ISTANBUL TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY ★ INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

COMMUNITY WITHIN AN INDIVIDUAL IN A TRANSCULTURAL WORK: *ALİ BABA UND 40 RÄUBER*

Ph.D. THESIS

Elif Damla YAVUZ

Department of Musicology and Music Theory

Program of Musicology and Music Theory

MARCH 2014

İSTANBUL TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ ★ SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ

TRANSKÜLTÜREL ESERDE BİREYDEKİ TOPLULUK: *ALİ BABA UND 40 RÄUBER*

DOKTORA TEZİ

Elif Damla YAVUZ
(414092001)

Müzikoloji ve Müzik Teorisi Anabilim Dalı

Müzikoloji ve Müzik Teorisi Doktora Programı

Tez Danışmanı: Prof. Songül KARAHASANOĞLU
Eş Danışman: Prof. Dr. Ralf Martin JÄGER

MART 2014

Elif Damla YAVUZ, a **Ph.D.** student of ITU **Institute of Social Sciences** student ID **414092001**, successfully defended the **dissertation** entitled "Community within an Individual in a Transcultural Work: *Ali Baba und 40 Räuber*", which she prepared after fulfilling the requirements specified in the associated legislations, before the jury whose signatures are below.

Thesis Advisor :	**Prof. Songül KARAHASANOĞLU** İstanbul Technical University	.....
Co-advisor :	**Prof. Dr. Ralf Martin JÄGER** Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster	.....
Jury Members :	**Prof. Ş. Şehvar BEŞİROĞLU** İstanbul Technical University	.....
	Prof. Dr. İştar GÖZAYDIN SAVAŞIR Doğuş University	.....
	Assoc. Prof. Dr. Belma KURTİŞOĞLU İstanbul Technical University	.....
	Assoc. Prof. Dr. Robert REIGLE İstanbul Technical University	.....
	Prof. Dr. Ali ERGUR Galatasaray University	.....

Date of Submission : 5 February 2014
Date of Defense : 5 March 2014

To my family,

FOREWORD

This dissertation would not have been possible without the support of many people. Firstly, I would like to thank my parents Aysun and Derviş Yavuz, my brother Emre Yavuz, and Selçuk Gündemir for their generous and endless supports.

I would also express my gratitude to my thesis advisors Songül Karahasanoğlu and Ralf Martin Jäger who encouraged and helped to find my way out of numerous confusions.

Many thanks to my committee members, Şehvar Beşiroğlu, Belma Kurtişoğlu and İştar Gözaydın Savaşır, Ali Ergur and Robert Reigle for their assistance and guidance.

Thanks to Taner Akyol who shared his personal journey with me and spared his precious time.

A special thank to Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst (DAAD) for awarding me prestigious fellowship and for providing the financial support to this dissertation.

Finally, I would like to thank Terry Gardner, Evrim Hikmet Öğüt and all my friends who inspired me to do this dissertation.

March 2014 Elif Damla YAVUZ

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ABBREVIATIONS

AABF	**:** Avrupa Alevi Birlikleri Federasyonu (Federation of Europen Alawite Unities)
BRD	**:** Bundesrepublik Deutschland (Federal Republic of Germany)
DAAD	**:** Deutscher Akademischer Austtausch Dienst (German Academic Exchange Service)
DDR	**:** Deutsche Demokratische Republic (German Democratic Republic)
EEC	**:** European Economic Community
ERP	**:** European Recovery Program
IG Metall	**:** Industriegewerkschaft Metall (Industrial Union of Metal Workers)
NATO	**:** North Atlantic Treaty Organization
SED	**:** Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (Socialist Unity Party of Germany)
SFB	**:** Sender Freies Berlin (Radio Free Berlin)
SPD	**:** Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Social Democratic Party of Germany)
TBMM	**:** Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi (Grand National Assembly of Turkey Parliament)
TC	**:** Türkiye Cumhuriyeti (Republic of Turkey)
THKO	**:** Türkiye Halk Kurtuluş Ordusu (People's Liberation Army of Turkey)
TİP	**:** Türkiye İşçi Partisi (Turkish Worker's Party)
TRT	**:** Türkiye Radyo ve Televizyon Kurumu (Radio and Television Corporation of Turkey)
TSM	**:** Türk Sanat Müziği (Turkish art music)
USA	**:** United States of America
WDR	**:** Westdeutscher Rundfunk (West German Broadcasting)

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COMMUNITY WITHIN AN INDIVIDUAL IN A TRANSCULTURAL WORK: *ALİ BABA UND 40 RÄUBER*

SUMMARY

For almost 40 years, people from Turkey in the *Bundesrepublik Deutschland* have been part of studies which focus on migration and migrants. The networks and groups that were constituted as a result of migration have been investigated by different disciplines with diverse analytical tools. The existence of a remarkable number of evaluations is a disadvantage in terms of originality as well as an advantage for every study on the subject. Some suggestions have been recently made which may overcome this disadvantage whilst keeping the benefits, and to offer evaluations that have been updated according to changing conditions. Ayşe Çağlar's suggestion of the adaptation of consumption models to studies on people from Turkey is one of them. However, it has not been discussed how musicology and ethnomusicology, where the focus is on music and musical production can evaluate the whole process with their basic analytical tools. The question, whether musicology and ethnomusicology can offer distinctive and alternative evaluations, has not been investigated. That question is the one which determined the framework of the dissertation.

In the first place, the relationship between the basic terms that have been used by the studies on the subject, and the quality and resources of production were examined. The aim was to open a discussion about the question of equivalence between the indications, explanations and descriptions of these terms and the content of musical production. In order to offer an original evaluation, the elements that were excluded by these terms and their scopes were put at the center. One of them is to consider individuals as active agents.

To focus on the individual within a group formation might be interpreted as an assumed that there is a direct relation between the individual and the group, however it might also be interpreted as an indicator that the group formation contains diversity according to the individual. In other words, the criteria that hold the group formation together are only valid as long as they overlap with the attributes of the individual, or as much as the individual prefers. This dissertation takes the individual as a paradigm of the group formation and as one that negates the group formation; and it investigates the processes of the foundation and negation.

The cultural production of people from Turkey in the *Bundesrepublik Deutschland* has not been considered as a body in which different cultural fields interact and be decomposed. As a consequence, it has not been questioned whether this body displays some period characteristics, or what are the mainstream tendencies of certain periods are. After some research, one can observe that there are some motifs and expressive tools in common which are parallel to the mobility of individuals. In order to be able to make this statement, it is necessary to narrate the fifty-year process from the viewpoint of cultural production. This narration also alloes a basis

for the evaluation of the subject. That is to say, it was thought that before the evaluation of the paradigm, there should be an agreement regarding the evaluation of the previous fifty years. However, the suggested periods and their main motives and tendencies were selected and sometimes elected in order to reach to the paradigm. Of course, it is also possible to suggest different periods and paradigms. This paradigm aims to focus on the oscillation between groups and individual was selected because it was assumed that it has the potential to make the left-out components more clear.

As always, the cultural production of people from Turkey in the *Bundesrepublik Deutschland* is composed of interrelated complex networks. Even though it is a fact that people from Turkey were connected due to the social and political conditions continue their relationship with the *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti*, it does not become a concrete explanation about the kind of musical relationships, excepting the exterior presentations of musical production and activities. In other words, it does not emphasize the tools, discourses and conceptualizations in the process of continuation. It also inquires if the continuation hides transformations, and if it does what those transformations may be, as well as the notional and practical reasons behind these transformations. These criteria were considered in the narration of fifty years of cultural production. The interactive spaces were not considered to be limited to the scope of the definition of people from Turkey –that is, it is not limited to two countries- because they were seen in terms of music's internal structure, and such negotiations are not made just between host- and homeland. This acceptance was also necessary due to the nonlinear quality of the interaction. For instance, as was seen in the hip-hop productions of the 1980s, some elements of the hostland were added to the production not directly from the hostland but from different channels.

The dissertation uses the individual, Taner Akyol, and his work, *Ali Baba und 40 Räuber*, as a tool and agent. Its orchestration, musical materials and their treatment, and references played an important role in the selection of the paradigm because the work opens more than one door to the cultural body of people from Turkey. The aim was to display how various concepts and terms were realized in music. The transcultural modifier was used in order to emphasize the plurality of the individual and work, and to escape from the existing categories since the musical analysis showed that these categories came up short when attempting to describe the phenomenon.

TRANSKÜLTÜREL ESERDE BİREYDEKİ TOPLULUK:
ALİ BABA UND 40 RÄUBER

ÖZET

Almanya'daki Türkiye kökenliler, yaklaşık 40 yıldır göç ve göçmen olgusuna odaklanan akademik çalışmaların parçasıdır. Göç sonucunda oluşturdukları ağlar ve topluluklar, farklı disiplinlerin bakış açıları ve analiz araçlarıyla irdelenmiştir. Bu konuya odaklanacak her çalışmanın önünde hatırı sayılır bir literatür ve değerlendirme bütününün bulunması, bir avantaj olduğu kadar genellemelere kapılmak ve önemli detayları gözden kaçırmak bakımından da büyük bir dezavantajdır. Bu dezavantajı aşmak, konuyla ilgili çalışma bütününden verileri ayıklamak ve değişen koşullara göre güncellenmiş değerlendirmeler sunmak için yakın geçmişte bazı öneriler getirilmiştir. Ayşe Çağlar'ın tüketim çalışmalarının potansiyellerinden yararlanma önerisi bunlardan biridir. Yine de müziği ve müzik üretimini merkezine koyan müzikolojinin ve etnomüzikolojinin bütün göç sürecini nasıl okuduğu, kendine özgü bir yaklaşım önerisi veya alternatif okumalar sunup sunamayacağı tartışılan konulardan değildir. Bu tezin çerçevesini çizen ise bu tartışmanın kendisidir.

Başlangıç olarak konuyla ilgili temel kavramlar, yaklaşımlar ve bunların müziği konu edinen çalışmalardaki yorumlanma biçimleri ile üretimin kendisi ve kaynakları arasındaki ilişki sorgulanmıştır. Böylece söz konusu kavramların işaret ettikleri, açıkladıkları ve tarif ettikleri ile müzik üretiminin kendi içeriği arasındaki denklik meselesinin tartışmaya açılması amaçlanmıştır. Çalışmanın alternatif bir niteliğe kavuşabilmesi için bu kavramların kapsama ve ifade alanı dışında kalan unsurlar merkeze alınmıştır. Bunların başında birey ve topluluğu birbiriyle etkileşim içinde ve birbirini belirleyen yapılar olarak ele almak gelir.

Büyük bir grup formasyonu içinde bireye odaklanmak, grup ve birey arasında dolaysız bir ilişki olduğu anlamına gelebilirse de, büyük grup formasyonunun bireye göre çeşitlilik gösterebileceğini de ifade eder. Başka bir deyişle, büyük grubu bir arada tutan asgari kriterler, bireyin öznitelikleriyle kesiştiği, bireyin tercih ettiği ve yorumladığı kapsamda geçerliliklerini korur. Bu çalışma bireyi hem grubu –ve grupları- oluşturan, hem de değilleyen bir örneklem olarak görür; oluşum ve değilleme süreçlerini sorgular.

Kültür üretimi, her grup formasyonunda olduğu gibi Almanya'daki Türkiye kökenliler için de birbiriyle ilişkili karmaşık ağlardan oluşur. Sosyal ve politik koşulların bir araya getirdiği ve birbirine bağladığı bu grubun Türkiye ile ilişkilerini sürdürdükleri doğrudur. Bununla birlikte müzik üretimi ve etkinliklerinde dışsal görüntüler dışında Türkiye ile hangi müziksel ilişkileri sürdürdüklerine dair somut anlatımlar yoktur. Başka bir deyişle, ilişkinin sürdürüldüğü saptamasının ötesine geçilerek bahsedilen ilişkinin hangi araçları, söylemleri ve kavramsallaştırmaları kullanarak sürdürüldüğü, bu süreçte dönüştürülüp dönüştürülmediği, dönüştürülüyorsa dönüşümün düşünsel ve/-ya pratik sebepleri vurgulanmaz.

Çalışmada dönemsellik içinde ele alınan kültür üretiminin kurgulanmasında yukarıda bahsedilen kriterler ön plana alınmıştır. Etkileşim alanları, Almanya'daki Türkiye kökenliler nitelemesinin işaret ettiği alanlarla, yani Almanya ve Türkiye olmak üzere başlıca iki etkileşim alanıyla sınırlı kabul edilmemiştir, zira müziğin iç yapısına dair ilişkiler söz konusu olduğunda müzakere edilen yegâne ilişkinin anavatan ve yeni vatandan ibaret olmadığı görülmüştür. Bu kabul, etkileşim unsurlarının doğrusal bir hat izlemeyişi nedeniyle de bir tür zorunluluktur. Örneğin 1980'lerin hip-hop üretiminde görülebileceği gibi yeni vatanın bazı unsurları, doğrudan yeni vatandan değil, başka kanallardan, örneğin Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nden üretime katılmıştır. Dolayısıyla çalışmada Almanya'daki Türkiye kökenliler ve üretimleri birden fazla ülke, politika ve eğilimle etkileşim içinde yorumlanmıştır.

Çalışma, bireyi, Taner Akyol'u, ve eserini, *Ali Baba und 40 Räuber*'i, araç ve aracı olarak kullanır. Bu seçimde özellikle eserin kullandığı müzik malzemesi, bu malzemenin işlenişi ve müzik referanslarıyla grubun kültür üretiminin bütününe dair birden fazla kapı açıyor oluşu önemli rol oynamıştır. Eserin analizi aracılığıyla çeşitli konsept ve kavramların müzikte nasıl realize edildiklerini göstermek amaçlanmıştır.

Transkültürel nitelemesi, bireyin ve eserin çoğul niteliklerini vurgulamak ve bu tür üretimleri ve üreticilerini değerlendirildikleri mevcut kategorilerden soyutlamak için kullanılmıştır. Zira müzik analizinden elde edilen veriler, bu kategorilerin bireyi, eseri ve yapıyı açıklamakta yetersiz kaldığını göstermiş, bireyin ve eserinin temel niteliğinin sınırları belirli kültür dairelerinin ötesinde olmak olduğu görülmüştür. Bu açıdan transkültürel nitelemesinin, bahsedilen kompartımanlı kültür dairelerinin ötesine geçmeyi ve bu dairelerin birbirleriyle olan karmaşık ilişkilerini göz önüne almayı vurgulamasından yararlanmak amaçlanmıştır.

Diğer taraftan eserin *Komische Oper* tarafından göçün ellinci yılına denk gelen siparişi, Almanya'daki kültür kurumlarının kendilerini ve dinleyici kitlelerini yeniden konumlandırmaları için de yerinde bir örnektir, çünkü Almanya'nın resmi ve yerleşmiş tavrının bedenlenmesi olarak görülebilecek köklü kültür kurumları ile Türkiye kökenlilerin müzik etkinlikleri arasında üretimi belirleyen bir ilişkiden söz etmek mümkündür. En başından beri Almanya'nın köklü kültür kurumlarının kendi kültür alanlarını, bu alanlara ait unsurları ve bu alanın aktörlerini tanımlayışları ile Almanya'daki Türkiye kökenlilerin kültür üretiminin niteliklerini ve üretim koşullarını belirlemiştir, belirlemeye de devam edecektir.

Ali Baba und 40 Räuber'in *Komische Oper* tarafından Türkiye'den Almanya'ya göçün ellinci yılı etkinlikleri için sipariş edilmesi ve eserin *Komische Oper*'de sahnelenmesi yalnızca mekâna dair bir durum ortaya koymaz. Aksine ürünün sunulduğu kurumun kimliği ile ürün arasında doğrudan bir ilişki söz konusudur. Kurum, kimliğini, kültür alanındaki konumunu, işlevini ve kavramlarını ürüne aktarırken onu şekillendirmiştir. Bu açıdan *Ali Baba und 40 Räuber*, kurumsal kimliklerin üretimdeki şekillendirici etkisinin gözlenebildiği nadir örneklerden biridir. Buradan hareketle çalışmada *Komische Oper*, *Komische Oper*'in kurumsal kimliği ile *Ali Baba und 40 Räuber*'in arasındaki etkileşim sorgulanmıştır.

Ali Baba und 40 Räuber, bireysel ve kolektif üretimler arasındaki ilişki, bireyin ait olduğu topluluklar ve bu toplulukların müzik üretimleri göz önüne alınarak ele alınmıştır. Bu yönelim, bireysel üretimlerin kimi zaman üretimin türünün dışındaki deneme ve birikimden temellendiğini de göstermiştir. Böylece Almanya'daki Türkiye kökenlilerin müzik üretiminin değerlendirilmesinde bir değil, birden fazla alternatif okumanın mümkün olduğunu vurgulamak amaçlanmıştır.

Sonuç olarak *Ali Baba und 40 Räuber*, birey, bireysel üretim, topluluk ve topluluk üretiminin bireysel üretimdeki izleri, üretim ve kurumsal yapının ilişkisi ve kültür kurumlarının üretimindeki etkisi merkezlerinde analiz edilmiştir.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Objectives of the Dissertation

People from Turkey in the *Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Federal Republic of Germany, BRD) have been primarily evaluated in terms of group formations since they are collectively "conscious of identity, organization and purposeful contacts with [their] homeland" (Abadan-Unat, 2006, p. 296). However, this modifier signifies not just one homogenous group. Under the rubric of people from Turkey in the BRD there are in fact *Gastarbeiter* (guest workers), labor migrants, political migrants and refugees, second and third generations whose members were mostly born, grown up or educated in the BRD, as well as diverse ethnic and religious groups. That means that as far as people from Turkey in the BRD are concerned we are actually talking about several intertwining groups. Yet, each group –even if it is a compact group- is composed of both similar and different individuals. Overlooking this diversity sometimes attributes greater value to the group formation rather than to the individual, so that an individual's uniqueness, activity and effectiveness, its function as an agent of diverse groups, and its oscillation between them become almost invisible. Since the essential motivation of this dissertation is to focus simultaneously on individual and group formations, its primary objectives are (i) to reveal the relationship between the individual and collective production; (ii) to examine the effect of the individual on the groups and of the groups on the individual; (iii) to offer an evaluation that displays the transitions and connections between individual and collective production; and (iv) to investigate how these complex structures are realized in music.

When it comes to migrant and diasporic groups, it seems that there is a consensus among researchers about how such groups essentially tend to turn to the resources of their homelands and then to those of their new countries. Yet, this polarized structure prevents the recognition of other resources, and if they are recognized, they are usually disregarded or underemphasized.

However, especially in terms of people from Turkey in the BRD, there were and are other simultaneous negotiations that directly influence the cultural production and overpower the terminology in use. Therefore another objective of the dissertation is to make clear the unspoken resources of interaction in musical production.

Since mainstream studies on musical production of people from Turkey in the BRD generally follow the models and using the terms that were borrowed from other social sciences, especially sociology, I thought that the relationship between them and musical production should be examined in detail in order to investigate their ability to explain the musical material itself, the inner dynamics of music and the musical manifestations of the phenomena as related to migration, settlement, integration and/or separation. One of the secondary objectives of the dissertation is to provide such an evaluation and to examine the correspondence or divergence between them, when the musical material is brought to the forefront.

1.2 Methods of the Research

There have been many studies given by scholars and researchers from different disciplines' point of view. In this dissertation bibliography is composed of studies in social sciences written in Turkish, German and English, especially those that were produced in musicology, ethnomusicology, sociology and anthropology. Considering that the migration from the *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti* (Republic of Turkey, TC) to the BRD has different phases due to different motivations for migration, these studies were accepted as they reflected not the whole process but certain phases, and also because they contained the basic narratives and approaches of these phases. In this way, written sources such as books, articles and dissertations were primarily used in a form in which the interpretation of the writer was emancipated from the pure information and in a form in which the connection between information and interpretation was examined. In other words, these sources were used in order to derive alternative readings from the information they contain. Additionally, the bibliography was expanded with other sources, such as websites, and audio/visual materials.

The fieldwork was carried out in Berlin, Hannover and Köln in 2011, as the population of people from Turkey is larger in those cities. The field research contains not only artistic activities such as concerts, conferences, exhibitions and festivals, but

also social events such as wedding ceremonies and occasional gatherings by non-governmental organizations or in private spaces. In order to understand the past and current conditions in the BRD, face-to-face interviews were made with venue managers, administrators and members of non-governmental associations, and figures who were active in cultural production. Instead of giving these interviews as an independent chapter, it was found preferable to reconcile them in the general mechanism of the dissertation.

As musical production is the most important material for the dissertation, musical analysis -or analytical thinking on musical works- was used as a tool to make statements concrete. In other words, the musical material and its analysis were not only dealt with as the agencies or reflections, but also as constituents of the bigger structure.

1.3 Scope of the Study

One of the main issues that identifies the scope is related with the question of to which category of scholarly study on music this dissertation belongs. As Williams (2001) wrote, "a clear division between musicology and ethnomusicology now looks increasingly shaky" (p. 2) because musical production is not exempt from the changing production relations and life conditions; that means that the qualities of musical production are becoming too blurred to be easily categorized. As a necessary extension, musicologists and ethnomusicologists who focus on current and urban production have begun to check their engrained acceptances, categories, terminologies and methodological tools. The main subject of this dissertation, the opera *Ali Baba und 40 Räuber* by Taner Akyol, was selected since it is a good example of this intertwined quality of the musical production.

As opera is one of the main forms of Western classical music tradition, there is a convention about how to evaluate an opera. Such studies are naturally considered as they belong to the scope of musicology. In addition, musicology generally tends to examine such composers and works in terms of national schools, which was a historically purposeful categorization but which is not in question today. Even if the national schools were still dominant in Western classical music, an attempt to evaluate the composer and his work within the concept of national schools would fail. As one of the second-generation members of his family who migrated from Bursa to

Berlin but originally from Pülümür and also as a German citizen Akyol's identities create multiple questions about his nationality. He calls himself as an "assimilated ***Zaza*** and ***Alevi***"; thus his ethnic and religious identities refer to *de facto* minorities both in the TC and the BRD. His musical activities in diverse genres, such as jazz, contemporary and world music, as a ***bağlama*** player and composer duplicate the question about which musical tradition or systematic is foremost in his production. As can be seen in the analysis of *Ali Baba und 40 Räuber*, he often does not make a clear division between genres and does not hesitate to transport his experiences. Additionally, a comparison between the national opera examples of the past and *Ali Baba und 40 Räuber* ends up with certain discrepancies as well as similarities as discussed in the conclusion.

As far as people from Turkey in the BRD like Akyol are concerned, most of the researchers has followed models that have been produced in sociology and anthropology. The subject has therefore been evaluated with terms such as migration and migrant, diaspora, creolization, transnationalism and more recently hyphenated identities. Through this tendency, scholars who study music have expanded their scopes to consider the social and political conditions of cultural production, the collective production of culture, the function of music in the construction of collective identity and in the relationship between home- and hostland. However, this orientation bears some risks for any studies on music.

The most encountered risk is taking sociological and anthropological theories and terms as superior models and getting stuck within them without asking basic questions. In such cases, the quality of musical production becomes limited to the contexts of the transferred terms and concepts, and musical material becomes a supplementary tool used to support and verify these theories.

On the other hand, even though most of the above-mentioned concepts and terms have been recently transformed and re-described, studies on music display little awareness of these modifications; rather they use old conceptualizations that were emancipated from the past and which retain certain problematic meanings and

intimations. That is to say that most studies on music cannot approach these concepts and terms due to as the way in which their definitions and scopes have been updated. Because of the burden of meanings, intimations and residual categories such as the closeness or isolation of culture and the boundaries of cultural interaction, most of these factors and influences have been dismissed from the evaluation of the subject.

As a matter of fact, musicology, which is interdisciplinary in essence, has always taken and absorbed some tendencies, approaches and terms. Beginning with the founding fathers of the discipline, its definition, scope and subdivisions –and therefore its borrowings and collaborations with other disciplines in terms of methods and theories- have been mostly determined by a nineteenth century way of thinking and an encyclopedist tradition, which also determined the center of musicology as the Austro-German tradition and Western art music (Williams, 2001, p. 2). The chronological development of this center has been so well-established by impervious and stereotypical judgments that other influences and branches can barely find a place in it. Yet even the masters of the Austro-German tradition considered different elements and qualities when categorizing musical production:

> As I always found him [Mozart] busy studying the scores of French operas, I was bold enough to ask if he would not do better to devote his attention to Italian scores. 'In respect to melody yes, but in respect to dramatic effectiveness, no. Moreover, the scores you see here –apart from those of Grétry- are by Gluck, Piccini, and Salieri; they have nothing French about them but the words'. (as cited by Rice, n.d.)

The musicologists who identified this problem have begun to question the center of the discipline and its definition by the second half of the twentieth century. They first searched for a way out of the main two concepts, "masterpieces" and "great composers", through considering the already ostracized composers, works and styles, and they emphasized the existence and role of diverse traditions and re-interpreted the basic narratives of this tradition to break-down the hierarchies using post-structuralist approaches. Undoubtedly, the quality of post-war musical production, the need for a re-evaluation of Europe's cultural heritage, the emergence of diverse repertoires and the geographical expansion of European art music also played important roles in the change of approach and investigation. Additionally, there was a scholarly interest in the musical traditions of different geographic regions on one side; and on the other there was the development of sound recording and reproduction technologies, the emergence of a new kind of urban life and a new

genre called as popular music that was rising upon these changes, as well as a modernist discourse that interpreted all these developments in its own way. Charles Seeger and his followers in North America offered a more comprehensive definition and scope to break the modernist approach in musicology, and there was a shift from music as subject to music as an experience comprising composer, musician and audience, but the European branch of musicology held off the expansion for a long time in terms of categorizing both the past and current repertoires.

The above-mentioned convention is so strong and entrenched that even ethnomusicology as -to some extent- the antithesis of musicology's exclusivist and modernist attitude could not escape from it. While ethnomusicologists were objecting to the concept of music as an object and of comparative musicology, and collaborating more with anthropology and sociology in order to create an independent discipline (Bohlman, 2009), they mostly dismissed the idea that they were actually maintaining the approach that was the reason of their objection. Contradictorily and ironically enough, some ethnomusicological studies that focus on the local have produced a new map of culture, which also has certain impervious boundaries, and which has sometimes been used to realize elements written in political agendas written during the post-colonial period. This is partly because most of the ethnomusicological studies share musicology's categorizing, generalizing and modernist approach through putting group formations above the individual. However, as Bruno Nettle stated in 1978, "the musical world of the twentieth century is not so much as group of musics, but as a large network of musical interrelations" (p. 124). This means that considering musical production and activities of the twentieth century, at least as the forms of social/collective production, might cause the importance of the individual and individual activity that stands at the core of musical interrelationships to be missed. Moreover, it can be hypothetically assumed that even in homogeneous groups the means of production, preservation and interpretation of so-called traditional elements are determined by the will of some individuals.

Focusing on group formation itself creates two main problems. The first one the is absorption the individual by the group formation and dismissing the changes arise from certain individuals; that is to say that the individuals who are active in the change, transformation or preservation might become invisible or removed. The second one comes from the assumption of an individual as only belonging to one

group. As a matter of fact, the individuals in contemporary urban life are members of diverse groups, they transmit the effects of one group to the other and re-interpret them according to each group's quality and structure.

Dwelling on the necessity of individual-centric evaluation does not aim to reproduce the discussions on individualism and holism in social sciences. These contrasting approaches were investigated by many social scientists, notably by Pierre Bourdieu, Anthony Giddens and Norbert Elias by the second half of the twentieth century, and several attempts were made toward a kind of synthesis of these two approaches[1]. The aim here is neither to degrade all the activities to individual, or to shadow the individual as a free actor, nor is it to consider the activities of individual as they are determined by objective structures. On the contrary, the intention here is to claim that the discounted factors by both approaches, such as the importance of social wholes and the influence of individual on social phenomena (Bullock and Stallybrass, 1983, p. 387) are interdependent components, at least when it comes to the musical production of people from Turkey in the BRD. The question of which of the components has primacy over the other is excluded from the scope of this dissertation. The most important reason for this is the lack of such evaluations and narratives on past production. This also means that since the foundations are lacking, an attempt to evaluate past from today would likely fail or would be very speculative because the evaluation would be based only on surviving materials.

As a consequence, the dissertation's paradigm was selected as an individual and its work even though "individuals are never reducible to the social circumstances in which they develop but are indelibly marked by them" (Slimbach, 2005, p. 210), because both the individual and its work resist to the old and narrow categorizations and because, following Lawrence Kramer (2005), it was thought, "music, as music, is a source of historical knowledge and should therefore be a primary resource of critical inquiry" (p. 61). Thus the scope of the study is the musical production itself, and considers it to be self-sufficient in explaining the conditions, resources,

[1] See: Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; (1984). *Distinctions*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press; (1988). *Homo Academicus*, Cambridge: Polity Press. Giddens, A. (1984). *The Constitution of Society*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; (1991). *Modernity and Self-Identity*, Stanford: Stanford University Press; (1994). *Beyond Left and Right*, Cambridge: Polity Press. Elias, N. (1982). *The Civilizing Process Vol. 2: State Formation and Civilization, Oxford: Basil Blackwell*. Sewell, W. (1992). 'A Theory of Culture', *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 98 N. 1, pp. 1-30.

influences and historical events. In order to understand the interaction between the individual and group formations, the effects of collective production on individual production, first the cultural production related to people from Turkey in the BRD will be considered as a total, all-embracing entity including their activities in literature, cinema and music. The individual and its work will then be examined as a paradigm of this entity.

1.4 Organization of the Chapters

The dissertation consists of five chapters. The "Introduction" chapter explains the objectives of the dissertation, methods of the research, scope of the study, and organization of the chapters. The sub-chapter "Turkey and Germany: The Self as Resource" is a personal history and aims to show the effectiveness of the relationship between Germany and Turkey on a Turkish citizen who is not a migrant but who has some connections with Germany. The next sub-chapter "*Dasein*/Being-There" explains the writer's experience of Germany in 2011.

The second chapter "Questioning the Tools of Migration Literature for Study on Music" deals with migration and diaspora theories and terms. In the sub-chapter "Potentials and Boundaries" what these theories, terms and approaches can and cannot reveal about music given the way they have been used in studies is examined. The next sub-chapter "Reflections" is a kind of literature review of the musical production of people from Turkey but can be described rather as a critical reading of the literature. In other words, it aims to give a summary of how these theories, terms and approaches were used in the evaluation of the subject, and to discuss their shortages.

The third chapter "A History Through Cultural Production" contains five sub-chapters and aims to relate the migration phases in the light of cultural production and politics. The chapter suggests a periodization for the cultural production of people from Turkey in the BRD. In that vein, terms such as *Gastarbeiter* and migrant are used to identify different profiles. *Gastarbeiter* is primarily used for those who migrated in the first phase via bilateral recruitment agreements to the BRD;

"migrant" is used for the people who settled, independently of their wish to return. The statement "people from Turkey" is used to embrace people who have different legal statuses, such as those who have German citizenship but who migrated from the TC to the BRD, and those who define themselves not as "Turk" but as "from Turkey".

Each sub-chapter focuses on a certain period; each period was dealt according to the mainstream discourses, motives and concepts of cultural production and social lives shaped by politics. In that vein, the first sub-chapter titled "*Die Türken kommen*" tells the story of the *Gastarbeiter* and the production related to them. The second sub-chapter, "Political Refugees and Outsiders", is about another wave of migration and aims to show the political qualities and motivations of the production. The next sub-chapter, "The Period of Regulations", considers the production in relation to superstructure and base, dialectally. The fourth sub-chapter, "The Roaring 1990s", shows how this period echoes the roaring twenties and focuses on the unification of the Germanies and the revival of national sentiments. The last sub-chapter, "Fade-in to Other Frameworks", deals with the recent past and the present day, and aims to display current orientations of the cultural production in a more globalized age. However, remembering and considering that each attempt to write history contains selections and eliminations, the chapter does not claim that it covers all the story of the people from Turkey, but rather aims to reveal the path arriving to the subject matter individual and work.

In this chapter, the official names of states such as *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti* and *Bundesrepublik Deutschland* are used in their original versions in order to identify institutional frameworks; other expressions such as Turkey and Germany refer to cultural and geographical meanings. Other institutional names are also used in their original versions with their English translations in parenthesis. Since literary translations of all the mentioned works are not available, quotations from the original versions have been used in the main text in order to preserve the completeness of the works; their modest translations in the footnotes were made by the writer, if not mentioned otherwise. Quotations from interviews were translated into English and used in the main text without giving their original versions.

The fourth chapter "The Opera" refers to two meanings of the word, opera as work and opera as a genre, and focuses on *Ali Baba und 40 Räuber*. In order to evaluate

the work in its own right, analytical tools become a central issue. The first sub-chapter, "The Story of Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves as Representation and Metaphor", examines the survey of the story as a part of Antoine Galland's publication *Les Mille et Une Nuits* (One Thousand and One Nights) which has played an important role in the reception of the East by the West, and metaphorical meanings of the story and its treatment as the plot of the opera. The musical strategies and references the composer used in the opera were examined in the second sub-chapter, "Musical Analysis", which was divided into three sub-chapters: "Musical materials", "Compositional strategies", and "Musical characterizations and expressions". The third sub-chapter, "On the Stage", deals with the subjects related to the performance, such as scenery, dramaturgy and costumes.

Finally, the "Conclusion" chapter aims to evaluate the work in the light of the findings. This chapter also explains why the terms and concepts that were discussed in the second chapter often fall short in the way they are used in musicological and ethnomusicological studies, and what can be considered as their alternatives. In short, the dissertation is organized as a process to reach the statements in the "Conclusion".

The Appendices were divided into four parts. "Appendix A: Documentation" contains the documents and articles that were mentioned in the main text for further reading. English translations were used where available; in other cases the documents were given in their original language. "Appendix B: DVD Content" in DVD format contains audio/video recordings that were explained or mentioned in the main text. "Appendix C: The Composer and His Work" contains documents in reference to Taner Akyol and *Ali Baba und 40 Räuber* including the synopsis and musical numbers of the opera, a list of works, a discography, and newspaper reports on Akyol and critiques on *Ali Baba und 40 Räuber*. "Appendix D: Glossary" is a small glossary of Turkish words, expressions, instruments and terms that are written in bold and italic in the main text.

1.5 Turkey and Germany: The Self as Resource

Every study occupies an important part of its owner's personal history; it usually spreads to include the whole life but always remains incomplete. Similarly, the study for this dissertation began before its *de facto* start, will remain incomplete after it is submitted and accepted.

My relation with Germany began with an ordinary but ambitious wish to learn a foreign language as a child which developed far beyond what I and my parents, who half-consciously directed me towards learning German, had foreseen. I experienced, Ludwig Wittgenstein's well-known phrase "the limits of my language mean the limits of my world", which may refer to other facts apart from its meaning in the philosophy of language. It is important to see that the changing and expanding world of a single individual may be determinative and leading for the other members of its family, and to recognize that all complicated supra-individual relationships also depend on the individual itself, as well as its own development and will. It is not simply an effort to provide a basis or a coincidence that in his book *Berlin Mektupları* (Berlin Letters, 1993) Haldun Taner reveals his own personal history as related to Germany by stating that his grandfather, while working as the director of the first publishing house (*Matbaa-i Amire*) in the Ottoman Empire, had often traveled to Leipzig and that his house smelled like German cigar (p.7). Like all other individuals who have connections with Germany, it encompasses the lives of all the members of my family; and once these kinds of connections are made, they do not remain limited to one generation; on the contrary they create a network consisting of different stories of individuals, and gradually become more intricate.

Although the doors Germany and the German language opened to me were not in the general direction of Turkey-Germany relations, I had some correspondence in that direction, which is something I have in common with many citizens of the TC; as everybody has at least one relative who lives in Istanbul or Germany. *Alaman* and *Alamancı* ("German" or "from Germany" in the vernacular), the housekeeper's son who is either going to or returning from Germany has been a common figure in Turkish society for fifty years. That means that Germany is a well-known country for many, whether they have been in Germany or not. However, it is not easy to recognize the potential of these intertwined relations, how it transforms and affects today's individuals and future generations, and how it makes all the individuals interrelated and interdependent from top to bottom, at a glance.

Turkey's interest in Germany and the intent of examining it from an academic approach are surrounded with all these facts in addition to the strong background of Germany's academic fields. However, when the position changes; that is, when a Turkish citizen observes Germany from within Germany, quite another series of

criteria come into play. While the diversity of the components offers a huge amount of interpretive opportunities, it is flung in researcher's face that its study somehow not worthy. That is the situation I have been experienced in my almost 22- years relationship with Germany.

Paul Hindemith's reports on Turkish musical life *Vorschläge für den Aufbau des türkischen Musiklebens*[2] (Suggestions for the Constitution of Turkish Musical Life), gave me the first impetus to understand the relationship between the two countries. During my undergraduate education, partly because of Hindemith's writing style and the complexity of the phenomenon that shaped the reports, and partly because of the pressures of student life, studying Hindemith's reports was very slowly and irregular; and at the beginning it was only a matter of translation. However, it became an area of concentration when I started my master education in Music Advanced Studies at Istanbul Technical University, and these reports became my final project at that institution. The histories of both countries, the social and political atmosphere of World War II, the effects of these on the individuals and state politics, and the operation of these policies through individuals by governmental instruments had penetrated to Hindemith's reports. On the other hand, Hindemith's letters written to his correspondent in Turkey, Cevat Dursunoğlu, to which I was able to gain access via the *Hindemith Institut Frankfurt* and Inci Kut, the daughter of Turkish musicologist Cevad Memduh Altar, showed me how the process was full of drama, rivalry and conflict:

> Dear Cevat Bey, Thanks God your letter has arrived today. Since I did not hear from you, I sank to despair. In the meantime I was bombarded with phone calls and letters of hundreds of people, all want to go to Turkey. Even dealing with the candidates is a job in its own. The musicians who have applied have been waiting for news for weeks.[3]

Hindemith himself, these migrants and the other actors in the process became so familiar to me that I felt as if I had really spent time with them, even though I could not learn all of their first names; that was a new kind of relationship I had never experienced before.

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[2] See for full text in German: Hindemith, P. (2013). *Vorschläge für den Aufbau des türkischen Musikleben*, Düsseldorf: Staccato Verlag; in Turkish: Hindemith, P. (2013). *Hindemith Raporları1935/1936/1937,* trans. by Elif Damla Yavuz, Ankara: Sevda-Cenap And Vakfı Yayınları.

[3] 12 July 1935, from Paul Hindemith to Cevat Dursunoğlu. The letter is on Cevad Memduh Altar Archive-Istanbul.

I became acquainted with the migration phenomenon -whether the reason of migration is economical or political, whether the migrant is a worker or an academician- through being a foreigner in a country and its psychology, after I had worked on these reports. Unlike the migration from Turkey to Germany, the Turkish state foresaw a privileged professional and social position for these migrants coming in small groups, however where there are *human beings*, there might also be failures even though the plans are well thought through and comprehensive. Unpredictably for the owner of the plans, these migrants had to face many social problems during their residencies in Turkey. Thus Hindemith and his colleagues had to deal with all kinds of social problems along with technical and organizational ones. Hindemith's report of 1937 contains a section with the title *Der Fall Halil* (The Halil Case, Hindemith, 2013, p. 174) which is, ironically, concerned with the social problems between the musicians who came from Germany and the musicians who were already in the symphony orchestra (*Cumhurbaşkanlığı Senfoni Orkestrası*).

After almost 23 years, the direction of migration from Turkey to Germany was in the background of the re-establishment efforts of the BRD, and unlike the previous migration process, it was not expected and more importantly not wished for that the workers from Turkey would contribute to the cultural life of Germany. For that reason, that flow offers different possibilities to evaluate the subject because the actors of these migration waves were quantitatively larger; most of them are still alive, they had and still have permanent lives in Germany and they have been leaving more visible traces.

Another expansion comes from the fact that the migration from Turkey to Germany is not monolithic but consists of different migration processes of people from different social classes with different migration motivations.

My secondary education at the beginning of the 1990s, coincide with the second phase of the migration. This is usually called the family unification period, when the second generation arrived, and the social discussions ignited by *Cartel* arose in both countries. It was recognized that migration and migrants were influential in the last 20 years of Germany's social life and would be even more influential in the future. That awareness also caused the emergence of conservative, anxious and reactionary fronts in both countries.

The secondary school where I studied had developed an atypical education strategy – and it is probably atypical even today. The school admitted not only the successful students who passed the entrance examination, but also those students whose families had been living in Germany or who had returned to Turkey, without taking a school entrance examination. In the first years of education, it was a necessity to separate these two types of student groups because while one group had to learn German, the other group had to be taught according to the Turkish education system. After the preparatory year, these groups were unified. This education strategy was the declaration that the school administrators were aware of the advantages and disadvantages of each group, but that the members of future societies could not be created according to local or present conditions. The students' attitude towards each other was just like the administration had planned and expected. The fluent German speaking skills of one group were always envied by the others, and vice versa, and the success of the students who passed the entrance examination were always the subject of envy. A similar situation was also valid for the teaching staff, which consisted of the German and Turkish teachers. All the staff had to teach while keeping in their mind that these students had more than one alternative, they might go to Germany or they might want to stay in Turkey. Some students went to Germany for their undergraduate education, some started their professional career by working in Germany-based incorporations, and almost all of them continued their social relations with Germany, which were founded during the student exchange activities at the school. However, it was remarkable that the students' presentations explaining their expectations, experiences and observations showed that the students from Germany, in particular, had little information about Turkey and their friends. However, we had much more information about Germany and Germans because our grammar books were full of these narratives; we knew how successful Boris Becker and Steffi Graff were and how to make a potato salad in the German style.

As I began my graduate education, focusing on people from Turkey in the BRD was not one of the options. As my advisor Professor Songül Karahasanoğlu led me to the subject, I started to read to improve my knowledge and had to completely re-evaluate my own situation when I went to Germany for fieldwork. Many things that I considered to be my advantages turned out to be mere details. Although I had been in Germany many times, lived there for a while and still have a family member who

lives in Germany, I was so *empty*; it was as if Germany was a totally new country and society to me. To question why I felt empty affected the direction of the study deeply, forasmuch as I recognized that each time period has unique characteristics, each study is a kind of reflection of certain time period and each evaluation basically belongs to a certain time period.

My journey to Germany in 2011 coincided with the fiftieth anniversary of migration from Turkey to Germany, and was different in its all procedures. Because I had a green passport, I had previously been exempt from visa and residential permit procedures, which meant that I did not have to apply to official agencies. However, in 2003 when the *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach Gymnasium* accepted my brother as a student, we experienced how tough these procedures could be when his application for a residential permit was denied. To be accepted by one of the highest and hardest units of Germany's secondary education system was an achievement on it own – because the student has to prove an ability in English and French as well as in German- it was unrealistic to think that a 13-year old boy could manage to live alone in Germany, and more importantly it was not possible for a boy to apply to residential permit alone, therefore one of the parents also had to apply. That was the point at which all the procedures were locked. It was thought by the German officials that if the child and one of its parents had a residential permit, it would pave the way for the migration of the other family members. So the German officials decided to deny it completely. Talks were held with parliamentarians of that time who had migrated from Turkey; prominent business companies mediated to convince the officials that this would not encumber the German state economically. However, it took a year until the permit was given, and it was already void. As we changed our direction from a Germany that had -fairly or unfairly- developed susceptibilities due to migration, to Austria and left this battle of intention-reading experience with official agencies and consulates behind, I was to go through all of this again in 2011 as I applied for a visa.

1.6 *Dasein*/Being-There

Keeping the past experiences in my mind and therefore acting early, I applied to the German Consulate in Izmir with all my documents. Of course I was not expecting that the officials in the consulate would know what fieldwork research is, but the

interrogative attitude I encountered, and the obligation to express myself and my intention constantly created a serious psychological pressure and an area of conflict. Since my co-advisor, Professor Ralf Martin Jäger, was more experienced in official procedures and official perception, the problem was solved in couple of months through his intervention with both the *Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst* (German Academic Exchange Service, DAAD) and the visa application service. There were such moments that even the DAAD could not understand the reason for the delay, and it was so soothing because it shows that such an apparent eclipse of reason comes not from mere personal and social perceptions. Even though the rules and processes are not personal matters, you feel that you are a neutral element when you become a part of those rules and processes; you begin to question your capability of expression, and this struggle does not end when you granted a visa and enter Germany.

The day after my arrival in Germany I informed the officials about my entrance and address; I offered all the correspondences made with the DAAD, scholarship certificate and financial assurance. I assumed that things could not go wrong, but they did. If the residential permit were not a serious obstacle for the social life and mobility that I needed, it would not have been such an issue. However, without a residential permit, one becomes unable to answer basic needs, such as opening an account in a bank, renting an apartment or room, or even making mobile phone subscription. Thus you have to communicate with the *ones of yours*. You are in need of friends, or friends of friends who would not ask for a residential permit to rent out an apartment or who would make a proxy mobile phone subscription. Most of the time a friend or a familiar whose existence are totally unknown to you might become involved in your life and become *the special one* who solves your problems; the promptness of your savior becomes the center of your life. Thus you recognize that the network and group of migrants are not only the result of being not integrated to a new society, or of in search of *old in new*. The system first pushes you toward that circle, and it then confines you within its boundaries, and it takes a long time to get away. The criteria of integration -which is spoken everywhere in Germany- such as speaking German, being familiar with Germany and its lifestyle, later step in as real factors and advantages. Consequently, my application for a residential permit had not been answered positively or negatively by I left Germany. I was not able to solve my

problems by myself and in every phase of my residency in Germany I needed someone else. I had to find the solution of my *voidness* as an individual through *integrating* to the group to which I was taken as a *natural* member.

On the other hand, *our* group was not also exempt from prejudgments. If you had met *your* people, especially in a non-governmental organization, and if this organization had certain political motivations, you had to prove your aim to them; your opinions were examined by direct or indirect questions, immediately and constantly. You are allowed to enter their inner world only if you give the answers they expect, otherwise you are easily considered as a secret agent who gathers information for security services. I encountered such attitudes that turned my happiness and pride in obtaining a privileged scholarship to a secret. It was an obstacle created by people who also complain about the ignorance and arrogance of the official organizations.

The second obstacle was the problem of the accuracy of the information given by individuals, and of the profile they presented of themselves. I heard many little white lies; for example almost nobody accepts that s/he is a child of a worker; on the contrary everybody says that his/her parents migrated for political reasons, or that s/he has bachelor's degree. The individuals who describe themselves in that way also consider *the others* in their group to be the obstacles for integration. Through isolating themselves from the problem they find some debatable sanctions of the government to be justified. In other words, each individual believes migrants are a problem, of course excepting themselves. However, G.F. was the one who affected me deeply.

G.F. was a member of a *Türk Sanat Müziği* (literally Turkish art music, TSM) choir in Hannover. It was an amateur choir composed of middle-aged people. G.F. was introduced to me in the garden as the only German member of the choir. Despite his age, he was very hale and extroverted. His spoken Turkish was perfect, and he spoke with an accent peculiar to non-Muslims. He told me that he had been born in Istanbul, where his father had been officially, appointed, but that during World War II he and his family had to return to Germany, and that since then he had never broken his relationship with Turkey and people from Turkey. We agreed to meet once more to talk about this interesting story in more detail. A couple of days later we met in a Turkish bakery and talked for almost three hours about Istanbul in the

1930s, Germany during the World War II, the first years of migration and the first experiences of migrants. His perfect memory was also remarkable. The man in front of me was so interesting that I felt the need to ask the others about him. Most of them were content to smile but finally someone told me that G.F. was not a German but a Turk who had changed his first and last name after he married a German woman, and that he had been telling the same story for years, and although the others knew the truth, they had been participating in his role playing. The fake story of G.F. was more important than the real story; or rather, the motivation behind this fake story was more crucial to me. He had been acting as if he was a German but at the same time he had been living among the people who migrated from Turkey, and this was not only because he was psychologically unhealthy, but also due to the social environment which instigated his psychological problem. On the other hand he seemed like he had chosen to do this role-playing because he thought that the Germans did not understand or appreciated the migrants from Turkey. Thus as a *German* he had been showing an interest and giving praise to the migrants by explaining how much he had learned from them.

Being in Germany in 2011 and studying on the subject meant that the things to be done, both quantitatively and qualitatively, were doubled. Due to the fiftieth anniversary of the migration there were lots of activities. These activities offered important data about people from Turkey and the perception of them with their content, participants, audiences and organizational styles, but only a few of them went out of the mainstream or stereotypes. The underlying meaning of all the activities was to espouse the people migrated from Turkey or their children as members of a society and to create a impetus to understand their cultural practices. The questions asked in conferences and concerts were the extensions of ordinary expectations. None of the writers, musicians or speakers could escape from the homeland, integration and parallel societies problematic. All of them complained about this situation in our private interviews. The answers that were given in one conference were repeated in another like tirades. Thus the epithets coming before their names -such as migrant or Turkish- took precedence over the production itself and whatever they did, these epithets loomed over their lives like an impassable wall. For example, in our personal interview on October 3, 2011, Murat Coşkun, a percussionist and artistic director of a frame drum festival in Freiburg, told me that

he preferred to make instrumental music because he wanted to escape from national and ethnic references. Undoubtedly, the reason of such questions was that in every conference there were new audiences who needed such explanations. That means, *new natives*, and especially people from Turkey, were still an undiscovered subject for the *usual natives* of German society. It was generally accepted that Germany's social structure now contains diversity but there was still no idea about what its components might be.

Since the migrant and minority groups are part of daily politics, some terms and concepts are constantly changing conceptually or are becoming inoperative in the public discourse. More importantly, the perceptions of the concepts and terms may differ from country to country. These differences show that individuals are mobile not only physically, but also ideologically. My intention with the statement "ideological mobility" here is not the change of ideological position of an individual during its lifetime, rather it is the individual's different position-taking about the same subjects at the same time. For example, a first generation migrant who had to flee to Germany because of his left-wing political activities said that he found the practice of compulsory education of German language to be correct, and that everybody should learn to speak German because they live in Germany. In spite of his very liberal political views he and many others did not think that such a compulsory act is an intrusion of the state in the individual's life. However, and an insist of the state on the previous forms of nation and citizen. However, he also said that Turkish state could not overlook or impose what languages are to be spoken or learned in Turkey.

The Yakamoz festival in Hannover between 12th and 23rd October 2011 was organized by *Hannoversche Gesellschaft für Neue Musik* (Society for New Music of Hannover) was supported by the Turkish Consulate-General in Hannover and the federal state government, and gave me an expression about the current situation of people from Turkey in Germany. The program of the festival[4] was created to present the multifaceted qualities of Turkish music and culture. Indeed during the festival days, the residents of Hannover attended the concerts of world music groups FizFüz and the Pera Ensemble, of Fazıl Say and the Borusan Quartet, of Taner Akyol as a

[4] See Appendix A, Figure A.1.

contemporary composer and of the Burhan Öcal Trio; to the readings of Feridun Zaimoğlu, Selim Özdoğan and Deniz Utlu, to a symposium in the *Hochschule für Musik, Theater und Medien Hannover* (High School for Music, Theater and Media Hannover). The organizers of the festival were clearly aware of the need for new perspectives to people from Turkey and their production. However, the program revealed to me that most mature and well-known cultural works of people from Turkey were given in the field of literature. It was quite surprising because nothing else can prove that the context of the public debates on integration is confined to artificial frameworks.

Figure 1.1 : Ensemble FizFüz in the Yakamoz Festival.

During my residency in Germany I made some short trips to different cities. Of course, I cannot claim that I have ideas in-depth knowledge about the whole Germany, but these trips were enough to understand that the concept of *one* Germany is a sweeping generalization. Germany consists of diverse structures depending on the demographic structure of the city or region, the political tendency of its residents, and if there are migrants, the history of migration and the factor of the migrants as individuals and groups. For example, I did not recognize the difference between Köln and Berlin or the reason for this difference before doing my fieldwork. Both cities seemed cosmopolitan, and in one sense global to me, but I finally noticed that

Köln, locating in the heart of industrial part of Germany, was one of the main residential districts of people from Turkey, especially before the Unification and therefore had more rooted and well-established relations. Köln as the center of the *Islamische Gemeinschaft Milli Görüş e.V*. (Islamic Community Milli Görüş), the *Alevitische Gemeinde Deutschland e.V*. (Alawite Community of Germany) and the *KulturForum TürkeiDeutschland* (Turkey-Germany Cultural Forum) had a wide sphere of influence over the neighboring districts. The city can even be called the institutional capital of people from Turkey in the BRD. One can also recognize this institutional structure or attitude in musical activities. The practice session of a TSM choir in Köln was the most organized and serious I had ever seen in the BRD. The practice place was in one of the buildings that belongs to the municipality; their instructor was a former member of the *Türkiye Radyo ve Televizyon Kurumu* (Radio and Television Corporation of Turkey, TRT) and had been also trying to teach the ***usul***s of the songs. These the songs were chosen from the TRT repertoire, sung from the TRT scores and accompanied by ***ud*** and violin that were also played by former members of the TRT; unlike the other examples, the social motivations and relations did not interrupt the practice session.

On the other hand, the population of people from Turkey in Berlin actually increased after Unification; before Unification Turkish-Berlin was largely limited to Kreuzberg. Unlike Köln, the networks in Kreuzberg did not display institutional structures. When Kreuzberg moved to the center of the city after Unification, the already un-institutional relations merged into the city's new configuration.

Figure 1.2 : Practice session of TSM Choir in Köln-2011.

Berlin and especially Köln led me to think about the relations of the cities. When I looked closer, I recognized that there were more than one center and center-periphery relationship in terms of the cultural activities of people from Turkey in the BRD. It should be not understood that some cities are like satellites that turn around the centers, because it is obvious that periphery cities take, select, elect or reject some reflections which come from the centers, and there are some practical reasons related to organizations' capacity for activities. For instance, when an association wants to organize a concert, its members contact other organizations in closer cities and try to share and reduce the expenses. Thus, a series of similar events take place in the cultural agenda. The same networks also operate in music, theater and folk dance courses through instructors. Most of the instructors drive to closer cities on certain days to teach in courses offered by associations. It means that in some places there are strong connections created by the mobility of the individuals and by the networks of associations.

However, there are some examples that show the center-periphery relationship is not limited to country borders. Köln, for instance, does not only reflect its influences on Düsseldorf, Wuppertal and Solingen, but also to the closer cities of the Netherlands and Belgium. Similarly, Ozan Batı, the venue manager of the Zaga Club in

Düsseldorf and Köln, said in our interview that they had many customers who actually resided in the Netherlands or Belgium. I asked him what the models for their entertainment style were, and who they followed. He said that they looked to Istanbul, New York and Amsterdam. This statement shows that there are some centers that are not geographically close but close enough to follow: world metropoli. A recent fashion in nightlife supports this idea: concept parties, especially "*rakkas*" (meaning dancer) and "***halay***" parties. The external features of these parties are not different to other kinds of parties: a long queue in front of the venues, young women and men in chic or stylish clothes, DJs and their playlists that contain tracks from every popular genre, and sometimes a band that performs live. In essence, there are only a few things that resemble the homeland as a local reference: diverse interpretations of folk songs or popular folk-like songs mixed with the rhythms of popular electronic music, rhythmic patterns that are called as "oriental", instruments like ***elektro-saz*** and ***zurna***, sounds of ***zılgıt***s and the dances.

Figure 1.3 : Posters of Halay (above, Url-1) and Rakkas (below, Url-2) parties.

The lectures I attended at *Universität-Bielefeld* (Bielefeld University) gave me other impressions about the young people there. Considering the people from Turkey in

Bielefeld and its vicinity, *Universität-Bielefeld* was offering some courses such as reading, understanding and writing academic texts in Turkish. One of the remarkable courses was on the relationship of the TC and the European Union. Interestingly, as the discussions began in one lecture, the students became their parents. The arguments they gave were the reflections of the old judgments. Most of them thought that the TC would not become a member of the European Union because the Europeans had well-established negative ideas about Turkish people and Muslims. Some of them felt guilty because they thought that they could not represent Turkey well enough. Almost everybody was of the opinion of that the public in Germany did not support the TC's membership to the European Union. The instructor divided the students into two groups. One group should list the newspapers and magazines in Germany and give a number between one and five according to their attitudes toward the membership of Turkey and the other should list the TV and radio channels. Then the lists were brought together; however the total score and the results surprised the students because it showed that there was a kind of balance between the negative and positive ideas. To me, it was not important whether this small experiment revealed the true situation or not, what was important to me was seeing their complicated feelings about the country in which they have been living. Most of them could not even speak Turkish fluently and preferred to debate in German. They seemed "well-integrated" as the state demanded, and did not have any plans to go to Turkey, however they were indecisive about Germany.

These indecisive feelings were not specific only to the young people. Murad Bayraktar, a journalist and moderator in *Westdeutscher Rundfunk* (West German Broadcasting, WDR) also said in our interview of November 12th, 2011 that it was very hard to decide whether or not to take German citizenship. He said that willingly expatriating from Turkish citizenship seemed to him like losing a part of his identity and past. As he said, he had to choose one, and chose the German citizenship for practical and bureaucratic reasons.

Turning back to the issue of cultural activities, another factor that plays an important role is the attitude of local authorities. The associations and their activities that have support from local authorities were quite different than the ones which do not. For instance, such an association in Karlsruhe annually organizes a Turkish festival and receives financial and locational support from the local government. Thus, the

association can expand the scope of the festival and the number of the participants and audiences; and finally the festival can get rid of monotype programs and audiences. Because the festival's main venue is one of the most prestigious buildings of Karlsruhe, all of its residents believe that the cultural production and figures participating in the festival program are qualitatively high. On the other hand, a non-government association in Hannover was isolated and introverted because they could not provide a cooperative and collaborative network either with the local authority or with the other non-government associations. That disability strongly affected the scope and direction of its activities, and prevented diversity. Such associations finally become satellites of the other strong associations, and more importantly because of that, some of the non-government associations' activities are not planned according to the need or tendency of the social structure; on the contrary they have to be content with stereotypical styles and events that are reflections of different social structures and needs. Due to the lack of the locational support, most of the events are performed in inappropriate venues and conditions, thus making the event more important than its content or operation.

Figure 1.4 : Badischen Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe (Url-3).

On the other hand, the lack of the systematical organizations can reveal an area of freedom. The venues of non-government associations can turn into open spaces where events are not planned by a group of administrators. The schedules of such associations were obscure, changeable and not publicly unannounced. That *ambiguity* or spontaneity leads to difficulties in understanding the whole body

because the structure is far beyond an order or plan and is always in flux. Although the plurality hinders the view of the panorama, it also puts forward the individual and spontaneous groups so that one recognizes that the individual is the most ignored component of the body by the literature on the subject and the approaches of research studies.

Figure 1.5 : Musicking at the Association of Music and Culture Lovers, Hannover.

It was hard to maintain this face to face communication or interaction after leaving Germany, and social media was not a solution or substitute, although today's individuals and groups seem to be in close touch through the use of social media.

The groups founded on the popular social media platforms were not only limited with regard to further research, but could also be misleading in most cases. Even in face-to-face communication it was hard to reveal the differences and contradictions between the reality and the displayed reality, but it was almost impossible to reveal them on the social media platforms. The lack of studies into how these people use social media platforms also points to one of the missing aspects of the research subject. Therefore the social media platforms I had followed before I went to Germany were not useful after seeing the real situation; the shared news on these platforms were minor pieces of information.

When I returned to Turkey after completing my fieldwork, my definite judgment was that the structure I faced with was multi-axial. I could see that the bigger group formation and its production displayed a large amount of diversity so that none of the components could be put at the center as each component had an effect on the others. Finally, I recognized that even in a single orientation I would not be able to ignore the multiple parts that constituted the bigger structure. Taner Akyol, whom I had met at the Yakamoz Festival in Hannover, stepped in as a problem-solver at this point. Akyol was a member of multiple groups of people from Turkey in the BRD. He was a child of a family that experienced the first inner migration then external migration, and was educated both in the TC and the BRD; his and his family's political past and views had crossings points with the political migration wave from the TC to the BRD. *Ali Baba und 40 Räuber*, which he composed was not performed when we met but I thought –actually I only felt- that the opera could offer a great deal of data on the interrelation of production and institutional identities, which had taken my attention during the course of my fieldwork. As a consequence, I chose Taner Akyol and *Ali Baba und 40 Räuber* as a reasonable limitation for my dissertation.

I first started thinking about the evaluations of the fifty-year production, and tried to interpret the past in order to arrive at Taner Akyol and *Ali Baba und 40 Räuber*, since Akyol and his composing an opera seemed to be an anomalous example within the production of people from Turkey in the BRD. On the other hand, it also seemed impossible that such an understanding did not come to Akyol's mind all of sudden. I assumed that the foundations of *Ali Baba und 40 Räuber* could be found in the collective production and past experiences of people from Turkey in the BRD, and constituted my desire to have my dissertation to make this statement concrete.

2. QUESTIONING THE TOOLS OF MIGRATION LITERATURE FOR STUDY ON MUSIC

2.1 Potentials and Boundaries

Due to the mass migration movements of the second half of the twentieth century, the musical practices of migrant groups have become one of the axes of studies on music. As Thomas Solomon (2006a) states, Born and Hesmondhalgh could confidently announce in 2000 that "in contrast with ethnomusicology's former object of study –"traditional musics"- it is diasporic music that has moved to the center attention" (p. 77). This can be considered as an inevitable move because the social and political structure of today's Western World in particular has been determined by mass migration. The need for cheap labor force by industrial countries for rebuilding programs after the two world wars resulted in mass migration from countries where political and economical order could not be stabilized. By the 1980s the industrial countries' capacity to accept migrants had almost reached its upper limit, migrants had become settled and more importantly the plans of return to their homelands were laid aside. This was particularly true with the engagement of the second generation, that is, the children of migrant workers. Even if the migrations of the second half of the twentieth century are taken as a single phenomenon, one can easily recognize that the phenomenon itself has continuity, and the process is not and will not be completed. This means that the number of people who have migration experience and background is indefinite. Moreover, such calculations become more

complicated if the different legal statutes are taken into account. However, if the numbers of International Organization for Migration are considered[5] it can be seen that the total number of international migrants has increased over the last ten years from an estimated 150 million in 2000 to 214 million persons; in other words, 3.1 % of the world's population are migrants and this percentage is still increasing.

Mass migration deeply affects social lives and becomes an issue not only in sociology and anthropology, but also in many other disciplines such as political sciences because the states have to face with the problem of knowing their new citizens and integrating them into their societies. The potential and resources of the migration literature created by all these actors have been often used by studies focusing on music and musical production. However, it should not be forgotten that each part of the literature reflects only certain *moments*, whereas the migration is usually not a single movement or phase, but is rather a process, and that each discipline evaluates the subject according to its own orientation.

On the other side, there is an ambiguity about the meaning and scope of some terms because most of them are used as if they are as synonyms. As in the example of "diaspora", some terms have been used in such a way that they lose their analytical acuity and usefulness (Alinia, 2007, p. 30). When the term and concept of diaspora moved away from its meaning in the ancient world and was described as "identities which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference" by Stuart Hall (1993, p. 235), there is an inevitable dilution, change and expansion in the meaning of the term (Cohen, 1996, p. 514). Similarly Rogers Brubaker (2005) points out that the recent extensions of the term has become more attenuated with the references to the paradigmatic cases (p. 2) since scholars and researchers have been evaluating almost each migrant group as a diasporic community because these communities continue their relations with their homelands. Thus theory, discourse and diverse experiences coming together have created a complicated body of diasporas. This articulation is followed by the entanglement of keeping them separate in the practice (Clifford, 1994, p. 302). Ethnomusicologist Ursula Hemetek (2008) accordingly has some doubts about the interoperability of the diaspora:

[5] See Appendix A, Figure A.2.

> It does not seem to be quite clear that it means nowadays, but it usually indicates some relationship of the immigrant community to the culture of 'origin'. But of course this definition would be doubtful in cases when we talk about the third generation of immigrants. What would be the culture of origin then? (p. 8)

The basic conceptual tools of diaspora studies are home- and hostland. Accordingly, there is a center that indicates the displacement, and there are another centers that indicate re-gatherings (Safran, 1991, pp. 83-84). It is assumed that re-gathered groups experience a conflict between the actual place and time in which they live, and the place and time they left behind. The homeland continues its existence in new country through becoming abstract and notional, rather than imaginary. Since the diaspora is conceptualized as "the extension of the place left behind", it stresses "the presumed rootlessness of migrant populations in the here and now of diaspora and their perpetual longing for then and there" (Adelson, 2005, p. 8). With the intimation of the diaspora's etymology[6], the "diasporic experience is viewed in terms of displacement rather than placement, traveling rather than dwelling" (Clifford, 1994, p. 313), and thus the rootlessness of diasporic groups is solidified with traumatic experiences. While rootless migrants interpret both centers of displacement and re-gathering, they create alternative or parallel spaces. Thus the members of the group are mixed up in two centers, and in the past and present, break the consistency and synchronism of time in which they live. The reason why this situation has negative connotations is that the center of displacement is an *imagined* homeland as stated by Cohen (1996, p. 516). That means, the group is living in a design that might have little connection with the current realities, and it is implied that its production might be determined by the psychological action and reaction to that design.

When William Safran stated the basic criteria of diaspora and indicated the Jewish diaspora as the ideal type, he actually took the quite ancient and quasi-mythical center and the dispersal from it as his basis. However, it can be claimed that even in terms of the Jewish diaspora, there is no single center of dispersal. For instance, for a Sephardic Jew, the center of dispersal -and therefore the center of return- is not modern-day Israel (Clifford, 1994, p. 305). Considering that, the center of return might also be a notional center, which might be the representation of being powerful and dominant or of some *golden ages*, rather than a physical center. As Alanna E.

[6] from Greek *diaspora* "dispersion", from *diaspeirein* "to scatter about, disperse".

Cooper (2006) pointed out, the periods of King David and King Solomon are *utopic* periods for the Jewish people (p. 100), but being the ruling group as well as living in homeland is also a part of this utopia. Indeed, that component of the utopia can be traced back to the Old Testament in which Jewish people were promised not only land but also hegemony over that land.

Because the dispersal is considered to have been forced, Safran's followers emphasize the traumatic effect of dispersal. Similarly Robin Cohen (1996) states in his article "Diasporas and the Nation-State: from Victims to Challengers" that "since the Babylonian Exile, the homelessness of Jews has been a leitmotiv in Jewish literature, art, culture, and of course, prayer" and that "the use of the word "Babylon" alone was enough to evoke a sense of captivity, exile, alienation and isolation" (pp. 508-509), so he points to a collective historical trauma. According to him (1996), similar scarring historical events that connect diasporas can also be found in African, Armenian, Irish and Palestinian Diasporas –so-called victim diasporas- (p. 513). Such traumas lead to a lack of acceptance, segregation and therefore a sense of being always a foreigner. Although Cohen and his followers expanded –in one sense, softened- Safran's criteria of diaspora and categorized the concept into five types (classical, victim, labor and imperial, trade, and cultural), they maintained the notion of trauma and segregation for each diasporic group. According to Cohen, the desire to return or the idealization of returning is not a requisite for every diasporic group and cannot be generalized to all of them (Alinia, 2007, p. 101). It can be said that the first break or separation within the concept of diaspora came from the unwillingness of some diasporic groups to return to their homelands.

The cultural production of diasporic groups is determined by the representation of self and negotiating with otherness. While the desire to return is expressed with elegiac and melancholic qualities, segregation might be expressed in reactionary ways. The concern of music study is how these elements of two centers are involved in the musical production, what is the function of musical production in this process -in the construction of identity-, and what are the symbolic references of musical production, to change or to resist to change. However, there are many points on which the concept of diaspora is silent.

The first problem encountered is the duality of the centers –home- and hostland- as the influence and interaction spaces. Before all else, accepting the duality of the

centers also means accepting of some boundaries such as national, ethnic or religious. However, such an acceptance conflicts with the revised definition of culture that was a result of the criticism of holistic and essentialist notions. In a further step, these pre-acceptances –whether they are defined comprehensive or not- cause to the perception of that there are two monolithic and homogeneous units and they somehow unify. Thus the divergences are considered as negative fractures that shunt from the main line.

The evaluations by the early studies on migration tend to see the production of the migrant groups as the misinterpretation of the tradition because the migrants are unaware of the authentic form. This might be seen as the continuation and reflection of the evaluation of migrant groups as victims rather as agents and transformers by the early studies on migration. However, seeing the production of migrant groups as bad replicas of the homeland production conflicts with some basic understandings, such as those on change and exchange of and in culture. Given that tradition has been accepted as the main column of culture continues its existence, its content constantly changes as it is interpreted and updated again and again, and it can be easily recognized that even some permanent elements are not exempt from the contextual change. That means there is a need for re-evaluation of past information through emancipating it from its out-of-date connotations.

Another important point is the assumption that diasporic groups living in a certain center for decades transmit their migration experience to the next generations that do not actually had such an experience. In other words, the status of being migrant that belongs to a certain moment, and the physical and mental crossing between two centers are passed to the next generations like a heritage. That is true if transmission is defined as the relation of continuum and/or opposition. However, it is also true that some forms of expression and styles are “preserved” in different contexts. The essence of such transmissions can be evaluated only by considering the changing profile of the producers.

Handling the diasporic groups in terms of two centers also leads to a dismissal of the other interaction areas of cultural production. In fact, it should be not forgotten that the mass migration movements in the twentieth century happened during a period when the Northern Hemisphere countries in particular became interconnected through technological mediums and governmental superstructures. Thus it becomes

almost inevitable that while two centers are negotiating with each other, they are also negotiating with other centers at the same time. This means that there are many centers where the concept of diaspora is not revealed. Moreover, there are some cases in which the members of diasporic groups reach some centers to where they have never actually been. Finally, while the concept of diaspora can reveal the changes and explain the reasons of these changes, it remains silent about how much the diasporic groups are influential in the transformation of *the others*, which are the corporates of diaspora culture; thus one aspect of the interaction between *new comers* and *natives* goes off half-cocked. In other words, the activity of diasporic group in the change of present social structure cannot be revealed because the concept primarily focuses on the diasporic group itself, so the group becomes an introverted and isolated unit in terms of production and influence.

Although scholars who recognized the boundaries and limitations of the concept of diaspora tried to expand it with the idea of diverse diaspora experiences, it still came up short due to the emergence of multiple structures. Transnationalism entered in social sciences as a key to unlock such an incarceration.

Even though transnationalism as conceptualized by its first theorists Glick Schiller, Basch and Szanton-Blanc was used to fill in the blanks diaspora left and to shift the negative intimations of the concept, and at least in the beginning it represented the expansion of the concept of diaspora itself. It can therefore be claimed that such a conceptualization of transnationalism is not an objection to the concept of diaspora, but a new edition of its revised version. Khachig Tölölyan's statement (1991) in the first issue of *Diaspora* is remarkable in this sense: "diasporas are the exemplary communities of transnational moment" (p. 5). Similarly, most of the scholars who previously studied diaspora and who used the terminology of diaspora have more recently preferred to use the concept of transnationalism. Nevertheless, it should not be overlooked that even though there is permeability between the concepts of diaspora and transnationalism, both of them indicate cross-border relationships and "are sometimes used interchangeably, the two terms reflect different intellectual genealogies" (Faist and Bauböck, 2010, p. 9). In that vein, Safran and Laponce (2005) point out that the ambiguity of the term "diaspora" leads many scholars to focus on transnational connections but even though diaspora and transnational connections are interrelated, they should not be confused because all transnational connections are

not diasporic. According to them, the concept of transnationalism is related to more impersonal forces, especially to the forces of globalism and global capitalism (p. 37). In addition, there are different definitions and conceptualizations of transnationalism:

> (1) earliest articulation by cultural anthropologists Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch, and Christina Szanton Blanc (…) (2) the refinement of the term by sociologist Alejandro Portes (…) and its deployment by him and numerous colleagues in research on the second generation and beyond (…) (3) the most rigorously systematic theoretical articulation of the term by political scientist Thomas Faist. (Kivisto, 2001, p. 551)

According to Waldinger and Fitzgerald (2004), there are scholars who follow Alejandro Portes and define transnationalism as "a complex but fundamentally closed set of relationships co encompassing as to virtually erase the distinction between here and there", and there are scholars who dwell on all transnational practices, "as opposed to a transnational condition of being" (p. 1180). Considering that the economical transnationalism Portes defined is not that of mobile migrant workers but rather that of capitalist entrepreneurs –the other types are political and socio-cultural- it is clear that both groups of scholars have strong connections with the approaches on networks that make transnationalism both possible and visible:

> As a theoretical construct about immigrant life and identity, transnationalism aptly suits the study of population movements in a world where improved modes of transportation as well as the images that are transmitted by means of modern telecommunications have shortened the social distance between sending and receiving societies (Bretell, 2000, p. 104).

It is remarkable that transnationalisms both accept and reject the notion of nation. As Clifford (1994) states, "While defined and constrained by these structures, they also exceed and criticize them" (p. 302). In other words, the bases of the political and governmental systems of the twentieth century had to change due to *de facto* conditions and therefore they had to be re-defined, however the *Urbilder* (archetypes) of these bases are still alive in our comprehension, whereas the recent situation has already transcended them. In one respect, transnationalism has taken over the ambivalent relationship with the notion of nation from the concept of diaspora because diasporic communities are mostly evaluated as anomalistic or alternative entities of nation-states because the nation-state since its foundation in the eighteenth century the nation-state has been defined not only as a political but also a cultural union. However, migration movements have been deconstructing national myths created by the archaic models of nation-states (Castles and Miller, 2008, p. 21),

whereas the reflexes of nation-states show resistance to change. It means that some implications of new terms and concepts are actually recycles of old ones.

