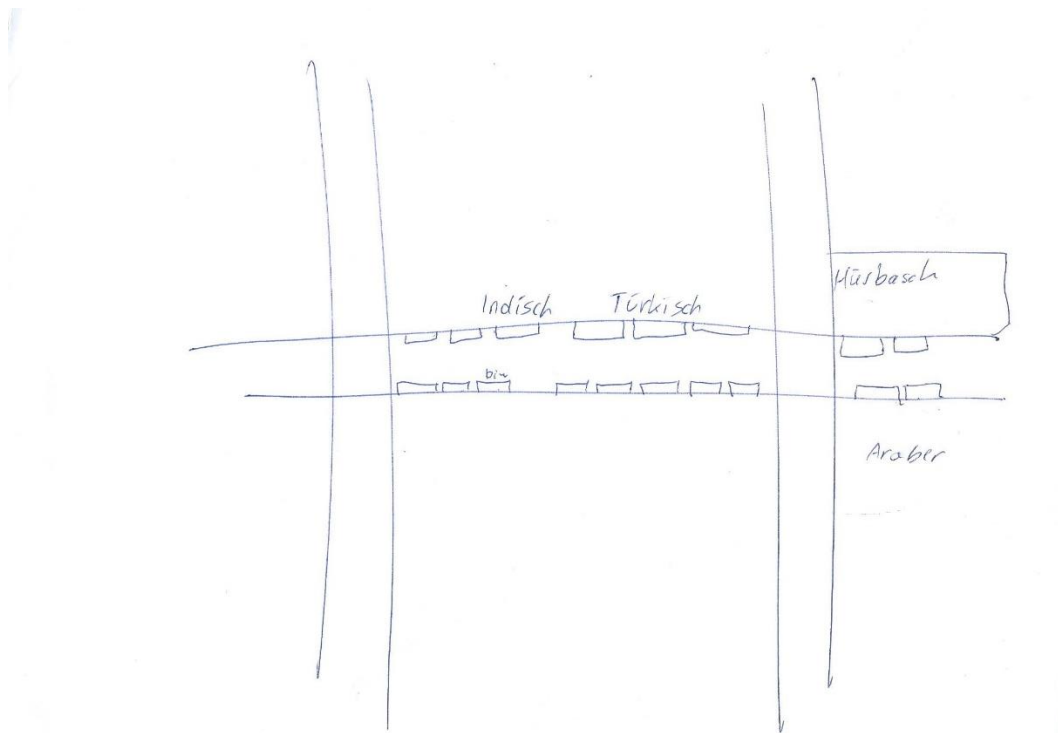*Figure 12: Map 1 (Respondent 4, Brunnenmarkt, 05.06.2018)*

Figure 13: Map 2 (Respondent 8, Brunnenmarkt, 18.06.2018)
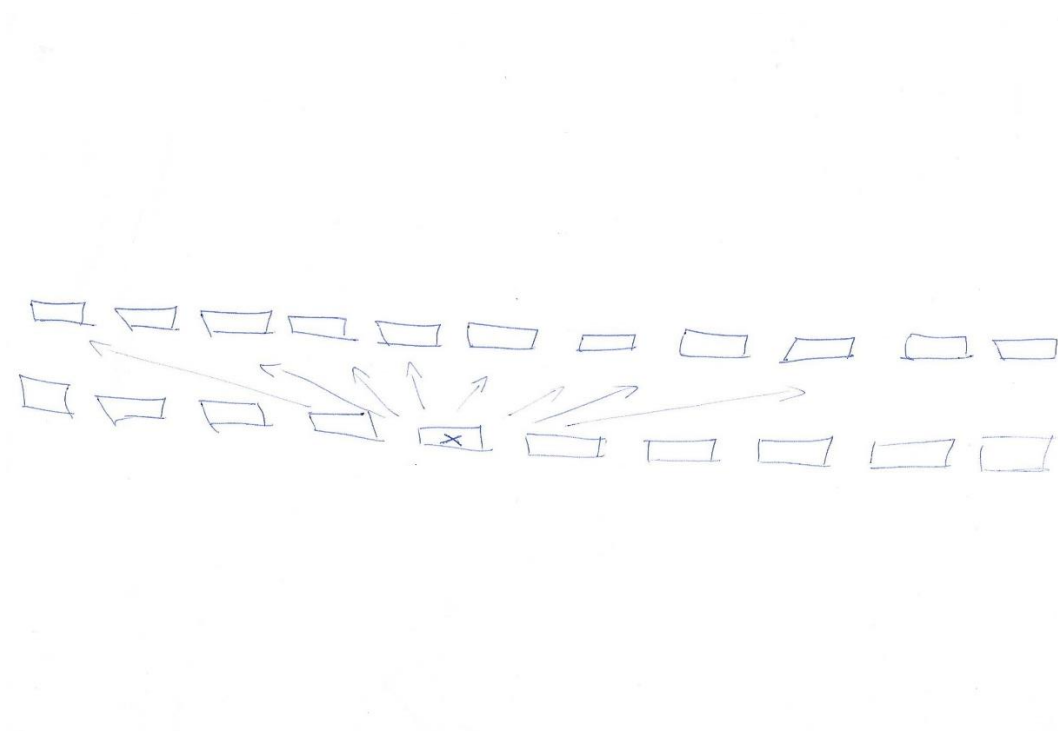

Figure 14: Map 3 (Respondent 12, Brunnenmarkt, 19.06.2018)

Overall, all respondents of the study mentioned that they were mainly in contact with their neighbors at the market, meaning the stores which are close to their own. These connections are illustrated in figure 14. The illustration shows the connection of the store's owner with

other stores. It is clearly visible, that most of his connections are with neighboring shop owners. The networks are hence small and not confined to certain nationalities. However, some shop owners stated that certain areas at the "Brunnenmarkt" are mainly owned by people from Turkey, others by Arabs, or by people from Afghanistan. The existence of networks is evident and was proven through the detailed results of the interviews and observations on the one hand, and through the illustrations of the market and its networks, on the other hand. Now I would like to draw attention to another study on translocal neighborhoods and networks, which I will then compare with my own study.

A study concerning Ethiopian immigrants in Washington, D.C., and the experienced translocality within the city was conducted by CHACKO (2011). The study is discussed to illustrate the importance of translocal networks and their effect on migration decisions and processes. The study on translocal communities in Washington by CHACKO (2011) included research which was conducted over the course of seven years. Community leaders of Ethiopian communities in D.C. were interviewed, and observations were made in the area. Additionally, the author interviewed Ethiopian entrepreneurs who returned to their home country. The aim of her research process was to investigate the Ethiopian community in Washington, D.C., and the development of individual identities.

Washington, D.C. is not a common city for immigrants to settle in, however, there is a large Ethiopian community consisting of 100,000 to 200,000 people. The reason for the increasing number of Ethiopians who move to the metropolitan area of Washington, D.C., is the interconnectedness of community members either within the United States of America, or with people who still reside in Ethiopia. It was stated by CHACKO (2011: 166) that "Ethiopians tended to gravitate towards cities with an established community of compatriots and many were drawn to the Washington area with its well-known Ethiopian community". Potentially, Ethiopian immigrants were attracted by the familiarity of the community within the city, as well as by the people of common origin. During the study, it became clear that "through letters, phone calls, as well as photographs, and narratives, representations of the city as well as information on its Ethiopian community and ethnic institutions were communicated to Ethiopia" (CHACKO 2011: 166). As a result, further Ethiopian immigrants were attracted by the city's ethnic community. Clearly, it is easier to start a new life with an existing social network and with the safety of familiarity which is provided within such neighborhoods.

An example of the study's results was provided by CHACKO (2011: 167). Michael, an immigrant from Ethiopia who lives in Washington, D.C. stated that he was drawn to the area to receive a better education than would have been provided in Ethiopia, and he was offered the opportunity to stay with his uncle. His transition from Ethiopia to the United States was eased due to the existence of Ethiopian neighborhoods. He quickly found friends and bonded with local people from within the Ethiopian community. Hence, translocal networks were crucial to facilitate Michael's opportunity to study in the United States. Networks of people, either of the same origin or not, are clearly important, and have been important in Michael's case. As a result, translocal networks are crucial during the migration process, and neighborhoods play an important role in the process of settling into a new area.

Another example which even more emphasizes the significant importance of neighborhoods during migration was provided in the study as well. CHACKO (2011: 167) stated that Yodit, an immigrant from Ethiopia moved to the Washington area to offer her children the opportunity to be around Ethiopian people. To the respondent of the study, it was important for her children to grow up with other Ethiopian people and to get to know their own culture better.

Clearly, networks and neighborhoods are crucial factors during migration, as they provide a sense of belonging and support to immigrants. As was discussed in section 3.4., the existence of translocal networks and neighborhoods is a significant aspect of the concept of translocality and is hence crucial to this study. The "Brunnenmarkt" area is a translocal neighborhood as well, and translocal networks have been detected. The results of my study suggest that there is a strong connection between the members of the community at the "Brunnenmarkt", as well with outstanding people who seek for help. Newly arrived immigrants are offered support in such neighborhoods and through the existing networks at the "Brunnenmarkt". Through the translocal networks, neighborhoods are created and the existence of such is then articulated and might impact migration decisions.

6.7 Respondents' Perceptions of the "Brunnenmarkt" and its Surrounding Area

Regarding salespeople's perceptions of the "Brunnenmarkt" and the 16th district, the results of the qualitative interviews will now be discussed and compared with my personal perception of the market. During the interviews, the twelve respondents of the study were asked about their perception of the market. Many responded with either very positive or very negative

comments on the "Brunnenmarkt". In this section, respondents' attitude towards work will be pointed out in addition to analyzing their perceptions of the market.

First off, many respondents spoke positively about the "Brunnenmarkt". During the interview with respondent number 3, it became clear that the man has a very positive attitude towards work and he stated that there are no problems or fights at the "Brunnenmarkt". He mentioned: "Working here is fun because you meet a lot of people who then purchase my products. It really is a good job and I like it a lot" (Respondent 3, Brunnenmarkt, 05.06.2018). Additionally, another respondent spoke very positively about his job at the "Brunnenmarkt". He stated: "I enjoy working here. It is a good job and it is a lot of fun. […] It is nice to be in contact with many people and I enjoy the multiculturality" (Respondent 8, Brunnenmarkt, 18.06.2018).

Nevertheless, not all respondents spoke positively about the "Brunnenmarkt". Most enjoy working at the market, however, there are some problems which were articulated during some of the interviews. Respondent number one, who is a student from Syria indicated that he works at the market to save money during his studies at university. Nevertheless, he enjoys his work at the "Brunnenmarkt", even though there might be problems sometimes. The shop owner spoke about the different cultures at the market and he mentioned that he particularly enjoys sharing his own culture with other people and introducing customers to new products. He mentioned: "We are happy when other cultures are interested in getting to know our culture" (Respondent 1, Brunnenmarkt, 21.05.2018). In addition, he likes to be in contact with people. However, he clearly stated that there are problems between the salespeople at the market due to the product's prices, for instance.

In addition to problematic price situations, there are further problems at the "Brunnenmarkt" which some respondents pointed out. Respondent 4, for example, spoke about many aspects of the "Brunnenmarkt". Initially, she mentioned that she does not like to work in general, however, she is happy about her job at the market. She stated that it is fun to work there, as it is always busy and hence, she can meet many people. She described her job as fun and adventurous, and she added that competition is important to develop. The woman is clearly aware of the strong competition between many similar shops, but she perceives it to be necessary. She mentioned that "competition is good" (Respondent 4, Brunnenmarkt, 05.06.2018). The interviewee also talked about her past experiences. She implied that working at the "Brunnenmarkt" used to be challenging, especially as a woman. She also mentioned that "there used to be many problems and fights between Kurds and Turks for

example, or between Georgians and Austrians" (Respondent 4, Brunnenmarkt, 05.06.2018). Nevertheless, the working situation has improved tremendously, which she enjoys.

Additionally, working at the "Brunnenmarkt" can be very time consuming and beggars often pose a problem. Respondent number 10 mentioned that he appreciates his work, however, it is very time consuming. Therefore, he would like to find a different job to be able to spend more time with his family and his newborn baby. He intends to support his family as much as possible, which is currently not manageable due to his job. The young father works six days per week, starting at 6am and finishing at around 8pm. The interviewee also talked about problems with beggars who cause trouble. He stated that "there are many beggars at the market who disturb the salespeople and customers and those beggars cause fights and problems" (Respondent 10, Brunnenmarkt, 18.06.2018).

Lastly, I observed some problematic situations which frequently occur at "Brunnenmarkt" and which were pointed out above. The reason for certain problems at the market often are Eastern European beggars from Romania and Bulgaria. There are a lot of conflicts due to young women, sometimes accompanied by children, begging for money. These people are very determined to earn some money; however, most customers and salespeople are unhappy with their presence. I witnessed one situation in which an Eastern European woman repeatedly asked some of the African women in front of a meat store to give her money. At some point the situation escalated and the African women yelled at the beggar to leave. They seemed to be very aggressive, and the young woman appeared to be very upset. However, she continued with begging. One proprietor told me about such conflicts and their regularity. He mentioned that he tries to help the beggars with food whenever he can, but he emphasized the problem they pose.

Overall, nine out of twelve respondents showed a very positive attitude towards work. Eleven out of the twelve respondents stated that they like to work at the "Brunnenmarkt". One interviewee does not enjoy working there, and another would like to find a different job. Nine out of twelve respondents stated that they enjoy the multiculturality of the market and its customers, as well as the communication with different people. Many salespeople like to share their own cultures, and they like the atmosphere of the market. However, some implied fights, competition, or further problems. As a result, the perception of the market differs among salespeople.

Moving on to my personal perception of the "Brunnenmarkt". I illustrated the variety of shops in figure 15. Figure 16 aims to explain the colors that were used. Personally, I perceive the

market as a buzzing and interesting place with many different people. Not all shops at the "Brunnenmarkt" immediately imply translocality, but many do.
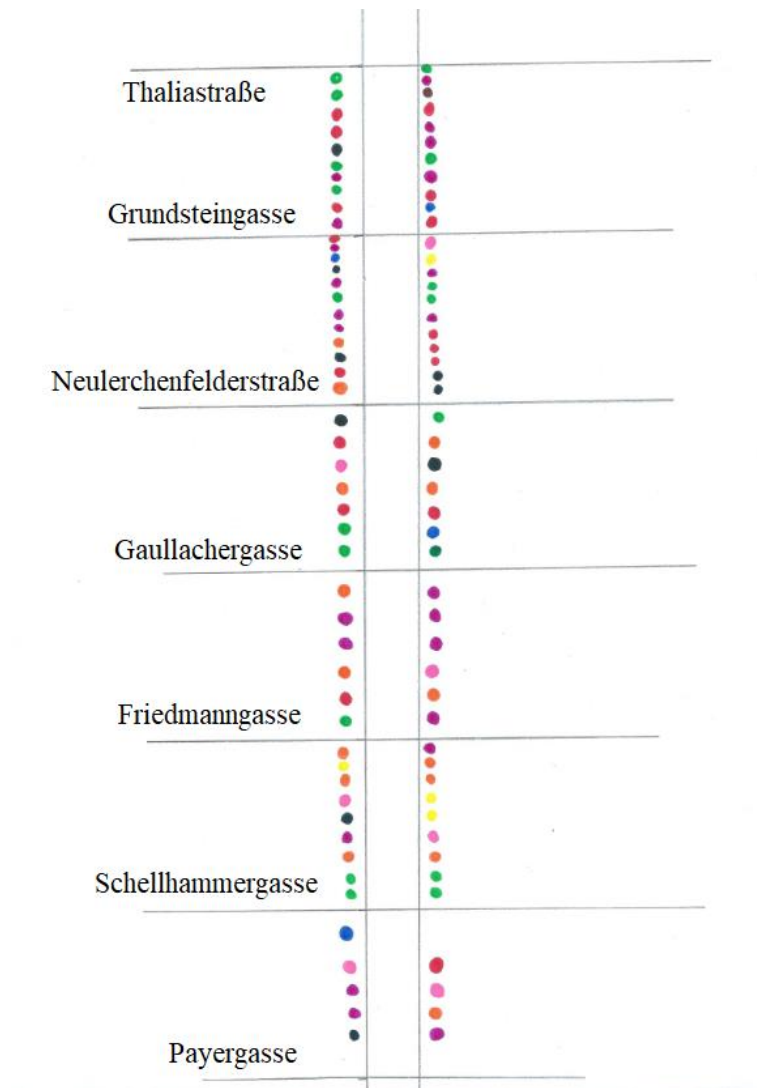

Figure 15: Variety of shops at the "Brunnenmarkt" (Illustration by author)

Clothing & Shoes
Plants
Food & Restaurants
Cheese
Fruits & Vegetables
Meat
Mixed Goods (Non Edible)
Fish
Purses & Bags
Mixed Goods (Edible)

Figure 16: Legend

Moreover, I would now like to discuss respondents' comments on their perception of the "Brunnenmarkt" neighborhood and the 16ᵗʰ district of Vienna. Five respondents stated to live in Ottakring, which is the 16ᵗʰ district of the city. Others, however, admitted to not enjoy the area, and hence, they do not live there. Some interviewees talked about the noise in the area and the large crowds of people, which are negative aspects in their opinion. The minority of the respondents mentioned that they would either like to live in the area. It is, however, viewed positively to live there by some respondents, concerning a less time-consuming commute to work.

