ISTANBUL TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY ★ GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF MUSICAL DIASPORA CULTURE

M.A. THESIS

Deniz ULUKSAR

Department of Interior Design
Interior Architectural Design M.A. Programme

JUNE 2020

ISTANBUL TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY ★ GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF MUSICAL DIASPORA CULTURE

M.A. THESIS

Deniz ULUKSAR
418171001

Department of Interior Design
Interior Architectural Design M.A. Programme

Thesis Advisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ervin GARİP

JUNE 2020

İSTANBUL TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ ★ SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ

MÜZİĞE BAĞLI DİASPORA KÜLTÜRÜNÜN MEKANSAL ANALİZİ

YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ

Deniz ULUKSAR
418171001

İç Mimarlık Anabilim Dalı
İç Mimari Tasarım Yüksek Lisans Programı

Tez Danışmanı: Doç. Dr. Ervin GARİP

HAZİRAN 2020

Deniz Uluksar, a M.A. student of ITU Institute of Social Sciences student ID 418171001, successfully defended the thesis entitled "Spatial Analysis of Musical Diaspora Culture", which she prepared after fulfilling the requirements specified in the associated legislations, before the jury whose signatures are below.

Thesis Advisor :   **Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ervin GARİP**   ....
Istanbul Technical University

Jury Members :   **Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mehmet Emin ŞALGAMCIOĞLU** ....
Istanbul Technical University

Asst. Prof. Dr. Armağan Seçil MELİKOĞLU EKE ....
Istanbul Kültür University

Date of Submission : 15 June 2020
Date of Defense : 16 July 2020

To music that binds everything together,

FOREWORD

This thesis is the result of a long period of research. I hope I could develop a basic understanding how music effects spatial environment and could explain it throughout the chapters. I would like to mention that without the intellectual support of my thesis advisor Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ervin Garip and jury members, this thesis would not be completed. I would like to thank to MIAM (Centre for Advanced Studies in Music) for its comprehensive library and rebetiko fans for their precious support. I would also like to thank to my mum and dad, my dear sister Tuğçe and cousin Burak for their endless support in this long journey. I would also like to thank to my friends; Meral, Ecem, Ülkü, Aysel, Nida, Çiğdem and dear Amadeo for their endless patience and support. I am greatful that I have you all in my life, without their valuable support this thesis would not be possible.

June 2020   Deniz ULUKSAR
                                                                                            Architect

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

ABD	**:** Amerika Birleşik Devletleri
App	**:** Appendix
BCE	**:** Before Common Era
CORE	**:** The Congress of Racial Equality
FME	**:** Freedom of Musical Expression
IMIAD	**:** International Master of Interior Architectural Design
NAACP	**:** The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NIF	**:** The National Islamic Front
SCLC	**:** The Southern Christian Leadership Conference
SNCC	**:** The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
USA	**:** United States of America

SYMBOLS

F   **:** Frequency

M   **:** Mean Value

%   **:** Percentile

LIST OF TABLES

SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF MUSICAL DIASPORA CULTURE

SUMMARY

Despite being majorly considered a means for pleasure and entertainment, music has always been a subconscious tool for nations to maintain their culture and transfer it to future generations. People from all around the world used their own genuine music, sometimes even just notes, to articulate their pride in their national history or the sorrows they went through as community. During adaptation, people who are forced to leave their homelands for any reason tend to keep their own culture and resist the social integration in their hostland, where they are considered the minority and even face social exclusion. Throughout history, migrants faced exclusion and opression as minorities, but they found ways to adapt their own music to their new homeland and continue their culture, which also served as a safe spot from the oppresion. This is how the migrants in diaspora are able to save their cultural identities as minorities.

This dissertation discusses how the diaspora culture blends in with new geographies through evolving into the music and lifestyle more relatable by the majority of their hostland, and how it translates into various spaces through the very means. Most prominent examples of the diaspora culture are the African people brought to the USA for slave trade, the Rums of Turkey who faced forced migration during the Turkish-Greek population exchange, and for a broader concept, the scattering of Jews across the world, and the Romanians, implementing their own culture into their host countries instead of integration because they were generally not accepted by some nations. In order to reveal the subject, this dissertation specifically focuses on the African and Rum diasporas in terms of the music they created, how it evolved within both the hostland context and in the spatial sense.

As stated before, due to the exclusion and oppression practiced on migrants, the diaspora community created their own free venues by gathering at open spaces and making music. However, after the cencorship and banning by the dictator, the alienation practice reached a point where such gatherings were restricted and limited to only enclosed places. The organization and decoration of such places were, no wonder, reminiscent of the homeland and the past they had left behind.

While minorities living in small enclosed communities is a common notion in the diaspora culture, the African community held on to their culture and not asimilated by living an outward life on the streets. That way, they created Blues, Jazz, Reggae and Hip-hop music genres, almost as an outcry for freedom. Originated from the blending of tribal music with western instruments, these genres initially sparked public reaction from Americans, and were even banned at times, but eventually became powerful

examples for demonstrating how a community's history and culture could survive through music.