The most important criticism of transnationalism is that it takes away the necessity of choosing one of the two centers by diasporic groups. Undoubtedly, that change of view is also related to the change of view of the migrant in migration theories from a victim to an agent that produces its own strategies. It is assumed that the migrant consciously or non-consciously does not have to choose one of the proposed axes, but rather that today's migrants are composed of those whose networks, activities and patterns of life encompass both their home and host societies into a single social field (Glick Schiller et al., 1992, p. 1). Thus the diasporic analysis in terms of the rootlessness of the migrant is replaced by taking a root (Kivisto, 2001, p. 552). This means that monolithic social field of diaspora turns into the dual social field of transnationalism, and yet in the final analysis there is no difference except a switch from conflict to integration between two centers as the first theoreticians stated:

> However, it was only when Glick Schiller began to compare her field observations with Basch's conceptualization of transnationalism that it became clear to both her and her colleagues, Haitian and non-Haitian alike, that the two poles they were examining were not opposite orientations but part of a single social experience. They were witnessing an emergent Haitian transnationalism. Neither the categories of social science that they had brought to the study, nor the categories that had meaning for the Haitian migrants, were adequate to articulate the nature of daily life for a large section of the Haitian immigrant population throughout the United States. (Basch et al., 2005, pp. 6-7)

In academic fields the criticism of these contradictions opened the way from transnationalism to *transstaatliche Räume* (transgovernmental spaces). As Faist conceptualized *transstaatliche Räume*, new social fields might occur through the intertwining of states; thus that approach offers a paradigm that is similar to center and periphery model (Kivisto, 2001, p. 565). It is also important that the conceptualization of *transstaatliche Räume* comes from a member of a multi-ethnic society and within the European Union, which is a superstructure of nation-states. It also shows that some popular terms and comprehensions that were borrowed from the USA are in need of adaptation rather importation.

The governmental system at the center of Faist's approach and its resemblance to the center and periphery model also seem useful for the evaluation of the environment in which music is produced. The role of a superstructure in the cultural production of

the groups having different cultural backgrounds is especially remarkable. It is important that the construction of the "European idea" or even "myth" was processed through the institutions partly after the World War I, but mostly after World War II (Sassatelli, 2009, p. 1), and that migrant and minority groups have been negotiating with the superstructure through the founding of their own non-governmental associations. Given that the inner integration of the European countries also means the drawing and strengthening of outside boundaries, and that these are not only geopolitical but also metaphorical and symbolical boundaries of certain cultural values (Delanty, 2005, p. 5), it is clear that the negotiation processes are worth focusing on in order to understand the cultural production and consumption of migrant and minority groups. Additionally, although the road to European integration began on an economic basis, the matters of culture and cultural production have always taken important roles in that process. At this point, the definitions of European society and the cultural departments of the Union, alongside the projects supported financially by the Union and their direct or indirect reflections on the national, regional, local and independent institutions, can be said to underpin the current situation.

There is a relationship between the European Union as a modernist project and civil movements, which can be explained by the terms liberty and discipline. As Peter Wagner (1993) stated, there is an "ambivalence of modernity in three major dimensions, namely the relations between individual liberty and community, between agency and structure, and between locally situated human lives and widely extended social rules". According to him, while modernity tends to discipline its main discourse, liberty, through its institutions, it also creates alternative and critical interpretations which counterpose the image of the disciplinization of liberation (p. xii). It is usually overlooked that some of alternative and critical interpretations come from migrant and minority associations, which also point at the niches of the institutional systems. In this sense, modernity's official and traditional mediums as the images of discipline, and their non-official and non-traditional counterparts determine cultural life because the latter usually represent the criticisms of the former.

It is often said that the associations of migrants and diasporic groups strengthen the inner relations of the community, but also create separate and alternative social lives. However, it is not emphasized that one of the reasons behind the existence of these associations is the limited offerings from official institutions and their disparity with the realities of migrant and minority groups. The needs or demands that cannot be fulfilled by the official institutions are fulfilled by non-governmental associations, or by migrant organizations in this case. Although such associations have to move within the boundaries drawn by official authorities, as non-governmental organizations they also serve to stretch and update official discourses.

The activities and functions of non-governmental organizations often exceed their foundation goals and objectives. For example, most such associations in the BRD affect and determine cultural production and consumption. That multifunctional structure does not come from their capability to organize activities, but comes from the ineffectiveness of governmental institutions in certain fields, such as cultural life. The cultural activities that are not supported by governmental institutions use migrant and minority associations as alternatives.

The role of these associations, which are generally not cultural associations, their determinative positions in cultural production and consumption, and their relationship with landmark official institutions have not been greatly discussed. Yet, due to the lack of *social institutions* or *gatekeepers* as Janet Wolff (1993) called them, non-official and non-traditional establishments become more important and determinative since social unions function as artistic cliques and institutions as a result of the absence of patronage systems or their equivalent in the recruitment and training of artists and mediators.

The expressions of hyphenated identities that were first used in slang in USA by the end of nineteenth century and then became formalized were applied to people from Turkey in Germany in the 1990s. As Ayşe Çağlar (2000) points out, ever-increasing amount of European anthropologists and sociologists have caught on to this application (p. 130). The use of this application for subject matter people refers to a new perception. That is a perception that tells people from a migration background are now considered and accepted as a part of country's social structure. This means that there is a shift from being temporary to being permanent, from rootlessness to belonging, from being exceptional to being ordinary. As a matter of fact, both the

American and European models of hyphenated identities came into prominence during political and social crises. In the USA, for example, two of important crises were the world wars:

> ...because it allegedly called into question the primary political loyalty of certain immigrant groups in the United States. Addressing the Knights of Columbus in New York City on 12 October 1915, Former President Theodore Roosevelt said: 'When I refer to hyphenated Americans, I do not refer to naturalized Americans...a hyphenated American is not an American at all...The only man who is a good American is the man who is an American and nothing else' ('Theodore Roosevelt: Quotes, Sayings, and Aphorisms'). (Sengupta, 2008)

Similarly, when the 9/11 attacks took place and new definitions had to be made to identify the American people and its enemy, hyphenated identities showed up once more. But this time, hyphenated identities were used as antidotes to discriminative attitudes because the USA had to make a distinction between the Muslims who were living in the country and the *enemy* Muslims that had been created by the politicies of the USA. Similarly, the Muslims living in the USA were in need of a new self-positioning:

> After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the identity negotiation of immigrant Muslim youth living in the United States became decidedly more challenging. Although their nation was under attack, *they* were suddenly perceived as a potential threat to U.S. safety. (Sirin and Fine, 2008, p. 1)

Ali Rattansi (2005) describes a similar case for Great Britain:

> Here a particular multiethnicity, produced by a series of inward flows of migrants appears to have given a legitimacy and stability, especially in the wake of post-1960s struggles for group recognition and redistribution, to identities such as African-American, Native-American, Asian- or Japanese- or Chinese-Canadian and so forth. Nevertheless, it would obviously be mistaken to assume too much homogeneity and stability to these identities, however easily they may slip off the tongue in public discourse. The 1980s and 1990s saw fierce struggles around the essentialisms and class inequalities in their headlong rush to finally fracture America's and Canada's official identities of white ethnicity. (p. 46)

The expressions of hyphenated identities occurred in academic writings just after the fall of Berlin Wall and became publicly apparent when *Der Spiegel* used the expression "German-Turks" after the Solingen arson attack of 1993 (Çağlar, 2000, pp. 132-133). Thus xenophobic attacks ironically supported the emphasis of sedentariness of people from Turkey in the BRD. As Renshorn (2011) writes, "hyphenation helps new immigrants resolve a very personal and consequential set of

questions". It was thought that the expressions of hyphenated identities enabled mobility unlike other expressions of identity. "Thus, integration and hyphenated identities are viewed as being related" (Bélanger and Verkuyten, 2010, p. 143). In this sense, there are some examples that use the expressions of hyphenated identities even for the first generation of migrants:

> In his seminal examination of Cuban-American identity, *Life on the Hyphen: The Cuban-American Way*, Gustavo Pérez Firmat (1994) adapted, expanded and popularised Rubén Rumbaut's notion of a '1.5' or 'one-and-a-half' generation (Rumbaut 1991) of those, himself included, who 'belong to an intermediate immigrant generation whose members spent their childhood or adoloscence abroad but grew into adults in America' (Pérez Firmat 1994: 4). (as quoted by Ryer, 2010, p. 75)

The expressions of hyphenated identities also appear in the debates of acculturation. However, it should be kept in mind that there are different types of acculturation experiences even though the same terms are used in evaluation. This means that both acculturation processes and the function of hyphenated identities in this process might be operated through diverse discourses for diverse motivations:

> As opposed to the North American and Australian societies founded on immigration and ethnic diversification, symbolic cultural homogeneity has been an important contributor on nationhood and national identities in Europe (Phalet & Kosic, 2006). The Netherlands is no exception; it has been known for its tolerance of cultural diversity, but in the past decade, a public discourse and a policy of cultural assimilation has developed, together with more difficult naturalization procedures (Joppke, 2004; Vasta, 2007). It can be argued that this more assimilative policy and ideology complicates the adoption of a hyphenated identity by minority groups. (Bélanger and Verkuyten, 2010, p. 142)

The risky connotations of the expression of hyphenated identities are similar to above-mentioned terms because even though these expressions suggest a kind of synthesis, they actually continue old conceptualizations and their surpassed implications. As can be seen in the example of the expression of German-Turks, the terms before and after the hyphen refer to two different cultural bodies and seem to be limiting the components within two resources as German and as Turk (Çağlar, 2000, p. 134). The expression covers the diversity of the resources and makes its distance to old terms invisible while it aims to emphasize the consonance of diversity within it. However, there are some who consider the expressions of hyphenated identities as schizoid separations, such as Marilyn Waniek (1980), and who think that it is difficult to preserve equality between the terms before and after the hyphen, such

as Heba M. Sharobeem (2003, p. 60). Moreover, it is not always clear how the individual selects the terms in order to create an expression of hyphenated identity. Some terms, especially those that are related to ethnic and national identities, might be easily confused, or because they are sometimes used interchangeably they make the referred qualities of an hyphenated identity indistinct. More importantly, the ethnic and national identities become privileged among the other identities of the individual (Çağlar, 2000, p. 137). However, there is also an ever-increasing amount of people who want to escape from the burdens of ethnic and national identities define themselves with urban-based identities:

> The term of German-Turk is criticized in the magazine named *Kauderzanca* published mostly by the second generation of Turkey-origin 'migrants' because the term still defines the people on the basis of 'Turkishness' and subjects them to separation. In order to go beyond these patterns they suggest defining themselves as they belong only to Berlin. (Çağlar, 2000, p. 142)

Nevertheless, this suggestion sometimes intersects with hyphenated identities. For example, the city council of Amsterdam says: "We are all Amsterdammers, and from now on we will talk about Moroccan Amsterdammers or Turkish Amsterdammers" (Url-4).

2.2 Reflections

The studies on the musical production of people from Turkey in the BRD have mostly evaluated the community as diasporic and used the theories and terminology of the related literature. The studies of German ethnomusicologists Kurt and Ursula Reinhard are the earliest examples. Their works show that the subject has been evaluated in terms of the change in cultural production and the change of the concept of "change" in culture. As ethnomusicologists primarily studying music and musical production in Turkey, they could easily have observed the differences between two locations when they turned their attention to the musical production of people from Turkey in the BRD. Partly because of that period's ethnomusicological approach, one of their motivations was the search of authenticity and change. Indeed, this motivation can easily be observed in their studies on musical production in Turkey:

> In some regions, especially in the southern part of the country, women and men sing together, dance together. It seems to us that people of that region are freer and that they have stayed closer to pre-Islamic original and real Turkish traditions. (n.d., p. 445)

Although Ursula Reinhard (1986) mentioned in her article "Die rezente Transformation des Volkliedes zum "Volksschlager" in der Türkei" that many scholars were of the opinion that there had never been "original" folk music, and that foreign influences had always played a big role in music (p. 77), it cannot be said that the idea of change with a negative connotation, which is actually a reflection of that time's general tendency, was completely removed from their evaluations:

> Besides, the instruments can be used without considering their elaborations, for example piano and accordion are considered as keyboard instruments; migrants might content themselves only with augmented and diminished intervals of eastern world of sound. Trying to play with various instruments together brings with tonal simplicity and poverty. For instance, you cannot play a folksong from the Black Sea region, which needs to be played with kemençe [spike fiddle] and tulum [bag pipe] with davul and zurna. If they were çingene [gypsy] instrument players who play in this way, they would be listened to because of their fantasy-like performances and sound qualities but here, it is impossible to reach such perfection. (2007, p. 130)

Similarly, one of the most remarkable evaluations of the Reinhards on the production in the BRD was *the loss* of improvisatory characteristic due to records and music sheets; with other words they said that a kind of homogeneity and standardization process occurred. Yet, apart from the negative connotation of this information, the prominence of the records and music sheets –especially those of TRT- should be examined because production after the 1980s in Germany was shaped by these mediums and by their use. However, there is another critical point or sub-intention in this statement: while migrants wanted to preserve their traditions, they actually changed or reconstructed the traditions. This means that the migrants were not *non-compos* individuals who were superficially following or imitating their homeland. On the contrary, they re-produced, re-interpreted and sometimes deconstructed the homeland's material in new contexts; they were active producers of culture who re-acted to the new conditions, and according to the information given by the Reinhards (2007) they were re-interpreting the definition and the sources of traditional production:

> The workers living in foreign countries come from different parts of their own country and reside here together, -there are some who were born in a foreign country- so they do not distinguish which ***türkü*** belongs to which region. Although there is a tendency to adhere the tradition, the folk dances that are very different from each other or that belong to distant regions are played as mixing up all together. Everybody shows what s/he knows. Because they are not aware of the difference between real folk music and popular folk music, they try to preserve both. (p. 131)

The statement that the migrants were unaware of real folk music might also explain the reason of some choices and sample techniques used in the second half of the 1980s, especially by hip-hop musicians. Similarly, Thomas Solomon (2006b) exemplified in his article "Hardcore Muslims: Islamic Themes in Turkish Rap in Diaspora and in the Homeland" that Islamic hip-hop crew Sert Müslümanlar used in one of their songs *Allahu Ekber Bizlere Güç Ver* (God Is Great, Give Us Strength) an *ezan* –the call to prayer- sample is not a recording of an actual ***müezzin***'s reading but a recording of Bülent Ersoy, a transgender singer, from the mid-1990s, recording of the song *Aziz İstanbul* (Mighty Istanbul), to evocate the landscape of Istanbul, the production in Germany was not defined according to what authentic is, and was operated by the sources of authenticity (p. 63).

According to the Reinhards, in the center of these transformative tendencies stand the social associations and organizations. Their evaluation of such associations in Turkey can be seen in their article "Bir Avrupalı Gözüyle 1955-60 Yılları Arasında Türkiye'de Musiki Hayatı" (n.d.), and is also valid for their counterparts in Germany. Although they accept that these associations occupy crucial positions in musical life, they criticize their roles in musical change and degeneration (pp. 457-458). That criticism is also parallel to their view in the second volume of *Türkiye'nin Müziği* (2007, p. 129) on the functional change of music in Germany and on the role of the associations in this process. Another criticicism of theirs regarding the musical training of the children of migrants can also be viewed in connection with that. As they (2007) stated, the children of migrants were trained according to equal temperament and so they could absorb neither the equal temperament nor the Eastern sound system, nor play *saz* like a guitar (p. 132).

Martin Greve's (2006) approach, as the writer of *Almanya'da "Hayali Türkiye"nin Müziği*, differs from the Reinhards' with his evaluation of the subject following diaspora studies and theories directly. As a general statement, it can be said that

Greve's evaluation is closer to James Clifford's conceptualization of diaspora. Unlike William Safran, Clifford (1994) draws a broader scope for diaspora, criticizes Safran's ideal types of diaspora and claims that Jewish, Greek and Armenian Diasporas are non-normative models for new global conditions (p. 306). Thus with such critiques and the expansion of the concept, the road has been opened for the evaluation of migrant labor communities in terms of the concept of diaspora. As a result, the emphases of *Almanya'da "Hayali Türkiye"nin Müziği* are the contacts with homeland and the myth of return. In other words, Greve (2006) turned his attention on the homeland saying that "Turkish musical life in Germany today has turned its face to the music of Turkey and to the musical life of Turkey" (p. 93).

Greve's book can be divided into three sections. The first deals with the construction of diaspora both physically and imaginary; the second section deals with the formation of diaspora culture and identity, and the final section deals with the interactions between the Germans and the Turks. One of the most remarkable characteristics of the study is Greve's evaluation of the subject through the historical processes. In this way, he suggests a periodization for the musical production of people from Turkey in the BRD. What this suggestion of periodization says is that the musical production and consumption of these people are closely related to migration phases. According to this, the musicians who wanted to study Western classical music in Germany first established a musical relationship between two countries. Anatolian folk music and migrant songs were dominant in the beginning of the migration process, but with the impact of coup d'Ètat in the TC, political songs and TSM songs became popular from the 1980s to 1990s, and finally from the 1990s the age of pop-music and hip-hop began. As can be seen, the main criteria of Greve's periodization are the phases of migration and the genres that were popular in Turkey in different periods. One can deduce from this evaluation that the production of people from Turkey is actually the production of different generations and groups. The only thing that keeps them together is either the migration experience or migration narrative, that is, the transmission of the migration experience. However, this fact also underlines that the production of these people is disjoint from –or maybe parallel- the production of Germany.

It is not easy to figure out Greve's orientation in term of identity theories in the second section of his study on the formation of diaspora culture and identity. However, his quotations from Stuart Hall can be seen as clues. It is most likely that Hall's (1973) evaluation of culture through the encoding and decoding model in the context of hegemony and power relations were influential on Greve's study. The statement of "Imaginary Turkey" in the title of his book, obviously borrowed from Benedict Anderson, becomes "imaginary Turkey" here as well, and how the approaches of Hall and Anderson were combined by Greve (2006):

> As a process, as a narrative and as a discourse, it (identity) is always told from the position of the Other. What is more is that identity is always in part a narrative, always in part a kind of representation. It is always within representation. (p. 206)

In the final section, Greve focuses on the cultural diversity. The subtitle of this section is "the Germans and the Turks", because the section begins with some judgmental patterns from both societies, it can be seen as a continuation of the second section, although these patterns are used as a transition to the subjects of orientalism and self-orientalism. However, Occidentalism is another important attitude that has played a crucial role in the production of migrants since it makes double reflections in the mind of the migrant; one as a model, the other is as a threat (Ahıska, 2003, p. 353). That historical dilemma can be found in the production of migrant workers:

> Nasıl methedeyim Almanya seni
> Tatlı ismin acı suyun var senin
> Mıknatıs misali çektin sen beni
> Akıl fikir almaz şeyin var senin
> Yüksek yüksek yaparsınız binayı
> Almanya'da serbest gördük zinayı[7] (Aşık Metin Türköz, from Öztürk, 2001, p. 168)

Greve distinguishes the production of labor migration and second generation, of amateurs and professionals, and social activities and artistic activities, not obviously but inwardly. However, the relationship between these sub-groups, transmissions or differences between them and how they affect the whole structure were not examined. To do this Karin Yeşilada's (2007) approach in her article "Türkischdeutsch Literatur" can be applied to music. According to her, this branch of literature began

[7] How can I praise you, Germany/ Your name is sweet but your water is bitter/ You pulled me like the magnet/ You have inconceivable things/ You construct high-rise buildings/ We saw that fornication is free in Germany

with the letters of migrant workers but gained its characteristics when the intellectuals migrated to Germany for political reasons and turned their attention to the social conditions in which the migrant workers lived. She states that *Gastarbeiter* and *gastarbeitet* periods developed together, and were in contact with each other via opposition and similarity. Thus it is possible to evaluate *Gastarbeiter* musicians and groups, such as Cem Karaca, Die Kanaken and Yarınistan, and *gastarbeitet* musicians, such as Murat Çobanoğlu and Aşık Reyhani, as the production of the same period. In this way, the social critic that is found both in the songs of Cem Karaca, Die Kanaken, Yarınistan and ***aşık***s can be seen as diverse expressions of the same condition. Although the diversity of expression can be crystallized by musical genres and the basis and arguments of the critic come from different motivations, it is the representation of a shared social structure and of its organic connection with individuals and groups.

On the contrary, the search of such interactions and differentiations can reveal the connection of different cultural fields in the same time periods. In this sense, it can be said that Feridun Zaimoğlu's *Kanak-Sprak* (Kanak Talk, 1995), Neco Çelik's movies and theater plays such as *Gazino Arabesk* (Casino Arabesk, 2009), Lars Becker's movie *Kanak Attak* (Kanak Attack, 2000), and hip-hop culture share some crucial common characteristics, especially in terms of style and themes. Examining these connections would make it apparent that the whole cultural production of people from Turkey is not only limited to migrants, children of migrant, the Germans as the others.

Greve considers the production of first generation, that is of *Gastarbeiter*, as a continuation of the production of seasonal workers in the Ottoman Empire. According to him that continuation comes from the fact that both *Gastarbeiter* and seasonal workers lived in foreign places and their songs contain the primary theme of *gurbet* (living far from a homeland). Similarly evaluating the lyrics of these songs as literary texts Ali Osman Öztürk (2001) states in his book *Alamanya Türküleri* that there are no radical differences between the songs of *Gastarbeiter* and of seasonal workers, and that the migrants preserve their relation with their homeland by using traditional forms. Öztürk examines the theme of *gurbet* in terms of basic forms such as ***koşma***, ***semai*** and ***mani***. However, there are some factors in the musical operation

and the handling of traditional material that break the connection with homeland. These tendencies were recognized by Öztürk (2001), he states that these songs contain some original features and use some original techniques, which can be also found in hip-hop production, such as the use of radiophonic dialogues and of fragments from television news (p. 59).

However, while to sum up the production of *Gastarbeiter* under the theme of *gurbet* works in order to reveal the connection with homeland, it makes the other meanings and contexts of the production invisible. Robert Anhegger (1982), for example, called these songs as *Gastarbeiterlieder* (guest worker songs) and evaluated them as working class production (p. 10). Similarly, Greve (2006) also reported that Sümeyra Çakır, Tahsin İncirci and the *Türkischer Arbeiterchor West Berlin* (Choir of Turkish Workers) had taken part in some organizations of the *Industriegewerkschaft Metall* (Industrial Union of Metal Workers, IG Metall), the *Deutschen Gewerkschaftsbund* (German Trade Union), and the *Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands* (Social Democrat Party of Germany) and collaborated with musicians from different countries (p. 66). Kurt and Ursula Reinhard (2007) also stated that the *Türkischer Arbeiterchor West Berlin* was a choir that dealt with social and political inequalities (p. 132). Therefore, it is possible to evaluate that production in a broader framework, not only in terms of migrant culture.

The restriction of framework is more remarkable when it comes to the venues such as the ***gazino*** and ***taverna***. It is a common statement that such venues were one of the results of the family unification period and of the commercial enterprise period, and that these venues were isolated because no one except people from Turkey went there. However, the descriptions made by researchers may occasionally throw up discrepancies:

> The program usually begins with the European chart hits, and with a Turkish rock group that also plays Turkish folk music arrangements. That followed by a bağlama player who also sings and by a ***darbuka*** player. (Greve, 2006, p. 123)

It is obvious that the general attributions of "introverted" and "isolated" are correct in terms of customer profile. Similarly limited customer profiles can also be found in any migrant or minority group, but the music produced and consumed there is not limited; on the contrary it is generally open to popular trends. Additionally, it should be not forgotten that most of these venues were modified and converted into

nightclubs and discotheques after the 1990s. Given that the nature of entrepreneurship requires understanding and following the expectations of the customer, it can be easily said that these modifications indicates certain changes in musical consumption. Harald Huber's and Martin Sigmund's (2008) statement on Viennese discotheques reveals a similar condition:

> Since 1990s there has been an autonomous disco scene in Vienna founded by immigrants from Turkey and their children (2nd generation) respectively. The range of music played by the DJs varies from pop to house and can be described as *Oriental House*. (pp. 51-52)

Even though they (2008) described this scene as being autonomous, they described the music in these venues as "a unique crossover style" (p. 55). To sum up, a limited customer profile does not reveal very much about what kind of music is produced and consumed in such venues, and if one takes the music produced and consumed as the main determiner, the evaluation changes radically.

Greve (2006) considers the explosion of ***arabesk*** and pop-music in Germany as a reflection of their explosion in Turkey. Indeed it seems that interactions with homeland have increased through *arabesk* and popular music. Of course, the growing possibilities of communication, and the rapid expansion of the music industry via cassettes and videocassettes played important roles and made these interactions easier. However, there were differences as well as similarities between the scene in Germany and the scene in Turkey.

The differences were partly because the conditions of production. For example, Greve (2006) claims that there were two different *arabesk* sounds, and explains that it is due to financial inability of the venues in Germany to hire big orchestras, unlike the venues in Turkey (p. 123). Nevertheless the expression of these conditions in musical style should be revealed. In that case, one of the components of the *arabesk* sound in Germany was the use of *elektro-saz* with a phasing effect.

Kurt and Ursula Reinhard (2007) defined the *elektro-saz* as "recently invented" and "played with increased interest" in the 1980s (p. 133). The prominence of the *elektro-saz* in Germany began with the rock groups such as Derdiyoklar İkilisi, which was one of the representatives of so-called ***Anadolu rock***, before the explosion of *arabesk*. The musical style of Derdiyoklar İkilisi was so effective that in a short period similar groups were founded, such as Derdiçoklar, Delicoşlar, Küçükeller, Akbabalar and Köşkerler. Of course the musical styles of these groups

were not copies of Derdiyoklar İkilisi but they were groups that interpreted the style of Derdiyoklar İkilisi in different musical genres and styles. Their common characteristics were the use of local elements or inspirations from local elements in globally prominent trends.

Figure 2.1 : Derdiyoklar (above, Url-5), Derdiçoklar (below left, Url-6), Delicoşlar (below-above, Url-7), Küçükeller (below-below, Url-8).

It is possible to evaluate the hip-hop scene of people from Turkey in Germany in a similar way and to find the first images of this scene, when *arabesk* and pop-music were dominant genres:

> The name of the famous DJ H-Khan's cassette-store in Berlin was Rax Müzik inspired by the biggest cassette producer Raks in Turkey; however its name was written with the letter 'x', which is not a letter of Turkish alphabet. The wedding orchestra Yurtseven Kardeşler from Hamm use their name with the number 7 that resembles the word *seven* (to love) in Turkish, as Yurt7 Kardeşler. (Greve, 2006, p. 145)

The popular music industry in the USA as the primary determiner of the mainstreams has always been one the main resources both in Turkey and Germany –and of course in many other countries- sometimes visibly, sometimes invisibly. However, how this resource was used and interpreted by people from Turkey in Germany has been mostly overlooked. Dietmar Elflein (1998) evaluates this subject in terms of youth cultures in his article "From Krauts with Attitudes to Turks with Attitudes: Some Aspects of Hip-Hop History in Germany", and offers an alternative evaluation that does not follow the approaches of diaspora and transnationalism, and the terminologies they use.

Elflein called the interest in Afro-American musical genres and its geographical expansion as "integration in an international framework", which is a common tendency and sometimes a primary aim, especially for the non-Western countries. In this sense, it is a comprehensive description which can be easily observed not only in hip-hop production but also in many musical genres; thus it cannot be reduced only to people from Turkey in Germany. However, many scholars have evaluated the hip-hop production of people from Turkey, as one of the indicators of second-generation's identity formation to object to the conditions and attitudes. In fact, as Elflein (1998) stated, there were other preparatory factors that led these people to such a tendency, and the sociologists both in Turkey and Germany overlooked this period:

> What was not noticed at the time was that the social field of discotheques was already dominated by male immigrant youngsters. During the late 1970s and early 1980s German writers on popular music ignored discotheque culture. They concentrated on alternative youth cultures such as the hippie movement and punk and its derivatives. From their perspective no 'dissident' or 'rebellious' youth culture could focus on disco and related musical styles. There was thus a gap in sociological knowledge. (p. 256)

Another overlooked aspect in the evaluation of the hip-hop production of people from Turkey is how that production can be distinguished and what the condition of this differentiation is. The general opinion is that the discourse of hip-hop provided a purposeful space and medium for second-generation. This opinion is to the point as well as misleading, and derives from the fact that the hip-hop productions of people from Turkey have been mostly evaluated under the monopoly of Cartel. In fact, hip-hop's localization/nationalization was a result of an action and reaction process.

The Cartel project offers plentiful and attractive material to be examined by sociologists and musicologists, but it also contains some risks that might conceal the inner dynamics of the hip-hop scene in Germany. As a matter of fact, the hip-hop scene in Germany had already divided into two main branches before Cartel gained attention, and Cartel was just one of the results of this separation.

The answer to the question of why Cartel was put in a special position is that the project and the album were deeply intertwined with current political and social events. However, Cartel was neither the first group that objected to discriminative attitudes, nor the first group that added hip-hop to a local/national attitude in Germany. The characteristics that are attached to the production of people from Turkey were already visible in the *Alte Schule* period (Old School), especially in the production of groups such as Advanced Chemistry, whose orientation was followed by Da Crime Posse and King Size Terror. Additionally, it should be not forgotten that both Da Crime Posse and King Size Terror were not composed of only people from Turkey; on the contrary they were multi-ethnic groups, and by the time of Cartel came on the scene they did not have any nationalistic worries.

Due to the marketing strategy of the album *Krauts with Attitude German HipHop Volume 1* which was a reaction to Anglo-Saxon and Afro-American cultural imperialism (Elflein, 1998, p. 259), the popularity of Die Fantastischen 4, the prominence of *Neuer Deutscher Sprechgesang* (New German Spoken Singing) and *Neue Deutsche Reimkultur* (New German Rhyme Culture), hip-hop in Germany began to be local as well as Germanized. In this sense, Elflein's (1998) evaluation of *Cartel* as a reaction to this process (p. 225) is meaningful.

Both albums, *Krauts with Attitude German HipHop Volume 1* and *Cartel* seem to represent opposite corners, "the first one deals with German cultural/national identity and the second one with its Turkish counterpart" (Elflein, 1998, p. 225). However, they were still primarily following the American role models, primarily. This orientation was illustrated by their sampling of soul, funk, and American popular music, by writing English rhymes, by using English speech patterns and by borrowing American ghetto narratives. Additionally, many of the hip-hoppers choose their public names through following American models: White Nigger Posse, Soft G, Boe B. (derived from Bobby, the protagonist of the American soap opera *Dallas*), Aziza A. (A. for "*abla*", like Sister Souljah), Cool Savaş, Eko Fresh. As Elflein

(1998) describes the group Islamic Force as "the first group to combine a drum computer rhythm in the Afro-American tradition with melodic samples from Turkish arabesque and Pop Muzik" (p. 262), he also underlines the complex sources of this production. Similarly, Levent Soysal (2004) states that these orientations are not signs of counterfeit Americana, but symptoms of connectedness and of sharing and participating in the discursive spaces of hip-hop (p. 63).

The image of Berlin and the *Berliner Mauer* (Berlin Wall) as a symbol of *Teilungs Deutschlands* (separation of Germany) and of the reunification of Germany are used in order to divide hip-hop into sub-periods by Soysal (2004). Accordingly, the Gang episode which was determined by boy gangs and which used a masculine language of violence began just after the reunification, but it was immediately replaced by the HipHop episode toward the end of summer of 1991. The uncontrolled and irregular structure of the Gang Episode was changed by local authorities using hip-hop as a pedagogical medium during the Hiphop Episode. This established the foundations of the next period of aestheticized hip-hop, especially with the studies in the youth center of municipal government, Naunynritze. Soysal emphasizes that the World Culture Episode, which began after 1995 was influential on this aestheticized hip-hop because in this sub-period, hip-hop permeated popular music venues and hip-hoppers turned their attention to reaching larger audiences with the global events such as Carnival of the Cultures and Love Parade. The sub-period of Kanak Attak defined by Soysal as "a stylized, intellectual movement including rappers old and new, and film-makers" (p. 79) escaped from its limited circle and became more than an expression of migrant youth's anger. This sub-period can be seen as a comeback after a short-lived separation.

Similar to Soysal's approach, Philip V. Bohlman, Sebastian Klotz, and Lars Christian Koch (2007) focus on three cities in their article "Tales of Three Cities-Berlin, Chicago, and the Metropolitan Musical Crossroads". The article is based on the idea that world metropoli are not similar, not different, as they become more and more interconnected. One of the interpretative mediums the writers use is the strategic difference between landmark institutions and the others:

> Even public figures, such as the Berlin Philharmonic conductor, Simon Rattle, cannot mend the resulting fissure when he invites school children from different social and ethnic backgrounds to participate in a performance of Igor Stravinsky's Rite of Spring ('Rhythm Is It'). (p. 34)

Landmark institutions –which can be also called as traditional institutions- can offer misleading data on the cultural life in Germany. Focusing on these institutions is very important because they usually represent the definition of culture as defined by the official authority. It is this definition that is used by other official organizations such as the ones whose primary mission is to give statistical data. For example, the definition of culture, cultural production and venues as given by the *Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg* (Department of Statistics Berlin-Brandenburg, 2012) can be easily seen in Table 2.1 and Table 2.2.

Table 2.1 : Statistical data on cultural consumption according to the venues (Url-9).

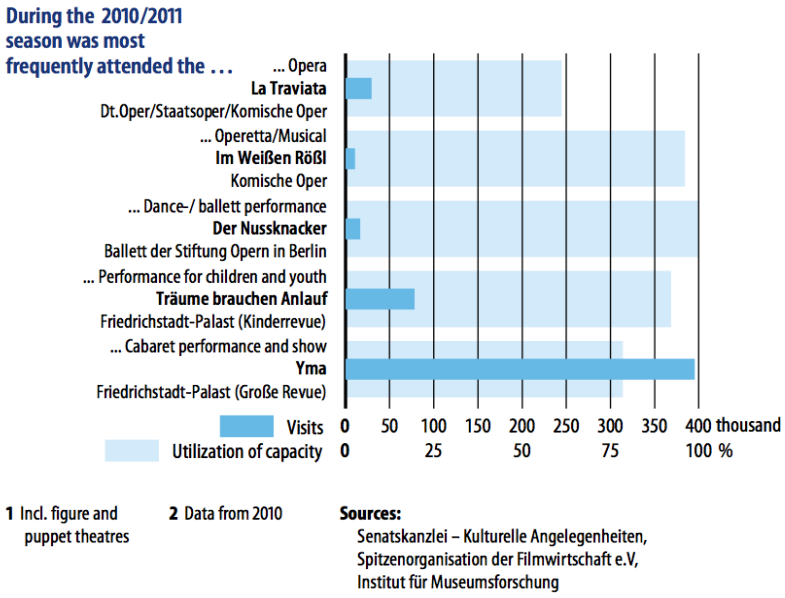

Table 2.2 : Statistical data on cultural consumption according to the genres (Url-10).

	Unit	2003	2007	2011
Stages	number	53	51	45
Visitors	number	2,988,984	2,871,096	2,876,552
of which stage plays	number	951,279	934,407	877,748
operas	number	460,444	486,752	419,026
child and youth theatres[1]	number	182,393	223,189	259,977
Public libraries	number	116	92	87
Stock of media	1000	7,410	7,538	7,570
Borrowings	1000	19,445	22,537	23,559
Cinemas	number	293	285	266
Visitors	1000	11,465	9,075	9,127
Museums	number	128	124	135
Visitors	1000	9,317	13,981	14,971

The statement of that Turkish musical practices are not visible to other Germans by the writers (2007, p. 34) is not intend to reveal what these tables show, but both tables and the accompanying statement point to the fact that there are important gaps between the landmark institutions and the "others", and between the definition of culture by official authorities and by the "others", and because previous mediums for evaluation do not usually work in the modern setting, there is a need of new analytical frameworks (2007, p. 41).

By the 2000s, people from Turkey had won their place in the world music genre and world music gave a flavor to popular music, and this has resulted in a new phase arising with the engagement of professional musicians. Although there is a short time between Greve's (2006) book and Hande Sağlam's (2008) article "Cosmopolitans and Locals- Music Production of the Turkish Diaspora in Vienna", the information they impart reveals that there were important changes underway. While Greve (2006) states that people from Turkey are considered folklorists rather than world musicians (p. 2), Sağlam (2008) says that the practices and marketing strategies of these musicians have so grown that they can be evaluated in different categories. Quoting from Ursula Hemetek, Sağlam mentions the music-making of Turkish immigrants can be divided into four categories. Accordingly, people from Turkey are trained in internal practice, are influenced by the traditional music from their country of origin and the public ghetto, and are making creative exchanges (p. 38). None of these categories excludes the other but are dependant on the individual combinations which may occur. Sağlam describes a multifaceted diversity which expands its space with different marketing strategies. Each one is a kind of the extension of past and present perceptional patterns of self-representation and the self-presentation as the other: exoticism, multiculturalism, co-ethnic marketing strategies, and refusing ethnic coding (pp. 38-39).

One of the mentioned marketing strategies, exoticism is the longest standing, and provides some disadvantages as well as advantages. So much so that it seems like the other marketing strategies were built in order to escape or to object or to deconstruct the stereotypical perceptions of exoticism. The desire to destroy can be so strong that the music's inner operation and the music-making activity itself can be affected deeply and result in such actions as avoiding from lyrics, which are thought to be the

most important indicators of a certain culture, a preference of multilingual lyrics, or the stretching the structure of ***makam*** or absorbing it into different genres. Similarly, musical production's state of belonging is not defined by national borders but with broader geographical areas, such as the Mediterranean or the Middle-Eastern. Moreover, many musicians have blurred the difference between sacred and secular music. As a summary, it can be said that all the previous compartments and categorizations have been thrown into question by practice.

It has not yet been examined whether there is a permeability or interaction between world musicians and the experimental musicians in the Western classical tradition. John Corbett's (2000) statements in his article "Experimental Oriental: New Music and Other Others" can be brought into this subject and regarded as a first step: "Specifically, we should wonder: How does Orientalism function in the experimental tradition? And what different forms does it take within that compositional world?" (p. 175).

3. A HISTORY THROUGH CULTURAL PRODUCTION

3.1 *Die Türken kommen*[8]

When the BRD signed a bilateral recruitment agreement[9] with the TC in 1961, it had only a twelve-year history as a postwar state. Within this twelve years, the BRD had joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and was one of the six founding member states to sign the Treaty of Rome and create the European Economic Community (EEC); it was a time of *soziale Marktwirtschaft* (social market economy) and so-called *Wirtschaftswunder* (economic wonder). One of its deficiencies, a self-confident middle class, was about to be created by means of a cheap labor force. Accordingly, the BRD first signed bilateral recruitment agreements with the Italian Republic (1955) and the Hellenic Republic (1960), and welcomed its one millionth guest worker, Armando Sa Rodriguez from Portugal in 1964[10]. The construction of the *Berliner Mauer* (Berlin Wall), the symbol of the segregation between the BRD and *Deutsche Demokratische Republik* (German Democratic Republic, DDR) or in other words the symbol of the segregation between the Western and Eastern Blocks, also began in 1961. Both Germanies were discussing the question of the cultural and national identity in terms of the new Europe on the right-wing of the political spectrum and of internationalist political solidarity on the left (Elsaesser, 1981, p. 15); and as Karl Jaspers wrote in 1960, two opposing forces, German nationalism and Western liberalism, were important markers during this process:

[8] "Die Türken kommen" (The Turks are coming) was the title of an article in *Arbeitgeber* (1961, p.
[9] See Appendix A, Figure A.4 for the full text.

[10] See Appendix A, Figure A.5 for the text published by the Federal Press Office.

> The history of the German nation-state is at an end. What we as a great nation can give ourselves and the world is insight into the situation of the world today: that nationalism today is the ruin of Europe and all other continents. While nationalism is today the paramount destructive force on earth, we can begin to grasp its roots and remove it. (as quoted by O'Brien, 1996, p. 2)

In the TC, the tension between the *Demokrat Parti* (Democrat Party, DP) government and the military, together with the financial shortcomings for industrial projects, prepared the unstable atmosphere for the coup d'État of May 27th. In 1961, the so-called Yassıada Trials ended with the executions of three members of the cabinet Fatin Rüştü Zorlu, Hasan Polatkan and Adnan Menderes; and a period of the nonparty government began. However, one of the proceeds of this undemocratic attack was the Constitution of 1961 that repealed the Constitution of 1924 and was aimed at paving the way for civil liberties. The right of free travel and settlement[11] was one of them (Abadan-Unat, 2006, p. 53). However, there were major issues in terms of economical development and the mechanisms that would put these constitutional civil rights into action.

In the post-war period, the sixteen European states, including the TC and the BRD, received American aids as part of European Recovery Program (ERP) –also known as the Marshall Plan. In the TC, however, these aids came up short for economical and industrial development. The lack of modern agricultural tools, population growth, poverty, unemployment, migration from the countryside to the big cities and their uncontrolled expansion, and finally a system that oscillated between militarist and capitalist politics were the burning issues of the day. Thus, the idea of labor export came into question as one of the solutions for the TC as it had run out of foreign aid and could not generate employment. Accordingly, unskilled laborers would gain the skills necessary for the country's industrialization and create a financial resource with their foreign exchange savings.

[11] See Appendix A, Figure A.6 for the related article.

The effects of migration from the TC to the European countries, which was supported and evaluated in the terms of labor surplus and labor shortages in the First Five-Year Development Plan [12] (1963), quickly spread from the economical. Although the social effects of migration were not questioned until the second generation caught the attention of analysts and the migrant profile was established, some cultural figures had already begun to focus on the relationship between the migrant and its new society, almost simultaneously with the migration process.

According to the *Deutsches Filminstitut* (German Film Institute), the first German-language movie to deal with discriminations against foreigners and the problems of guest workers was shot in Austria at the very beginning of the process. This was Franz Antel's *heimatfilm*[13], *Ruf der Wälder* (Call of the Woods, 1965) and was based on the novel *Krambambuli* by Maria von Ebner-Eschenbach. In contrast to the vagabond character in the novel, Marcello in Anteil's movie was an Italian *Gastarbeiter* who worked at a steelworks and had to struggle with the xenophobia of his fellow workers (Yaren, 2008, pp. 118-119). Thus the events leading to his death were grounded in alienation. On the other hand, Rainer Werner Fassbinder introduced another point of view of the reasons for the xenophobic behavior in his movie *Katzelmacher* (1969). By considering the derogatory meaning of the word "*Katzelmacher*", a slang term used for migrants, Fassbinder associated xenophobia with the threatened masculinity of the society.

The participants of that literature were not only the ones who observed the migrant and society. From the very beginning, migrants began to write about their experiences. As Heidrun Suhr (1989) noted, writing is a way of coping with a harsh reality (p. 78). Thus the observers and subjects, sometimes through interaction and sometimes through opposition, collectively created the literature. In contrast to the solid categories in which the production is evaluated, intertwining diverse backgrounds and profiles determined the main characteristics of the literature.

[12] See Appendix A, Figure A.7 for the related article.

[13] *Heimat* film is a genre that was generally shot in the rural settings and has a sentimental tone about homeland, family and friendship.

One of the earliest reactions to migration from Turkey was *Almanya Almanya* (Germany Germany, 1965) by Nevzat Üstün. This short story related the family de-unification of a *Gastarbeiter* Rıza and his wife Elif, and begins with a portrayal of Turkey in the 1960s:

> Türkiye işsizlikten kıvranıyordu. Anadolu çorağı bakımsızlıktan büsbütün kızmış, kimselerin yüzüne bakmaz olmuştu. El gibi çatlakların üstünde yalınayak durgun gözlü çocuklar başı boş dolaşıyordu. Kimden ne isteyeceklerini bilmedikleri için, hiçbir şey istemiyorlardı. Yedi sekiz yaşında birer yaşama emeklisi olmuşlardı. O kadar sıskaydılar ki, hocalar bile artık onlara şehvetle bakmıyordu. (Üstün, 1965, p. 5)[14]

Üstün does not give any information about Rıza's life in Germany; there is no statement about Rıza's feelings or social problems during his seven month-long residency. Although it seems that Rıza is the character that drives the plot forward, the writer's focus is on Elif's feelings and disappointment. As a matter of fact, the story ends with Elif's reproach after Rıza decides to live with Edda in Germany: "*Almanya, Almanya, neler ettin bana Almanya! Gözün kör olsun Almanya*"[15] (p. 19). That is not only one of the common expressions of the migrancy but also one of the earliest examples of the passive voice of female typology.

Bekir Yıldız who studied printing in Turkey and went to Germany as a *Gastarbeiter* in 1962 published his novel *Türkler Almanya*'da (The Turks in Germany) in 1966. The novel tells the story of migration beginning with a train travel from Istanbul to Heidelberg. It uses all the motifs of so-called migrant literature: working conditions in factories, social difficulties, cultural gaps, family unification and the final return to homeland. One of the writer's important emphases is the Europe as a superior model and as a representation of civilization in the migrant's mind that shapes the view of migrant to migrant:

[14] Turkey was writhing in pain due to unemployment. The Anatolian wasteland was roasted red due to it squalidness and turned its face away from everybody. The children with their blank eyes wandered around over the tiny fractures. They did not want anything since they did not know from who they would want. As 8-9 year-old children they had retired from living. They were so skinny that even the teachers did not give them any lascivious looks.

[15] "Germany, Germany, what have you done to me! Germany be damned"

> Nihat gelen votkasını yudumladıktan sonra söze başladı:
>
> 'Bence, Almanya'ya gidenleri bir elemeden geçirmeli. Baksana, şu çalışmaya giden insanların içinde ne kadar basitleri var. Bunlarla Avrupa'da aynı paralelde değerlendirilmek doğrusu beni düşündürüyor. Memleketimizde ancak başarı gösterenlere bu gidiş hakkı tanınmalı. Her insanı alıp da Almanya'ya göndermek, Avrupa'da vatanımızı iyi temsil ettirmemek olmaz mı?' (2012, p. 3)[16]

In the same year, Sadık Fehimoğlu, while working at a consulate in the BRD, serialized his *Rüzgar Selami Almanya'da* (Rüzgar Selami in Germany, 1966) in *Milliyet* newspaper. This story tells of a well-known roughneck, Selami from Aksaray. The first part begins in Sirkeci Train Station and was published on May 22nd, the same day that there was news by Örsan Öymen and Mete Razlıklı of three Turkish workers who had committed a murder because of jealousy, and also news by Mehmet Ali Birand that the investments of the Turkish workers were welcomed in Strasbourg. Two years later, in 1968, Pathe Plak released *Nasip kalktı Almanya'ya yollandı* (Destiny Sent To Germany) by Kemal Keskin (Öztürk, 2001, p. 19).

The "Germany" theme progressed in the *gastarbeitet*-centered literature and cinema from 1961 to the 1980s. The writers focused on the painful experiences such as homesickness and loneliness of the *Gastarbeiter* in a foreign country. Thus, writers such as Aras Ören and Yüksel Pazarkaya, who were actually not *Gastarbeiter* themselves but whose lives and output were gradually more determined by the phenomenon when they took on the task of mirroring the life conditions of the *Gastarbeiter* (Esen, 2009, pp. 4-5). In cinema however, the issue was dealt with by non-mainstream movements until the 1970s.

The musical production and activities of the *Gastarbeiter* in the first decade are less well-documented than those in literature and cinema, partly because the *Gastarbeiter* were not apt to preserve their production and partly because there were no tools available to preserve them and no relationships to disseminate the production. Considering that the researchers began to turn their attention to the issue in the middle of the 1970s, it becomes clear that the evaluations of *Gastarbeiter* musical production and activities in the first decade are primarily based on the *Gastarbeiter*

[16] Nihat began to talk after swigging his vodka: 'I am of the opinion that the ones who go to Germany should be eliminated. Look at that, there are very common people among those who are going to work there. To be evaluated with these people makes me think. Only the ones that are successful in our country should gain the right to go to Germany. Would it be a good representation if we send everyone to Germany?'

profile and on narrations in other cultural fields, especially literature. In fact, the unique information these works give is that the *Gastarbeiter* produced and consumed its own traditional music. However, it is not possible to find information regarding the inner relationships of traditional music. This means that statements on *Gastarbeiter* musical production and activity are primarily based on recorded examples from the 1970s.

As previously mentioned, one of the most important parameters for the evaluation of the *Gastarbeiter*'s musical production and activities is its profile. According to research supervised by Nermin Abadan-Unat in 1963, 51% of the *Gastarbeiter* were from settlements with populations over 100,000, 7% were from settlements with populations 20,000-50,000, 11% were from settlements with populations 2,000-20,000; and 18% were from settlements with populations under 2.000. Although more than half of the *Gastarbeiter* said that their residency was Istanbul and Thrace, only 17% of them were born there, thereby showing that most of the *Gastarbeiter* had also experienced internal Turkish migration (Abadan-Unat, 2006, pp. 113-114).

In contrast to the literature, there were no close relationships between professional musicians coming from Turkey and the *Gastarbeiter* during that period. Thus, it can be said that there were no musical figures that took on the task of spokesman for the *Gastarbeiter*, and that the musical production and activities were isolated in that period. The relationship between professional musicians and the *Gastarbeiter* was established when the periphery moved to the center and relocated its production there.

Figure 3.1 : *Gastarbeiter* arriving to Hamburg (Url-11).

Although moving from the periphery to the center led to the popularization of traditional production; the traditional production itself became urbanized under the new conditions and merged with other urban popular genres. This means that the repertoire related with Germany has been constituted by both the traditional musicians such as those classed as ***aşık***, who migrated there as *Gastarbeiter* and who came to give concerts, by popular musicians and more recently by world musicians. The diverse profiles of this repertoire's participants not only make it impossible to evaluate the subject from one axis, but also eliminate the idea of the homogeneity of each axis in its own right. What is at question is the repertoire of these encounters as they are not only encounters between the TC and the BRD or of two nation-states. On the contrary, these are encounters between of individuals whose tendencies and choices transcend nation-states and boundaries.

These encounters are usually and primarily examined in terms of the theme of *gurbet* because the first realities the migrant recognizes are separation, loneliness and being the "other". Naturally, these realities find their voices with dramatically-enhanced works. In addition, there are some *türkü* that criticize and satirize conditions in the BRD; some of them handle the same facts with different expressions. It can be said that although it is possible to divide *türkü* compositions according to their style, these styles do not stand separately; on the contrary diverse styles are used at the same time in most of them (Öztürk, 2001, p. 66). It can be seen that since the creators of them are mostly peasants and workers, their critical and satirical *türkü*s also contain some elements of the discourses within social classes. Evoking Yüksel Baypınar's

(1992) statement that writers who migrated from Turkey were confined to *Gastarbeiterliteratur* (guest worker literature), whereas their orientations contained diverse literary traditions (p. 361), Marilya Veteto-Condrad noted that *Gastarbeiterliteratur* also included an emphasis on the working class and the common folk, much resembling the proletariat literature of Bertolt Brecht (Tuttle, 2007, p. 18). As labor migration was turning to political migration in the 1970s and the political scene was becoming restless not only in the TC, but also in the BRD, the DDR and the rest of the northern hemisphere, this tendency was especially found to be a traditional motive in the works of ***Alevi*** musicians whose production has reflected pressure and social protest since Pir Sultan (Stokes, 2009, p. 121), and which would become more visible as one of the main characteristics of the production.

There are short-term examples of this. Released by the Türküola label, *Gastarbeiter* Abdullah Papur's two albums showed that the discourse on social classes and a politically conscious tendency were together at the beginning. Some sentences, such "*işçi köylü gardaşımı bir tutarım*"[17] (in *Elin Gavuruna Ne*), "*patronun günlüğü milyonları aştı, 20 lira alan işçimiz de var*"[18] (in *Bu Nasıl Düzen*), or "*tarla benim, emek benim*"[19] (in *Ağası Var*) foreshadow the more distinctive example in Papur's production is *İşçilerin Kaderi Zalim Almanya*[20] (Cruel Germany, The Fate of Workers) which was released by Şah Plak in 1981.

In 1966 and 1967, 70,000 of the *Gastarbeiter* coming from Turkey were fired due to an economical recession in the BRD. More importantly, the foreign labor force became an issue in the BRD. It was discussed whether foreign workers should be considered as substitutes or native staff in an industrialized country. Many of the fired *Gastarbeiter* preferred to move to neighboring countries instead of returning to the TC. Even though the recession was short-lived, it revealed two facts: for the BRD, the *Gastarbeiter* might be permanent and for the *Gastarbeiter*, the importance of

[17] "I consider my worker and peasant brothers as equals"

[18] "The boss' daily salary exceeded over millions, we have worker who earns 20 liras"

[19] "The field is mine, the work is mine"

[20] See Appendix B, track 1.

being organized and syndicated (Abadan-Unat, 2006, pp. 61-62). The organization of the *Gastarbeiter* would increase so much in couple of years that in 1973, *Gastarbeiter* coming from the TC seized the control of the Ford factory in Köln, refused to allow IG Metall represent them, and negotiated directly with management until they were forcibly ejected by police (O'Brien, 1996, p. 50).

The dilemma of staying or returning was one of the main characteristics of that period's musical production. *Alamanya Gardaşımı Ver*[21] (Germany, Give My Brothers and Sisters, 1969) by Aşık Mahzuni Şerif –also sung by Yüksel Özkasap and Nurcan Opel- was one of the earliest examples of the call for a return to Turkey from the people left behind. It was also used by the people of *gurbet* in theirsongs as they shared the same passion. For example, *İşçi Geldim Almanya*'ya[22] (I Came as Worker to Germany, 1969) from the album *Deyişler* by Davut Sulari begins with a question about residency ("*hele gardaş gidem anavatana, bu diyarlar mesken olur mu bana*"[23]) and ends with a negative decision ("*olamaz*")[24]. The song *Almanya*[25] (Germany) from the album *Katil Amerika/Ekinler* (Murderer America/Crops, 1974) by Aşık Mahzuni Şerif, however, shows that the dream to return did not come true; on the contrary, Germany now became identified with Yemen; that is, with a place from which no one could return.[26]

3.2 Political Refugees and Outsiders

After the first phase, migration from the TC to the BRD diversified according to different motivations for migration. In addition to the economical factors for example, there were some special cases that caused migration. Aşık Mahzuni Şerif's concert in

[21] See Appendix B, track 2.

[22] See Appendix B, track 3.

[23] "Let me go to the homeland brother, shall this realm become home to me?"

[24] "No, it shall not."

[25] See Appendix B, track 4.

[26] The identification of Germany with Yemen can also be found in other works, such as in Sadık Fehimoğlu's book *Almanya Nire Yemen Nire* (Where is Germany Where is Yemen, 1969). A more interesting example is in the movie *Almanya Acı Vatan* (Germany, The Bitter Land, 1979) by Şerif Gören. The *Yemen Türküsü* is heard, as Güldane is delivering Pala, a garbage man, his children's photos. Towards the end of the movie, the *Yemen Türküsü* is heard again. Here, Pala is awarded a prize as the best garbage man in Germany. He is asked that what he will do when he returns to Turkey. His answer is simple: "I will die".

Elbistan was one of them. After his concert in 1967, a series of skirmishes caused by the political conflicts of the time took place between ***Sunni***, ***Alevi*** and Kurdish factions, and led the entire population of Tavkirarlı to migrate to Sweden via the trust networks established by Mehmet Baki Çiçek (Karagöz and Karagöz, n.d.).

The beginnings of the 1970s were determined by the mottos of the 1968 Movement. The call of the student movements such as the *Baader-Meinhof Gruppe* (Baader-Meinhof Group) and then that of the *Rote Armee Fraktion* (Red Army Faction), for a showdown with the national socialist past of the elder generation in order to attain a more democratic society. In addition, the reactions of migrant workers against their legal and social position came together with that of their counterparts in the TC provided the political motivation and background in cultural production.

One of the earliest examples of migrant workers political awakening is *Utanför* (Outsiders, 1969) by Ayten Kuyululu Ürkmez. The movie tells the story of a garbage man coming from Turkey and his activist Swedish girlfriend. Although the migrant has social problems, he overcomes his problems after he becomes politically conscious with the help of his girlfriend. The director clearly points out that there are political inequalities behind the social problems.

Figure 3.2 : Strike at *Technische Universität*, 1968 (Url-12).

The political atmosphere in the TC during the 1970s was created by the processes before and after the coup d'État of March 12th. The protests against the USA's 6th Fleet and *Kanlı Pazar* (Bloody Sunday) in Beyazıt Square were critical events of this period. Evoking the death of Benno Ohnesorg during the protests in West Berlin against the visit Muhammed Rıza Paehlevi, Shah of Iran, on June 2, 1967, Ali Turgut Aytaç and Duran Erdoğan were stabbed and killed in a fight between demonstrators and *Komünizmle Mücadele Derneği* (Union Against Communism) on February 16, 1969. Issues beginning with the attitude of the USA towards the Cyprus problem, as embodied by Johnson's letter[27], the Vietnam War, Israel's Middle East policies and the Israel-Arab War came together in protests against the 6th Fleet. After union rights were restricted on June 11, 1970 and the *Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu* (Confederation of Revolutionary Trade Unions of Turkey) protested this decision, the Council of Ministers declared martial law for 60 days; many unionists were arrested and tried. To free their leaders Deniz Gezmiş, Yusuf Aslan and Hüseyin İnan, who were arrested because of the protests against the 6th Fleet and other demonstrations, the *Türkiye Halk Kurtuluş Ordusu* (People's Liberation Army of Turkey, THKO) established a guerilla camp in the Nurhak Mountains to attack NATO's Radar Installment at Kürecik. However, their plan did not succeed and Sinan Cemgil, Kadir Manga and Alpaslan Özdoğan were killed. The tension in the country after coup d'État increased. Murders, executions, fights and political struggles appeared in the works of *aşık* works together with the motive of the events in the Nurhak Mountains.

[27] The letter was written by US President Lyndon B. Johnson to İsmet İnönü, see Appendix A, Document A.1.

Figure 3.3 : Demonstration against 6th Fleet (above, Url-13) and Bloody Sunday on *Hürriyet* (below, Url-14).

In his *Tunceli*[28], Abdullah Papur celebrates the city as the leader of the revolution ("*devrimin öncüsü canım Tunceli*"[29]) and points to the Nurhak Mountains as a place of martyrs. In the same sense, Aşık Mahzuni Şerif laments the deaths in the Nurhak Mountains ("*hani benim ince boylu Sinan'ım, ah yüreğime ateş düştü yanarım, yiğit yiyen dağlar size kınarım*"[30]) in his *Nurhak Dağı*[31] (Nurhak Mountains); and Aşık Zamani, who migrated to Germany after the coup d'État of March 12th and who

[28] See Appendix B, track 5.

[29] "the leader of revolution, my beloved Tunceli"

[30] "Where is my lanky Sinan, oh my heart is burning, I condemn you the mountains that swallowed heroes"

[31] See Appendix B, track 6.

called his migration an exile, says in his *Devrim İçin Ölenleri Unutmayız*[32] (We Shall Not Forget the Ones Who Died for the Sake of Revolution) and that they will never forget Cemgil, Manga and Özdoğan ("*Nurhak'larda Sinan'ları*"[33]). Additionally, he points to Yılmaz Güney and Deniz Gezmiş in his *Yılmaz Yılmaz*[34], at the 6th Fleet and Süleyman Demirel in his *Amerikano İngilizo*[35] ("*filosu var, finosu var, çobanı var*"[36]) and at İbrahim Kaypakkaya in his *Bizim İbrahim*[37] (Our İbrahim). Likewise Aşık Vicdani and Ali Nurşani call İbrahim Kaypakkaya as comrade in *İbrahim Yoldaş*[38] (Comrade İbrahim), and say that they would never forget who killed them ("*unutmam Mahir seni vuranı, unutmam Sinan seni vuranı*"[39]) in *Bu Dere Kızıldere*[40] (This River is Kızıldere – the Red River) referring to the incidents in Kızıldere on March 30, 1972.

Figure 3.4 : Some members of THKO (Url-15).

The leaders of the 1968 Movement both in the TC and in the BRD were defused by the second half of the 1970s. BRD preferred an implicit showdown by declaring

[32] See Appendix B, track 7.

[33] "The Sinans at the Nurhaks"

[34] See Appendix B, track 8.

[35] See Appendix B, track 9.

[36] "It has fleet, it has lapdog, it has shepherd"

[37] See Appendix B, track 10.

[38] See Appendix B, track 11.

[39] "Mahir, I would not forget who shot you, Sinan, I would not forget who shot you"

[40] See Appendix B, track 12.

suicides of people under arrest, such as of Ulrike Meinhof and Andreas Baader. On the other hand, the TC had already publicly executed Deniz Gezmiş, Yusuf Aslan and Hüseyin İnan with the help of military tutelage in 1972. Because both the *Baader-Meinhof Gruppe* and THKO were also a part of international politics, references to these figures provided a trans-local layer for cultural production, at least on the level of discourse.

Figure 3.5 : Executions (above, Url-16) and suicides (below, Url-17).

TC's Cyprus Operation in 1974 was another political motivation of *aşık*s[41], and approximated two inherently related discourses, anti-imperialism and nationalism, in cultural production. For example, *Şanlı Türk Ordumuzun Kıbrıs Destanı* (The Cyprus Epic of Our Glorious Turkish Army) by Aşık Ali Doğan and *Kıbrıs* (Cyprus) by Sefil Selimi contain nationalistic discourse. Similarly, *Kahraman Ecevit* (Hero Ecevit in the album *Abdullah Papur II*) by Abdullah Papur is a nationalistic praise-poetry for

[41] See Erman Artun, "Adanalı Aşıkların Şiirlerinde Kıbrıs Barış Harekatı" on http://turkoloji.cu.edu.tr/CUKUROVA/makaleler/19.php, Ali Berat Alptekin, "Çukurovalı Aşıkların Dilinde 1974 Kıbrıs Barış Harekatı", TÜBAR-XXIX, 2011 and Doğan Kaya, "Sivaslı Aşıkların Kıbrıs Konulu Şiirleri" on http://turkoloji.cu.edu.tr/CUKUROVA/makaleler/19.php

Bülent Ecevit with some anti-American lines ("*Nixon'un sözünü dinlemeden reddetti, yine yurdumuza haşhaşı ekti*"[42]). Another song in the same album *Karacaoğlan* is also about domestic policy and reflects Papur's hopes in the name of Ecevit. *Vur Mehmetçik*[43] (Shoot Mehmetçik), however, contains all mentioned discourses together: anti-Americanism/anti-imperialism, anti-militarism and nationalism ("*Kahrolsun Amerika, kahrolsun cunta*"[44] and "*İster Amerika atom patlatsın, korkutamaz bizi kahpe Yunan*"[45]).

Figure 3.6 : Migrants reading the news on Cyprus Operation (Url-18).

The 1970s were a transition period from *Gastarbeiter* to migrant (Çağlar, 2000, pp. 132-133). The *Anwerbestopp*[46] (contracting halt) that was a result of the oil crisis of 1973 and the increased price of petroleum played a critical role in this transition. Whereas the number of workers coming from the TC to the BRD was 103,753 in

[42] "He refused ignoring Nixon's word, again sowed the seeds of hash on our land"

[43] See Appendix B, track 13.

[44] "Down with America, down with the junta"

[45] "Even if America explodes the atom bomb, the Greek harlot cannot scare us"

[46] See Appendix A, Figure A.8 for the article "Anwerbestopp bleibt bestehen" (The Ban on Recruitment Remains in Place) by Kurt Steves published in *Die Welt* on June 13, 1974.

1973, it was only 640 in 1975. However, the total number of people from Turkey in the BRD continued to increase through family unifications. In member states of the European Union, the number of workers coming from the TC was 711,302 in 1973-74 but reached 1,765,788 after family unifications (Abadan-Unat, 2006, pp. 63-64).

This uncontrolled population growth of migrants caught the BRD off-guard and also changed the balance within migrant population in the BRD. The largest migrant population until 1967 consisted of the people coming from the Italian Republic, but now it consisted of people coming from the TC (O'Brien, 1996, p. 46). Thus the people coming from the TC gradually moved to the center of the migrant issue. It was also a big challenge because it meant that the counterpart of the European identity that had been created by the mainstream policies for centuries had to be re-conceptualized. In other words, it appeared clearly that the relationship between Europeans and people coming from other countries, especially those who from the TC, could not be sustained by the old identifications of self and the other. In this sense, Ernst Klee's *Die Negger Europas* (The Negros of Europe, 1971) can be seen as an example of the other's relocation within the European identity, and was also supported by the outsider image in Günter Wallraff's *Ganz Unten* (Totally at the Bottom, 1985).

This transition period, however, did not follow a linear path. Although some rights, such as social insurances including health, injury and unemployment, child benefits, and pension rights had been given to the migrants, the migration process was not complete. More importantly since irregular migration had started, the debates circulating around the migrant-issue did not come to an end. The illegal migrants coming to the member states of the European Union through different agents obstructed the interoperability of solutions that were based on legal regulations. Each of the regulations but which failed to keep up with the rapid pace of changes.

Two of the axes of that period's cultural production were dramatized realities and agitated moods. As Martin Stokes (2009) noted, these characteristics were also seen in *arabesk* (p. 17) and illustrated the discrepancy and conflict between the center and the periphery. Yüksel Özkasap explained how these realities and moods were interchangeable:

> In these songs, separation, longing, love were narrated (...) They were songs that everyone could find something about themselves. A woman who came to work in Germany leaving her husband, a worker at Ford who has left his wife, children and his mother behind, could express their own feelings with the lyrics of these songs. (as qutoed by Greve, 2006, p. 48)

Yüksel Özkasap had entered this musical genre, which she would dominate with her 45-rpm recordings from the ends of the 1960s until the 1990s. Özkasap, also called the *Köln Bülbülü* (nightingale of Köln), became a well-known singer with her recordings which include about 500 *gurbet* songs released by the Türküfon and Türküola recording companies belonging to her husband, Yılmaz Asöcal. As can be heard in these recordings, *arabesk* was not only a musical genre in its own right, but also a style that found a place for itself in other popular music genres. The relationship between the recording and entertainment industries, and the official aesthetic discourse, played an important role in this overflow since this relation was not only determined by the contradiction to official aesthetic discourse but also by the acceptance of some parts of the discourse and its practices. As Martin Stokes (2009) writes, official discourse and practices were not replaced by *arabesk*; on the contrary they were together (p. 45).

Özkasap's two 45-rpm recordings of 1969, *Londra Sokaklarında Ağlar Gezerim*/*Zindan Oldu Sensiz* (I Walk Through the Streets of London Crying/It Is Like A Prison Without You) and *Aşk Mezarı*/*Akşam Güneşi* (Grave of Love/Evening Sun) show how *arabesk* as a genre and style interrelates with the official aesthetic discourse. These were the recordings made with the *Werner Müller Orchester*. Werner Müller, who also arranged these songs, was the conductor of the dance orchestra in *Rundfunk im Amerikanischen Sektor* (Broadcasting in the American Sector) in Berlin between 1948 and 1967, and then headed the dance orchestra of the WDR in Köln. The result of Özkasap's and Müller's collaboration was an eclectic style. On one side there was *arabesk* arm in arm with traditional style, and big, popular music orchestra, and on the other side there was that was derived from the symphony orchestra. If three different recordings of *Zindan Oldu Sensiz* written by Osman Bayşu are compared, the distinctions between them become remarkable. While Yıldız Tezcan's recording[47] of the song in 1968 and Mehmet Bozdoğan's

[47] See Appendix B, track 14.

recording[48] are close to TSM, Yüksel Özkasap's recording[49] was a combination of these two interpretations with an addition of that time's popular music styles. A similar case is found in *Akşam Güneşi* written by Orhan Gencebay. The style of the song[50] in Gencebay's album *Hatasız Kul Olmaz* (There Ain't No Flawless Man, 1974) stands at a point somewhere in the middle of *arabesk* and TSM, especially in its the use of violins, *ud* and *kanun* (zither). However in the recording by Yüksel Özkasap[51], the rhythmical structure was both accelerated and adapted to Latin rhythms, and the melodic line accompanied by the orchestra was sometimes completed and imitated by trumpets.

Figure 3.7 : The cover of *Londra Sokakları* (Url-19).

[48] See Appendix B, track 15.

[49] See Appendix B, track 16.

[50] See Appendix B, track 17.

[51] See Appendix B, track 18.

After publishing two poetry books in Turkish, *Terkedilmişlerin Akşamı* (The Evening of Forsaken, 1960) and *Pek Büyük Gözlerin* (Your Eyes Are Big, 1964), Aras Ören migrated to West Berlin in 1969 where he published three more books in four years: *Disteln für Blumen* (Thistles for Flowers, 1970), *Der Hinterhof* (The Backyard, 1972) and *Was will Niyazi in der Naunynstraße* (What is Niyazi up to in Naunyn street?, 1973). *Was will Niyazi in der Naunynstraße* was the first part of his *Berlin Trilogie* (Berlin Trilogy) and was one of the earliest examples of an orientation that would develop in the late 1990s and which can be classed as city-centered or neighborhood-centered orientation:

> Individual persons, German and Turkish, who live on one street in Kreuzberg, and old, run-down, working-class area in Berlin, are portrayed in depth, partly by the use of flashbacks which explain the background of their present circumstances (...) The trilogy is a tribute to Kreuzberg an to the vision of a unified multicultural community that develops out of the coexistence of discrete cultural groups. (Suhr, 1989, p. 87)

The book was adapted for a documentary on people from Turkey living in Kreuzberg by the *Sender Freies Berlin* (Radio Free Berlin, SFB) with the title of *Frau Kutzef und andere Bewohner der Naunynstraße* (Mrs Kutzef and the Other Residents of Naunyn street) in 1976, it was transformed into a multimedia work by the composer Tayfun Erdem in 1987 and was finally reproduced as a fifteen-minute performance (*Ein performativer Parcours nach Motiven eines Poems von Aras Ören*) by the director Neco Çelik and a crew from Berlin and Istanbul at the Ballhaus-Nauynstraβe in 2009.

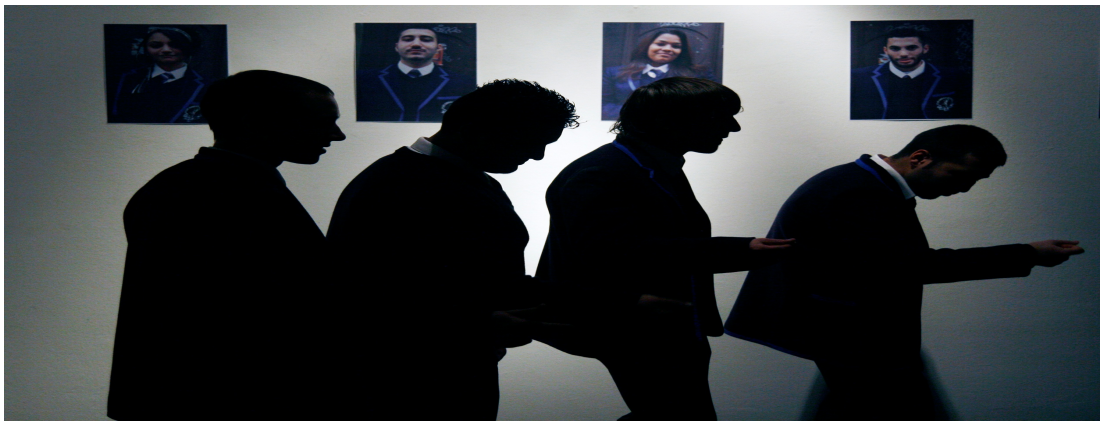

Figure 3.8 : From *Ein performativer Parcours nach Motiven eines Poems von Aras Ören* at Ballhaus-Naunynstaße (Url-20).

Movies focusing on the problems and crises of migrants began to appear in the 1970s. In 1974, Tunç Okan told the story of illegal migrants filling a bus and their hopes for

a future in Stockholm which then turn to despair in *Otobüs* (Bus). In the same year, Rainer Werner Fassbinder handled the issue of peer pressure over the marriage of an old and lonely woman, Emmi, and young migrant worker, Ali, in *Angst essen Seele auf* (the English title is *Fear Eats the Soul*). Their relationship which began despite their age difference collapsed when Emmi tried to change Ali and tried to integrate him into German societiy. Ali had never been a part of that, and could live with Emmi only if she was alone. Whenever Emmi tried to socialize him, Ali became estranged, because he did not want to leave his past and his habits (Schöning, n.d., p. 97).

In der Fremde/*Der Gurbette* (In the Foreign Land, 1975) by Sohrab Shahid Saless is about the individual loneliness of a migrant worker. The migrant wakes up, brews his tea, sits down at his table and looks at the empty room. The streets, apartments, walls and factories are devoid of feelings; the people are just extras. His past, and the people he left behind are not explained; he is nothing less than a mute (Schöning, n.d., p. 95).

Fikrimin İnce Gülü (The Elegant Rose of My Thoughts, 1976) by Adalet Ağaoğlu also approaches the migrant as an individual, psychological entity. Bayram, whose only aim is to buy a yellow Mercedes automobile –here used as the symbol of Germany and German technology- wants to return to his village as a person who has proved himself. But when he sets off on the journey from Germany, he begins to question his migration process and existence in Germany. *Fikrimin İnce Gülü* is a road story, but the road from Germany to Turkey in here is also a metaphor of self-inquiry.