As a result, the 16ᵗʰ district is mainly associated with noise and large crowds. Possibly, most respondents mainly know the area around the market, which is indeed crowded and noisy. Nevertheless, the 16ᵗʰ district is quite large and there are less crowded and quiet areas as well.

6.8 The Influence of Translocality on the Urban Space at the "Brunnenmarkt"

Lastly, I would like to draw attention to the main research question of this study:

How does translocality influence the urban space at the "Brunnenmarkt"?

The reason for answering this question in the end is that all results tie in and contribute to the influence of translocality on Vienna's urban space at the "Brunnenmarkt". Different people, their daily practices, visualizations of translocality, different languages, multiculturality, translocal connections, and experiences during migration affect the urban space at the "Brunnenmarkt". The area of the "Brunnenmarkt" is also impacted by an interrelatedness of locality and globality. Locality can be described as "a social space defined by direct face-to-face relations, by physical proximity and a form of everyday routine in the 'here and now'" (PELEIKIS 2010: 229). However, the author stated that "locality in the sense of physical proximity is no longer the only model based on which local community is conceived" (2010: 229). The global aspect has become increasingly important. The feeling of being abroad in the area is caused by a global perception of locality. Different localities from across the world become increasingly local on the one hand, but globally interconnected on the other hand. Therefore, locality is no longer to be perceived as primarily local, but as global as well. The urban space is influenced through the process of expressing migrants' global and multicultural identities, and through adapting to local situations. If only native Austrian people owned stores at the "Brunnenmarkt", it would look differently, and it would also be perceived

differently. The impact of translocality on the urban space which is created through the market's salespeople and their customers is therefore tremendous. Through the previously discussed results of this study, I hence claim that translocality exists at the "Brunnenmarkt" and it is visible as well.

The existence of translocality was detected through observation and photography, and the different aspects of translocality were then investigated through detailed narrative interviews as well as through further observations of the market's people and their practices. In general, the market is a buzzing and noisy place where a large variety of people can be found. People come either to shop, to explore, or to simply meet with their friends for conversations. The "Brunnenmarkt" is home to different nationalities and personalities, but a strong bond between certain salespeople, and their customers was clearly visible. The atmosphere is mostly friendly, and problems were seldomly articulated. Some people, especially immigrants who have recently migrated to Austria come to look for advice, and to find support in the translocal network of the "Brunnenmarkt", which then eases their process of settling in. It was nice to see that migrants support each other, provide contact information, and aid with resources. Prior to this qualitative study, I expected to find a strong competition between the salespeople, however, I witnessed support and friendships, as well as interconnectedness. These friendships and connections, as well as the previously mentioned daily practices at the market which produce translocality shape the urban space at the "Brunnenmarkt" and have transformed it into the interesting place that it is.

6.9 Summary of the Empirical Research

To sum up, the empirical research which was conducted at the "Brunnenmarkt" offered a large amount of results. The previous sections provided information on the respondents' migration stories, their initial challenges after arriving in Austria, the visibility of translocality at the "Brunnenmarkt", the production of such, the transnational and translocal connections between the respondents and their families and friends, translocal networks, salespeople's perceptions of the "Brunnenmarkt" and its surrounding area, and lastly, the influence of translocality on the urban space in general. These aspects were investigated in order to establish whether translocality exists at the "Brunnenmarkt" and in which ways it is produced and experienced.

First, the salespeople's migration stories from their countries of origin to Austria were discussed. I was interested in their experiences with migration, their migration routes, and potential contacts along the way. This information was needed to provide a better understanding of the respondents of the study, their lives, and their experiences which may impact the existence of translocality at the "Brunnenmarkt". The results show that the respondents' migration stories differ from each other, as some have made more challenging experiences with migration than others. The respondents have migrated to Austria between three and 47 years ago. Their stories refer to the costs of the migration journey, its length, and potential points of friction. Not all respondents have been equally mobile, and some have been confronted with immobility during their migration to Austria. The reasons for migrating have been different as well.

Furthermore, many immigrants faced difficulties after arriving in Austria. Some of the most commonly stated challenges include finding work, finding housing, obtaining asylum, acquiring German, and being accepted within a new community. Unfortunately, it can be difficult to find work without the necessary language skills, for instance. Affording an apartment is challenging without a job, and work can only be found with the right to remain within the country. Therefore, many immigrants find themselves in a cycle of problems. In situations like these, useful local contacts who support immigrants during their initial time in Austria are valuable.

Moreover, the visibility of translocality at the "Brunnenmarkt" has been discussed after establishing the existence of such in the area. The existence of translocality was detected through observing the "Brunnenmarkt" and it was visualized through applying photography as a research method. The results show that translocality indeed exists at the "Brunnenmarkt" and is visible through cultural or country-specific references to attract customers such as signs and names of stores, for example. Additionally, it is visible through a diverse product selection with goods from many different countries which can be used for country-specific dishes, for instance. However, not all stores at the "Brunnenmarkt" transmit translocality, such as vegetable shops and clothing shops. Hence, translocality exists, but not in all areas.

In addition, the production of translocality was investigated which leads to the visibility of translocality at the "Brunnenmarkt". Translocality is not only produced through signs but also through the people who work at the market, through their daily practices, their communication patterns, and their cooking techniques. One respondent, for example, explained how to prepare traditional bread from Iraq. Therefore, the daily practices of the salespeople at the

"Brunnenmarkt" contribute to the production of translocality. Furthermore, the multiculturality of people and their diverse countries of origin influence the production of translocality as well. The languages spoken impact such too. As a result, there is a broad variety of characteristics of the production of translocality which then leads to visualizations of translocal patterns in the area.

The next interesting aspect which was investigated during the empirical research are transnational and translocal connections. Meaning the connections between the respondents and their families in their counties of origin, or their ties with friends they have made along their migration routes. Local-to-local connections as well as international ties are both considered important. Due to migration, many families find themselves being separated. Many immigrants at the "Brunnenmarkt" hence regularly communicate with their families and friends. Such connections are essential to the respondents' wellbeing. Moreover, some respondents spoke about the family reunification process and remittances. Both are considered important concerning transnational connections. In addition to transnational connections, translocal connections include local-to-local connections which are of high importance to immigrants as well. During the study, many respondents mentioned friends they have made in different locales in Austria, for instance. Friendships and local contacts may then lead to the creation of translocal networks.

Such networks are created through communication, support, and strong connections. At the "Brunnenmarkt", translocal networks exist according to the respondents' answers. The salespeople at the market support each other, and they communicate frequently. Nevertheless, most respondents only indicated close connections with their stores' neighbors. The networks which are created through keeping in touch influence the production of certain neighborhoods. Neighborhoods can either be culturally diverse or country-specific. Through the support that can be received at the "Brunnenmarkt" and from within the network, many newly arrived immigrants choose to come to the market to find help. The neighborhood is therefore popular and attracts large amounts of immigrants. An additional example was provided concerning a neighborhood with a close existing network of Ethiopian immigrants in Washington, D.C.

The next aspects which were discussed during the interviewing process were the salespeople's perceptions of the "Brunnenmarkt" and its surrounding area. The market is mainly perceived positively according to the respondents. Most of them enjoy working at the "Brunnenmarkt", and they particularly like the diversity of people, languages, and cultures. They are happy to

share their cultures with other cultures, as well. Some negative aspects have been mentioned as well, namely the time-consuming work conditions, fights between people of different nationalities, prices and competition, and the beggars. Overall however, the attitude towards work at the "Brunnenmarkt" is mainly positive. Additionally, the area around the market, more specifically the 16th district of Vienna is perceived as a noisy and crowded place with only few positive aspects. Nevertheless, in my opinion, the market is diverse, interesting, and in many areas very much translocal.

Therefore, the influence of translocality on the urban space is clearly given. The "Brunnenmarkt" is on the one hand affected by locality, and on the other hand by globality. It is an essential locale within Vienna which is impacted by a large variety of places and as a result, translocality is exists.

7. Conclusion

In conclusion, I would now like to summarize the main points, results, and implications of this thesis. To begin with, immigration has been subject of discussion in Vienna for centuries, as was discussed in section 1.1, and nowadays, 182 different nationalities can be found within the city. Alongside native Austrian citizens, there are many people who immigrated from several different countries. Migration to Vienna has been common since the 16th century. Labor migration was the prime reason to migrate back then. In the 19th century, the Habsburg monarchy influenced the occurring mass migrations and the numbers of immigrants increased. After World War Two, Austria became an important transit country in Europe. Large numbers of immigrants decided to stay in Austria, many of them in Vienna, others however crossed Austrian borders on their way to further Western countries. In the late 20th century, labor migration became popular again, and hence, many immigrants from neighboring countries came to Austria to find work. With ongoing wars, the numbers of refugees increased and are still increasing nowadays. As a result, Austria, and especially Vienna has been confronted with large numbers of immigrants for centuries (BAUER 2008: 3-9). The population of the city therefore consists of many people with different origins and it is very likely that even the native Austrian citizens' ancestors have immigrated into Vienna at some point.

As immigration is important to Vienna's history, I focused my research on the "Brunnenmarkt" which is a popular street market in the 16th district of Vienna. The research area was thoroughly discussed in section 5.1. The 16th district is home to a large percentage of migrant citizens and different cultural and country-specific neighborhoods are located in the area as well. The "Brunnenmarkt" is an important location in the district, as many immigrants purchase groceries and other items at the market. Cheap prices, a large diversity of goods, foreign products, and exotic smells are characteristic to the "Brunnenmarkt". The customers who choose to shop there either seek for country-specific products or browse through the large diversity of goods. The market is not only popular among immigrants, but also among tourists and native Austrian citizens, as many goods are not available elsewhere. Shopping opportunities are one reason to visit the market, but many people come to the area to simply communicate, bond with fellow immigrants, and spend an extensive time at the "Brunnenmarkt". Therefore, it is a valuable location for cultural exchange and offers immigrants the opportunity to speak in their native languages, with people from their home countries, and it hence provides a sense of belonging for immigrants who may feel dislocated.

The "Brunnenmarkt", as it is nowadays has gone through times of change and development within the past decades. The history and development of the market were analyzed in section 5.1.1. The market was founded in 1786 and was erected around a fountain, hence the name "Brunnen" (German word for fountain). Throughout the centuries, the market has changed and became larger (LIPPITSCH 2009: 133-134). Nowadays, about 200 stores can be found and some of these are allocated daily. The stores consist of small market stalls and of shops located in buildings at Brunnengasse. The diversity of products at the market can be traced back to the proprietors' different countries of origin, as 79.5 percent of shop owners come from families with migration background or have migrated themselves (LIPPITSCH 2009: 133; DLABAJA 2016: 80-83).

Before the investigation at the "Brunnenmarkt" started, different theoretical concepts were discussed in section 3. The study focused on translocality and whether it exists at the "Brunnenmarkt". After establishing the existence of translocality, it was investigated how translocality is produced and how it is visible. Many theoretical concepts are necessary to understand the different aspects which contribute to the existence of translocality at the market. As a starting point, mobility and immobility were discussed. Mobility largely influences the people of the "Brunnenmarkt" and the market's diversity. Mobility during times of crisis impacted many of the salespeople and customers. Those who immigrated into

Vienna were mobile and hence had the ability to start a new life at some point. Immobility, however, also affects migrants either through detention or points of friction during migration. Through immobility, some migrants are unable to leave certain places for longer periods of time. Therefore, they may establish local contacts, and they may attach to such places (see CRESSWELL 2006; CRESSWELL 2010; MOUNTZ et al. 2012). As a result, transnational and translocal connections are created which impact life at the "Brunnenmarkt". Connections with either families and friends in immigrants' countries of origin or with people whom they have met along the route are crucial to the existence of translocality at the market. Translocality exists through the diversity of people, their different cultures, their languages, their connections with different places, and it is produced through the articulation and representation of mobile but situated identities (see BRICKELL & DATTA 2011). Furthermore, transnationalism is an important concept, as international migration was crucial to my study. Transnationalism focuses on connections which cross national borders, and such connections are very common at the "Brunnenmarkt" (see HANNERZ 1996). The concept very much relies on the notion of mobility and movement. In addition, grounded transnationalism is a development of transnationalism towards translocality to emphasize the importance of situatedness (see MITCHELL 1997). Concerning translocality, situatedness one the one hand, and mobility on the other hand are equally important. Moreover, the so-called translocal placemaking is one aspect which was crucial to understand before conducting the study at the "Brunnenmarkt". Translocal placemaking was thoroughly discussed in section 3.4. Many different characteristics and sub-concepts of translocality highly affect the market and transform it into a translocal place. First, it is important to understand that translocality commonly occurs in cities, such as Vienna, and hence, translocal cities are created through the existence of translocality. Second, when investigating translocal cities in more detail, and when emphasizing the locale, translocal streets, such as the Brunnengasse can be detected. Third, the notion of translocal neighborhoods has an impact on the "Brunnenmarkt", as the area around the market can be referred as such. Fourth, translocal networks influence the place as well through translocal connections which offer support and a sense of belonging. Fifth, the existence of translocal homes influences the area. In such homes, cultural and country-specific practices may be exercised, and therefore, place attachment is articulated. Last, the concept of habitus is crucial to the study as it is concerned with accepted social practices which might differ among different cultures (see BOURDIEU 2002). At the "Brunnenmarkt" social practices of many different cultures can be experienced, and hence, the habitus influences the translocal placemaking in the area.

During the investigation process of the research area, different research methods were applied to establish the existence of translocality and to detect its visible elements and how it is produced. The research methods were introduced and discussed in section 4. First, observations were used to better understand the area, its people, and the daily life at the "Brunnenmarkt". Direct observation, on the one hand, was used to investigate the large variety of existing shops, and to select the respondents, and participant observation, on the other hand, was used to participate in the daily practices at the market, to get to know the salespeople, their products, and their customers. Second, photography was applied as a research method to visualize the translocal elements of the "Brunnenmarkt". Third, the method of mapping was used in two different ways. On the one hand, cognitive maps were produced by the participants of the study to visualize networks at the market. On the other hand, a mobility map was produced according to the respondents' answers concerning the interconnectedness of the "Brunnenmarkt" with the world. Fourth, narrative interviews were applied to investigate the area in more detail. Twelve salespeople at the market were selected to participate in the study. The respondents answered narrative interview questions, as well as detailed follow-up questions concerning their migration, their life and work at the "Brunnenmarkt", their translocal connections, and their product selection. Afterwards, all results were evaluated and analyzed, as well prepared for the discussion part of this thesis.

Concerning the case study, which was discussed in section 5, I conducted empirical research at the "Brunnenmarkt" between April and June 2018. The conduction of research in the area was sometimes challenging, as was stated in section 5.6, however, the results are promising. The full discussion of all results is provided in section 6. A summary of the results can be found in section 6.9. First, the respondents' migration stories were discussed in section 6.1. Many of the respondents migrated to Austria due to wars and political problems in their home countries. Migration was described as challenging and expensive by most respondents. Only few of the respondents indicated an easy process of migration to Austria. Second, the initial challenges of the respondents after arriving in Austria were discussed in section 6.2. Both sections 6.1 and 6.2 were important to provide a better understanding what the respondents have been through before moving on to processes of translocal placemaking. Many of the respondents implied tremendous challenges after the arrival in Vienna. Third, the visibility of translocality was subject of discussion in section 6.3. Translocality is visible through cultural or country-specific references to attract customers. Additionally, a diverse production selection contributes to the visibility of translocality. However, not all stores at the "Brunnenmarkt" are translocal. Certain characteristics to divide the market stalls into

translocal and non-translocal stores were provided in section 5.3. Fourth, in section 6.4, the results on the production of translocality were provided. At the "Brunnenmarkt", translocality is produced through signs, as mentioned above, through the diversity of people, their ability to speak different languages, through cooking techniques, different products, and through country-specific recipes. Fifth, transnational and translocal connections were discussed in section 6.5. The respondents indicated a strong interconnectedness with family members and friends in their countries of origin, as well as with local people in Austria. Translocal connections often provide emotional support. In addition to frequent conversations with their loved ones, some respondents indicated to send remittances to their families to support them. Others referred to an interest in a family reunification process. Sixth, translocal networks were discussed in section 6.6. Translocal networks clearly exist at the "Brunnenmarkt", according to the respondents of the study. Many respondents stated that networks offer support, and many immigrants come to seek for help in the neighborhood. Seventh, salespeople's perceptions of the "Brunnenmarkt" and its surrounding area were discussed in section 6.7. The market is mainly perceived positively by the respondents; however, some problems were stated by them during the interviewing process. Lastly, I would like to address the influence of translocality on the urban space at the "Brunnenmarkt". The urban space in the area is highly impacted by locality and globality. On the one hand, local life and local connections are crucial to make a living and to be socially embedded, and on the other hand, global connections, and the influence of many different places are visible in the area. Hence, the "Brunnenmarkt" is a local place with a strong interconnectedness with many locations across the globe. Through such translocality is produced and the market is transformed into a translocal place.