1976 was also the year in that the first documentary on the migrants in Germany was shot: *Dokumentation 'Gastarbeiterkultur' N. 1: Musik/Tanz/Theater* (Bochum Museum). In this documentary, seven folk-dance groups, twelve political singers, ensembles such as the *Türkischer Arbeiterchor West Berlin*, a couple of *bağlama* players, Kurdish ensembles and internationally known singers such as Cem Karaca, Zülfü Livaneli and Melike Demirağ were introduced (Greve, 2006, pp. 45-46). The migrant was now visible, together with its whole production and diversity.

Şirin's Hochzeit (Şirin's Wedding, 1976) by Helma Sanders Brahms was the movie that got the harshest reactions from the right-wing politics and conservative people among the migrants comin from Turkey. The protagonist, Şirin, lives in a village in Anatolia and decides to go to Köln to find her lover, Mahmut, who works there, because she is being forced to marry the headman of the village. First she works at a factory, then as a cleaning woman but at the end she has to accept the offer of a procurer. When the movie was aired by WDR, demonstrations were made in front of the WDR building, and debates were heard in the *Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi* (Grand National Assembly of the Turkey Parliament, TBMM). Furthermore, these discussions haunted the movie for a long time. For instance in 1987, the censorship committee in Turkey reported the movie as objectionable and tried to prevent its exhibition in the Istanbul Film Festival but the problem was solved by Şakir Eczacıbaşı who discussed the issue with the president Turgut Özal.

Şirin was perceived as the representation of migrant women and the film was perceived as a defamation by people from Turkey. Şirin's struggle to find her own way in a foreign country, her friendship with a Greek woman and their rejoicing the end of the military junta in Greece, her egalitarian ideas as a woman and worker (Schöning, n.d., p. 99) were not important for people from Turkey in comparison to her descent into prostitution. On the other hand, there are some that think and criticize the character as a part of victimization that strengthens the narratives of German society on people from Turkey. Martina Priessner, for example, says that telling the liberation story of female characters under pressure is a popular fantasy (Davulcu, 2013).

Some of the harshest reactions to *Şirin's Hochzeit* came from Aşık Metin Türköz. Türköz from Kayseri released 30 cassettes and 72 singles in the 1960s and 1970s (Greve, 2006, p. 38). He was known through his satirical songs and was the most popular ***aşık*** in Köln, and his reactions were harsh not only to *Şirin's Hochzeit* but also to social life in Germany, as heard in *Almanya'da Karnaval Var*[52] (There Is Carnival in Germany), and to the figures of this life as heard in *Meister İşçi Kavgası*[53] (The Argument of Master and Worker). Öztürk cites two songs of Türköz on *Şirin's Hochzeit* from Mustafa Boz: *Şirin'in Doğumu* (Şirin's Birth) and *Şirin'in*

[52] See Appendix B, track 19.

[53] See Appendix B, track 20.

Düğünü[54] (2001, pp. 208, 211-212). There are also *Şirin'in Düğünü* and *Şirin Bize Leke Sürdün* (Şirin, You Put a Slur on Us) from the album *Hakiki Şirinin Düğünü 2* (The Real Şirin's Wedding 2) by Adnan and Nurhan Varveren, and *Zalim Almanya*[55] (Cruel Germany) by Aşık Ali Doğan. All these songs contain lots of anger. Although that anger came partly from the traditional definition of the woman, it was also shaped by national protectionist narratives of Turkey because of the Greek female character in the movie. Seeing woman and honor associated with each other led to the extension of the reactions towards the fictional character Şirin to be extended against the actress who portrayed her, Ayten Eren. Şirin's fall as a prostitute was equated with Eren's acting in the film for money, and thus the actress was accused of sullying the image of Turkey and Turkish women. Ultimately, it was mentioned in *Şirin'in Düğünü* by the Varverens that *Şirin's Hochzeit* was just a movie, and the story was a work a fiction:

> Alamanya'da çalışan
> Sayın Türk kardeşlerim
> Kafanızı bozmayın
> Gözünüzden öperim
> Aslı astarı yok
> Bu nihayet bir film[56] (Öztürk, 2001, p. 212)

The second half of the 1970s was the beginning of a process that would continue until the 2000s in the TC. A series of incidents that caused the coup d'État of September 12th would affect migration from the TC to the BRD and shape the structure of today's population of people from Turkey in the BRD. During this period, the flow from the TC to the BRD accelerated, and political migration diversified through trust networks that were established in the first half of the 1970s. Whereas the number of applications for political asylum was 809 in 1976, it jumped to 57,913 in four years. Thus the relatively homogeneous quality of population of people from Turkey disappeared completely. Non-governmental organizations also

[54] See Appendix B, track 21.

[55] See Appendix B, track 22.

[56] "My dear Turkish friends working in Germany/ Do not be demoralized/ With lots of affection/ It has no rhyme or reason/ After all, it is just a movie"

began to be shape according to this new condition. Migrant associations were gradually were divided into ideological compartments; they redefined themselves, their culture and the mainstream discourses in that culture according to their political motivations.

The second half of the 1970s passed with the absence of a quorum in the TBMM and brought a series of right-wing coalition governments, *Milliyetçi Cephe* (Nationalist Front). These governments could not compete with the economic and social problems of the country; on the contrary, they caused them to increase. A deep-rooted fear of military custody hung over them like the sword of Damocles, and the violent conflicts between left- and right-wing movements reached their peak. The deaths of 35 people during the Labor Day celebrations in Taksim Square on May 1st, 1977, the deaths of 111 people, mostly ***Alevi*** and Kurds in the Maraş Massacre, and the deaths of seven university students who were members of the *Türkiye İşçi Partisi* (Turkish Workers' Party, TİP), in the Bahçelievler Massacre in 1978 were trademark incidents that paved the way for the coup d'État of September 12th. The perpetrators of these incidents either went uncaught or were set free and it seemed as if they were protected and advocated by the state in the same way as notorious figures such as Abdullah Çatlı and Haluk Kırcı was one of the main reasons of the tension in the streets. Assassination was used as a tool of political struggle. The journalist Abdi İpekçi, TİP's former head of Adana, Ceyhun Can, the vice rector of Çukurova University, Fikret Ünsal, the former head of *Bozkurtlar* (grey wolves) in Malatya, Mürsel Karataş; and the commissioner of Adana, Cevat Yurdakul were only a few who were assassinated in 1979.

The cultural production both with their figures and contents was one of the leading actors before and after the coup d'État. Filmmakers, actors, musicians and writers were taken into custody, arrested, sometimes tortured, and taken to court in order to disrupt their organizations. Tons of books, magazines and newspapers were burned and movies were labeled as unfavorable and banned.

Ruhi Su, who had already been pointed out as unfavorable, and who had been convicted due to his socialism was again on trial in 1974 for producing communist propaganda because he had sung *Eşeği Saldım Çayıra*[57] (I Left the Donkey on the Grass) by Kazak Abdal and *El Kapıları-Almanya'da Çöpçülerimiz*[58] (Homes of Others/Our Garbage Men in Germany) based on a poem by Fazıl Hüsnü Dağlarca:

> Gün ışır ışımaz, alın yazımız parlar
> Ne alın yazısı, el yazısı be!
> Sökemeyiz ki biz, ilkokul aydınlığı bile gösterilmeyenler
> Biz, pis yöneticilerin mutsuz kişileri,
> Süpürürüz yaban ellerinin sokaklarını; pis el, pis yürek![59]

Ruhi Su was a Western-educated bass-baritone who had appeared in productions of *Madama Butterfly*, *Tosca* and *Fidelio* at the State Opera in Ankara. He was also a *bağlama* player, singer and composer who focused on *Alevi* folk poems. Like his contemporaries Pete Seeger and Atahualpa Yupanqui he perceived the traditional repertoire not as completed and fixed but in motion and in change by nature. In this sense, his influence on the musicians and audience was great, but his more direct effect on the scene in Germany can be observed in the work of Sümeyra Çakır, Tahsin İncirci and the *Türkischer Arbeiterchor West Berlin*.

Although Çakır's attention on migrants goes back to songs such as *Almanya Gemileri-Aman Alim*[60] (Ships of Germany-Oh My Ali) that she sung with Ruhi Su and the *Dostlar Korosu*, her position changed after she migrated to the BRD after the coup d'État. There she began to work with İncirci and his *Türkischer Arbeiterchor West Berlin* that was composed of *Gastarbeiter*. However, the activities of the choir were not limited to their own community. They performed at organization of leftist parties, newspapers, and workers associations in France, Belgium and Sweden and collaborated with the *Bert-Brecht Chor* from Essen, *Die Zeitgenossen* from Bremen, the *Ernst Busch Chor* from Kiel and the *Hanns Eisler Chor* from Berlin. Their repertoire included folk songs as well as political and protest songs, and was presented as collective and universal, rather as individual and unique to a single

[57] See Appendix B, track 23.

[58] See Appendix B, track 24.

[59] As soon as the day shines, the writing on our foreheads glows/Not written by god but by a stranger/ We whom the light of primary schools were not showed cannot understand/ We the unhappy people of dirty rulers/ scavenge the streets of strangers; dirt hand, dirty heart!

[60] See Appendix B, track 25.

national context. As can be heard in the album *Wenn die Feinde mächtig sind...: Chöre live* (When the Enemies Are Powerful...: Choirs live, 1981), workers' solidarity was enacted at the level of professional cooperation and musical collaboration among choirs (Gezen, 2010, pp. 120-121). Thus, the resources of the choir were considerably expanded by the target audience. For example, the choir's first long-playing record, *İşçi Şarkıları ve Marşları* (The Songs and Marches of Workers), released in 1974 contained Turkish versions of *Venceremos* as *Zafer Bizimdir*[61] (Victory is Ours), *Austrian Workers March* as *Kızıl Yıldız*[62] (Red Star), *L'internationale* as *Enternasyonal*[63] (International), along with *Kerem Gibi*[64] (Like Kerem) by Nazım Hikmet and *Adiloş Bebenin Ninnisi*[65] (Lullaby of the Baby Adiloş) by Ahmed Arif. The orientation was both local and international, musically, contextually and discursively.

Figure 3.9 : The cover of the album by the *Türkischer Arbeiterchor West Berlin* (Url-21).

[61] See Appendix B, track 26.

[62] See Appendix B, track 27.

[63] See Appendix B, track 28.

[64] See Appendix B, track 29.

[65] See Appendix B, track 30.

3.3 The Period of Regulations

West Germany imposed a new regulation on *Kindergeld*[66] (child-allowance) in 1975 and divided children into two categories as the children who resided with their parents in the BRD and the children who remained in the homeland. This regulation was intended to save money from the social aid budget ended but produced the opposite effect. The children who were left in the TC were brought to the BRD, and a short time, a new generation was produced. In 1980, 40% of the people from Turkey in the BRD, Switzerland, Sweden and Norway were under the age of 18 (Abadan-Unat, 2006, p. 68). Since then, the term "migrant" has expanded and has also become an indicator of some family types in the BRD. However, neither the official authorities, nor the families themselves had any experience of this condition.

Figure 3.10 : Children of migrants (Url-22).

[66] See Appendix A.10 for the article "Eine Invasion von Gastarbeiterkindern? Eine Einsparung, die teuer werden kann" (An Invasion of Guest-Worker Children? Savings that Can Get Expensive) by Christian Schneider published in *Süddeutsche Zeitung* on November 8, 1974.

Younger generations are usually more skilled at going beyond boundaries, than their parents, however they are not totally emancipated from the experiences of their parents because the wish of forcing the boundaries largely comes from the objection to the conditions that are offered to them by their parents and also by state in this case. It also means that the characteristics of the younger generation of the 1990s can only be interpreted if the 1980s are considered. As a matter of fact, the roots and traces of xenophobic incidents in the 1990s that determined the characteristics of this generation are to be found in the 1980s. This was also a time of conservative liberalism that saw the revival of German nationalism (O'Brien, 1996, p. 74).

The cultural production of the 1980s places different but complementary emphases on people from Turkey in Germany. For instance, the *gurbet* theme inherited from the 1970s was transformed in the 1980s. Three books published in 1979 and 1980 can be given as examples of this transformation: bilingual publication *Heimat in der Fremde?*/ *Yaban Sıla Olur Mu?* (Home in the Foreign Land?/Might The Foreign Land Become Home?, 1979), *İncindiğin Yerdir Gurbet* (The Foreign Land Is Where You Are Hurt, 1979) by Yüksel Pazarkaya and *Die Fremde ist auch ein Haus* (The Foreign Land Is Also A Home, 1980) by Aras Ören. All of three books examine the problematic of homeland and *gurbet* after 20 years of migration. Pazarkaya previously dealt with that issue in his short story *Offenburglu Yolcu* (Passenger from Offenburg, in *Oturma İzni* [Residence Permit], 1977) and considered the acceptance of *gurbet* as a homeland to be a necessity. For Pazarkaya this necessity is economic, as seen in the other short stories in *Oturma İzni*. A similar approach exists in *İş Sürgünleri* (Exiles of Work, 1976) by Güney Dal. On the other hand, in *Heimat in der Fremde?*/ *Yaban Sıla Olur Mu?* it is a child of a migrant family, Ender, who was born in Germany and now wants to understand where his homeland is. Pazarkaya unifies the question of homeland and the notion of migrant in the chapter "Karl Bauer'in Yalnızlığı" (The Loneliness of Karl Bauer). Karl Bauer is not an ethnic migrant, but one of the "others" in the society. What links Ender, his family and Karl Bauer is society's need of the other for its own self-identification.

The poem *İncindiğin Yerdir Gurbet* brings a new approach to *gurbet* and homeland. It is a psychological signification of the terms that echoes Paul Illie's approach to exile with his *Literature and Inner Exile: Authoritarian Spain, 1939-1975* (1980). For Pazarkaya, *gurbet* is similar to an inner exile that is a mental condition of exile without ever leaving home (Kronik, 1980, p. 438); *gurbet* is where you are hurt.

On the other hand, the *Heidelberger Manifest*[67] (Heidelberg Manifesto, published on March 4, 1982 by 11 professors in the *Frankfurter Rundschau* shows that the other citizens of West Germany were also questioning some terms regarding homeland:

> With great concern, we observe the infiltration of the German *Volk* (people) through an influx of millions of foreigners and their families, the infiltration of our language, our culture, and our national traditions by foreign influences. Despite the recruitment ban, the number of registered foreigners rose by 309,000 in the year 1980 alone; 194,000 of these foreigners are Turks. A little more than half of the number of children needed to maintain our (German) population are being born each year. In their neighborhoods and workplaces, many Germans already feel like foreigners in their own land.

Two years later, the eleven episodes of the first series of *Heimat* (Homeland, 1984-2013) by Edgar Reitz was aired on TV. The series aimed to tell the history of Germany through two farming families, the Simons and the Wiegands, who lived in a fictional town named Schabbah came up for discussion. Christopher J. Wickham (1991) divided these discussions into three groups. The first discussion is on the genre of *Heimatfilm* and Hollywood-style storytelling in German cinema; the second is on selected representations of contemporary history of Germany; and the third is on the definition of "*Heimat*" (p. 35). "*Heimat*", as defined by Reitz, is a sterile place and in fact, this sterility became the main theme of the discussions. Reitz's definition of "*Heimat*" is so sterile that modernization and events, influences and figures related to modernization are not parts of the constitution of "*Heimat*", but degeneration of "*Heimat*". According to this thesis, "*Heimat*" was fixed at a moment of time; change and the components of change only cause corruption of the tableaux of happy family. On the other hand, Timothy Garton Ash (1985) states that *Heimat* is a film about memor, and explains how the sterilization works: "Memory plays tricks (...) Memory is selective. Memory is partial. Memory is amoral".

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[67] See Appendix A, Figure A.10 for the full text.

The *Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands* (Christian Democratic Union of Germany) kept its promise after the party came into power and imposed the *Rückkehrförderungsgesetz* (the law encouraging the return of migrants) in 1983. Although the law encouraged some who already had plans to return, it failed to reverse the plans of those who thought to stay (O'Brien, 1996, pp. 82-83). While 250,000 of migrants returned to Turkey, victims of the coup d'État September 12th were migrating to Europe, especially to the BRD; that was the second wave of political migration.

Cem Karaca was one of the musicians who had to migrate due to political reasons. His professional relationship with Germany started when he recorded 45-rpms with the *Ferdy Klein Orchester* in 1968. At the beginning of his career, music icons such as Elvis Presley, the Beatles and Pink Floyd dominated international popular music scene and the local scenes that kept their eyes on it. In Turkey, traditional elements were gradually integrated into rock by a younger generation which included Erkin Koray, Moğollar, Barış Manço and Kurtalan Ekspres, and a style called *Anadolu rock* emerged. However, integration to international popular styles was neither new, nor limited to *Anadolu rock*. During the 1960s, American and European songs had been performed mostly by college orchestras in clubs, and had been covered and recorded by popular singers with newly written Turkish lyrics. Moreover, if it is considered that popular musicians in Turkey were also in interaction with Mohammed Abdel Wahab, Umm Kulthum, Laila Murad, Farid al-Atrash and Fairouz, it can be seen that one of the most remarkable characteristics of that time's popular music was eclecticism. In this sense, *Anadolu rock* was only one form of international interaction and cosmopolitanism. Obviously, this form required collaboration with local elements, and in the case of *Anadolu rock*, the *aşık* and *bağlama*s were seen as agencies of local elements.

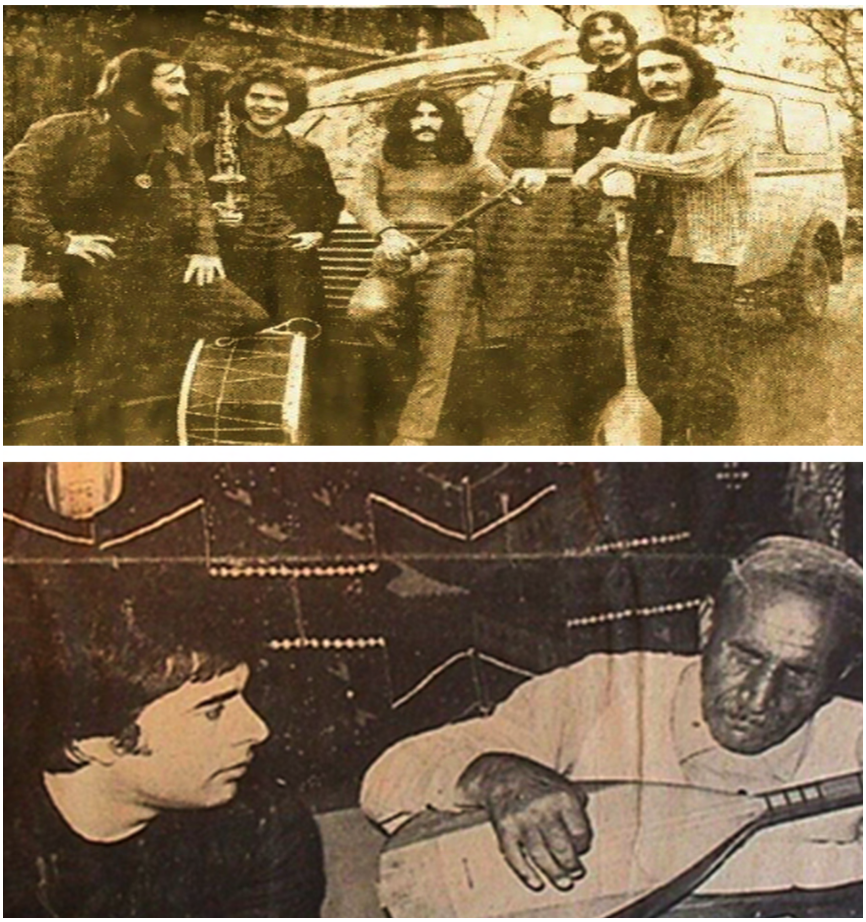

Figure 3.11 : Moğollar, Barış Manço (above, Url-23), Fikret Kızılok and Aşık Veysel (below, Url-24).

Cem Karaca started his career by covering the songs of that time's rock bands and Elvis Presley but became aquinted with Aşık Mahzuni Şerif and traditional music during his military service and had positioned his production on the left-wing of political music by the 1970s. This orientation beginning with his 45-rpm recording of *Dadaloğlu/Kalender*[68] and became established with *Tamirci Çırağı*[69] (Mechanic's Apprentice) and *Mutlaka Yavrum*[70] (Absolutely, My Child) which was written for the Palestine Liberation Organization (two further versions in English and Arabic language in 1975). Karaca was in Germany when the martial law court of 1980 charged him for producing communist propaganda in his *1 Mayıs/Durduramayacaklar Halkın Coşkun Akan Selini*[71] (May Day/They Will Not

[68] See Appendix B, track 31 and B, track 32.

[69] See Appendix B, track 33.

[70] The original title of the song was *Ninni* (Lullaby) with the lyrics written by Turgay Gönenç. However Karaca released another version of the song with the title *Mutlaka Yavrum*, see Appendix B, track 34.

[71] See Appendix B, track 35 and B, track 36.

Stop the Exuberant Flood of People, 1977) recording. He and other musicians in a similar situation such as Melike Demirağ, Selda Bağcan, Şanar Yurdatapan and Sema Poyraz were called to return to the TC, but he did not. Finally, Karaca and Yılmaz Güney were stripped of their citizenship on January 6, 1983.

Figure 3. 12 : Cem Karaca (Url-25).

Cem Karaca began to pay attention to migrant workers in Germany with the songs *Alamanya*[72] (Germany in vernacular, 1980) and *Alamanya Berbadı*[73] (1982). While migrants were taken to be the victims of industrialization in *Alamanya* ("*onbeş yıldır gurbette mark ile ırgat*"[74]), the main issue in *Alamanya Berbadı* was an integration that was used as a synonym for assimilation ("*entegrasyon, entegrasyon, beni benden almayın, benden Alman olamaz ki*"[75]) and which was supported by the siren sounds that served to create the soundscape of Germany. However, *Die Kanaken* (1984) by the group Die Kanaken was composed of Fehiman Uğurdemir, Cengiz Öztunç, Sefa Pekelli, Betin Güneş and İsmail Tarlan showed that during residency in Germany, Karaca developed a more socio-critical discourse.

[72] See Appendix B, track 37.

[73] See Appendix B, track 38.

[74] "Capstan in the foreign land quid pro quo the German Mark"

[75] "integration, integration, do not steal me away, I cannot become a German"

The songs in *Die Kanaken* that were actually written for the play *Ab in den Orient-Express* (Off to the Orient-Express) by Henry Böseke and Martin Bukert (1987). This aimed to deal with the subject by uncovering ethnic and national frameworks. For example, *Mein deutscher Freund*[76] (My German Friend) speaks to three different migrant profiles, to the male migrant, to the female migrant and to the children one by one, and so the key economical and social themes related to migration are mentioned in each stanza. The slogan "*Türken raus*" (Turks out) is used not as a point of destination of social conflicts but as a point of departure in order to create hope for the future.

Figure 3. 13 : *Türken raus* (Url-26).

Türken raus, the modified version of "*Ausländer raus"* (Foreigners out) was also the name of a song[77] by Die Böhse Onkelz, which was composed of Keiv Russel, Stephan Weidner, Peter Schorowsky and Mathias Röhr. Although the song was inspired by a poster of the *Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands* (National Democratic Party of Germany) on which was written "*Ausländer-Stopp"* (Stop Foreigners). Although it was never released, the song was played several times in concerts, and for the last time in the concert with the right-wing band Kraft durch Froide in the summer of 1983 (Lintl, 2002, p. 4):

[76] See Appendix B, track 39.

[77] See Appendix B, track 40.

Türkenpack, Türkenpack, raus aus unserm Land!
Geht zurück nach Ankara, denn ihr macht mich krank!
Nadelstreifenanzug,
Plastiktütentraeger,
Altkleidersammler und Bazillentraeger![78]

People from Turkey also used often the slogan in different ways, such as in *Sonunda* (Finally) by Aşık Haydar Korkmaz, in *Hani Senin Yurdun Türküm*[79] (Where Is Your Homeland My Turk) by Aşık Şahturna, in *Liebe Gabi*[80] (Lovely Gabi) by Derdiyoklar. Similarly, Aras Ören asks in one of his poems *Was bleibt?* (What Remains?, 1982) what would remain if the *Türken* did, in fact, *raus*:

'TÜRKEN RAUS' sagen sie...
Aber wenn wir gehen
und diese vergoldete Demokratie mitnehmen,
was bleibt?
Es bleibt der verrostete Himmel da oben[81].

The group Derdiyoklar İkilisi was composed of Ali Ekber Aydoğan and İhsan and Güvercin was one of the most remarkable groups in the second half of the 1970s and the 1980s. Their musical orientation crossed that of *Anadolu rock* in many ways. Ali Ekber Aydoğan defines their style as modern-folk and disco-folk on his website and indicates his masters as Arif Sağ, Orhan Gencebay, Yavuz Top and Musa Eroğlu. Even though Aydoğan did not mention it, it can be said that one of the basic columns of their style was the psychedelic rock that was also an important orientation for *Anadolu rock*[82]. Today's audiences go even further and make links to wider connections:

[78] Packs of Turks, packs of Turks, Turks out from our land/ Go back to Ankara because you make me sick!/ Pinstripe suits/ Plastic bag holders/ Old clothing collectors and bacilli carriers!

[79] See Appendix B, track 41.

[80] See Appendix B, track 42.

[81] "Turks out" they say, but if we go and take these gilded democracy, what remains? The rusty sky stays up there.

[82] See Appendix B, track 43 to watch a video recording of live performance of Derdiyoklar.

-interesting guitarist trips that would astonish Jimi Hendrix, interesting figures from the lands of Efes [the leaders of irregular soldiers and guerillas in the Aegean part of Anatolia], unbelievable attacks from the drummer...

-The Turkish branch of Black Flag and Dead Kennedys

-The uncles making progressive folk music. (Url-27)

On the other hand, İhsan Güvercin gives more specific information for their stage performances: "We both were influenced by Elvis Presley's unflagging energy on stage and by his music making in a sweat. Certainly, he had an impression on us." (Url-28)

The musical orientation of Derdiyoklar is quite similar to the album *Elektronik Türküler* (Electronic Türküs, 1974) by Erkin Koray, especially to the instrumental song *Sır* (Secret), and *Cemalım*[83] (My Cemal), which was composed by Ruhi Su after the poem by Nazım Hikmet; and the album *Türküz Türkü Çağırırız* (We Are Turks We Sing Türküs, 1974) by Mazhar and Fuat. The examples can be diversified but the important thing is that most of the musicians, both living in Turkey and in Germany, were attempting to integrate into internationally popular styles at the same time. Derdiyoklar's unique characteristic in terms of Germany was their function as a wedding band. Being a wedding band in Germany was one of the few ways to become known, to make recordings and to earn living in a system lacking the dynamics and connections of the music industry. Indeed even the next generation of popular music bands and the individual musicians mostly followed the same path.

Parallel to the diversity and expansion of people from Turkey in Germany, their monotypical perception began to vary. The social position, working conditions, gender problems and all form of alienation became more visible. *Ganz Unten* by Günter Wallraff played an important role in this process. Wallraff's social position changed as an incognito migrant character pushed the issue into the level of social class and uncovered the inner inequality of the working class. However, *Ganz Unten* created not only empathy but also an overdose effect for some due to endless-seeming of descriptions of the migrant's misery.

[83] See Appendix B, track 44.

The narratives of the feminine entity, which were absent in the masculine world on which Wallraff focused, can be found in *Almanya Acı Vatan* (Germany the Bitter Land) by Şerif Gören and *40qm Deutschland* (40 sq. m. Germany, 1986) by Tevfik Başer. After *Şirin's Hochzeit*, these two movies are rare examples that put a woman at the center. But more importantly, because the female protagonists of these movies are almost incompatible, they display the fact that archetype characters are not operative anymore.

Almanya Acı Vatan is based on the short story *Mahmut ile Güldane* (Mahmut and Güldane, in *Oturma İzni*, 1977) by Yüksel Pazarkaya. However, there are some critical differences between the movie. In the short story, Güldane is a young woman who migrated to West Germany and who takes responsibility for her family by working in a rope factory on weekdays and at a supermarket at weekends. On the other hand, Güldane's only motivation in Gören's movie is for herself and her prospective family. She has a quick mind for business and is capable of earning money by using the advantages that come from being in Germany. It can be said that Gören considers Güldane's financial independence and personal development to be interrelated because Güldane as an individual who earns money can easily rule out the opinions of her mother and the other villagers. Pazarkaya's male protagonist, Mahmut, has recently finished his military service and has returned to his village to find nothing but poverty. He thinks that his only chance is to go to Germany. On the other hand, Gören's Mahmut decides to go to Germany, after he sees the women in a girlie magazine shown to him by a migrant. The protagonists do not have social problems in Pazarkaya's short story. But Gören tends to deal with social problems via Mahmut. While Pazarkaya's short story ends with an agreement to make a marriage of convenience, Gören's movie focuses on the period after the marriage. There is also a female character in the movie that is under family pressure, Çiğdem. She is a young girl who is not allowed to go out of her home by her father. This character seems to serve as a prototype for Turna in *40qm Deutschland* by Tevfik Başer.

40 qm Deutschland portrays a Germany that was limited to a single apartment. Turna is brought to Hamburg by her husband Dursun, but experiences her new life only within the lines drawn by Dursun because he thinks that this new life would cause her uncontrolled degeneration. Dursun's death towards the end of the movie means

that Turna, who has become pregnant, can now open the locked door and go out. The director promises hope for those –or perhaps only for those- who can open the doors.

The claustrophobic setting and a female character under masculine pressure appear again in *Berlin in Berlin* (1993), which can be seen the dramatic version of *Our Hospitality* (1923). The female protagonist Dilber's life is limited to an apartment in Kreuzberg in which three generations live together. Director Sinan Çetin associates exceeding boundaries with the opening of the apartment's door. But once more, the audience has no idea what would happen after Dilber opens the door, only that it is felt that it would be better for her to go out.

However there are some critics who claim that the female characters in *40 qm Deutschland*, *Elveda Yabancı* (Farewell Stranger, 1991) by Tevfik Başer and *Yasemin* (1988) by Hark Bohm are victimized and so they mask the faults of society (Yaren, 2008, p. 121). This means that while considering more visible indicators such as the woman's apparel or their position in traditional family structure to create a victim profile, it makes the indicators which caused unjust treatment invisible.

Figure 3.14 : Posters of *40qm Deutschland* (above, Url-29) and *Berlin in Berlin* (below, Url-30).

The 1980s were also preparatory years for some works that would open discussions and increase public awareness in the 1990s. For example, the questions about the identity of contemporary German literature arose after Emine Sevgi Özdamar won the Ingeborg-Bachmann Prize in 1991. However, one can easily find out that this was not a mere abbreation.

Özdamar had lived in West Berlin as a *Gastarbeiter* between 1965 and 1967, and then turned back to Turkey for her education. When she returned to Germany in 1976, she was not a *Gastarbeiter* anymore; she had studied theater with Muhsin Ertuğrul, Haldun Taner and Nurettin Sevin and now became the director's assistant at the *Volksbühne* in Berlin. In 1982, she wrote *Karagöz in Alamania* (Karagöz in Germany) which was the first theater work written by a person from Turkey and was sponsored by the *Bochum Schauspielhaus*. On the foundations of the work, there were Özdamar's individual past and the theater activities of people from Turkey in West Germany.

The theaterical activities of people from Turkey were evaluated in the same manner as their other activities. For instance, Stenzaly said in the 1980s that the theater groups of people from Turkey did not anything to do with other West German theater groups, and thought that their activities were as isolated as their social lives. On the other hand, Pazarkaya recalled that since the nineteenth century, theater has been performed according to European models, and that this was a cultural integration in its own right (Boran, 2004, p. 76). Özdamar seems to respond to Stenzaly's statement about the relations with other theater groups in her autobiographical novel *Die Brücke vom Goldenen Horn* (The Bridge of the Golden Horn):

> Er und seine Frau[84] [Heimleiter und seine Frau] hatten in der Türkei Theater gespielt. Sie wurden dann von einem Theaterfestival eingeladen. So kamen sie nach Deutschland, spielten ihr Stück und blieben in Deutschland. Er ging tagsüber zu einem deutschen Theater, um sich Proben anzugucken, das Theater hiess *Berliner Ensemble*.[85] (1998, p. 35)

[84] Boran (2004) writes in his dissertation that the mentioned housemaster was Vasıf Gören who followed Brecht's epic theater approach as the founder and director of Birlik Tiyatrosu that was closed in 1971 after the coup d'État, and who became known through *Asiye Nasıl Kurtulur?* (pp. 112-113).

[85] He and his wife [the director and his wife] had played in the theater of Turkey. They were then invited by a theater festival. So they came to Germany, performed their piece and remained in Germany. He went during the day to a German Theater to look at rehearsals, that theater was called as the Berliner Ensemble.

There were some other theater groups that can be given as supporting examples of Pazarkaya's statement, such as the *Studiobühne* and *Türkische Theatergruppe* in Stuttgart, and some groups from Berlin that owed much to Pazarkaya's theater activities, such as the *Halkevi İşçi Tiyatrosu* (Workers' Theater of Halkevi, after 1974), the *Berlin Oyuncuları* (Actors of Berlin, after 1976), the *Kreuzberg Türk Halk Sahnesi* (Turkish Folks Stage of Kreuzberg, after 1978) and the *Cep Tiyatrosu* (Pocket Theater, after 1983).

Some of these groups were professional, and some of them were amateurs. For instance, the *Halkevi İşçi Tiyatrosu* was founded by Nihat Bozkurt and was composed of workers and students; on the other hand, the *Berlin Oyuncuları*, founded by Meray Ülgen, was composed of professionals.

By the 1980s, the theatrical activities of people from Turkey became more institutionalized, especially with the foundation of the *Türkisches Ensemble* (Turkish Ensemble) by Peter Stein. After working together in *Groß und klein* (Big and Small) which was written by Botho Strauss and directed by Peter Stein, Ülgen and Stein set up the project because they saw that although there were professional actors living in West Berlin and a sufficient audience among the people from Turkey, there were limited places to perform for actors and limited opportunities for an audience who were faced with language barriers. Additionally, the cultural needs of people from Turkey were not visible in public and official perception. When the *Türkisches Ensemble* performed *Giden Tez Geri Dönmez* (The Departed Does Not Soon Return) by Macit Koper in 1980, Aras Ören pointed to this moment as a milestone of Turkish cultural life in Berlin. The play with its modernized folk-style was about being away from home and living in *gurbet* and was the first play to take the attention of the German media with a cast that included Şener Şen, Ayla Algan and Tuncel Curtiz. *Giden Tez Geri Gelmez* was followed by *Keşanlı Ali Destanı* (The Ballad of Ali of Keşan) by Haldun Taner, the children's plays *Keloğlan-Evvel Zaman İçinde* (Keloğlan-Once Upon A Time) and *Kurnaz Eşek* (The Cunning Donkey) by Meray Ülgen, *Ferhad ile Şirin* (Ferhad and Şirin) and *Sevdalı Bulut* (The Lovesick Cloud Love) by Nazım Hikmet. Unable to find financial support from the official authorities, the *Türkisches Ensemble* closed in 1984 after a performance of *Küçük Kara Balık* (The Little Black Fish) by Samad Beranghi and Orhan Güner. Although some other groups continued to be founded, such as *Tiyatrom* (My Theater) in Berlin

and the *Arkadaş Theater* (Theater Friend) in Köln, financial support remained an unsolved issue for a long time. Pazarkaya stated that even when they received financial support, it came from the *kommunalen Behörden* (municipal authorities) or *sozialen Mitteln* (social funds) not from the budget of the *Landes*- or *Bundesregierung* (land or federal government). According to Pazarkaya, this situation showed that supporting the cultural activities of migrants was only considered to be a social responsibility (Boran, 2004, p. 79). That attitude was not limited to theater activities; all kinds of migrants' cultural activities could not be institutionalized because it was thought that they were only valuable in terms of folklore. In spite of the obstacles against institutionalization, similar groups performed the theater repertoire both in German and Turkish; and more importantly the figures that would be active in literature, theater, cinema and music during the 1990s gained experience by working in such groups. The blank spaces that were ignored by official authorities were filled by migrant organizations that also functioned as non-official educational institutions.

3.4 The Roaring 1990s

Called *Antifaschistischer Schutzwall* (Anti-Fascist Protection Rampart) by the DDR and the *Schandmauer* (Wall of Shame) by Willy Brandt, holes were punched in the *Berliner Mauer* on 9th November 1989. In essence, the policies of glasnost and perestroika introduced by Mikhail Gorbachev in 1985 stood for the idea of change, and by the 1989 it was known that the change would not be limited to the Soviet Union. However, the events of that night were surprising for everyone, as illustrated during a press conference by the *Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands*' (Socialist Unity Party of Germany, SED) Politburo spokesman Günter Schabowski:

> Some West Berliners I spoke to reminded the history books telling the day on that Aztecs and Spaniards were encountered for the first time, of course the question that who is Indian is up in the air. Some thought of E.T.'s landing on earth but this simile fell down with the plurality of meanings. Many West Berliners seem to be surprised about how much this encounter impressed them (...) This big feeling of unity does not embrace only the "normal". The left-wingers who claimed that they are ready for such changes also cowered on 9 November, still puzzled, confessed their tears weeks later to me. (Schneider, 1990, pp. 32-33)

Figure 3.15 : Beating the Wall (Url-31).

The unification of the two Germanies, however, was an expected move. Vietnam had been divided after World War II, and was unified in the 1970s; North and South Korea were negotiating for unification, and it was expected that the two Germanies would also unify sooner or later. However, there was also the risk of a revival of German nationalism (Sander, 2013, p. 501). This was not a small danger for those who knew that during the march towards the two world wars, economic trouble had played an important role in the rise of German nationalism, and unification would also include reshaping the DDR's economic model. This meant that unification did not promise to paint a rosy picture for the immediate economic future.

This pessimistic expectation turned to reality in a short time. The migrants in the DDR had come from socialist and communist countries allied with the Soviets, such as Vietnam, North Korea, Angola, Mozambique and Cuba, and the migrants living in the BDR were the first groups to draw a reaction during the process of unification. On the opposite side there was an old familiar: the *Neo-National Sozialisten* (Neo-National Socialists).

The *Neo-National Sozialisten* were organized in different ways in the BDR. For example the *Aktionsfront Nationaler Sozialisten/Nationale Aktivisten* (Action Front of National Socialists/National Activists) was founded by Michael Kühnen in 1977

and was banned by the Ministry of Interior in 1983 but the flag was taken over by the *Freiheitliche Deutsche ArbeiterPartei* (Free German Workers' Party) until it, too, was also banned in 1992. Similarly, when the *Volkssozialistische Bewegung Deutschlands/Partei der Arbeit* (People's Socialist Movement of Germany/Labour Party), which was founded in 1971, was banned in 1982, the *Nationalistische Front* (Nationalist Front) replaced it. There were a number of radical right-wing organizations in the BDR when the two Germanies unified, and the social atmosphere was quite suitable for them:

> I ask a Turk in the flea market in Postdam Square that what the opening of the Wall means to him. "A wonderful thing!", he says. "I am pleased". What about for him, for his work in terms of increased competition? "Wonderful, it doesn't matter", he says, laughing (...) But when he delivers the table I bought, I learn that a customer like me can get different answers before and after the sale (...) "We are frightened", he says while he is drinking his coffee. "They slashed the tires of a Pole two booths next to us today. As we were trying to fix the car, two more Poles came. The same thing happened to them. Our situation as Turks is better so far. Nevertheless we have been living here for thirty years, we speak German and we do not walk around with city plans. But how long does it take?" (Schneider, 1990, p. 44)

Actually, xenophobic events after the unification did not come up suddenly; there was a series of discussions about migrants in the last decade in the BRD[86]. For instance, in the late 1970s immigrant youth criminality and the criterion of naturalization were discussed, the *Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands*' (Social Democratic Party of Germany, SPD) plan of 1979 to naturalize young people born and schooled in the BRD was criticized as an outrageous attack on national character[87]. Chancellor Helmut Kohl's three guidelines of *Ausländerpolitik* (policy on foreigners) –integration, restriction of further arrivals and the promotion of foreigners' willingness to return to their home countries[88]- was developed to protect

[86] See Appendix A, Figure A.11 for the article "Kühn warnt Deutsche vor einem neuen rassischen Hochmut" (Kühn warns Germans of a new racial arrogance) by Jutta Roitsch published in Frankfurter Rundschau on December 17, 1979.

[87] See Appendix A, Figure A.12 for the article "Helmut Schmidt macht aus Türken Deutsche!" (Helmut Schmidt Turns Turks into Germans!) published in *Deutsche Nachrichten* on September 14, 1979.

[88] See Appendix A, Figure A.13 for the "Die Situation der Ausländer in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland von 1955 bis 1983" (The Situation of Foreigners in the Federal Republic of Germany from 1955 to 1983) by Michael Bechtel and Birgit Mentzel-Buchner in *Ausländer. Themen für Lokaljournalisten*, 1983, p. 36.

the national character. Even though the first guideline, integration, means internalization of migrants, other two guidelines clearly show that the homogeneous structure would be protected.

Integration was not a new discussion but it was always a current issue with re-conceptualizations, and sometimes the difference between *Eingliederung* (assimilation) and integration began to disappear. However, it is generally thought that assimilation means Germanizing at some level, while integration foresees the equality of citizens. As O'Brien (1996) noted, there weas the BRD's own experience of integrating into the EEC and NATO just after World War II behind this blurring of the terms (p. 58). However this time, the framework of integration in question was not a "European" one; on the contrary it was integration with the people who had been defined as the others for centuries. In other words, the migrants were divided into sub-groups. While the pressure on the migrants who were defined as Europeans after European Union had become a social community as well as political and economical community with the Treaty of Maastricht was decreased, migrants coming from outside the European Union were becoming more alienated. More institutional or systematical integration for the migrants in the second group was predicted; this unclear definition of integration and the policies built on it were the main obstacles against living together.

The first step towards solving the problems was the acceptance that Germany was an immigration country, which had always remained unclear due to all the shuttling back and forth. Additionally, the social integration of migrants was the most difficult concept to define, unlike economical, legal and political integration. The official authorities that had not considered social integration, assuming the migrants were temporary, now had to face with several problems that they had not experienced with the second generation. Regulations were enacted, but each of them was defeated by the people from Turkey who had become the representation of the migrant population. The failure of the regulations strengthened the ideas of those who thought that integration was not possible and that migrants were dissonant element of system. However, one can recognize, by examining the failure from the opposite angle, that most of the regulations came up short because they did not address the real and practical problems of migrants. As a matter of fact, the regulations were

perceived as tricks of authorities that primarily wanted to get rid of them. Because of this perception, the migrants displayed a kind of civil disobedience by following any loopholes:

> ...Stichtagregelung [key date regulation] led thousands of migrants to bring their children to Germany before the November 30, 1974 deadline. Many migrants got around the statue lowering the maximum age at which their children could join them in Germany by falsifying or merely conveniently losing birth certificates. (O'Brien, 1996, p. 53)

Although the DDR followed a different migration policy and was therefore a different kind of immigration country, similar sentiments against migrants emerged there during the 1980s. An anonymous poem [89] showed that conceptualizing migration as a form of international solidarity was also inefficient:

> Vom Warenhaus komm ich her,
> ich muß Euch sagen, die Regale sind leer
> und auf den Stufen und Kanten
> sitzen die Polen mit ihren Verwandten
> und draußen vor dem großen Tor
> stehen die Deutschen geduldig davor.
> Und wie ich so stehe am Markte umher,
> da sehe ich die Leute aus der ČSSR,
> sie haben gekauft, gefüllt sind die Taschen,
> waren bemüht, das Letzte zu erhaschen.
> Als ich dann heimfahr mit dem Busse
> sitzt mir gegenüber ein Russe.
> Voller Wut rannte ich in den Laden und kaufte Käse,
> da steht vor mir ein Vietnamese.
> Ich stolpere zur Tür hinaus ich Armer,
> da steht vor mir ein Kubaner.

[89] The poem was sent to Horst Schumann, the First Secretary of the SED District Leadership in Leipzig on March 7, 1989. Translated by Allison Brown as follows: As I leave the department store/ there's nothing left on the shelves or floor./ And out there on the steps and bins/ the Poles are sitting with their kin./ And outside before the giant gate/ the Germans patiently stand and wait./ And at the market as I walk around/ I see a bunch of Czechs abound./ They went shopping, their pockets are full,/ they found a final deal to pull./ And as I was riding home on the bus,/ the guy sitting opposite me was a Rus'./ Enraged I ran into the store to buy cheese,/ in front of me stood a Vietnamese./ I tripped out the door, poor me oh my,/ in front of me was a Cuban guy./ Come on, dear Erich, be our guest,/ from all that is yours, give us half the rest./ The Pole has money, the Russian has light,/ we have friendship, that's enough, all right.

Komm lieber Erich sei unser Gast
und gib uns die Hälfte von dem, was du hast.
Der Pole hat Kohle, der Russe hat Licht,
wir haben die Freundschaft, mehr brauchen wir nicht.

Figure 3. 16 : Riots (above, Url-32) and *Lichterkette* (below, Url-33).

In the BRD, the younger generation reacted to xenophobia through a new form of expression. Hip-hop, which had found a place in the commercial music industry at the beginning of the 1980's, came to the BRD and DDR almost simultaneously with the American movies *Wild Style* (1982) and *Beat Street* (1984). American existence

in the BRD through radio channels such as SFB, the *Norddeutscher Rundfunk* (North German Broadcasting) and the *Bayerischer Rundfunk* (Bavarian Broadcasting), and breakdance performances on West German TV shows played important roles in the cultural transfer of hip-hop (Schmiedling, 2011, p. 67). On the other hand, the authorities in the DDR first focused on how they should define hip-hop: is it an anti-capitalistic culture by the victims of capitalism, or is it an American culture? However, the quick prevalence of hip-hop postponed these questions because hip-hop was becoming one of the tools used to criticize the system. Now, their priority became how could be hip-hop controlled. Although the East Germans knew that the ghetto conditions caused the birth of hip-hop were different than theirs, they belived that they were in an oppressed state of mind as Afro-Americans (Brown, p. 139). As hip-hop attracted attention after unification, it had already almost ten-year history in the BDR and DDR; and the dynamics that were brought by the unification would prepare the new phase of hip-hop in Germany.

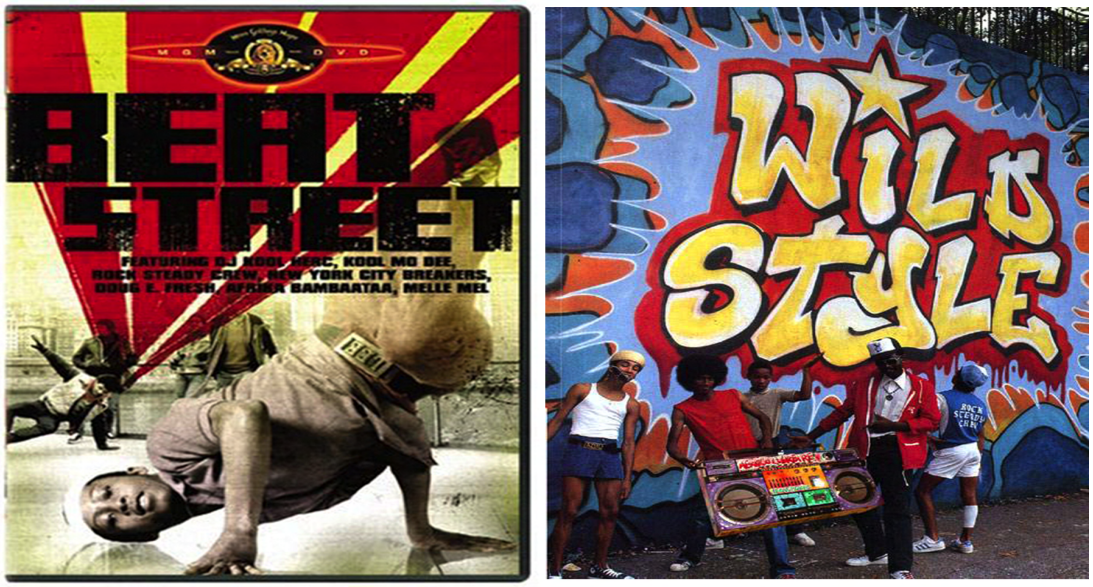

Figure 3. 17 : Posters of *Wild Style* (right, Url-34) and *Beat Street* (left, Url-35).

In the first decade of hip-hop's existence in Germany, American models were dominant. Most of the groups, including those that were composed of people from Turkey followed this orientation, such as Rock da Most, Islamic Force, We Wear the Crown Posse, TCA the Microphone Mafia, Too Strong and King Size Terror. Other orientations came up towards the 1990s when the scene in Germany was divided into two schools: *Alte Schule* (Old School) and *Neue Schule* (New School).

Alte Schule accused *Neue Schule* of being commercially motivated and of betraying the principles upon which of old school hip-hop in the USA had been established. However, a more important difference between *Alte Schule* and *Neue Schule* was the replacement of *Alte Schule*'s plurality and eclecticism by *Neue Schule*'s individual localizations. As the hip-hopper Cora E. stated in *Könnt ihr mich hör'n?* (Can You Hear Me?), most of the *Alte Schule* groups were multi-ethnic, and therefore their production contained multiple-localities together:

> nationalities to together as a subculture
> in spite of the different languages there is understanding
> no matter where you come from, hip-hop grants you asylum (as quoted by von Dirke, 2004, p. 100)

The synergy of multiple-localities was broken by the social and political atmosphere in Germany at the beginning of the 1990s. During the process of commercialization, there were those who wanted to localize hip-hop through Germanizing on one side, and the children of migrants who were excluded by the first group and sought after to localize hip-hop without Germanizing on the other. Thus, the local elements that were natural components of *Alte Schule* became the dominant elements that were used against Germanized hip-hop. The dominance of local elements was considered as the children of migrants continued to communicate with homeland. Even though this evaluation is true at the first glance, it bears the risk of being considered a supplement that works at the service of prejudgments when it is used in debates on integration.

Comprised of Turkish, Macedonian and German young people, Fresh Familee produced *Ahmet Gündüz I*, the first rap song in German in 1989. According to an interview with Tachi (Tahir Çevik -born in Ratingen in 1970) the story of his engagement to hip-hop began with breakdance when he was 14, and continued with rap music. While Tachi says that living in a ghetto is an advantage to experience living together, Higgi points out that living in a ghetto introduced him: "One should learn to live together in order to create things together. Not perhaps for the others, but for everyone."[90] Obviously, the ghetto as described both by Tachi and

[90] See Appendix B, track 45.

Higgi was not the same ghetto from which hip-hop emerged. What links them was the social and political structures that were created and operated by the dominant classes; the actors of this process first alienated and divided some, then brought these individual parts together and caused an alternative entity to emerge.

There is an irony to the definition of *Ahmet Gündüz I*[91] as the first song in German because the language in the first stanza is actually the broken German of a migrant worker from Turkey as Aras Ören exemplified in his *Ich Anders Sprechen Lernen* (1983):

> Mein Name ist Ahmet Gündüz, lass mich erzählen euch
> Du musse schon gut zuhören, ich kann nix sehr viel Deutsch
> Ich komm von die Türkei, zwei Jahre her
> Ich mich sehr gefreut, doch Leben hier ist schwer.
> In Arbeit Chef mir sagen, 'Kanake hey wie geht's?'
> Ich sage 'Hastirlan' doch Arschloch nichts verstehn.
> Mein Sohn gehen Schule, kann schreiben jetzt.
> Lehrer ist ein Schwein, er gibt ihm immer sechs.
> Gestern ich komm von Arbeit, ich sitzen in der Bahn.
> Da kommt ein bessoffen Mann und setzt sich nebenan.
> Der Mann sagt, 'Öf, du Knoblauch stinken!'
> Ich sage, 'Ach egal, du stinken von Trinken!'[92]

Ahmet Gündüz is the representation of the first generation migrants. All the common motives relating to them are used in the song, such as the tension between *der Meister* (headworker) who calls him *Kanake*, a derogatory term used for migrants, the garlic smell that was transferred from the Italians to people from Turkey. In the second stanza, the second generation begins to speak. Here, the level of German language changes remarkably and aims to signify the difference between the generations. More importantly, the homeland and the new country are not causes of tension for the second generation: "*Ich liebe meine Heimat und dieses Land noch mehr*"[93].

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[91] See Appendix B, track 46.

[92] My name is Ahmet Gündüz, let me you explain/ You has to listen well, I cannot much German/ I come from Turkey, two years ago/ I myself feel happy, still the life is hard here/ In work chef say to me "Kanake hey what's up?"/ I say "Hastirlan", still dickhead understand not/ My son go to school, can write now/ The teacher is a pig, he gives him always six/ Yesterday I come back from work, I sits in train/ A boozy man comes and sits down next to me/ The man says "Of, you garlic stink!"/ I say "Ah whatever, you alcohol stink!

[93] "I love my homeland and much more this land."

Even though the humorous style of Fresh Familee can be found in their other songs, such as *Sexy Kanake* (1994), as it is seen in the song *Heimat*[94] (composed in 1991 but released in 1993 in the album *Falsche Politik* –Wrong Politic), a more aggressive style become important:

> Sollen sie doch da hingehen, wo sie herkommen!
> Wo der Zorn versiegt und die Hoffnung erliegt
> Wo sich das Lachen schutzlos der Tränen erwehert
> Der Kritik den Weg versperrt-
> Da seid ihr allein, ihr werdet es immer sein,
> und dieser Ort ist hier!
> Hier wird nicht toleriert, sondern ignoriert
> und nicht akzeptiert.
> Heimat Heimat Heimat[95]

Advanced Chemistry, one of the most important political rap groups in Germany, developed attacking style of opposition and began to tamper with national symbols icons and prejudgments with the song *Fremd im eigenen Land*[96] (Foreign in its Own Country, 1992):

> Ich habe einen grünen Pass mit 'nem goldenen Adler drauf
> dies bedingt, dass ich mir oft die Haare rauf (...)
> ein echter Deutscher muss auch richtig Deutsch aussehen,
> blaue Augen, blondes Haar keine Gefahr,
> gab's da nicht 'ne Zeit wo's schon mal so war?!
> 'Gehst du mal spaeter zurück in deine Heimat?'
> 'Wohin? Nach Heidelberg? Wo ich ein Heim hab?' (...)
> Ich wurde hier geboren, doch wahrscheinlich sieht man's mir nicht an,
> Ich bin kein Ausländer, Aussiedler, Tourist, Immigrant,
> sondern deutscher Staatsbürger[97]

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[94] See Appendix B, track 47.

[95] Are they to go where they come from!/ Where the anger runs dry and the hope succumbs/ Where the laughter itself defenselessly resists to the tears/ The way of the critic blocks/ There are you alone, you will be always/ And this place is here!/ Here it is not tolerated but ignored and not accepted/ Homeland homeland homeland.

[96] See Appendix B, track 48.

[97] I have a green passport with a golden eagle on it/ This often causes me to tear hair out (...) a genuine German has to also look correctly German/ Blue eyes, blond hair no danger/ wasn't there a time where it was already like that?!/ "will you back to your homeland later?"/ "Where? to Heidelberg? Where my home is?' (...) I was born here, but it probably does not look like it/ I am not a foreigner, emigrant, tourist, immigrant,/ But a German citizen.

The song begins with a fragment of a radio or TV announcement that mentions the xenophobic attacks in Rostock. This montage style is often used in the production of people from Turkey. For instance in *Osman's Story* by Abdullah Eryılmaz (1993) there is a WDR announcement that mentions the Solingen arson attack of 1993. Similarly, in the first sequence of Cartel's video clip for the song *Cartel*[98] (1995) there is an announcement from an old radio broadcast which mentions the xenophobic attacks in Berlin.

The traffic and sampling style used in *Fremd im eigenen Land* share a common feature with some other songs. *Mobil Unit*[99] by George Fenton and Ken Freeman, which is used as the theme by Spiegel TV, is sampled in the middle of the song to create a melodic contrast to the rapping parts, and to create another contrast to their meanings and content. Another example of this application can be found in *Operation § 3*[100] (1994) by Advanced Chemistry. This time the contrast is created by sampling *The Lady in My Life* (1985) by Stanley Jordan at the beginning and by sampling *Sarışınım* (My Blondie, 1988) by Sezen Aksu in the middle of the song. This application can also be heard in other songs such as *My Melody* (1992) by Islamic Force, *Eski Okul* (Old School, 1993) by Boulevard Bou, *Tabiat* (Nature) by Fresh Familee and *Cartel* by Cartel even though here the contrast is not created by sampling.

My Melody and *Eski Okul* are two typical examples for the musical resources people from Turkey use. The rhythmical constituents of *My Melody*[101] are composed of *Funky Drummer*[102] (1970) by James Brown and *Feel Good*[103] (1974) by Fancy; there are also short quotations from *Get Up* (*I Feel Like Being A*) *Sex Machine*[104] (1970) by James Brown and *Flash it to the Beat*[105] (1982) by Grand Master Flash & the

[98] See Appendix B, track 49.

[99] See appendix B, track 50.

[100] See Appendix B, track 51.

[101] See Appendix B, track 52.

[102] See Appendix B, track 53.

[103] See Appendix B, track 54.

[104] See Appendix B, track 55.

[105] See Appendix B, track 56.

Furious Five[106]. *Leylim Ley*[107] (1975) sung by İbrahim Tatlıses in 1985 is used here as an obvious local element and has the function of a folk song.

Eski Okul[108] by Boulevard Bou gives a synopsis for the *Alte Schule* scene in Germany and people from Turkey in this scene. The lyrics[109] explain who were the participants in the scene and what was their motivation; the sampled songs show the variety of musical resources. Boulevard Bou uses *Beddua*[110] (Curse, 1980) by Bülent Ersoy as the introduction motive of the song. However, this song is not used in the function of a folksong like *Leylim Ley* in *My Melody*. This function is given to the *darbuka* and *bağlama* samples that constitute the rhythmical structure of the song. The melody that contrasts to this structure is sampled from *Planet Rock*[111] (1982) by Afrika Bambaata and Soulsonic Force. In fact, Afrika Bambaata and Soulsonic Force had sampled this melody from *Trans-Europe Express*[112] (1977) by Kraftwerk. Of course, could be thought that Boulevard Bou sampled it directly from *Trans-Europe Express*, but the reference in the lyrics to Zulu Nation shows that the resource is most likely *Planet Rock*.

The use of resources related to Turkey in these songs is clearly a reference to the artists' origin. However, this reference re-conceptualizes the domestic at the same time. This means that in hip-hop production the domestic is not necessarily the *authentic*. The absence of such *authentic* recordings can be shown as a practical reason, or it can be said that these hip-hoppers did not have any kind of apprehension about *authenticity*; it was usually found sufficient that the reference indicates or resembles a certain geographical region. In *Ahmet Gündüz II*[113] (1994) by Fresh Familee, for instance, *Belalım*[114] (My Troublesome Lover, 1989) by Sezen Aksu is used for such an evocation; here *Belalım* is the sound of the homeland. However,

[106] Thomas Solomon (2008) wrote that many Turkish origin hip-hoppers in particular cited the importance of the song "in helping them to understand the potential of rap music for giving them a voice with which to express themselves and talk about their experiences" (p. 206).

[107] See Appendix B, track 57.

[108] See Appendix B, track 58.

[109] See Appendix A, Figure A.14.

[110] See Appendix B, track 59.

[111] See Appendix B, track 60.

[112] See Appendix B, track 61.

[113] See Appendix B, track 62.

[114] See Appendix B, track 63.

when the lyrics in the refrain are turned to "*Deutschland*" (Germany) by his son, it actually suggests another conceptualization of homeland. Is the son's homeland the country where *Belalım* is produced, or it is "the troublesome lover" Germany? Apparently, the son's conceptualization of homeland echoes Yüksel Pazarkaya's *Heimat in der Fremde* and Ören's *Die Fremde ist auch ein Haus*: a homeland that is not fixed to a certain geographical region.

There is a close connection between the commercial success of *Die da?!*[115] (1992) by Die Fantastischen Vier and the increased national sentiment after the fall of the *Berliner Mauer*. The music industry was looking for the ways of benefiting from the potential of hip-hop and while also trying to develop new strategies in order to provide a response for the new "unified" audience's national sentiment. The compilation album *Krauts with Attitude: German HipHop Vol. 1* was one of the try-outs, however only three of the fifteen tracks were in German –one of them was *Jetzt Geht's Ab* by die Fantastischen Vier-. Considering the reference to Niggaz with Attitude, the English lyrics and the colors of the album cover, it is hard to determine what kind of naturalization or localization the album proposes. The motivation could be said to have arisen from a claim to point a new geographical and cultural location for hip-hop, as Timothy Brown (2006) wrote (p. 143) because one of the basic proposals of Niggaz with Attitude was to put the Los Angeles-based West Coast hip-hop, which takes hip-hop as an aesthetic body, and which also receives more support from the music industry, against the New York-based East Coast hip-hop. In short, Niggaz with Attitude was a reference for the location change of hip-hop. However, the location change proposed by *Krauts with Attitude* was not based on the clearly different dynamics as it was in the American East Coast-West Coast competition. More importantly, while there was a geographical shift, *Krauts with Attitude* excluded some components of hip-hop in Germany from which came the same geographical locations. This elimination accelerated the emergence of its counterpart.

[115] See Appendix B, track 64.

Figure 3.18 : The covers of *Krauts with Attitude* (above, Url-36) and *Cartel* (below, Url-37).

The desire to enlarge the audience required an inclusion the people to whom *Alte Schule* directed its critics, which is also means that a new profile for hip-hoppers were needed. "The perceived Blackness" of hip-hop as the representation "of racial and ethnic *other*" and its resistance to mainstream seemed to be unsustainable for the commercial goals of *Neue Schule*; thus the naturalization of hip-hop also means the "whitening" and middle-classification of hip-hop (Brown, 2006, pp. 138-139). As a conclusion, *Neue Schule* left the political agenda of hip-hop and ghetto narratives and interpreted hip-hop rather aesthetically like American West-Coast hip-hop. Rapping in German, which was a component of *Alte Schule*, became a national signifier, and other languages and nationalism did not become significant until die Fantastischen Vier (Verlan and Loh, 2000, p. 44) began to play important roles.

It is also possible to look at the spaces where hip-hop produced and consumed in Germany for the origins of differentiation between *Alte Schule* and *Neue Schule*, because even though a common repertoire is basically followed in hip-hop spaces, it seems that the features of the different spaces affected the interpretation of hip-hop. It can be said that in the background of the different interpretations of hip-hop underpin the different experiences in different spaces. For example, Smudo from die Fantastischen Vier points at the *G.I.-Disko*s as the places where he first encountered hip-hop (Smudo, n.d.); this is obviously different from the ghetto experience of Tachi and Higgi from Fresh Familee. *G.I. Disko*s or *Ami Club*s were nightclubs where American soldiers stationed in the BRD sustained their relationship with the USA's popular music scene, and were spaces in which hip-hop and the sources it used for sampling were produced and consumed. In other words, these spaces provided accesses for hip-hop as well as other popular genres. These clubs also offered a living presentation of hip-hop instead of its presentation in the movies. The venues that were designed and managed according to the models in USA provided a new model for the other customers. For instance Chic in West Berlin and Cinderella in Stuttgart were the nightclubs where customers could experience the rituals of American nightlife, as Kalle Kuts explained:

> They used to check us with metal detectors at the door, something that became standard practice after the La Belle bombing. It felt like going to a club in New York. The DJs at Chic performed on another level -it was the first time I saw and heard anything like that in real life, not just in an American movie or music video. (as cited by Le Blond, 2010)

As Kuts mentioned, listening to army DJs meant a more direct interaction for the hip-hop fans in the BRD, but it was a hip-hop that was more integrated with music and entertainment industries. *Alte Schule* and *Neue Schule* had taken diverse models, focused on diverse interpretations of hip-hop since the beginning.

Until 1994, the Turkish language was not a dominant tool in the production of people from Turkey, *Bir Yabancının Hayatı*[116] (The Life of a Foreigner, 1989) by King Size Terror was an exception. Similarly nationalist discourses were not an independent branch. Some of the points that were ignored by the mainstream music industry were fulfilled by the Turkish hip-hop and Turkish nationalism. When the xenophobic attacks turned from Vietnamese and Mozambicans in the former DDR cities

[116] See Appendix B, track 65.

Hoyerswerda (17-23 September 1991) and Rostock-Lichtenhagen (22-23 August 1992) to people from Turkey in Mölln (23 November 1992) and Solingen (29 May 1993), this branch gained the momentum it needed. The nationalist tendency took so much attention that the sounds of any opposing voices faded. For instance after the Rostock incidents some of the punk bands such as Die Ärzte (*Schrei nach Liebe*, [Cry for Love], 1993), Die toten Hosen (*Sascha...ein aufrechter Deutscher*, [Sascha... an upright German], 1992), Dritte Wahl (*Macht die Augen auf* [Open up your eyes], 1994), and But Alive (*Nur Idioten brauchen Führer* [Only Idiots need leader], 1994) produced songs related to the incidents, but it is hard to find similar examples for Mölln and Solingen because the reactionary channels were preserved by hip-hoppers whose origin were those of migrants from Turkey, especially Cartel. The media was not aware of the pre-Cartel period of people from Turkey and therefore considered them as a surprise, which expanded their representability. On the other hand, the components of Cartel were mostly left alone as a nationalistic attack against another nationalistic attack in this preserved space. But the criticism of die Fantastischen Vier-based *Neue Schule* continued without observing such localizations as can be seen in the *Rödelheim Hartreim Projekt* (Rödelheim Hard Rhyme Project) and followed the pluralistic line of *Alte Schule* as the critics of right-wing politics as seen in the album *Rap Gegen Rechts* (Rap Against Right, 1993).

The first hip-hop album in Turkish, *Looptown Presents Turkish Hip Hop* by DJ Mahmut, Volkan T., Murat G. and K.M.R. was released in 1994. The reason why DJ Mahmut and Murat G. who met at Halkevi in Frankfurt released the album on their own label was the lack of a network in the music industry for Turkish language hip-hop. However, the album is atypical for Turkish language hip-hop in Germany, except in its closeness to political rap. None of the past and present conceptualizations of the local can be found in the album; there is no musical reference to Turkey except *Yanlış Yol*[117] (Wrong Way). Instead, its musical style is a mix of hip-hop and popular electronic music through beatboxing, scratching, rapping, and effect sounds. Obviously, the album was not *oriental* enough for researchers to pay it any attention. DJ Mahmut said in an interview on March 3, 1999:

[117] See Appendix B, track 66.

> Although the lyrics were Turkish, the Germans were more interested in the album. The music was very hard because it was underground rap and it had little industrial and heavy mood to listen to. Actually, the intellectuals were more interested. We gave concerts in the Netherlands and France, and attended to the festivals. (Url-38)

King Size Terror presented Karakan in the album *Ultimatum* (1994), and prepared a basis for the Cartel project with the songs *Al Sana Karakan*[118] (Here Is Karakan), *Defol Dazlak* [119] (Get Out Skinhead), *Anılar* [120] (Memories) and *Cehenneme Hoşgeldin*[121] (Welcome to Hell). Although Cartel was composed of hip-hoppers that had different styles, it was Alper Ağa who was the most influential in the orientation of the project and had tried out this orientation first in King Size Terror and then in Karakan with Kabus Kerim. Sampling *Bir Yabancının Hayatı* (The Life of a Foreigner) in *Defol Dazlak* and releasing *Defol Dazlak* on the album *Cartel* revealed the path to the Cartel project and strengthened the representation of Turkish hip-hop in Germany. Even though there were big marketing differences between *Ultimatum*, which was sold in Turkish groceries, and Cartel, manager Ozan Sinan's statement on that the project's target group was not German society but the Turks, supports this idea. In this sense, Cartel is representative only of the production that began with *Bir Yabancının Hayatı*.

Of course, the conditions of the music industry in Germany played a critical role in the determination of target group but it is obvious that the producers of Cartel as entrepreneurs also paid attention to the empty space in Turkey in terms of hip-hop. In the late 1980s the hip-hop audience was quite limited in Turkey even though there was a TV show broadcast on TRT named Rapotek, which was hosted by DJ Funky C. Additionally, there were some groups such as Raptiye and Vitamin that arranged some American hip-hop songs to humorous popular music but had no connection with any branch hip-hop; MFÖ's *Ali Desidero*[122] was the only an example that came close to rapping. Unemployment, inequality, poverty and urban masculine competition had already found a voice with *arabesk* in big cities. It is controversial to debate whether *arabesk* was a sum of unconscious abstractions of oppositions, or

[118] See Appendix B, track 67.

[119] See Appendix B, track 68.

[120] See Appendix B, track 69.

[121] See Appendix B, track 70.

[122] See Appendix B, track 71.

if the social environments that produced *arabesk* was an opposition in its own right. However, it is clear that *arabesk*'s power, self-appointed or perceived, came from the conflict between the new urban residents, the authorities and privileged groups. As a matter of fact when private radio and TV channels started broadcasting in the late 1980s, the media monopoly was broken partly because the private radio and TV channels found the motto of political apathy promoted by the leaders of the coup d'État September 12th to be more profitable and lower risk and partly because *arabesk* culture had moved from periphery to the center. *Arabesk* had already lost its oppositional quality, but the power and popularity of *arabesk* icons such as Orhan Gencebay, Müslüm Gürses and İbrahim Tatlıses did not decrease by very much. The music industry in Turkey, in harmony with private radio and TV channels, followed a similar strategy and supported more meek and obedient genres. By the 1990s, *arabesk* and mainstream popular music met in the center and began to interfere with each other as the most broadcast genres in mass media.

The Cartel project not only fell in the middle of the need for innovation that the music industry and youth required, but also provided a response to the nationalist sentiments of the 1990s in two ways. The first one was about the xenophobic incidents in Germany, as mentioned above. The second was based on the actions of the *Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan* (Kurdistan Workers' Party) which increased after 1987. Some of the young Grey Wolves, who welcomed the members of Cartel at airports and attended to their concerts with their flags, were of the opinion that they had found a meaningful and fresh voice for their sentiments with Cartel. There were also some reasonable arguments for the others to consider Cartel as the voice of oppressed people. Thus Cartel gained more popularity than its members and producers expected.

The members of Cartel could not sustain their popularity in their individual careers. However, the orientation of Cartel left permanent traces on the hip-hop production of people from Turkey in Germany. One of these traces was the shift from German and English to Turkish language hip-hop; the Cartel project not only proved that Turkish language hip-hop could be influential and popular, but also created an audience for Turkish language hip-hop. After the Cartel project, musical references that were mostly sampled from the *Anadolu rock* production of Cem Karaca, Moğollar, Erkin Koray and Barış Manço became more remarkable and distinctive. For example,

Islamic Force, which had previously followed American models, abandons this orientation with the album *Mesaj* (Message) in 1997 and made musical references related to Turkey more obvious. Comparing two songs, one by Islamic Force and the other by Da Crime Posse can exemplify these different orientations. Both of the songs sampled the song *2023*[123] (1975) by Kurtalan Ekspres and Barış Manço. While *2023* was used as a component in the single *Istanbul*[124] (1992) by Islamic Force, all the musical structure was built upon *2023* in *Yetmedi Mi*[125] (Was It Not Enough, in *Cartel*, 1995) by Da Crime Posse. To sum up, the Cartel project first had made all other orientations of hip-hoppers with origins in Turkey invisible, stolen a role from them and acted as the unique representative of this production. However, following Cartel's popularity other figures could not produce an alternative to this representation, on the contrary they preferred to march on the path Cartel had opened. Thus Cartel became the resumé of the hip-hop production of people from Turkey.

There are only a few signs that reveal the existence of females in the hip-hop scene in Germany between 1980 and 1990. During these years, the scene was male-dominated even though some female hip-hoppers such as Cora E., Schwester S. and Tic Tac Toe were becoming more well-known. There was only Aziza A. to represent female hip-hoppers with origins in Turkey, especially after 1995. However, it is hard to find any closeness between Aziza A. and other female hip-hoppers. First of all, even though they are from the same generation, their contacts with hip-hop were established in different settings. Aziza A. said in her interview that she did not grow up on the streets, did not know the hip-hop of the streets and created her own voice (Durukan, n.d.). Indeed, her hip-hop approach did not contain ghetto narratives; rather it is a middle-class hip-hop that resides not on the edge but in the center of the city; alienation is a rare motive in her production and is mostly used to criticize male-dominated structure, as heard in *Es ist Zeit*[126] (It Is Time, 1996):

[123] See Appendix B, track 72.

[124] See Appendix B, track 73.

[125] See Appendix B, track 74.

[126] See Appendix B, track 75.

In den zwei Kulturen, in denen ich aufgewachsen bin,
Ziehen meine lieben Schwestern meist den kürzeren,
Weil nicht nur die zwei Kulturen aufeinander krachen,
Weil auch Väter über ihre Töchter wachen[127]

Her distance from street-style hip-hop also excludes the masculine aggressiveness but it does not mean that the remaining space is filled with effeminacy. Aziza A. is a woman but not a gender-coded woman; with other words, she is a woman who objects to gender-codes but whose gender is visible. Considering the four categories –Queen Mother, Fly Girl, Sista with Attitude and Lesbian- for Afro-American female hip-hoppers as listed by Cherly L. Keyes (2000) it is clear that Aziza A. does not fit completely in any of the categories but has some similarities with Queen Mother and Fly Girl. According to Keyes (2000), female hip-hoppers in the category of Queen Mother consider themselves to be Africa-based icons and support this image with their clothing. These powerful women are associated with African traditional court culture and use the motherly image, but at the same time the motherly quality causes the nogation of their sexuality (pp. 256-257). The choice of pseudonym Aziza A. by Alev Yıldırım is similar in this sense: pure, powerful and motherly like a saint or older sister (A. is the short form for "abla" meaning older sister). The visual image of a Fly Girl is just the opposite to that of a Queen Mother, and moreover the discourses of a Fly Girl "in chic clothing and fashionable hairs, jewelry and cosmetics" is different (Keyes, 2000, pp. 259-260). A Fly Girl emphasizes the castrated sexuality of a Queen Mother, such as that used by Aziza A. in *Kim Dedi?*[128] (Who Said?) and *Soy da Ye*[129] (Peel and Eat).

The singing style and musical references of Aziza A. are also different to those of her contemporaries. Rapping is not a primary element of her production; on the contrary it is used only rarely. She rather uses a more recitative-like style as heard in *Takıl Bana* (Hang Out With Me) and *Deniz* (Sea), and a style that is close to poem reading as heard in *Batsın Bu Dünya* (Let This World Should Sink). Whereas her contemporaries' musical references to Turkey are mostly limited to the use of *Anadolu rock* songs, her references include the use of TSM-like style via instruments

[127] "In the two cultures which I have grown up in/ My dear sisters are mostly on the losing side/ Because not only two cultures collide/ But also because the fathers are watching over their daughters"

[128] See Appendix B, track 76.

[129] See Appendix B, track 77.

such as the *ud* and *yaylı tambur* (a bowed long-neck lute). Unlike those of her contemporaries, her references are rarely recognizable quotations such as *Lambaya Püf De*[130] (Say Puff to the Lamb, 1971) by Barış Manço; the recognizable references are mostly used in the introductions of the songs as a popular re-interpretation of the ***taksim***, such as those of *Hayat*[131] (Life), *Deniz*[132] (Sea), *Çocuk*[133] (Child) and *Batsın Bu Dünya*[134].

In contrast to the Turkishization process in hip-hop, there was a serious internationalization and integration tendency in literature and cinema. The production of these figures openly resisted narrow categorizations. In literature, they were first evaluated as the aggregation of the Turkish and German language literatures, because as can be seen in the works of Emine Sevgi Özdamar, some idioms and vernacular patterns in Turkish were transferred to German through Germanization. However, by the second half of the 1990s it was thought that this bipolar structure was not sufficient to explain the main qualities of the production. Jankowksy (1997), for example, thought that the notion of "aesthetic borrowings from Germany and Turkey" was an oversimplification and considered this branch as a literature of intersections (pp. 263-264). Indeed, Özdamar's *Mutterzunge* (Mother Tongue, 1995) and *Grossvaterzunge* (Grandfather Tongue, 1995) are about the loss of a native tongue and a the journey to find the linguistic past, thereby supporting Jankowsky.

3.5 Fade-in to Other Frameworks

By the 2000s while the national sentiments ignited by Cartel were burning out, the hip-hop scene in Germany became more integrated into the global hip-hop scene. The localization wars were replaced by the quarrels similar to the American West Coast-East Coast competition. For example after Eko Fresh left Optik Records in 2002, he began a dispute with Kool Savaş and his former label-mates by releasing

[130] See Appendix B, track 78.

[131] See Appendix B, track 79.

[132] See Appendix B, track 80.

[133] See Appendix B, track 81.

[134] See Appendix B, track 82.

his diss track *Die Abrechnung*[135] (Pay-Off). This dispute continued with the release of Kool Savaş's *Das Urteil*[136] (The Judgment) and also with the engagement of Azad. This new kind of war brought a new jargon and content. Hip-hoppers were now focusing on crimes, drug abuse and police violence; the crews were dispersed and a period of solo careers began, as groups were disbanded.

There are many associated factors which can be mentioned as reasons for this change. However, the most important one was the recognition by the authorities of the fact that some group formations, like the gangs in big cities, were also indicative of spaces that they had left empty or ignored. The members of 36 Boys, Berlin's most active gang along with the Fighters and the Black Panthers, said in an Al Jazeera documentary[137] that they founded the gang because they wanted to protect their neighborhood, Kreuzberg, and because law-enforcement officers did nothing to prevent attacks of Neo-Nazi groups. As in the example of Naunynritze, hip-hop's transformation into a pedagogical tool by the authorities (Soysal, 2004, p. 69) partly helped to fill these spaces; at the same time, this strategy contributed to the interpretation of hip-hop as an aesthetic and cultural body that could be learned not only in the streets but also in the workshops. Thus hip-hop became stylized and penetrated other cultural fields, such as cinema and theater as a manner, attitude and as a tool of expression.

Feridun Zaimoğlu's *Kanak Sprak* (1995) and *Kopfstoff* (Headscarf, 1998) provided the conceptual framework youth needed because as Tom Cheesman (2002) says, these works were the mainstream discourse of multiculturalism (p. 186). The interpretation of Kanak Sprak as a metropolitan jargon by Zaimoğlu, and its adoption by the people who felt themselves to be living in a metropolitan culture, pushed the sub-culture or the culture of the periphery to the center. The periphery then became one of the components that constituted the center and had relations with the other components of the center through both opposition and interactios. However, this does not mean that the characteristics of the periphery were smoothed out or assimilated by the center; on the contrary, and as can be seen in the manifesto of Kanak Attak, the process set out a transportation of periphery to the center without

[135] See Appendix B, track 83.

[136] See Appendix B, track 84.

[137] See Appendix B, track 85 to watch the documentary.

alienation –here *Kanakisation*. In this sense, it can be said that Kanak Attak and similar movements turned back to the discourses of 1980s and excluded the separatist tendencies of the 1990s:

> Kanak Attak is a community of different people from diverse backgrounds who share a commitment to eradicate racism from German society. Kanak Attak is not interested in questions about passport or heritage, in fact it challenges such questions in the first place.
> (...)
>
> Although Kanak Attak is a predominantly migrant movement it should not be seen as the 'cool voice' of the ghetto. That's how they would like it, the commercial vultures of the cultural industries, who are searching for 'authentic' and 'exotic' human experiences to be sold to those living in the grey mainstream of everyday German society.[138]

Just as the gangs downsized their activities and protected spaces according to physical accessibility but enlarged their discourses, the cultural production toward the 2000s followed a similar strategy. The circles of belonging in cultural production were reduced to smaller units; the ethnic or national allegiances of the past were replaced by those that were city-based or neighborhood-based. The city and neighborhood provided its members with more integrated and more discrete positions which were unlike those of the solid and impervious walls of national history and mythos. Thus, a city or neighborhood mythos which was created by experience rather than narratives corroded the monolithic structure of the national mythos and constituted an alternative circle of belonging. In other words, the city and neighborhood offered a less problematic concept of participation than the bigger identities and allegiances. Additionally, for a generation who were born in Berlin and who had experienced both the existence and the absence of the Wall, nothing could be more realistic and concrete than identifying themselves with the city, nothing but the Wall could have shaped their identity.

This shift seems to tend towards micro-local settings, but it can easily digress from there if the urban local is cosmopolitan. In cinema, for example, directors following similar cosmopolitan models, especially the American ones, were able to articulate global urban sub-culture narratives; in literature, writers were able to articulate postmodernism through language experiments and intertexuality. For instance, Gürsel Aytaç (1995) states that the techniques of writers who had migrated from

[138] See Appendix A, Document A.2 for the full text of the manifest.

Turkey are not a result of a wish to preserve something, but a reflection of postmodern literature; and evaluates the works of these writers as examples of postmodern literature in the German language. Similarly, Barbara Mennel (2002) who evaluates the movies by Fatih Akın and Thomas Arslan believes that they are transnationally hybrid in style (p. 135).

For example, *Kurz und Schmerzlos* (Short Sharp Shock, 1998) by Fatih Akın is set in Altona and has a Hollywood-like style. The movie is also an example of how Akın internalized *Scarface* (1983) by Brian de Palma, and *Mean Streets* (1973) and *Goodfellas* (1990) by Martin Scorsese. In this sense, Akın turned his face towards American cinema. On the other hand, the fact that the story of the movie was autobiographical and based on Akın's own experiences from when he was a member of the Türk Boys and Home Boys gangs, adds local qualities to the movie. Thus the director does not renounce locality while using an international framework; but this time local is conceptualized as real. This tendency to identify with criminality and inner relationships can be also found in *Berlin-Trilogie* (*Geschwister-Kardeşler* [Brothers and Sisters], 1997; *Dealer*, 1999 and *Der Schöne Tag* [Beautiful Day], 2001) by Thomas Arslan, whose name is associated with the *French Nouvelle Vague Allemande* (German New Wave) and *Berliner Schule* (Berlin School), and *Kanak Attack* (2000) by Lars Becker shows that there were serious differences between the approaches to the first generation and the next generation. On the other side, there are also a few examples that deconstruct the masculine migrant narratives by focusing on the other among the others, such as *Lola und Bilidikid* (Lola and Bilidikid, 1999) by Kutluğ Ataman.

The abandoning of stereotypes both in literature and in cinema can be explained by the vertical and horizontal movements of people from Turkey in Germany. In forty years, some of the first generation migrants retired in Germany and established lives that they regularly divided between Turkey and Germany. Some of them had already left the factories and founded a network of so-called ethnic businesses; their households expanded with the children who were born in Germany or who were brought there and other members of the family. On the other hand, the ones who could integrate to education system started in professional life and took positions in society that were apart from the working class.

Partly because of the effect of political migration, most of the non-governmental organizations that were previously a part of migrant solidarity also became a part of politics in Turkey. They adopted the conservatice or revolutionist tendencies from the political platter and aimed to transform Turkey. The associations in Germany showed that the fractions that were excluded from the political scene in Turkey had not actually disappeared. The recognition of the power of these associations played an important role in the recognition that their enclaves in Germany were not only related to Turkey. Once more, the problematic sides of the relationship between the individual, group and system were disclosed.

By the second half of the 1990s, a third tendency which changed the direction of the political agenda away from Turkey occurred; this new aim was to become involved in the politics of Germany and the European Union. Undoubtedly, the abandonment plans to return to Turkey was effective on the emergence of this tendency. This new self-positioning was basically a concern for political figures, parties and other associations in Germany. Until the second half of the 1990s, political discussions were limited to the question of to be a migrant country or not, however the current condition moved beyond that. Despite the chaos of regulations, different legal statuses and inner diversity, people from Turkey had become one the largest minority groups in Germany and the European Union. Thus it can be said that there were two main motivations for the third tendency: one was to provide an institutional integration of this minority group, and the other was to bring plurality to the system through integration.

Multiculturalism entered Germany as a demand and necessity for economical and social stability in the 1990s. *Das Manifest der 60- Deutschland und die Einwanderung* (The Manifesto of 60 –Germany and Immigration) was published in 1993. It was written by ten professors and sgined by fifty more and aimed to break down the taboo of migration that caused the isolation of the migrants and to open a way for regulations based on the fact of multiculturalism. The government of *Die Grünen* (The Greens) and the SPD, the so-called Red-Green Coalition Government from the second half of the 1990s until 2005, supported this intellectual move. However, according to the Multiculturalism Policy Index, the multiculturalism performance of Germany was 2 in 2000, and 2,5 (from a possible maximum of 8) in 2010 (Kymlicka, 2012, p. 26). This showed that Germany's multiculturalism

experience was very limited, and this fact can also be supported with an analysis of the primary motives of the multiculturalism debates in Germany. Multiculturalism has been discussed only in terms of *Parallelgesellschaft* (parallel societies), a term mooted by Wilhelm, and *Leitkultur* (dominant culture), which is an often misemployed term by Bassam Tibi. For many, multiculturalism was only a disguised form of the old debates associated with migration, migrants and integration, not a new democratic citizenship model. The mention of some spot statements on multiculturalism, such as the interpretation of integration as a far-reaching assimilation by Theo Sommer, the publisher of *Die Zeit*, the objection of multiculturalism in an article written for *Die Welt* by Friedrich Merz, the chairman of the Union Parties parliamentary group, the book *Deutschland schafft sich ab* (Germany abolishes itself) by Thilo Sarazin and finally the declaration of multiculturalism's death by Angela Merkel are sufficient to explain the framework of multiculturalism discussions in Germany.

It would be not wrong to say that in spite of the Germany's honest institutional multiculturalism experience, the discourse of *Multikulti* (multicultural) has brought remarkable changes to cultural production. The most important one for people from Turkey, especially for traditional musicians, was the opportunity to slough off their folkloristic image.

Two concerts, one in Köln and the other in Berlin in 1996, can either be considered as a result or a beginning in many ways. The meaning attributed to Anatolian traditional music by the state politics; first as a tool for the integration with Western music and then as an antidote to popularization which did not dispear after the state monopoly in cultural fields was broken. On the contrary, Anatolian traditional music sustained its given mission in practice even though it was sometimes objected to the level of discourse; and some of the iconic figures in Anatolian traditional music made efforts to realize that goal. However, the emergence of diverse performance channels also paved the way for diverse manifestations. The above-mentioned concerts were examples of the most featured tendencies in these attempts.

The *Sinfonieorchester Köln* (Köln Symphony Orchestra) gave a concert with the title "*Eine Musikalische Reise durch Anatolian*" (A Musical Journey through Anatolia) on May 5, 1996. The concert was organized by the *Avrupa Alevi Birlikleri Federasyonu* (Federation of Europen Alawite Unities, AABF), the *Arkadaş Theater*

and the *KulturForum TürkeiDeutschland*; and although several sponsors provided 200,000 German marks, there was a budget deficit of 60-70,000. The complaint of a lack of official support by Ali İhsan Güvercin, a board member of the AABF and Derdiyoklar gained the support of *Bundespräsident* (President) Roman Herzog and the *Ministerium für Familie, Kinder, Jugend, Kultur und Sport des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen* (Ministry of Family, Children, Youth, Culture and Sport of North Rhine-Westfalia).

In the first part of the concert, *Anadolu Liedleri* (Anatolian Lieder) were sung by Hasan Yükselir who had studied violin and voice at the *Gazi Üniversitesi Müzik Fakültesi* (Gazi University Music Institute) and composition with Turgut Aldemir. The title pointed to a different conception of the Lied form and genre that was in between the nineteenth century Lied and the Lieder of *Minnesänger* and *Meistersinger*. The *Anadolu Liedleri* were composed of orchestral arrangements of *Kalktı Göç Eyledi Avşar Elleri*, *İlle Dostun Gülü Yaralar Beni*, *Zeybek* (Zeibek), *Güzelliğin On Para Etmez* (Your Beauty is Worth Nothing) and *Kiziroğlu Mustafa Bey* (The Headman's Son Mustafa Bey). That is, diverse poems by Dadaloğlu, Pir Sultan Abdal, Aşık Veysel and Köroğlu which were brought together according to the logic of *Liederkreis* (song cycle). Similarly, *Concerto for Baglama*[139] was played by Arif Sağ and the *Sinfonieorchester Köln* (Symphony Orchestra Köln) in the second part of the concert[140] and was described as a concerto because it was written for a solo instrument and orchestra. The work was designed to emphasize the solo quality of the *bağlama*, to reveal the its relationship with virtuosity and even to create a new conception of the *bağlama* performance by highlighting the playing technique known as *şelpe*. Thus, as a result of trials both in traditional music and in popular music, the *bağlama* was shown to be an instrument that could be specific to an individual musician, in addition to its historical and social position.

[139] See Appendix B, track 86.

[140] *Ne Ağlarsın* by Aşık İsmail Daimi and *Bir Bilene Sor* by Pir Sultan Abdal were also played by Arif Sağ and Betin Güneş in this part. According to the booklet of the CD *Concerto for Baglama*, other works in the album were also played.

Düzeltme

Gazetemizin 7 Mayıs 1995 Salı günkü sayısının 6. sayfada yer-alan "Bağlama, senfoniyle kucaklaştı" başlıklı haberimizde dizgi hatası sonucu, **Hasan Yükselir**'in müziğini yaptığı ve seslendirdiği eserler, Erdal Erzincan'ın eserleri şeklinde yeralmıştır. Düzeltir, özür dileriz.

Milliyet ▸ Salı 7 Mayıs 1996

Bağlama, senfoniyle kucaklaştı

Köln Filarmoni salonunda düzenlenen "Ezgilerle Anadolu" adlı konser muhteşem oldu. Arolarında çok sayıda Alman'ın da bulunduğu konseri yaklaşık 3 bin kişi hayranlıkla izledi.

Recai AKSU-KÖLN

KÖLN Filarmoni salonunda düzenlenen "Ezgilerle Anadolu" konseri muhteşem oldu. Yaklaşık 3 bin kişinin izlediği konserden sonra sanatçılar ayakta alkışlandı. Ünlü bağlama ustası **Arif Sağ**, ve öğrencileri **Erdal Erzincan, Erol Parlak**'a Köln Senfoni orkestrası eşlik etti. **Betin Güneş** yönetimindeki orkestra eşliğinde gerçekleşen konseri çok sayıda Alman da hayranlıkla izledi.

Anadolu insanının acısını, sevincini, coşkusunu türkülerle ve sazıyla dile getiren **Arif Sağ**, komponist **Erdal Erzincan, Erol Parlak, Hasan Yükselir** ve ünlü orkestra şefi **Betin Güneş** yönetimindeki 60 kişilik Köln Senfoni Orkestrası'nın birlikte verdikleri muhteşem konser, Türkiye ve Almanya arasında dev bir kültür köprüsü oluşturdu.

Avrupa Alevi Birlikleri Federasyonu (AABF), Türkiye-Almanya Kültür Formu ve Arkadaş Tiyatrosu'nun birlikte düzenlediği konseri, Almanya Cumhurbaşkanı **Roman Herzog** ve Kuzey Ren Vestfalya Kültür Bakanlığı da desteklemedi. Yaklaşık 3 saat süren görkemli konserin ilk bölümünde sanatçı **Erdal Erzincan** müziği kendisine ait "Pir Sultan Abdal" "Halk Türküleri Dadaloğlu", "Yörük Ali Efe", "Aşık Veysel", "Köroğlu" ve "Kızıroğlu Mustafa Bey'i" adlı eserleri seslendirdi. Konserin ikinci bölümünde **Betin Güneş** ve orkestrası izleyenleri müzik dünyasının derinliklerine

Arif Sağ ve arkadaşlarını yaklaşık 3 bin kişi konser bitiminde alkış yağmuruna tuttu.

güncü bölümünün ilk kısımında Arif Sağ'ın bağlaması ve sözüyle, Betin Güneş'in piyanosu eşliğinde halk türküsü "Cennet Kuşu", Aşık İsmail Dalmi'nin "Ne ağlarsın" ve Pir Sultan Abdal'ın "Bir Bilene Sor" isimli parçaları coşkuyla dinlendi. Daha sonra tekrar sahneye gelen **Erol Parlak, Hasan Yükselir** ve **Betin Güneş** yönetimindeki Köln Senfoni Orkestrası elemanları ile **Arif Sağ**'ın birlikte verdikleri "Ezgilerle Anadolu" konserini salonu dolduranlar hayranlıkla, Anadolu'yu yaşayarak izledi. Konser bitiminde ayakta alkışlanan ve 3 kez sahneye geri dönen **Arif Sağ** ve öğrencileri Anadolu müziğinin temel enstrümanı olan bağlama'nın kendi orjinal yapısından ve kişiliğinden ödün vermeden, tarihinde ilk defa senfoni orkestrası eşliğinde konser vermenin gururunu yaşadılar.

Figure 3.19 : News of the concert in Köln (Url-39).

The special feature of the concerts in Germany was that this time for integration with Western classical music tradition came from the traditional musicians; previously this had been a desire of classical composers who had been charged with the creation of a national school. In this sense, the inspirations and information gathered from compilation travels were important for the first generation composers. In particular, traditional production was used in terms of melodic and rhythmic structures and patterns by these composers, but traditional instruments and their unique characteristics did not play important roles; the *Kanun Konçertosu* (Concerto for Kanun) by Hasan Ferid Alnar was the only exception. When traditional music was revived with through the support of popular music in the 1960s, the second generation of classical composers had already turned their attention to that time's avant-garde movements and the goal to create a national school had lost its importance. Thus the relationship between traditional repertoire, polyphony and functional harmony became a matter of the allegiances outside of academia.

Arif Sağ, Erdal Erzincan and Erol Parlak as the Arif Sağ Trio gave another concert on May 24, 1996 at Philharmonie Kammermusiksaal (Philharmony Chambermusic Hall) in Berlin. Among the audience was Taner Akyol who had settled to Berlin in 1996 for the second time. His grandfather had migrated to Austria and then to West Germany in the beginning of 1970s and then had taken his wife. Taner's mother Nuran Akyol said:

> Since there were no job opportunities in Pülümür, the men of Pülümür usually went to İstanbul or İzmir to work. My father went to Bursa. After a while he got tired of living alone maybe, so all the family moved to Bursa. However, the life in Bursa did not satisfy my father. He made an application for Germany but he was not accepted because he got nervous at the health control. We had friends who could arrange such things. He gave them money, I do not know how much, but they took my father to Austria. He worked there for a while and then moved to Berlin and took my mother.[141]

When Taner was 4 years old, his uncles were politically very active in Turkey. In the years of turmoil, they had also attended some street fights against nationalist groups. One of his relatives, whom he called as uncle Kazım, was also in jail due to his political activities. Taner's grandparents and parents were anxious for their children's future because they had observed that Taner and the others were deeply affected by the visits to prison, and had begun to take their politically active relatives as role models: "My father said to my mother that "take these children away, otherwise they will be killed or kill someone."[142]

The solution they found was to send Taner to Germany with his grandparents. As a strange coincidence, the flight was on September 12th, 1980, the very day of the coup d'État. International flights from Turkey were cancelled, and they flew to Berlin a couple days later. However, when one of his uncles got married there, the already small apartment they had been living in became too small for the household and Taner had to return to Bursa.

Taner began his high school education at the *Bursa Anadolu Güzel Sanatlar Lisesi* (Fine Arts High School, Bursa) in 1991. Even though he has been studying *bağlama* with Yaşar Kemal Alim, he became a violin student. Throughout his residency in Bursa, he always thought that he would return to Berlin again. And finally in 1996 he resettled in Berlin and started to study composition with Helmut Zapf at the *Studienvorbereitende Institut der Musikschule Kreuzberg* (The Preparatory Institut of Music School Kreuzberg). The news about the Arif Sağ concert in Berlin was special

[141] Interview with Nuran Akyol on 23.11.2013.

[142] Interview with Nuran Akyol on 23.11.2013.

for him; Sağ was his idol as a *bağlama* player. On the other hand, the concert was also special for everyone who had come from Turkey because it would be remembered as a turning point: "That concert was the first in which we could get rid of the smell of döner."[143]

The chosen venues for the concerts shows that the traditional musicians and their audience wanted to blow a hole in the protected spaces of a tradition that possessed the top position in the hierarchy of musical genres in order to attain a new position. In order to emphasize the artistic quality of a traditional music that was mostly performed in a social atmosphere in the non-governmental associations of migrants, where the conditions and equipment were not best suited for musical performances, or at special organizations; the first step was to choose appropriate venues.

The experiments that focused on the integration of the *bağlama* to polyphony and Western classical music tradition were not new in Germany. Even when there were intentions and production, there was more than one obstacle against the performance of these works; there were no gatekeepers, such as Betin Güneş at *Sinfonieorchester Köln*, everywhere. Although there were many classical musicians who had been studying, living or giving concerts in Germany, the interaction between them and the traditional musicians that trained in the migrant organizations in Germany instead of music schools was quite limited. Betin Güneş, who was also a member of Die Kanaken, was an exceptional figure in this sense. Moreover, it has been always hard to put a new work in the program of landmark institutions, and the difficulties are doubled if the musically conservative audience profile of such institutions is considered. People from Turkey within the classical music audience was quantitatively too small to create such a demand, and there were only a few musicians who could succeed at that level of live performance. Adil Arslan, who had lived in Berlin since 1979 and collaborated with Carlo Domeniconi in *Batı-Doğu Divanı-Saz ve Orkestra İçin Semahlar* (West-East Divan-Semahs for Saz and Orchestra, 1986) and in *Concerto di Berlinbul for Saz and Chamber Orchestra*[144]

[143] Interview with Taner Akyol via Skype.

[144] See Appendix B, track 87.

(1988) was one of them. Taner Akyol remembers Arslan as follows: "Arslan's works together with those by Zülfü Livaneli and Ruhi Su, in terms of vocal composition, have given me the idea that such experiments could be done with the *bağlama*."[145]

The music industry invented world music as a marketing area in the 1980s after the effects of the album *Graceland* (1986) by Paul Simon, the World of Music, Arts and Dance festival founded by Peter Gabriel and his album *Passion: Music for the Last Temptation of Christ* (1989). This invention meant that there were new possibilities for musicians both in Turkey and in Germany to expand the boundaries of their activities. The articulation with this framework revealed two main tendencies that were sometimes used interchangeably and sometimes simultaneously: to interact and collaborate with diverse styles and traditions in order to find a subjective expression; and to turn to the accessible older forms of tradition, which is partly offered as an alternative, and partly in opposition.

World music as a concept gained popularity in Turkey when Erkan Oğur's soundtrack album of the movie *Eşkıya* (The Bandit) that was released in 1996 as it contained both of the above-mentioned. However, behind this album there was almost a twenty-year period. Oğur had gained experience both in traditional music and current music by playing on popular music albums and at the *Çekirdek Sanatevi* (Çekirdek Art House) in the 1980s. The *Çekirdek Sanatevi* was founded by Fikret Kızılok and Ahmet Sırmaçek (Sırmaçak was later repleaced by Ortaçgil) and had been converted from a dentist's office by Kızılok. Ortaçgil said that the *Çekirdek Sanatevi* was thought of as a place for try-outs and became an extended family through the involvement of groups and musicians who shared the same intention, such as Ezginin Günlüğü, Yeni Türkü, Grup Gündoğarken, Maria Rita Epik, Robert Johnson and Engin Noyan. The recordings of the recitals were sold in return for the ticket price. Partly due to disagreements between Kızılok and Ortaçgil and partly due to the enactment of the tax label and copyright law, the *Çekirdek Sanatevi* became unable to achieve its founding goal (Meriç, 2008). However, the experiences gained from the activities at the *Çekirdek Sanatevi* were used and popularized by the music industry after the 1990s.

[145] Interview with Taner Akyol via Skype.

Oğur's first *Çekirdek Sanatevi* recording was *İstanbul'da Bir Amerikalı* (An American in Istanbul, 1982)[146]. It was the recording of a blues recital by Oğur, Robert Johnson, who was then teacher at Robert College, and İlkin Deniz.[147] Two recitals and recordings from 1983, *Müzikte Anadolu Mistisizmi*[148] (Anatolian Mysticism in Music) with ***neyzen*** Aziz Şenol Filiz and *Perdesiz Gitarda Arayışlar*[149] (Searching on Fretless Guitar), show that Oğur started to define musical tradition as a body that is composed of the relationship between static and moving elements. This definition would become more distinctive in Oğur's style after he collaborated other several musicians, and would give its most mature offspring in the album *Fretless* (1994), which was released by the German recording company Feuer & Eis and hailed as "an excellent antidote to the long-standing postcard image of Turkish music" by Martinelli (2001).

The name of the album came from the fretless guitar built and played by Oğur. Over the past 50 years, the guitar has been involved in an ever-closer relationship with the *bağlama* and traditional music, and began to play an important role in the transitions from traditional music to popular music. However, most musicians were not satisfied with the dissonance between *makam* music and with its primary building blocks. According to Elliot Bates (2011), the fretless guitar became an Anatolian folk instrument (p. 97) and was offered some solutions to this problem. Thus it was not only an initiative that aims to investigate the relationship between diverse tradition and styles, but also an initiative to open a door to "illimitable pitches" as Oğur later conceptualized. Undoubtedly, the need of illimitable pitches came from the fact that Oğur is an instrumentalist who plays different long-necked instruments, such as

[146] There are two different dates of this album, according to Oğur's website it was recorded in 1982, but Robert Johnson privately said that it was recorded in 1986.

[147] The program of the recital contained an anonymous Argentinian song *Papel del plata*, *Cutting Off Your Hair* by B.B. King, *That's Allright Mama* by Arthur Crudup, *Bodrum Bodrum* by MFÖ and the songs that were written and composed by Robert Johnson.

[148] The track list of the recording was as follows: *Anadolu'ya Giriş (Pencere Önü İlk)*, *Bozkır ve Geçmiş ve Gölgeler*, *Mevlana ve Şems*, *Pir Sultan Karşılama*, *Şeyh Bedrettin ve Yunus*.

[149] The track list of the recording was as follows: *Makamlarda Gezintiler*, *Renkler, Yer ve Zaman Değiştirme*, *Bachianas Brasileiras No. 5*, *Goobye Pork Pie Hat*, *İki Keklik.*

guitar, *cümbüş*, *ud* and *kopuz*, and that he plays diverse repertoires. However, the main idea was the limitations of well-tempered system and Western harmony that pushes *makam* music to exclude from its components that which actually makes it *makam* music:

> Even the Turkish system is not perfect, although it is better adjusted to the real frequencies produced by a string if you divide it in parts and pluck or bow it. The Turkish system is better because the tones move, unlike the so-called the circle of fifths in Western harmony. With natural tuning it does not close, it's not a circle at all. In Turkish music it looks more like an ellipsis, but it still does close, so it's not perfect. It's in the nature of the harmony: on the note B, you'll hear it lower than its tempered value of around 485 Hz. Then, if you play an improvisation on C-major you'll hear this B higher. It is your brain, your imagination: you tune your brain differently. Composition and harmony in the well-tempered system cannot reach that. In fact, harmony has a big problem, and on that pint all the musics all over the world have a big problem. (Martinelli, 2001)

Oğur's statements can be seen as a methodological criticism of the branch that built its academic and popular music on the basis of integration into Western music and that institutionalized integration as a final goal. However, it should not be overlooked that it is also a conceptual critique for the supporters of authenticity. This two-sided critique illustrates how holistic bodies of musical tradition and their way of thinking began to be eroded.

A similar process can also be observed in the BRD. The second generation began to question the conditions that had determined the production and consumption of the older generation, and the ideas that had created these conditions, more effectively. However, the critical difference is that second generation was in search of an existence that was not constructed outside but rather inside the existing structure.

For a long time, official institutions in the BRD implicitly distinguished musical activities according to their two primary qualities: musical activity as a social act, and musical activity as an artistic act. Yet, such a distinction was not applicable to the production of people from Turkey because of the practical conditions. In other words, the sphere of activity that was determined by the official instutions and the elements of musical activity of people from Turkey did not intersect for years and therefore the people from Turkey developed some strategic organizational forms. Once more, the most effective tool for people from Turkey to change the conditions

was the *bağlama* again. By the second of half the 1990s it began to be used to reinforce the existing conditions, and gained new functions that were built upon its already well-established meanings: to corrode and expand the definition of the artistic act by official institutions, and to find a place within the official structure.

On one side of this shift there are individuals like Taner Akyol. The entrance of Akyol to the *Hochschule für Musik Hanns Eisler*, and to study composition with Hanspeter Kyburz was not only parallel to the role of the *bağlama* in this process but also a part of it. His entry shows that the system organizations had developed a new kind of recognition to the needs and demands coming from the base. Similarly, if we look at the activities organized in big cities in the beginning of the 2000s, we can see that there was also a foundational request from the old and well-determined cultural circles to intersect with each other. Akyol's works such as *Klavierstück* (Piano Piece, 1998), *Die Heimatlosen Kinder* (Homeless Children, 1999), *Üzgünüm* (I Am Sad, 2000), and *Arabesk Sakalar* (Arabesk Gaffers, 2001), his awards such as "Musikpreis der Kulturen in Berlin" in Musica Vitale-Wettbewerbe and the "Hanns Eisler Preis" were the products of this request.

One of the remarkable examples of how institutions and organizations have updated themselves according to the new social structure and to the requests of the actors within it was the *Jugend musiziert* competition which was organized on three levels (regional, federal state and national) since 1963. First in Berlin (2002) and Duisburg (2005) at regional levels, and then in Nordrhein-Westphalia (2009) at federal state level *Jugend musiziert* organized *bağlama* competitions. These organizations finally made a critical question, which was asked by project manager Reinhart von Gutzeit possible: "Should *bağlama* be an ordinary category of the Jugend musiziert competitions?" (Url-40)

A new phase has started between the *bağlama* and the system organizations when the *Nordrhein-Westphalia Kultursekretariat* (Cultural Secretary of North Rhine Westfalia) developed *Das 3. Ohr* (The 3rd Ear) initiative[150]. The main aim of the project was to create awareness to diverse musical traditions. With its slogan "*Baglama für alle!/ Herkese Bağlama!*" (Bağlama for Everyone) the project has opened the way for the *bağlama* to throw off its "folkloristic" label and supported the artistic quality of the production. On the other hand, this move caused the removal of

[150] See Appendix A, Figure A.15.

bağlama education from its "traditional" education spaces. The peak points of the process were the declaration of the *bağlama* as *Instrument des Jahres* (the instrument of the year), the preparation of a *Lehrplan* (syllabus) and the idea to integration of *bağlama* into the education system which was expressed in the first *bağlama* symposium organized in Berlin between 14-15 September 2013. *Bağlama* has now became *die Bağlama*.

4. THE OPERA

Die Bağlama has played a critical role for people from Turkey in the BRD. It is even possible to say that the demands of integration in terms of musical production and activities were shaped around *die Bağlama*, *bağlama* players and *bağlama* repertoire. Though *Selam Opera!* was a project by *Komische Oper* that aimed to introduce and even bond people from Turkey with opera, it had to cross paths with this branch when the scope of the project was expanded. Taner Akyol would function once again as the associate member.

The dramaturge of the project *Selam Opera!*, Mustafa Akça, explains their motivation as follows: "Do not shy away from opera, operetta, musical, from Western culture in short; come and watch because you are also a part of this society" (Bali, 2013). This statement contains one of the basic questions as well: What keeps people from Turkey from opera? Apparently, the promoters thought that language was the toughest barrier that prevented communication and participation in addition to all the ideological, historical, material and spiritual ones. Because of that, their very first attempt was to use Turkish subtitles during the performances with the slogan "*Opera Cümlemize/Opera for all*[151]". Even though it was a big development, some further questions were also asked:

> Berlin's Komische Oper is introducing Turkish subtitles for its opera and musical productions. Berlin has the largest Turkish population outside Turkey, but will the subtitles be more than just a symbolic gesture? (Schmid, 2011)

Except for those who dared to come in through the door of the opera house, extra moves were required in order to overcome these barriers. Another part of the project called as *Operndolmus* serves such a purpose. Through using information networks such as the newspapers and radio stations of people from Turkey a crew composed of two singers, three musicians and a dramaturge attempted to enter these *separated* spaces and to give a simple impression of what could happen if they pass through the

[151] The word "*cümle*" in Turkish comes from the stem *cml* in Arabic and means "all of us, for all of us, everbody". However, it has also a religious connotation since "all of us" also refers to the Muslims or Muslim community.

door. Workshops, introductory courses and education programs do not only break the passivity of the audience but also emphasize that knowledge is a critical part of participation. Additionally, the acceptance of almost 25 children from families with origins in Turkey to the children's choir in the 2012/2013 season was aimed at providing a basis for a more natural interaction and collaboration in the future.

Ali Baba und 40 Räuber[152] is one of the most comprehensive parts of the *Selam Opera!* project. It implicitly says to people from Turkey that a kind of participation that goes beyond being an audience is also possible. The administrators considered that Taner Akyol, who was a composer with origins in Turkey, who was living in Berlin as a German citizen and who had never disconnected his cultural relations with his homeland, could offer an appropriate model for their project. Finally, they commissioned Akyol to write an opera:

> They did not say that the opera should be based on the Ali Baba story; they said that the plot should belong to the East and be known in the West. They had such a list containing the story of Sinbad for example, I chose the Ali Baba story because I felt closer this story. The story's sub- and symbolic meanings also charmed me. There are some expressions related to *Alevilik* in the story or there are *Harami*s [thieves] for example. It seemed to me that this story is also appropriate for political messages.[153]

After deciding on the subject Çetin İpekkaya and Marietta Rohrer İpekkaya wrote the libretto and retreated the subject according to their own background by inserting their own messages and symbolicism. They preserved the main characters of the orginal story with only slight differences. The crew for the *Komische Oper* production was comprised of Ulrich Lenz (dramaturgy) Matthias Davids (staging), Melissa King (choreography), Sanne Danz (stage design), and Judith Peter (costumes).

4.1 The Story of Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves as Representation and Metaphor

When Antoine Galland published the French translation of the voyages of Sinbad in 1701, he opened the way to new meanings for the old Eastern narratives that had already been collated from more than one source. Galland's position in the French Embassy in Istanbul, his travels to the East were first supported by the *Compaigne Française des Indes Orientales* (French East India Company) and then by King

[152] See Appendix C1 for the synopsis of the opera.

[153] From the interview with Taner Akyol on 13.07.2013.

Louis XIV of France, and his 1714 publication of *Les Mille et Une Nuits* (The Thousand and One Nights) has occupied orientalists for centuries and has carried the Eastern World to the Europe.[154] Undoubtedly, the coexistence of two mainstream tendencies at the time of *Les Mille et Une Nuits* played an important role in Galland's success. The first was the interest in the folk tales that became popular with the works of Charles Perrault in France, and the other was a European interest in the non-Western worlds, which was not limited to pure intellectual curiosity. Thus *Les Mille et Une Nuits* catered to the scientific and fictional aspects of orientalism, and it has been interpreted by figures from both sides, it has been used as both a source and as a tool. The oral and written sources of Galland's publication, his loyalty to them and the other translations based on Galland's translation have continued to occupy the scientific branch since Richard Francis Burton. On the other hand, with the disappearance of the Muslim-East threat to Europe, both militarily and politically, the content of the publication still plays an important role in the transition to the exotic and phantastic perception and imagination of the East, even though it seems that it has lost its priority and monopoly. As a result *Les Mille et Une Nuits* continues to be transformed through the contributions of diverse actors. If we consider how American and English soldiers called Iraqi civilians whom they charged with robbery as Ali Baba, we can say that the references of *Les Mille et Une Nuits* have preserved their effectiveness. As Jorge Luis Borges (1984) said, "it is not necessary to have read it, for it is a part of our memory" (p. 57). The story of *Ali Baba and 40 Thieves* takes place in the eleventh volume, and was published after Galland's death in 1707. As Galland stated, the story was one of fourteen stories that were told to him by a Maronite monk from Aleppo by the name of Youhenna (Hanna) Dia (Schacker-Mill, 2000, p. 167). However, Burton evaluated this story in the appendices of his own publication and claimed that the geographic origin of the story was Cyprus. Similarly, Henry Charles Coote (1880) wrote that the story could be

[154] *Les Mille et Une Nuits* was translated into German by Joseph von Hammer from the French translation by Zinserling (1823); the translation from Arabic to German was made by Gustav Weill between 1839-1842. One of the oldest Turkish translations is a copy called *Câmasbnâme* was offered by a translator named Abdi to Sultan Murad II but this translation has been lost. Sakaoğlu wrote that Latîfi from Kastamonu mentioned in his *Tezkire* that a poet named Hevesî had translated *Les Mille et Une Nuits* into Turkish. Another translation was made by the order of Murad IV in 1636-1637 but this translation does not contain all the nights. The collection was translated again by Ahmet Nazif in four volumes in the nineteenth century during the reign of Sultan Abdülaziz. However it was Alim Şerif Onaran who translated the complete collection from Arabic to Turkish in 1922. For further information see Alim Şerif Onaran (1992), "Türkçeye Çevirenin Önsözü", *Binbir Gece Masalları*, 1. cilt, Istanbul: Afa Yayıncılık, pp. 5-16.

found wherever there was a Greek population, such as the Greek islands, and that Professor Sakellarios had collected two more stories that contain similar events from Cyprus. One of them is "The Story of Three Eyes" as titled by Sakellarios. The events in this story are similar with the second part of the Ali Baba story where the slave girl Mercane (Marjane/Morgiana) discovers that the 40 thieves are hiding in some jars. The other story is titled "The Natural Thief". The events here are similar with the parts where Mercane marks all the houses to wreck the 40 thieves' plan. Thus Coote says that the variants of the Ali Baba story were collected by Neruccio from Montale and by Visentini from Mantua, and comes to the conclusion that Galland did not invent this story (pp. 185-190). Nevertheless, and keeping Macdonald's (1924) evaluation in mind that there were five phases in the constitution of the collection (*Hazār afsān*, translations from Persian to Arabic between the 4th and 10th centuries in Bagdad, the final versions of frame story and some of the stories and editions from the Fatimid dynasty in Egypt and Galland's publication), it can be assumed that the Ali Baba story in *Les Mille et Une Nuits* was collated from diverse sources.

Parallel to the eclectic character of *Les Mille et Une Nuits* and the inclusion of the technique called story-in-story in it, it can be said that the Ali Baba story is a micro model of the macro structure. In general, it is a moral and is therefore didactic story. It exemplifies being good, hardworking and contented by emphasizing the superiority of fate and destiny, and the importance of resignation. However, the events that lead up to this point have more than one characteristic.

The first part of the story contains phantastic elements which focus on the difference between good and evil, the contented and greedy through the characters of Ali Baba and his brother Kasım. According to the story Ali Baba and Kasım live in an Iranian city and have spent the inheritance they received from their father. The two brothers choose different ways to live. Kasım becomes a rich merchant after marrying the daughter of a wealthy family, whereas Ali Baba is poor and married to the daughter of a humble woodsman like himself. The contrast between Ali Baba and Kasım is reflected in their wives. Kasım's wife is insatiable and spoiled whereas Ali Baba's wife is good-natured. The consistence of characteristics between couples is emphasized again with the statement that Kasım's wife became good-natured after

she married Ali Baba. The names of the wives are not given in the story but Ali Baba sometimes refers to his wife as “the daughter of my uncle”.

In the second part of the story, the central character is Mercane, Ali Baba’s handmaiden, who prevents the revenge of the 40 thieves. The other main themes of *Les Mille et Une Nuits* such as crime and eroticism are found to be found in this part. Although love is not one of the main themes in the story, it is used as a small motif in the narration of the relationship between the son of Ali Baba and Mercane.

Two of the most remarkable elements of the Ali Baba story are the number of the thieves and the magical phrase “Open Sesame”. The symbolic use of the number 40 is ubiquitous in folk narratives. It is sometimes used to indicate an indefinite plurality, as in the patterns like 40 days and 40 nights, 40 rooms, 40 keys. However, as the number 40 is used for people, it may indicate different symbolic expressions.

40 is the symbolic number of maturity in Islamic mysticism; similarly the number plays an important role in the symbolic expressions related to *Kırklar Meclisi* (assemblage of the forties) in the *Alevi-**Bektaşi*** tradition, such as *kırk makam* (forty stations), *kırklar şerbeti* (sherbet of forties), *kırklar meydanı* (arena of forties) (Bozkurt & Bozkurt, 2012, pp. 725-726). 40 is also the number of the men around a ruler or a hero in the narratives. Abdülkadir İnan points out that the number of *drujna*s (friends) of Russian *knyaz*s (meaning prince or kingly) is 40, similarly the number of Boğaç Han’s and Dirse Han’s men in the *Dede Korkut* stories is 40, and the number of heroes around Köroğlu is given as 40 in the versions that are told in some Türkmen tribes (Güvenç, 2009, pp. 180-181). As can be seen in the given examples, these groups of 40 men are sometimes good, sometimes evil, and sometimes first good and then evil characters.

Since the number of thieves in the Ali Baba story in *Les Mille et Une Nuits* is emphasized twice, one at the end of the 851th night and the other at the beginning of the 852nd night, it seems that here it indicates a definite number:

> (1) Then they took off the saddle-bags and, bearing them up, came into file so slowly that Ali Baba was able to count them at his ease and determine that there were forty robbers, neither more or less.
>
> (2) The forty thieves carried their loads to the foot of a large rock which lay at the bottom of the little hill. (Mardrus and Mathers, 2005b, pp. 103-104)

The Ali Baba story has been classified in the Aarne-Thompson system as AT 676 because of the supernatural power or knowledge elements in the story. Moreover, Thompson has classified the magical phrase as the motif element D 1552.2. At the center of both classifications stands the phrase "Open Sesame" and the cave.

It is uncertain what the reference of the word "sesame" is, however except a few exceptions the variants of the word are found in different narratives:

> The Turkish version recorded by Kunos, *Türkische Volksmärchen aus Stambul*, p. 231, belong to group A (2), the magic words being *tschanga-tschunga*, as does the only Indian variant which I happen to know, Knowles, *Folktales of Kashmir*, p. 267, where the words composing the magical formula are not given. A poor Lithuanian version is recorded by Jurkschat, *Litanische Märchen und Erzählungen*, i. p. 76, No. 38. A maiden hidden in a tree witnesses the robbers' entry and exit. The password is "Open Mr. So-and-so"; the narrator had forgotten the magical name. The heroine enters but forgets the mountain's name. When the robbers re-enter, she, however, successfully slips out. She informs her friends, but when they visit the spot they find that the robbers have removed the treasure. This at first sight appears to fall into category A (2), but it may, like Grimm No. 142, "Open Mt. Semsin"[155], have arisen from the misunderstanding of the formula of the Arabian Nights version. (Halliday, 1920, p. 322)

However, it should be said that the magical phrase in *Les Mille et Une Nuits* do not only open the door of the hidden cave. This phrase has the power to open all the doors, so Ali Baba now knows an incredible secret:

> When he arrived before his house, Ali Baba found that the door of the courtyard was fastened on the inside with a great wooden bolt, so, wishing to see whether his knowledge of magic would be available in any place besides the cave, he cried out: "Open, Sesame!" At once the bolt was shot and the door stood open, so that he was able to drive the asses into the little courtyard without announcing his presence. "Shut, Sesame!" he exclamied, and at once the door closed of itself and the bolt moved into position. (Mardrus and Mathers, 2005b, pp 106-107)

In this sense, the cave may have a metaphorical meaning. According to the tradition there are four doors (as *şeriat* [sharia], *tarikat* [tariqa], *marifet* [marifa] and *hakikat* [haqiqa]) and forty stations in Islamic mysticisim, and a complete worshipper cannot be lacking in one of them (Eröz, 1990, pp. 171-172). That means, a cave that hides precious treasures and opens with a secret phrase may symbolize becoming mature in the religious context.

[155] Jacob & Wilhelm Grimm (1857), "Simeliberg", *Kinder- und Hausmärchen gesammelt durch die Brüder Grimm*, Vol. 2, Göttingen: Verlag der Dieterischen Buchhandlung, pp. 259-261.

In the light of this information, an interpretation of the first part of the Ali Baba story in *Les Mille et Une Nuits* as a story that is full of metaphorical expressions relating to Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of the prophet Muhammad, seems possible. In this direction, the statement that Ali Baba and Kasım are brothers who are living in Iran who have spent the inheritance left to them by father may be a reference to the division of Islam into two branches after Muhammad's death and to the Shia in today's Azerbaijan and Iran. Additionally, the portrayal of Ali Baba in the story has many similarities with the portrayal of Ali in tradition. For example, Ali Baba is described as a man who is humble and without ambition in the story. This is how the Islamic narratives describe Ali, who was the rightful successor of Muhammad but who gave up his right through his own modesty. In this sense, Ali Baba's brother Kasım does not refer to one person but all ambitious rivals of Ali. In other words it contains multiple characters rendered in one person.

The indication that Ali Baba and his wife are relatives in the story may be seen as related to the fact that Muhammad and Ali were relatives as cousins and as father/son-in-law. Religious tradition often emphasizes that they had a close and special relationship; it is said that Ali was the man that Muhammad trusted most. The epithet of Ali as *dost* (friend) in the *Alevi-Bektaşi* tradition comes from this notion (Boratav, 2000, p. 32). Similarly it is revealed in the story that one of the men in the loge gave his daughter to Ali Baba because he gave the impression of being trustworthy, as the religious tradition interpreted the marriage between Ali and Fatma, the daughter of Muhammad.

As previously mentioned, the number 40 is an important reference to *Kırklar* (Forties). *Kırklar* considered as "the men of God" or "holy people", and are a group of forty people whose identities and residencies are unknown to ordinary people; "they organize the issues of public, carry their burdens and are only busy with the law of the public" (Uludağ, 2005, p. 281). As *rücal'ül gayb* (moral and esoteric authorities) in mysticism, it is believed that they are cognizant of some secrets. However, it would be wrong to claim that the number of thieves refers to *Kırklar* or to a similar group.[156] The thieves and their treasure may also contain an expression

[156] Özdemir Nutku writes that the "40 thieves" is a motive that is used in the folk narratives besides the Ali Baba story. For instance, in a variant of *Sinan Paşa Hikayesi* (the Story of Sinan Paşa) there is an attack by 40 thieves; or in *Cinin Muskası* (the Amulet of Gin) and in *Kızlar Oğlanlardan Daha*

about the issue of caliphate and the reason behind this issue is that there is also a commercial network and financial gains. Parallel to that, it is explained in the Ali Baba story that he is not a criminal but a man who has taken his rightful share.

The plot of the opera by Akyol is mostly loyal to the Ali Baba story. The two parts of the story are divided into two acts –the discovery of the cave by Ali Baba in the first act, and the events after Kasım's death in the second act. However, there are some nuances in the handling of the characters and story. Two unnamed female characters, in the Ali Baba story in *Les Mille et Une Nuits*, the wives of Ali Baba and Kasım, are named Rosa and Ayşe in the opera; similarly the unnamed son of Ali Baba is named Vehbi. Ayşe is a remarkable choice for the name of Kasım's wife. Undoubtedly, the librettists Çetin and Marietta Rohrer İpekkaya must have considered the fact that Ayşe is the one of the most common and well-known Turkish female names, and using Ayşe for one of the female characters would be an easy choice with regard to the audience's perception. But if the story is interpreted as a metaphorical story about Ali, naming Kasım's wife Ayşe does not seem such a simple choice because Ayşe, the daughter of caliph Abu Bakr and the wife of Muhammad, was one of the critical opponents of Ali's caliphate.

Another difference between the story and the plot of the opera is Ali Baba's donkey. There are three donkeys in the story and none of them play a role in the development of the story. But in the opera, there is only one donkey, Karakaçan, which is the most common name given to donkeys and which is almost used as synonym of donkey in Turkey. Ali Baba's handmaiden in the story becomes Kasım's slave and is named Şirin; the junk dealer Sheikh Mustafa becomes the tailor Baba İdris in the opera.

There are also additional characters such as the Pazarbaşı and Tom Tom Osman. However, adding the Pazarbaşı character fulfills a double function. Firstly, through this character the audiences get some references about the place. This unnamed place is in the East but also in the West. That double quality is given through the shouts of market keepers in Turkish and German, through their manners and the commodities they sell:

Akıllıdır (Girls Are Clever Than Boys) the heros are female characters that defeat the thieves (Nutku (n.d.) *Meddahlık ve Meddah Hikayeleri*, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları No. 179, p. 131).

- Mütze für Zwilinge zu verkaufen! (Skullcap for twins! [bra])
- Mit diesem Schuch schiesst du jeden Ball ins Tor! (With this shoe you score each ball!)
- Clownsnasen im Dutzen billiger! (Clown noses cheaper in dozen! [tomatoes])
- Saka geldi sakaaa....! Hani ya sucu... Buz gibi kaynak suyu! (The waterman has come, waterman...! Where is the waterman... Ice-cold spring water!)
- Kauft jetzt, teyze, abla, annecik: Krumme Bananen! Ab nächster Woche sind alle wieder gerade! (Buy now, aunt, sister, mother: bent bananas! Starting from next week all are straight again!) (from the libretto of the opera)

Additionally, the Pazarbaşı and the market keepers reveal the main action that generates *Les Mille et Une Nuits* as a complete body. That action is the commercial activity and the networks that positioned and strenghtened the East against the West, and transported *Les Mille et Une Nuits* to Europe. Eyüp Özveren (2007) starting from the consciously anachronistic attribution "world market" by Rodinson writes that there are two marketplaces in *Les Mille et Une Nuits*. The first one is Egypt and centered on Cairo; and the second one is on the line of the axis from Baghdad to Basra, and has overseas connections. One can find unstandardized diverse commodities in a bazaar as the alternative commercial structure of Western markets, and what makes bazaar a bazaar is the action. Özgüven gives a reference to the story of *The Extraordinary Tale of the City of Brass* in *Les Mille et Une Nuits*:

> At last the travellers came to the entrance of the market and, finding all the doors open, walked into it. The place was filled with folk buying and selling and the fronts of the shops were marvellously filled with merchandise; but the buyers and sellers and all others in the market seemed, by common Accord, to have halted in their movements as soon as they were seen, and appeared to be waiting for the departure of the strangers before going on with their business. They paid no attention to the new-comers and only expressed their displeasure at this intrusion by ignoring them. Amid a disdainful silence, the travellers walked on until they came to a great enclosed and vaulted market, where their footsteps echoed with a great noise because of the lack of all other sound. They walked through this building without exciting either welcoming or hostile movements or smiles; and in the same way visited the markets of the jewellers, silk-merchants, saddlers, cloth-merchants, cobblers, and sellers of spices and aromatic woods. (Mardrus and Mathers, 2005a, p. 301)

According to Özgüven (2007) this depiction reveals that a bazaar loses its characteristic if it does not contain any action: "What makes a bazaar is not only shops and wares but also ongoing activities and transactions of the people who inhabit it." (p. 638) Thus, in the first scene of the opera an already codified perception is used to point the place of the plot. This is a marketplace of East, but its geographical location might be in the West.

Özgüven (2007) also mentions that the *çarşı kahyası* or *muhtasib* was an institutional pillar that secured the trustworthiness of the bazaar and made sure that it would survive against all odds in the long run. This figure that appears as "an old and wise man" in the story of Sinbad (pp. 640-642) was named as the Pazarbaşı in the opera.

Another function of the addition of the Pazarbaşı and the market keepers into the plot is to strengthen and re-interpret the symbolic content of the story. The Pazarbaşı's calling to the market keepers as "*Ahi Evran dostları*" (friends of Ahi Evran) is an obvious reference to the *Ahi* organization that was found by Ahi Evran (Ahi Evren Şeyh Nasîrüddin Ebü'l-Hakayık Mahmud b. Ahmet, 1171-1261) in Anatolia. The life of Ahi Evran as a contemporary of Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli and Mevlâna is very much related to the region in which *Les Mille et Une Nuits* was produced and transmitted. It is accepted that he was born in Hoy-Iran, trained in Azerbaijan, Horasan and Transoxiana, went to Baghdad and there joined the Futuwwa organization[157] in the beginning of the 1200s, before settling in Anatolia and founding the *Ahi* organization by taking the Futuwwa organization as a model. As a *debbağ* (leather dealer) he was the leader of this organization. As emphasized in the libretto, the organization had a policy of honest commercial activities and professional ethics for its members:

> We are neither unfair, nor ignorant of tradition, each customer is benefactor
> We expel the ignorant of morals from among us, who can be higher than our master (from the libretto of the opera)

The statement of the Pazarbaşı "*Evvelemir bağlana peşkirler*" (First of all, bind your towels) evokes the ritual of binding the *şed* (waistband) in the Ahi organization:

> The waistband or waistcloth was binded and shalwar was offered up to the candidate. It is called as "the waistband of fidelity". The first waistband was bound to the prophet Adam by the angel Gabriel. "I am binding this waistband so that you keep your word. Do not give in to temptation, turn against devil. Do not esteem the world. Be patient to the judgment and fate of God. Wherever yo go, keep this plume with you, it has the favor of God." (Çağatay, 1997, p. 161)

One of the differences between the Ali Baba story and the opera is the transformation of Sheikh Mustafa to the tailor Baba İdris. This transformation may also be seen to be related to the *Ahi* organization. The masters of the branches in the *Ahi*

[157] The word futuwwa comes from the word "fetâ" meaning chivalry or even bullying in Arabic. The groups that would later compose of the organization were committing illegal acts where the authority of the state was weak (Çağatay, 1997, p. 5). But the word has come to mean "generosity, courage and nobility" as the qualities of a fetâ in the period of Abbasid caliph Nâsır Lidînillâh. The group then redesigned itself according to these principles (Dedebaba, 2006, p. 249).

organization were prophets who were considered to be related to these branches. For example, the master of the farmers was Adam; the master of the huntermen was İsmail; and the master of the fishermen was Yunus. Similarly, the master of the tailors and scribes was İdris (Çağatay, 1997, p. 161).

In the second part of the Ali Baba story, the handmaiden Mercane discovers that Haji Husain who has done various favors for Ali Baba's son is the leader of the thieves because Haji Husain has a special request for his dinner:

> One day, Ali Baba's eldest son, who now looked after the shop which had been Kasim's, said to his father: "I do not know how I can make a return to my neighbour Husain for all the favours which he has shown me since he took a shop in our market. Five times I have shared a midday meal with him, without returning his hospitality. I think you will agree that we ought to give some fine feast in his honour." "That is but fitting, my son," answered Ali Baba (...) So next morning Ali Baba's son invited Husain, the new Merchant, to walk with him, and took him towards his father's house, where Ali Baba waited smiling on the threshold. The young man led his longbearded friend up to his father, who thanked him with great civility for his many kindnesses, and pressed him to feed with them that evening. "The grace of Allah be upon you, good master!" answered the venerable Husain. "Your hospitality is a great hospitality but I cannot accept it, for I made a vow before heaven many years ago never to eat meat flavoured with salt or to taste that substance in any form." (Mardrus and Mathers, 2005b, p. 122)

The texts that are called *Futuwwa-name* contain the basics of Futuwwa for its members. They also have some sections in which how to sit or how to get dressed is written. It is written in a *Futuwwa-name*, in the *Avarif ül-Maarif,* by Çobanoğlu that the dinner should start and end with salt (Çağatay, 1997, p. 29). Similarly Şaban Sağlık (2005) mentions that there was an initiation ritual involving the drinking of a cup of salty water. As Sağlık writes, this ritual was made with wine before it was forbidden under Islam (p. 98). This ritual may be the answer to how Mercane discovers that Husain is not a member of the organization, because in those times it was not usual to find an independent merchant:

> This organization connected the professions to the religious principles in order not to lose the craftsmen's unity and amity, not to allow the loss their economical power, and provided an aim. These religious principles were based on **Bâtınî** (Hétérodoxe) belief rather than **Sünnî** (Orthodoxe). (Dedebaba, 2006, p. 254)

4.2 Musical Analysis

This subchapter examines the work from three points of view. First, the musical materials are categorized as traditional, re-treated and non-traditional materials in

order to understand the composer's relations to homeland and to show that he has some other relations. Then, the strategies of the composer are explained in order to understand the treatments of these materials. And finally, musical characterizations of actions, protagonists and their feelings are dealt with.

4.2.1 Musical Materials

The musical materials Akyol used in his opera were divided into three categories according to their quality and to the goal of the dissertation. There are traditional materials –that is, materials which are related to his homeland such as *çeşni*s and scales - in the first category. Through examining traditional materials it was aimed to reach to concrete data regarding of his definition of traditional material, and to show how they were treated.

In the second category there are re-treated materials that were previously composed and used in different genres and concepts by the composer. The main reason here is to emphasize that in terms of musical material –or idea- the composer does not have categorical divisions of the musical genres, and to understand how he treats same musical material in different concepts.

There are musical materials in the third category that cannot be evaluated within traditional materials. However, it should be emphasized that definition and context of the attribution of "non-traditional" here are strongly depend on the definition and context of the traditional material in the first category.

4.2.1.1 Traditional materials

In his opera, Taner Akyol defines "traditional" material in three different ways. The first one is in the context of tetrachords and scales, which are two of the basic components of traditional music of Turkey. Akyol uses *hicaz*, *karcığar* and *kürdi çeşni*s and scales in his opera. However, the way they were used does not result in a *makam* structure and give the quality as the rules of traditional music dictate. *Çeşni*s and scales are there only with their tangible assets. In other words, there are physical references but they do not include the quality that generates the *makam* structure since the composer considers *makam* to be a meta-context.

*Çeşni*s and scales were used in four main ways in the opera. In the first place, some of the figures of the dominant motives were derived from them. Thus they play

important roles in the constitution of the work's integrity. The *hicaz çeşni* at the beginning of the opera by the piccolo, and is transferred to the other instrumental parts and repeated as one of the dominant figures throughout the opera is an example of that (See Figure 4.1).

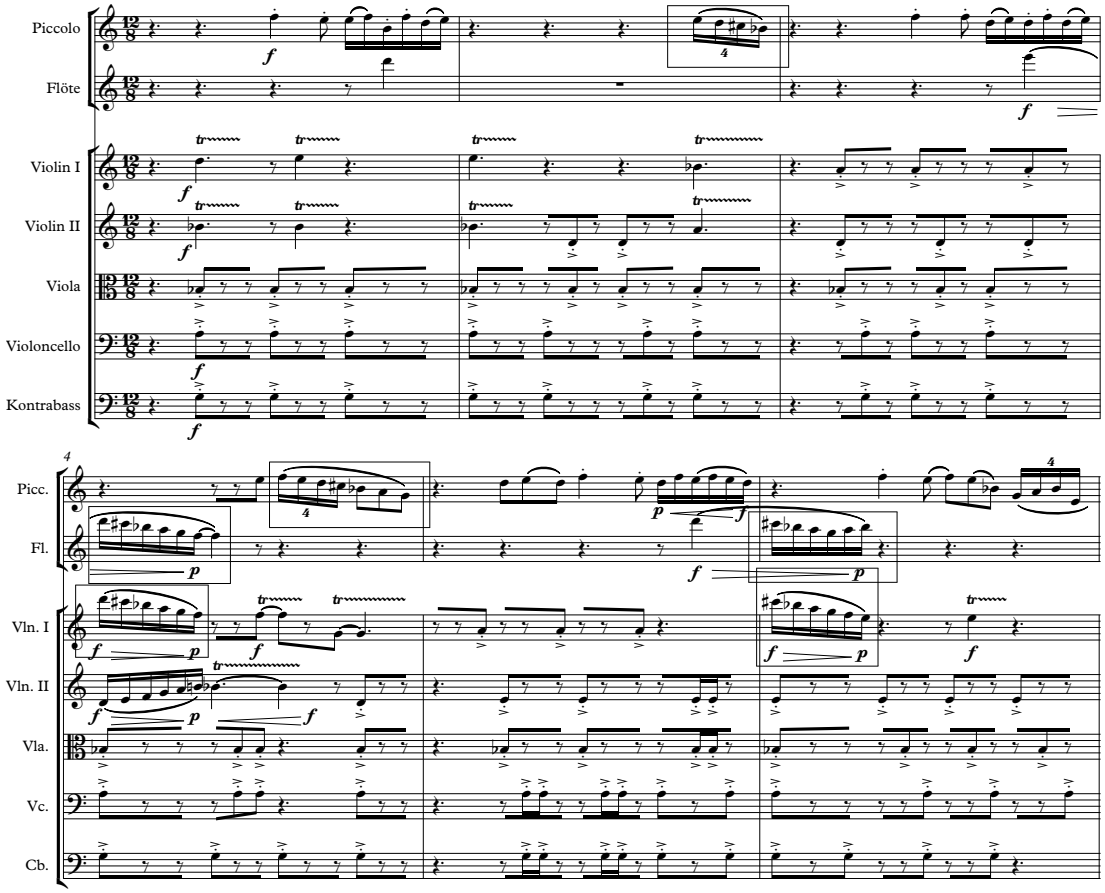

Figure 4.1 : *Hicaz çeşni*.

*Çeşni*s and scales were also used as components of vertical structures. Thus the composer does not only prevent any *makam* feeling and but also achieves some tone clusters that are unusual in Western classical music. For example, the characteristic pitches of the *karcığar* scale (A, C, D, E flat and F sharp) were divided up among the wind instruments as long-duration notes in 53rd measure of Act I, Scene 1 to build a vertical unit (See Figure 4.2).

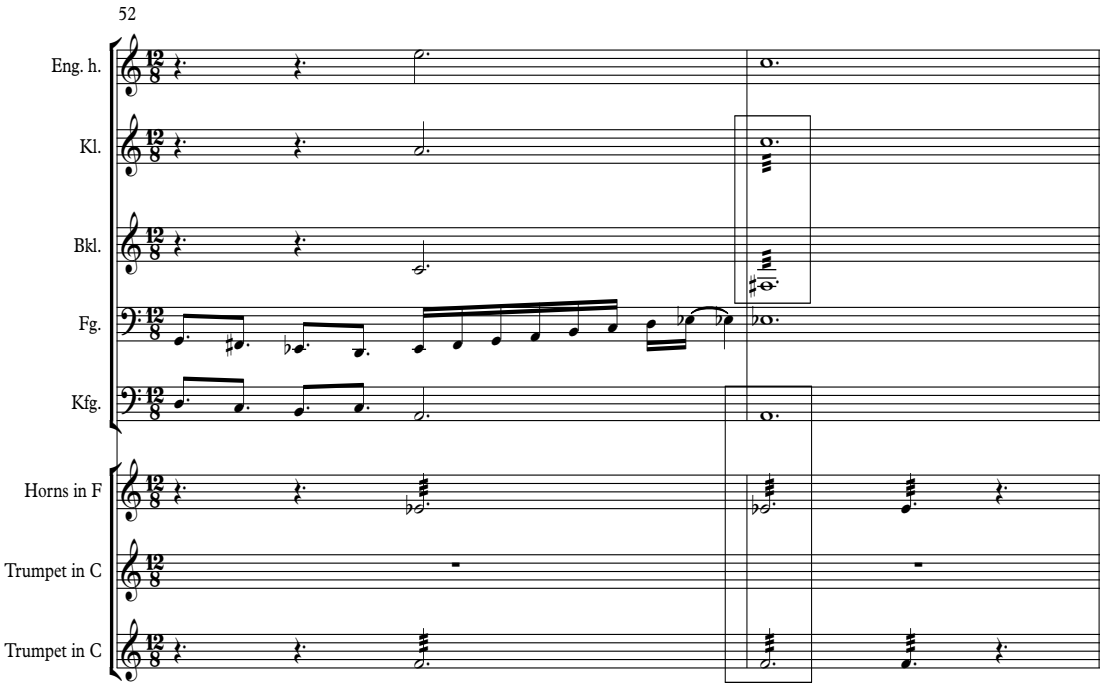

Figure 4.2 : Characteristic pitches of *karcığar* scale as vertical unit.

There are some parts in which the existence and absence of the *çeşni*'s or scale's identity are evoked at the same time. In such places, their existence depends on an eye that is familiar with it. The absence, on the other hand, comes from the fact that such *çeşni*s or scales can be hardly evaluated even within a stretched concept of *makam*. We can only assume that the composer started with from these *çeşni*s and scales, and that he kept them in mind during the composition process. For instance, the section between 84th and 91st measures in the *bağlama* part can be assumed as a modulation of the *hicaz* scale, which was used before this section. However, because of C-sharp, this possibility becomes unlikely. Another explanation might be that the composer combined two trichords accepting the pitch A as mutual and constituted a pentachord consisting of F, G, A, B-flat and C-sharp that is not found in this tradition (See Figure 4.3).

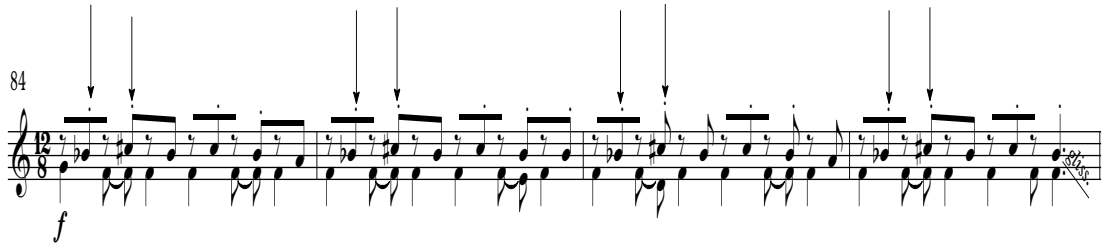

Figure 4.3 : Pentachord.

*Çeşni*s and scales were sometimes used to support the action on the stage and to emphasize the feeling of the action. For example, the sound material of the *bağlama*

part between the 149th and 151st measures was derived from the *karcığar* scale. But its melodicality was removed in order to support the tension on the stage between the characters Ali Baba and Kasım (See Figure 4.4).

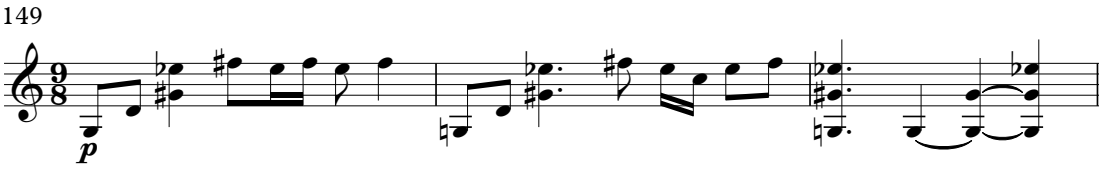

Figure 4.4 : Non-melodic material derived from *karcığar* scale.

In terms of the Akyol's opera, another side of the traditional material is the use of quotations from traditional works. For instance, Ali Baba's wife Rosa sings a part of the folk song *Cemile'nin Gezdiği Dağlar Meşeli* (which was collected from Acıpayam-Denizli by Özay Gönlüm) while she is hanging out the laundry in Act I, Scene 3[158]. The text of the song ("*gaydırıguppak Cemile'm/haydi de hopdak Cemile'm*") is not used here. Instead of that, there is a "*hopa şinanay*" pattern, which can be found in other folk and popular songs, and whose meaning changes according to the context. The traditional character of the song is preceded by *zurna* and is then supported by the accompaniment of *bağlama* and *kaval* in unison, and by the thinning of the orchestration (See Figure 4.5). Since the folk song is used as a transition to pass to Rosa's aria[159], it functions as a reference to the past of the character.

[158] See Appendix C2, Nr. 11.

[159] See Appendix C2, Nr. 12.

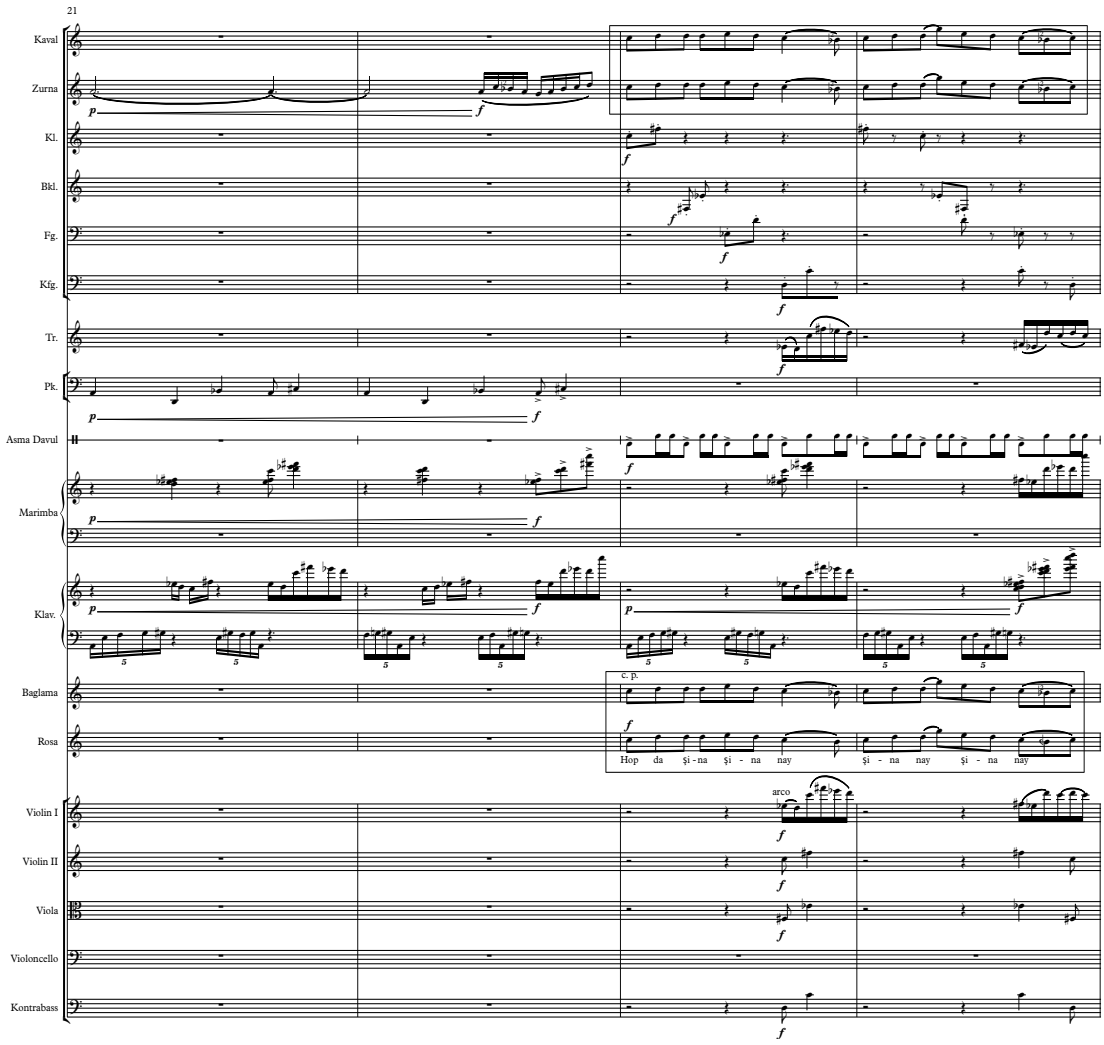

Figure 4.5 : Folk song material.