The aim of thesis was to establish the "Brunnenmarkt" as a translocal place through proving the existence of translocality and through showing the visible elements of the latter. In addition, I intended to find answers to my research questions. I would now like to provide the answers to those:

How is translocality visible?

Translocality is visible at the "Brunnenmarkt" through cultural and country-specific references to attract customers, such as signs in different languages, or names of stores. Additionally, translocality is visible through the diversity of products. Country-specific products are often sold at the market, and hence, translocal connections to different places are visible.

Which shops can be found?

At the "Brunnenmarkt", translocal and non-translocal shops can be found. I created five characteristics which helped me select 40 translocal stores. Out of these 40 locations, I was able to interview 12 salespeople. The translocal elements of the stores are the existence of signs in different languages, flags of different countries visible at the shops. products with foreign names which come from different countries, traditional decorations, or country-specific decorations, and products that are specifically sold to certain customers, for example Halal products.

How do shops transmit translocality?

Shops transmit translocality at the "Brunnenmarkt" through the previously stated visible elements of translocality, as well as through the salespeople's daily practices of selling, negotiating, and communicating.

In which ways is translocality produced?

Translocality at the "Brunnenmarkt" is produced through people's diversity and their different countries of origin. The respondents of the study come from many different countries, namely from Afghanistan, Georgia, India, Iraq, Macedonia, Pakistan, Somalia, Syria, and Turkey. In addition to the salespeople's nationalities, many respondents stated the diversity of customers who purchase products at the market. The people come from Syria, Turkey, and Arabic countries, for example. Furthermore, translocality is produced through the application and usage of country-specific recipes and cooking techniques at the market. One respondent from Iraq explained how traditional bread from Iraq is baked. Through using such techniques and selling the bread, translocality is produced. The people at the "Brunnenmarkt" speak a large variety of languages such as Persian, Arabic, or Turkish, for example. German is seldomly heard at the market, and therefore, translocality is produced as well.

How do salespeople's practices at the "Brunnenmarkt" impact the production of translocality?

Salespeople have a tremendous influence on the production of translocality at the "Brunnenmarkt". Many provide products form their countries of origin, or they sell specific products to their friends from certain countries. Additionally, their practices of decorating and arranging shops produce translocality as well. Another aspect is the preparation of certain

foods which are traditional to different cultures and countries. The techniques of producing such impact the existence of translocality at the market too.

How is the area at the "Brunnenmarkt" influenced by translocal connections?

The urban space at the "Brunnenmarkt" is influenced through a variety of translocal connections. The connections of the salespeople to different places and people impact their product selection, the languages spoken, and the visualization of certain elements at the market. The urban space would look significantly different if the salespeople would not produce their translocal identities, or if all salespeople came from the same place.

Which networks do exist between salespeople at the market?

There are strong connections between the salespeople at the market, which was investigated during the interviewing process. Most salespeople are in contact with their shops' neighbors, and hence, many small networks exist at the "Brunnenmarkt". In addition, the salespeople support each other, they communicate frequently, and they purchase each other's products.

Which networks do exist between the salespeople of the "Brunnenmarkt" and their families and friends in their places of origin?

As was mentioned above, many of the respondents of the study are strongly interconnected with their families and friends in different places. These networks offer emotional and financial support, and often lead to the reunification of families, for example. Many respondents indicated frequent communication with their families, and some of the respondents sometimes travel to their countries of origin. This may also impact their lives in Vienna, their lifestyles, and their work at the "Brunnenmarkt".

How do salespeople perceive the "Brunnenmarkt"?

The "Brunnenmarkt" is mainly perceived as a positive place with people from many different countries who speak a variety of languages. Working at the market was described as fun and adventurous by the respondents of the study. The market is perceived as a multicultural place which offers the opportunity to share and exchange cultural practices. Many respondents acquire new languages to able to communicate with more customers. The "Brunnenmarkt" is also perceived as noisy and crowded, but most respondents enjoy working in the area.

To sum up, the history of migration in Vienna has contributed to the diversity of people at the "Brunnenmarkt" in Vienna. Their diversity highly impacts the existence, visibility, and production of translocality. During the empirical research of this thesis, the research aim was

reached, and the research questions were answered through analyzing and discussing the results. The "Brunnenmarkt" is a translocal place and its interconnectedness with the world impacts its perception. In the future, the area could be further investigated concerning translocality with an inclusion of more salespeople and their shops. The area around the market could be investigated as well. Clearly, there are many possibilities to expand a study like this, as migration is an important aspect of the city of Vienna.

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9. Appendix

Interviewleitfaden:

1. Zeichnen Sie bitte eine Karte des Brunnenmarkts. Zeichnen sie auch Ihr Geschäft, sowie die anderen Geschäfte.

2. Welches Geschäft ist Ihres?

3. Welche anderen Geschäfte gibt es? Woher kommen die Verkäufer?

4. Mit welchen Geschäften haben Sie Kontakt? Wie sieht dieser Kontakt aus? Ist das eine Freundschaft?

5. Bitte erzählen Sie über Ihre Arbeit am Brunnenmarkt. Wie lange arbeiten Sie schon hier? Wie sind Sie dazugekommen? Durch Kontakte? Gefällt Ihnen die Arbeit? Gibt es auch manchmal Probleme oder Streit?

6. Aus welchem Land kommen Sie? Wie lange leben Sie schon in Österreich? Bitte erzählen Sie mir über Ihre Migration nach Österreich! Haben Netzwerke und Kontakte eine große Rolle gespielt? War die Migration nach Österreich teuer? Gab es Zwischenstopps in anderen Ländern, wenn ja für wie lange?

7. Wie war die Ankunftszeit in Österreich? War es schwierig eine Wohnung oder Arbeit zu finden? Hatten Sie Kontakte in Österreich die dabei geholfen haben?

8. Leben Sie im 16. Bezirk? Was ist Ihre Meinung über den 16. Bezirk?

9. Bitte erzählen Sie mir über Ihre Produkte! Welche Produkte verkaufen Sie? Sind die Produkte typisch für Ihr Heimatland? Woher kommen die Produkte? Wer kauft die Produkte?

10. Haben Sie Freunde oder Familie im Heimatland oder im Ausland? Haben Sie Kontakt mit ihnen? Bitte erzählen Sie mir darüber? Haben Sie viel Kontakt? Wie sieht dieser Kontakt aus? Worum geht es dabei? Planen Sie eine Familienzusammenführung?

11. Schicken Sie auch Dinge oder Geld ins Heimatland, bzw. werden Dinge oder Geld aus dem Heimatland zu Ihnen geschickt?

Am 21.5. Dauer 20 Minuten

Zu Beginn: Karte zeichnen. Dann Interviewbeginn:

A: Gibt es irgendwelche Leute oder Verkäufer auf dem Markt mit denen du mehr Kontakt hast oder eher weniger?

B: Eigentlich mit allen aber es kommt drauf an wer.

A: Ok. Gibt das irgendwelche Freundschaften oder sogar Netzwerke oder so?

B: Ja es gibt auf jeden Fall Netzwerke.

A: Ok verstehe. Mit welchen Leuten hast du jetzt eher Kontakt? Eher mit den Ständen um deinen Stand herum oder mit allen?

B: Alle eigentlich. Aber es kommt drauf an. Ganz unten und ganz oben eher nicht. Weil das ist ziemlich weit von hier. Und das macht keinen Sinn mit denen Kontakt zu haben weil wir haben auch kein gemeinsames Interesse in Kontakt zu bleiben weil wir zu weit auseinander sind. Aber da in der Umgebung eigentlich schon.

A: Gibt es da auch einen Kampf sozusagen zwischen Ständen die die gleichen Produkte verkaufen?

B: Auf jeden Fall. Es ist sehr scheiße. Entschuldigung wenn ich das sage. Manchmal beschimpft man sich da schon. Depp oder Idiot. Manche sind einfach Deppen und Idioten auf einmal. Manche verkaufen einfach unter dem Einkaufspreis. Kommt drauf an was.

- Kellnerin kassiert im Café. Kurze Pause.

A: In Bezug auf die Karte die du gezeichnet hast. Was wäre da jetzt dein Geschäft?

B: Das ist eigentlich irgendwas. Das ist nur eine Map sozusagen. Leider habe ich da ein paar Informatikwörter eingebaut.

A: Das ist interessant wie du den Markt dargestellt hast. Gerade als Student, weil diese Begriffe verwenden wir auch an der Uni. Also wie der Raum praktisch dargestellt sein kann.

B: Ja genau.

A: Vielleicht kannst du einfach mal etwas über deine Arbeit am Brunnenmarkt erzählen. Gefällt's dir oder gefällt's dir nicht?

B: Oh ja schon. Handel ist ein sehr guter Bereich. Ich mache das gerne. Es macht zwar Kopfschmerzen manchmal, manchmal nicht, manchmal ja schon. Aber man hat Kontakt mit Leuten. Man sieht andere Kulturen sozusagen. Man streitet, man ist im Frieden. Man erzählt. Man zeigt den Leuten was es Neues gibt. Also zum Beispiel, wir importieren Ware aus dem Ausland. Vom arabischen Raum, sozusagen. Von Indien und so weiter. Orientalische Länder, daher kommt die Ware. Und es ist schön dass wenn einer von einer anderen Kultur reinkommt und fragt ja was ist das, wozu nimmt man das. Dies und das. Und das freut uns eigentlich. Und es ist immer so, eine Kultur ist immer stark, wenn es eine Mischung von anderen Kulturen ist sozusagen. Und es freut uns wenn andere Kulturen auch unsere Kultur kennenlernen wollen. Weil Essen ist ein Teilbereich von Kultur sozusagen. Und wenn jemand Interesse daran hat, weil er das kennenlernen will oder das ausprobieren will und so weiter, das macht schon was. Ehrlich gesagt. Wie gesagt ich bin Informatiker ich mach's nur wegen dem Geld. Um Geld zu haben damit ich meine eigene Informatik, Software Ingenieur haben kann.

A: Und wie kommst du dazu, dass du da am Brunnenmarkt arbeitest? Hast du da irgendwie Familie oder so?

B: Nein. Ich habe vorher in einem Restaurant gearbeitet. Deswegen. Und von einem Restaurant bin ich dann auf da aufgestiegen.

A: Ok, also durch Kontakte?

B: Nein, also. Dort habe ich Probleme gehabt, ich wollte zusperren. Aber dann sind ein paar Leute zu mir gekommen und meinten, nein du musst für uns arbeiten. Denen hat gefallen wie ich arbeite und meine Kenntnisse mit Businessmanagement und so weiter. Und ich habe gesagt, ja passt kein Problem, mach'ma was. Aber grundsätzlich musste ich darüber nachdenken.

A: Und das ist jetzt dein eigener Stand?

B: Ja da, da und da. Alles. Wir haben investiert und das wars.

A: Also du hast jetzt mehrere Stände?

B: Jaja.

A: Ah ok. Und er gegenüber von dir ist praktisch ein Mitarbeiter von dir?

B: Ja genau ich habe überall Mitarbeiter. Und da und da und da. Also überall.

A: Und du hast gesagt aus dem arabischen Raum kommen die Produkte? Woher kommst du wenn ich fragen darf?

B: Aus Syrien.

A: Wie lange bist du schon in Österreich?

B: Zehn Jahre.

A: Und verkaufst du dann praktisch Produkte die speziell jetzt aus Syrien sind?

B: Früher schon, aber jetzt nicht mehr aber ich arbeite jetzt mit einer österreichischen Firma und verkaufe jetzt auch Süßigkeiten. Mit einem österreichischen Café sozusagen. Ja weil im Handel musst du immer an eine neue Spannung denken. Wir suchen immer neue Spannungen sozusagen. Verkaufsziele meine ich. Zum Beispiel ein Araber hat so, ein Jugo hat so. Kommt drauf an. Und man will alle haben. Deswegen arbeiten wir mit allem. Wenn man das so sagen kann. Bei uns ist das kein Problem aber wir müssen wissen womit wir eigentlich arbeiten.

A: Und die Produkte, werden die dann eher von Leuten aus dem arabischen Raum gekauft? Oder unterschiedlich?

B: Alle. Das ist das gute am Brunnenmarkt. Wenn man hierhin kommt sieht man alles. Das ist gut am Brunnenmarkt. Nicht so sehr auf den anderen Märkten, aber hier ist das schon so. Aktiver und das hat dann Zukunft sozusagen.

A: Ok super. Du bist seit 10 Jahren jetzt da. Wie war das wie du hergekommen bist ganz am Anfang? War das schwierig? Warst du da noch in der Schule?

B: Ja also. Ich bin der Sohn von einem Diplomaten um ehrlich zu sein. Ich bin ohne Visum hergekommen.

A: Verstehe. Das ist auf jeden Fall super, also einfacher.

B: Ja das war schon so. Die ersten drei Jahre war ich mit meinen Eltern hier und dann bin ich alleine hiergeblieben. Seit 2011 bin ich alleine da.

A: Und deine Eltern?

B: Die sind in Syrien.

A: Hast du viel Kontakt mit ihnen?

B: Ja ca. jeden Tag. Weil jeden Tag gibt's Raketen und Kampf und so weiter. Aber ich gehe dort nicht mehr hin. Ich rede mit ihnen und frage sie wie es Ihnen geht. Ich schicke aber kein Geld nach Hause.

A: Warst du auch nicht mehr dort seitdem du hier bist?

B: Ich war 2014 einmal dort. Als ich dort war, es waren da nur Raketen. Man sieht Waffen auf der Straße. Es gab keine Sicherheit und man darf nicht nach 5 oder 6 Uhr am Abend rausgehen. Man kann schon aber da nimmst du praktisch dein Leben in die Hand und sagst ich riskier alles. Scheißegal. Und das, also zwei Monate und eine Woche das war genug für mich, dass ich nach Österreich zurückgekommen bin und ich habe da angefangen mit einer Psychotherapie eigentlich.

A: Ja das ist auf jeden Fall verständlich. Das kann man sich hier schwer vorstellen wie schlimm das wirklich ist. Wenn man das noch nie erlebt hat zum Glück, kann man sich das schwer vorstellen.

B: Ja wenn man so eine Rakete vor sich sieht oder dort an der Ecke und dort wird dann jemand getötet, oder 3-4 Menschen die in einem Auto verbrennen. Da sag ich dann ok, das ist viel zu viel.

A: Ja verstehe. Also bist du schon froh hier in Österreich zu sein?

B: Um ehrlich zu sein, ja.

A: Lebst du da in der Nähe vom Brunnenmarkt? Im 16.Bezirk?

B: Ja da!

A: Ach wirklich? Hat das irgendwie Gründe von der Arbeit her oder?

B: Nein, Zufall.

A: Wohnen viele Verkäufer vom Brunnenmarkt direkt hier am Brunnenmarkt?

B: Nein. Ich war ein Zufall.

A: Aber ist auf jeden Fall praktisch, da braucht man nicht so früh aufstehen.

B: Ja genau, ich stehe so 5-10 Minuten vorher auf. Das wars.

A: Wohnst du gerne in dieser Gegend?

B: Ich hätte ehrlich gesagt lieber im 8. gewohnt. Aber es war ein Zufall. Es war alles ein Zufall. Ich habe die Wohnung da gefunden, weil ich war in einer Situation, dass ich meine alte Wohnung verlassen sollte weil die Eigentümerin wollte das in einer Woche haben und ich sollte raus. Und ich habe schnell eine Wohnung gesucht und das war da. Und ich habe gleich eine da gefunden weil ich hatte eine Woche Frist. Ich habe dann gleich Kaution und Provision gezahlt und das wars. Das war ein Zufall.

A: Ok das ist gut. Es ist schwierig Wohnungen zu finden. Das ist echt praktisch.

B: Ja genau.

A: Kaufst du selbst auch am Brunnenmarkt ein?