Another quotation is from the *halay* that closes the first act[160]. That *halay* is called the *Elazığ Halay Havası* in the *TRT Sözsüz Oyun Havaları Repertuarı* (TRT Repertoire of the Dance Melodies Without Words, OHO82). However by comparing the two scores (See Figure 4.6 for the TRT version and Figure 4.7 for Akyol's version) it can be seen that Akyol preserved the outline but put the melody into smaller rhythmical groups –more accurately, he transcribed the version played by Arif Sağ on the album *Davullar Çalarken* as *Elazığ Dik Halayı*[161] (2004). If it can be remembered that the inscription of "Elazığ" in the title of *halay* does not refer to the provincial borders of today's Elazığ rather to a region[162], this section is the most

[160] See Appendix C2, Nr. 25. Even though it is not written in the score, the second act also opens with this *halay* in the performances at *Komische Oper*.

[161] See Appendix B, track 88.

[162] The city Tunceli today and its periphery were called Dersim in the official documents of the Ottoman Empire by the second half of the nineteenth century. The district of Dersim was bound to the

evident reference of Akyol's origin. This is also the section in which *Cemile'nin Gezdiği Dağlar Meşeli* is used, here Akyol gives priority to the traditional instruments –*kaval*, *zurna*, *bağlama* and *davul*-.

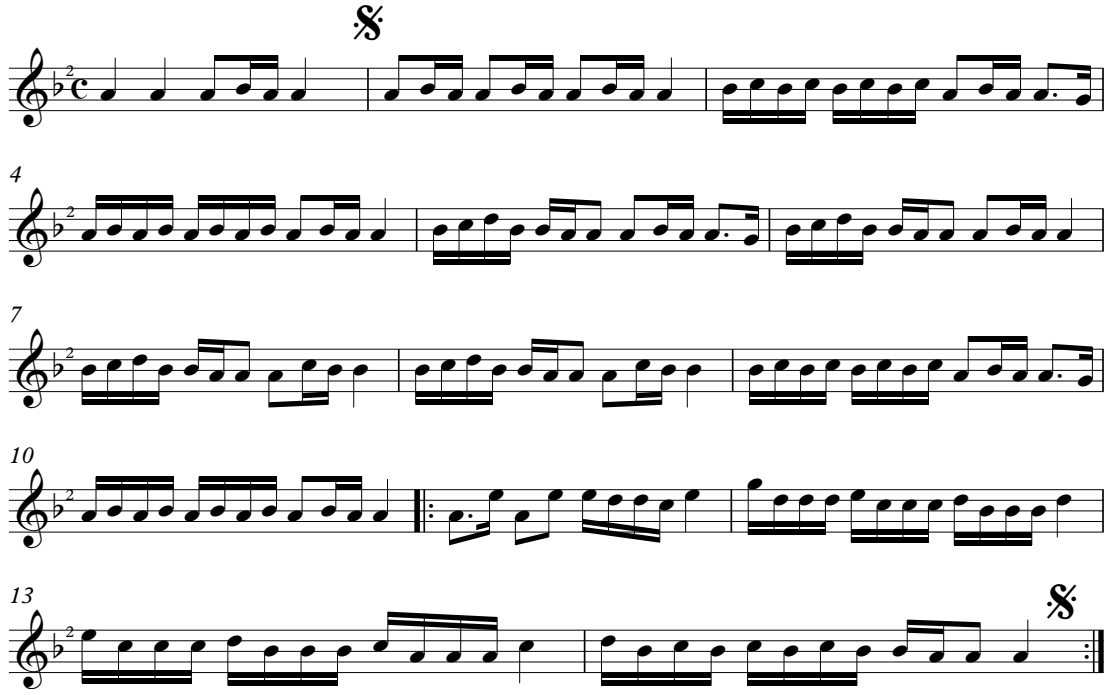

Figure 4.6 : *Elazığ Halay Havası* as in the TRT Repertoire.

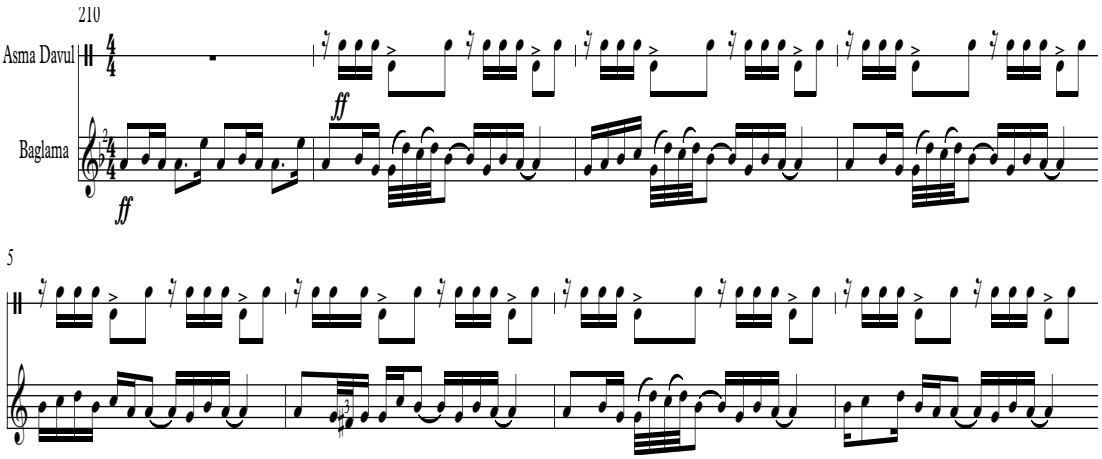

Figure 4.7 : Akyol's version of the *Elazığ Halay Havası*.

principality of Erzurum in 1847, and to the principality of Harput in 1859. The region's administrative structure also changed in the Republican period. In 1923 Dersim was bound to Elazığ as a town. Finally, in 1936 it was made a city, and its name was changed to Tunceli (Kaya, 1999, p. 17).

Akyol uses *Şimdi Bizim Aramıza*, a ***nefes*** of Pir Sultan, in the Act II[163]. However, it is a *nefes* as a choral piece and gives us a reference about the identity of the people that sing it: they are members of one of the *Alevi/Bektaşi* communities in Turkey.

The form of this four-part choral piece can be defined as a modified strophic form, and illuminates Akyol's idea about the plain character of folk production. There are four parts in two groups as soprano-alto and tenor-bass follow and imitate each other (See Figure 4.8). But in the second stanza the upper line is more elaborate than the lower line; so from here, the upper line takes the leading position, while the lower supports it. It is possible to consider the elaboration of the upper line as an attempt to put a *nağme*-like (literal meaning: tune or melody) singing style on the score. Indeed, the use of coma pitches such as B *b*2 and F ♯3 supports this idea (See Figure 4.9).

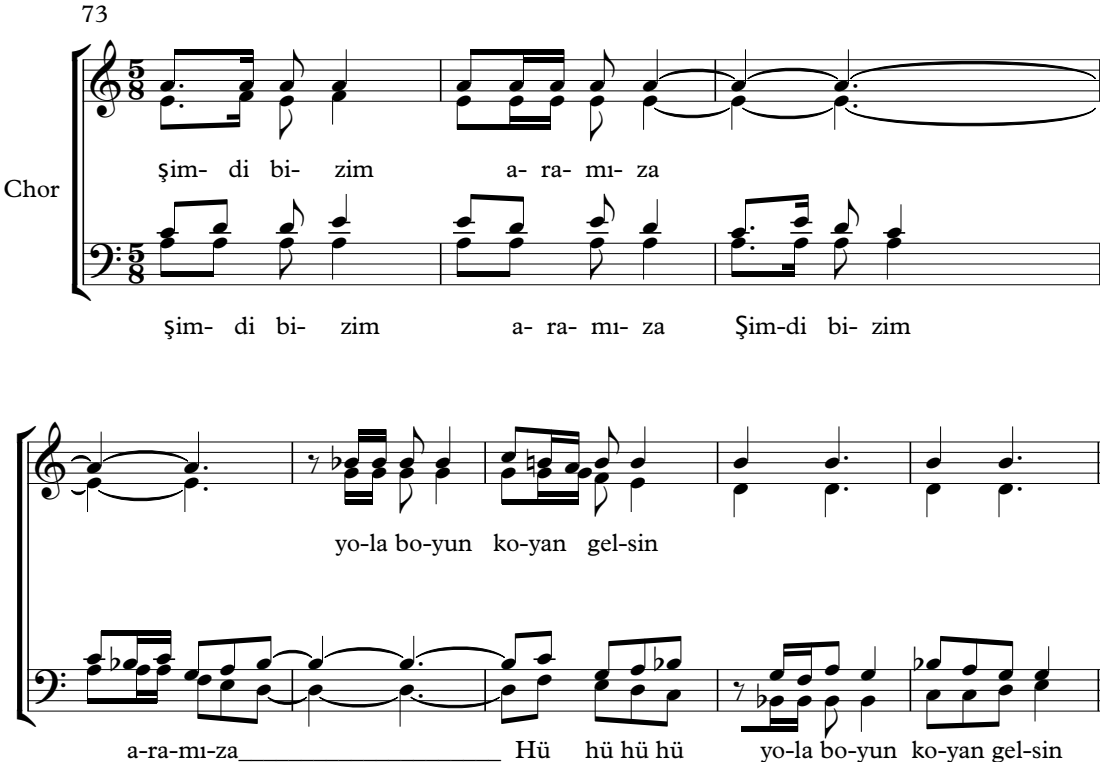

Figure 4.8 : The first line of *Şimdi Bizim Aramıza*.

[163] See Appendix C2, Nr. 35.

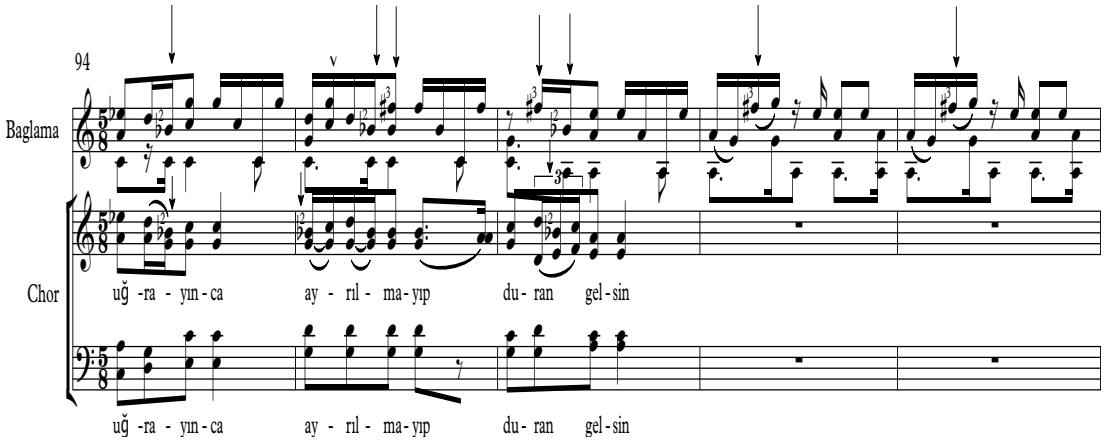

Figure 4.9 : Coma pitches in *Şimdi Bizim Aramıza*.

There are two small but critical differences between the original text by Pir Sultan and the text used in the opera[164]. In the first stanza, the lines "*şeriatı tarikatı/hakikati bilen gelsin*" [165] (Bezirci, 1986, p. 346) were changed to "*sevdasıyla kavgasıyla/hakikati bilen gelsin*" [166] . Similarly, in the last stanza the lines "*Muhiddin'e hâl diliyle/ yolun sırrı soran gelsin*"[167] (Bezirci, 1986, p. 346) were changed to "*yoldaşına yol diliyle/ yolun sırrın soran gelsin*"[168]. These modifications maybe do not shift the religious character of the text but make it more earthly. At the same time, the second modification provides a connection between the term and concept of *yol* in *Alevilik*, which is a reference to a complete body of religious beliefs and social phenomenon, and *yoldaşlık* (comradeliness), which rather belongs to political jargon in Turkey. However, there is also an addition of the word "*hû*" that means "it" in Arabic and refers to God in Islamic philosophy and mysticism. In that vein, *gülbank*s[169] in ***Cem*** rituals finish with the word "*hû*". This means that these modifications move in both directions as does most of the repertoire of

[164] Taner Akyol said that he took the text from a left-wing publication on literature but could not remember the name of the publication.

[165] Who recognizes sharia and haqiqa/ may come among us

[166] Who recognizes its love and fighting spirit/may come among us

[167] Who asks Muhiddin for the secret of way/may come among us

[168] Who asks its comrade for the secret of the way/ may come among us

[169] *Gülbank* means "collective prayer". Each religious group, such as *Kalenderi*s, *Alevi*s, *Bektaşi*s, and *Mevlevi*s has a different collection of these collective prayers (Özkırımlı, 1998, p. 263).

*Alevi*s. A similar quality is also found in the music. The choral piece does not create religious or a secular atmosphere; on the contrary it creates a mood in which come together.

Another re-treated material is *Kervan*[170], which was recorded by Arif Sağ and Yılmaz İpek in the 1970s. The walking rhythmic effect of the piece is used in Act II, Scene 1 as part of the accompanying music when Şirin and Baba İdris are walking to Ali Baba's house. Unlike the version in *Kervan*, here the orchestration composes of strings, piccolo, flute, triangle, marimba and harp (See Figure 4.10).

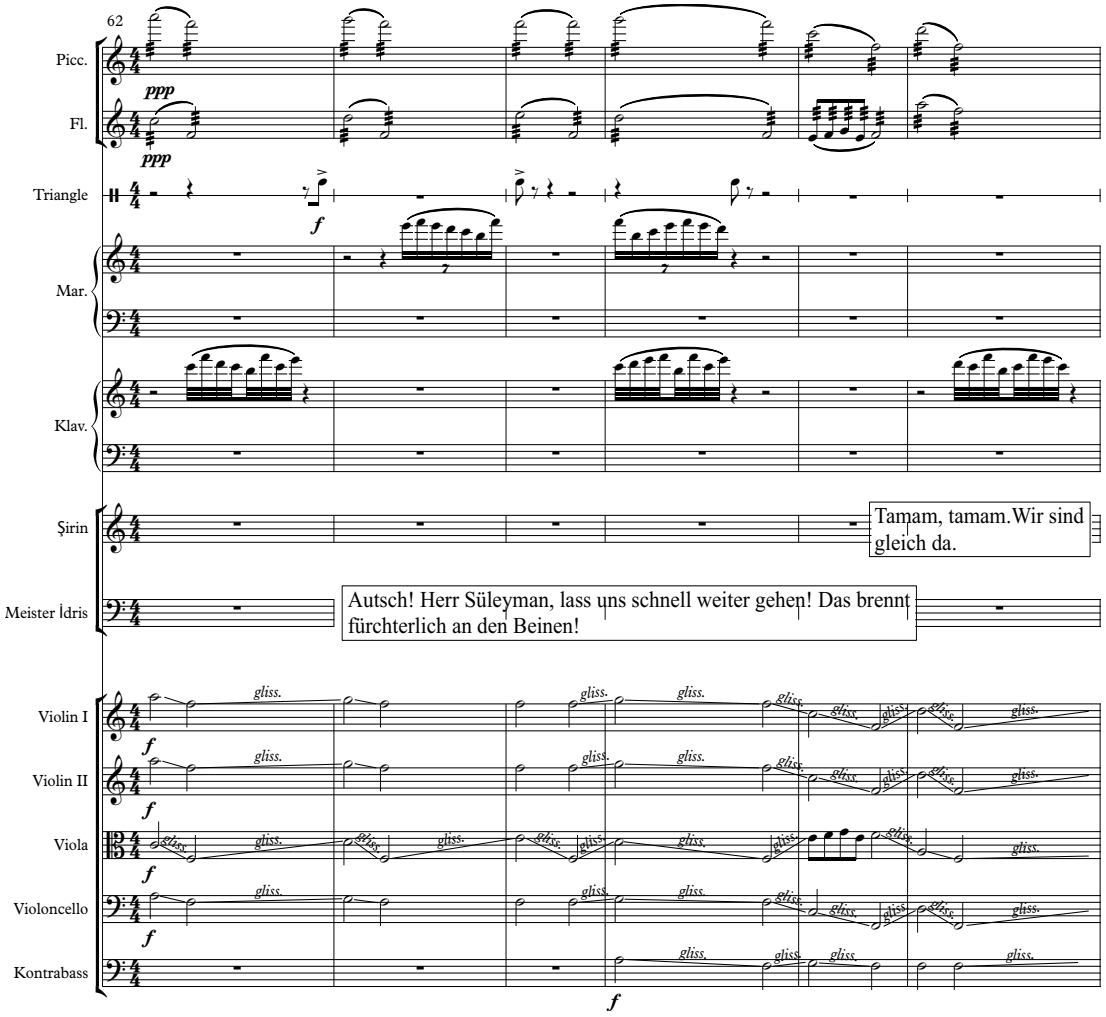

Figure 4.10 : Akyol's treatment of the *Kervan*.

[170] See Appendix B, track 89.

Of course, the traditional instruments in Akyol's opera are indications of his relationship with his homeland. In particular, the *bağlama* part is important in this sense. It is clear that the *bağlama* played a critical role in the compositional process since Akyol is a *bağlama* player and often composes while playing his instrument. Indeed, some of the figures and motifs in the *bağlama* part are transferred to the other instrumentals (See Figure 4.11). However, on the contrary to the above-given examples, it does not mean that the *bağlama* was only used in the context of this relationship, it also spreads from its traditional context. And above all, it should be said that in terms of the *bağlama*, we have to divide the concept of the tradition into two categories that are related to the notation and performance.

Bağlama notation –like that of the other instruments- is one of the controversial issues in traditional music. Since the master-apprentice system is primary in *bağlama* education, and notation is only a recent tool which continues to be developed by different musicians, there are many questions on the relationship of written material and its performance. In the opera, Akyol uses his own notational perspective that also contains some similarities with other perspectives. Obviously, this category is less "traditional", it is rather a modern –in the sociological context- move.

As a matter of fact, the first category is determined by the second category that is related to performance. That is to say that Akyol's notational perspective[171] is built on the *bağlama* performance, both in terms of traditional and compositional. For example, *glissando*s as an ornament and jesture are found in traditional performance but are generally not indicated in notation. However, Akyol indicates a *glissando*s in the score of the opera as he does in the piano or harp parts (See Figure 4.12), in the same way that Erol Parlak (2001, pp. 121-129), Arif Sağ and Erdal Erzincan (2009, p. 19) use them. On the other hand, *arpeggio* does not belong in the traditional performance; even though some *bağlama* players have recently started to use it, there is no specific indication. Akyol uses ascending and descending *arpeggio* in his opera as can be seen in the Figure 4.12, and explains as follows:

[171] See Appendix A, Figure A.16.

Three fingers (Ist, IInd, IIIrd or IVth) play the Arpeggio in parallel movement. This technique is normally used in the upper area of the finger board where the strings sound lower and smoother and are easier to play. (Akyol, 2006)

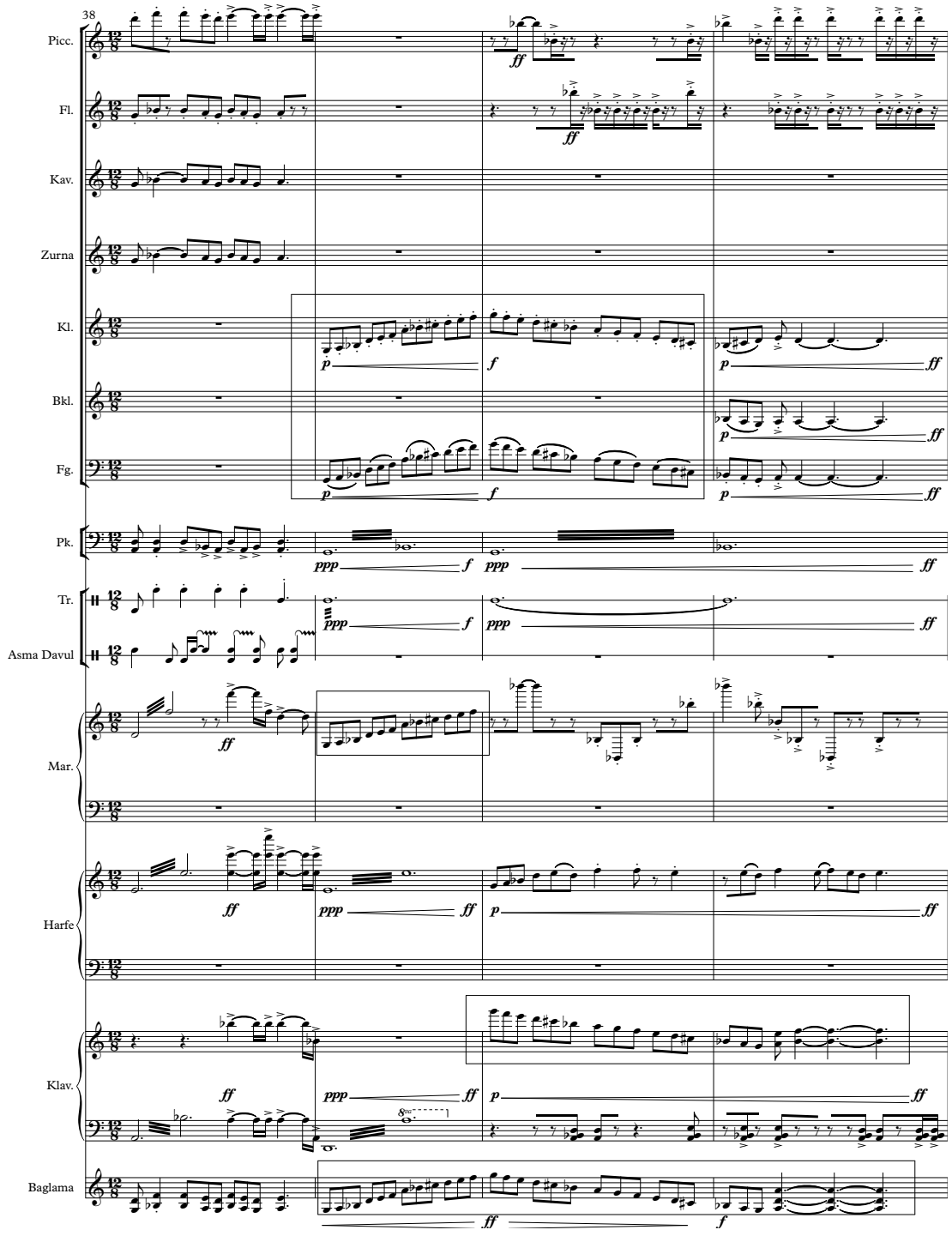

Figure 4.11 : Figure relationship between the *bağlama* and other instruments.

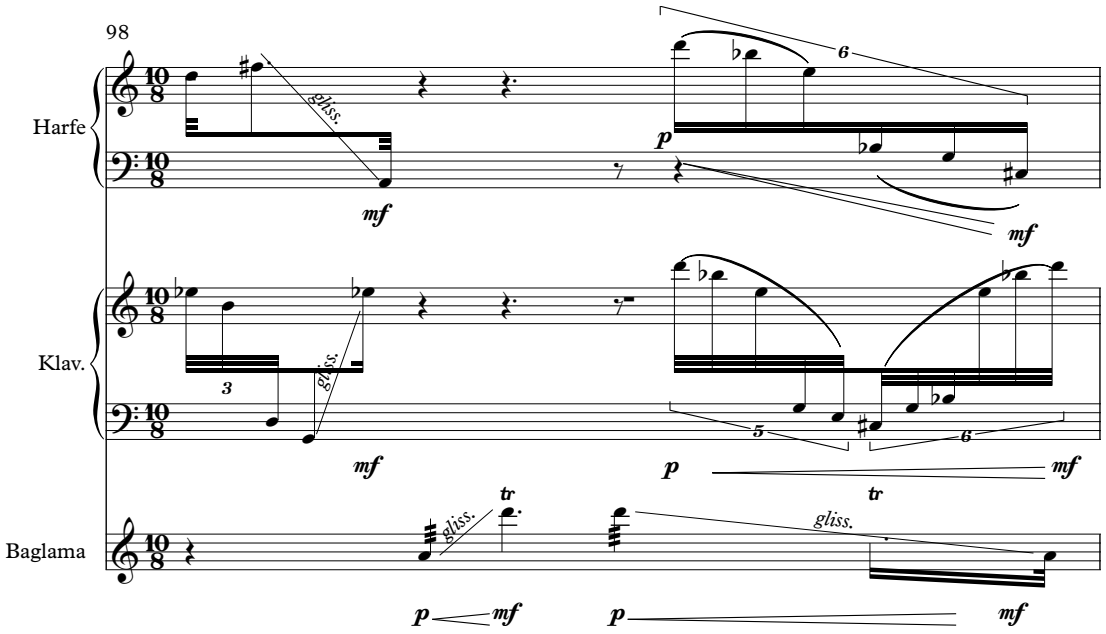

Figure 4.12 : *Glissando*s and *arpeggio*s.

4.2.1.2 Re-treated materials

The choral section of *Şimdi Bizim Aramıza* mentioned in "Traditional materials" is also one of the re-treated materials Akyol used in his opera under the title *Bilen Gelsin*[172]. It was released twice (on the albums *Göçmen Kuşlar* [Birds of Passage] in 2007 and *Maria Farantouri Sings Taner Akyol*, 2011). Another re-treated material is *Güneşe Raks*[173] (Dance to the Sun) that was played by the Taner Akyol Trio comprised *bağlama*, piano and percussion and which was released on the album *Güneşe Raks* in 2011.

According to the categories of music industry, the album's style is somewhere between "jazz" and "Middle Eastern" (Url-41). It is easy to understand that the "Middle Eastern" character comes from the use of the *bağlama* and from the traditional songs such as *Yağcılar Zeybeği* and *Kaytağı*. Apparently, the "jazz" character originates from the improvisational parts in some songs, which is actually not special to jazz. However, it is important to recognize that the composer re-uses some materials taken from different concepts in his opera.

Most of the composition of Act I depends on *Güneşe Raks*, including one of the main motifs of the opera (See Figure 4.13). Similary, the piccolo, flute, *kaval* and *zurna*

[172] See Appendix B, track 90.

[173] See Appendix B, track 91.

parts between the 31st and 40th measures (See Figure 4.14), the English horn and clarinet parts between the 55th and 56th measures (See figure 4.15), and the *bağlama* and piano parts between the 64th and 66th measures (See Figure 4.16) of Act I, Scene 1 were actually re-treated materials. The improvisational parts of *Güneşe Raks* were also put into the score. For example, the piano part between the 75th and 83rd measures of Act I, Scene 1 was written after an improvisation by the trio's pianist, Antonis Anissegos.

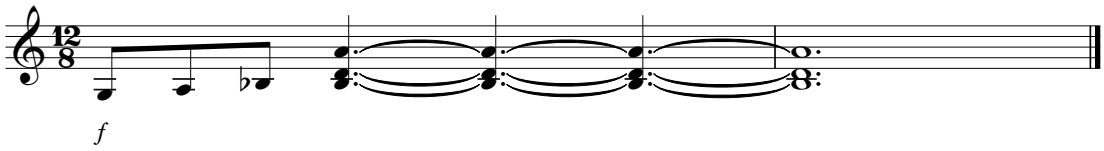

Figure 4.13 : Main motif in the *bağlama* part in the 1st measure.

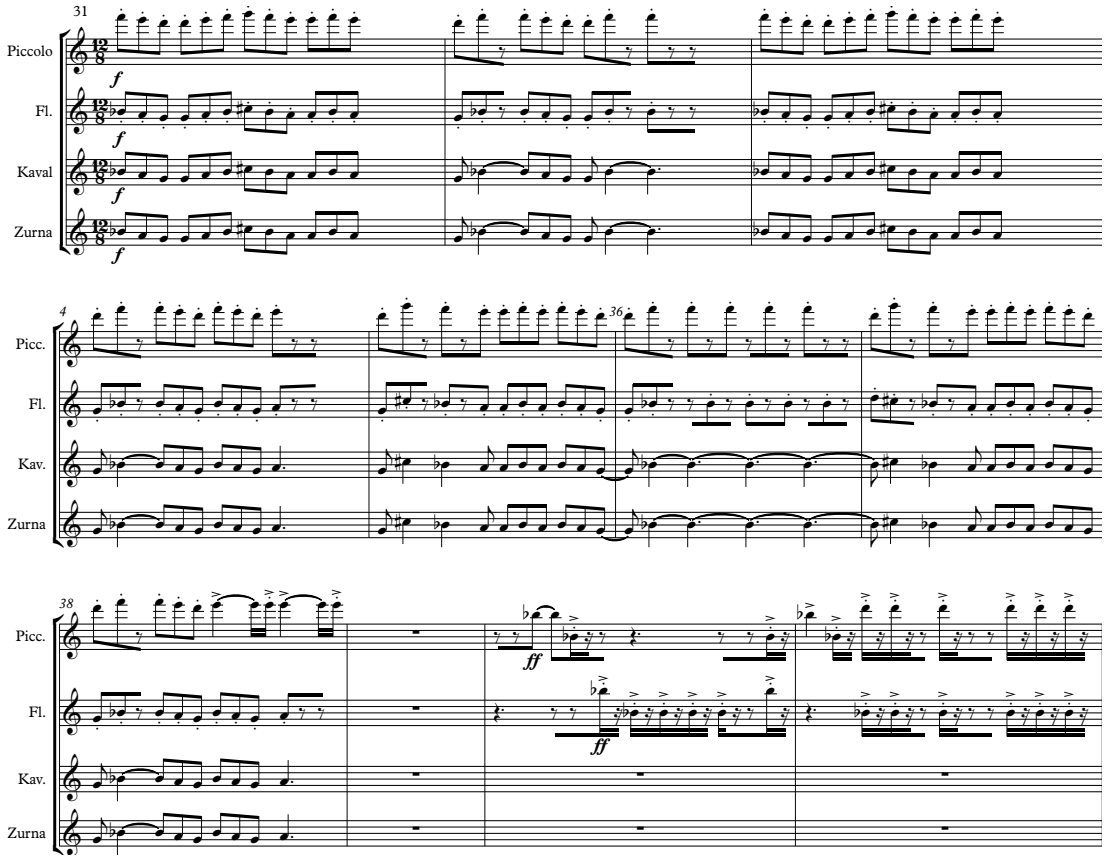

Figure 4.14 : Retreated section of *Güneşe Raks* between the 31st and 41st measures.

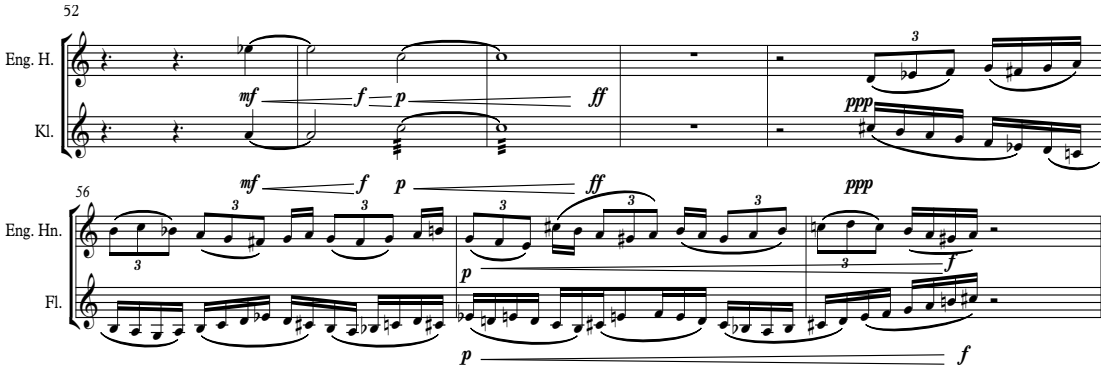

Figure 4.15 : Retreated section of *Güneşe Raks* between the 52nd and 58th measures.

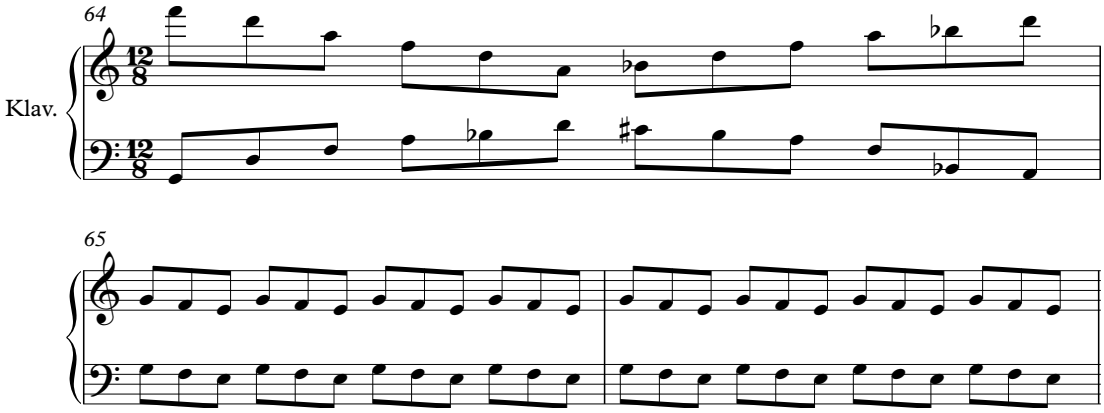

Figure 4.16 : Retreated section of *Güneşe Raks* between the 64th and 66th measures.

4.2.1.3 Non-traditional materials

Within the materials that cannot be categorized as traditional there is no section that can be explained by the terminology with the terminology of tonality or tonal harmonic relationships. This statement is examplified by the choral parts in the opera. The *Verkäuferchor*[174], which begins in the 22nd measure of Act I, Scene 1, is a four-part choral section. The chords that constitute the homophonic texture may be explained in the terms of classical analysis. For example, the first chord in the 22nd measure can be called a G minor triad with an addition of minor second (A). Or, the second chord in this measure can be called as the first inversion of a minor seventh chord on E (See Figure 4.17). However, this attempt would not explain the composer's motivation because the composer thought and created these chords independently from any tonal references.

[174] See Appendix C2, Nr. 1.

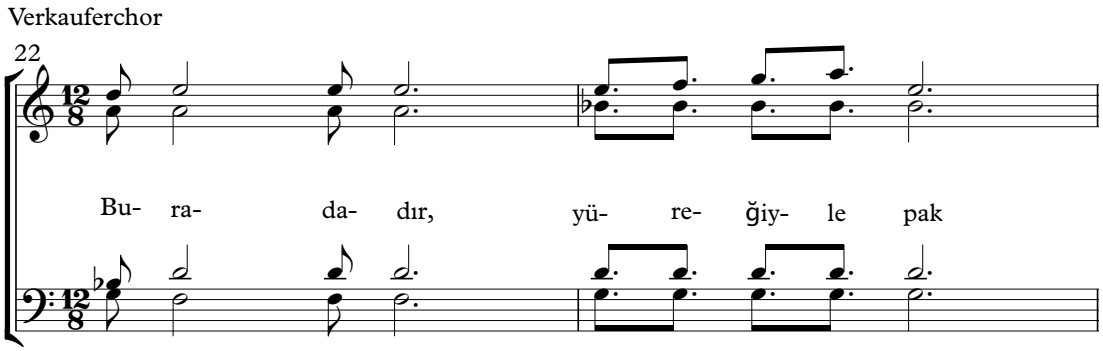

Figure 4.17 : The first line of the *Verkäuferchor*.

There are some sections in which the composer constitutes his material by thinking only of the sounds rather than by considering the relationship of pitches and the body these relationships create. The treatment of the sounds in the marimba, harp and piano parts between the 38th and 56th measures of Act I, Scene 1 are examples of this (See Figure 4.18).

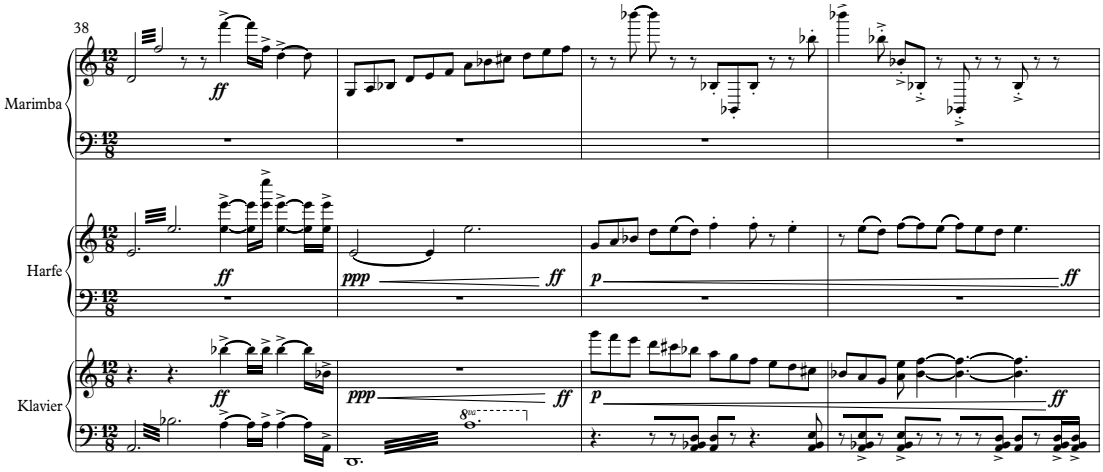

Figure 4.18 : Nonrelational sound material.

The composer also practices chromaticism in order to escape tonal references where vertical structures are missing. In the marimba and piano parts in the 154th measure of Act I, Scene 1, for instance, 12 chromatic tones were used in a ascending and descending *arpeggio* figuration (See Figure 4.19).

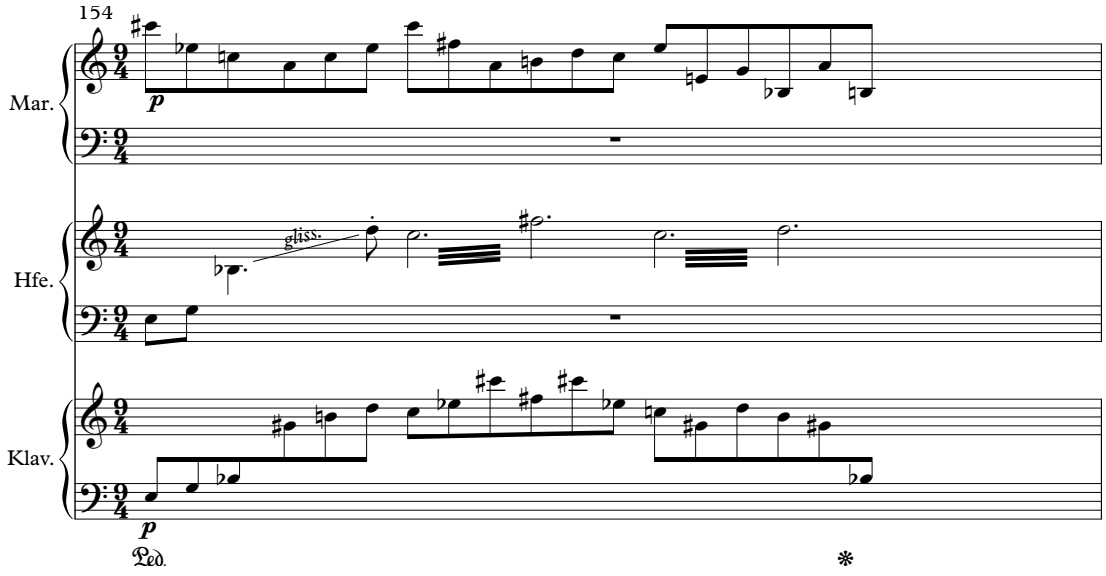

Figure 4.19 : 12 chromatic tones in *arpeggio* figuration.

Chromatic scales were also used in a way that can be called a simultaneity succession. For example, the instrumental section between the 38th and 61st measures of Act II, Scene 1 was desgined to accompany the action on the stage and was determined by the chromatic movements and successions in all parts except the strings (See Figure 4.20).

Another side of the composer's relationship with chromaticism are the tone clusters composed of 12 chromatic tones, especially in the piano part (See Figure 4.21). Similarly, 12-tone chromaticism is divided between the parts. For example, in the 148th measure of Act I, Scene 1, there are 12 chromatic tones if the wind instruments are considered all together (See Figure 4.22).

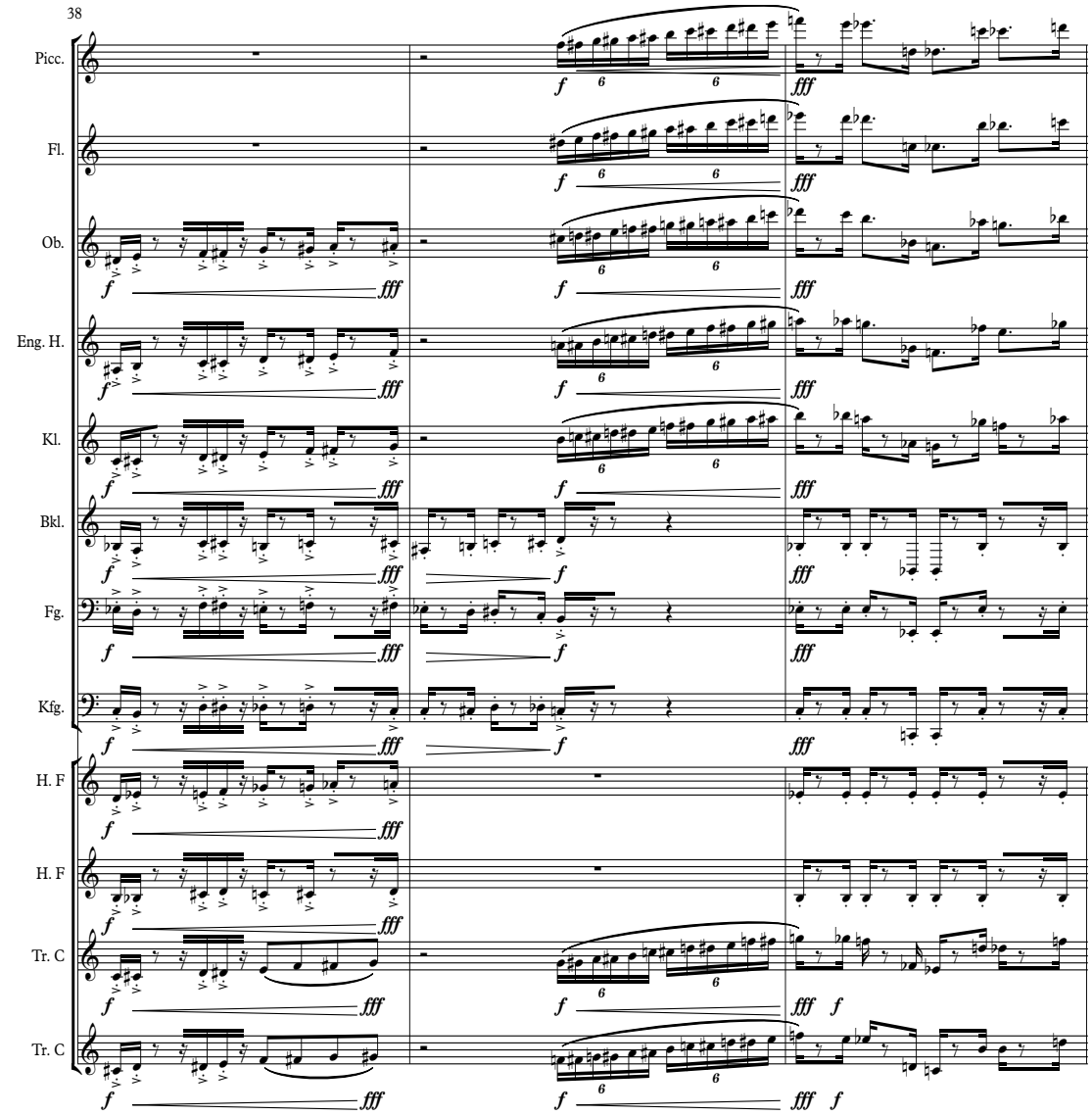

Figure 4.20 : Chromatic scales as simultaneity succession.

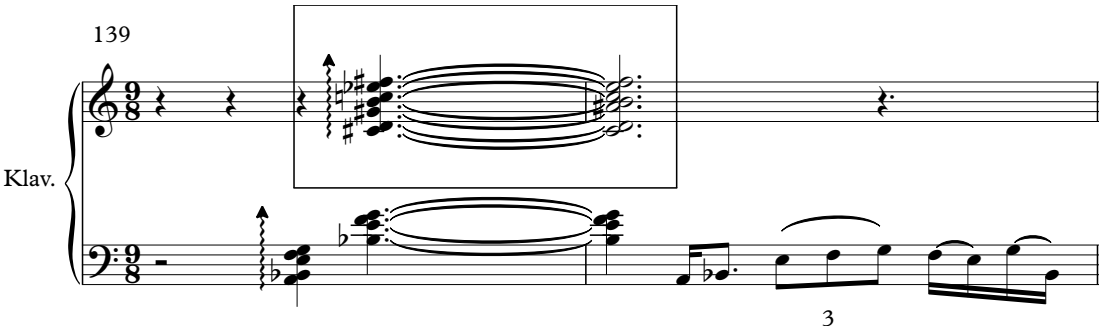

Figure 4.21 : 12 chromatic tones as tone clusters.

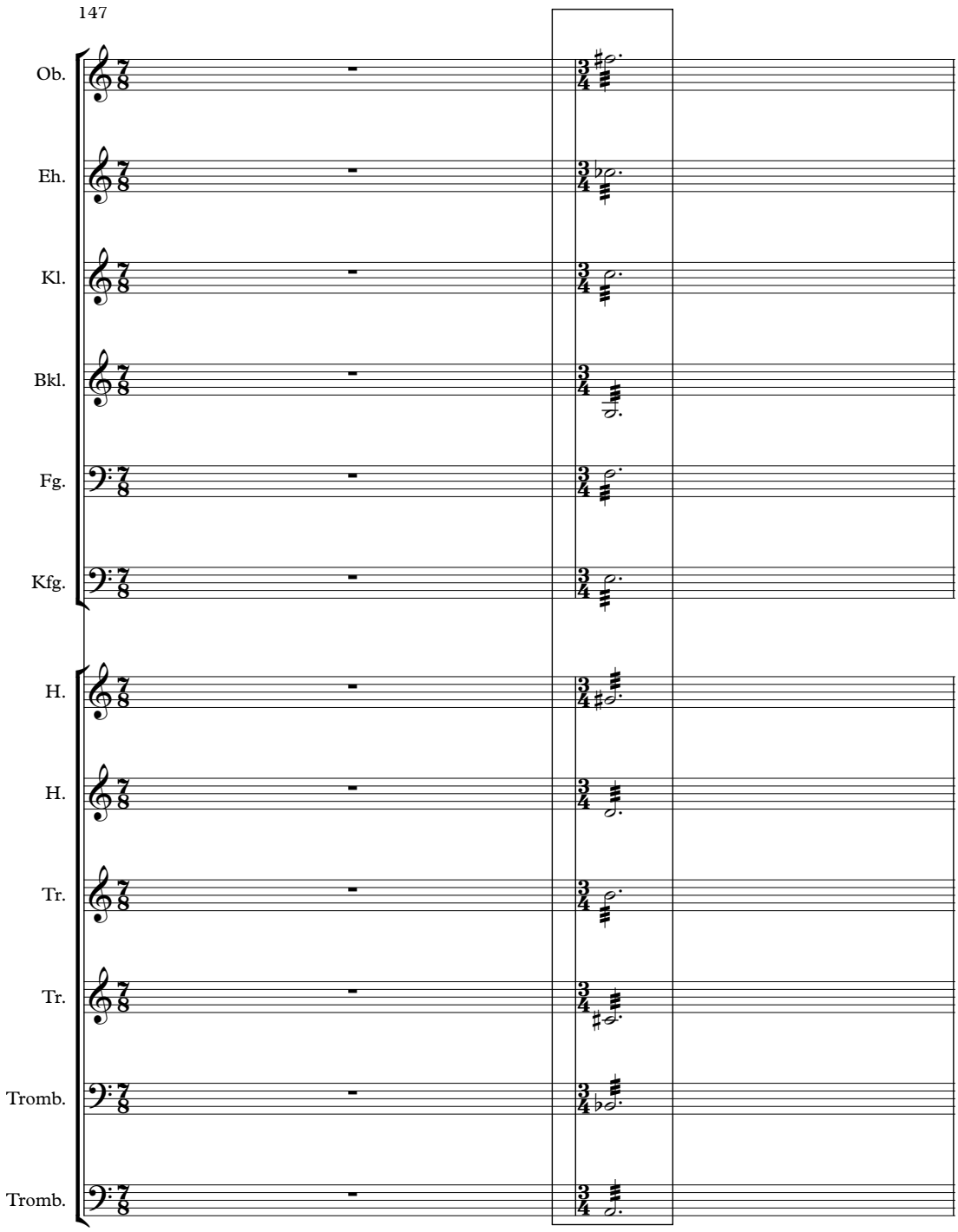

Figure 4.22 : 12 chromatic tones as divided between parts.

Controlled or oriented free parts also create some non-traditional materials, such as the improvisational sections of the *bağlama* and piano parts. In these sections, the composer only mentions some basic rules, such as the length of the improvisation or the playing technique (See Figure 4.23 and Figure 4.24).

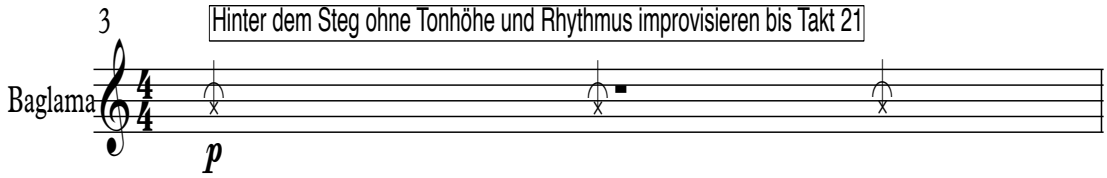

Figure 4.23 : Improvisation behind the bridge without pitch and rhythm.

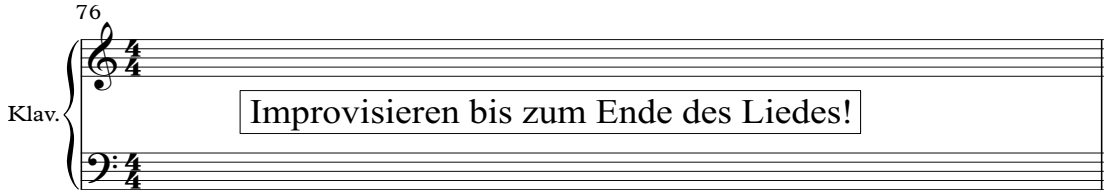

Figure 4.24 : Free improvisation.

Similarly, the composer sometimes uses lines in the string and *bağlama* parts to give the outline of the movement, not its content (See Figure 4.25 and Figure 4.26).

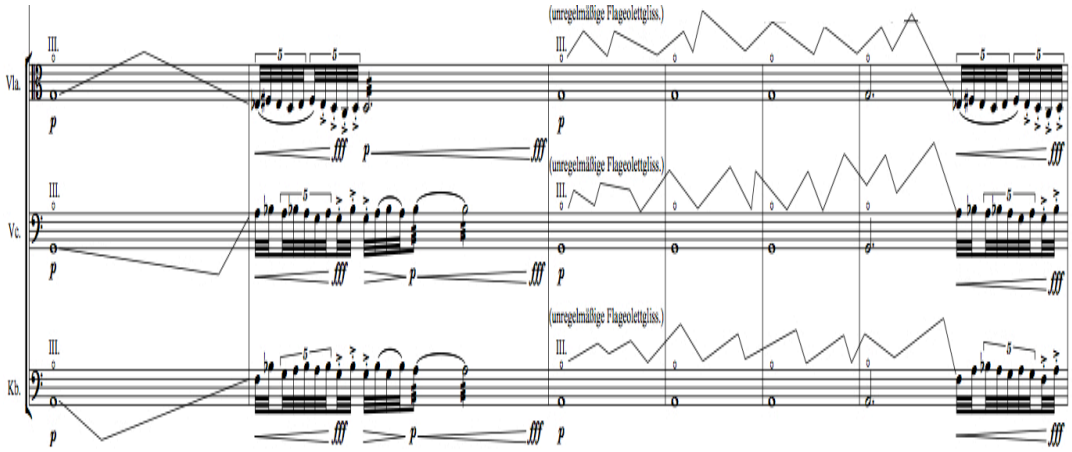

Figure 4.25 : Giving the outline of the movement on the strings.

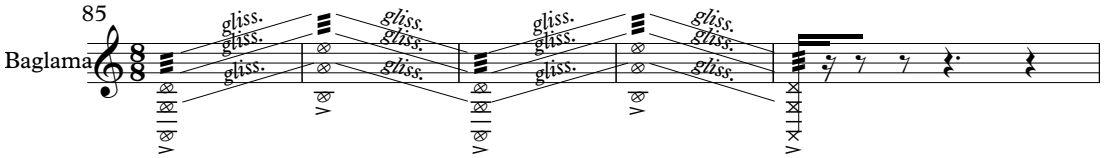

Figure 4.26 : Giving the outline of the movement on the *bağlama*.

4.2.2 Compositional Strategies

The treatment of the musical materials is here called "compositional strategies" since the assignation of musical materials as traditional or non-traditional alone does not explain how the work is constructed.

One of Akyol's strategies is to follow the melody and rhythm of language –a technique known as *parlando*. Akyol composed most of the vocal parts by taking the melodic and rhythmic qualities of language and speech into consideration. One of the clearest examples of this strategy is the call-and-response ensemble of the Pazarbaşı and the market keepers in the opening.[175] Here, the Pazarbaşı addresses the market keepers. His first word "*ey*" begins on E and moves to C –in the middle register of bass voice- with a *glissando* in order to imitate its characteristic in speech and to evoke the traditional singing style of the word. Similarly, the rhythm of the Pazarbaşı's line is determined by the rhythm of speech (See Figure 4.27). Ali Baba's entrance line in German is also composed in that vein (See Figure 4.28). This strategy also causes frequent meter changes throughout the composition (See Figure 4.29).

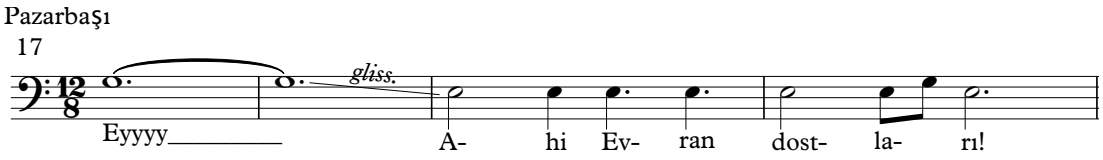

Figure 4.27 : The first line of the Pazarbaşı.

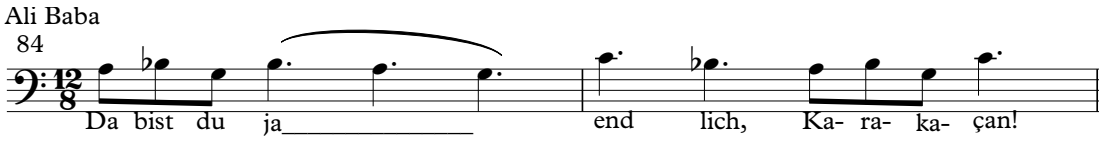

Figure 4.28 : The first line of Ali Baba.

[175] See Appendix C2, Nr. 1

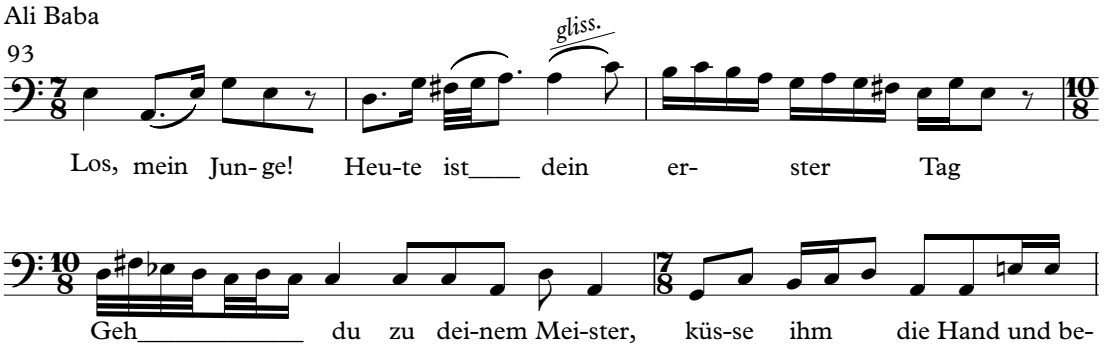

Figure 4.29 : Frequent meter changes.

The motivation of the composer to imitate speech is also realized by the use undetermined pitches in determined rhythms which follow the syllables, and rapping style. For example, the shouting of market keepers in the bazaar scene is undetermined in terms of pitch and written with "x" note heads, but the rhythms of these shouts are determined (See Figure 4.30). Similarly, the only rhythmical pattern is given in the rapping parts (See Figure 4.31).

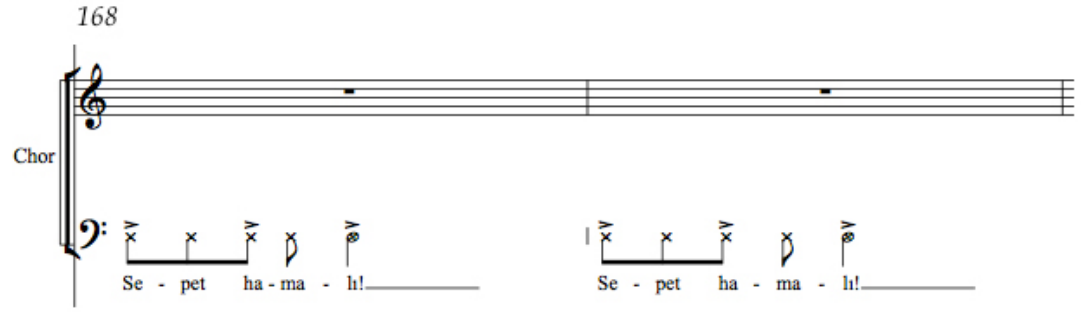

Figure 4.30 : Undetermined pitches.

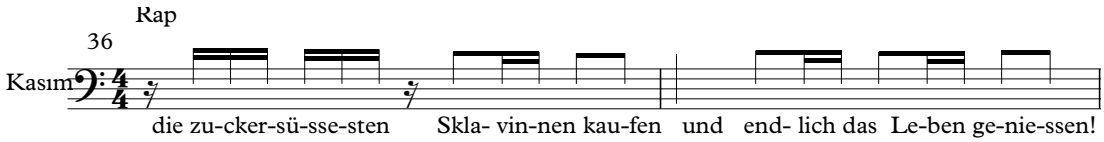

Figure 4.31: Rapping section.

There are also some small rhythmic divisions in the vocal parts that aim to give the expression of a traditional singing and embellishing style called *nağme*, such as in the motif of the magical phrase that opens the cave (See Figure 4.33).

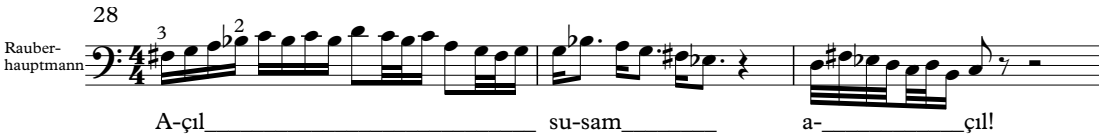

Figure 4.32 : Small rhythmic divisions.

One of the characteristic strategies of the composer is to emphasize the strong and weak beats of the meter alternately and thus to make the rhythmic structure indeterminate and irregular for the audience (See Figure 4.32).

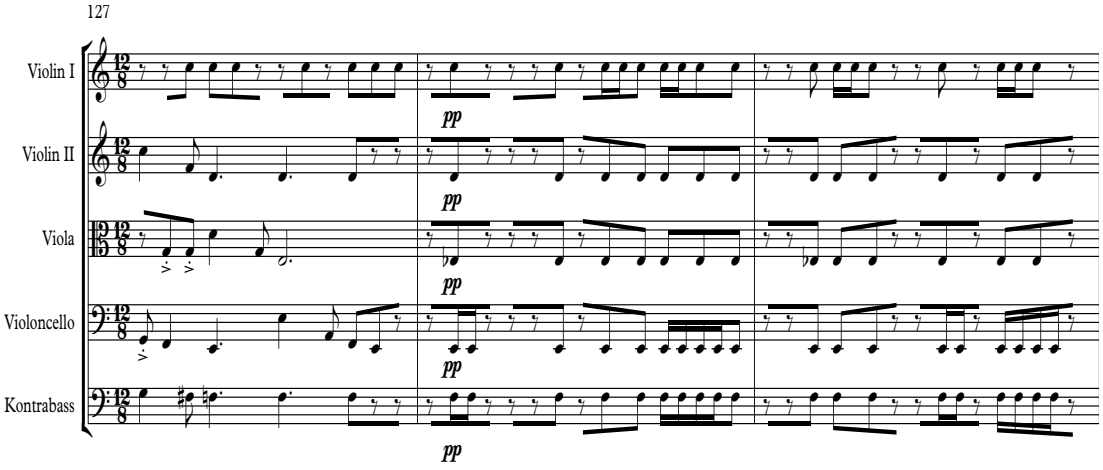

Figure 4.33 : Accents on weak and strong beats of 12/8 meter.

Another strategy related to the rhythmic structure is to make symmetrical meters as asymmetrical through accents on the weak beats. For example his use of 8/8 meter can be described as *aksak* rather than symmetrical (See Figure 4.34). Similarly, he prefers the division of 9/8 meter as 2+2+2+3 rather than a compound triple meter (See Figure 4.35).

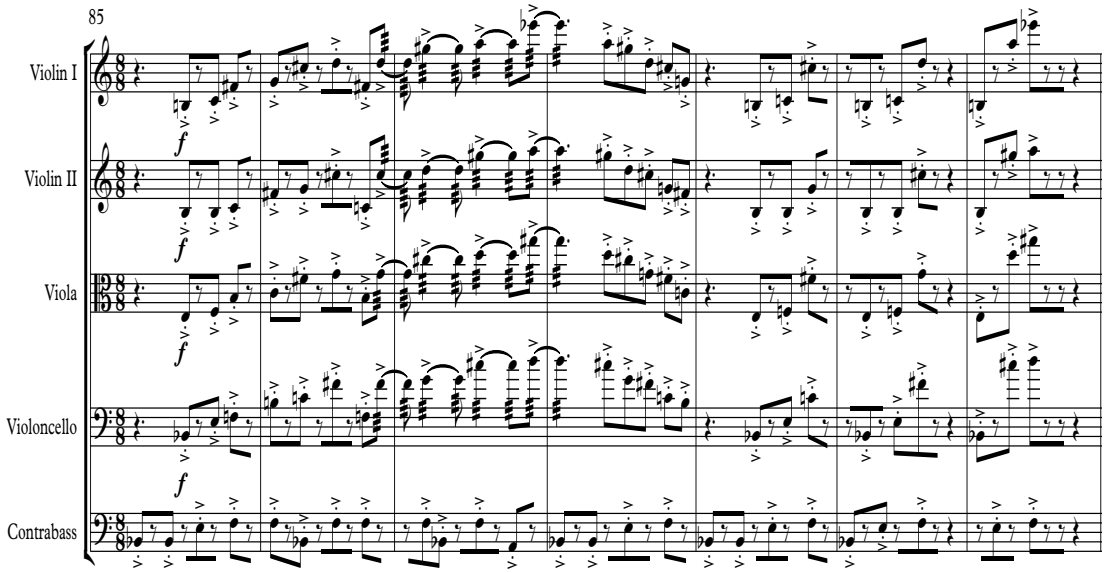

Figure 4.34 : Asymmetrical use of 8/8 meter

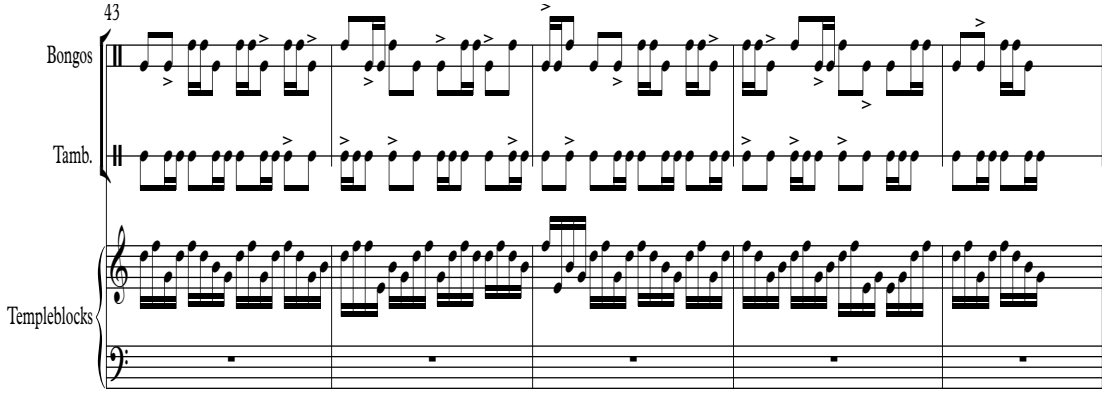

Figure 4.35 : 9/8 meter as 2+2+2+3.

Since Akyol is also a *bağlama* player, the *bağlama* has a critical importance in the composition. Through the motivic relations, Akyol sometimes searches for a way to integrate the *bağlama* into the orchestral timbre. In this manner, the *bağlama* sometimes becomes a member of different groups and is put into interrelationships. Such a section can be found between the 64th and 75th measures of Act I, Scene 1. Here the *bağlama* respectively plays in unison with the piano, strings, marimba, and contrabass; or is supported by harp and piano. Thus in one eleven-measure section, the *bağlama* and other instruments are used to create different orchestral timbres (See Figure 4.36).

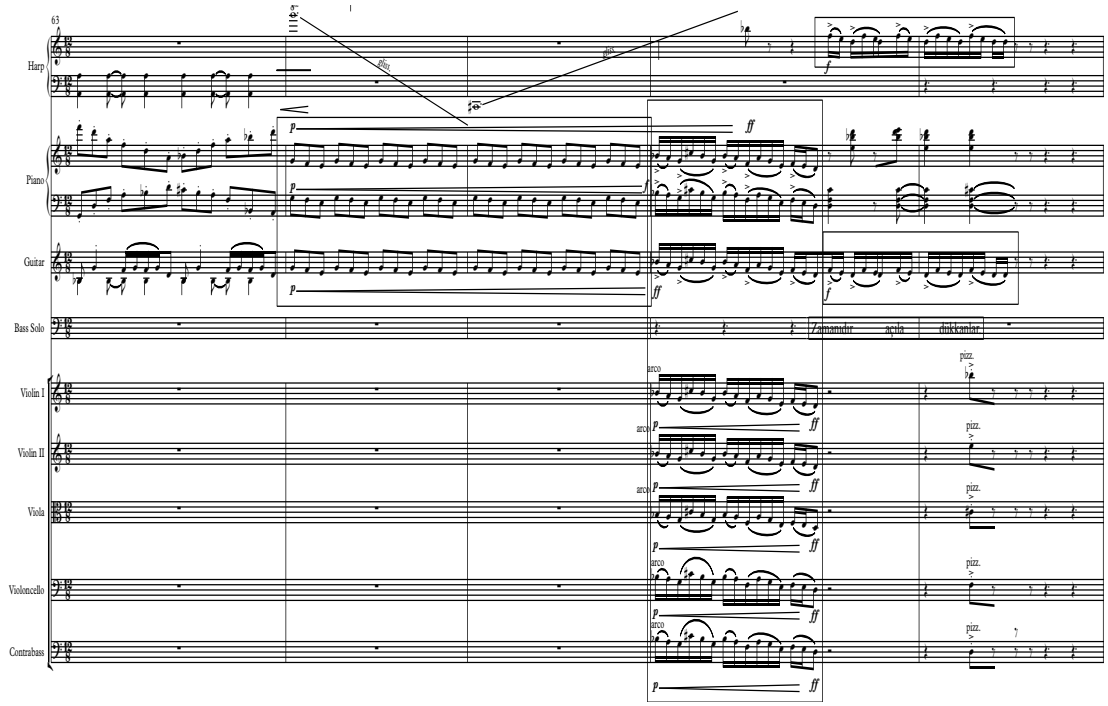

Figure 4.36 : The *bağlama* within orchestral timbre.

However, the composer's main strategies are superposition and succession. This means that the composer often superpositions his materials and strategies in some sections, or he uses them in successions. For example, he uses *çeşni*s as figures (See Figure 4.1), the characteristic pitches of a traditional scale to build a vertical unit (See Figure 4.2), as well as speech imitations in vocal parts (See Figure 4.26 and 4.27), but at some points they are used together to create complexity such as in Act I, Scene 1 (See Figure 4.37).

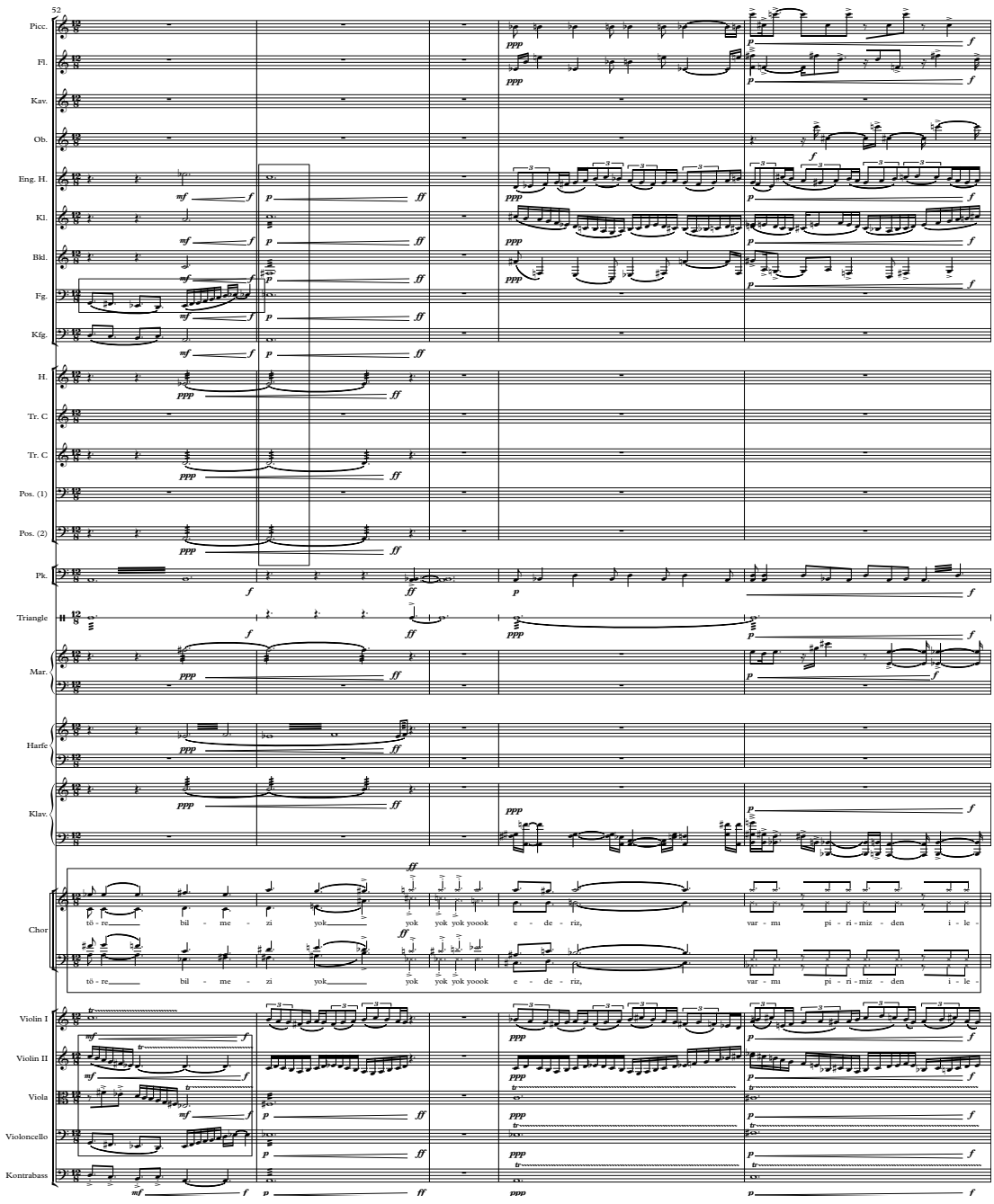

Figure 4.37 : Superpositions.

4.2.3 Musical characterizations and expressions

As with the story and plot, the main characters also have contrasts and similarities in terms of music. For example, the material in Ali Baba's vocal parts is melodic and traditional by comparison to those of Kasım. Indeed, the entrance of Ali Baba is supported by the *bağlama* and *asma davul*, and evokes the *karcığar* scale especially in the 96th measure. It is also remarkable that his second line includes the A-E move that is characteristic of the *Elazığ Halayı* (See Figure 4.7) at the end of Act I

(See Figure 4.38). As a matter of fact, Ali Baba's vocal parts do not include undetermined pitches except the 6 measure-long section (measures 143-148) in Act II, Scene 2.

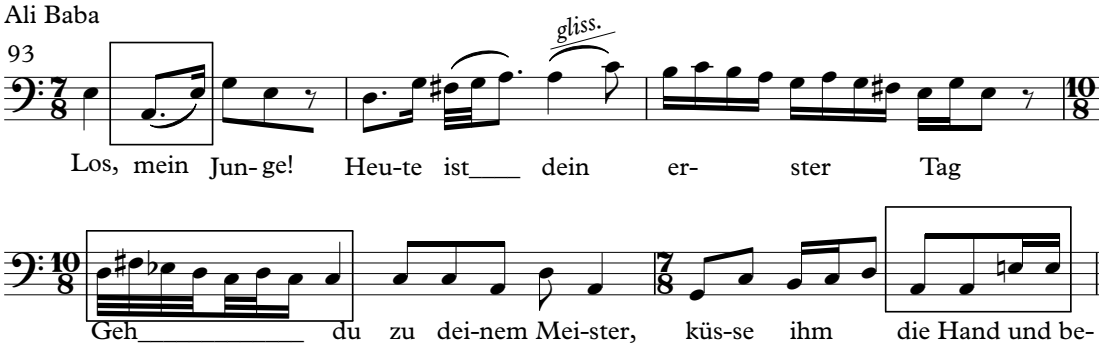

Figure 4.38 : Traditional content of Ali Baba's vocal line.

Similarly, his wife Rosa's entrance in Act I, Scene 3 is with a folk song (See Figure 4.5). Her short aria also includes an evocation of the *hicaz* scale in the first 6 measures through turning the *segâh* pitch of the *Ferahnâk* pentachord to B-flat (See Figure 4.39). Like Ali Baba's vocal parts, her parts do not include undetermined pitches except a single two-measure section (measures 56-57) in Act I, Scene 3.

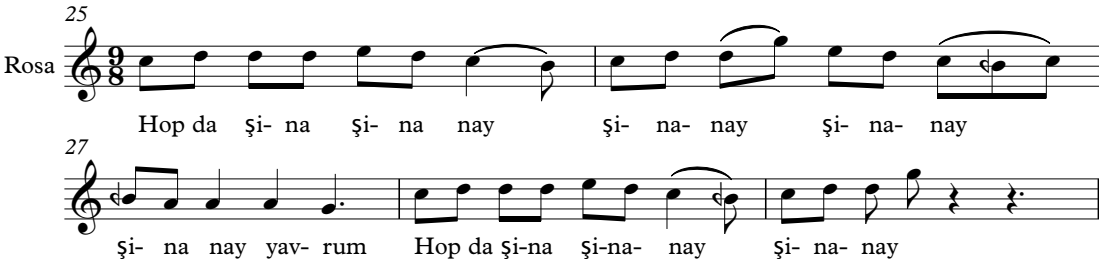

Figure 4.39 : Traditional content of Rosa's vocal line.

On the other hand, the contrasting vocal parts of Kasım and his wife Ayşe are quite different. For example, even though Kasım's first entrance is also accompanied by the *zurna* and *asma davul*, his parts do not include any evocation of a traditional scale. Instead of that there are jumping intervals, *glissando*s between them, and *Sprechstimme* (See Figure 4.40). Indications such as "*Schrei*" (shout) and the chromaticism in Kasım's vocal parts strengthen his anti-melodic character in contrast

to those of Ali Baba. Even though Ayşe has few solo parts –rather she takes part in ensembles- a similar statement can be made for her vocal parts on the basis of the duet in Act I, Scene 3[176] (See Figure 4.41).

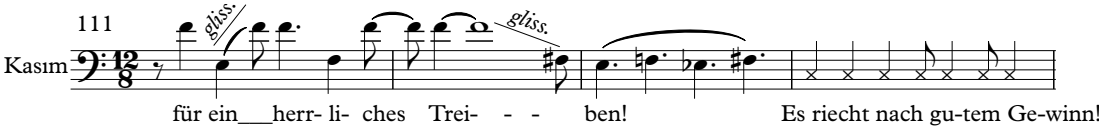

Figure 4.40 : Anti-melodic content of Kasım's vocal line.

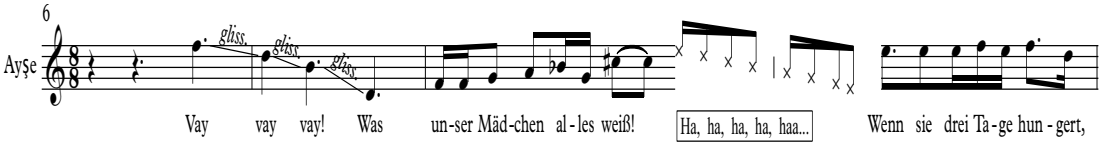

Figure 4.41 : Anti-melodic content of Ayşe's vocal line.

Another couple is Vehbi and Şirin. Unlike the other couples, their parts do not imply any details about their personalities. By examining the vocal parts we can say that Kasım and Ayşe are ambitious and sometimes unstable people; or by looking at the musical materials we can say that Ali Baba is a traditional and dignified man. However, if we look at the vocal parts of Vehbi and Şirin, we can only say that they are clever young people in love, and are *Innamorati* –lovers- in the opera tradition[177]. For example, apart from the ensembles, Şirin has a short duet with Ayşe[178], and a love duet with Vehbi[179] in Act I. In the first duet her vocal parts are relatively melodic and more conventional than those of Ayşe. Whereas there are *glissando*s and *Sprechstimme* in Ayşe's part (See Figure 4.41), that of Şirin seems to be determined by the romantic content of her lines (See Figure 4.42).

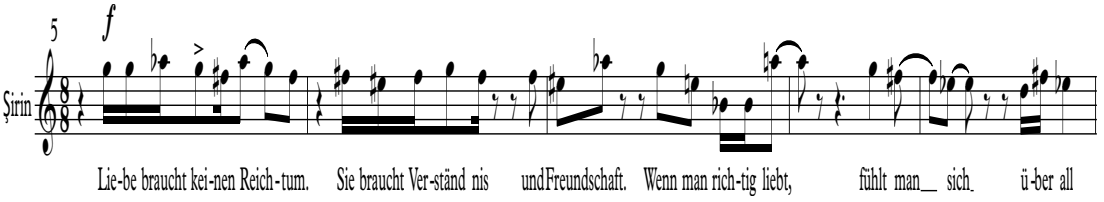

Figure 4.42 : Şirin's vocal lines in her duet with Ayşe.

[176] See Appendix C2, Nr.9.

[177] It should be also said that Şirin is also a clever slave type similar to Columbina in the *commedia dell'arte*. Like Columbina she is the functional intellect on the stage.

[178] See Appendix C2, Nr.9.

[179] See Appendix C2, Nr. 14.

Vehbi seems to be the dominant character in the love duet. He carries the melodic movement and Şirin follows him. However, in the first section, which is sung by Vehbi and Şirin together, there are little clues to imply that they belong to each other. For example, in the 82nd measure, Vehbi's motif is actually a different version of Şirin's motif. That is, the first figure of Şirin's part becomes the second figure of Vehbi's part; in the same way the second figure of Şirin's part becomes the first figure of Vehbi's part (See Figure 4.43). Similarly, in the 88th measure Vehbi picks up where Şirin leaves off (See Figure 4.44).

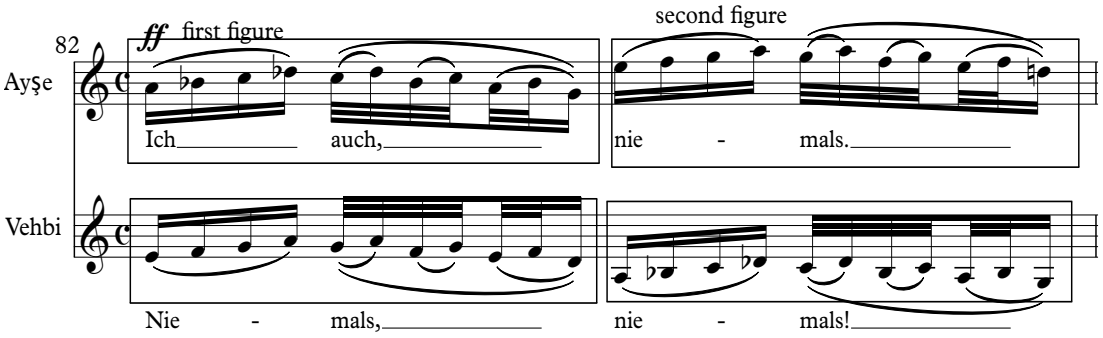

Figure 4.43 : Figure relationship between Şirin's and Vehbi's lines.

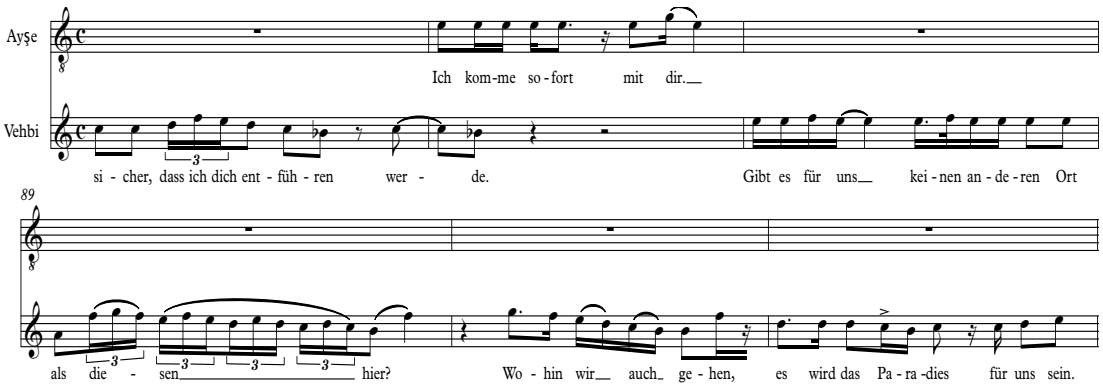

Figure 4.44 : Relationship between Şirin's and Vehbi's lines.

Karakaçan's parts contain limited musical material; it is basically a spoken role[180]. In the sections where his parts are notated the musical material is mostly determined by imitation. For example, in the 134th and 135th measures in Act I, Scene 1, its parts are written to resemble the braying of a donkey (See Figure 4.45). Karakaçan's parts are also simpler than the other vocal parts (See Figure 4.46). This is because Akyol knew

[180] In one of the reviews (see Appendix C, Document C.3) Karakaçan was called the quasi twin brother of Papageno by Katharina Schulze. It is an important connection since the comic characters in Mozart's operas, who are generally servants of the male leading characters, can also be seen as the reflections of the *commedia dell'arte* characters in the opera. In this direction Karakaçan is another version ofthe comic servant character.

that an actor, not a singer, would play Karakaçan. However, this practical situation resulted in a characterization that differentiated–vocally- from the human characters.

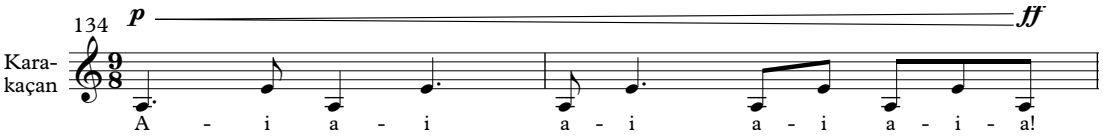

Figure 4.45 : Imitation of braying of a donkey.

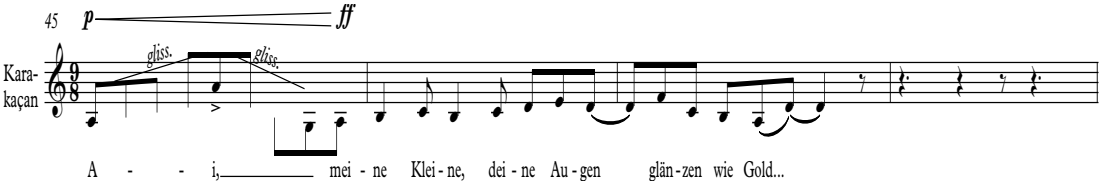

Figure 4.46 : Karakaçan's vocal line.

The longest aria belongs to the Räuberhauptmann[181]. The musical materials and singing techniques in this aria are used in different contexts than those used in the other arias. Although the Räuberhauptmann is a sinister-funny character in the opera, in this aria *glissando*s, *Sprechstimme*, and small rhythmic divisions evoking *nağme* such as sextuplets and septuplets, and the chromaticism in the orchestral parts portray his vengeful personality (See Figure 4.47).

[181] See Appendix C2, Nr. 30.

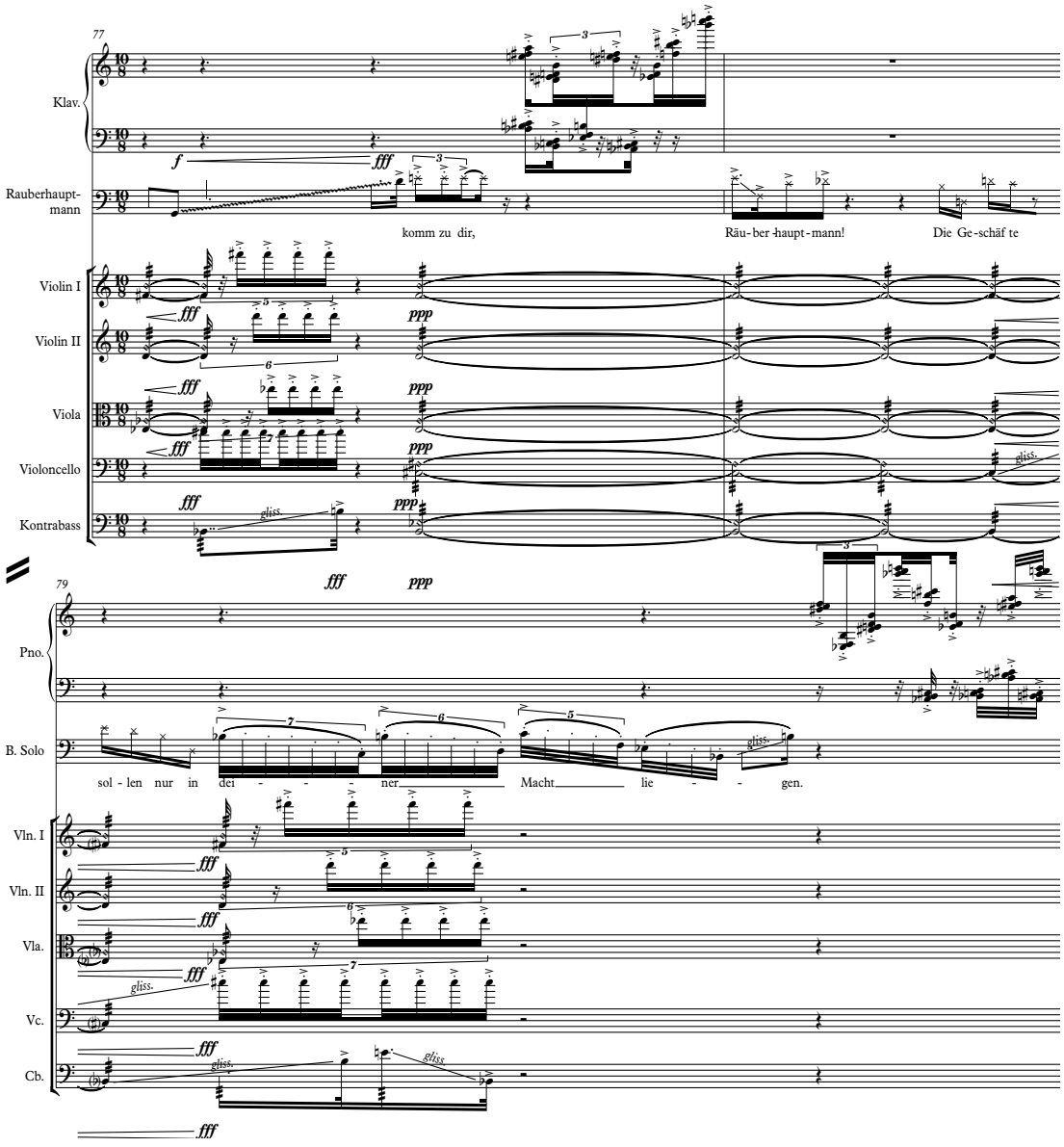

Figure 4.47 : Musical characterization of the Räuberhauptmann.

There are three group characters in the opera. As previously mentioned, two of them are the market keepers and residents. Before a reference is given to the audience about the identity of the residents (with *Şimdi Bizim Aramıza*), there is another choral section[182] that contains a remarkable reference to a collective fear that relates to their identity. There have been some bloody and traumatic incidents that constitute one of the basic columns of the *Alevi* identity in Turkey, such as the Maraş Massacre in 1978, as Fevzi Gümüş, the president of *Pir Sultan Abdal Kültür Derneği* (Pir Sultan Abdal Culture Association) said: "The Maraş massacre is another Karbala in the

[182] See Appendix C2, Nr. 32.

history of *Alevi*s. The Maraş massacre is a wound that still bleeds within ourselves after thirty years as Karbala still does after centuries…" (Url-42)

It is often stated by witnesses that their houses were marked before the indicients began in order to show which houses belonged to the *Alevi*s. Thus, the act of house marking creates a sense of impending doom among the *Alevi*. Even though such a sense is not found in the Ali Baba story, the residents become anxious when they find out that their houses were marked. Similarly, the composer called this choral section the "*Chor der Trauergemeinschaft*" (Choir of Sorrow Community) and it is composed to describe a collective fear in an anxious atmosphere (See Figure 4.48).

The third is the forty thieves. It is remarkable that the forty thieves dance the *Elazığ Halayı*; that is, the group of bad character gives the clearest reference to the composer's origin. The reason why the composer preferred such a thing may be found in the practice of shifting the negative or derogatory meanings of some words and using them as a self-defination. There are many examples of this practice in the cultural production of people from Turkey such as *Barbaren* (barbarians), *Kanaken* and *Islamic* (against Islamophobia). In this sense, the choice may be interpreted as a version of this practice.

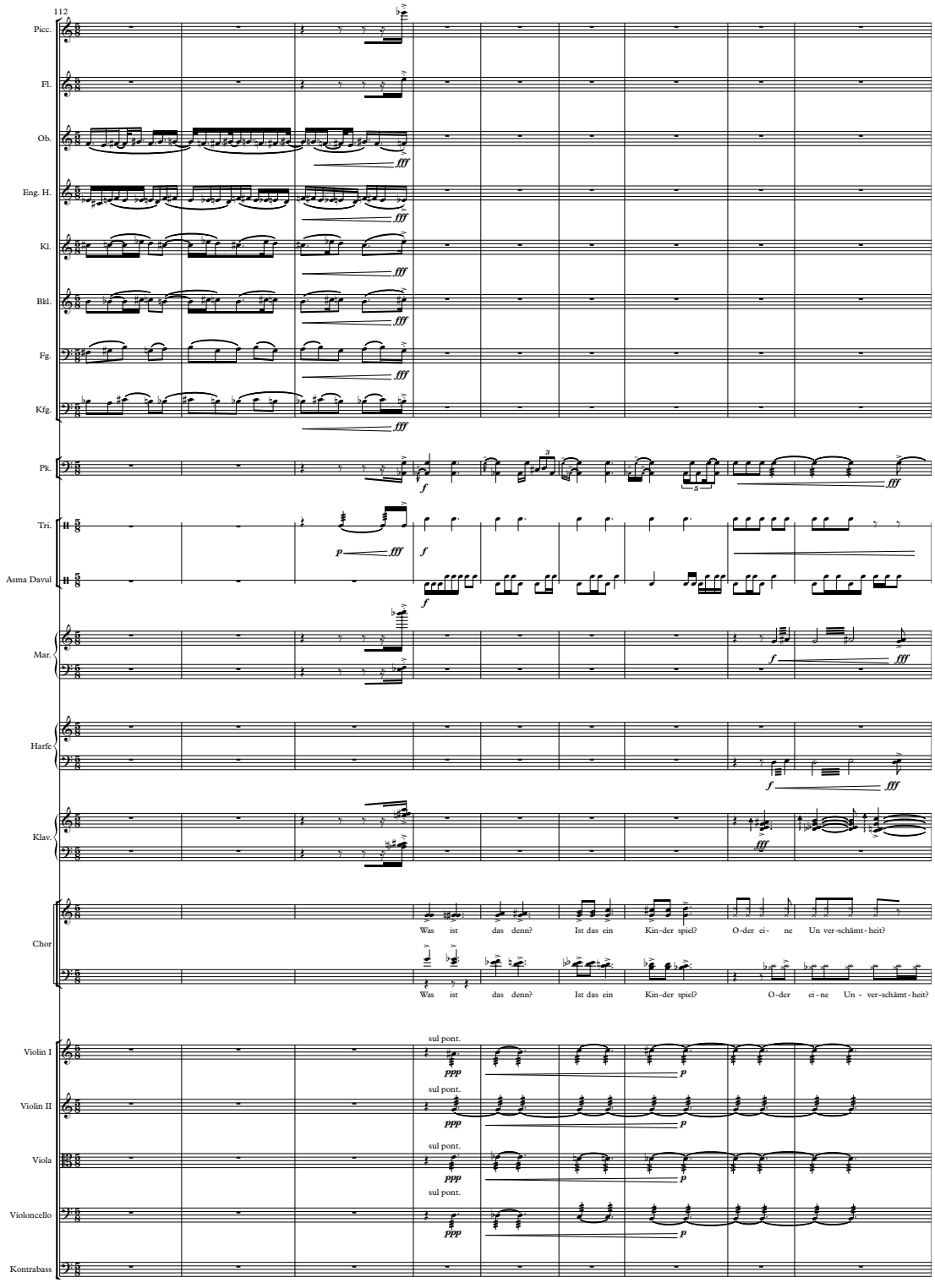

Figure 4.48 : Portrayal of anxiety in the *Chor der Trauergemeinschaft*.

4.3 On the Stage

Although the place of the story is not fixed in the libretto, the scenery and costumes indicate that this place is in the East. The orientalist and iconographic images are used to transfer the sense of the East as a space to the audience. One of them is a big carpet that is a stock part of the scenery which is used as a background.

This is in parallel to the commercial relations between Venice and Istanbul in the fifteenth century, when the use of Turkish carpets behind the Virgin Mary as a decorative element was a favorite practice. Even though it is not known whether these decorative elements were drawn from imitating original sources, the carpets with their designs became objects that indicated the East. Giovanni Ricci (2005) writes that the relationship between carpet and East became concrete in the character of a carpet merchant from Egypt:

> This man was an Egyptian who was born in Cairo and his name is mentioned as "carpet maker Sabadino Master" in some sources; same man was also called as "Syrian", "Negro" or "Moor" (...) We find the name of this Egyptian "carpet maker" until 1528. Partly because of his existence the quality of carpets in Ferrarese painting improved. Garofalo, between 15th and 16th centuries, painted eight carpets in a hall of the palace by Ludovico il Moro (Costabili Palazzo), these carpets hang on with a gutsy perspective peculiar to Mantegna. Unlike Schifanoia, the certainty of the details makes possible to analytical categorizations: These are Anatolian carpets; some of them contain an unusual pattern that is called as "sajjada pattern". (p. 29)

The carpet used as a stock part of the scenery does not show these characteristics. On the contrary, it was assumed that the existence of the carpet is enough to give an impression about the place of the story.

The costumes were also designed considering that impression and the interpretation of the story by the composer and librettists. For instance the Pazarbaşı resembles Ahi Evran with a white beard to symbolize his experience and wisdom, and with his turban, waistband and caftan (See Figure 4.49).

Figure 4.49: Pazarbaşı (left) and the statue of Ahi Evran in Kayseri (right, Url-43).

The costumes of the market keepers were designed in various colours in order to lend vividness to the minimalistic scenery, without any regard for authenticity. This stylized design, together with the goods and equipment on the stage, breaks the dependency of the bazaar from a definite time and space. On one side, there is a spices stand, which is not only an image related to the Muslim East, but also the East, and there are plastic bottles and an iron samovar on the other side. As a result, the bazaar on the stage is a portrayal of a bazaar between of the past and present, of the past bazaar in the East, and of the present bazaar in the East and the West (See Figure 4.50).

Figure 4.50 : Bazaar.

It is often emphasized that the *Ahi* paid attention to the training of the future generations of market keepers, and that the community also served as a vocational school; the children on the stage are the *çırak* and *kalfa* of this bazaar. The installation of Vehbi in a bazaar keeper's business is also a reference to this master-apprentice education system.

Even though there is a close connection between *Ahilik*, *Alevilik* and *Bektaşilik*, it is also known that there are some *Ahi* communities that embrace different sects. However, the movements and dance of the market keepers in the opening displays who these people are because the choreography of the dance is derived from ***semah***. It can be felt that the market keepers constitute not only a commercial but also a religious community (See Figure 4.51).

Figure 4.51 : Stylized *semah*.

Ali Baba's costume is as humble and modest as he is described in the main story. He is distinguishable among the other characters with his green turban, a similar image to the portrayal of Ali. Karakaçan owes his donkeyness to his donkey ears, to the inscription "*eşek*" in his grey t-shirt and to his long coat in terms of costume design; this costume also creates a contrasting effect with Ali Baba's traditional costume (See Figure 4.52). The relationship between traditional and modern, past and present can also be found in the shopping bags of Ali Baba and Karakaçan. Another example of the intentional anachronistism is the torches that are used by Ali Baba and Karakaçan at night in the woods.

Figure 4.52 : Ali Baba and Karakaçan.

Kasım's costume that is made of bright white and blue fabrics to emphasize his richness. He looks like an Indian with his clothes and his turban similar to a *pagri*. His eccentric and self-indulgent character is displayed through a chair, whereas nobody in the bazaar sits, and his narghile (See Figure 4.53).

Figure 4.53 : Kasım.

Similarly, the only difference between the houses of Ali Baba and Kasım is a puff of smoke even though there is big economical difference between Ali Baba and Kasım (See Figure 4.54).

Figure 4.54 : The houses of Ali Baba and Kasım.

Because they are husband and wife, Ayşe's costume is similar to the costume of Kasım. Her spoiled and pretentious personality is displayed by her assertive hair and mania for shoes (See Figure 4.55). It seems that this is a preferred caricature of to today's pretentious women. As expected, the costume of Ali Baba's wife Rosa is simple and plain (See Figure 4.56).

Figure 4.55 : Kasım and Ayşe.

Figure 4.56 : Rosa.

The woods and cave are not present in the scenery, and similarly the 40 *Räuber* have no horses. This might be the answer why the orchestra is used as descriptive in these sections. The representation of the woods is not visual but audio, and is evoked by the sounds of birds; this is also the case for the horses of the *40 Räuber*.

In the story, the cave is not portrayed as dark and scary but as lightsome and dome-shaped (Onaran, 1992, p. 209). A mirror was used, partly because to remain true to this portrayal, and partly to increase the depth of the scene and to make the treasure appear larger (See Figure 4.57).

Figure 4.57 : The cave of 40 thieves.

The amulet found by Ali Baba and given to Karakaçan is another well-known object of the East. Even though it is called as an amulet, its desing that is closer to that of the *teslimtaşı* (stone of contentment) that was used by the *Bektaşi* (See Figure 4.58). The stone was used to symbolize that a person had been initiated to the community, and was never removed. Its inner surface symbolizes Hz. Ali, its outer surface symbolizes Hz. Muhammed, and its twelve corners symbolizes 12 *imam* (Yazgan, 2013, p. 74).

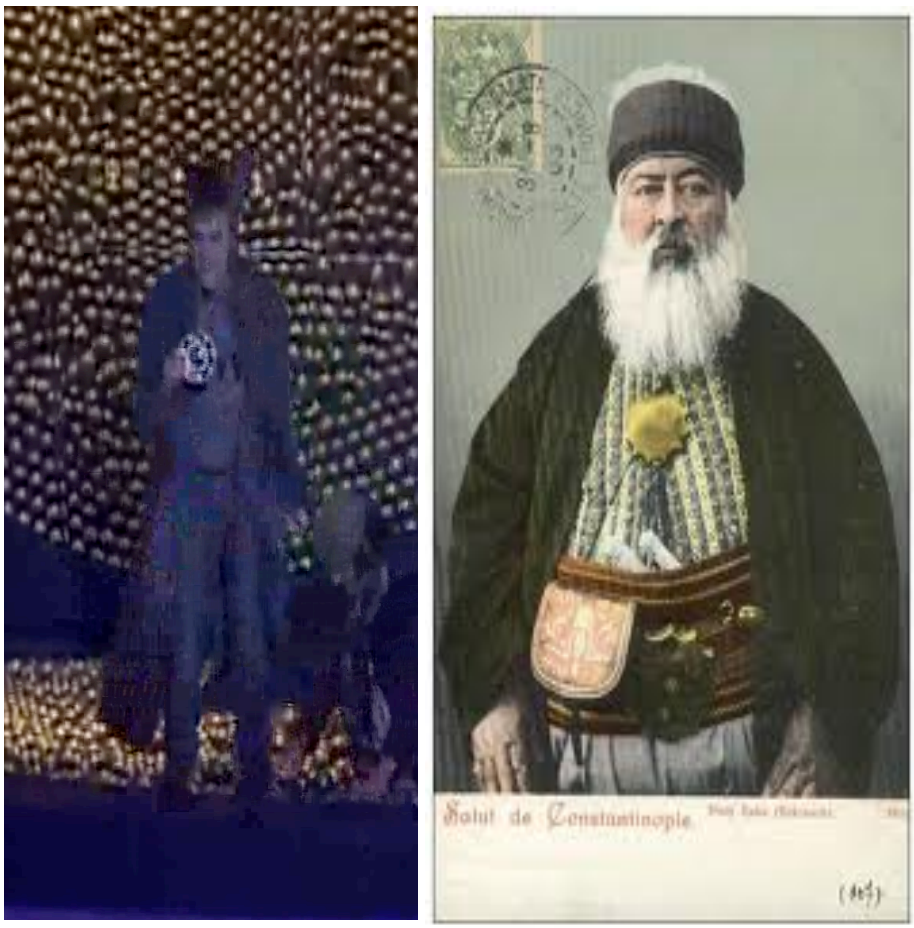

Figure 4.58 : The amulet (left) and *teslimtaşı* (right, Url-44).

There are two dances, one short and the other is longer, in Act I. They are stylized interpretations of two different dances. The first one is performed by Kasım after he finds the treasure. This section is marked as “rap” in the score, and the movements of Kasım during singing resemble the movements of hip-hoppers. The second is a the *halay* that closes Act I and is performed by the *40 Räuber*.

The costume of the *40 Räuber* is designed to resemble the clothes of so-called *eşkıya* (bandits) groups in Anatolia. Even though the clothes of these groups change according to region (See Figure 4.59 and 4.60), a composite image was created for the costumes and make-ups of the forty thieves (See Figure 4.61).

Figure 4.59 : *Eşkıya*s in Eastern Anatolia (Url-45).

Figure 4.60 : *Eşkıya*s in Dersim (Url-46).

Figure 4.61 : *40 Räuber*.

5. CONCLUSION

One of the main prompts for scholars to develop new approaches is changing quality of their discipline's subject and the obsolescence of existing approaches. Another reason is the coalescence or convergence of diverse productions or traditions that were once separated into functional categories. Such an expansion of scope also causes a squeeze within a discipline, especially in terms of orientation. *Ali Baba und 40 Räuber* by Taner Akyol is one example of such a squeeze in terms of the disciplines that deal with music and musical production. Therefore, it also offers a good opportunity to rethink the main principles and tendencies of these disciplines. In other words, due to its characteristics it can be considered an agent of such an investigation.

In brief, *Ali Baba und 40 Räuber* is an eclectic opera which contains multiple styles, ideas and conceptualizations. It forces the researcher to consider more than one discipline, tradition and repertoire with its material, resources and references, so that the only constant of the research is the opera itself, and focusing on any of the components of this eclectic structure falls short of understanding the whole. For example, evaluating this opera in the context of orientalism and self-orientalism is quite possible. Galland's *Les Mille et une Nuits* is a product of orientalism, and none of the retreatments of Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves could ever escape from this fact. Indeed, the orientalist images and perceptions are obviously there in the opera, especially in the scenery and costumes. In one sense, the opera as a collective work and action is a mixture of orientalist and self-orientalist patterns. It is also possible to evaluate the opera in terms of migrant or minority communities and their alienation processes since even though the original story does not contain such a connotation it is obvious that the composer and librettists also interpreted it in that sense. In short, *Ali Baba und 40 Räuber* is a multi-axial work, and each axis is so comprehensive that it can become a subject in its own right. However, what is more important is that the work is the sum of all axes and the mentioned characteristics are not just an individual style.

In the background of shared attitudes and tendencies there are the common phenomena and experiences which have shaped the lives of the people living in twentieth century. One of these is mass migration. As the more the number of people with a background of migration increases, their migration experiences age, and such groups become the basic components of new social structures. Because of this, cultural production is inwardly changed since the actors of production, relationships and processes of production, and the connections with traditions, concepts and institutions also change. Taner Akyol and his opera is only a single example of this shift. Yet, trying to understand and interpret this example is useful, necessary and instructive.

The categorical divisions of musicology and ethnomusicology lose their operability when the phenomena that determined the character of Akyol as a composer and which led him to compose this opera in this way, are investigated. From the very beginning, and at a basic level, existing categories associated with the composer and work begin to seem as oversimplified or hyperflexed generalizations. This is because the primary questions that have to be asked are "why?" and "how?", and the answers are not to be found in these categories.

These questions at micro –individual- and macro –social- levels necessitate collaboration with other social disciplines with which musicology and ethnomusicology already associate. However, rather than borrowing the theoretical and conceptual frameworks offered by this collaboration, how the musical material itself can provide an expansion or discussion to these frameworks should be investigated, because in fact the cultural production does not only reflect the phenomena but also internalizes and often interprets them after a while. Additionally, that these interpretations may offer distinct conceptualizations than the source should be not overlooked. In that vein, the Achilles' heel of musicological and ethnomusicological studies of people from Turkey in the BRD arises from working backward from the vested results. However, if we start from the examination of musical material, matters not provided for become evident, and we reach a different final analysis.

In order to escape from the previously mentioned drawbacks one of the actions to be taken is to approach the musical material from a point of view that covers all categories of tradition and genre. In other words, it is necessary to put into practice

what the quality of the work and its creator dictate, which can be termed a transcultural mode of inquiry (Dagnino, 2011, p. 4). Thus, even though its parts do not resemble each other in appearance, the individual and its work may become the components of a body that is beyond narrowed categories. For this reason, the "transcultural" modifier was preferred to describe the work as it has the potential capacity to exceed existing categories such as "migrant" and "diasporic" individual and communities. Undoubtedly, these categories had a strong influences on the commission of Taner Akyol's *Ali Baba und 40 Räuber* by the *Komische Oper*.

At some point, the opera was commissioned for the fifth anniversary of migration by the *Komische Oper* as a comprehensive part of the *Selam Opera!* project. The composer and the plot were selected for this purpose. However, as was seen in the analysis chapter, evaluating this opera by these criteria means reducing its plurality to a one-dimensional level, and even within the boundaries of the one-dimensional level we can see that there is a multi-layered structure. For example, the existence of homeland references in the works of composers such as Akyol has often been considered as an indication of their commitment to their homelands. Yet, when the components of these references are analyzed, it becomes clear that the homeland is a monolithic body only from an external perspective; rather we are faced with *a homeland* which is comprised of diverse homelands. This also means that the elements considered to be reserved for certain homelands in fact coexist. Moreover, the categorization of musical materials and compositional strategies show that the elements of homeland are sometimes just outlines that are quite open to be interpreted differently, and are not the standardized patterns. Given that all the interpretations are derivatives of the outline to some extent, the body is too multi-layered to be reduced to one dimension. Similarly, by focusing on the elements of a certain homeland we usually fail to notice other layers that are attached to other homelands. The homeland argument in the case of *Ali Baba und 40 Räuber*, for example, works only if homeland is accepted as a multi-layered and transcultural concept.

At the same time, the transcultural modifier associates the individual and its work with others that display similar tendencies and qualities. As a matter of fact, behind the emergence of the transcultural modifier there is an increasing number of such individuals and works. If we can say that today's cultures no longer correspond to

the old conceptualizations of closed and uniform national cultures, as Wolfgang Welsch (1995) writes, or that we are faced with a new structure, new generation and a new sensibility, as Slimbach (2005) and Dagnino (2011) state, we can also say that we need a new framework. However, we must ask first question whether we are faced with a new structure and a new generation in terms of people from Turkey in the BRD.

It has been almost 53 years since the first migration wave from the TC to the BRD. This period is often articulated into three generations. However, this articulation does not only refer to three successive generations. Each generation has its own background and therefore its own characteristics that determine its life and cultural production. Germany was a place of *gurbet* (foreign land) for the first migrants, the *Gastarbeiter*, because it was a country in which they lived and worked temporarily. Similarly, their daily practices and cultural activities could only be operated within the boundaries of their legal status. However, in almost in ten years, their status had turned into a *de facto* migrancy, and more importantly this migrant community was no longer comprised only of workers because of the political refugees and other members of the families coming from the TC. All these changes inevitably influenced cultural production and activities. In other words, the more relatively closed lives of the *Gastarbeiter* spread from *die Heime* (asylums), and the move transformed their production and activities. This made the dissonance between people from Turkey and the BRD's institutions more visible in a way that was not seen so clearly before. This dissonance doubled with the other political and economical problems of the two Germanies created a new structure that would effect the cultural production of people from Turkey. Indeed, the production of the so-called second generation was not determined by the fact of that they were the children of the first generation, but by the conditions of this new structure. Finally, when the so-called third generation emerged at the beginning of the 2000s, the individual and collective production began to integrate into new frameworks provided by different transnational and global dynamics and networks. As a consequence, we can say that we are now faced with a new structure and generation, as Welsch said. Taner Akyol and his opera is an example of how these transnational

and global frameworks find a place in cultural production. Trying to explain this example with old terms and concepts, which are already full of meanings, interpretations, articulations and connotations, echoes its place in this new structure, or at least echoes its relationship to this new structure.

Even though the need of a new framework can be explained in this way, it is not easy to define its other articulations, such as transculturality, as a phenomenon, transculture as a body, and transculturalism as a discourse. At the origin of the concept there are Cuban sociologist Fernando Ortiz and Peruvian ethnographer José Maria Arguedas who refer to a model that is different from the static uni-cultures. In this early articulation it is an alternative culture model. In that sense, "transcultural" defines how Taner Akyol conceives the culture of Turkey. According to Akyol, it is not a uni-culture as it was defined in the twentieth century. As a matter of fact, his declaration of himself as "an assimilated *Zaza* and *Alevi*" is an objection in its own right to such definitions and practices. It also means that he first conceives the musical culture of Turkey on the basis of diversity, and then adds his choices and interpretations by considering the groups of which he feels himself to be a member.

In the 1970s, transcultural was used to refer the "asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination" and "contact zones". And more recently it is used to refer to "cosmopolitan, occupational, or commercial cultures" (Berry and Epstein, 1999, pp. 1-5). In addition, Epstein (2009) also states that transculture is a different model of cultural development:

> …an alternative to both leveling globalism and isolating pluralism. Among the many freedoms proclaimed as inalienable rights of the individual, there emerges yet another freedom that is probably the most precious one, though so far most neglected- the freedom from one's own culture, in which one was born and educated. (p. 330)

Then the question becomes: Does *Ali Baba und 40 Räuber* provide a way to be free from Akyol's own culture? The answer lies behind another question: What is Akyol's own culture? Akyol is a member of multiple groups and each of these groups has influenced and left traces on his output. But at the same time he is a composer who was trained according to Western conventions in the BRD. Then the second question has to be revised according to Epstein's statement: Is Akyol's own culture is the culture in which he was born, or the culture in which he was educated? Obviously, the answer depends on our position or perspective. On one hand, we say

that composing an opera provided a way for him to be free of his own culture. On the other, if we consider him to be a contemporary composer in the Western classical tradition, we can say that traditional *çeşni*s, quotations from folk songs, the use of traditional instruments such as the *bağlama* and *kaval* are tools he can employ to free himself from this culture.

The complexity of this question is associated with Akyol's relationship with diverse traditions since his resources arborize or diffuse into the musical spaces of these traditions. In other words, the musical traditions and genres –classical, avant-garde, traditional, popular etc.- are not divided or grouped into departments in this opera. On the contrary, the composer often makes transitions or transfers between traditions and genres. For instance, Akyol uses *Güneşe Raks* (Dance to Sun, 2012), which was previously played by the Taner Akyol Trio, in Act I, and evaluates the material in an operatic concept. Thus, *Güneşe Raks* corresponds to a category which intersects with jazz and world music and becomes percolated to another category. Hip-hop, as one of the first musical genres which comes to mind when considering the production of people from Turkey, is also used in the opera as a style of singing (rapping). Similarly, as mentioned in the musical analysis chapter, tradition -in terms of materials related to Turkey- is actually a concept comprised of several definitions but rendered in one word. For Akyol, tradition is sometimes a folk song, sometimes a work of another individual such as Arif Sağ, which can be considered a representation of tradition, and sometimes tradition is only the building blocks, such as traditional *çeşni*s and scales.

Akyol's relationship with the traditional music of Turkey and with Western classical music is tangled since attempting to interpret traditional music has been a long-standing challenge not only for people from Turkey but also for almost all musicians living there. It is therefore possible to comprehend a large part of musical production in Turkey by following the discussion on how traditional music and the elements of traditional music can be integrated into the Western musical concepts. That is to say that the search of a way to be free, as Epstein called it, is a common practice, and it does not seem possible to evaluate Akyol's independently opera from that.

The existence of such a demand requires checking some established acceptances. The first one is related with the commonplace emphasis of the migrant's connection to the homeland –and therefore to the tradition. When the wish to communicate with

traditions and the desire for international integration come together, tradition becomes a re-definable and changeable concept as a result of the individual's negotiations with itself and with other productions which have the same motivations. The desire for an international integration that stands at the center of this motivation makes the creative individual –migrant or otherwise- open to *foreign* influences from other spaces. That is one of the basic points that has been missed in the evaluation of the subject. Whereas the primary acceptance is that people from Turkey tend to turn to their homeland, it is not stated or examined to where the homeland has turned. Thus it is not considered that the relationship of the community with the homeland has actually been shaped by the homeland's negotiations with other lands. Because of that, Taner Akyol's connections to tradition is not limited to the traditional musics of Turkey. On the contrary, we should talk about productions and experiments in diverse genres that share the same framework and motivation since Akyol's opera was not only shaped by his individual choice to break down the prestige hierarchy of musical genres, but also by the fact that he derived his musical strategies by experimenting with different genres. Therefore the road leading to Akyol's opera does not originate from operatic works but from the experiments in diverse platforms and dimensions. That makes the cultural production of people from Turkey a body in its own right and own history. Nevertheless, the question derived from Epstein's statement produces the same answer from each position. The opera provides an opportunity for Akyol to be free from the cultures in which he was born and educated. However, the following statement by Epstein (2009) should also be kept in mind:

> It does not have place anywhere; it is the force of displacement. As soon as we try to define transculture, it recedes further into the area of "being beyond". Thus we can describe many stages of transcultural movement but not the ultimate Transculture that permits us to see and describe everything that is not, but not to see and describe what it is. (p. 332)

In this sense *Ali Baba und 40 Räuber* is a transcultural work, and a part of the transcultural phenomena, but the whole to which it belongs can only be described by the ones that negate it.

The conceptualization of *Transkulturalität* (transculturality) by Welsch (1995) does not only take its source from the need for a new framework, it is also the definition of a perspective on the evaluation of culture and cultural phenomena, since the transcultural modifier distinguishes it from other cultural modifiers, such as intercultural and multicultural, with its definition of culture. In this sense, culture is already defined as decentered (Epstein, 1999, p. 31), and as a "metamorphic, confluential and intermingling" (Dagnino, 2011) process. Even though it can be said that this approach resonates the concept of third space by Homi Bhabha developed in his *The location of culture* (2004), it also expands it in some ways (Dagnino, 2011, pp. 6-7) because it considers the bodies of single national cultures as historically transcultural (Welsch, 1995). In this way, it resembles the metaphor of multiple, non-hierarchical rhizome[183] by Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari that is always "in the middle, between thing, interbeing, intermezzo" (1987, p. 25).

Both the *Transkulturalität* by Welsch and the rhizomatic structures by Deleuze and Guattari are useful conceptualizations by which to define Akyol's relationship with traditions and homelands. For instance, considering homeland as a one-dimensional body covers its other dimensions such as the different meanings and functions that are added by individuals. One of the reasons why Akyol chose the *Ali Baba and Forty Thieves* story is the quality of the story that makes it possible for it to be interpreted as being associated with *Alevilik*. That quality allowed him to use his individual –and collective- identity effectively in music. The message is summed up as a story in which a laborer take their rightful earnings, which was another reason for Akyol, who defines himself as a *devrimci* (revolutionist) politically. On the other hand, for the commissioner, the *Komische Oper*, the main reason was that the story belongs to the East but is well-known in the West. There is also the statement by Ulrich Lenz, the dramaturge of the production, who stated that the story was proposed to Akyol because it belongs to the Arab world[184]. The fact that the costumes of the thieves were designed after an investigation of the clothing style of

[183] The concept of third space refers to the spaces that contain diversity and plurality instead of Cartesian duality. It indicates new composites that compose of diverse cultures, traditions, resources and discourses. Similarly the metaphor of rhizome expresses beings that has no beginning no end; rhizomes are always in the middle, between things, interbeings, intermezzi (Zourabichvili, 2011, pp. 105-107).

[184] from the correspondences with Ulrich Lenz.

Masoud Barzani and the peshmargas are considered, whose perception of homeland played a role in the realization of the work remains extremely blurry. It is quite a rhizomatic structure that has no beginning and no end. Similarly, tradition, as Akyol defined in his opera, is a selection from a body that has multiple components and is therefore subjective. It is presumptively open to countless subjective selections in this way. Thus different components create different bodies by interacting with each other. For example, Akyol uses only two of the many *düzen*s (tunings) in the *bağlama* tradition in Turkey, *bozuk düzen* and *bağlama düzeni* because there is another tradition, opera, as the superstructure to consider. This means that he was aware of that he has been writing an opera. The components of this superstructure, the string instruments and their tunings in this case, played important role since Akyol wanted to evaluate the *bağlama* within this superstructure. This means that he had to choose ones with a potential for a concord.

Ali Baba und 40 Räuber also shows that homeland for Akyol is actually a meta-concept that has several components, just as Welsch conceptualized *Transkulturität*. As exemplified by the *Elazığ Halayı* in Act I, mentioning homelands that are combined at a moment in time –rather than one homeland- is more accurate in Akyol's case. These homelands do not care about the boundaries of cities, regions and states as they are represented on the political maps since his references refer to multiple homelands.

The transcultural modifier is not only a matter of macro structures but also of micro structures, that is the individual (Welsch, 1995). In other words, it considers to be not singular or one-dimensional but multiple, as stated by Cuccioletta (2002) states (p. 8). Similarly, it was stated that one of the postulations of the dissertation was to consider the individuals as members of more than one group, and as agencies that transmit ideas or tendencies from one group to another. In the case of Akyol, one of the groups is religious, and the other is ideological group; one is local and the other is international. Akyol's two identities, *Alevi* and *devrimci* (revolutionist), played critical roles in his decision for the plot treatment, and therefore the character, of the Ali Baba story. Additionally, another identity of Akyol and one of the librettists –Çetin İpekkaya- also finds a place in the treatment of the Ali Baba story: the identity of being both a German citizen and an individual with origins in Turkey. For example, there is a scene in Act I between Karakaçan and Kasım. It seems that this

scene is actually about the conflict between the self and the other since they are arguing about the braying of a donkey. Here Karakaçan claims that the sound of braying is "a-i" in his homeland, but Kasım says it is "i-a". If, for a moment, we forget that Ali Baba and Kasım are brothers and that the homeland Karakaçan refers to is also the homeland of Kasım, the scene would remain as a funny and even ridiculous moment of the opera. However, it was inter-penetrated into this scene that residents of a homeland may have different origins.

Akyol's opera also reflects the overlooked pro-cyclicality of the cultural production of people from Turkey in Germany. In fact, the parts of subject matter production are interconnected and complementary due to shared mainstream tendencies and discourses. In order to understand Akyol's opera, we have to look at other periods and their content. For instance, it is not possible to evaluate Akyol's personality as composer and his opera without considering the previous motivations and experiments that were made to integrate the *bağlama* and symphonic orchestra. Similarly, Akyol's personal political position, which reflects on his production, is also related to those groups to which he considers himself a member. This means that the collective production of these groups had a strong influence on his production as explained in the analysis of the opera.

One of the factors that determines the musical production of people from Turkey in the BRD is the institutional bodies in which music was produced and consumed. The activities that were stuck in migrant organizations by necessity have only recently began to infiltrate into the buildings which are suitable for cultural activities. Although this road has been opened by the shifting ideas of the authorities about people from Turkey and with their vertical and horizontal dispersion within the social structure, it is not a complete process since the conditions that shape the activities of people from Turkey have not been sufficiently examined.

When it comes to the activities of people from Turkey, there are systems and institutions on the one side, and the demands and needs of people from Turkey in the BRD on the other side. The courses for folk dances and *bağlama*, TSM and *Türk Halk Müziği* (Turkish Folk Music) choirs, for instance, have not been considered cultural activities by the institutions. This means that the cultural demands and needs of people from Turkey were not provided and they were left alone –without any negative or positive intimation. Consequently, they provided continuity for their

cultural activities by developing specific organizational forms under the roof of their migrant institutions, which were the only available institutional bodies. These activities were unplanned, unsystematic and even chaotic when examined from outside but were composed of personal interrelations and also included diversity and freedom for the very same reasons. Since these institutions do not usually have artistic or stylistic concerns, the individuals participating in these activities usually oscillated between genres, styles and tendencies; however overlooking that oscillation is natural for foreign eyes. However, the activities organized in the 50th anniversary of the migration showed that the oscillation could actually provide a meaningful basis for *integration*. In this sense, Akyol and his opera are examples of what happens if institutions step in, and how they influence the production itself.

Taner Akyol is the first -and so far the only- *bağlama* player with origins in Turkey to be accepted as a composition student to the *Hochschule für Musik Hanns Eisler*. He is atypical in this respect. However, this atypicality is useful to investigate the effects of system institutions on the subject. If Akyol had not been integrated into one of these institution –or if the system institution had refused to involve him-, *Ali Baba und 40 Räuber* would have never been composed in this manner, and the *Komischer Oper* would have never commissioned such a work from Akyol. In other words, an institution would not have found anyone to meet its demand for a composer acquinted with both classical and traditional music if another system institution had not previously laid the foundation. Akyol may have become a musician and composer, but the space of his production would have been a migrant organization or a commercial enterprise. This alternative life story may seem extremely speculative but there are enough examples of those lives to show how this fictional story is real possibility. Şafak Altun from Hamburg wrote his own story to to me in 2011:

> I was holding a *bağlama* when I came to Hamburg on 15 *October* 1977. An academician sitting next to me in the plane asked: "Why are you carrying this *bağlama* with you?" My answer to that arrogant and pedantic man –he was a professor- was that: "We came with our *bağlama* from Middle Asia, I am carrying it because I want to introduce and popularize it in Europe!" The man cynically laughed in my face, my childish pride was broken. A year later I sent a *bağlama* composition to Hamburg Music Academy and applied to study music. The answer was "unfortunately, we do not know this instrument, we cannot accept you", all my dreams were destroyed.[185]

The common point of these two life stories –and of many other- is the association with the *bağlama*. Indeed, the *bağlama* has been considered as an indicator of origin and as an agent to become articulated, and has undertaken such a meaning and function. Since the beginning of the 2000s, and in addition to the past experiments, the *bağlama* has become the most popular and important instrument in both meaning and function. *Bağlama İçin Denemeler* by Kemal Dinç, *Siyah Kalem Dansı* (2007) for *bağlama* and electronic music by Mehmet Can Özer, *Bağlama und Sinfonieorchester* (2013) by Sinem Altan, and many other works are examples of a new phase of musical production of people from Turkey. Only the analyses of these works, and their musical investigations, that are into their conceptualizations and treatments, can reveal the characteristics of this phase open.

[185] from the personal letter of Şafak Altun.

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Url-46 <http://haberdesin.com/haber/gundem/dersimde-ne-olmustu >, accessed on 01.05.2012.

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Url-50 <http://www.bpb.de/geschichte/deutsche-geschichte/anwerbeabkommen/43264/das-anwerbeabkommen>, accessed 14.09.2013.

Url-51 <http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=847>, accessed on 04.07.2013.

Url-52 <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/anayasa/anayasa61.htm>, accessed on 11.05.2013.

Url-53 <http://ekutup.dpt.gov.tr/plan1.pdf>, accessed on 21.04.2013.

Url-54 <http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=848>, accessed on 20.04.2013.

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Url-56 <http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=857>, accessed on 14.07.2013.

Url-57 <http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=853>, accessed on 24.05.2013.

Url-58 <http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=852>, accessed on 09.10.2013.

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Url-60 <http://www.golyr.de/boulevard-bou/songtext-eski-okul-46379.html>, accessed on 16.07.2013.

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Url-65 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Agv4Kje291g>, accessed on 14.04.2012.

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Url-67 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LSMNMIX8hrQ>, accessed on 01.05.2012.

Url-68 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iQ0PePDPQKs>, accessed on 11.06.2013.

Url-69 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZGuadXdQfGM>, accessed on 05.03.2013.

Url-70 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jKu8ltU89Qc>, accessed on 05.03.2013.

Url-71 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pfDe4Y-AT9A>, accessed on 03.12.2013.

Url-72 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wy1ye31LzAc>, accessed on 11.06.2013.

Url-73 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cc2L7Gz53TI>, accessed on 11.06.2013.

Url-74 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TJMxAtTNVag>, accessed on 11.06.2013.

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Url-80 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6zM6eJmnVMA>, accessed on 11.06.2013.

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Url-82 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Uc4lwtNa7-c>, accessed on 11.06.2013.

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Url-87 <http://www.dostunsayfasi.com/diger-muzik-turleri/31705-attf-isci-korosu-isci-sarki-ve-marslari.html>, accessed on 01.05.2012.

Url-88 <http://www.dostunsayfasi.com/diger-muzik-turleri/31705-attf-isci-korosu-isci-sarki-ve-marslari.html>, accessed on 03.12.2013.

Url-89 <http://www.dostunsayfasi.com/diger-muzik-turleri/31705-attf-isci-korosu-isci-sarki-ve-marslari.html>, accessed on 11.06.2013.

Url-90 <http://www.dostunsayfasi.com/diger-muzik-turleri/31705-attf-isci-korosu-isci-sarki-ve-marslari.html>, accessed on 11.06.2013.

Url-91 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IGIH3DHfqp4>, accessed on 05.03.2013.

Url-92 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zAqwn5iy6Dc>, accessed on 09.10.2013.

Url-93 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EAHIhr8h3-Q>, accessed on 11.06.2013.

Url-94 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xh83SVQzHcE>, accessed on 11.06.2013.

Url-95 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uFYUuvrRM-Q>, accessed on 03.12.2013.

Url-96 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oBqDs2H-oIg>, accessed on 01.05.2012.

Url-97 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jl4XsDWKeIo>, accessed on 11.06.2013.

Url-98 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h7zBb2giX7c>, accessed on 11.06.2013.

Url-99 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=plIodmTGu-Q>, accessed on 05.03.2013.

Url-100 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vJRtyu6xlw8>, accessed on 05.03.2013.

Url-101 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sooPyoaIfsg>, accessed on 11.06.2013.

Url-102 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8X_UjC6m0uo>, accessed on 11.06.2013.

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Url-107 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qFUBJHI4KyI>, accessed on 01.05.2012.

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Url-111 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zpKh49WWEc0>, accessed on 03.12.2013.

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Url-142 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fLll2lD4iE4>, accessed on 03.12.2013.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: DOCUMENTATION

Table A.1 : List of Documents.

Table A.1 (continued): List of Documents.

Table A.1 (continued): List of Documents.

Figure A.1 : Booklet of Yakamoz Türkische Musik & Kultur Heute (Url-45).

http://www.hgnm.de

PROGRAMM

präsentiert von

hannoversche gesellschaft
für neue musik

VORAB:

>MOBILE SOUND PLASTIC

JOHANNES S. SISTERMANNS: *„von, entfernt"* (UA)

Auf dem Weg vom „Platz der Weltausstellung" zu Fuß und auf dem Maschsee mit dem Tretboot wird eine flüchtige KlangPlastik mit Klängen aus der Türkei und Hannover ablaufen. Sein Thema: Bruch/Übergang. Nicht als Selbstzweck, sondern als Nahtstelle zwischen zwei alten Kulturen.

Freitag, 23. September 2011,
18.10 Uhr: Platz der Weltausstellung & 18.30 Uhr: Maschsee
Samstag, 24. September 2011,
17.40 Uhr: Platz der Weltausstellung & 18.00 Uhr: Maschsee
Sonntag, 25. September 2011,
16.40 Uhr: Platz der Weltausstellung & 17.00 Uhr: Maschsee

>KLANGINSTALLATION

ALPER MARAL:
***„Das klingende Alphabet"* (2005)**

12. – 23. Oktober 2011, täglich 12.00 Uhr, 15.00 Uhr und 19.00 Uhr
Platz der Weltausstellung

>LESUNG

SELIM ÖZDOGAN: *„Heimstraße 52"*

In Kooperation mit dem Kulturbüro der Landeshauptstadt Hannover und dem Literaturhaus Hannover e.V.

Mittwoch, 12. Oktober 2011, 19.30 Uhr
Literaturhaus; Künstlerhaus (Sophienstraße 2)
Eintritt 8 EUR* / 6 EUR*

>LITERATUR & MUSIK

DENIZ UTLU & MURAT COŞKUN:
„Meine erste Begegnung mit der Unendlichkeit"

In Kooperation mit dem Kulturbüro der Landeshauptstadt Hannover

Samstag, 15. Oktober 2011, 19.30 Uhr
Künstlerhaus (Sophienstraße 2)
Eintritt 5 EUR Karten nur an der Abendkasse erhältlich

>YAKAMOZ JAZZ

MURAT COŞKUN UND ENSEMBLE FISFÜZ

„Yakamoz" beschreibt das Aufleuchten des Meeres zur Nachtzeit im Mondschein. Ebenso klar steht der Name des ensemble FisFüz für bilderreiches und starkes musikalisches Erzählen. Das deutsch-türkische Trio verknüpft mit selbstverständlicher Leichtigkeit orientalische Klangfarben mit der Eigenart moderner Skalen.

Sonntag, 16. Oktober 2011, 19.00 Uhr
Faust - Warenannahme
Eintritt 15 EUR* / 10 EUR*

>LESUNG

FERIDUN ZAIMOGLU: *„Ruß"*

In Kooperation mit dem Kulturbüro der Landeshauptstadt Hannover und dem Literarischen Salon Hannover

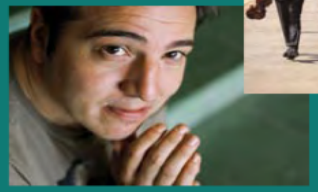
Dienstag, 18. Oktober 2011, 20.00 Uhr
Literarischer Salon Hannover (Königswörther Platz 1, Conti-Hochhaus, 14. Etage)
Eintritt 9 EUR / 5 EUR

> KONZERT

FAZIL SAY & BORUSAN QUARTET

Der Starpianist und Komponist Fazil Say zu Gast bei YAKAMOZ: Gemeinsam mit dem renommierten Borusan Quartet präsentiert er Werke von Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Fazil Say und Ulvi Cemal Erkin.

Donnerstag, 20. Oktober 2011,
19.30 Uhr
Galerie Herrenhausen
Eintritt 10 – 35 EUR*



>SYMPOSIUM

„Neue (?) Musik am Bosporus – deutsch-türkische Perspektiven"

Wissenschaftler und Komponisten vermitteln facettenreiche Hintergrundinformationen zum Festivalprogramm. Mit dem Interface Quartett.
In Kooperation mit der Hochschule für Musik, Theater und Medien Hannover

Samstag, 22. Oktober 2011, ganztägig 11.00 Uhr bis 18.30 Uhr
Hochschule für Musik, Theater und Medien Hannover (Raum 202)
Eintritt frei

>GESPRÄCHSKONZERT

zeit-lupe | TANER AKYOL

Im Gespräch mit dem Türkeiexperten Martin Greve wird der Komponist Taner Akyol vorgestellt, der in seinen Werken traditionelle türkische Volksmusik mit Tendenzen der zeitgenössischen westlichen Musik verbindet.

Samstag, 22. Oktober 2011, 19.30 Uhr
Hochschule für Musik, Theater und Medien Hannover (Raum 202)
Eintritt 6 EUR* / 3 EUR*

>FAMILIENKONZERT

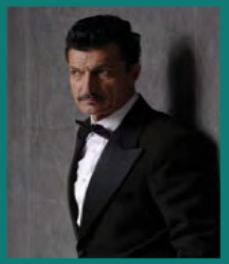
Ein moderiertes Konzert für Kinder und Erwachsene

Sonntag, 23. Oktober 2011, 11.00 Uhr
Neues Rathaus Hannover (Bürgersaal)
Eintritt frei

> KONZERT

BURHAN ÖCAL DUO

Improvisationen über türkische Klangwelten: Burhan Öcal inszeniert gemeinsam mit seinem Duopartner Ümit Adakale die Musik der pulsierenden Metropole Istanbul, die im Schnittpunkt zwischen Balkan und Orient liegt.



Sonntag, 23. Oktober 2011, 19.00 Uhr
Pavillon Hannover
Eintritt 15 EUR* / 10 EUR*

Figure A.1 (continued) : Booklet of Yakamoz Türkische Musik & Kultur Heute (Url-45).

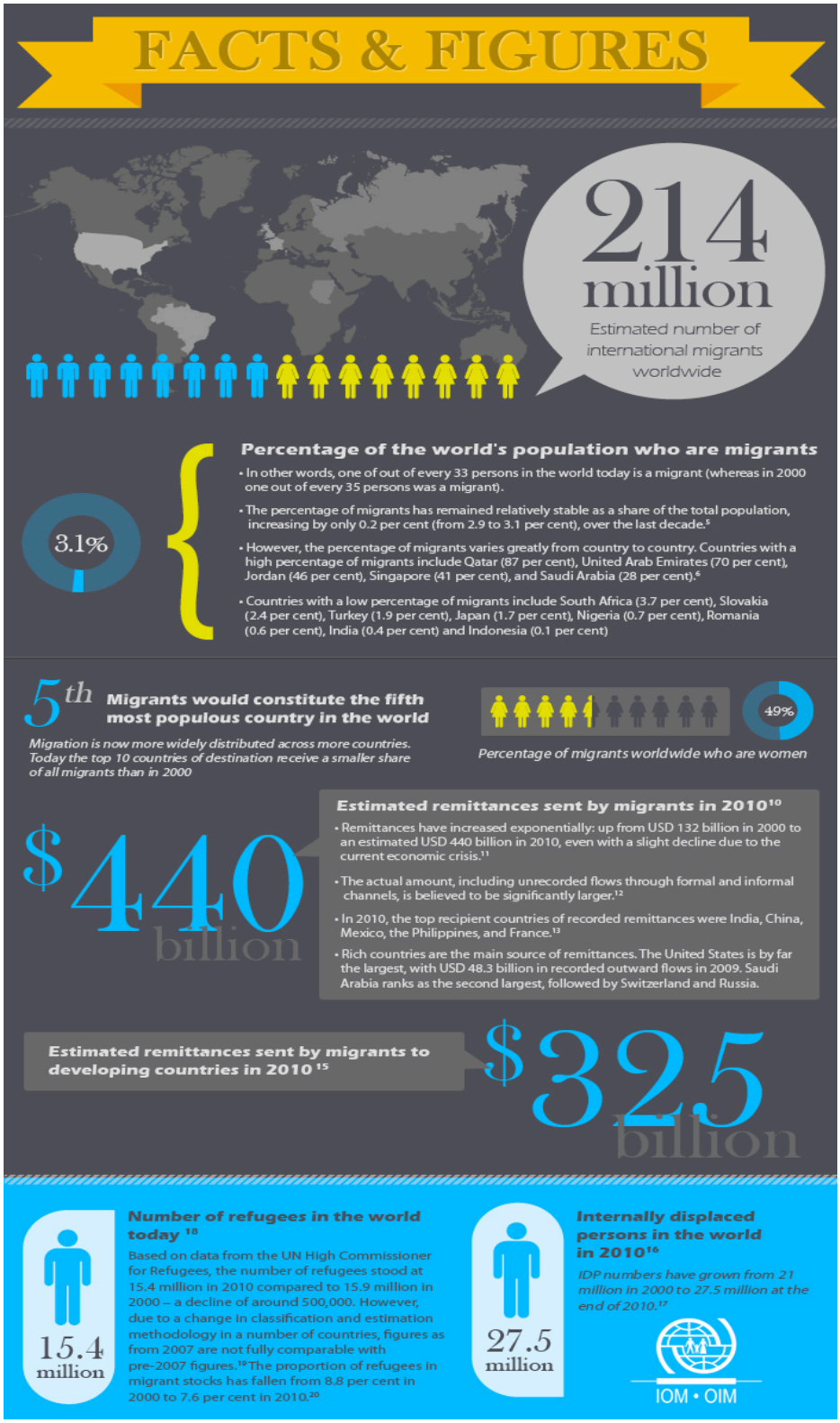


Figure A.2 : IOM-Infographic (Url-46).

GHDI - Document

"The Turks are coming"

Alongside the recruitment of workers from Italy, Spain, and Greece, the hiring of Turkish workers will begin in the near future, as the Federal Employment Agency just announced. On the basis of a provisional arrangement with Turkish government authorities, in cooperation with the Federal Employment Agency and the Turkish Labor Administration, workers will be recruited in Turkey and transported to the Federal Republic. Recent news reports may have already suggested that German authorities had this intention; nevertheless, the announcement of the realization of these plans is somewhat surprising. For one thing, the reservoir of manpower from previous countries of recruitment has hardly been exhausted; moreover, countries belonging to the EEC [European Economic Community] should have a certain priority over countries not yet included in the recruitment of workers. Additionally, Turkey numbers among those countries in need of development aid, and in this respect it is not entirely unfair to ask if it is sensible to deprive a country like Turkey, which is dependent on its manpower for the continued expansion of its own economy, of those very workers. Certainly, one has to make sure that these workers are not needed back home at the same time. For the practical implementation of a cooperation between the Federal Employment Agency and the Turkish Labor Administration, a provisional agreement was signed; it provides for the following: effective as of July 15, 1961, a German liaison office in Istanbul will handle the placement of Turkish workers suitable for the Federal Republic. For the time being, placement will be restricted to the regional employment office districts of Baden-Württemberg, North Rhine-Westphalia, and Hamburg, which already employ a considerable number of Turkish workers, and where there is already experience with hiring Turkish workers. Since the German Federal Railway is interested in hiring a large contingent of track and loading workers, this restriction does not apply to contracts with the German Federal Railway. For the time being, however, companies can make hiring requests for Turkish workers at the employment offices only if they are orders for male workers not specified by name. For unskilled and semi-skilled male workers, who are available in

Figure A.3 : Die Türken kommen (Url-49).

as large a number as anyone might want, only orders to place larger groups (at least 25 workers) will be accepted at first. Beyond that, presumably, it should be possible to place qualified workers in the textile industry, metalworking industry, food, drink, and tobacco industries, shipbuilding, building trades, mining, as well as quarrying and brick making. Here, though, it should be noted that while qualified Turkish workers have a certain amount of professional knowledge and experience, their practical training is not as systematic as that which is customary in the Federal Republic. For every Turkish worker requested – subject to final approval by the governing board of the Federal Employment Agency – companies must pay a lump sum for expenses in the amount of 120 DM – corresponding to the amount for recruitment in Greece – and a travel supplement of 30 DM, which comes to a total of 150 DM. The German liaison office in Istanbul will routinely inform the employment offices about placement prospects as soon as it receives a comprehensive overview of the manpower supply. It is recommended that interested employers turn to the employment office in their jurisdiction for further information.

Source: "Die Türken kommen" ["The Turks are Coming"], *Arbeitgeber*, 1961, p. 480 ff; reprinted in Christoph Kleßmann and Georg Wagner, eds., *Das gespaltene Land. Leben in Deutschland 1945-1990* [*The Divided Country. Life in Germany 1945-1990*]. Munich, 1993, pp. 191-93.

Translation: Jeremiah Riemer

Figure A.3 : Die Türken kommen (Url-49).

Bundesarbeitsblatt

HERAUSGEBER: DER BUNDESMINISTER FÜR ARBEIT UND SOZIALORDNUNG

13. Jahrgang | Bonn, den 10. Februar 1962 | Nummer 3

AMTLICHE NACHRICHTEN

Beruf und Arbeit

Richtlinien für die Berücksichtigung bevorzugter Bewerber bei der Vergabe von öffentlichen Aufträgen gemäß § 37 Abs. 2 des Schwerbeschädigtengesetzes *)

Richtl. des BMWi vom 15. November 1961 – I B 7 – 262355

Bundesanz. Nr. 233 vom 6. Dezember 1961

I. Bevorzugte Bewerber gemäß § 37 Abs. 2 des Schwerbeschädigtengesetzes

§ 1

Personenkreis

Bevorzugte Bewerber im Sinne dieser Richtlinien sind Schwerbeschädigte gemäß § 1 des Schwerbeschädigtengesetzes sowie Unternehmen, an denen Schwerbeschädigte mit mindestens der Hälfte des Kapitals beteiligt sind, sofern ihre Beteiligung und Mitwirkung an der Geschäftsführung sichergestellt ist.

§ 2

Nachweis der Eigenschaft als bevorzugter Bewerber

(1) Der Nachweis der Eigenschaft als Schwerbeschädigter im Sinne des § 1 ist gegenüber den Vergabestellen durch Vorlage der Schwerkriegsbeschädigtenausweise I oder II oder des Schwerbeschädigtenausweises gemäß den Richtlinien über Ausweise für Schwerbeschädigte und Schwererwerbsbeschränkte vom 3. August 1957 (Gemeinsames Ministerialblatt S. 395) zu erbringen.

(2) Der Nachweis der Beteiligung und der Mitwirkung an der Geschäftsführung ist gegenüber den Vergabestellen durch Vorlage eines beglaubigten Handelsregisterauszuges, beglaubigter Abschriften der zum Handelsregister eingereichten Schriftstücke, insbesondere des Gesellschaftsvertrages, oder sonstiger geeigneter öffentlicher oder privater Urkunden zu führen.

II. Art und Ausmaß der Bevorzugung

§ 3

Inhalt der Bevorzugung

(1) Bei beschränkten Ausschreibungen und freihändigen Vergaben sind regelmäßig neben den nach anderen Bestimmungen bevorzugten Bewerbern auch die in § 1 genannten Personen und Unternehmen in angemessenem Umfange zur Angebotsabgabe aufzufordern.

(2) Die Landesauftragsstellen (Auftragsberatungsstellen) können den Vergabestellen bevorzugte Bewerber im Sinne des § 1 benennen. Ein Verzeichnis der Landesauftragsstellen (Auftragsberatungsstellen) liegt an.

(3) Ist bei öffentlicher oder beschränkter Ausschreibung oder bei freihändiger Vergabe das Angebot eines nach § 1 bevorzugten Bewerbers ebenso wirtschaftlich wie das eines Bewerbers, der weder nach § 1 noch nach anderen Bestimmungen bevorzugt ist, so soll dem bevorzugten Bewerber der Zuschlag erteilt werden. Liegt das Angebot eines nach § 1 bevorzugten Bewerbers nur geringfügig über dem wirtschaftlichsten Angebot, so soll auch in diesem Falle dem bevorzugten Bewerber der Zuschlag erteilt werden. Trifft bei Bewerbern um öffentliche Aufträge die Bevorzugung nach § 1 mit Bevorzugungen nach anderen Bestimmungen zusammen, so soll demjenigen Bewerber der Zuschlag erteilt werden, bei dem die Mehrzahl der Merkmale vorliegt. Bei Bietern mit gleicher Anzahl solcher Merkmale kann der Zuschlag auf die Angebote dieser Bieter angemessen verteilt werden.