B: Ja schon, wenn ich Zeit habe ja. Weil ich koche nicht zuhause.

A: Gehst du dann immer hier essen?

B: Ja schon, oder zu McDonalds. Ich bin hier jeden Tag um 19:00 fertig und dann muss ich um 19:30 ca. auf der Uni sein. Weil ich muss dann studieren bis 12 Uhr am Abend. Und so geht das jeden Tag.

A: Studierst du an der Hauptuni?

B: Nein, an der TU.

A: Vielleicht nochmal zu deiner Familie, hast du auch noch zu andern Leuten Kontakt in Syrien oder hast du auch in anderen Ländern Leute, mit denen du in Kontakt bist? Wie sieht dieser Kontakt auch aus? Weil du gesagt hast, dass du oft mit deinen Eltern redest?

B: Ja mit dem Telefon. Wir reden über alles Mögliche.

A: Hast du auch noch viele Freunde dort?

B: Die Hälfte davon sind schon gestorben. Das ist die Wahrheit. Weil manche waren bei verschiedenen Seiten, entweder bei der Regierung oder bei der anderen Seite oder wie es ist. Oder irgendeine Gruppe. Es gibt dort jetzt tausende Gruppen. Man kann das nicht unterscheiden aber. Ja ich habe nur noch einen Freund dort. Die meisten sind überall. Nicht die meisten eigentlich, 20% sind in Deutschland, oder in der Türkei oder im Libanon oder irgendwo anders. Und der Rest ist eigentlich gestorben.

A: Und als du hergekommen bist, bist du da direkt nach Österreich gekommen oder warst du auch in anderen Ländern? Erzähle über deine Migration nach Österreich.

B: Direkt nach Österreich. Durch meine Diplomatenstellung war das bei mir so. Das war 2008 vor dem Krieg und vor allem. Das ging direkt und war einfach durch meine besondere Stellung. Da waren auch keine Zwischenstopps. Ich weiß nicht wieviel das gekostet hat.

A: Wie alt warst du da?

B: 15

A: Ok verstehe. Gut, danke dass du mir das alles so beantwortet hast. Ich glaube ich habe alles, super. Danke!

Am 21.5.2018 Dauer 20 Minuten

Was kann man auf Ihrer Karte sehen? Wo ist Ihr Geschäft?

Das sind alle Geschäfte, zu denen ich Kontakt habe. Alle sind in der Umgebung, zum Beispiel Thomas von gegenüber (Würstelstand), Kebap dort, Fleisch dort, oder Obst und Gemüse da drüben. Ich habe Kontakt mit allen Verkäufern in der Nähe. Mit denen ganz oben oder ganz unten eher nicht. Aber die die um meinen Stand herum sind schon.

Man unterstützt sich da schon gegenseitig. Das ist zumindest meine Meinung. Unterstützung ist wichtig. Andere denken da vielleicht anders, aber wir helfen uns schon gegenseitig.

Erzählen Sie über Ihre Arbeit am Brunnenmarkt. Gefällt es Ihnen hier?

Ich arbeite seit 3 Jahren hier, jeden Tag, Montag bis Samstag von 6-19 Uhr. Das sind lange Tage es ist aber nicht anstrengend. Manchmal ist es stressig. Ich arbeite hier gerne und mir gefällt es gut. Es macht Spaß und ist eine gute Arbeit.

Haben Sie hier auch Kontakte oder Freunde am Brunnenmarkt?

Ich habe hier viele Freunde. Andere Verkäufer oder Kunden. Meine Freunde kommen aus ganz verschiedenen Ländern zum Beispiel aus Deutschland, der Türkei, oder Afghanistan. Es ist schön, dass man Leute von überall kennt.

Welche Produkte verkaufen Sie? Erzählen Sie über Ihre Produkte. Sind diese Produkte typisch für Ihr Heimatland?

Ich habe hier eine Fleischerei. Die Arbeit ist schön. Ich verkaufe Huhn. Ich bekomme die Produkte von Etsan (Händler) und von einem bosnischen Händler bekomme ich Kaffee. Wir haben türkische Produkte, die kommen aber nicht wirklich aus der Türkei, sondern vom Händler, oder das Fleisch kommt zum Beispiel aus Polen. Das könnte man nicht aus der Türkei holen. Das würde zu lange dauern. Die Produkte kommen aus vielen anderen Ländern. Alle Leute kaufen meine Produkte. Nicht nur die aus der Türkei. Die Kunden kommen von überall. Das ist schön. Man will auch viele Kunden haben, egal von woher.

Hin und wieder kann da schon mal Streit ausbrechen wegen den Preisen. Zum Beispiel mit Kunden, die die Produkte billiger wollen, aber die Preise gestiegen sind. Das kann schon passieren.

Wie lange leben Sie schon in Österreich? Woher kommen Sie?

Seit 16 Jahren. Ich komme aus der Türkei. Ich wohne in der Nähe vom Brunnenmarkt im 16. Ich würde aber lieber im 19. Wohnen. Dort ist es schöner. Aber hier ist es auch gut.

Wie war ihre Migration nach Österreich? Erzählen Sie über Ihre Migration und den Anfang in Österreich? Hatten Sie Kontakte oder waren Netzwerke da wichtig?

Ich bin von der Türkei nach Österreich gekommen. Da waren wir überall nur kurz in verschiedenen Ländern. Ich habe am Anfang niemanden gekannt. Es ist schon gut wenn man Leute kennt, weil es schon schwierig ist auch am Anfang mit der Wohnung und der Arbeit.

Haben Sie viel Kontakt mit Ihrer Familie oder mit Freunden? Wird da auch Geld nach Hause geschickt z.B.? Werden Sie ihre Familie nach Österreich nachholen?

Ich habe viel Kontakt mit meiner Familie in der Türkei. Wir sprechen jeden Tag. Über das Internet, Telefon, Facebook zum Beispiel. Ich fahre auch 2-mal im Jahr hin. Der Kontakt ist mir wichtig. Wir fragen einander wie es geht, ob es Probleme gibt oder ob der Tag läuft. Wir reden wirklich oft. Ich schicke ihnen aber kein Geld nach Hause. Ich werde meine Familie nicht nachholen, ich besuche sie gerne in der Türkei.

Interview 3

Am 5.6. 2018 Dauer 20 Minuten

Zeichnen Sie bitte eine Karte des Brunnenmarkts. Zeichnen sie auch Ihr Geschäft, sowie die anderen Geschäfte. Welches Geschäft ist Ihres? Welche anderen Geschäfte gibt es?

A: Mit welchen Geschäften haben Sie Kontakt?

B: Ich habe Kontakt mit den Nachbarn der Firma, aber nicht mit den Ständen die weit weg sind, nur mit den Nachbarn. Ich bin eher neu hier.

A: Wie ist die Beziehung zu den anderen Verkäufern? Gibt es Streit?

B: Es gibt eigentlich keinen Streit. Wenn man die Leute nicht kennt dann ist auch alles gut. Aber sonst ist eigentlich auch alles gut. Die Beziehung ist gut.

A: Erzählen Sie über Ihre Arbeit am Brunnenmarkt.

B: Zu meiner Arbeit gehört es dazu Kunden zu begrüßen, zu fragen was sie gerne hätten und dann meine Produkte zu verkaufen. Das mache ich jeden Tag. Im Sommer hat man mehr Arbeit, im Winter eher weniger. Auch die Kollegen verkaufen im Winter weniger, aber im Sommer ist es gut. Ich verkaufe meine Produkte an viele verschiedene Leute. In- und Ausländer, ganz verschieden. Zum Beispiel an türkische Leute oder arabische Leute. Das macht schon viel Spaß. Probleme oder Streit gibt es eigentlich nicht. Man hilft hier auch den Kollegen. Das ist keine Freundschaft, aber das sind Kollegen, das ist gut.

A: Gefällt Ihnen die Arbeit?

B: Ich mag die Arbeit am Brunnenmarkt sehr gerne. Das macht viel Spaß, weil man viele Leute kennenlernen kann und an diese Leute dann Produkte verkaufen kann. Es ist wirklich eine gute Arbeit. Ich mag es sehr. Der Kollege vom Stand gegenüber arbeitet hier auch gerne.

A: Wie lange arbeiten Sie schon am Brunnenmarkt?

B: Ich arbeite hier täglich von 7-18 Uhr, seit 2 Monaten. Ich bin neu hier.

A: Wie sind Sie zu dieser Arbeit gekommen? Durch Kontakte?

B: Ich arbeite für eine Firma, ich kannte den Chef vorher schon, der hat mir diese Arbeit organisiert.

A: Aus welchem Land kommen Sie?

126

B: Ich komme aus Pakistan.

A: Wie lange leben Sie schon in Österreich?

B: Ich bin seit 3 Jahren in Österreich und seit 2 Monaten am Brunnenmarkt. Ich bin sehr gerne in Österreich. Österreich ist sehr gut. Am Anfang war es sehr schwierig und auch teuer.

A: Erzählen Sie über Ihre Migration. Gab es Zwischenstopps? Haben Kontakte eine Rolle gespielt?

B: Nach Österreich zu kommen war sehr schwierig und teuer. Ich bin alleine hergekommen. Meine Familie ist noch in Pakistan. Das ist alles sehr schwierig und persönlich. Ich war in vielen Ländern, die am Weg nach Österreich lagen aber immer nur kurz. Ich weiß gar nicht mehr wo überall. Ich kenne dort auch keine Leute. Das war nur sehr, sehr kurz. Dann war ich in Österreich.

A: Wie war die Ankunft in Österreich? War es schwierig eine Wohnung oder Arbeit zu finden? Hatten Sie Kontakte in Österreich die dabei geholfen haben?

B: Mein Freund war schon hier. Die Ankunft war sehr schwierig. Ich habe den Chef gekannt und dadurch bin ich zur Arbeit am Brunnenmarkt gekommen. Vorher hatte ich eine andere Arbeit. Aber ja es war sehr schwierig. Es ist nicht einfach Wohnungen zu finden, aber ich konnte bei meinem Freund wohnen. Ich wohne immer noch dort. Dadurch bin ich hierhergekommen. Sonst kannte ich keinen. Jetzt kenne ich hier viele Leute und habe Freunde und Kollegen oder Bekannte. Mein Freund hat mir am Anfang sehr geholfen. Ohne ihn wäre es noch schwieriger gewesen.

A: Leben Sie im 16. Bezirk?

B: Nein ich lebe im 17. Bezirk. Dort ist es gut.

A: Wie finden Sie den 16.Bezirk?

B: Im 16. ist es sehr laut. Da sind so viele Leute. Mein Kollege von da drüben wohnt im 16. Er lebt hier nicht so gerne wegen der vielen Leute. Er wohnt aber nicht beim Brunnenmarkt, sondern dort hinten, aber es ist trotzdem viel los und sehr laut. Er mag es nicht.

A: Welche Produkte verkaufen Sie? Sind die Produkte typisch für Ihr Heimatland? Woher kommen die Produkte? Wer kauft die Produkte?

B: Ich verkaufe ganz verschiedene Produkte. Ich kann es dir zeigen, zum Beispiel habe ich Kaffee aus Serbien oder Bosnien. Ich habe auch Produkte aus Österreich. Ich kaufe die Produkte beim Händler. Die Produkte sind aber auch zum Beispiel türkische Produkte. Ich verkaufe nicht nur Produkte aus einem Land, das ist ganz egal. Ich verkaufe alles ganz verschieden. Ich habe keine Produkte aus Pakistan. Verschiedene Leute kaufen die Produkte, ganz egal woher die kommen. Auch Österreicher, oder auch Ausländer kaufen hier ein.

A: Haben Sie Freunde oder Familie im Heimatland oder im Ausland?

B: Ich habe Familie in Pakistan.

A: Haben Sie viel Kontakt? Worum geht es dabei?

B: Wir haben nicht viel Kontakt. Manchmal mit dem Telefon. Man redet dann über Probleme. Ich frage sie dann wie es dort ist, ob es Probleme gibt und wie es Ihnen geht. Aber wir reden nicht sehr oft leider. Manchmal telefonieren wir. Ich habe auch noch Bekannte in Pakistan, aber nicht wirklich Freunde. Wir haben eigentlich keinen Kontakt oder nur wenig.

A: Werden Sie Ihre Familie nach Österreich nachholen?

B: Nein, ich habe nicht die Möglichkeit dazu im Moment. Wenn ich mehr Geld habe, dann ja. Ich möchte, dass meine Familie auch hier ist. In Österreich ist es sehr schön und sehr gut.

A: Schicken Sie auch Dinge oder Geld ins Heimatland, bzw. werden Dinge oder Geld aus dem Heimatland zu Ihnen geschickt?

B: Ich möchte meine Familie unterstützen aber ich habe nicht viel Geld. Ich muss zuerst mehr arbeiten, dann kann ich meiner Familie Geld schicken oder sie hierherholen. Ich muss aber noch viel arbeiten. Meine Familie schickt auch nichts her.

Interview 4

Am 5.6.2018 Dauer 45 Minuten

A: Zeichnen Sie bitte eine Karte des Brunnenmarkts. Zeichnen sie auch Ihr Geschäft, sowie die anderen Geschäfte. Welches Geschäft ist Ihres? Welche anderen Geschäfte gibt es?

B: Da gibt es ganz viele verschiedene Geschäfte. Das hier ist meines, ich habe das eingekreist. Die anderen sind meine Freunde und Nachbarn hier. Da gibt es zum Beispiel Rumänen, Inder, Kurden, Türken, Bulgaren, Araber. Da sind viele verschiedene Leute.

A: Mit welchen Geschäften haben Sie Kontakt? Wie sieht dieser Kontakt aus? Ist das eine Freundschaft?

B: Alle die hier in der Umgebung sind mit denen habe ich Kontakt. Die anderen kennen mich auch alle. Ich bin hier wie die Königin oder die Mama. Auch die von ganz unten und ganz weit weg kennen mich. Ich bin schon so lange hier. Ca. 37 Jahre bin ich schon hier am Brunnenmarkt. Ich kannte die alle schon als sie ganz klein waren, jetzt sind sie fast 40 Jahre alt und arbeiten am Brunnenmarkt. Deswegen kennen mich eigentlich alle. Das ist schon lustig. Ich musste mir das alles hart erarbeiten, auch den Respekt. Kontakt habe ich eigentlich mit allen. Vor allem mit meinen Nachbarn hier. Die kenne ich alle schon sehr lange und sehr gut. Ich bin ja schon sehr lange hier am Brunnenmarkt. Das ist auf jeden Fall eine Freundschaft. Man hat da viele Freunde und Kollegen und auch Kunden, mit denen man befreundet ist, die immer wieder kommen. Oder auch der Hansi hier, der kommt oft und wir reden und lachen viel. Er trinkt dann immer etwas. Raki zum Beispiel. Also ja das sind viele Freundschaften, der Rest kennt mich auch. Ich schlichte da auch immer Streit, weil es mir wichtig ist, dass sich alle gut verstehen. Ich bin wie eine Mama. Wenn sich Kinder streiten muss man auch den Streit schlichten, das mache ich hier auch. Es gab hier auch schon viele Probleme, auch Streit zwischen Kurden und Türken zum Beispiel. Oder zwischen Georgiern und Österreichern. Aber ich gehe dann immer hin und sage „ihr müsst euch verstehen". Ich versuche den Streit zu beenden, weil alle müssen sich verstehen und gut miteinander sein sonst bringt das nichts. Von Streit hat niemand etwas.

A: Erzählen Sie über Ihre Arbeit am Brunnenmarkt. Gefällt Ihnen die Arbeit?

B: Also wer mag schon arbeiten. Arbeiten tue ich nicht gerne, das mag keiner. Aber hier am Brunnenmarkt bin ich gerne, das ist ganz gut. Weißt du, es macht Spaß und es ist immer was

los und es kommen viele Leute vorbei. Das ist lustig und abenteuerlich. Man hat immer etwas zu lachen. Konkurrenz gibt es auch, auf jeden Fall. Aber das gehört dazu. Man hat überall Konkurrenz egal was man macht. Aber ohne Konkurrenz kann man sich auch nicht weiterentwickeln. Deswegen ist Konkurrenz eigentlich auch gut. Wenn du bei einem Verkäufer ein Produkt um 1,20 siehst und bei einem um 1,50 wo kaufst du es dann? Vielleicht dort wo es billiger ist oder dort wo der Verkäufer netter ist. Das ist verschieden, aber wenn man nett ist, ist alles gut. Deswegen mag ich auch keinen Streit. Wie gesagt es gibt auch manchmal Streit, früher mehr, jetzt weniger. Aber man muss sich gegenseitig respektieren. Respekt ist wichtig. Zwischen allen Leuten aus verschiedenen Ländern und Österreichern aber auch zwischen Männern und Frauen. Früher war das ein ganz großes Problem. Da hatten viele türkische Männer ein Problem damit, dass Frauen arbeiten. Da gab es viel Streit oder Leute wurden verletzt. Da musste man sich viel Respekt aufbauen und hart arbeiten. Deswegen kennen mich hier auch alle. Früher war es wirklich hart. Jetzt ist es viel besser. Zum Glück gibt es jetzt Gesetze und es ist besser. Jetzt ist das geregelt und auch Frauen können hier gut arbeiten. Früher war das nicht so. Hier in der Nachbarschaft, das sind die Stände neben mir, da ist alles gut. Hier gibt es keinen Streit. Wenn man sich kennt dann gibt es keinen Streit dann hält man zusammen. Wenn ich ein Glas Wasser brauche kann ich nicht jemanden in der Heimat anrufen und danach fragen. Da frage ich den Kollegen und der hilft mir. Man unterstützt sich hier und das ist sehr wichtig. Am Brunnenmarkt kennen sich viele.