*) In der Fassung vom 14. August 1961 (Bundesgesetzbl. I S. 1234).

§ 4

Sonderregelung für Arbeitsgemeinschaften

Falls das Angebot von einer Arbeitsgemeinschaft abgegeben wird, ist bei Ermittlung der als geringfügig anzusehenden Überschreitung (§ 3 Abs. 3 Satz 2) nur derjenige Anteil zugrunde zu legen, den nach § 1 bevorzugte Bewerber an dem Gesamtangebot der Arbeitsgemeinschaft haben.

III. Schlußbestimmungen

§ 5

Anwendung der Richtlinien

(1) Die Richtlinien sind nach ihrer Bekanntgabe im Bundesanzeiger anzuwenden.

(2) Die Richtlinien ergehen im Einvernehmen mit dem Bundesminister für Arbeit und Sozialordnung und dem Bundesminister des Innern.

Regelung der Vermittlung türkischer Arbeitnehmer nach der Bundesrepublik Deutschland

Deutsch-türkische Vereinbarung vom 30. Oktober 1961

Zwischen der Regierung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und der Regierung der Republik Türkei ist durch Notenwechsel vom 30. Oktober 1961 eine Vereinbarung zur Regelung der Vermittlung türkischer Arbeitnehmer nach der Bundesrepublik Deutschland getroffen worden, die rückwirkend am 1. September 1961 in Kraft getreten ist und wie folgt lautet.

*

Verbalnote

Note der Türk. Botsch. vom 30. Oktober 1961

Die Türkische Botschaft beehrt sich, den Empfang der Verbalnote des Auswärtigen Amtes vom 30. Oktober 1961 — 505 — 83 SZV/3 — 92.42 — zu bestätigen, mit der die Regierung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland vorgeschlagen hat, die Vermittlung von arbeitsuchenden türkischen Staatsangehörigen in eine Beschäftigung bei Arbeitgebern in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland durch eine Vereinbarung zu regeln, die folgenden Wortlaut haben soll:

1.

Im Interesse einer geregelten Vermittlung türkischer Arbeitnehmer nach der Bundesrepublik Deutschland werden auf deutscher Seite die Bundesanstalt für Arbeitsvermittlung und Arbeitslosenversicherung (im folgenden Bundesanstalt genannt) und auf türkischer Seite die Türkische Anstalt für Arbeits- und Arbeitervermittlung (im folgenden Türkische Anstalt genannt) zusammenarbeiten und für die praktische Durchführung der Vermittlung ihre regionalen Dienststellen einsetzen. Sie werden sich bemühen, den Ablauf des Vermittlungsverfahrens im Rahmen dieser Vereinbarung zu verbessern und zu vereinfachen.

2.

Die Bundesanstalt errichtet zur Erleichterung der Zusammenarbeit eine Verbindungsstelle in der Republik Türkei, deren Sitz, Tätigkeit und Anwesenheitsdauer sie mit der Türkischen Anstalt vereinbart. Die zuständigen türkischen Behörden unterstützen die Verbindungsstelle bei der Durchführung ihrer Aufgaben in geeigneter Weise.

Die Kosten der Tätigkeit der Verbindungsstelle übernimmt die Bundesanstalt. Der Verbindungsstelle werden von der Türkischen Anstalt die erforderlichen, mit den üblichen Büromöbeln eingerichteten und sich für eine ärztliche Untersuchung der Bewerber eignenden Räumlichkeiten kostenlos zur Verfügung gestellt.

Figure A.4 : Regelung der Vermittlung türkischer Arbeitnehmer nach der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (Url-50).

3.

Die Verbindungsstelle und die Türkische Anstalt unterrichten sich laufend gegenseitig über die vorliegenden Beschäftigungsangebote von Arbeitgebern in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland für türkische Arbeitnehmer und über die diesen Angeboten entsprechenden Bewerbungen türkischer Arbeitnehmer. Auch ohne vorliegende Beschäftigungsangebote können Bewerbungen von Arbeitnehmern, die durch Ausbildung oder längere Tätigkeit Fachkenntnisse in einem bestimmten Beruf erworben haben, zur Vermittlung vorgeschlagen werden.

Die Beschäftigungsangebote enthalten genaue Angaben über die geforderten beruflichen Fähigkeiten der Bewerber, die Art und die etwaigen Besonderheiten der vorgesehenen Beschäftigung sowie ihre voraussichtliche Dauer. Sie enthalten ferner Angaben über die jeweils maßgebenden Lohn- und sonstigen Arbeitsbedingungen, die Möglichkeiten der Unterkunft und Verpflegung sowie alle anderen Einzelheiten, die für die Entscheidung des interessierten Bewerbers wesentlich sind.

4.

Die Bundesanstalt übermittelt ferner der Türkischen Anstalt zur Unterrichtung der interessierten türkischen Arbeitnehmer eine zusammengefaßte Darstellung über die allgemeinen Arbeits- und Lebensbedingungen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland sowie Lohnbeispiele für die hauptsächlich in Betracht kommenden Berufe. Die Zusammenstellung enthält auch Angaben über die Höhe der Abzüge vom Arbeitslohn an Steuern und Beiträgen zur Sozialversicherung und Arbeitslosenversicherung sowie über die wichtigsten Vorschriften und Leistungen auf dem Gebiet der sozialen Sicherheit. Diese Angaben werden, soweit erforderlich, nach dem jeweiligen Stand berichtigt.

5.

Die Türkische Anstalt sorgt durch die ihr als geeignet erscheinenden Verfahren für die Sammlung der eingegangenen Bewerbungen, für eine Vorauswahl der Bewerber und übernimmt die Vorstellung der Bewerber bei der Verbindungsstelle.

Bewerber, für die im Strafregister eine Freiheitsstrafe eingetragen ist, werden nicht vorgestellt. Das gleiche gilt für Bewerber, denen die zuständigen türkischen Stellen die Ausstellung eines Passes verweigern können.

Die Verbindungsstelle stellt ihrerseits fest, ob die von der Türkischen Anstalt vorgestellten Bewerber die beruflichen und gesundheitlichen Voraussetzungen für die jeweils angebotene Beschäftigung und den Aufenthalt in der Bundesrepublik erfüllen.

6.

Für jeden angenommenen Arbeitnehmer wird ein schriftlicher Arbeitsvertrag in deutscher und türkischer Sprache entsprechend der *Anlage* zu diesem Notenwechsel ausgestellt. Dieser Arbeitsvertrag wird einerseits von dem Arbeitgeber oder dessen bevollmächtigten Vertreter und andererseits von dem Arbeitnehmer unterschrieben sowie von der Türkischen Anstalt und der Verbindungsstelle mit einem Durchgangsvermerk versehen.

7.

Die türkischen Behörden tragen dafür Sorge, daß für den Arbeitnehmer ein Paß ausgestellt wird und dieser im Zeitpunkt der Einreise mindestens noch ein Jahr gültig ist. Die türkischen Konsulate werden dafür Sorge tragen, daß der Paß erforderlichenfalls einen Monat vor Ablauf seiner Gültigkeitsdauer verlängert wird.

Die Verbindungsstelle stellt dem Arbeitnehmer kostenlos eine Legitimationskarte aus. Die Legitimationskarte ersetzt die nach den Vorschriften über die Ausübung einer Beschäftigung durch nichtdeutsche Arbeitnehmer erforderliche Arbeitserlaubnis für längstens ein Jahr, und sie befreit den Inhaber für die Dauer ihrer Gültigkeit vom Einreisesichtvermerkszwang.

Der Arbeitnehmer muß ferner im Besitz einer von der zuständigen türkischen Behörde ausgestellten Bescheinigung über seinen Familienstand sein.

8.

Die Verbindungsstelle organisiert in Zusammenarbeit mit der Türkischen Anstalt die Reise der Arbeitnehmer von dem vereinbarten Abreiseort — in der Regel Istanbul — zu dem jeweiligen Beschäftigungsort in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Die Türkische Anstalt sorgt dafür, daß sich die Arbeitnehmer rechtzeitig zum Abreiseort begeben. Von der Verbindungsstelle erhalten die Arbeitnehmer eine nach der Reisedauer bemessene Reiseverpflegung oder einen entsprechenden Barbetrag. Die Reisekosten der Arbeitnehmer vom vereinbarten Abreiseort bis zum Beschäftigungsort, einschließlich der Kosten der Reiseverpflegung, werden von der Bundesanstalt vorgelegt und von dem künftigen Arbeitgeber durch Zahlung eines Pauschalbetrages an die Bundesanstalt getragen. Eine Regelung für die Rückreisekosten ist der Vereinbarung zwischen dem Arbeitgeber und dem Arbeitnehmer im Arbeitsvertrag vorbehalten.

9.

Die Arbeitnehmer sind dazu anzuhalten, daß sie sich unverzüglich nach ihrer Ankunft in dem Ort ihres gewöhnlichen Aufenthaltes in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland bei der örtlichen Meldebehörde anmelden und spätestens innerhalb von drei Tagen, jedoch möglichst vor der Arbeitsaufnahme, bei der Ausländerbehörde die Aufenthaltserlaubnis beantragen. Beabsichtigt der Arbeitnehmer länger als ein Jahr eine Beschäftigung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland auszuüben, so muß er einen Monat vor Ablauf der Gültigkeitsdauer der Legitimationskarte bei dem für seinen Aufenthaltsort zuständigen Arbeitsamt eine Arbeitserlaubnis beantragen, deren Erteilung sich nach den allgemeinen Vorschriften über die Ausübung einer Beschäftigung durch nichtdeutsche Arbeitnehmer richtet. Ebenso muß er eine Verlängerung der Gültigkeitsdauer der Aufenthaltserlaubnis bei der zuständigen Ausländerbehörde beantragen. Die Aufenthaltserlaubnis wird über eine Gesamtaufenthaltsdauer von zwei Jahren hinaus nicht erteilt. Die Dienststellen der Bundesanstalt werden den türkischen Arbeitnehmern, besonders in der ersten Zeit der Eingewöhnung, durch Erteilung von Auskünften allgemeiner Art behilflich sein.

10.

Die Regierung der Republik Türkei wird türkische Arbeitnehmer, die auf Grund dieser Vereinbarung in das Gebiet der Bundesrepublik Deutschland einreisen, jederzeit formlos zurückübernehmen, die für die Rückreise erforderlichen Reiseausweise ausstellen und erforderliche Durchreisesichtvermerke beschaffen.

11.

Diese Vereinbarung gilt auch für das Land Berlin, sofern nicht die Regierung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland der Regierung der Republik Türkei innerhalb von drei Monaten nach Inkrafttreten der Vereinbarung eine gegenteilige Erklärung abgibt.

12.

Die Vereinbarung tritt rückwirkend am 1. September 1961 in Kraft. Sie wird für ein Jahr abgeschlossen und verlängert sich stillschweigend jeweils um ein weiteres Jahr, falls sie nicht von einer der beiden Regierungen spätestens drei Monate vor Ablauf ihrer Gültigkeit gekündigt wird.

*

Die Türkische Botschaft beehrt sich, dem Auswärtigen Amt mitzuteilen, daß sich die Regierung der Republik Türkei mit den Vorschlägen der Regierung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland einverstanden erklärt. Demgemäß bilden die Verbalnote des Auswärtigen Amtes vom 30. Oktober 1961 — 505 — 83 SZ V/3 — 92.42 — und diese Antwortnote eine Vereinbarung zwischen der Regierung der Republik Türkei und der Regierung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland über die Vermittlung von türkischen Arbeitnehmern nach der Bundesrepublik Deutschland.

Die Türkische Botschaft benutzt diesen Anlaß, das Auswärtige Amt erneut ihrer ausgezeichneten Hochachtung zu versichern.

*

Anlage

Arbeitsvertrag

Zwischen dem Arbeitgeber.....
.....
mit Sitz in .....
vertreten durch .....
und dem Arbeitnehmer .....
..... geb. am .....
wohnhaft in .....
Familienstand: ledig / verheiratet / verwitwet *)
wird folgender Arbeitsvertrag vereinbart:

*) Nichtzutreffendes streichen.

Figure A.4 (continued) : Regelung der Vermittlung türkischer Arbeitnehmer nach der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (Url-50).

I.

Der Arbeitgeber verpflichtet sich, den Arbeitnehmer.....
.....
als .....
(Bezeichnung der Tätigkeit)
in .....
(Ort der Beschäftigung)
vom ..... (frühestens vom Tage des Eintreffens des Arbeitnehmers am Beschäftigungsort ab) bis zum .....
..... zu beschäftigen.

Der Arbeitnehmer verpflichtet sich, während der genannten Zeit bei dem Arbeitgeber eine Tätigkeit dieser Art auszuüben.

II.

Der türkische Arbeitnehmer erhält hinsichtlich des Arbeitsentgelts, der sonstigen Arbeitsbedingungen und des Arbeitsschutzes keinesfalls eine ungünstigere Behandlung als die vergleichbaren deutschen Arbeitnehmer — des Betriebes — *).

III.

Im einzelnen finden die Bestimmungen des Tarifvertrages zwischen .....
.....
und .....
.....
vom .....
oder des neuen Tarifvertrages, der etwa an die Stelle des früheren Tarifvertrages treten wird, Anwendung.

Der Arbeitnehmer erhält für seine Arbeit denselben Lohn wie ein vergleichbarer deutscher Arbeiter — des Betriebes — *).

Sein Bruttolohn beträgt zur Zeit ..... DM stündlich / wöchentlich *).

Ferner werden wie bei einem vergleichbaren deutschen Arbeitnehmer des Betriebes vergütet:

a) Überstunden je Stunde mit . . . . . DM
(Stundenlohn einschl. Zuschlag)
b) Nachtarbeit je Stunde mit . . . . . DM
(Stundenlohn einschl. Zuschlag)
c) Sonntagsarbeit je Stunde mit . . . . . DM
(Stundenlohn einschl. Zuschlag)
d) Feiertagsarbeit je Stunde mit . . . . . DM
(Stundenlohn einschl. Zuschlag)

Bei Akkordarbeit werden die Akkorde so festgesetzt, daß der Arbeitnehmer bei normaler Leistung unter den im Betrieb üblichen Bedingungen ..... DM in der Stunde verdient.

IV.

Die Arbeitszeit richtet sich nach den für den Betrieb geltenden Bestimmungen.

Die regelmäßige Arbeitszeit beträgt zur Zeit ..... Stunden täglich / wöchentlich *).

V.

a) Der Arbeitgeber stellt von sich aus dem Arbeitnehmer eine vom zuständigen Arbeitsamt für angemessen befundene Unterkunft zur Verfügung —
Der Arbeitgeber verpflichtet sich, für eine vom zuständigen Arbeitsamt für angemessen befundene Unterkunft des Arbeitnehmers Sorge zu tragen *).
b) Als Unterkunft ist vorgesehen — ein Einzelzimmer — eine Gemeinschaftsunterkunft mit höchstens ..... Betten *).
c) Für die Unterkunft hat der Arbeitnehmer täglich / wöchentlich / monatlich ..... DM — kein Entgelt — zu zahlen *).
d) Der Arbeitgeber stellt von sich aus dem Arbeitnehmer eine angemessene Verpflegung zur Verfügung, bestehend aus Frühstück / Mittagessen / Abendessen *).
e) Für die unter d) genannte Verpflegung hat der Arbeitnehmer täglich / wöchentlich / monatlich ..... DM — kein Entgelt — zu zahlen *).
f) Die Verpflegung des Arbeitnehmers ist ihm durch Selbstversorgung auf eigene Kosten überlassen *).

*) Nichtzutreffendes streichen.

VI.

Der Arbeitnehmer hat das Recht auf bezahlten Urlaub nach den für den Betrieb geltenden Bestimmungen.

Nach einer ununterbrochenen Beschäftigungsdauer von ..... Monaten in dem Betrieb des Arbeitgebers, beträgt der Urlaub ..... Werktage für jeden angefangenen / vollendeten Beschäftigungsmonat *).

VII.

Der Arbeitgeber übernimmt / übernimmt nicht *) die Kosten der Rückreise des Arbeitnehmers von dem Beschäftigungsort bis nach .....
einschließlich einer Reiseverpflegung von ..... DM, wenn der Arbeitnehmer den Arbeitsvertrag erfüllt hat oder diesen aus Gründen, die der Arbeitgeber zu vertreten hat, nicht erfüllen kann.

VIII.

Für das durch diesen Vertrag begründete Arbeitsverhältnis gilt das deutsche Recht. Ansprüche aus diesem Vertrag können nicht gegen den Vertreter des Arbeitgebers, sondern nur gegen den Arbeitgeber selbst geltend gemacht werden. Für alle sich aus diesem Vertrag ergebenden Streitigkeiten sind die deutschen Gerichte für Arbeitssachen zuständig.

Etwaige ergänzende Vereinbarungen

.....
.....
Ort und Datum
.....
Unterschrift des Arbeitnehmers

Durchgangsvermerk und Unterschrift der deutschen Verbindungsstelle in der Türkei

*) Nichtzutreffendes streichen.

Änderung der Vereinbarung zwischen der Regierung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und der Regierung der Italienischen Republik vom 20. Dezember 1955 in der Fassung vom 1. März 1957 über die Anwerbung und Vermittlung von italienischen Arbeitskräften nach der Bundesrepublik Deutschland

Bek. des BMAusw. und des BMA vom 14. Dezember 1961

Bundesanz. Nr. 2 vom 4. Januar 1962

In Bonn ist durch Notenwechsel vom 20. Februar 1961 die Vereinbarung zwischen der Regierung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und der Regierung der Italienischen Republik vom 20. Dezember 1955 in der Fassung vom 1. März 1957 über die Anwerbung und Vermittlung von italienischen Arbeitskräften nach der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (Bundesanzeiger Nr. 11 vom 17. Januar 1956 und Nr. 106 vom 5. Juni 1957) *) in einigen Punkten und in der *Anlage 4 Muster B* geändert worden. Die Änderungen sind am 20. Februar 1961 in Kraft getreten. Die Vereinbarung und sämtliche Anlagen werden nachstehend in der nunmehr gültigen Fassung veröffentlicht.

Diese Bekanntmachung ergeht im Anschluß an die Bekanntmachung vom 27. Mai 1957 (Bundesanzeiger Nr. 106 vom 5. Juni 1957).

*

Vereinbarung zwischen der Regierung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und der Regierung der Italienischen Republik über die Anwerbung und Vermittlung von italienischen Arbeitskräften nach der Bundesrepublik Deutschland vom 20. Dezember 1955 in der Fassung vom 20. Februar 1961.

Die Regierung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und die Regierung der Italienischen Republik,

von dem Wunsch geleitet, die Beziehungen zwischen ihren Völkern im Geiste europäischer Solidarität zu beiderseitigem Nutzen zu vertiefen und enger zu gestalten sowie die zwischen ihnen bestehenden Bande der Freundschaft zu festigen,

*) Vgl. BArbBl. 1957, S. 427.

Figure A.4 (continued) : Regelung der Vermittlung türkischer Arbeitnehmer nach der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (Url-50).

German History in Documents and Images

Volume 9. Two Germanies, 1961-1989
The Labor Minister Welcomes the Millionth Guest Worker (October 30, 1964)

Only four years after the start of systematic recruitment, Labor Minister Theodor Blank marked the arrival of the millionth “guest worker” and described these foreign workers as essential to the success of the German economy. Here, he expresses his wish for migrant laborers to become a permanent part of the workforce.

One Million Guest Workers: An Essential Prerequisite for the Success of the German Economy

Almost one million guest workers are employed in the Federal Republic. Thus one million people from other countries help keep our economy in gear and running at full throttle. From year to year, our economy has become more and more dependent on the help of guest workers. Today they are an essential prerequisite for the success of the German economy.

These one million people in German workplaces contribute to the continued growth of our production, the maintenance of stable prices, and the preservation of our prestige on the world market. The role of guest workers in the labor market will certainly become even more important in the coming years. The desire for foreign labor is still strong in many sectors of our economy. Our own labor pool, if we can believe the statistics, will shrink even more in the coming years. The much-talked about shifts in the age distribution of our population will also reduce the size of the next generation. Only twenty-two percent of our population is under fifteen years of age. This figure puts the Federal Republic in second-to-last place in Europe. This situation alone makes it clear that we will continue to depend on foreign labor in the years to come.

But recruiting and placing guest workers also entails considerable difficulties. This is most noticeable in Italy. Today the Federal Agency for Job Placement and Unemployment Insurance is already making a sustained effort to find new workers on the peripheries of Europe, in places like Spain, Portugal, Greece, and Turkey. If we want to keep our economy in gear, we are dependent on guest workers. Therefore, I would like to take this opportunity to warmly thank our helpers from abroad for the contributions they have made thus far.

It is no longer possible to imagine economic life in the Federal Republic without guest workers. They are fully entitled to partake of the social benefits available in the Federal Republic. Without

Figure A.5 : Eine Million Gastarbeiter. Eine nicht unerhabliche Voraussetzung für das Gedeihen der deutschen Wirtschaft (Url-51).

a doubt, they are also doing their best to meet the high demands – in terms of both quantity and quality – placed on the German economy, both at home and abroad. Good wages and their own frugality give foreign workers an opportunity to support their dependents. Additionally, through their work here, they can also acquire valuable skills that can benefit their own economies when they go back home.

To be sure, it is sometimes difficult to get settled [here], to adjust to different socio-economic conditions, the German work rhythm, foreign surroundings, and different customs and habits. And at times there is surely friction with colleagues and other Germans. I would like to urgently appeal to my German compatriots to show understanding for the difficulties faced by guest workers and to avoid rash criticisms of their customs and habits.

It is my wish that it will become easier for them to adjust to life here. The federal government is doing everything it can to continue to improve the situation of foreign workers and to satisfy their wishes as far as possible. We are particularly concerned with bringing their families over. I have no illusions; it will take some time for this to be achieved. But I can assure guest workers that we will do everything we can to make their lives here as tolerable as possible. The 200 DM in loans granted by the Federal Agency for Job Placement and Unemployment Insurance for the building of workers' residences has already proven a valuable source of assistance. The Nuremberg office has allocated another DM 50 million in loans for the construction of family apartments for guest workers.

We are interested in having the guest workers stay with us for an extended period of time. Statistics show that this expectation is justified. Two-thirds of the guest workers employed here at the end of 1963 had already spent a year or more in Germany. Almost one in four had already worked here for three years. Seasonal workers have largely become permanent workers. We welcome this because it enhances stability, makes it easier for guest workers to settle in, and ensures smooth operations in companies.

We will not remain idle in the remaining areas either. The tried and true system of social security in the Federal Republic is largely available to guest workers as well. They receive the same legal and social protection as their German colleagues. Most of them get child benefits based on German standards. Under certain conditions they can even become members of the [factory] works council [*Betriebsrat*]. In the future, the federal government will continue working toward the cultural integration of guest workers into our community. Here we welcome the valuable work of the churches. Press and radio are making an effort to provide information to guest workers in their native languages in order to build a permanent bridge between them and their home countries. The federal government is grateful for these initiatives.

Sometimes we hear about worries that the growing number of guest workers will lead to our being overrun by foreigners [*Überfremdung*]. These worries cannot be taken seriously. Proportionally speaking, the one million guest workers still constitute a very small fraction of the roughly 22 million people employed in our economy. A little over four percent of all the men and

Figure A.5 (continued) : Eine Million Gastarbeiter. Eine nicht unerhabliche Voraussetzung für das Gedeihen der deutschen Wirtschaft (Url-51).

women employed in German workplaces come from other countries. I would also like to point out the example of Switzerland, which employs about 800,000 guest workers and has had good experiences and results. For me, the fact that the one million workers enjoy their work here and enjoy living in Germany is proof that we will also continue to work and thrive together in the future. The guest workers here have given us proof that European integration and the coming together of people from very different backgrounds and cultures in friendship is a reality. And for that we owe them our gratitude.

Source: Theodor Blank [German Federal Minister for Work and Social Order], "Eine Million Gastarbeiter. Eine nicht unerhebliche Voraussetzung für das Gedeihen der deutschen Wirtschaft" ["One Million Guest Workers: An Essential Prerequisite for the Success of the German Economy"], in *Bulletin* (Federal Press Office), no. 160, October 30, 1964, p. 1480.

Translation: Allison Brown

Figure A.5 (continued) : Eine Million Gastarbeiter. Eine nicht unerhabliche Voraussetzung für das Gedeihen der deutschen Wirtschaft (Url-51).

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(1) ve (2) no'lu dipnotlar Anayasa metninin sonundadır.

yetkili kılınan merciin emri bulunmadıkça, konuta girilemez, arama yapılamaz ve buradaki eşyaya el konulamaz.

c) Haberleşme Hürriyeti

Madde 17- Herkes, haberleşme hürriyetine sahiptir.

Haberleşmenin gizliliği esastır. Kanunun gösterdiği hallerde, hakim tarafından kanuna uygun olarak verilmiş bir karar olmadıkça, bu gizliliğe dokunulamaz.

III.Seyahat ve Yerleşme Hürriyeti

Madde 18- Herkes, seyahat hürriyetine sahiptir; bu hürriyet, ancak millî güvenliği sağlama ve salgın hastalıkları önleme amaçlarıyla kanunla sınırlanabilir.

Herkes, dilediği yerde yerleşme hürriyetine sahiptir; bu hürriyet, ancak millî güvenliği sağlama, salgın hastalıkları önleme, kamu mallarını koruma, sosyal, iktisâdî ve tarımsal gelişmeyi gerçekleştirme zorunluğuyla ve kanunla sınırlanabilir.

Türkler, yurda girme ve yurt dışına çıkma hürriyetine sahiptir. Yurt dışına çıkma hürriyeti kanunla düzenlenir.

IV. Düşünce ve İnanç Hak ve Hürriyetleri

a) Vicdan ve Din Hürriyeti

Madde 19- (20.9.1971-1488) (3) Herkes, vicdan ve dinî inanç ve kanaat hürriyetine sahiptir.

Kamu düzenine veya genel ahlâka veya bu amaçlarla çıkarılan kanunlara aykırı olmıyan ibadetler, dinî âyîn ve törenler serbesttir.

Figure A.6 : Article about the travel and settlement freedom in 1961 Anayasası (Url-52).

(3) Belli alanlarda özellikle inşaat sektöründe işgücü yoğunluğuna dayanan bir teknolojik kalkınma imkânları üzerinde önemle durulması.

İnşaat sektörüyle ilgili olarak bu konu incelenmektedir, incelemenin ortaya çıkaracağı sonuçlara göre alınması gerekli tedbirlerle, bu sektördeki istihdamın artırüması mümkün görülmektedir.

(4) İstihdam politikasının bir başka yönü de işgücü fazlasının işgücü kıtlığı çeken Batı Avrupa ülkelerine ihracıdır. Ancak, Türkiye işgücü fazlalığı olan fakat niteliği yüksek işgücü konusunda kıtlık çeken bir ülkedir. İşgücü ihracının niteliği yüksek işgücü halinde olması bu kıtlığı arttırabilir. Bu sakıncanın önlenmesi için gerekli tedbirlerin alınması şarttır.

(5) Meselenin uzun süreli çözüm yolu, yaratılacak istihdam imkânlarıyla dengeli bir işgücü artışını sağlıyacak nüfus artışı hızına ulaşmak için gerekli nüfus politikasının uygulanmasıdır. Bu konu plânın nüfuslu ilgili bölümünde belirtilmiştir.

(6) Bütün bu tedbirlerin istihdam meselesinin yeter ölçüde çözümleyemediği görüldüğü takdirde 2 nci ve 3 üncü plân dönemleri için daha yüksek bir kalkınma hızını hedef kabul etmek, üzerinde durulması gereken çözüm yollarından biridir.

b. Teknik yardım :

Teknik yardım programları bir bütün olarak ve kalkınma plânının ihtiyaçları gözönünde tutularak hazırlanmaktadır. Burada üzerinde durulan husus teknik yardımın stratejik noktalarda tesbit edüen yüksek seviyede eleman açığının kapatılması ve önemli alanlarda hızla eleman yetiştirme için etkili bir araç olarak kullanıla bilmesidir. Bunu sağlamak için teknik yardım programlarında plânın hazırlanmasında bir paralellik kurulmuş ve teknik yardım programları plân dönemi başında hızla yapılması gereken araştırma, proje hazırlama ve özellikle yeni geliştirilen sektörlerde yüksek seviyede danışman sağlama ve eleman yetiştirme üzerinde durulmuştur.

Teknik yardım programlanması, bu konuda dış temaslarla görevli Maliye ve Dışişleri Bakanlığı ile Devlet Plânlama Teşkilâtının temsil edildikleri bir komitece hazırlanmaktadır. Komite, çeşitli sektörlerdeki kurumların taleplerini, plânlama için yapılan insangücü ve sektör çalışmalarını inceleyerek kalkınma plânı ihtiyaçlarına uygun teknik yardım programlan hazırlamakla görevlidir.

Plânın ilk yıllarındaki ihtiyaçları karşılamak üzere iki yıllık bir teknik yardım programı hazırlanmıştır. Bundan son üç yıllık bir ikinci program hazırlanacaktır.

Teknik yardım programlarının uygulanmasına da büyük önem verilmektedir. Getirilecek yabancı uzmanların ve yetişmek üzere gönderilecek elemanların seçimi ve bunların yaptıkları çalışmaların denetlerrmesİ ve değerlendirilmesi üzerinde dikkatle durulmaktadır.

Figure A.7 : Article related to migration in Kalkınma Planı (Birinci Beş Yıl) 1963-1967 (Url-53).

Document A.1 : Letter of Johnson

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,
I am gravely concerned by the information which I have had through ambassador Hare from you and your foreign minister that the Turkish government is contemplating a decision to intervene by military force to occupy a portion of cyprus. I wish to emphasize, in the fullest friendship and frankness, that I do not consider that such a course of action by Turkey, fraught with such far reaching consequences, is consistent with the commitment of your government to consult fully in advance with the United States. Ambassador Hare has indicated that you postponed your decision for a few hours in order to obtain my views. I put to you personally whether you really believe that it is appropriate for your government, in effect, to present an ultimatum to an ally who has demonstrated such staunch support over the years as has the United States for Turkey. I must, therefore, first urge you to accept the responsibility for complete consultation with the United States before any such action is taken.
It is my impression that you believe that such intervention by Turkey is permissible under the provisions of the treaty of guarantee of 1960. I must call your attention, however, to our understanding that the proposed intervention by Turkey would be for the purpose of supporting an attempt by Turkish Cypriot leaders to partition the island, a solution which is specifically excluded by the treaty of guarantee. Further, that treaty requires consultation among the guarantor powers. It is the view of the United States that the possibilities of such consultation have by no means been exhausted in this situation and that, therefore, the reservation of the right to take unilateral action is not yet applicable.
I must call to your attention also, Mr. Prime Minister, the obligations of NATO. There can be no question in your mind that a Turkish intervention in Cyprus would lead to a military engagement between Turkish and Greek forces. Secretary of State Rusk declared at the recent meeting of the ministerial council of NATO in the Hague that war between Turkey and Greece must be considered as "literally unthinkable". Adhesion to NATO, in its very essence, means that NATO countries will not wage war on each other. Germany and France have buried centuries of animosity and hostility in becoming NATO allies; nothing less can be expected from Greece and Turkey. furthermore, a military intervention in Cyprus by Turkey could lead to direct involvement by the soviet union. I hope you will understand that your NATO allies have not had a chance to consider whether they have an obligation to protect Turkey against the Soviet Union if Turkey takes a step which results in Soviet intervention without the full consent and understanding of its NATO allies.
Further, Mr. Prime Minister, I am concerned about the obligations of Turkey as a member of the United Nations. The United Nations has provided forces on the island to keep the peace. Their task has been difficult but, during the past several weeks, they have been progressively successful in reducing the incidents of violence on that island. The United Nations mediator has not yet completed his work. I have no doubt that the general membership of the United Nations would react in the strongest terms to unilateral action by Turkey which would defy the efforts of the United Nations and destroy any prospect that the United Nations could assist in obtaining a reasonable and peaceful settlement of this difficult problem.
I wish also, Mr. Prime Minister, to call your attention to the bilateral agreeement between the United States and Turkey in the field of military assistance. Under

article IV of the agreement with Turkey of july 1947, your government is required to obtain United States consent for the use of military assistance for purposes other than those for which such assistance was furnished. Your government has on several occasions acknowledged to the United States that you fully understand this condition. I must tell you in all candor that the United States cannot agree to the use of any United States supplied military equipment for a turkish intervention in Cyprus under present circumstances.

Moving to the practical results of the contemplated turkish move, I feel obligated to call to your attention in the most friendly fashion that fact that such a Turkish move could lead to the slaughter of tens of thousands of Turkish Cypriots on the island of Cyprus. Such an action on your part would unleash the furies and there is no way by which military action on your part could be sufficiently effective to prevent wholesale destruction of many of those whom you are trying to protect. The presence of United Nations forces could not prevent such a catastrophe.

You may consider that what I have said is much too severe and that we are disregardful of Turkish interests in the Cyprus situation. I should like to assure you that this is not the case. We have exerted ourselves both publicly and privately to assure the safety of Turkish Cypriots and to insist that a final solution of the Cyprus problem should rest upon the consent of the parties most directly concerned. It is possible that you feel in Ankara that the United States has not been sufficiently active in your behalf. But surely you know that our policy has caused the liveliest resentment in Athens (where demonstrations have been aimed against us) and has led to a basic alienation between the United States and Archbishop Makarios. As I said to your foreign minister in our conversation just a few weeks ago, we value very highly our relations with Turkey. We have considered you as a great ally with fundamental common interests. Your security and prosperity have been a deep concern of the American people and we have expressed that concern in the most practical terms. You and we have fought together to resist the ambitions of the communist world revolution. This solidarity has meant a great deal to us and I would hope that it means a great deal to your government and to your people. We have no intention of lending any support to any solution of Cyprus which endangers the Turkish Cypriot community. We have not been able to find a final solution because this is, admittedly, one of the most complex problems on earth. But I wish to assure you that we have been deeply concerned about the interests of Turkey and of the Turkish Cypriots and will remain so.

Finally, Mr. Prime Minister, I must tell you that you have posed the gravest issues of war and peace. These are issues which go far beyond the bilateral relations between Turkey and the United States. They not only will certainly involve war between Turkey and Greece but could involve wider hostilities because of the unpredictable consequences which a unilateral intervention in Cyprus could produce. You have your responsibilities as chief of the government of Turkey; I also have mine as president of the United States. I must, therefore, inform you in the deepest friendship that unless I can have your assurance that you will not take such action without further and fullest consultation I cannot accept your injunction to ambassador Hare of secrecy and must immediately ask for emergency meetings of the NATO council and of the United Nations Security Council.

I wish it were possible for us to have a personal discussion of this situation. Unfortunately, because of the special circumstances of our present constitutional position, I am not able to leave the United States. If you could come here for a full discussion I would welcome it. I do feel that you and I carry a very heavy

responsibility for the general peace and for the possibilities of a sane and peaceful resolution of the Cyprus problem. I ask you, therefore, to delay any decisions which you and your colleagues might have-in mind until you and I have had the fullest and frankest consultation.

Sincerely,
Lyndon B. Johnson

German History in Documents and Images

Volume 9. Two Germanies, 1961-1989
The Federal Republic Halts Foreign Recruitment in the Wake of the Oil Crisis (June 13, 1974)

In response to OPEC's decision to drastically increase oil prices, the federal government halted guest worker recruitment in order to prevent foreign worker unemployment, which threatened to burden the welfare system.

The Ban on Recruitment Remains in Place
Measures to Combat Illegal Foreign Employment Intensified

In its answer to a Minor Interpellation [*Kleine Anfrage*] by a member of the Bundestag, the Labor Ministry explained that, in view of the situation on the labor market, the federal government cannot justify lifting the ban on the recruitment of foreign workers. The ban should help make jobs more secure.

According to the ministry, without this ban, the labor market would have developed in an even more unfavorable direction. Additionally, a particular problem would have arisen: higher unemployment among foreigners in the Federal Republic. The ban on recruitment should also help keep the employment of foreigners within a socially justifiable framework. These efforts, the ministry said, should not be endangered by an uncontrolled increase in the employment of foreigners.

The government acknowledges that individual companies and economic sectors are facing difficulties as a result of the ban on recruitment. Initially, however, an attempt must be made to fill available positions with unemployed Germans. On the other hand, the government also states clearly that no legally employed foreign worker would be forced to return to his country of origin.

Measures against the illegal employment of foreigners have intensified. Anyone placing or employing foreign workers without a work permit is now subject to a prison sentence of up to three years, instead of the previous one-year sentence, and a fine of DM 50,000, instead of the previous DM 10,000.

"As a rule," after the first year, residence permits are extended twice for a period of two years each. After five years, an unlimited residence permit should be issued. "As a rule," after eight

Figure A.8 : Arwerbestopp bleibt bestehen (Url-54).

years of residency, people in this group should receive an “especially secure legal residence status.” The interior ministers of the federal states [*Länder*] will address this issue at their next conference.

Source: Kurt Steves, “Anwerbestopp bleibt bestehen” [“The Ban on Recruitment Remains in Place”], *Die Welt,* June 13, 1974.

Translation: Allison Brown

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Figure A.8 (continued) : Arwerbestopp bleibt bestehen (Url-54).

German History in Documents and Images

Volume 9. Two Germanies, 1961-1989
The Growing Influx of Guest-Worker Children (November 8, 1974)

The federal government attempted to save money by instituting a new policy whereby guest-worker children who remained in their home countries would receive less assistance than guest-worker children who accompanied their parents to the Federal Republic. The attempt backfired; male workers who were already living in the Federal Republic started bringing over their wives and children in greater numbers, solely because dependents residing in Germany received higher benefit payments than those who remained back home. The policy also undercut the foreign-worker recruitment ban that had been in effect for a year, since the wives of guest workers relocated to the Federal Republic with their children and sought work on the already flooded labor market.

An Invasion of Guest-Worker Children?
Savings that Can Get Expensive

Bonn's negotiators, sworn to strict frugality in view of the expected budget deficit, registered yet another success when Turkey became the last of five countries – after Spain, Portugal, Yugoslavia, and Greece – to approve a new child-allowance agreement that is supposed to help save the federal government roughly two billion marks a year. From now on, those children of guest workers who remain in their home countries will receive less assistance than those who reside in the Federal Republic. Although these agreements have yet to take effect, more and more people are already wondering whether the savings effect hoped for in Bonn will actually materialize.

Only two days after the signing of the treaty in Ankara, *Hürryet*, a mass-circulation newspaper published in Istanbul, hit upon a drastic formulation of what this agreement might mean for the Federal Republic in the coming months: "Germans, hold on tight, here come the Turkish kids!" To eliminate any doubt about what was meant by this, *Hürryet* illustrated its headline with a picture of a Turkish mother, who, surrounded by suitcases and boxes and accompanied by her swarm of four children, waits for her flight to Germany.

The announced Turkish invasion isn't all that unlikely. The *Diakonisches Werk* [i.e. outreach ministry] of the Protestant Church, which specifically dedicates itself to aiding foreigners, had already issued warnings about this in early October. "There are reports that foreign workers have already started bringing their children to the Federal Republic solely on account of the

Figure A.9 : Eine Invasion von Gastarbeiterkindern? Eine Einsparung, die teuer werden kann (Url-55).

higher child-benefit payments." Similar observations were made by the Confederation of German Trade Unions (DGB), which – according to Hans Maier, the subject specialist for foreigners at the DGB's Munich chapter – noted that the new child-allowance regulations had caused "considerable agitation" among guest workers, so much that the union deemed it necessary to publish internal talking-points for guest-worker meetings.

Committees and Slogans

According to Bonn's new child-allowance agreements, which are scheduled to take effect on January 1, 1975, those children of guest workers who reside in Germany will receive the same child-benefit payments as German children, while those children who remain in their home countries will be granted considerably less assistance. The federal government's justification: because the cost of living in the guest workers' home countries is lower than in the Federal Republic, the assistance doesn't need to be as high.

This policy has not been without repercussions. The new assessment system for granting differential child-benefit payments had barely been introduced when so-called Foreigner Committees started forming all over the Federal Republic and demanding "social justice for all" with identical rallying cries. In many places, people observed, with fear, that these Foreigner Committees usually exhibit strong leftwing tendencies, that they want to start joining forces quickly at the federal level, and that they have moved completely beyond the control of the DGB or similar organizations. Özegär E., a Turkish member of the Foreigner Committee in Munich says: "Now we're taking matters into our own hands. We don't want to let ourselves be discriminated against and tossed away any longer." Foreigner Committees and union officials agree that this new movement would attract even more support "if there weren't so many people who are afraid of losing their jobs."

The DGB and the church organizations also see other potential consequences of the new child-allowance policy. Maier of the DGB says, "If guest workers start bringing their children to the Federal Republic in greater numbers to receive the full child-benefit payment, then we'll be faced with totally new social problems." At the *Diakonisches Werk* in Stuttgart people also believe that the related costs for new apartments, kindergartens, after-school care, schools, and similar facilities will ultimately be higher than the amount the federal government wanted to save by instituting differentials in child-benefit payments.

Less Liberal Provisions?

Already, about 70,000 resident children of guest workers make an annual descent upon the German labor market after completing school, and apprenticeships – already scarce – are becoming even scarcer by the year. The situation, according to the DGB, will get even worse in the future. If all the Turks presently living in Germany were to bring over all of their children, this

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Figure A.9 (continued) : Eine Invasion von Gastarbeiterkindern? Eine Einsparung, die teuer werden kann (Url-55).

alone would cause their ethnic group to grow by about half a million. Because children up to sixteen years of age do not require a residence permit, German authorities are not really in a position to prevent these family reunions. José Moll, editor of Spanish-language programming for foreigners at Bavarian Broadcasting [*Bayerischer Rundfunk*], is concerned that, given this prognosis, the federal government might very well see the need to drastically restrict what has thus far been a quite liberal policy on family reunions, and that this could lead to new social problems.

The final consequence of the new child-allowance policy: family reunions will undermine the foreign-worker recruitment ban that has been in place for a year, because the labor market will be flooded not only by young people but also by their accompanying mothers. DGB subject specialist Maier fears that these family latecomers "will accept illegal employment" if they fail to find proper work. Maier is even more pessimistic about the prospects of the unemployed sons and daughters of guest workers: "Under certain circumstances they could form a criminal pool."

Nonetheless, people in the federal labor ministry "are convinced that people are just stirred up right now and that emotions are being aroused that won't be followed by actions." Of course, lawyer Herbert Becher, bishops' advisor for the Catholic Church, has already hinted that the German Federal Constitutional Court should rule on the new child-allowance regulation if it is ratified by the parliaments in Bonn and the guest workers' countries of origin.

Source: Christian Schneider, "Eine Invasion von Gastarbeiterkindern? Eine Einsparung, die teuer werden kann" ["An Invasion of Guest-Worker Children? Savings that Can Get Expensive"], *Süddeutsche Zeitung,* November 8, 1974.

Translation: Allison Brown

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Figure A.9 (continued) : Eine Invasion von Gastarbeiterkindern? Eine Einsparung, die teuer werden kann (Url-55).

German History in Documents and Images

Volume 9. Two Germanies, 1961-1989
The Heidelberg Manifesto of Xenophobic Professors (March 4, 1982)

Xenophobic ideas were not just the property of the radical fringe; such sentiments were also held by the respectable conservative professors who signed the Heidelberg Manifesto in 1982. The professors believed that immigration would dilute the German stock, arguing against it from a biological and racial standpoint.

The Heidelberg Manifesto

With great concern, we observe the infiltration of the German *Volk* [people] through an influx of millions of foreigners and their families, the infiltration of our language, our culture, and our national traditions by foreign influences. Despite the recruitment ban, the number of registered foreigners rose by 309,000 in the year 1980 alone; 194,000 of these foreigners are Turks. A little more than half of the number of children needed to maintain our [German] population are being born each year. In their neighborhoods and workplaces, many Germans already feel like foreigners in their own land.

The federal government promoted the influx of foreigners on the basis of [a policy of] unbridled economic growth that is now recognized as questionable. Up to this point, the German population has not been informed of the significance and consequences of these actions. For this reason, we are calling for the establishment of a politically and ideologically independent coalition whose task is to preserve the German *Volk* and its spiritual identity on the basis of our occidental Christian heritage. Standing firmly on the foundation of the Basic Law, we oppose ideological nationalism, racism, and every form of right- and left-wing extremism.

In biological and cybernetic terms, peoples are living systems of a higher order with distinct system qualities that are passed on genetically and through tradition. The integration of large masses of non-German foreigners is therefore not possible without threatening the preservation of our people, and it will lead to the well-known ethnic catastrophes of multicultural societies.

Every people, including the Germans, has a natural right to preserve its identity and particular character in the place in which it resides. Respect for other peoples also necessitates their preservation, not their assimilation ('Germanization'). We perceive Europe as an organism of

Figure A.10 : Heidelberger Manifest (Url-56).

peoples and nations that are worthy of preservation and that share a common history. ‘Every nation is one unique facet of a divine plan’ (Solzhenitsyn).

The Basic Law of the Federal Republic of Germany is not based on the concept of a ‘nation’ as the sum of all peoples within a state. It is based instead on the concept of a ‘Volk’ [people], and of a German people at that. The federal president and the members of the federal government take this oath of office: ‘I swear that I will dedicate my energies to the good of the German *Volk*, advance its interests, and protect it from harm.’ In this way, the Basic Law prescribes the preservation of the German people.

The preamble of the Basic Law prescribes the goal of reunification. How is this to remain possible when the two parts are becoming ethnically foreign to each other? The current policy on foreigners, which promotes the development of a multiracial society, contradicts the Basic Law, which obliges all Germans of the Federal Republic to preserve and defend the living rights of our people.

What hope for the future do the hundreds of thousands of [guest-worker] children have if they are illiterate in both their native tongue and in the German language? What hope for the future do our own children have if they are being educated in classes with a preponderance of foreigners? Will the billions spent for the defense of our country have been worth it at the end of such a development?

Only active and viable German families can preserve our people for the future. Our own children alone are the sole basis for the German and European future.

Since technical advancement offers options (and will continue to offer more options) that make the employment of foreigners superfluous, the highest principle of economic management must be: do not bring people to machines, but machines to people.

Attacking the problem at its roots means offering focused development aid to improve the living conditions of guest workers in their home countries – and not here in our country. For the Federal Republic of Germany, one of the most densely populated countries in the world, returning foreigners to their ancestral homelands will not only provide social relief but environmental relief as well.

In order to achieve a broad public echo, we are calling upon all organizations, associations, citizens’ initiatives, etc., that are dedicated to the preservation of our people to found an umbrella organization open to cooperative and individual membership. Every group shall retain its full independence and autonomy. An academic advisory board shall ensure that the work of this coalition remains politically and ideologically independent.

A press office shall assume the public relations work.

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Figure A.10 (continued) : Heidelberger Manifest (Url-56).

For the HEIDELBERG CIRCLE:

Prof. Bambeck, Ph.D.; Prof. Fricke, Ph.D.; Prof. Karl Götz; Prof. Haberbeck, Ph.D.; Prof. Illies, D.Sc.; Prof. Manns, Th.D.; Prof. Oberländer, Ph.D., ret. Federal Minister; Prof. Rasch, Ph.D.; Prof. Riedl, Ph.D.; Prof. Schade, M.D.; Prof. Schmidt-Kahler, Ph.D.; Prof. Schröcke, D.Sc.; Prof. Schurmann, M.D.; Prof. Siebert, Ph.D.; Prof. Stadtmüller, Ph.D.

Source: "Heidelberger Manifest" ["Heidelberg Manifesto"], *Frankfurter Rundschau*, March 4, 1982.

Translation: Allison Brown

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Figure A.10 (continued) : Heidelberger Manifest (Url-56).

German History in Documents and Images

Volume 9. Two Germanies, 1961-1989
The Government Warns of New Racial Arrogance (December 12, 1979)

In response to a mounting wave of xenophobic sentiment, Heinz Kühn, the Federal Government Commissioner for Foreigners' Affairs, called the Federal Republic an "immigration country." In the following article, published in the left-leaning *Frankfurter Rundschau*, Kühn called for the integration of foreigners living in West Germany and warned against the negative consequences of a new racism.

Kühn Warns Germans of a New Racial Arrogance
The Federal Republic Should See Itself as an Immigration Country without "Forced Germanization"

"For four million foreign workers and their families, the Federal Republic has become an immigration country." This view, "which many find shocking," was emphasized by Heinz Kühn, the current Federal Government Commissioner for Foreigners' Affairs in Bonn and the former Minister President of North Rhine-Westphalia, at a conference held this weekend in Stuttgart. The topic of the conference, which was organized by the National Commission for the International Year of the Child, was "foreign children in the Federal Republic." Kühn admitted that the Federal Republic is certainly not an immigration country in the conventional sense, like the United States or Canada. "But we have to open ourselves up to those who want to stay here, with all the attendant consequences," said Kühn to an audience of about 600 representatives from foreigners' associations, ministries, trade unions, churches, and welfare associations, as well as teachers, early childhood-education workers, and social workers.

For the first time since he presented his "memorandum" on the integration of foreigners to the federal government almost two months ago, Kühn dealt publicly with the key demands of the "memorandum" and the criticism that has been voiced thus far. "With the utmost strength and passion," Kühn said, he stands by the "memorandum," which above all demands local voting rights, "naturalization by postcard" for German-born children of foreign nationals, and their enrollment in regular German schools.

Kühn stated emphatically that he wrote the "memorandum" in "complete independence" from the government. Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, who appointed Kühn Federal Government Commission for Foreigners' Affairs, recognized that the problem was of great significance. Schmidt, as Kühn told his Stuttgart audience, expected him to submit proposals "with

Figure A.11 : Kühn warnt Deutsche vor einem neuen rassischen Hochmut (Url-57).

unvarnished frankness." Up to this point, the federal cabinet – as reported – has consulted about the "memorandum" once, but an official statement on it is not expected until the coming spring.

So far, churches and charities have expressed their approval, Kühn explained. Some of the objections, however, were so outlandish that it seemed as though "anti-Semitic stereotypes from the 1930s were the model for anti-Turkish stereotypes of the 1970s." Kühn warned emphatically against a new German "racial arrogance" and a new two-tiered society in which "high-quality" jobs would be reserved for German workers and "low-quality, dirty ones" for foreigners.

Kühn spoke out decisively against any and all "national classes" in schools, which have been demanded above all by Greek parent associations and Greek government representatives – also in Stuttgart. "We don't want to bind anyone to us," Kühn said, "and we don't want forced Germanization either. But national classes are part of ghettoization." The preparatory classes for foreign children, which, in practice, often became "national schools" for the entire period of their compulsory schooling, should be limited to one year, he said. They should be under the exclusive jurisdiction of the German school administration. "I don't want any Islamic schools in which a Khomeini ideology might be taught," he said to enthusiastic applause. Kühn demanded that 600 million DM be made available annually for his integration program from preschool to vocational training.

Taking the Kühn memorandum and the new political approach to the problems of non-German families and their children as their point of departure, the fifteen working groups discussed a list of demands that was oriented towards direct assistance in daycare facilities and schools, in vocational training, and in work with youths and parents.

Massive and tumultuous disagreement emerged in only one working group, where discussion was largely monopolized by Greek parent associations that had traveled to Stuttgart in groups from Berlin, Munich, and Frankfurt. Against the wishes of other Greek and Turkish representatives, they narrowly pushed through a rejection of integration and the political goals of the "Kühn memorandum." They adamantly insisted on Greek national classes, with their primary justification being the planned return of the children to Greece at some future, albeit unspecified, time. On Sunday, when the working group leaders presented the results of the discussion, these parent associations dominated the proceedings again, since many of the other participants from Saturday had already departed. Their vociferous protest against integration triggered a flood of press releases by other participating groups of foreigners and parent associations who spoke out in favor of equality and integration.

Source: Jutta Roitsch, "Kühn warnt Deutsche vor einem neuen rassischen Hochmut" ["Kühn Warns Germans of a New Racial Arrogance"], *Frankfurter Rundschau,* December 17, 1979.

Translation: Allison Brown

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Figure A.11 (continued) : Kühn warnt Deutsche vor einem neuen rassischen Hochmut (Url-57).

German History in Documents and Images

Volume 9. Two Germanies, 1961-1989
Racist Attacks against the Naturalization of Foreigners (September 14, 1979)

During the recession that followed the second oil shock, neo-Nazis started using xenophobic slogans in their publications. It was an effort to exploit widespread fears of unemployment and to tap into the social envy of less affluent Germans. Neo-Nazis also tried to gain an electoral advantage by launching a campaign against the naturalization of Communists and criminals.

Helmut Schmidt Turns Turks into Germans!
An Outrageous Attack on our National Character

The SPD is planning an outrageous attack on our German national character: Hundreds of thousands of young Turks, Greeks, Sicilians, and other southern Europeans are supposed to automatically become Germans. Apparently, the only prerequisite is that they were born in the Federal Republic of Germany or – even flimsier – attended school here.

That would mean that foreign youths would receive all the rights of German citizens, would have the right to vote and serve in the Federal Armed Forces!

The draft of this plan was put forward by the Federal Government Commissioner for Guest Workers, the former SPD Minister President of North Rhine-Westphalia, Heinz Kühn. The Federal Chancellor is said to have already approved his proposals.

A corresponding bill was presented to the federal and state governments for comment. According to the bill, foreigners would be granted a legal claim to naturalization. This means nothing less than this: that the authorities will have to hand out a German passport to every Communist and every criminal!

The proposal shows the value that the coalition government in Bonn assigns to its own national character. People, then, would no longer be German on the basis of ancestry and birth, but because they want to secure a good "job" in the Federal Republic. What relationship do these young Turks have to their future "fatherland" other than their ability to communicate in sub-standard German? They can't read or write in either German or Turkish: illiterates in no-man's-land!

Figure A.12 : Helmut Schmidt macht Türken Deutsche! (Url-58).

People from totally different cultural backgrounds are being artificially made into something that they're not. To be sure, this will create a new proletariat whose political significance is obvious. SPD functionaries can rightly assume that this will open up a [whole new] voter pool for the exclusive benefit of the Left in the Federal Republic. Up to now, Germany's largely homogenous population structure has been its great advantage; all this, however, will encourage the emergence of a mixed race that will become political dynamite.

It is grotesque: the same Germany that is relocating hundreds of thousands from the East for the sake of their German national character is now prepared to turn just as many foreigners into Germans!

Whereas the Bundestag parties in the past agreed that the tiny Federal Republic could not become an immigration country, they have now invented the new label "country of residence for foreigners."

The latest statistics show that while nearly four million foreigners live here, only about 1.9 million of them work; the other two million are family members. This imbalance will only get worse in the coming years. In Baden-Württemberg alone there are about 80,000 registered foreigners whose spouses still live in their home country. Then there are the children of about 40,000 foreign couples, children who don't even live in the Federal Republic yet. Now they're all supposed to come, too!

Instead of stopping this wave and encouraging guest workers to return to their home countries, the SPD-run and FDP-supported federal government wants to continue "family reunions" on German soil. Helmut Schmidt evidently thinks he has found a way to gloss over the devastating decline in birthrates that has occurred during his administration. The important thing is that the statistics add up.

But the red functionaries have long been waiting to put an end to "German jingoism," which is how they'd describe allegiance to the German nation. To them, the naturalization of hundreds of thousands of uprooted foreigners seems like an appropriate means.

We can only hope that the Turkish government will put a stop to this denationalization of their people and that we'll succeed in voting out this godforsaken Schmidt-Genscher government in 1980. Because time is running out fast!

Source: M.W., "Helmut Schmidt macht aus Türken Deutsche!" ["Helmut Schmidt Turns Turks into Germans!"], *Deutsche Nachrichten,* September 14, 1979.

Translation: Allison Brown

2

Figure A.12 (continued) : Helmut Schmidt macht Türken Deutsche! (Url-58).

German History in Documents and Images

Volume 9. Two Germanies, 1961-1989
The Restrictive Immigration Policy of the Kohl Government (May 6, 1983)

In the face of growing long-term unemployment among German workers, the (more) conservative Christian-democratic-liberal coalition government turned to further restrictions on immigration. The coalition called for the integration of West Germany's resident foreigners, while proposing new measures to prevent the arrival of additional immigrants.

The Situation of Foreigners in the Federal Republic of Germany from 1955 to 1983

[. . .]

In his government policy statement of May 4, 1983, Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl confirmed that his administration's policy on foreigners [*Ausländerpolitik*] will be shaped by three guidelines: integration, the restriction of further arrivals, and the promotion of foreigners' willingness to return to their home countries. In addition, the chancellor appealed to both Germans and foreigners to work towards even greater mutual understanding and even greater tolerance.

From the government policy statement of May 4, 1983:

"Our policy on foreigners follows the guiding principles that I introduced a few months ago, on October 13, 1982:

- the integration of foreign workers who have lived here with us for a long time and [the integration] of their families.

- the restriction of further of arrivals, and

- the promotion of foreigners' willingness to return to their home countries.

The commission I announced has presented the results of its work. Necessary decisions will be made after in-depth discussion with all the stakeholders. The federal government will then present a draft of the new Aliens Act.

1

Figure A.13 : Die Situation der Ausländer in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland von 1955 bis 1983 (Url-59).

More than 4.6 million foreigners presently reside in the Federal Republic of Germany. We know that we owe them considerable gratitude.

But it must also be said that we are not prepared to allow foreigners to carry out their own political conflicts, with the use of criminal means, in the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany. We will carefully investigate whether political extremism and crime by foreigners can be more effectively combated by expanding the options for deportation.

To be able to offer protection to the persecuted and to refugees from all over the world, in accordance with the liberal tradition of our Basic Law, the federal government will do everything in its power to prevent the abuse of the right to asylum.

Living side by side with so many foreign nationals is not problem-free. I appeal to all of us, to Germans and foreigners, to work towards even greater mutual understanding and even greater tolerance."

The federal government intends to base its planned draft of the new Aliens Act on the recommendations of the "Foreigner Policy" Commission, which Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl appointed after his first government policy statement on October 13, 1982. This commission, made up of representatives from federal, state, and local governments, was tasked with examining "how the social problems that emerge on account of the large number of foreigners in the Federal Republic of Germany and that also pose a challenge to these foreigners can be resolved within the scope of the liberal constitutional order."

The "Foreigner Policy" Commission

The commission, which sometimes presented differing recommendations on individual points, submitted its report on February 24, 1983. It shall:

- introduce areas in need of regulation,

- identify possible solutions and, to the extent necessary, alternatives, and

- use its recommendations to frame the decisions that have to be made at a political level.

The most important recommendation, which was supported by all members of the commission, was: a fundamental revision of the Aliens Act. The basic prerequisites that have to be met in order for foreigners to reside in and join family members already living in the Federal Republic should be laid out in the law itself – and no longer in administrative regulations as is presently the case. This would assure uniform practice throughout the Federal Republic and reduce legal uncertainties. Furthermore, changes were proposed regarding provisions for deportation and the political activities of foreigners in the Federal Republic of Germany.

2

Figure A.13 (continued) : Die Situation der Ausländer in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland von 1955 bis 1983 (Url-59).

Fundamental agreement was reached in the following and other areas:

- The goals of the policy on foreigners continue to be:

  - the integration of foreigners residing here on a long-term basis,

  - the restriction of new foreign arrivals, especially the unconditional maintenance of the ban on recruitment, independent of future economic developments,

  - the promotion of foreigners' willingness to return to their home countries and, to the extent possible, the maintenance of their option to return, but as a rule no forced return.

[. . .]

- In order to prevent illegal residency and illegal employment, additional control measures shall be taken. Further measures to prevent illegal entry and, to the extent necessary, the expansion of the general visa requirement for citizens of additional countries shall be reviewed or adopted.

- The residence permit requirement – subject to the controversial opinions on the regulation of the subsequent immigration of children of previous immigrants – shall be expanded to apply to children under sixteen years of age. There shall be a newly established legal obligation to accompany underage children illegally residing in federal territory on their return to their home countries.

- A residence permit shall be extended only if the means of subsistence are secured, a proper and adequate residence exists, and no substantial violations of German law have been committed.

- Additional measures to combat extremism among foreigners shall be taken, such as, for example, a ban on political activity in individual cases, travel restrictions, and termination of residence.

No consensus was reached on the following points, among others:

- Regulation of the subsequent immigration of children of non-EU resident aliens in Germany.

[. . .]

3

Figure A.13 (continued) : Die Situation der Ausländer in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland von 1955 bis 1983 (Url-59).

- Regulation of the subsequent immigration of spouses of second- and later-generation resident aliens from non-EU countries.

[. . .]

- Making the consolidation of residence [*Aufenthaltsverfestigung*] dependent on the attainment of integrational benchmarks and on making the renewal of the resident permit and the subsequent immigration of family members dependent on the verification of the existence of a proper and adequate residence.

- Making naturalization easier and on applying sanctions if the option of simplified naturalization is not taken advantage of.

- The length of time for which a work permit is withheld from asylum seekers.

Part of the commission wants the waiting period for the issuance of a work permit to be extended to the length of the entire validation process.

- Granting a return option to aliens who do not make use of repatriation assistance.

[. . .]

Source: "Die Situation der Ausländer in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland von 1955 bis 1983" ["The Situation of Foreigners in the Federal Republic of Germany from 1955 to 1983"], in Michael Bechtel and Birgit Mentzel-Buchner, *Ausländer. Themen für Lokaljournalisten* [*Foreigners. Themes for Local Jounalists*]. Bonn, 1983, p. 36 ff.

Translation: Allison Brown

4

Figure A.13 : Die Situation der Ausländer in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland von 1955 bis 1983 (Url-59).

Boulevard Bou

Eski okul Songtext:

1.
Ich seh' die heutige Szene und denke daran, wie es damals war
schliesse die Augen und Bilder erscheinen klar.
Anfang 80 als alles begann,
brachten viele meiner Brüder die Breakdancebewegung voran
den Anfang der heutigen Kultur.
Stolz bewege ich mich nun heute auf ihrer Spur
All die Brüder und Schwestern von Gestern
aus den allerersten hiesigen Hip Hop Semestern,
die ihr Gefühl durch Breakdance offenbarten
und nun auf Raten in Vergessenheit geraten.
Soviele Türken und Kurden waren dabei
doch leider findet sowas 93 keinerlei
Anerkennung mehr in der neuen Klasse.
Drum fasse ich zusammen, wie ich es damals sah,
als dieser Tanz aus den Ghettos der USA
Europa nach und nach in Besitz nahm,
auch in die hintersten Ecken Deutschlands kam,
sprach er auch viele Türken und Kurden an,
denn man wurde bewertet nach dem, was man kann
nicht nach dem was man besass oder war
und so war damals so mancher Bruder ein Breakdancestar.

2.
Der Respekt, den ich bekunde,
gilt den Brüdern der ersten Stunde,
die sich - damals noch in aller Munde - Runde um Runde
aus der Anonymität herausgedreht haben,
sich in die Kreativität begaben.
Fern von Drogen und brutaler Gewalt
zeigten alle ihr Können auf Beton und Asphalt.
Formten ihre Körper zu Elektromusik,
bekämpften ihre Gegner im kreativen Krieg,

Figure A.14 : Eski Okul Songtext (Url-60).

mit Sixsteps, Backspins, Handglides und Swipes
Turtles, Ponnies, Headspins und Suicides.
Ich wünsch' mir diese Zeiten wieder herbei,
doch sind die meisten dieser Brüder heute nicht mehr dabei.
Stattdessen messen Brüder sich in rüder Manier
verbreiten Angst und Schrecken wie ein wildernder Stier.
Machen Jams kaputt, sind unkreativ,
intolerant, ignorant und aggressiv.
Auf allen jams stehen Brüder rum im Publikum und bleiben stumm
während andre auf der Bühne ober rumspringen - von unwichtigen Dingen singen,
statt dass meine Leute ihre Probleme vorbringen.
Und dies zu ändern ist meine Mission!
Am Mikrofon bekämpfe ich die Situation,
die sich ergeben hat im Laufe der Jahre,
Drum bleibe ich dran, bis ich weiter fortfahre.

3.
1993 ist das Jahr, in dem Boulevard Bou
seine Brüder und Schwestern aufruft,
sich in die Reihe der B-Boys einzureih'n
all der Oldschool-Aktivisten, deren Erbe ich bereim'
schlagt ein! Die neue Generation,
unterstützt die Hip Hop Organisation.
Macht die Umwelt auf euch aufmerksam durch Kreativität
als Graffiti-Künstler, Breaker oder reimender Poet
Istiyorsan Türkce söyle, ja Ihr wisst es geht!
was immer Ihr macht, ich will nur, dass Ihr versteht:
Hip Hop ist das Ding, das uns allen Respekt gönnt.
Also wählt die Disziplin und zeigt allen was Ihr könnt!
Und denkt immer daran, wie es früher einmal war!
'93 ist Euer Jahr!

Figure A.14 (continued) : Eski Okul Songtext (Url-60).

Document A.2 : KANAK ATTAK UND BASTA! (Url-61)

'Kanak Attak' is a community of different people from diverse backgrounds who share a commitment to eradicate racism from German society. Kanak Attak is not interested in questions about your passport or heritage, in fact it challenges such questions in the first place. Kanak Attak challenges the conservative and liberal orthodoxy that good 'race relations' is simply a matter of tighter immigration control. Our common position consists of an attack against the 'Kanakisation' of specific groups of people through racist ascriptions which denies people their social, legal and political rights. Kanak Attak is therefore anti-nationalist, anti-racist and rejects every single form of identity politics, as supported by ethnic absolutist thinking.

Put simply, we reject everyone and everything that exploits, dominates and humiliates people. The field of interventions of Kanak Attak covers critiques of the political and economical circumstances that allow racism to fester, to the culture industries that perpetuate the commodification of racism, to confronting everyday racism, from discrimination to violence, in Germany. We support the fundamental human rights of all people, yet at the same time are critical of notions of 'equality' that means the subordination of difference under one hegemonic culture. We want challenge this domination of a hegemonic culture that ignores racial inequality - whether it is termed "global postmodernism" or a dull Teutonism.

For many decades migrant societies, organisations and initiatives have existed, that have criticised the socio-political situation and desperate living conditions for those denied full entry into the German public sphere. However these efforts and campaigns have been restricted to the very communities they seek to help, leaving the main body politic unchallenged. Kanak Attak is therefore critical of the benefits possible from individual communities lobbying for their particularistic interests, and the non-confrontational mode of politics evident within contemporary democracies. It's high time to stop asking about respect and tolerance without naming the political ecomomic conditions of social inequality.

The End of Dialogue Culture

Although Kanak Attak is a predominantly migrant movement it should not be seen as the 'cool voice' of the ghetto. That's how they would like it, the commercial vultures of the cultural industries, who are searching for 'authentic' and 'exotic' human experiences to be sold to those living in the grey mainstream of everyday German society. Here the figure of the young, angry migrant fits perfectly; the person who endorses the 'out of the ghetto' mythology that assures complacent liberals that German society is meritocratic after all, and which in turn is used to great commercial success by the German music and film industries in falsifying the 'German Dream'.

Kanak Attak also distances itself against a definition of the 'political', that naively suggests that all that is needed is 'dialogue' and 'peaceful cohabitation' of Kanaken and the majority of this society via the "Day of the foreign fellow citizen", displays of folk culture and humanistic campaigns. When the weather is good and the conscience is bad liberal Germans decorate their cars with stickers: 'Foreigners, never leave us alone with the Germans!'. Kanak Attak is not a friend of such

multiculturalism. Anyway there are not many supporters of this concept left which never got beyond the status of local policy experiments before mainstream talk turned to the failure of multicultural society. So it was inevitable that claims for integration and assimilation resurfaced. In this atmosphere it was not German society that was examined but the migrants themselves! 'Of course, what migrants lack is tolerance', we were told. And who does not want to 'adapt' (read assimilate) into the open society has no business in enlightened Germany. Yet tolerance is being claimed from a dominant position that does not have to examine its own complicitness with subordination, and existing relations of domination are being suppressed. This logic suggests that to talk openly about racism, and to challenge the ethnocentrism and nationalism will only cause more trouble and violence. It could produce prejudice among the majority of Germans. The only racists are the extremists – or so we are told. We reject all of this. Racism has to be challenged in all ist forms from individual discrimination to violent attacks.

Enter the politics

Kanak Attak challenges fundamentally the status of 'foreigners'. Even if there is a partial granting of civil rights, this would fail to meet our ideas. Without considering it as heaven on earth, if everyone has passports, a right to vote and similar socio-political rights, it is a necessary requirement that everyone receives at least, on a formal level, the same rights. That's why we welcome every attempt to reduce inequality. After all, citizenship is of great significance taking everyday life and sometimes even existential situations into consideration. Last but not least it is better if one can travel around spontaneously and unchecked throughout the EU. This would be a formal-juridical equality and it would help to broaden our thinking about economic and political issues and demands for social equality for all.

Since the last elections a new constellation emerges. The possibility of double citizenship - 'Hosgeldiniz yeni vatandaslar!' 'Heartily welcome new compatriots!' 'Herzlich willkommen neue Landsleute!' (Bild) - undermines for the first time since fascism the fateful bond with the 'folk since birth'. But caution! The process of privileging certain immigrants goes together with the exclusion of others. The dismissive gesture of the red-green coalition concerning the question of immigration, of asylum and the situation of refugees, the ongoing practice to label and criminalise people, and the deportation of 'unpleasant people' via the Foreigners Act speak for itself. All of this aims at an open and subtle separation between convenient, tolerated and undesirable groups, who more or less have no personal freedom.

Whether they appear as Acts and policy statements or through checks in pedestrian precincts, in train stations and on the streets, they all steal time and space from the people. To say nothing of the attacks on life and limb, that are an increasingly everyday reality in modern Germany. This is not only the business of Teutonic jungle law on the streets, but also one of state asylum and deportation practice.

Against contemporary certainties

Racism articulates itself at present mainly in a culturalist form. Likewise in other European countries Islam serves as a space of projection for different kinds of racisms. That's why we think we have to fight against all barriers that prevent

recognition of Islam as an equal religious community. For us Islam is no homogenous ideology. One has to divide the everyday religious practice from the organised political Islam. Nevertheless present day Anti-Islamism is one of the key parts to the neo-racist consensus within German society. The false and pseudo-feminist position of German politicians is invoked to defend spurious 'universal' rights. This can be seen in the discourse over headscarfs. At this point even reactionary politicians discover their heart for the suppressed woman, as long as they can pin the blame on Islam.

Another racist form of argumentation that we have to attack is the idea that the 'mixture of people' must somehow be regulated and controlled. This nonsense has spread too far. It hits people through the Foreigners Act in the same way as the person on the door of the club regulates the "right mixture" of people. Those who mean well often point out the so-called pressure that is caused by uncontrolled immigration. But it is not migration that is the problem – it is the problems of those who can only think and live in ways that promote bland homogeneity. Even the tolerant and enlightened are looking for a new club if necessary or a new part of town. Others hope for help from the Nazi-Parties or take charge of the law themselves. We claim not only the extension of the civil rights and other privileges to all groups, but put the apparent obvious regulation of 'inside' and 'outside' and the absurdity of dehumanising living conditions that racism promotes into question. Punktum e basta.

Repräzent? - Repräzent!

Kanak Attak offers a platform for Kanaken from different social areas and are sick of the easy switching between cultures recommended by postmodernists. Kanak Attak wants to break the assignment of ethnic identities and roles; the 'we' and 'them'. And because Kanak Attak is a question of attitude and not of heritage, origin, roots or papers, non-migrants and Germans of the 2nd and even 3rd-generation are part of it too. But here as well caution! The existing hierarchy of social existence and the subject positions it imposes cannot be faded out or skipped over with the greatest of ease. Not all constructions are the same. So our project is caught up in the whirlpool of contradictions concerning the relation of representation, difference and the ascription of ethnic identities.

Nevertheless: we compete for a new attitude of migrants of all generations that we want to bring on stage, independently and without compromise. Whoever believes that we celebrate a Potpourri out of Ghetto-HipHop and other clichés will be surprised. We sample, change and adapt different political and cultural drifts that all operate from oppositional positions. We go back to a mixture of theory, politics and cultural practice. This song is ours.

Es geht ab. Kanak Attak!

November 1998

Figure A.15 : Baglama für alle/Herkese Bağlama (Url-62).

Figure A.15 (continued) : Baglama für alle/Herkese Bağlama.

TANER AKYOL

DAS SAZ ALS HAUPTINSTRUMENT TRADITIONELLER TÜRKISCHER VOLKSMUSIK
THE SAZ AS MAIN INSTRUMENT OF TRADITIONAL TURKISH FOLK MUSIC

ZWEI STIMMUNGEN – BAĞLAMA UND BOZUK
TWO TUNINGS – BAĞLAMA AND BOZUK

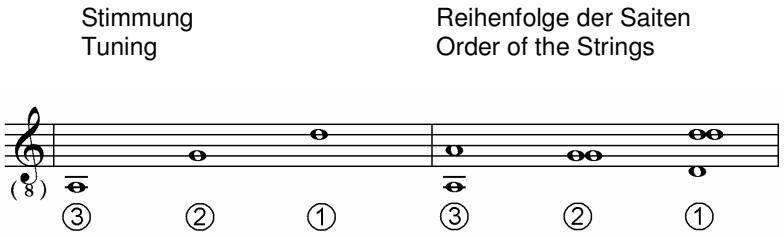
In den unterschiedlichen Regionen der Türkei ist eine Vielzahl eigenständiger Stimmungssysteme für die drei Saiten-Chöre des *Saz* bekannt. Neben den ungefähr 19 verschiedenen Haupt-Systemen haben einzelne Interpreten immer wieder eigene Stimmungen erdacht, sei dies nun aus technischen oder konkreten musikalischen Beweggründen – oder aber als Ausdruck schlichter Experimentierfreude.