A: Wie lange arbeiten Sie schon am Brunnenmarkt? Wie sind Sie dazu gekommen?

B: Wie gesagt, ich arbeite seit 1980 am Brunnenmarkt. Da war ich noch sehr jung. Ich habe Arbeit gesucht und hier gefunden. Ohne Kontakte. Das ging einfach so. Früher hatte ich einen anderen Stand da ganz unten bei der Thaliastraße mit Textilien. Jetzt bin ich in Pension seit 8 Jahren und habe diesen Stand hier mit Gewürzen. Das läuft alles sehr gut. Ich muss das machen, weil meine Pension zu wenig ist. Ich bekomme nur 650 Euro, das reicht nicht. Deswegen muss ich arbeiten aber das ist in Ordnung. Ich mache zwar nicht 1 Million Umsatz aber das passt schon. Ich arbeite Montag bis Freitag, Samstag bin ich nicht da. Das mache ich nicht mehr, dafür bin ich schon zu alt. Ich fange um 9:00 oder 9:30 an und arbeite bis 18:00 oder 19:00 je nachdem. Früher war das anders. Da mussten wir schon um 6:00 oder 7:00 anfangen und arbeiten. Das war sehr anstrengend. Jetzt mache ich das nicht mehr, ich bin ja schon in Pension und muss nur noch etwas dazuverdienen.

A: Aus welchem Land kommen Sie?

B: Aus Georgien.

A: Wie lange leben Sie schon in Österreich?

B: Ich bin seit 1971 in Österreich, ich war damals 12 Jahre alt.

A: Erzählen Sie doch bitte etwas über Ihre Migration. Gab es Zwischenstopps? Hatten Sie Kontakte? Wie war die Migration für Sie?

B: Wir waren auch in Israel auf dem Weg nach Österreich. Es war sehr schwierig, weil man konnte nicht in jedes Land einreisen, die wollten uns auch nicht aufnehmen. Wir wurden fast nirgends akzeptiert. In Israel waren wir für einige Zeit. Der Weg war auch teuer. Ich habe jetzt immer noch Familie dort. Wir hatten keine Kontakte.

A: Wie war die Ankunft in Österreich? War es schwierig eine Wohnung oder Arbeit zu finden? Hatten Sie Kontakte in Österreich die dabei geholfen haben?

B: Die Ankunft in Österreich war schwierig, weil die Österreicher waren in der Übermacht, da wurde man nicht akzeptiert. Früher war das ganz schlimm, da waren nicht so viele Ausländer hier. Heute sind es doch viel mehr. Ich würde sagen 90% Ausländer und der Rest Österreicher oder? Also es ist jetzt wirklich anders und besser. Es müssen doch alle lernen zusammenzuleben, ganz egal woher die kommen. Das ist hier am Brunnenmarkt schön und gut so. Meine Nachbarn kommen von überall, meine Kunden auch. Das freut mich, deswegen macht das auch Spaß. Ich bin froh, dass sich viel geändert hat auch von den Gesetzen her. Jetzt ist alles besser. Früher war das nicht so. Ich finde auch die neue Regierung gut, die können das gut machen. Ich bin da sehr offen. Egal woher jemand kommt.

Wir kannten zu Beginn niemanden, da gab es keine Netzwerke. Das ist schon sehr lange her. Keiner hat am Anfang geholfen. Man musste alles selber machen und hart arbeiten. Da gab es keine Sozialleistungen. Wir sind putzen gegangen und haben viel gearbeitet. Das war gut so finde ich, weil dann weiß man wo das Essen herkommt, das man isst. Man muss dafür arbeiten nicht so wie heute wo es so viele Sozialleistungen gibt, das hatten wir nicht und ich bin auch froh darüber. Ich bin sozusagen im 2. Bezirk aufgewachsen seit ich 12 Jahre alt war, da sind wir hergekommen. Das war besonders schwer, weil dort im 2. waren damals viele alte Österreicher, die mochten keine Ausländer. Jetzt ist das schon besser. Ich habe jetzt 3 Heimaten. Einmal Israel, dann Georgien und auch Österreich. Alles ist Heimat und das ist schön.

A: Leben Sie im 16. Bezirk? Gefällt es Ihnen hier? Warum leben Sie hier?

B: Ja ich lebe im 16. Bezirk. Ich würde lieber im 2. wohnen aber dort ist es zu teuer. Früher wollte dort keiner wohnen da war das billig. Jetzt ist alles neu und alle wollen dort wohnen und man kann sich das nicht mehr leisten. Deshalb wohne ich jetzt im 16. Das ist zwar nicht so schön aber auch gut. Alle sind da, meine Familie, meine Kinder. Ich habe einen Sohn, der ist 18. und eine Tochter, die ist 16. Sie möchte auch Lehrerin werden wie Sie. Sie möchte Deutsch Lehrerin werden. Ich habe ihr gesagt, dass Lehrerin ein guter Beruf ist, weil man viel Zeit für die Familie hat und Freizeit hat. Sie soll das machen aber sie geht noch zur Schule im 2. Bezirk. Eine jüdische Schule, die sehr gut ist.

A: Welche Produkte verkaufen Sie? Sind die Produkte typisch für Ihr Heimatland? Woher kommen die Produkte? Wer kauft die Produkte?

B: Ich verkaufe Gewürze und Getränke zum Beispiel Tee. Der ist sehr gut, den kaufen die Leute gerne. Alle mögen den. Meine Produkte kommen aus der ganzen Welt, das ist bunt gemischt. Alle Leute kaufen meine Produkte. Das ist ganz verschieden. Österreicher kaufen hier auch gerne ein, denn jeder braucht Gewürze. Leute aus allen Ländern kommen her und kaufen ein, das ist ganz egal. Meine Produkte kommen viel aus dem Osten oder Süden, aber auch aus dem Westen und Norden. Bunt gemischt ist das und die Kunden auch. Ich verkaufe aber keine Produkte typisch für Georgien oder Israel. Die Produkte kommen von überall her, aber vom Händler auch.

A: Haben Sie Freunde oder Familie im Heimatland oder im Ausland? Haben Sie viel Kontakt? Wie sieht dieser Kontakt aus? Worum geht es dabei? Wird die Familie z.B. nachgeholt?

B: Meine Familie ist eigentlich hier in Österreich. Alle sind hier, da wird niemand nachgeholt. Aber ich habe auch Familie in Israel. Ich rede jeden Tag mit der Verwandtschaft in Israel. Das ist schon schwer und das tut sehr weh. Wir reden darüber wie es mit dem Frieden ist, wie es ihnen geht und wie die Lage ist. Es ist schlimm zu hören, das alles zerstört wird. Das verstehe ich nicht. Israel ist so schön. Die Gebäude sind so schön erhalten und die Leute kümmern sich darum. In arabischen Ländern ist das nicht so, da wird alles zerstört und die Leute lassen es verfallen. Das verstehe ich nicht. In Österreich ist das auch so schön. Deshalb gehe ich auch so gerne nach Schönbrunn zur Gloriette hinauf oder zum Ring und schaue mir die Gebäude an. In Israel ist das auch so schön. Die Araber legen da nicht viel Wert darauf. Aber wir kommen doch alle irgendwie von dort, man muss sich schon kümmern und die Gebäude erhalten und unsere Herkunft.

In Israel ist das besser. Da sind auch alle Willkommen. In vielen muslimischen Ländern ist das leider nicht so, was ich nicht verstehe, weil es doch ganz egal sein sollte woher man kommt und welche Religion man hat. In Israel können alle sein, da muss sich keiner anpassen so wie manche Leute, wenn sie in muslimische Länder gehen. So wie Politiker die dann ein Kopftuch tragen müssen zum Beispiel.

A: Fahren Sie noch manchmal in die Heimat?

B: Nach Georgien gehe ich nicht mehr, da war ich schon sehr lange nicht mehr, weil es dort so viele Konflikte gibt auch mit Russland. Deshalb sind wir auch weggegangen von dort. Ich bin ca. alle 2-3 Jahre wieder in Israel. Ich war zuletzt vor 2 Jahren und ich bin sehr gerne dort. Auch wenn dort Krieg ist fühle ich mich dort so wohl. Das ist auch wie die Heimat, da bin ich so ruhig und bin so gerne dort. Dort ist alles gut, auch wenn kein Friede ist. Ich habe zu meinem Sohn gesagt, dass er den Führerschein machen soll. Der ist jetzt 18. Er war anfangs skeptisch nach Israel zu gehen aber jetzt will er den Führerschein machen damit wir mit dem Auto hinfahren können. Jetzt freut er sich und ist ganz aufgeregt. Ich hoffe wir können im Frühling nächstes Jahr wieder hinfahren, das wäre schön. Meine Tochter ist gerade dort und sie sagt jeden Tag wie schön es ist. Wenn man nach Israel geht freuen sich alle, dort ist es so schön.

A: Schicken Sie auch Dinge oder Geld ins Heimatland, bzw. werden Dinge oder Geld aus dem Heimatland zu Ihnen geschickt?

B: Ich schicke nichts nach Hause und es wird hier auch nichts hergeschickt. Wir haben alle nicht so viel Geld. Aber wenn wir nach Israel fahren dann gibt es schon Geschenke oder wenn die Verwandten nach Österreich kommen. Ich spende aber sehr viel für Israel. Da gibt es so einen Spendenfonds für den Aufbau von Israel. Da spende ich immer, ansonsten schicke ich kein Geld dorthin.

Interview 5

Am 5.6.2018 Dauer 15 Minuten

Zeichnen Sie bitte eine Karte des Brunnenmarkts. Zeichnen sie auch Ihr Geschäft, sowie die anderen Geschäfte. Welches Geschäft ist Ihres? Welche anderen Geschäfte gibt es?

Das hier ist mein Geschäft. Da vorne wo die 2er fährt, da ist ein Freund von mir, beim Ankara Markt. Da vorne ist Omar aus Somalia, der ist auch ein Freund von mir. Der vom Ankara Markt ist aus der Türkei. Dann ist da auch noch der Dyramarkt, der ist auch ein Freund. Hürpas ist gegenüber, die sind Teil der Nachbarschaft. Da helfen alle zusammen.

Mit welchen Geschäften haben Sie Kontakt? Wie sieht dieser Kontakt aus? Ist das eine Freundschaft?

Ich habe mit den Geschäften in der Nachbarschaft Kontakt und bis da vorne bis zum Ankara Markt wo mein Freund arbeitet. Die anderen kenne ich nicht. Da gibt es schon viele Freundschaften, weil man sich ja auch unterstützt. Ich habe hier ganz viele Freunde.

Erzählen Sie über Ihre Arbeit am Brunnenmarkt. Gefällt Ihnen die Arbeit? Was ist gut? Was ist schlecht? Gibt es auch manchmal Probleme oder Streit? Wie lange arbeiten Sie schon hier? Wie sind Sie dazugekommen? Durch Kontakte?

Die Arbeit hier ist ein bisschen schwierig. Ich arbeite jeden Tag von 8-18 Uhr. Aber es ist schon gut. Es kommen viele Leute, man muss viel Reden. Das ist spannend. Da fragen viele Leute woher die Produkte kommen, und die sind dann auch sehr interessiert. Man kann ihnen dann erklären was es für Produkte gibt, woher diese kommen, was neu ist, und das macht auch Spaß und ist gut. Es ist aber auch schwierig und anstrengend, weil man hier sehr viel arbeiten muss. Das ist eine lange Zeit und es gibt sehr viele Kontrollen. Aber ich habe hier auch Mitarbeiter die gut sind und deswegen ist die Arbeit hier auch sehr gut.

Aus welchem Land kommen Sie? Wie lange leben Sie schon in Österreich? Wie sind Sie hierhergekommen (durch andere Länder, durch Kontakte)? Haben Netzwerke und Kontakte eine große Rolle gespielt? War die Migration nach Österreich teuer? Gab es Zwischenstopps?

Ich komme aus Syrien und bin nach Österreich geflüchtet. Ich bin jetzt seit 4 Jahren in Österreich. Wie Sie vielleicht wissen ist die Situation in Syrien sehr schwierig, weil dort Bürgerkrieg ist. Deswegen bin ich geflüchtet. In Syrien war Krieg und ich hatte dort 2 Geschäfte und ein Restaurant. Ich musste alles aufgeben und hier neu beginnen. Auf dem

Weg nach Österreich war ich auch in Ungarn und anderen Ländern auf dem Weg. Ich war überall nur sehr kurz, in den arabischen Ländern. Ich habe dort auch keine Kontakte mehr. Ich war 2 Monate in Ungarn und habe viel von Österreich gehört. Viele Leute haben gesagt, dass es hier besser ist mit Schule und Ausbildung und dass das leben hier besser ist. Deswegen wollte ich nach Österreich kommen. Mein Bruder wollte auch studieren. Die Migration war auch teuer und schwierig und sehr lange. Ich war in keinen anderen EU Ländern. Nur in Ungarn. Ich hatte hier aber keine Kontakte in Österreich ich habe nur davon gehört.

Wie war die Ankunft in Österreich? War es schwierig eine Wohnung oder Arbeit zu finden? Hatten Sie Kontakte in Österreich die dabei geholfen haben?

Ich hatte hier niemanden und es war am Anfang sehr schwierig. Vor allem eine Wohnung zu finden und die Sprache zu lernen. Ich konnte aber Englisch, das hat schon geholfen. Ich musste alles neu lernen und jetzt bin ich ganz gut, auch in der Grammatik. Ich wollte dann am Anfang hier auch auf die Berufsschule gehen. Dort kannte ich Leute und hatte Freunde. Deshalb wollte ich dann Installateur werden. Das hat mir aber nicht gefallen. Dann habe ich mich hier am Brunnenmarkt 2016 im Februar selbständig gemacht und habe hier 2 Geschäfte mit verschiedenen Produkten. Ich bin jetzt also seit 2 Jahren am Brunnenmarkt. Jetzt habe ich hier auch viele Freunde und Kontakte und meine Nachbarn hier. Mit denen verstehe ich mich hier sehr gut. Auch mit meinen Mitarbeitern.

Leben Sie im 16. Bezirk? Gefällt es Ihnen hier? Warum leben Sie hier?

Ich war vorher im 22. Bezirk das war sehr gut und besser als hier im 16. Ich bin dann aber in den 16. gezogen, weil es näher zu meiner Arbeit ist. Das ist praktischer und ich brauche hier nur 10 Minuten zu Fuß her. Ich wohne dort bei der Koppstraße. Es gefällt mir hier schon aber der 22. ist besser.

Welche Produkte verkaufen Sie? Sind die Produkte typisch für Ihr Heimatland? Woher kommen die Produkte? Wer kauft die Produkte?

Ich verkaufe arabische, serbische und türkische Produkte. Aber auch Spezialitäten aus meiner Heimat Syrien. Es kaufen ganz verschiedene Leute hier ein, das ist sehr interessant und macht viel Spaß. Die Produkte sind Gewürze oder Kaffee oder Eingelegtes zum Beispiel. Das kommt von verschiedenen Ländern.

Haben Sie Freunde oder Familie im Heimatland oder im Ausland? Wenn ja wo? Haben Sie viel Kontakt? Wie sieht dieser Kontakt aus? Worum geht es dabei? Wird die Familie z.B. nachgeholt?

Ich habe meine eigene Familie hier in Österreich. Meine Frau ist aus Russland und meine Tochter ist 3 Jahre alt. Sie hat einen syrischen Namen, der erinnert mich an meine Heimat. Uns geht es hier sehr gut. Meine Mutter lebt in Syrien, mein Bruder studiert hier in Österreich und mein Vater lebt in Deutschland. Wir sind überall verteilt. Ich habe jeden Tag Kontakt mit meinen Eltern. Auch mit dem Vater in Deutschland. Wir telefonieren sehr viel, aber sogar noch mehr am Wochenende. Ich frage dann auch immer wie es ihnen geht, wie die Lage in Syrien ist, wie es ist mit dem Krieg und wie es meiner Familie geht. Meiner Mutter geht es aber gut. Sie erzählt vom Krieg aber sie hat ein Geschäft in Syrien. Meine Familie werde ich nicht nachholen.

Schicken Sie auch Dinge oder Geld ins Heimatland, bzw. werden Dinge oder Geld aus dem Heimatland zu Ihnen geschickt?

Nein, weil es meiner Mutter in Syrien sehr gut geht. Sie braucht kein Geld, denn sie arbeitet viel in ihrem Geschäft. Deswegen schicke ich ihr auch kein Geld. Auch nicht an den Vater.

Interview 6

8.6.2018 Dauer 45 Minuten

1. Zeichnen Sie bitte eine Karte des Brunnenmarkts. Zeichnen sie auch Ihr Geschäft, sowie die anderen Geschäfte. 2. Welches Geschäft ist Ihres? 3. Welche anderen Geschäfte gibt es?

A: Mit welchen Geschäften haben Sie Kontakt? Wie sieht dieser Kontakt aus? Ist das eine Freundschaft?

B: Hier in Österreich habe ich viele Freunde aus vielen Ländern. Alle sind meine Freunde, die anderen Verkäufer, die Kunden. Da gibt es viel Unterstützung und man hilft sich. Andere Kollegen kaufen auch bei mir ein oder ich bei ihnen. Das ist sehr gut hier. Ich habe viel Kontakt mit den Nachbarn hier, aber auch mit vielen anderen. Eigentlich mit allen.

A: Erzählen Sie über Ihre Arbeit am Brunnenmarkt. Gefällt Ihnen die Arbeit? Gibt es auch manchmal Probleme oder Streit?

B: Mir gefällt die Arbeit am Brunnenmarkt. Es ist keine schwere Arbeit. Ich arbeite hier 5 Tage die Woche, jeden Tag von 7 Uhr bis 19 Uhr. Hier gibt es leider auch öfter Streit. Die Bettler machen viele Probleme. Die kommen dann aus Bulgarien oder Rumänien, die haben viele Taschen dabei, so wie diese eine Frau. Und sie betteln dann. Deswegen gibt es auch öfter Streit, weil die Leute die Bettler nicht wollen. Die Arbeit hier ist schon stressig. Vor allem samstags aber auch freitags. Normalerweise sind wir zu 2. aber heute wollte der Chef, dass nur ich da bin. Ich weiß auch nicht wieso. Es ist sehr viel zu tun und sehr stressig. Viele Kunden kommen und es ist heiß.

A: Wie lange arbeiten Sie schon hier? Wie sind Sie dazugekommen?

B: Das mache ich seit 2 Jahren. Ich habe diese Arbeit sehr plötzlich gefunden. Eine Frau kam zu mir her und hat mich gefragt ob ich Arbeit brauche. Ich kannte sie nicht. Dann hatte ich plötzlich Arbeit hier.

A: Aus welchem Land kommen Sie?

B: Ich komme aus Afghanistan.

A: Wie lange leben Sie schon in Österreich?

B: Im Juni 2012 bin ich nach Österreich gekommen.

137

A: Erzählen Sie über Ihre Migration? Wie war der Weg für Sie? Gab es Zwischenstopps? Hatten Sie Kontakte?

B: Der Weg war schwer und teuer. Ich habe das alles alleine gemacht. Ich war auch in der Türkei und in Griechenland, aber nur kurz. Dann war ich in Österreich. Ich wollte hier gar nicht bleiben, ich wollte lieber nach Deutschland oder Italien. Aber in Österreich haben sie meine Fingerabdrücke genommen, jetzt musste ich hierbleiben. Wenn man einmal seine Fingerabdrücke abgibt muss man in dem Land bleiben. So ist das leider. Ich kannte niemanden, hatte keine Kontakte.

A: Wie war die Ankunft in Österreich? War es schwierig eine Wohnung oder Arbeit zu finden? Hatten Sie Kontakte in Österreich die dabei geholfen haben?

B: Ich hatte die ersten 1,5-2 Jahre keine Papiere und habe auch kein Asyl bekommen. Deswegen konnte ich nicht arbeiten. Ich wollte gerne arbeiten aber ohne Asyl kann man nicht arbeiten. Ich bin froh, dass ich jetzt arbeiten kann. Aber in Wien ist alles teuer. Es war alles sehr schwierig am Anfang. Ich kannte keine Leute und eine Wohnung zu finden war auch sehr schwer. Arbeiten konnte ich da auch noch nicht. Dann bin ich nach London gegangen. Ich arbeite jetzt seit 5 Jahren als Fleischer. Das habe ich auch in London gemacht. 2013 war ich in London, dann habe ich es wieder versucht in Österreich. Ich habe wieder kein Asyl bekommen. Dann bin ich wieder nach London. Dann bin ich wieder nach Österreich. In Erdberg habe ich dann Asyl bekommen. Da war der Bescheid dann positiv. Ich habe dann 10 Tage lang einen Deutschkurs gemacht. Dort habe ich auch Leute kennengelernt. Jetzt kenne ich viele Leute. Auch durch den Brunnenmarkt und meine Arbeit hier. Leute aus Bosnien, Serbien oder Araber. Ich spreche viel mit ihnen und habe durch das Sprechen besser Deutsch gelernt. Ich spreche aber auch manchmal Englisch mit den Kunden. Viele Kunden haben Fragen und da muss man dann Sachen erklären und dadurch lernt man dann.

A: Leben Sie im 16. Bezirk?

B: Ich lebe im 10. Bezirk, leider. Dort ist es viel billiger. Ich würde lieber im 16. wohnen. Hier ist es besser und schöner. Aber teurer. Es gibt auch keine Wohnungen. Das ist leider alles sehr schwierig. Es wäre besser hier, weil es näher bei der Arbeit ist. Ich brauche sehr lange hier her. 40 Minuten dauert der Weg jeden Tag mit der Straßenbahn.

A: Welche Produkte verkaufen Sie? Sind die Produkte typisch für Ihr Heimatland? Woher kommen die Produkte? Wer kauft die Produkte?

B: Ich verkaufe Fleisch aus Holland oder Tirol. Die Produkte sind Halal, also kein Schweinefleisch. Das ist für die muslimischen Kunden. Das Fleisch ist nicht aus Afghanistan, das ist nicht typisch. Ich habe aber ganz verschiedene Kunden. Nicht alle sind muslimisch. Es kaufen aber eher wenige Österreicher ein, sonst ganz verschieden. Ich kann auch Persisch sprechen, so wie im Iran, so rede ich mit den meisten Kunden. Wir haben viele gemeinsame Sprachen. 3-4 Sprachen spricht man in Afghanistan. Oder ich rede Deutsch mit ihnen oder Englisch.

A: Haben Sie Freunde oder Familie im Heimatland oder im Ausland? Haben Sie viel Kontakt? Wie sieht dieser Kontakt aus? Worum geht es dabei? Wird die Familie z.B. nachgeholt?

B: In Afghanistan ist viel Krieg. Viele Leute sind schon gestorben. Wenn man auf der Straße geht kann man zusehen wie Leute erschossen werden. Das ist sehr schlimm. Ich möchte nicht mehr zurück, dort gibt es so viele Probleme. Ich habe ein paar Kollegen und meine Familie in Afghanistan, ich habe aber kaum Kontakt. Mit meiner Familie habe ich keinen Kontakt mehr. Früher noch ein bisschen. Jetzt gar nicht mehr. Ich weiß nicht wo meine Familie ist. Vielleicht sind sie in einer anderen Stadt. Vielleicht sind sie auch in der Heimatstadt.

A: Schicken Sie auch Dinge oder Geld ins Heimatland, bzw. werden Dinge oder Geld aus dem Heimatland zu Ihnen geschickt?

B: Nein, ich habe keinen Kontakt.

Interview 7

8.6.2018 Dauer 1 Stunde

Zeichnen Sie bitte eine Karte des Brunnenmarkts. Zeichnen sie auch Ihr Geschäft, sowie die anderen Geschäfte.

A: Welches Geschäft ist Ihres?

B: Ich habe ein Kreuz bei meinem gemacht.

A: Welche anderen Geschäfte gibt es?

B: Da gibt es viele andere Geschäfte. Viel Konkurrenz leider.

A: Mit welchen Geschäften haben Sie Kontakt? Wie sieht dieser Kontakt aus? Ist das eine Freundschaft?

B: Ich habe viel Kontakt mit den anderen Verkäufern. Viele kaufen Ware bei mir oder auch meine Freunde kommen. Das sind alle meine Freunde, aus Syrien zum Beispiel oder der Türkei. Sie kommen gerne zu mir. Wir Verkäufer sitzen alle in einem Boot, deswegen hilft man sich auch. Wir unterstützen uns. Ich kenne alle und bin mit allen gut. Das sind gute Freunde.

A: Erzählen Sie über Ihre Arbeit am Brunnenmarkt. Gefällt Ihnen die Arbeit? Gibt es auch manchmal Probleme oder Streit?

B: Ich habe dieses Geschäft seit 2 Jahren. Ich habe das Geschäft aufgemacht, weil viele meiner Freunde ihre Produkte von Zuhause kaufen wollten, aus Syrien oder der Türkei zum Beispiel. Die haben immer ihre Produkte gesucht, deswegen wollte ich das machen. Jetzt gibt es aber leider schon viel Konkurrenz. Vor 2 Jahren war das noch besser.

Diese Arbeit macht mir viel Freude, ich mag das sehr. Ich habe früher bei der Post gearbeitet, aber das hier ist besser. Es kommen viele Leute vorbei und viele Freunde. Man kann hier viel reden. Nächste Woche am Samstag gibt es auch ein großer Fest mit Foodmarket und wir haben dann lange offen, bis Mitternacht.

A: Aus welchem Land kommen Sie?

B: Ich komme aus Somalia.

A: Wie lange leben Sie schon in Österreich?

B: Ich bin seit 15 Jahren in Österreich.

A: Erzählen Sie doch etwas über Ihre Migration? Gab es Zwischenstopps oder sind Sie direkt nach Österreich gekommen? Hatten Sie Kontakte?

Die Ankunft war sehr schwierig, weil ich alleine war und niemanden kannte. Auch der Weg war sehr schwer und teuer. Ich war auch 3 Jahre lang in Russland. Dort habe ich andere Studenten aus Somalia kennengelernt. Ich habe aber keinen Kontakt mehr mit ihnen, weil die sind zurück nach Somalia gegangen. Ich bin dann nach Österreich gekommen.

Somalia ist ein sehr großes Land. Früher gab es dort viele Kolonien. Es gibt immer noch einen britischen Teil und einen italienischen. Diese Teile gehören zusammen. Ein Teil von Somalia ist wie Frankreich. Dort spricht man Französisch, das ist gar nicht wie in Somalia. Der Einfluss von Kenia und Äthiopien ist auch groß. Meine Freundin hier ist aus der Gegend nahe Äthiopien. Dort spricht man wieder anders. In Somalia gibt es viele Sprachen. Englisch, Französisch, Italienisch, Indisch und Arabisch. Ich kann auch viele Sprachen. Arabisch ist hier sehr praktisch.

A: Wie war die Ankunft in Österreich? War es schwierig eine Wohnung oder Arbeit zu finden? Hatten Sie Kontakte in Österreich die dabei geholfen haben?

B: Es war am Anfang sehr schwer wegen dem Asyl. Ich habe am Anfang kein Asyl bekommen. Durch meine Arbeit bei der Post habe ich dann ein Visum bekommen. Ich war lange bei der Post aber ich mochte diese Arbeit nicht gerne. Ich habe niemanden gekannt, deswegen helfe ich jetzt auch anderen. Die Integration in Österreich ist sehr schwierig. Eine Wohnung zu finden ist sehr schwierig, auch das mit der Arbeit. Wenn man niemanden kennt ist es noch schwieriger. Viele Österreicher wollen keine Ausländer. Das wird immer schlimmer. Die Politik ist auch daran Schuld. Wir bekommen auch kaum Geld. Manche Leute und Freunde von mir bekommen 3-4 Monate lang kein Geld. Sie können sich nichts zu essen kaufen. Deswegen gebe ich ihnen auch Kredite sozusagen. Ich schreibe in diesem Buch auf was sie gekauft haben und was das gekostet hat. Sie können es mir beim nächsten Mal dann zurückgeben. Oft vergesse ich es auch oder die Leute vergessen es. Aber ich helfe den Leuten gerne. Viele kommen hierher weil es auch billiger ist. Ich gebe Sachen billiger her, zum Beispiel statt 6 Euro nur 5 Euro. Weil viele Leute kein Geld für Essen haben. Viele Leute wollen auch Essen von ihrer Heimat kaufen.

Ich helfe gerne Leuten, das spricht sich auch herum. Ganz viele Leute wollen dann einen Kredit zum Beispiel oder sie Fragen nach Kontakten. Ich habe viele Visitenkarten von Leuten

und Organisationen die bei Wohnungs- oder Arbeitssuche helfen können. Ich kenne viele Leute und habe viele Kontakte. Jetzt bin ich auch schon sehr lange hier. Ich gebe dann anderen diese Kontakte weiter und dadurch können sie auch Arbeit oder eine Wohnung finden. Ich helfe auch beim Briefe lesen oder Übersetzen. Weil viele die Sprache noch nicht können. Das mache ich gerne. Man muss sich gegenseitig helfen, alles ist so schwierig. Ich habe auch Angst vor der Entwicklung der Politik in Österreich und in ganz Europa. Man muss da in die Zukunft schauen und daran denken was passieren könnte. Es ist schon fast wie im Nationalsozialismus. Das ist schlimm und macht Angst. Viele Leute wollen uns nicht. Früher war es eigentlich okay hier in Österreich. Die Politik macht Feindbilder. Das ist eine Krise. Niemand ist hier sicher. Über diese Situation muss man nachdenken. In den letzten 2 Jahren wurde die Hilfe gestrichen. Deswegen haben so viele Leute kein Geld für Essen. Sie können keine Miete zahlen und können nirgends wohnen. Die Politik macht mich traurig.

A: Leben Sie im 16. Bezirk?

B: Nein, ich wohne im 11. Dort wohne ich gerne. Da ist es schön ruhig. Der 16. ist auch gut aber im 11. bin ich auch gerne.

A: Welche Produkte verkaufen Sie? Sind die Produkte typisch für Ihr Heimatland? Woher kommen die Produkte? Wer kauft die Produkte?

B: Ich habe hier ganz viele verschiedene Produkte zum Beispiel aus Syrien, dem Libanon, der Türkei, aus Somalia, und ganz viele mehr. Ich habe auch ganz viele verschieden Kunden. Leute kommen her weil sie ihre Produkte kaufen wollen von Zuhause. Produkte die sie an zuhause erinnern. Viele Freunde von mir kaufen hier auch ein. Ich habe Gewürze, Brot, Eingelegtes, Bohnen, Linsen, etwas zum Waschen für den Hamam, alles was man braucht. Auch Eier oder Jogurt.

A: Haben Sie Freunde oder Familie im Heimatland oder im Ausland? Haben Sie viel Kontakt? Wie sieht dieser Kontakt aus? Worum geht es dabei? Wird die Familie z.B. nachgeholt?

B: Ich habe ganz viel Kontakt mit meiner Schwester in Somalia. Sie möchte aber lieber dortbleiben. Somalia ist so schön. Ich bereue es oft nicht mehr dort zu sein. Je mehr man reist und je weiter man weg ist von Zuhause umso mehr vermisst man die Heimat. Aber dort gibt es leider auch viele Probleme und viel Krieg. Wenn in Somalia Friede ist dann ist es dort viel besser. Aber meine Schwester möchte trotzdem dortbleiben. Wir reden sehr oft. Ich frage sie dann wie es ihr geht, wie es mit dem Krieg ist, welche Probleme es gibt. Ich war seit 15

Jahren nicht mehr in Somalia. Ich war einmal in Kenia und Äthiopien um meine Mutter dort zu treffen. Ich wollte sie dann auch nach Österreich nachholen aber sie ist leider gestorben.

A: Schicken Sie auch Dinge oder Geld ins Heimatland, bzw. werden Dinge oder Geld aus dem Heimatland zu Ihnen geschickt?

B: Ich schicke oft Geld an meine Schwester um ihr zu helfen. Sie schickt nichts her, denn sie braucht meine Hilfe.

Interview 8

Am 18.06.2018 Dauer 20 Minuten

1. Zeichnen Sie bitte eine Karte des Brunnenmarkts. Zeichnen sie auch Ihr Geschäft, sowie die anderen Geschäfte. 2. Welches Geschäft ist Ihres? 3. Welche anderen Geschäfte gibt es? Woher kommen die Verkäufer?