The different regions of Turkey are home to a multitude of independent tuning systems for the three choirs of strings of the *Saz*. Besides approximately 19 different main systems, certain interpreters have invented their own tunings, whether motivated by technical or by concrete musical reasons or by simple experiment-happiness.

Diese Beschreibung begrenzt sich auf die beiden gängigsten Stimmungssysteme: das ***Bozuk***- (das „gebrochene“, auch „schwarze“ / *kara düzen*) und das ***Bağlama***- (das „gebundene“) System. Der wichtigste Unterschied zwischen dem Bozuk-System und dem Bağlama-System liegt in der Grundstimmung der Saiten.

This description is limited on the two most current tuning-systems: the ***Bozuk***- (the “broken, also the “black” / *kara düzen*) and the ***Bağlama***- (the “bound”) system.
The most important difference between the Bozuk- and the Bağlama- system lies in the basic tuning of the chords.

BAĞLAMA-STIMMUNG
BAĞLAMA-TUNING



BOZUK-STIMMUNG
BOZUK-TUNING

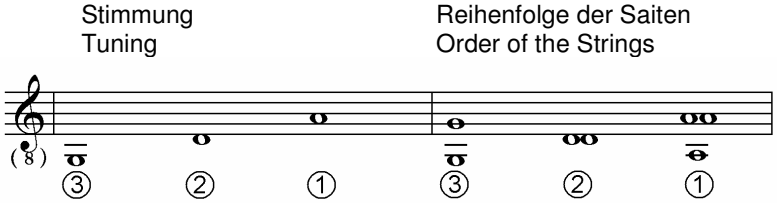
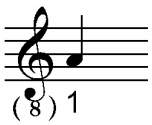
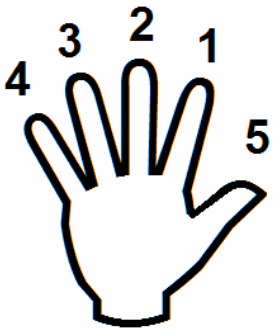


Figure A.16 : Das Salz Als Hauptinstrument Traditioneller Türkischer Volksmusik (Url-61)

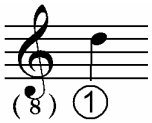
Fingernummern – linke Hand
finger-numbers – left hand

Beispiel: Zeigefinger
example: forefinger

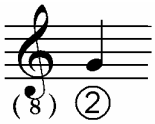




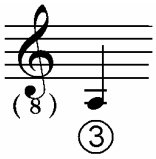
1. Saite
1st string



2. Saite
2nd string



3. Saite
3rd string



Darüber hinaus ist das Griffbrett des *Bozuk* um eine kleine Terz länger als das des *Bağlama*. Auf Grund dieses zweiten Unterschieds existieren hier also zwei mögliche Bauformen des *Saz*.

In der hier bevorzugten Schreibweise werden die für gewöhnlich als ♭2 (bemol iki) bezeichneten Bünde jeweils mit einem umgekehrten ♭ (𝄬) notiert, ebenso wird das so genannte ♯3 (diyez üç) mit einem halben Kreuz (𝄲) dargestellt.

Wenn diese Bünde genau zwischen den Halbtonschritten liegen, geben sie Vierteltonschritte wieder. Da aber alle Bünde verschiebbar sind und die Stimmung in verschiedenen Regionen der Türkei variiert, soll ihre genaue Position im Rahmen dieser Beschreibung nicht festgelegt werden.

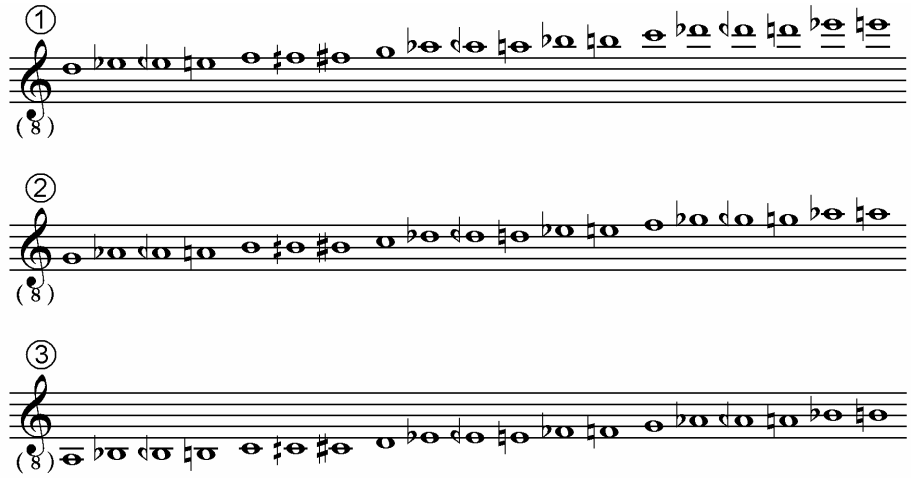
Furthermore, the finger board of the *Bozuk* is one minor third longer than that of the *Bağlama*-system. Due to this second difference there exist two possible types of *Saz*.

In the following notation, the frets that are commonly known as ♭2 (bemol iki) have been notated with a reverse ♭ (𝄬) and those known as ♯3 (diyez üç) in the same way by a half ♯ (𝄲).

If these frets are placed exactly between the half-tone steps, they produce quarter-tone steps. But as all frets are movable and the tuning system varies among the different regions of Turkey, the exact position shall not be fixed within the scope of this description.

Figure A.16 (continued) : Das Salz Als Hauptinstrument Traditioneller Türkischer Volksmusik (Url-61)

Bağlama



Bozuk

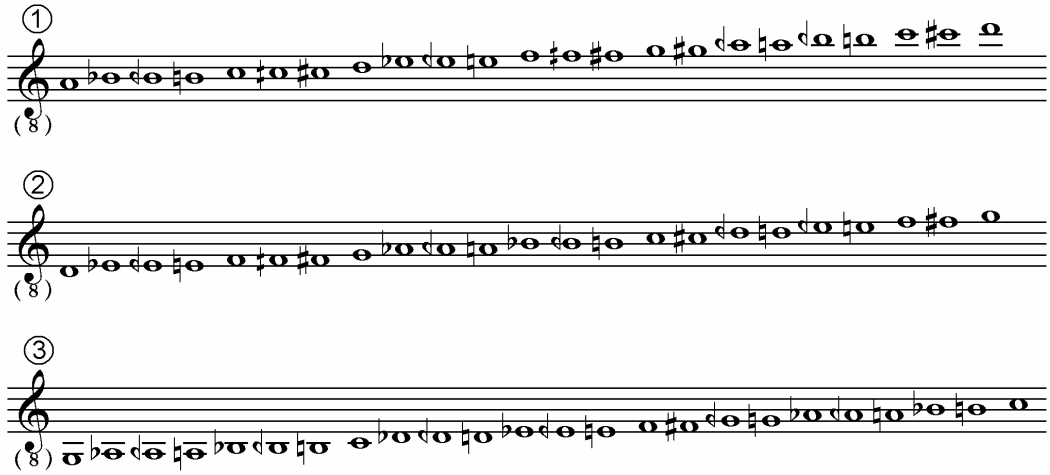


Figure A.16 (continued) : Das Salz Als Hauptinstrument Traditioneller Türkischer Volksmusik (Url-61)

con plettro / senza plettro

Spiel mit / ohne Plektrum
Play with / without plectrum

Für gewönlich wird das Instrument mit einem Plektron gespielt.

Usually, the instrument is played with a plectrum.

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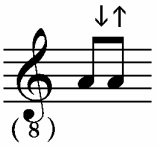
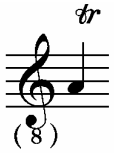
1. ***con plettro***

Zupfrichtung (Finger oder Plektron)
plucking direction (finger or plectrum)



Süsleme („Verzierung“): Fingertriller der linken Hand
Süsleme (“ornamentation”): finger trill of the left hand

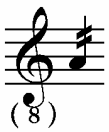


Beim „*Süsleme*“ als stiltypischer Verzierung handelt es sich um eine in der traditionellen türkischen Volksmusik häufig angewendete Technik, die bei der Aufführung als natürlicher Reflex hervorgebracht wird. Aus diesem Grunde wurde in der traditionellen Notation keine Notwendigkeit zu ihrer genauen Bestimmung empfunden.
Direkt nach dem Anschlag der Hauptnote und für eine bestimmte kurze Zeit lang wird dabei mit einem freien Finger eine Verzierung auf der nächstliegenden Tonhöhe ausgeführt. Diese nächstliegende Tonhöhe kann zwischen dem Abstand eines Vierteltons und bis zu mehr als einer großen Sekunde liegen; aber generell ist es der nächste Tonschritt auf dem Griffbrett – und dies unabhängig jeder momentan ausgeführten Skala. Der Fingertriller variiert hinsichtlich Geschwindig und Betonung gemäß den Stilmerkmalen des Interpreten. So fällt es schwer, das *Süsleme* auf eine einzige Möglichkeit zu fixieren, weil es nicht nur betreffs des Personalstils, sondern auch in jeder Aufführung variiert. Dennoch kann der Komponist Geschwindigkeit und Stärke nach seinen Vorstellungen gestalten und notieren.

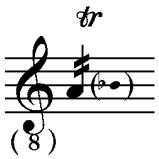
“*Süsleme*” – as a frequently used and typical style feature in traditional Turkish folk music – is produced during the performance as a natural reflex. Therefore, traditional musicians have not felt the need of an exact determination.
This ornamentation is produced with a free finger and on the next fret, directly after the attack of the main note and for a short duration. This next pitch can be situated between the distance of a quartertone and even more than a major second, but is in general, regardless of any used scale, the next step on the finger board. The finger trill varies, with respect to velocity and accentuation, according to the style properties of the interpreter. Thus, it is rather difficult to fix the *Süsleme* on one single form, because it varies not only concerning personal styles but also in every performance. Composers are able to arrange and notate its velocity and intensity anyway according to their own wish.

Figure A.16 (continued) : Das Salz Als Hauptinstrument Traditioneller Türkischer Volksmusik (Url-61)

Tremolo mit Plektron
tremolo with plectrum



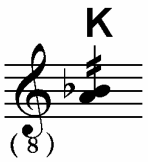
Fingertriller und Tremolo mit Plektron
finger trill and tremolo with plectrum



kıstırma („Abquetschung“)
kıstırma (“squeezing ”)

Hierbei werden die unterschiedlichen Saiten eines Saitenchores getrennt behandelt und können von der linken Hand auf dem Griffbrett mit unterschiedlichen Tonhöhen versehen werden.

This means that the different strings of a single string-choir are played separately. In this manner, the left hand is able to use each of them for a different pitch.



Glissando
glissando

Nachdem der Schlag des Plektrons ausgeführt ist, gleitet der Finger in einem bestimmten kurzen Zeitraum zu einem bestimmten Zielton hin, ohne die Tonhöhen auf dem Wege neu anzuschlagen.

Immediately after plucking with the plectrum, the finger slides in a determined short timeframe onto a determined target pitch, without stroking the pitches on its way again.

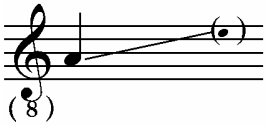
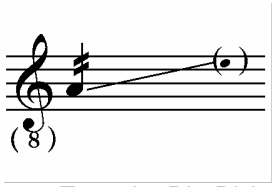


Figure A.16 (continued) : Das Salz Als Hauptinstrument Traditioneller Türkischer Volksmusik (Url-61)

Glissando mit Tremolo
Glissando with tremolo



Finger-Glissando mit gleichzeitigem Tremolo. Die Dichte des Tremolos und die Geschwindigkeit des Gleitens werden auf diese Weise innerhalb einer festgelegten Zeit und in paralleler Geschwindigkeit synchron ausgeführt.

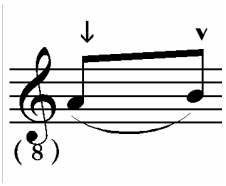
Finger-Glissando with simultaneous tremolo. The density of the tremolo and the velocity of the glissando are produced in this manner synchronously within a determinate timeframe and with parallel velocity.

Çarpma – Çekme mit Plektron
Çarpma – Çekme with plectrum

Zusätzlich zu den Bewegungen der rechten Hand kann die linke Hand die Saiten - durch akzentuiertes Umgreifen – selbst anschlagen. Dieses hörbare Umgreifen auf dem Griffbrett kann als *Çarpma* („Stoßen“, Aufschlag des Griff-Fingers auf die Saite) oder *Çekme* („Ziehen“, schnelles Zurückziehen des Fingers) ausgeführt werden.

Additionally to the movements of the right hand, the left hand is able to pluck itself the strings when the placement of a finger changes by an accentuated movement. This left-hand-play can be carried out as *Çarpma* (“pushing”, accentuated placement of a finger of the left-hand on the string) or *Çekme* (“pulling”, quickly taking off the finger).

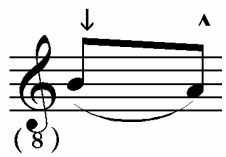
Çarpma



Auf die erste Note wird das Plektron (rechte Hand) geschlagen, auf die zweite schlägt direkt der Griff-Finger der linken Hand.

The first note is plucked with the plectrum (right hand), but the second is directly plucked by a quick placement of the finger (left hand).

Çekme

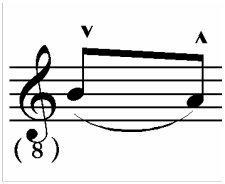


Auf die erste Note wird das Plektron (rechte Hand) geschlagen, auf die zweite wird der Griff-Finger (linke Hand) schnell zurückgezogen.

The first note is plucked with the plectrum (right hand); on the second note, the placed finger of the left hand is quickly taken off.

Figure A.16 (continued) : Das Salz Als Hauptinstrument Traditioneller Türkischer Volksmusik (Url-61)

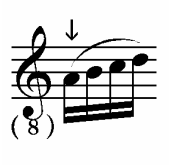
Çarpma–Çekme verbunden
Çarpma–Çekme together



Ohne die rechte Hand zu benutzen, wird der Griff-Finger auf der ersten Note gesetzt und auf der zweiten zurückgezogen.

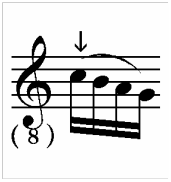
Without using the right hand, the finger of the left hand is placed on the first note and taken off on the second.

Legato
legato



Diese Technik ähnelt dem *Çarpma*. Hierbei sind die Anschläge der Griff-Finger aber nicht hörbar. Nach dem Anschlagen der Saite auf der ersten Note werden die folgenden Töne allein durch die Bewegungen der Griff-Finger gespielt. Dadurch erhält die gesamte Figur auf einem einzigen Anschlag einen weicheren und fließenden Ausdruck.

This technique resembles the *Çarpma*, but the placement of the fingers (left-hand) is not audible. After stroking the string on the first note, the following notes are played by the left hand alone. This gives the complete figure a softer, smoother expression.



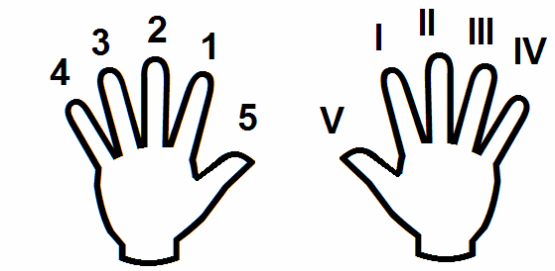
Das zweite Beispiel gleicht fast vollständig dem vorigen, nur dass das Spiel statt dem *Çarpma* dem *Çekme* entspricht.

The second example is almost identical with the previous; but it corresponds with *Çekme* instead of *Çarpma*.

Figure A.16 (continued) : Das Salz Als Hauptinstrument Traditioneller Türkischer Volksmusik (Url-61)

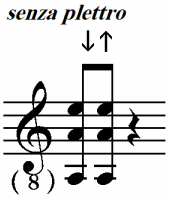
2. ***senza plettro***

Spezialtechniken ohne Plektron
special techniques without plectrum



Für die *Şelpe*-Technik werden die Finger der linken und der rechten Hand unterschiedlich nummeriert. Die Reihenfolge ist zwar die gleiche, aber die Finger der rechten Hand werden mit römischen Ziffern notiert.

For the use of the *Şelpe*-technique, the fingers of the left and of the right hand are numbered differently.
The order is equal, but the fingers of the right hand are notated with Roman figures.



Ohne Plektrum zu spielen. Der Reihe nach werden der IV., III., II. und I. Finger der linken Hand von außen nach innen auf die Saiten gelegt. Bei der Ausführung von innen nach außen berührt nur der I. Finger die Saiten.

To play without plectrum. The IVth, IIIrd, IInd and Ist finger of the left hand are placed on the strings in turn from outside inwards. When this technique is used from inside outwards, only the Ist finger touches the strings.

Auf dem Griffbrett
on the finger-board

sul tasto

Figure A.16 (continued) : Das Salz Als Hauptinstrument Traditioneller Türkischer Volksmusik (Url-61)

volles Abdämpfen
complete muting

gedämpftes Spiel
muted play

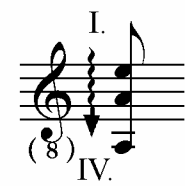
Mit der Handfläche der rechten Hand wird die Saite auf dem Steg abgedämpft, so wie mit dem Dämpfer eines Streichinstruments.

The palm of the right hand mutes the string on the bridge, just as the mute of a string instrument.

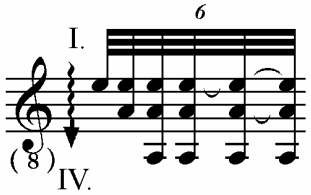
Arpeggio (***sul tasto***)

1.

Notation
notation



Klang
sound

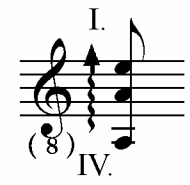


Drei Finger (I., II., III. oder IV.) spielen das *Arpeggio* in paralleler Bewegung. Diese Technik wird für gewöhnlich im oberen Bereich des Griffbretts ausgeführt, wo die Saiten tiefer und weicher klingen und wodurch die Ausführung leichter fällt.

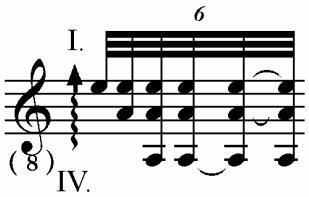
Three fingers (Ist, IInd, IIIrd or IVth) play the *Arpeggio* in parallel movement. This technique is normally used in the upper area of the finger board where the strings sound lower and smoother and are easier to play.

2.

Notation
notation



Klang
sound



Dieselbe Technik wird in diesem Beispiel mit den Fingern der rechten Hand in umgekehrter Richtung ausgeführt. Beim Beginn des Anschlagens ist die Hand geschlossen. Die Finger IV, III, II und I öffnen sie der Reihe nach. Die Klangfarbe kann modifiziert werden, indem mit dem Fingernagel oder der Fingerspitze gespielt wird.

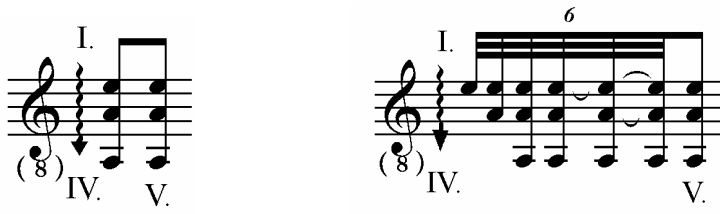
In this example, the same technique is used with the fingers of the right hand in inverse direction. At the beginning of the figure, the hand is shut. The fingers IV, III, II and I open it in turn. The timbre can be modified by playing with the fingernail or with the fingertip.

Figure A.16 (continued) : Das Salz Als Hauptinstrument Traditioneller Türkischer Volksmusik (Url-61)

3.

Notation
notation

Klang
sound



Direkt nach dem *Arpeggio*, das ebenso ausgeführt wird wie im vorigen Beispiel, schlägt der V. Finger (der Daumen) von unten nach oben den vollständigen Akkord noch einmal an.

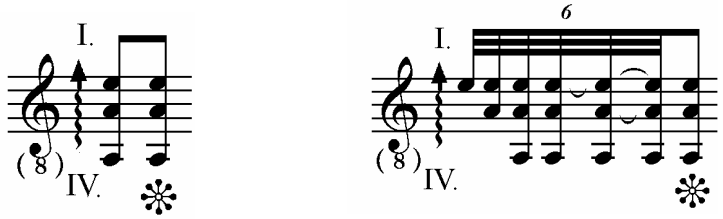
Immediately after the *Arpeggio*, which is played in the same way as in the previous example, the Vth finger (the thumb) plucks the complete chord again.

4.

Arpeggio mit Dämpfung
Arpeggio with muting

Notation
notation

Klang
sound



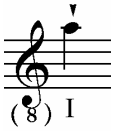
Wenn der IV., III., II. und I. Finger die Saiten der Reihe nach angeschlagen haben, wird der Klang abrupt abgeschnitten, indem die (rechte) Handfläche die Saiten abdämpft. Beim Dämpfen erklingt ein perkussives Geräusch ohne vernehmbare Tonhöhen.

When the IVth, IIIrd, IInd and Ist finger have pluckd the strings in turn, the palm (of the right hand) cuts the sound suddenly by muting the strings. This effect is accompanied by a percussive noise without distinguishable pitches.

Figure A.16 (continued) : Das Salz Als Hauptinstrument Traditioneller Türkischer Volksmusik (Url-61)

Çarpma – Çekme ohne Plektron (rechte Hand)
Çarpma – Çekme without plectrum (right hand)

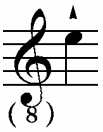
Çarpma



Ein bestimmter Ton wird mit dem I. Finger der rechten Hand direkt auf dem Bund gespielt. Diese Technik kann außer dem V. mit jedem anderen Finger ausgeführt werden.

The Ist finger of the right hand plays a determined pitch directly on the fret. This technique can be used with each finger except the Vth.

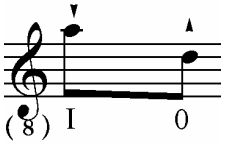
Çekme



Wenn zuvor *Çarpma* gespielt wurde, kann der Finger hörbar zurückgezogen werden, wie oben erklärt.

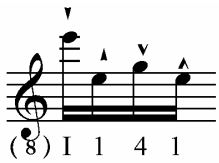
Following a *Çarpma* passage, the finger can be taken off the string audibly as explained before.

Çarpma – Çekme



Das Haupt-Stimmungssystem für *Tapping* und *Şelpe*-Technik ist die *Bağlama*-Stimmung. Demgemäß greift ***und*** schlägt der I. Finger den höheren Ton an und erzeugt durch das Zurückziehen den Ton der leeren Saite. Die *Çarpma-Çekme*-Technik mit Plektron wird mit der linken Hand ausgeführt und mit anderen Zeichen notiert. Hier wiederum wird die Melodie zwischen beiden Händen aufgeteilt. Somit kann der Interpret *Çarpma* und *Çekme* je nach Belieben mit der rechten und linken Hand oder umgekehrt ausführen.

The main tuning-system for Tapping and *Şelpe*-Technique is the *Bağlama*-system. The Ist finger consequently places ***and*** plucks the higher pitch and produces the sound of the open string by leaving it. The *Çarpma-Çekme*-Technique with plectrum is played by the left hand and is notated with different signs. In the present case without plectrum, the melody is divided between the two hands. Thus, the interpreter is able to play *Çarpma* and *Çekme* according to his own skill with the right and the left hand or vice versa.



Die Zeichen und Bezifferungen in diesem Beispiel unterscheiden zwischen den Fingern der linken und der rechten Hand.

The signs and figures in this example distinguish between the fingers of the left and those of the right hand.

Deutsche Übersetzung und Einrichtung / English Translation : Stefan Pohlit 03/2006

Figure A.16 (continued) : Das Salz Als Hauptinstrument Traditioneller Türkischer Volksmusik (Url-61)

APPENDIX B: DVD CONTENT

Table B.1 : List of DVD tracks.

Track	**Name of the Song**	**Singer/Group**
1	*İşçilerin Kaderi Zalim Almanya* (Url-63)	Abdullah Papur
2	*Alamanya Gardaşımı Geri Ver* (Url-64)	Aşık Mahzuni Şerif
3	*İşçi Geldim Almanya'ya* (Url-65)	Davut Sulari
4	*Almanya*	Aşık Mahzuni Şerif
5	*Tunceli* (Url-66)	Abdullah Papur
6	*Nurhak Dağı* (Url-67)	Aşık Mahzuni Şerif
7	*Devrim İçin Ölenleri Unutmayız* (Url-68)	Aşık Zamani
8	*Yılmaz Yılmaz* (Url-69)	Aşık Zamani
9	*Amerikano İngilizo* (Url-70)	Aşık Zamani
10	*Bizim İbrahim* (Url-71)	Aşık Zamani
11	*İbrahim Yoldaş* (Url-72)	Aşık Ali Nurşani
12	*Bu Dere Kızıldere* (Url-73)	Aşık Ali Nurşani
13	*Vur Mehmetçik* (Url-74)	Abdullah Papur
14	*Zindan Oldu* (Url-75)	Yıldız Tezcan
15	*Zindan Oldu* (Url-76)	Mehmet Bozdoğan

Table B.1 (continued) : List of DVD tracks.

Track	Name of the Song	Singer/Group
16	*Zindan Oldu* (Url-77)	Yüksel Özkasap
17	*Akşam Güneşi* (Url-78)	Orhan Gencebay
18	*Akşam Güneşi* (Url-79)	Yüksel Özkasap
19	*Almanya'da Karnaval Var* (Url-80)	Aşık Metin Türköz
20	*Meister İşçi Kavgası* (Url-81)	Aşık Metin Türköz
21	*Şirin'in Düğünü*	Aşık Metin Türköz
22	*Zalim Almanya* (Url-82)	Aşık Ali Doğan
23	*Eşeği Saldım Çayıra* (Url-83)	Ruhi Su
24	*El Kapıları-Almanya'da Çöpçülerimiz* (Url-84)	Ruhi Su
25	*Almanya Gemileri-Aman Alim* (Url-85)	Ruhi Su-Sümeyra Çakır
26	*Zafer Bizimdir* (Url-86)	Türkischer Arbeiterchor West Berlin
27	*Kızıl Yıldız* (Url-87)	Türkischer Arbeiterchor West Berlin
28	*Enternasyonal* (Url-88)	Türkischer Arbeiterchor West Berlin
29	*Kerem Gibi* (Url-89)	Türkischer Arbeiterchor West Berlin
30	*Adiloş Bebenin Ninnisi* (Url-90)	Türkischer Arbeiterchor West Berlin
31	*Dadaloğlu* (Url-91)	Cem Karaca
32	*Kalender* (Url-92)	Cem Karaca

Table B.1 (continued) : List of DVD tracks.

Track	Name of the Song	Singer/Group
33	*Tamirci Çırağı* (Url-93)	Cem Karaca
34	*Mutlaka Yavrum* (Url-94)	Cem Karaca
35	*1 Mayıs* (Url-95)	Cem Karaca
36	*Durduramayacaklar Halkın Coşkun Akan Selini* (Url-96)	Cem Karaca
37	*Alamanya* (Url-97)	Cem Karaca
38	*Alamanya Berbadı* (Url-98)	Cem Karaca
39	*Mein deutscher Freund* (Url-99)	Cem Karaca
40	*Türken raus* (Url-100)	Die Böhse Onkelz
41	*Hani Senin Yurdun Türküm/İşçi* (Url-101)	Aşık Şahturna
42	*Liebe Gabi* (Url-102)	Derdiyoklar
43	*Kalktı Göç Eyledi Avşar Elleri* (Url-103)	Derdiyoklar
44	*Cemalım* (Url-104)	Erkin Koray
45	Interview (Url-105)	Fresh Familee
46	*Ahmet Gündüz I* (Url-106)	Fresh Familee
47	*Heimat* (Url-107)	Fresh Familee
48	*Fremd im eigenen Land* (Url-108)	Advanced Chemistry
49	*Cartel* (Url-109)	Cartel
50	*Mobil Unit* (Url-110)	George Fenton & Ken Freeman
51	*Operation § 3* (Url-111)	Advanced Chemistry

Table B.1 (continued) : List of DVD tracks.

Track	Name of the Song	Singer/Group
52	*My Melody* (Url-112)	Islamic Force
53	*Funky Drummer* (Url-113)	James Brown
54	*Feel Good* (Url-114)	Fancy
55	*Get Up (I Feel Like Being A) Sex Machine* (Url-115)	James Brown
56	*Flash it to the Beat* (Url-116)	Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five
57	*Leylim Ley* (Url-117)	İbrahim Tatlıses
58	*Eski Okul* (Url-118)	Boulevard Bou
59	*Beddua* (Url-119)	Bülent Ersoy
60	*Planet Rock* (Url-120)	Afrika Bambaata and Soulsonic Force
61	*Trans-Europe Express* (Url-121)	Kraftwerk
62	*Ahmet Gündüz II* (Url-122)	Fresh Familee
63	*Belalım* (Url-123)	Sezen Aksu
64	*Die da?!* (Url-124)	Die Fantastischen Vier
65	*Bir Yabancının Hayatı* (Url-125)	King Size Terror
66	*Yanlış Yol* (Url-126)	DJ Mahmut & Murat G.
67	*Al Sana Karakan* (Url-127)	Karakan
68	*Defol Dazlak* (Url-128)	Karakan
69	*Anılar* (Url-129)	Karakan
70	*Cehenneme Hoşgeldin* (Url-130)	Karakan

Table B.1 (continued) : List of DVD tracks.

Track	Name of the Song	Singer/Group
71	*Ali Desidero* (Url-131)	MFÖ
72	*2023* (Url-132)	Kurtalan Ekspress & Barış Manço
73	*Istanbul* (Url-133)	Islamic Force
74	*Yetmedi Mi* (Url-134)	Da Crime Posse
75	*Es ist Zeit* (Url-135)	Aziza A.
76	*Kim Dedi?* (Url-136)	Aziza A.
77	*Soy Da Ye* (Url-137)	Aziza A.
78	*Lambaya Püf De* (Url-138)	Barış Manço
79	*Hayat*	Aziza A.
80	*Deniz* (Url-139)	Aziza A.
81	*Çocuk* (Url-140)	Aziza A.
82	*Batsın Bu Dünya*	Orhan Gencebay
83	*Die Abrechnung* (Url-141)	Eko Fresh
84	*Das Urteil* (Url-142)	Kool Savaş
85	*36 Boys* (Url-143)	Al Jazeera
86	*Concerto for Baglama* (Url-144)	Arif Sağ
87	*Concerto di Berlinbul* (Url-145)	Carlo Domeniconi
88	*Elazığ Dik Halayı*	Arif Sağ
89	*Kervan*	Arif Sağ & Yılmaz İpek
90	*Bilen Gelsin*	Taner Akyol
91	*Güneşe Raks*	Taner Akyol Trio

APPENDIX C: THE COMPOSER AND HIS WORK

Table C.1 : Content of Appendix C

Table C.2 : List of Documents in Appendix C.3.

Table C.3 : List of Documents in Appendix C.4.

Appendix C1: Synopsis of *Ali Baba und 40 Räuber*

Act I

Places: bazaar, forest and cave, square of provincial town

The opera begins in a bazaar in which East and West, fantastic and reel are together. The market keepers open their stalls with a traditional ceremony performed by Pazarbaşı. The bazaar is crowded by lots of customer in a short time. Woodsman Ali Baba and his loyal donkey Karakaçan are going to the mountain to gather up wood. While they are dropping by the bazaar, they come across with Ali Baba's brother Kasım. Kasım ridiculing with their poverty says that they can find more woods if they go to behind the mountain. However, Ali Baba and Karakaçan find little amount of wood there. On the way home, they decide to make a break. However their break is spoiled by the scary noises. In a short time Ali Baba and Karakaçan find out that these are the noises of the Forty Thieves. They hide in a state of fear and wait the departure of the Forty Thieves. But the fear turns to curiosity because they have just learned the secret phrase to open the cave of the Forty Thieves: "Open Sesame!" They decide to move in the cave. What they see there is surprising and spooky at the same time because the cave is full of valuable articles. However, as they are living the cave, Ali Baba sees the lost soup ladle that was given him as a gift by his mother. He changes his mind, takes ladleful gold and goes home. He now thinks that his and his wife Rosa's honest life is awarded. In order to weigh the gold Rose borrows a hand scale from Kasım's wife Ayşe. But Ayşe is a woman that is evil and snaky just as his husband. She plasters honey under the pan of the hand scale in order to understand what Ali Baba and Rose would weigh. As Rosa brings the hand scale back, she finds out that they weighed gold. She forces Kasım to learn the origin of gold. Ali Baba cannot withstand his brother's insists and tells the story and the secret phrase. Kasım goes to the cave with a great ambition and greed. However as he wants to go out, he forgets the secret phrase and is caught by the Forty Thieves. They divided Kasım's body into pieces to menace those who have an eye to their treasures.

Act II

Places: square of provincial town, Kasım's house

Ayşe is anxious about Kasım. She asks Ali Baba to find Kasım. As Ali Baba goes to the cave, he finds Kasım's divided body. Now he has to explain Kasım's death to inhabitants of the city and to organize a proper funeral. First thing to do is to piece Kasım's body together. Şirin, Kasım's slave girl who is in love with Ali Baba's son Vehbi convinces the tailor Idris to sew the body. Blindfolded Idris sews the body without knowing anything. In the meanwhile, they spread the news that Kasım is dead due to his sudden illness. On the other hand, the Forty Thieves are looking for the unknown man who took Kasım's body. One of them understands that it is Ali Baba, and marks his house. However, Şirin notices that and marks all the other houses. When the Forty Thieves come for vengeance, they cannot understand which house is Ali Baba's. Grateful to Şirin, Ali Baba relieves Şirin of slavery and allows marrying with his son. Räuberhauptmann thinking that he can find some clues joins to the wedding in disguise. He introduces himself as an olive oil merchant. However the children find out that it is not olive oil but the thieves in the jars. At the same time Şirin notices that this merchant is actually Räuberhauptmann in disguise. She beats ladle on Räuberhauptmann's head. Since all the thieves were destroyed, Ali Baba, Rosa, Vehbi and Şirin would live happily as they deserve.

Appendix C2: Musical Numbers of *Ali Baba und 40 Räuber*

Musical Numbers

1. Act, 1. Scene

Nr. 1: Ensemble (Pazarbaşı and market keepers)

Nr. 2: Ali Baba and Vehbi

Nr. 3: Kasım and his servants

Nr. 4: Trio (Kasım, Ali Baba and Karakaçan)

Nr. 5: Choir number

1. Act, 2. Scene

Nr. 6: Ali Baba and Karakaçan

Nr. 7: Choir of the Forty Thieves

Nr. 8: Duet (Ali Baba and Karakaçan)

1. Act, 3. Scene

Nr. 9: Duet (Ayşe and Şirin)

Nr. 10: Ensemble (Kasım, a servant, Ayşe, Şirin)

Nr. 11: Folk song (Rosa)

Nr. 12: Aria (Rosa)

Nr. 13: Duet (Ali Baba and Rosa)

Nr. 14: Love duet (Vehbi and Şirin)

Nr. 15: Duet (Ali Baba and Kasım)

1. Act, 4. Scene

Nr. 16: Parlando (Kasım)

Nr. 17: Aria (Kasım)

Nr. 18: Aria and choir (Räuberhauptmann and the Forty Thieves)

Nr. 19: Battle music

Nr. 20: Parlando (Ali Baba and Karakaçan)

Nr. 21: Aria (Ali Baba)

Nr. 22: Parlando (Ali Baba and Karakaçan)

Nr. 23: Sorrow duet (Ali Baba and Karakaçan)

Nr. 24: Choir (the Forty Thieves)

Nr. 25: Halay (the Forty Thieves)

2. Act, 1. Scene

Nr. 26: Quintett (Ali Baba, Vehbi, Ayşe, Rosa and Şirin)

Nr. 27: Şirin and Baba İdris

Nr. 28: Aria (Baba İdris)

2. Act, 2. Scene

Nr. 29: Ensemble

Nr. 30: Anger aria (Räuberhauptmann)

Nr. 31: Master İdris and Tomtom Osman

Nr. 32: Choir and soloists

2. Act, 3. Scene

Nr. 33: Solo (Karakaçan)

Nr. 34: Choir and soloists (Ali Baba, Ayşe and Vehbi)

Nr. 35: Folk song

Nr. 36: Dance music (children and Şirin)

Nr. 37: Finale

Appendix C3: Newspaper reports and reviews on *Ali Baba und 40 Räuber*

Freitag
02. November 2012

Berliner Zeitung

Berlin
11°

OPER 29.10.2012

Heitere Gewalt ohne Blutvergießen

Von Clemens Haustein

Taner Akyols Kinderoper „Ali Baba" an der Komischen Oper erhält Applaus für viel Gesang, Bewegung und Verbiegungen. Trotz des Ansatzes der türkisch-deutschen Kinderoper bleibt das Stück jedoch recht heimatlich.

Ein bisschen schlucken muss man dann doch. Immerhin wurde da gerade ein Mensch gevierteilt. Das war gottlob nicht zu sehen, irgendwann hält jemand aus der Räuberschar ein abgetrenntes Bein in die Höhe, ein anderer einen Arm, ein dritter schließlich den Kopf. Man sieht, dass es die Teile einer Puppe sind, auch von Blut weit und breit keine Spur. Ein Trauma wird hier niemand davontragen. Und doch wird es ein bisschen stiller an diesem sonst kalauerreichen, zum Ende hin sehr lustigen Nachmittag.

Heitere Gewalt ohne Blutvergießen: Es ist nicht das einzige Mal in der Kinderoper „Ali Baba und die 40 Räuber", die am Sonntag in der Komischen Oper uraufgeführt wurde, dass der Zuschauer sich an einen Zeichentrickfilm erinnert fühlt. Matthias Davids tut mit seiner Inszenierung jedenfalls alles, um die kleinen Zuschauer bei Laune zu halten. Vielleicht hat man sogar panische Angst, die Aufmerksamkeit der Kinder zu verlieren.

Umgang mit dem Reichtum

So oft wie hier „huh" und „ha" geschrien wird, so sehr wie die Darsteller und Sänger sich biegen, wie sie grimassieren und dröhnlachen. Dass Ali Baba eine auch für Kinder verständliche Parabel ist auf den Umgang mit Reichtum – verkörpert in einer klugen, grundsympathischen Hauptfigur –, gerät im ständigen Possenreißen ein wenig in den Hintergrund. Das schreibt natürlich ein Erwachsener. Einer, der glauben mag, dass man Kinder bei der Stange halten könnte, ohne ununterbrochen Bühnenstaub aufzuwirbeln. Der begeisterte Applaus am Ende gab der Aufführung jedoch Recht.

Ali Baba (Jens Larsen, Mitte) mit seinem Esel (links) und seinem Bruder.
Foto: dpa

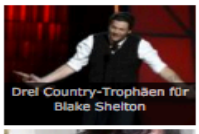
Und es gibt tatsächlich einen Haufen gelungener Einfälle zu erleben. Ali Babas Gefährte etwa (Daniel Drewes), ein Papageno in Eselausführung, der die komische Figur mimt. Ein Räuberhauptmann (Carsten Sabrowski), der ordentlich herumpoltert und dabei doch das Böse in liebenswerter Form ist. Man darf sich als Zuschauer auch freuen über eine ziemlich elegante Lösung für das leibliche Ende der 40 Räuber. Wo im Originalmärchen die kluge Magd eben mal heißes Öl in die Schläuche füllt, in denen sich das lichtscheue Gesindel versteckt, wird auf der Opernbühne sogenanntes „Schlafpulver" über den Räubern ausgestreut.

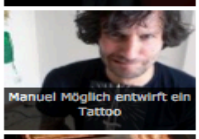
Foto: dpa

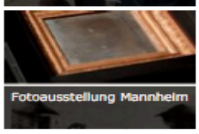
Räuber, die in diesem Fall außerdem gar nicht so übel sind, schließlich werden sie vom begeistert johlenden Kinderchor der Komischen Oper dargestellt, Turbane auf dem Kopf, Krummsäbel geschwungen. Sie sitzen am Ende auch nicht in Schläuchen, sondern – Clou der Aufführung – in Öltonnen mit Sehschlitzen. Und der Räuberhauptmann hat sich als Ölscheich mit schwarzer Sonnenbrille und Arabertuch verkleidet, um zu Ali Baba vorzudringen, dem Mitwisser seines Passwortes.

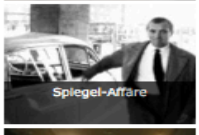
Mit orientalischem Geschmack, aber ohne Morgenland-Kitsch wird das in Szene gesetzt. Die Bühne ist wenig mehr als ein riesiger Teppich, der von buntem Personal bevölkert wird. Gleich zu Beginn ist ein opulentes Markttreiben zu sehen, bei dem orientalische und neuköllner Basarform aufeinandertreffen. Gewürze werden ebenso feilgeboten wie Blechkram und Klobürsten. Der Chor der Marktleute singt türkisch.

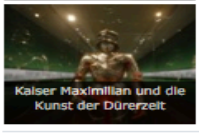
NEUESTE BILDERGALERIEN KULTUR











SERIE ZUR GENTRIFIZIERUNG

Schöner leben

Figure C.1 : Heitere Gewalt ohne Blutvergießen (Url-146).

Figure C.1 (continued) : Heitere Gewalt ohne Blutvergießen (Url-146).

Operada ilk kez bağlama çalındı

Taner Akyol, Komik Opera'nın verdiği sipariş üzerine bestelediği bu operanın çeşitli açılardan bir ilk olduğunu belirtiyor. "Tahmin ediyorum dünyada ilk defa operada bağlama, kaval, zurna, asma davul, bizim Anadolu'ya ait davul gibi aletlerin kullanıldığı, orkestranın yanı sıra kullanıldığı bir opera bu" diyen Akyol, ayrıca korist ve solistlerin şan teknikleri konusunda bazı farklılıklar olduğunu söylüyor. Akyol, özellikle solistlerde Anadolu'nun halk müziğine ait melodileri kullanarak onlara şarkı söyletmeye çalıştığını dile getiriyor.

Ali Baba ve 40 Haramiler operasının dramaturgu Ulrich Lenz

Operaya 44 kişilik orkestra eşlik ediyor. Taner Akyol aynı zamanda orkestrada bağlama çalıyor. Eseri bağlama çalmaya başlamasında büyük etkisi olan Türk halk müziği sanatçısı Arif Sağ'a ithaf eden Akyol, ilk bestelediği bu operada Batı ve Doğu'nun müziğinden bir sentez oluşturmadığını vurguluyor. Akyol, bu konuda şunları söylüyor: "Aslında ezgileri birleştiren bir opera değil. Doğu ve Batı'nın müziğini birleştirmiyor, benim de öyle bir müzik anlayışım yok. Ben Doğu'nun müziğini de biliyorum, Batı'nın müziğini de eğitimini görerek öğrendim. Bu ikisinin karışımından benim başka bir müzik dilim oluştu, hatta şöyle diyeyim; oluşturmaya çalışıyorum."

Komik Opera Türklere açılıyor

Türkülerin aryaya dönüştüğü, sahnede halayların çekildiği Ali Baba ve 40 Haramilerin Türkçe-Almanca yazılan librettosu Berlin'de yaşayan tiyatro yönetmeni Çetin İpekkaya ile Marietta Rohrer-İpekkaya'ya ait.

Ali Baba ve 40 Haramiler, Komik Opera'nın Berlin'de yaşayan Türklere hitap eden "Selam Opera" adlı projesi kapsamında hazırlandı. Berlin'deki üç operadan biri olan Komik Opera, Almanya'da bazı temsilleri Türkçe üst yazı ile sahneleyen ilk opera oldu.

Komik Opera'nın kapılarını Berlin'de yaşayan Türklere açmak istediğini vurgulayan Dramaturg Ulrich Lenz, ancak Ali Baba ve 40 Haramiler'in herkese seslendiğini ifade ediyor. "Burada sadece Türklere temsil sahnelemiyoruz veya Türk tiyatrosu yapmıyoruz. Burada yaptığımız işin herkesin ilgisini çekebileceğini göstermek istiyoruz" diyen Lenz, sözlerini şöyle sürdürüyor: "Ama aynı zamanda başkalarından, diğer kültürlerden öğreneceklerimiz de bizi ilgilendiriyor. Eğer Türk müziği operaya uymuyorsa, operayı Türk müzik diline yaklaştıracak şekilde değiştirmemiz gerekebilir."

Opera sahnesinde Türk çocukları

Komik Opera, Türk çocuklarına sahneye çıkma fırsatı da veriyor. Ali Baba ve 40 Haramiler operasın da koroda yer alan Türk çocukları bulunuyor. Selam Opera projesini yürüten Mustafa Akça, çocuk korosuna büyük önem verdiğini söylüyor. Akça, "çocuk koromuzda halen 27 Türk çocuğu yer alıyor. Üstelik kapımız hâlâ açık, isteyen aileler başvuruda bulunabilir. Çocukların bu eğitimden zevk aldığını, kişiliklerinin güçlendiğini, duruşlarının değiştiğini görmek benim için çok önemli" diyor.

Berlin'de yaşayan Türkler için başlatılan Selam Opera projesinin, önümüzdeki yıllarda da devam etmesi planlanıyor.

Haber: Jülide Danışman / Berlin

Figure C.2 : *Deutsche Welle Türkçe* (Url-147).

Document C. 1 : "Politisch besser geglückt als künstlerisch: Uraufführung von Taner Akyols 'Ali Baba und die 40 Räuber' an der Komischen Oper" by Prof. Dr. Peter P. Pachl (Url-148).

(nmz) - Exakt vor einem Jahr hatte an der Komischen Oper Berlin Christian Josts „Mikropolis" als eine Insektengeschichte mit Migrationshintergrund eine nachhaltig erfolgreiche Uraufführung erlebt. All zu platt bemüht sich Taner Akyol mit dem berühmten Märchen aus „1001 Nacht", hieran anzuknüpfen. Erfolgreicher als seine neue türkisch-deutsche Kinderoper ist das Projekt „Selam Opera!", welches Kinder mit türkischen Wurzeln für die Oper begeistern will und auch in den Kinderchor dieser Produktion integriert hat.

Marktszenen sind im Genre Musiktheater durchaus beliebt, aber zumeist wenig befriedigend gelöst. Dem Regisseur Matthias Davids, Leiter der Sparte Musical am Landestheater Linz, gelingt es in der Ausstattung von Sanne Danz (Bühnenbild) und Judith Peter (Kostüme) einen heutigen Basar, mit aufgehängten Türkenkoffern, Unterwäsche und Plastikstühlen, sowie bunten Verkaufsbuden, auch in den drei Stockwerken der Proszeniumslogen, zu schaffen, ja sogar die Interaktion zwischen einem Solisten im ersten Rang und der Bühne herzustellen. Aber dieses Bild erweist sich im Libretto von Çetin İpekkaya und Marietta Rohrer-İpekkaya als ein dramaturgisch entbehrliches Vorgeplänkel.

Verbal setzt das Libretto mit gesprochenen Dialogen auf Effekte des alten Kindertheaters, wie Missverstehen oder drastische Schilderungen; der Esel habe „im Zickzack gekackt" heißt es da, und die Verfolger seien auf der Esel-Kacke ausgerutscht.

Erstmals bietet die Komische Oper Berlin keine deutsche und fremdsprachige Übertitelung in den Rücklehnen der Sitze an, obgleich die Übersetzungen hier besonders dienlich und auch erforderlich gewesen wären. Und die Behauptung, „Erklärender Übertitel bedarf es dabei nicht, dient doch als ‚Übersetzung' die universale Sprache der Musik", liest sich gut, erweist sich aber als eine schlechte Ausrede.

Wie im Text deutsche und türkische Passagen nahtlos miteinander verbunden sind, so auch in der Partitur, die in ihrer Vermischung von traditioneller türkischer Volksmusik und gemäßigten zeitgenössischen Kompositionstechniken in Richtung Crossover-Pop zielt. Einmal gelingt dem in Berlin lebenden, türkischkurdischen Komponisten ein eindrucksvolles Klangbild, wenn Taner Akyol mit Streichern und Schlagwerk das Nahen der Reiterkarawane von 40 Räubern charakterisiert; ein Klangteppich, der dann auf der Szene mit der bunten Mixtur von Kinder- und erwachsenen Räubern durch kollektiv aufeinander geschlagene Kokosnusshälften ergänzt wird. Zu den Höhepunkten der Partitur zählt ein traditionell a cappella intonierter, zitierter Trauergesang.

Das von Kristiina Poska mit viel Engagement geleitete Orchester der Komischen Oper Berlin umfasst auch die türkischen Instrumente Zurna und Kaval. Im Zusammenspiel des von David Cavelius einstudierten Chors der Komischen Oper und des von Dagmar Fiebich geleiteten Kinderchores bleiben insbesondere rhythmisches Fingerschnippsen, sowie Sprechchöre im Gedächtnis.

Insgesamt setzt die Aufführung auf Lautstärke, weshalb auch die Opernsänger mikroportverstärkt agieren. Den gegenüber seiner Räubergruppe gönnerhaften Räuberhauptmann (Carsten Sabrowski) bekämpft Publikumsliebling Jens Larsen als Ali Baba, zusammen mit seinem Esel Karakaçan (Daniel Drewes) erfolgreich. Ali Babas Bruder Kasım (Stefan Sevenich) wird hingegen von den Räubern in der Schatzkammer entdeckt und in fünf Teile „gevierteilt“. Diese werden dann vom Schneider Baba İdris (Manfred Sabrowski) wieder zusammengenäht, und bei der Totenfeier für den ehrbar begrabenen Kasım werden die in Ölfässern versteckten 39 Räuber durch Schlafpulver eingeschläfert. Am Ende darf Kasıms kluge Sklavin Şirin (Ariana Strahl) Ali Babas Sohn Vehbi (Tansel Akzeybek) heiraten. Und „vielleicht werden die Räuber verhaftet, vielleicht leben sie unter anderem Namen immer noch", ist die finale, brechtische Aussage der gut zweistündigen Oper. Das vorwiegend junge Publikum klatscht nach der Pause und beim Applaus im türkischen Rhythmus mit.

Als Programmheft wird diesmal ein märchenhaft bebildertes CD-Buch angebotenen: in eine Nacherzählung des Märchen sind „Highlights der Oper“ integriert, – jedoch nur in einer auf vier Instrumente reduzierten, chorlosen Fassung und in einer auch bei den Solisten nicht voll identischen Besetzung.

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Premiere an der Komischen Oper: „Ali Baba und die 40 Räuber"

Türkischer Basar, High-Heels und Esel mit Iro-Frisur – die türkisch-deutsche Kinderoper „Ali Baba und die 40 Räuber" feierte ihre erfolgreiche Uraufführung an der Komischen Oper

© Bettina Stöß

siegessaeule.de 29.10. – Wie viele Märchen ist die Geschichte von „Ali Baba und die 40 Räuber" ganz schön blutrünstig: Da wird einer geviertteilt, einer erstochen, zwei werden geköpft und 37 Räuber mit kochendem Öl verbrüht und erstickt. So etwas will man seinen Kindern auf der Bühne lieber nicht zumuten. In der jetzt an der Komischen Oper uraufgeführten gleichnamigen Kinderoper ist es deshalb eine weise Entscheidung, nur noch den habgierigen, reichen Bruder Ali Babas töten zu lassen. Das temporeiche und wunderbar freche Libretto von Çetin İpekkaya und Marietta Rohrer-İpekkaya bietet eine theaterwirksame und clevere eigene Variante, um in dem Märchenstoff zum Happy End zu kommen. Ein absoluter Gewinn ist es auch, Ali Babas Esel als vorlauten, ziemlich selbstsicheren Charakter einzuführen. Türkischsprachige Gesänge und Sprachwendungen sorgen in dem türkisch-deutschen Opernprojekt für stimmungsvolles Lokalkolorit.

Regisseur Matthias Davids und sein Produktionsteam gelingt es an der Komischen Oper mit leichter Hand, die richtige Mischung aus Märchenhaftem und heutiger Zeit auf die Bühne zu bringen. Ali Babas Esel Karakaçan trägt Iro-Frisur und HipHopper-Kette, der türkische Basar bietet nicht nur edle Stoffe, Obst und Gewürze, sondern auch Plastikstühle. Und Ali Babas Schwägerin Ayşe pflegt ihren High -Heels-Fetisch à la „Sex and the City".

Die Musik des in Berlin lebenden Komponisten Taner Akyol ist farbenreich, temperamentvoll und ungeheuer spannend, mit schwirrenden Harfenklängen, agilen Streicherläufen, quirligen Holzbläsern und viel Schlagzeug. Auch türkische Instrumente, wie das Oboeninstrument Zurna, die türkische Flöte Kaval und die Langhalslaute Bağlama, kommen zum Zuge, aber auch Elektronik beim Öffnen und Schließen des Felsens. Effektvoll baut Akyol Folkloreelemente ein, ohne verstaubte Klischees zu bemühen. Sattdessen gelingt ihm eine abwechslungsreiche Musik auf der Höhe der Zeit.

Die Kids im Publikum verfolgten das mit Pause über zweistündige Bühnengeschehen mit Gekicher und waren gespannt wie die Flitzebogen. Am Ende begeisterter Applaus und glückliche Gesichter. Die strengsten Kritiker der Welt haben ihr Urteil abgegeben. Aber auch Erwachsene amüsieren sich bei der flotten Produktion prächtig. So geht Kinderoper!
Eckhard Weber

„Ali Baba und die 40 Räuber", Kinderoper, 3.11., 14 Uhr; 8., 12., 28., 30.11. + 9., 14., 20., 26.12., 11 Uhr, Komische Oper

Figure C.3 : Premiere an der Komischen Oper: 'Ali Baba und die 40 Räuber' by Eckhard Weber (Url-149).

Document C.3 : “Hallo und Merhaba! –Fliegender Teppich mit Ali Baba und vierzig Räubern punktgenau in der Komischen Oper Berlin gelandet” by Katharina Schulze (Url-150).

Berlin (Weltexpress). Berlin hat ein Sicherheitsproblem: zu viele Ganoven, Gauner, Gangster, zu wenige Überwachungskameras, zu wenige Polizisten und ein unterentwickeltes Moralbewußtsein. Und seit ein paar Tagen agiert in der Stadt noch eine international bekannte Räuberbande – mit Migrationshintergrund!: Ali Baba und die vierzig Räuber. Die haben die Dauerbaustelle BER Schönefeld links liegen lassen und sind mit ihrem aerodynamischen Stück Auslegware direkt auf der Bühne der Komischen Oper gelandet.

Dort bedeckt der Fliegende Teppich in dekorativen Wellen die ganze Bühne, seine Fransen hängen schräg bis in den Orchestergraben, und das Muster in warmen Erdtönen macht viele Deutungen möglich. Er überzeugt als weite Wüstenlandschaft, läßt sich aufklappen und einen Blick auf die Räuberschätze zu, wird von Häusersilhouetten der vom Bühnenhimmel herabfallenden Fadenvorhänge auf eine dörfliche Siedlung geschrumpft und schließlich mit einem kleinen Läufer und einem üppigen Perser für die Wohnungen des armen Ali Baba beziehungsweise seines reichen Bruders Kasim parzelliert. (Szenenbild: Sanne Danz).

Erneut zeigt das Haus in der Behrenstraße, dass dort etwas getan wird für den Nachwuchs – den im Publikum und den auf der Bühne. Die jährliche Neuproduktion einer Oper für ein junges Publikum wurde mit dem gleichen Engagement und Aufwand erarbeitet wie eine »normale« Inszenierung: mit großem Orchester, erstklassigen Solisten und Chorsängern. Und mit einer fantasievollen Ausstattung sowieso. Wie gewohnt dürfen auch die Mitglieder des Kinderchors (Leitung: Dagmar Fibach) demonstrieren, dass sie singen und tanzen können wie die Profis. Das Ganze spielt auf der großen Bühne des traditionsreichen Hauses und nicht – wie andernorts gern – im Foyer oder auf der Probebühne.

Die Aufführungen sind seit Jahren ein fester Bestandteil des Spielplans und in dieser Form nahezu einzigartig in der bundesdeutschen Opernlandschaft. Aktuell also: »Ali Baba und die vierzig Räuber«, eine Kinderoper in 2 Akten von Taner Akyol. Das Libretto des Auftragswerkes schrieben Çetin İpekkaya und Marietta Rohrer-İpekkaya nach dem weltbekannten Märchen aus Tausend und einer Nacht. Spielerisch stellen die Autoren deutsche und türkische Passagen nebeneinander. Wo Worte fehlen, hilft die Musik – die Sprache der Völker. Die Bildschirme in den Sessellehnen, auf denen die Besucher während der Vorstellungen die Texte in den gängigen Weltsprachen und neuerdings auch auf Türkisch mitlesen können, sind nicht aktiviert.

Die herkömmlichen Instrumente des Orchesters (Leitung: Kristiina Poska) werden ergänzt durch die türkische Zurna oder die Kaval. Die Baglama – eine türkische Laute – wird von Taner Akyol eigenhändig gezupft. Für die Musik seiner ersten Oper verbindet der in der Türkei geborene Berliner Komponist (seit 1999 Träger des Hanns-Eisler-Preises für Komposition und Interpretation zeitgenössischer Musik) heimatliche Klänge mit westlichen Musiktraditionen. Sie untermalt das Bühnengeschehen auf angenehme Art und Weise. Ohrwürmer enthält sie nicht. In Erinnerung bleibt vielleicht das mehrmals lautstark und begeistert wiederholte Lied »Wir sind die vierzig Reubäääärrr, jeder von uns ist ein Held! Alle vom feinsten

Kalibäääärrr. Wir scheffeln gerne Geld.« Oder so ungefähr.

Die Geschichte selbst ist fix erzählt: Armer Ali (Jens Larsen) kommt zufällig fiesen Räubern auf die Schliche und klaut von ihrem Golde nur ein wenig, damit sie den Diebstahl nicht merken. Reicher Bruder (Stefan Sevenich) ist weniger schlau und vergißt über seiner Gier das Zauberwort für die Schatzkammer (ein herrliches Goldene–Bälle-Bad), wird von den Räubern überrascht und portioniert. Abschreckung für den nächsten Dieb muss sein. Die Kleinen im Publikum – fernseherfahren – graulen nicht. Tüchtiger, aber eitler Schneider (Manfred Sabrowski) flickt den Toten auf Wunsch der Familie wieder zusammen, bringt diese jedoch in noch größere Schwierigkeiten, indem er den Räubern die Adresse verrät. Pfiffige Sklavin (Ariana Strahl) vermehrt geschwind an sämtlichen Häusern das Zeichen, das die Bösewichte als Gedankenstütze an Kasims Tür gemalt hatten. Sehr witzig der neuerliche Auftritt des Räuberhauptmanns (Carsten Sabrowski), der wie ein moderner Ölscheich gewandet ist und seine Kumpane in 40 Ölfässern mit Sehschlitzen heran rollt. Genau durch diese pustet die aufgeweckte Dorfbevölkerung ein »Schlafpulver«. Aus mit lustig für die beutegierige Bande. Ali verheiratet die kluge Sklavin mit seinem Sohn und alle haben einen Grund zum feiern.

Das alles wird flott und mit manch schönem Regieeinfall (Erster Aufttritt der Räuber, ihr Gruppenbild) inszeniert (Matthias Davids), fröhlich und laut mit vielen Huhs und Hahs dargeboten. Die Moral der Geschichte ist dünn. Poetische Elemente sind rar. Dennoch: großes Amüsement bei Darstellern und Besuchern und ebensolcher Beifall. Das war's.

Liebling aller Altersgruppen des Publikums: Karakaçan (Daniel Drewes) – ein Esel in Menschengestalt – quasi ein Zwillingsbruder des Papageno (Kostüme: Judith Peter), der seinem Herrn Ali Baba ein echter Kumpel ist und – Runniggag des Stücks –bei jeder Gelegenheit das I A der deutschen Esel i ins Türkische übersetzt: A I.

Mit einer deutsch-türkischen Kinderoper betritt das Ensemble Neuland. Das Risiko scheint nicht sonderlich groß zu sein in einer Stadt, in der laut amtlicher Statistik vom Mai dieses Jahres rund 105.000 türkische Mitbürger leben und die als die größte türkische Gemeinde in Europa, d.h. außerhalb des Heimatlandes, gilt. Die Komische Oper Berlin versteht sich als lernende Institution, die auf Veränderungen der gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse reagieren und sich mit ihrem Publikum weiterentwickeln muss. Sie setzt auf den Dialog. Ihr vor knapp zwei Jahren ins Leben gerufene und auf Nachhaltigkeit angelegtes Projekt »Selam Opera!« bietet speziell den Besuchern mit türkischen Wurzeln ein umfangreiches Angebot von Workshops und informativen Veranstaltungen samt Blick hinter die Kulissen der geheimnisvollen und spannenden Opernwelt. Sie will so Begeisterung für das Musiktheater wecken und helfen, Sprach- bzw. kulturelle Barrieren zu überwinden. Die Bemühungen tragen erste Früchte: Mehrere singefreudige Kinder haben zum Kinderchor gefunden und sind mit Begeisterung bei der Sache. Und zumindest zur Premiere kamen deren Eltern, Großeltern, Geschwister, viele viele Mitglieder der Großfamilien und so mancher Nachbar. Dennoch dominierte bei der Premiere im Zuschauerraum der Singsang der Einwanderer aus dem Süden Deutschlands.

Bis Jahresende wird in der Komischen Oper noch mehrmals die Zauberformel zu hören sein: »Sesam – öffne dich!« bzw. »Açil, suam açil!«

Der Besuch sei hiermit nachdrücklich empfohlen.

Appendix C4: List of Works

Table C.4 : List of Works by Taner Akyol.

Work	**Instrument/s**	**Year**
Air 1	Flute	1997
Vay Gurbet (Lied, text by Karacaoğlan)	duduk, mey, bağlama quartet, kabak kemane, contrabass	1997
Klavierstück	Piano	1998
Göçmen Kuşlar (Lied, text by İbrahim Karaca)	Chor, kaval, duduk, bendir, bağlama, piano, violin, viola, violoncello, timpani, tamtam	1998
Die Heimatlosen Kinder	Voices, clarinet, violin, contrabass, glockenspiel, cymbal, timpani	1999
Üzgünüm	Alto saxophone, horn, trombone, violoncello	2000
Cananım (Lied, text by Taner Akyol)	Voices, bağlama, oboe, violin, violoncello, contrabass, piano, cymbal	2000
Arabesk Sakalar	3 flutes, 3 violins, violoncello, contrabass, bongo, tamburin, triangle, cymbal	2001
Masakker	Guitar	2001
Hapisteler Ama (Lied, text by Mevlana)	Bağlama, ney, oboe, violin, viola, contrabass, piano, timpani	2001
Duvarınız	Piccolo, flute, bass clarinet, horn, trumpet, timpani, tamtam, marimba, cymbal	2002
Konzert für Baglama und Ensemble	Bağlama, oboe, clarinet, trombone, violin, contrabass, timpani, tamtam,	2002
Konzert für Klavier	Soprano saxophone, harp, timpani, vibraphone, marimba	2003
Suskunum Sana (Lied, text by Adnan Yücel)	Voices, bağlama, ney, oboe, guitar, 2 violins, violoncello, tamburin, guitar, piano, triangle, tamtam	2003
Neval	Recorder, drum set	2003
Zamansız	4 saxophones	2004

Table C.4 (continued): List of Works by Taner Akyol.

Work	**Instrument/s**	**Year**
Air II	Flute, clarinet, accordion, contrabass	2004
Anlayamazsın (Lied, text by Adnan Yücel)	Voices, bağlama, piano	2004
An die Liegengebliebenen	Bağlama, alto flute, violin, viola, violoncello	2005
17'ler	Bağlama, mandolin orchestra	2005
Hatırlamalar	Bağlama, violin, viola, violoncello	2006
Üzgündüm	Saxophone, violin, viola, violoncello	2006

Table C.5 : Adaptations by Taner Akyol

Work	**Instrument/s**
Bugün Ayın Işığı (Music and text: anonymous)	Bağlama quartet, davul, violoncello, contrabass
Tokal Ellerinden (Text: Köroğlu, music: anonymous)	Voices, bağlama trio, davul, kaval, violin, viola, violoncello
Turna Semahı (Text: Pir Sultan Abdal-Hatai, collected by: Ruhi Su)	Voices, bağlama quartet, flute, horn, trombone, bendir, timpani, triangle, violin, viola, violoncello, contrabass
Söğüt Zeybeği (Text and music: anonymous)	Voices, bağlama, davul, ney, oboe, violoncello, contrabass

Table C.6 : Discography by Taner Akyol.

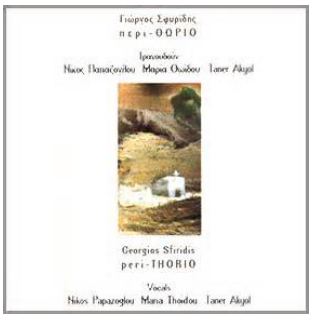
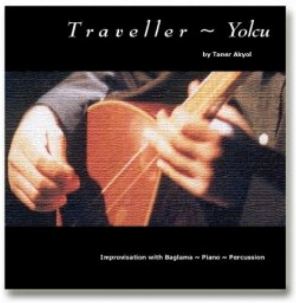
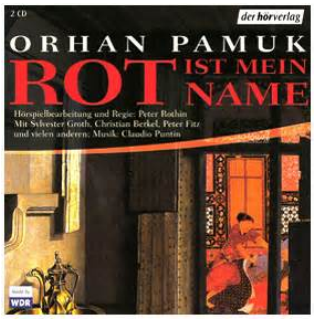
Title	**Year**
Musica Vitale 	2001
Peri-Thorio 	2002
Traveller 	2003
Rot ist mein Name 	2006

Table C.6 (continued): Discography by Taner Akyol.

Global Ear 	2006
Rot 	2007
Birds of Passage 	2007

Table C.6 (continued): Discography by Taner Akyol.

Maria Farantouri sings Taner Akyol 	2011
Dance to the sun 	2012

APPENDIX D: GLOSSARY

Alevi(lik): Alevi(sm). *Alevi* people are one of the religious groups in Turkey. Although Ali is central figure of their worship and rituals as in the Shia Islam, Alevism in Turkey has some critical differences and also contains elements of pre-Islamic periods.

Anadolu rock: Anatolian rock. As a rock movement in Turkey, it was a fusion of American rock, French chanson and Anatolian folk music. It emerged during the 1960s with the effects of the popularity of rock musicians and groups such as Elvis Presley and The Beatles. The first musicians of this movement were middle-class graduates from Istanbul. After developing in school orchestras the style reached to top with Cem Karaca, Moğollar, Erkin Koray and Barış Manço during the 1970s. Electric keyboards, guitars and drum kits were used together with traditional instruments such as *bağlama*, *yaylı tanbur* and *kabak kemençe*. That is to say, traditional elements were important as well as the international framework.

Arabesk: A popular genre from the 1960s through the 1990s. Although the term refers to an Arabic style of music it is rather a mixed genre, and is actually more than a music genre since many consider it as the culture of peripheral urban migrant society.

Aşık: The term refers to folk poets singing and playing **bağlama**, however their social function is various. They play important roles in the creation and perpetuation of oral tradition, reflect the common feelings of their time, interpret and sometimes protest the historical or current political and social events.

Bağlama: Also called **saz.** It is a long-necked lute, although it also refers to the general name of an instrument family. It has a pear-shaped body and is played with a plectrum or fingers. It has three main parts as the bowl, soundboard and juniper. It can be tuned in various ways in different regions. Generally, one string is played, while the others are used as drones, except in the tuning associated with ***aşık*** repertory**.**

Bektaşi(lik): An Islamic order founded in the 13th century by Hacı Bektaşi Veli. Although *Alevilik* and *Bektaşilik* are sometimes considered as similar because of the some common beliefs, practices and ceremonies, every *Alevi* does not define itself as *Bektaşi*. *Bektaşilik* has also fused Sunni, Shia and Sufi beliefs.

Cem: The worship ritual of Alevi-Bektaşi communities that includes music and dance.

Çeşni: It refers to characteristic phrases and concluding figures, or brief excursion into a related **makam**.

Darbuka: Goblet drum. It is one of the most important instruments in Anatolian traditional music. It is also known as *deblek* and *dümbelek*, and played with both hands.

Davul: It is a bass drum commonly used in the Anatolian traditional music. Its two heads are stretched over hoops and laced to each other along the body. It is played by two kinds of sticks, one for accented beats and the other for unaccented beats.

Duduk: A cylindrical double reed aerophone with eight finger-holes and one thumb-hole. It has a soft, slightly nasal timbre.

Elektro-saz: Electronically modified **saz**.

Gazino: A kind of nightclub in Turkey in which different music genres and shows are performed and consumed. There are different types of *gazino*s such as pavyon, **taverna** or saz.

Halay: A common folkdance in Anatolia. In halay dancers from a circle or a line holding each other with the little finger or shoulder to shoulder or hand to hand. It is usually accompanied by **davul** and **zurna**.

Kopuz: An ancient fretless string instrument and is a relative of other long-necked instruments of Central Asia.

Koşma: *Koşma*s are love songs or songs describing nature. They are in the rhyme scheme AAAB with 11-syllable lines, and all stanzas end with the same rhyme.

Makam: A body of system in traditional music that is determined by scales, paths (*seyir*) and composition rules.

Mani: *Mani*s consist of quatrains with seven syllables to each line and the rhyme scheme AABA. The improvised texts are sung by two poets in a type of antiphony, each poet singing an alternate stanza.

Müezzin: The person who is responsible to recite the ezan –the call to prayer- at a mosque.

Nefes: Meaning "breath". In literature *nefes* is a poem that is read and sung in the rituals of *Alevi-Bektaşi* communities.

Neyzen: The name of performer playing the instrument *ney*.

Saz: SEE **bağlama**.

Semah: Although it contains music and dance, it is a ritualistic worship of *Alevi* and *Bektaşi* groups. Since it is believed that this worship origins from the event called as *Kırklar Meclisi*, it is traditionally performed only in *Cem* ceremonies.

Semai: An eight-syllable form of traditional poetry and the melodic pattern accompany that.

Sunni: The largest branch that is referred to as the orthodox version of Islam since its believers claim that they follow the sayings and actions of Muhammad as recorded in *hadith*s.

Taksim: Instrumental and improvisational prelude before the performance of musical composition in traditional music. This part is either played by a solo instrument or by the accompaniment of a group of instruments that provide drone on the tonic of the **makam**.

Taverna: SEE **gazino**.

Türkü: It is used to refer to all types of Turkish folksongs, although *türkü*s are originally love songs or contain narratives of everyday life in seven-, eight- and 11-syllable lines.

Ud: Pear-shaped stringed instrument commonly used in Middle East. It is similar to lute but is distinguished by its lack of frets and smaller neck.

Usul: The system of rhythmic modes in traditional music.

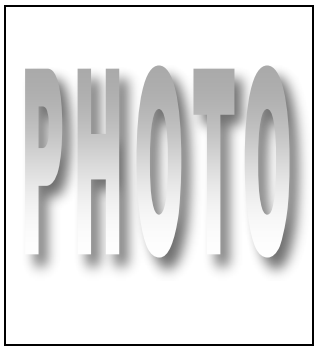
Zaza people: They primarily live in the eastern Anatolia and speak *Zazaki*. According to the linguistic studies they may have immigrated from the southern

shores of the Caspian Sea. Additionally, some Zazas use the word Dimli (in today's Iran) to describe their ethnic identity. In Turkey some Zazas have mixed into other regional ethnic groups, some consider themselves as Kurds.

Zılgıt: Ululation made by women in Southern Anatolia to express excitement, joy or grief.

Zurna: A double reed aerophone in Anatolia. It is lathed from one piece of wood and has one thumb-hole and up to eight finger-holes. The player uses circular breathing. It is usually accompanied by davul during festive events.

CURRICULUM VITAE



Name Surname: Elif Damla Yavuz

Place and Date of Birth: İzmir, 11.03.1979

Address: 65/16 Sokak No.18/4 Yunusoğlu Sitesi F.Altay-İzmir

E-Mail: elifdamla@gmail.com

B.Sc.: Musicology (Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University)

M.Sc. : Musicology (Istanbul Technical University, Center for Advanced Studies in Music)

Professional Experience and Rewards:

Teaching Assistant at Sabancı University between 2007-2011 (Major Works of Classical Music, Major Works of Twentieth Century Music and Major Works of Opera)

Instructor at Sabancı University Summer School for High Schools in 2011 (Major Works of Classical Music)

Instructor at Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University since 2011 (History of Opera and Music History)

DAAD Scholarship in 2011

List of Publications and Patents:

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