4. Mit welchen Geschäften haben Sie Kontakt? Wie sieht dieser Kontakt aus? Ist das eine Freundschaft?

Ich habe hier viele Freunde und gute Kollegen. Meistens mit den Nachbarn hier am Basar, nicht mit allen. Das sind gute Freunde, wir sehen uns oft am Basar. Hier sind ganz viele verschiedene Leute. Ganz viele aus der Türkei. Da vorne ist fast alles Türkisch. Ganz unten ist viel Afghanisch.

5. Erzählen Sie über Ihre Arbeit am Brunnenmarkt. Gefällt Ihnen die Arbeit? Was ist gut? Was ist schlecht? Gibt es auch manchmal Probleme oder Streit? Wie lange arbeiten Sie schon hier? Wie sind Sie dazugekommen? Durch Kontakte?

Ich arbeite seit 19 Monaten hier am Brunnenmarkt auf dem Basar. Ich mache das noch nicht so lange, 19 Monate. Das hier ist mein Eigentum. Ich mache diese Arbeit hier sehr gerne. Es ist eine gute Arbeit und macht viel Spaß. Es ist schön, dass man viel Kontakt hat mit Leuten. Ich mag, dass alles international ist. Die Leute kommen von überall. Da gibt es dann viele Kulturen und Sprachen, das ist schön. Die Ausländer sprechen selten Deutsch. Die kommen dann auch her und reden in ihrer Sprache. Ich verstehe das nicht immer. Aber ich kann auch einige Sprachen. Ich kann arabisch, Deutsch, Englisch, Indisch. Deshalb kann ich mit den Leuten dann auch reden.

6. Aus welchem Land kommen Sie? Wie lange leben Sie schon in Österreich? Wie sind Sie hierhergekommen (durch andere Länder, durch Kontakte)? Haben Netzwerke und Kontakte eine große Rolle gespielt? War die Migration nach Österreich teuer? Gab es Zwischenstopps?

Ich komme aus Afghanistan. Ich bin seit 2004 in Österreich. Ich habe lange in der Steiermark gewohnt. Dort war es sehr schön. Ich habe die Leute aber kaum verstanden wegen ihrem Dialekt. Die Menschen in Wien sprechen anders, das kann ich besser verstehen. Aber die Steiermark ist viel schöner. Ich habe sehr viele Bekannte, auch Österreicher, in der

Steiermark. Dort kennt man jeden. In Wien ist das anders. Da kenne ich nicht mal meine Nachbarin.

Der Weg war sehr schwierig und teuer. Das war nicht einfach. Ich war in ganz vielen Ländern. In der Türkei, Pakistan, Iran, Jugoslawien, Slowakei und auch in England. Eigentlich wollte ich nach England gehen und dortbleiben. Ich war für kurze Zeit dort. Ich mag die Sprache Englisch und wollte dortbleiben. Ich konnte aber nicht dortbleiben und bin dann wieder nach Österreich gegangen. Ich war illegal hier. Ich wollte nur wegen der Sprache in England sein. Das Leben ist in Österreich viel besser. Ich habe jetzt keinen Kontakt mehr zu Leuten in England. Früher war das schon so, aber jetzt nicht mehr weil schon viel Zeit vergangen ist.

7. Wie war die Ankunft in Österreich? War es schwierig eine Wohnung oder Arbeit zu finden? Hatten Sie Kontakte in Österreich die dabei geholfen haben?

Am Anfang war es sehr schwierig. Ich war illegal hier und konnte nicht arbeiten. Ich war im Heim für kurze Zeit, ca. 3,5 Monate mit anderen Asylwerbern. Ich wollte aber nie die Mindestsicherung nehmen. Ich wollte immer arbeiten und ich bin stolz darauf. Danach habe ich Arbeit gefunden und eine Wohnung, auch ohne Kontakte von Anfang an. In der ersten Zeit habe ich dann Leute kennengelernt die mir geholfen haben. Ich arbeite sehr gerne und ich habe hier schon sehr viel gearbeitet. Ich habe so viele Kurse gemacht und 2 verschiedene Führerscheine zusätzlich damit ich verschiedene Sachen arbeiten kann. Ich habe in der Steiermark gewohnt und ich habe anfangs niemanden gekannt. Ich war auch mal bei McDonalds für 2 Jahre. Dann war ich LKW Fahrer, da musste ich einen neuen Führerschein machen. Das war für 3-4 Jahre. Dann war ich 2 Jahre lang Schweißer. Das musste ich auch erst neu lernen. Dann war ich Autobusfahrer für 6 Monate. Ich brauchte auch einen neuen Führerschein. Bis 2014 war ich in der Steiermark. Seitdem bin ich in Wien. Meine Familie ist seit 2008 in Österreich. Ich habe sie nachgeholt. Ich habe 3 Kinder. Die älteste ist 18 Jahre alt aber sie ist leider behindert. Sie hat Downsyndrom und kann nicht sprechen. Man muss sich immer um sie kümmern. Mein Sohn ist 12 Jahre alt. Er geht ins Gymnasium. Meine Kleinste ist 8 Jahre alt. Ich möchte meine Kinder auch mal mit nach Afghanistan nehmen.

8. Leben Sie im 16. Bezirk? Gefällt es Ihnen hier? Warum leben Sie hier?

Ich wohne seit 2,5 Jahren im 17. Bezirk. Dort gefällt es mir und es ist nahe zur Arbeit. Ich habe hier auch viele Freunde. Mit den Kontakten in der Steiermark habe ich aber leider keinen Kontakt mehr.

9. Welche Produkte verkaufen Sie? Sind die Produkte typisch für Ihr Heimatland? Woher kommen die Produkte? Wer kauft die Produkte?

Ich verkaufe Gewürze. Die Gewürze kommen aus ganz verschiedenen Ländern. Meistens kaufen Asylwerber hier ein, aber auch manchmal Österreicher. Aber das eher wenig. Die Leute kommen aus der ganzen Welt. Meine Gewürze auch. Ich bekomme die vom Händler aber die kommen aus Italien, Mexiko, USA, Afrika. Aus der ganzen Welt. Die Leute kaufen hier ein weil es billiger ist. Man kann hier billig Produkte kaufen wie diese Gewürze. Deswegen kommen so viele Asylwerber die wenig Geld haben zum Brunnenmarkt. Die Leute kommen auch hierher um Produkte die sie kennen zu kaufen. Sie kommen aus verschiedenen Ländern und kaufen dann die Gewürze aus ihren Ländern. Die Leute suchen nach diesen Dingen und kommen zum Basar.

10. Haben Sie Freunde oder Familie im Heimatland oder im Ausland? Wenn ja wo? Haben Sie viel Kontakt? Wie sieht dieser Kontakt aus? Worum geht es dabei? Wird die Familie z.B. nachgeholt?

Ja ich habe noch Familie in Afghanistan. Meine Schwester, Cousins und Cousinen und mein Neffe. Ich rede 1-mal im Monat mit ihnen, also nicht so oft. Ich war vor 2 Jahren für 2 Wochen wieder dort, aber es ist nicht gut dort zu sein. Da ist viel Krieg und viele Probleme. Ich habe leider keine Zeit öfter mit ihnen zu reden. Sie rufen mich dann an und wir telefonieren und reden darüber wie es ihnen geht im Krieg und ob alles gut ist. Meine Schwester arbeitet im Handel. Sie möchte nicht nachkommen. Sie hat ein Geschäft in Afghanistan und ihr geht es gut. Vielen Leuten gefällt es hier nicht. Vor allem den alten Leuten. Weil sie verstehen kein Deutsch und das ist schwer zu lernen.

11. Schicken Sie auch Dinge oder Geld ins Heimatland, bzw. werden Dinge oder Geld aus dem Heimatland zu Ihnen geschickt?

Ich brauche meiner Familie nichts schicken, denen geht es gut. Meine Schwester arbeitet viel und hat eine gute Arbeit in ihrem Geschäft. Wir reden nur.

Interview 9

Am 18.06.2018 Dauer 30 Minuten

1. Zeichnen Sie bitte eine Karte des Brunnenmarkts. Zeichnen sie auch Ihr Geschäft, sowie die anderen Geschäfte. 2. Welches Geschäft ist Ihres? 3. Welche anderen Geschäfte gibt es? Woher kommen die Verkäufer?

4. Mit welchen Geschäften haben Sie Kontakt? Wie sieht dieser Kontakt aus? Ist das eine Freundschaft?

Ich habe mit vielen Kontakt. Es sind ganz viele Türken hier zum Beispiel auch neben uns. Oder Leute aus Pakistan.

5. Erzählen Sie über Ihre Arbeit am Brunnenmarkt. Gefällt Ihnen die Arbeit? Was ist gut? Was ist schlecht? Gibt es auch manchmal Probleme oder Streit? Wie lange arbeiten Sie schon hier? Wie sind Sie dazugekommen? Durch Kontakte?

Die Arbeit hier macht Spaß. Es ist eine sehr schöne Arbeit. Es kommen viele Leute vorbei und man kann viel Reden. Durch das Reden lernt man auch besser Deutsch und durch den Kontakt mit Leuten. Das ist gut. Ich kann viele Sprachen zum Beispiel Türkisch und arabisch. Um mehr Kunden zu haben und guten Kontakt zu haben muss man viele Sprachen lernen damit man mit den Leuten reden kann. Hier gibt es schon Konkurrenz aber so ist eigentlich alles gut. Das mit den Preisen ist die Konkurrenz. Aber Streit gibt es nicht. Ich bin durch Kontakte zur Arbeit gekommen. Es ist eine gute Stimmung hier und mir gefällt es gut. Ich helfe auch gerne anderen vor allem mit der Sprache. Viele kommen und können kein Deutsch. Ich bin dann ein Dolmetscher sozusagen. Mein Freund macht das auch. Der hilft auch gerne.

6. Aus welchem Land kommen Sie? Wie lange leben Sie schon in Österreich? Wie sind Sie hierhergekommen (durch andere Länder, durch Kontakte)? Haben Netzwerke und Kontakte eine große Rolle gespielt? War die Migration nach Österreich teuer? Gab es Zwischenstopps?

Ich komme aus dem Irak. Ich bin seit 3 Jahren in Österreich. Ich lebe hier mit meiner Familie. Wir sind gemeinsam hergekommen. Ich hatte 6 Kinder, aber 5 Kinder sind leider schon gestorben, weil sie krank waren oder behindert. Mein Kind ist im Rollstuhl und braucht viele Operationen. Diese Operationen hatte es dann in Österreich. Meine Frau und mein Kind sprechen super Deutsch. Als Einwanderer in Österreich hatte man es sehr schwierig. Wir haben niemanden gekannt.

147

7. Wie war die Ankunft in Österreich? War es schwierig eine Wohnung oder Arbeit zu finden? Hatten Sie Kontakte in Österreich die dabei geholfen haben?

Ich hatte keine Kontakte. Die Ankunft war schwer. In Niederösterreich war alles super. Da sind viele alte Leute, die keine Arbeit haben und die einem dann helfen. Dort haben mir viele Leute geholfen. Mein Kollege war dann auch dabei. Im Burgenland ist das auch so. Da kennt man sich und hilft sich. Zum Beispiel das Fahrrad reparieren von anderen, das Auto von der Nachbarin reparieren. Oder man kennt den Bürgermeister und die Gemeinde. Das ist ein Geben und Nehmen. Dort haben wir viele Kontakte gemacht, die geholfen haben.

8. Leben Sie im 16. Bezirk? Gefällt es Ihnen hier? Warum leben Sie hier?

Ich wohne in Eisenstadt. Im Burgenland. Dort ist es sehr schön. Wenn ich mal genug Geld habe dann kann ich vielleicht in Wien leben. Ich habe auch in Niederösterreich gelebt. Eisenstadt ist auch sehr gut. Ich habe immer einen weiten Weg zur Arbeit. Die Wohnungssuche in Wien ist einfach zu schwierig.

9. Welche Produkte verkaufen Sie? Sind die Produkte typisch für Ihr Heimatland? Woher kommen die Produkte? Wer kauft die Produkte?

Ich verkaufe typisches irakisches Brot. Das macht man in dem Ofen und unten ist Kohle und Wind. Dann klebt man das so an der Seite. Schau wie er das macht, das müssen Sie filmen.

10. Haben Sie Freunde oder Familie im Heimatland oder im Ausland? Wenn ja wo? Haben Sie viel Kontakt? Wie sieht dieser Kontakt aus? Worum geht es dabei? Wird die Familie z.B. nachgeholt?

Ich möchte nicht mehr in den Irak. Dort ist Krieg und die Politik ist schlecht. Viel wird durch die Regierung ausgelöst. Das ist traurig. In Österreich ist das Leben besser. Ich war auch schon lange nicht mehr im Irak. Ich habe Familie im Irak und in Deutschland und in Chicago und in Dänemark. Wir haben viel Kontakt und reden einfach sehr viel wie es ihnen geht und wie es mir geht. Wir telefonieren sehr oft. Nachholen werde ich meine Verwandten nicht, denn ich habe hier auch meine eigene Familie und ich habe zu wenig Geld.

11. Schicken Sie auch Dinge oder Geld ins Heimatland, bzw. werden Dinge oder Geld aus dem Heimatland zu Ihnen geschickt?

Ich bekomme nur 830 Euro. 100 bleiben dann übrig jeden Monat. Ich kann kein Geld schicken, weil es einfach zu wenig ist.

Am 18.06.2018 Dauer 25 Minuten

 1. Zeichnen Sie bitte eine Karte des Brunnenmarkts. Zeichnen sie auch Ihr Geschäft, sowie die anderen Geschäfte. 2. Welches Geschäft ist Ihres? 3. Welche anderen Geschäfte gibt es? Woher kommen die Verkäufer?

4. Mit welchen Geschäften haben Sie Kontakt? Wie sieht dieser Kontakt aus? Ist das eine Freundschaft?

Ich bin mit fast allen gut. Also ich kenne 99% und bin mit vielen gut. Das sind schon Freundschaften aber wir machen privat nichts zusammen. Also wir würden jetzt nicht zusammen spazieren gehen. Aber hier am Markt reden wir viel und helfen sich gegenseitig. Wenn die Leute kein Deutsch sprechen dann kann ich aber keinen Kontakt haben, sonst schon.

5. Erzählen Sie über Ihre Arbeit am Brunnenmarkt. Gefällt Ihnen die Arbeit? Was ist gut? Was ist schlecht? Gibt es auch manchmal Probleme oder Streit? Wie lange arbeiten Sie schon hier? Wie sind Sie dazugekommen? Durch Kontakte?

Ja mir gefällt die Arbeit schon, also bis jetzt war alles gut. Ich habe diese Arbeit durch Kontakte bekommen. Ein guter Freund von mir hat hier gearbeitet und der hat mir mit der Arbeit geholfen. Ich bin hier seit Dezember 2017, vorher war ich beim Fisch. Dort habe ich Fisch verkauft hier am Markt. Zwischendrin habe ich aber 1 Jahr Pause gemacht und habe auf einer Baustelle gearbeitet. Seit letztem Jahr bin ich hier.

 Aber jetzt stört es mich, weil ich habe ein neues Baby. Meine Frau hat ein Baby bekommen und wir haben jetzt 2 kleine Kinder. Das ist schon schwierig, denn ich muss hier sehr viel arbeiten. 6 Tage die Woche, Montag bis Samstag jeden Tag ab 6 Uhr zirka und dann oft auch bis 8. Die Zeit gefällt mir nicht. Ich möchte meiner Frau helfen und sie unterstützen. Sie braucht Hilfe mit den Kindern. Ich möchte mir eine andere Arbeit suchen damit ich mehr Freizeit habe und bei meiner Familie sein kann. Ich bin eigentlich Koch. Das habe ich gelernt in Mazedonien. Ich habe dort die Ausbildung gemacht aber hier ist es schwierig, denn ich muss einen Kurs machen über 3 Monate damit ich in Österreich als Koch arbeiten kann.

Außerdem sind hier oft viele Bettler die stören und daraus entsteht dann Streit. Oft kommen Frauen mit Kindern aus Bulgarien. Oder bulgarische Frauen die sich verkleiden wie türkische Frauen mit einem Kopftuch. Die sehen dann alt aus, sie sind es aber nicht. Und ich habe

gehört, letzte Woche, gab es hier große Probleme, denn das Kind von einer Frau hat das Taschengeld von meinem Kollegen gestohlen. Der hat auch die Papiere mit Visum und allem genommen und das ganze Geld. Das ist dann nicht okay, wenn die Bettler Probleme machen. Auch bei den anderen Ständen machen die Probleme. Manchmal habe ich den Frauen ein Stück Fleisch gegeben, weil ich dachte, dass sie kein Geld für Essen haben. Aber jetzt machen sie viele Probleme, das ist nicht gut. Das mit dem Geld haben viele mitbekommen. 50 Leute, weil bei meinen Kollegen und mir so viele Leute waren. Das war ein Blödsinn.

6. Aus welchem Land kommen Sie? Wie lange leben Sie schon in Österreich? Wie sind Sie hierhergekommen (durch andere Länder, durch Kontakte)? Haben Netzwerke und Kontakte eine große Rolle gespielt? War die Migration nach Österreich teuer? Gab es Zwischenstopps?

Ich komme aus Mazedonien. Ich bin hier seit 3,5 Jahren. Ich war vorher schon 2-3 Mal in Österreich. Mein Onkel wohnt schon lange in Österreich. Der hat immer zu mir gesagt, dass ich kommen soll. Dann war ich 2 mal hier für 3 Monate nur. Da hatte ich dann ein Visum. Mir hat es beim ersten Mal sehr gut gefallen. Ich war auch in Deutschland. Aber hier hat es mir besser gefallen. Dann bin ich wieder zurückgegangen. Beim 2.Mal hat es mir noch besser gefallen. Dann bin ich hiergeblieben. Ich bin immer direkt hin und her gereist. Das war in Ordnung und nicht so teuer. Ich wollte aber vorher noch Militär fertigmachen und meine Ausbildung und Führerschein. Die Ausbildung war mir sehr wichtig. Ich habe alles fertiggemacht bevor ich nach Österreich gekommen bin.

7. Wie war die Ankunft in Österreich? War es schwierig eine Wohnung oder Arbeit zu finden? Hatten Sie Kontakte in Österreich die dabei geholfen haben?

Mein Onkel hat mir geholfen mit der Wohnung, denn am Anfang ist es schon schwierig. Ich habe durch einen Freund Arbeit gefunden. Alleine ist es noch schwieriger. Ich habe hier am Markt dann auch viele Freunde gefunden. Ich hatte dann schnell viele Kontakte, die mir geholfen haben. Ich habe dann auch eine Freundin gefunden aber das war dann irgendwann nicht mehr gut. Aber so ist das in der Liebe. Jetzt habe ich eine Frau. Sie ist halb Türkin und halb Slowakin.

8. Leben Sie im 16. Bezirk? Gefällt es Ihnen hier? Warum leben Sie hier?

Nein ich lebe im 18. Vorher habe ich 2,5 Jahr im 2.Bezirk gewohnt. Das war dort sehr gut, aber ich wollte näher bei der Arbeit wohne. Das passt jetzt auch so und es gefällt mir auch

gut. Hier im 16. habe ich nichts gefunden. Im 2. war es besser, weil dort nicht so viele Ausländer leben. Hier ist es laut aber auch gut.

9. Welche Produkte verkaufen Sie? Sind die Produkte typisch für Ihr Heimatland? Woher kommen die Produkte? Wer kauft die Produkte?

Ich verkaufe Fleisch. Huhn, Pute und Rind. Alles ist Halal, also kein Schweinefleisch. Ich verkaufe auch Eier. Ich habe auch Herzen, Mägen, ganze Hühner und so weiter. Die Produkte sind nicht typisch für Mazedonien. Meine Kunden sind aus vielen verschiedenen Länder. Serbien, Afghanistan, Österreich, Pakistan, wenige auch aus Mazedonien. Das ist aber selten. Österreicher kaufen hier eher wenig ein, bei mir schon mehr, aber generell eher wenig.

10. Haben Sie Freunde oder Familie im Heimatland oder im Ausland? Wenn ja wo? Haben Sie viel Kontakt? Wie sieht dieser Kontakt aus? Worum geht es dabei? Wird die Familie z.B. nachgeholt?

Ja also meine Frau, die hat nur noch Oma und Opa, ihre Eltern sind schon gestorben. Ich habe noch alle. Papa und Oma und 2 Schwestern sind gerade in Mazedonien. Die Mutter war jetzt für fast 3 Monate auf Besuch. Sie kommen schon manchmal, das ist schön. Ihr gefällt das auch wenn ich ihr alles zeigen kann und wenn wir spazieren gehen können. Das machen wir jeden Tag. Ich habe viel Kontakt mit meiner Familie. Wir telefonieren dann und reden einfach über alles, nichts Besonderes. Ich werde die Familie nicht nachholen. Es ist besser für sie in Mazedonien. Sie sind schon älter und sie kennen nur Mazedonien. Es ist besser, wenn sie dortbleiben. Hier ist alles neu und schwierig und sie müssten auch Deutsch lernen.

11. Schicken Sie auch Dinge oder Geld ins Heimatland, bzw. werden Dinge oder Geld aus dem Heimatland zu Ihnen geschickt?

Manchmal versuche ich zu helfen, wenn möglich. Aber das mache ich nicht oft. Meiner Familie geht es dort auch so ganz gut.

Interview 11

Am 19.06.2018 Dauer 20 Minuten

1. Zeichnen Sie bitte eine Karte des Brunnenmarkts. Zeichnen sie auch Ihr Geschäft, sowie die anderen Geschäfte. 2. Welches Geschäft ist Ihres? 3. Welche anderen Geschäfte gibt es? Woher kommen die Verkäufer?

4. Mit welchen Geschäften haben Sie Kontakt? Wie sieht dieser Kontakt aus? Ist das eine Freundschaft?

Wir haben guten Kontakt und eine gute Beziehung. Man hat aber wenig Zeit um in Verbindung zu bleiben. Wir müssen alle sehr viel arbeiten. Ich weiß ungefähr woher die Leute kommen. Meistens aus der Türkei hier am Brunnenmarkt oder in letzter Zeit auch aus arabischen Ländern. Ich habe nicht mit vielen Kontakt. Nur mit den Nachbarn hier. Die meisten kenne ich nicht. Wir reden miteinander. Manchmal hilft man sich aber eher nicht. Nur reden eigentlich. Vielleicht ist das auch die Konkurrenz.

5. Erzählen Sie über Ihre Arbeit am Brunnenmarkt. Gefällt Ihnen die Arbeit? Was ist gut? Was ist schlecht? Gibt es auch manchmal Probleme oder Streit? Wie lange arbeiten Sie schon hier? Wie sind Sie dazugekommen? Durch Kontakte?

Diese Arbeit hier gefällt mir nicht. Ich mache das seit 2 Jahren aber das ist nicht mein Zielberuf. Ich würde lieber als Informatiker oder so arbeiten aber das ist schwierig. Man braucht eine Ausbildung und die habe ich nicht. Ich könnte sie aber machen. Hier am Brunnenmarkt arbeite ich nicht gerne.

6. Aus welchem Land kommen Sie? Wie lange leben Sie schon in Österreich? Wie sind Sie hierhergekommen (durch andere Länder, durch Kontakte)? Haben Netzwerke und Kontakte eine große Rolle gespielt? War die Migration nach Österreich teuer? Gab es Zwischenstopps?

Ich komme aus Afghanistan. Ich bin seit 5-6 Jahren in Österreich. Ich war auch vorher in einem anderen europäischen Land für ein Jahr. Ich bin alleine hergekommen, das war etwas schwierig. Da hatte ich auch keine Kontakte. Ich habe ein Flugzeugticket online gebucht das hat 1000 Euro gekostet. Das ist schon teuer. Aber manche haben viel mehr bezahlt, weil die Flüge ausgefallen sind und sie dann neue Flüge buchen mussten oder anders herkommen musste. Ich habe ein Ticket bei Austrian Airlines gebucht. An dem Tag sind viele Flüge nicht geflogen. Ich habe irgendwie einen anderen Flug bekommen, der geflogen ist. Das war für

152

viele sehr schwierig, weil man bei der Airline nicht anrufen konnte, weil das viele machen wollten. Da gab es auch viele versteckte Kosten.

7. Wie war die Ankunft in Österreich? War es schwierig eine Wohnung oder Arbeit zu finden? Hatten Sie Kontakte in Österreich die dabei geholfen haben?

Ich war ganz alleine und niemand hat mir geholfen. Das war sehr schlimm am Anfang und nicht gut. Ich konnte die Sprache nicht, weil das alles sehr plötzlich war. Wenn man jetzt Zeit hat und einen Plan machen kann, dass man ins Ausland geht, in irgendein Land, dann kann man einen Plan machen und zum Beispiel die Sprache lernen. Ich konnte kein Deutsch, weil das alles sehr plötzlich passiert ist. Man muss vorher einen Plan haben. Ich war nicht bereit und deshalb war es schwierig. In Österreich können viele Leute auch nicht Englisch. Viele Leute lernen es aber können es nicht. Das ist auch schwierig für mich. Arbeit und Wohnung zu finden ist schwierig. Man muss viel machen und viel suchen, das ist nicht einfach. Es ist leichter, wenn man aus einem anderen europäischen Land ist zum Beispiel, dass man dann Arbeit bekommt oder eine Wohnung. Für mich war das alles sehr schwer.

8. Leben Sie im 16. Bezirk? Gefällt es Ihnen hier? Warum leben Sie hier?

Ich lebe überall bei verschiedenen Leuten. Ich würde aber nicht gerne im 16. Wohnen. Hier ist so viel los und hier ist es laut.

9. Welche Produkte verkaufen Sie? Sind die Produkte typisch für Ihr Heimatland? Woher kommen die Produkte? Wer kauft die Produkte?

Ich verkaufe Lebensmittel hauptsächlich aus Asien und aus Afghanistan. Aus der Gegend wo wir herkommen. Da ist viel Obst und Gemüse aber auch andere Lebensmittel aus Asien. Unser Ziel ist eigentlich nur viel zu verkaufen und viel zu verdienen. Leute, die hier einkaufen kennen uns oder kommen her weil sie auch aus dem Land sind. Sie kaufen meistens ein, aber oft auch nicht, wenn die Preise zum Beispiel zu teuer sind. Aber sonst auch ganz verschiedene Leute. Die sprechen verschiedene Sprachen. Das hilft schon, wenn man mehrere Sprachen kann. Ich habe viele Sprachen verlernt, weil ich immer so viel arbeiten muss.

10. Haben Sie Freunde oder Familie im Heimatland oder im Ausland? Wenn ja wo? Haben Sie viel Kontakt? Wie sieht dieser Kontakt aus? Worum geht es dabei? Wird die Familie z.B. nachgeholt?

Ja ich habe meine Familie in Afghanistan. Wir haben nicht sehr viel Kontakt. Ich würde gerne öfter mit ihnen reden aber ich habe wenig Zeit wegen der Arbeit. Sonst reden wir über das

Telefon. Ich muss hier sehr viel arbeiten. Auch meine Familie muss sehr viel arbeiten. Niemand hat Zeit. Das ist sehr schwierig. Man fragt dann auch nicht viel, weil man weiß, dass keiner Zeit hat. Hier in Österreich hat man eigene Gesetze. Da muss man viel arbeiten und hat wenig Vergnügen. Ich möchte meine Familie nicht nachholen. Denen geht es dort gut. Man hat zwar keine Sicherheit, aber man ist auch hier nicht frei. Hier ist die Zeit sehr begrenzt. Ich möchte, dass meine Familie in Afghanistan bleibt. In Österreich ist es sehr schwierig mit allen Anträgen. Wenn irgendwas falsch ist oder man etwas falsch macht muss man viel zahlen. Das sind die Gesetze.

11. Schicken Sie auch Dinge oder Geld ins Heimatland, bzw. werden Dinge oder Geld aus dem Heimatland zu Ihnen geschickt?

Nein ich schicke nichts nach Hause. Meiner Familie geht es gut. Ich muss sie nicht unterstützen und sie unterstützen auch mich nicht.

Am 19.06.2018 Dauer 15 Minuten

1. Zeichnen Sie bitte eine Karte des Brunnenmarkts. Zeichnen sie auch Ihr Geschäft, sowie die anderen Geschäfte. 2. Welches Geschäft ist Ihres? 3. Welche anderen Geschäfte gibt es? Woher kommen die Verkäufer?

4. Mit welchen Geschäften haben Sie Kontakt? Wie sieht dieser Kontakt aus? Ist das eine Freundschaft?

Alle sind sehr nett und freundlich. Ich kenne hier alle und alle kennen mich. Ich bin schon so lange hier. Man hilft sich schon und es gibt auch keine Probleme. Warum sollte es auch Probleme geben. Jeder macht seine Arbeit bei seinem Geschäft und fertig. Wir haben sehr viel Kontakt. Da gibt es keinen Streit, weil jeder auf seinem Platz ist.

5. Erzählen Sie über Ihre Arbeit am Brunnenmarkt. Gefällt Ihnen die Arbeit? Was ist gut? Was ist schlecht? Gibt es auch manchmal Probleme oder Streit? Wie lange arbeiten Sie schon hier? Wie sind Sie dazugekommen? Durch Kontakte?

Ich arbeite hier seit 10 Jahren am Brunnenmarkt. Ich verkaufe hier Textilien. Das ist schon ganz gut. Man sieht viele Leute. Man kann viel Reden. Aber jeder macht seine Arbeit. Ich bin durch Kontakte dazugekommen. Früher habe ich auf Jahrmärkten und Volksfesten gearbeitet. Ich kenne ganz Österreich, ich war überall.

6. Aus welchem Land kommen Sie? Wie lange leben Sie schon in Österreich? Wie sind Sie hierhergekommen (durch andere Länder, durch Kontakte)? Haben Netzwerke und Kontakte eine große Rolle gespielt? War die Migration nach Österreich teuer? Gab es Zwischenstopps?

Ich komme aus Indien. Ich bin nach Österreich gekommen um eine bessere Zukunft zu haben. Jeder möchte eine gute Zukunft für sich und die Familie. Ich lebe seit 32 Jahren in Österreich. Ich lebe hier mit meiner Familie. Ich habe eine Frau und 2 Kinder. Meine Tochter studiert Jus. Die andere war in den USA und arbeitet jetzt bei der Weltbank. Ich bin sehr stolz. Wir sind direkt hergekommen mit dem Flugzeug. Das war nicht so schwierig aber schon teuer. Ich komme aus Nordindien. Da gibt es auch den Himalaya, das ist sehr schön.

7. Wie war die Ankunft in Österreich? War es schwierig eine Wohnung oder Arbeit zu finden? Hatten Sie Kontakte in Österreich die dabei geholfen haben?

Am Anfang ist es schon schwierig. Jeder muss seinen eigenen Weg finden. Es bringt nichts, wenn man Hilfe bekommt. Man muss sich selber suchen wo man wohnen kann und wie man Leute kennenlernt. Dann ist es auch einfacher. Auch Arbeit muss man sich am Anfang selber suchen. Und die Sprache lernen. Ohne Deutsch geht das alles gar nicht. Wenn man die Sprache kann ist alles gut. Aber am Anfang hilft niemand. Ich habe so viel gemacht am Anfang, ganz egal was. Ich habe Zeitungen verkauft und viele Leute dadurch kennengelernt. Dann habe ich auf Jahrmärkten gearbeitet. Jetzt mache ich ein gutes Geschäft hier.

8. Leben Sie im 16. Bezirk? Gefällt es Ihnen hier? Warum leben Sie hier?

Ich lebe im 3 Bezirk seit 32 Jahren. Ich habe immer dort gelebt und finde es gut dort. Meine Familie ist dort. Ich kenne aber ganz Wien. Es ist überall schön. Auch im 16. Aber ich lebe gerne im 3. Der 16. ist nicht schlecht. Es ist sehr schön und alle sind sehr nett und freundlich.

9. Welche Produkte verkaufen Sie? Sind die Produkte typisch für Ihr Heimatland? Woher kommen die Produkte? Wer kauft die Produkte?

Ich verkaufe Textilien und Sonnenbrillen vom Händler. Ich habe schon früher Textilien verkauft. In Indien arbeitet man auch viel mit Textilien. Ganz verschiedene Leute kaufen hier ein. Auch Österreicher. Das ist ganz egal.

10. Haben Sie Freunde oder Familie im Heimatland oder im Ausland? Wenn ja wo? Haben Sie viel Kontakt? Wie sieht dieser Kontakt aus? Worum geht es dabei? Wird die Familie z.B. nachgeholt?

Ich habe schon noch Familie in Indien aber meine Familie ist auch hier. Ich fliege jedes Jahr nach Indien. Wir haben auch sehr viel Kontakt. Wir telefonieren oft und reden dann. Einfach nur wie es ihnen geht und wie es mir geht. Die werden auch nicht herkommen.

11. Schicken Sie auch Dinge oder Geld ins Heimatland, bzw. werden Dinge oder Geld aus dem Heimatland zu Ihnen geschickt?

Ich muss sie nicht unterstützen. Die sind alle selbständig und arbeiten viel. Ihnen geht es gut und mir auch.