In the "Rebetiko" culture, though, the Rums who were alienated both in Turkey and Greece, presented a rather introverted lifestyle and maintained their culture in far corners within their hostland. Having lived a totally alienated and isolated life, the Rums wove their sorrows into the music they invented. Pain, longing for the homeland and their strong desire for acceptance - all blended to form the Rebetiko, which is also called the "Greek Blues" in the sociological context for its common traits with the Blues of the African diaspora regarding their substance and the socio-economic state of the communities performing them. Among the generally uplifting and upbeat Greek music, Rebetiko differs in its touching and melancholic nature. As much as it demonstrated contrasts with the local culture, Rebetiko was rapidly accepted by the Greek community and the number of Rebetiko places increased across the country. It is ironical, though, how the music for the alienated and the homesick became an identity element for the hostland as the "Greek Blues".

Through the scope of the thesis, upon addressing insights about diaspora culture through two distinctive examples, it is also crucial to discuss the diasporic reflections on space. Minorities decorated their musical performance venues with features from their homelands as another way to maintain their culture. Either deliberately or subconsciously, these venues themselves became reminders of the diaspora culture not only with the music they host but also through these adopted features which within time became parts of their spatial atmosphere.

As much as diaspora music later on was also played on the streets and other alternative venues, which contributed to the transfer of the cultural history to the future, it was later restricted to secluded indoors due to the censorship. This constraint, however, led to a swifter development of the diaspora culture within the spatial context.

The further parts of the dissertation will address the decorative objects, regular habits and the overall spatial atmosphere of Rebetiko, a prominent example of diaspora culture in terms of visibility in the spatial sense. The Rum migrants who returned to Turkey after the opening of borders tried practicing the Rebetiko culture in Turkey, however, it was not received as enthusiastically as in Greece. Although it is based on the themes as longing for the homeland Turkey and the alienation in the hostland Greece, the Rebetiko culture's popularity in Greek alone demonstrates the fact that subcultures brought to hostlands through migration institutes new identities, even untentionally in many cases, upon integration with the host culture.

The final part of the dissertation will focus on the spatial analyses and comparison of rebetiko music places both Turkey and Greece with observational study method, also interviews with Turks, Greeks and Rums who like to visit rebetiko music places with survey study method. In this context, O Maestros in Turkey was chosen for being in an old Rum house with weekly rebetiko music performances in, Ο Αγγελος in Greece was chosen for being the most representative of rebetiko history and atmosphere, also similar to its Turkish equivalent regarding the locations of the audience and the musician. In the survey study, 22 people in Turkey, 27 people in Greece with a total of 49 people were interviewed. As a result of these two methods that are supported each other, the data obtained from the survey study revealed the traits of rebetiko places as follows: nostalgic, modest, tiny, dimly lit, cozy, hosting traditional dances,

designated for keeping the musicians and audience together, singing without microphones, folk instruments, walls decorated with images of rebetes and manges, atmosphere evoking cultural memory, foggy. Meanwhile, the observational studies brought the following to light: rebetiko is played the majority of places in Greece, that possess the specific qualities, and many historical places are well preserved, while in Turkey there are only a few rebetiko music places and only one of them has slight resemblances with respect to these qualities.

MÜZİĞE BAĞLI DİASPORA KÜLTÜRÜNÜN MEKANSAL ANALİZİ

ÖZET

Her ne kadar dışarıdan bakıldığında keyif ve eğlence için icra edilen bir sanat olsa da, insanlar ve milletler kültürünü yaşatmak ve gelecek nesillere aktarmak amacıyla bilinçdışı olarak müziği kullanmışlardır. Dünyanın her köşesindeki halklar bazen geçmişinden övünç duymak için bazen de halk olarak yaşadıkları çileleri kendilerine özgün müziklere damıtarak bazen söze bile ihtiyaç duymaksızın sadece notalarla tarihini dillendirmektedirler. Özellikle herhangi bir sebepten dolayı anayurtlarından koparak yerleştiği yeni coğrafyaya adapte olmaya çalışan halklar azınlık olarak yaşadığı ve genellikle de dışlandıkları bu bölgelerde asimile olmaya direnerek kendi kültürünü de yerleştirme bilinci taşımaktadır. Artık azınlık olan halkın "göçmen" olarak yerleştiği yeni topraklarda dışlanma ve baskı görmesi tarih boyunca görülen olağan bir durum olup kültürünü yaşatmak ama bir yandan da bu baskılardan kaçınan göçmenler kendi müziğini yeni yaşadığı coğrafya içerisinde yaşatmak için adapte etmek zorunda kalmaktadırlar. Diasporalardaki azınlık göçmenler böylelikle kültürel kimliklerini devam ettirebilmektedir.

Bu tezde diaspora kültürünün yeni coğrafyaya adapte olarak çoğunluk halkının da kabul ettiği ve benimsediği müzik ve yaşam biçimine dönüşerek mekanlara aktarılması araştırılmaktadır. Diaspora kültürüne gösterilebilecek en bariz örnekler; kölelik amacıyla Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'ne getirilen Afrika köken siyahiler, mübadele yıllarında Türkiye'den göçmek zorunda bırakılan Rum asıllı vatandaşlar ve daha genel kavramlarla tüm Dünya'ya yayılmak zorunda bırakılan Yahudi ve bazı milletlerin kabul etmediği Roman halklarının kendi kültürlerini yerleştikleri coğrafyaya adapte ederek yayması örnek gösterilebilir. Konuyu ortaya koymak amacı ile tez içerisinde özellikle Afrikalı ve Rum halkların geliştirdiği diaspora kültürüne değinilerek oluşturdukları müziklerin hem yerleşik kültüre hem de mekânsal olarak nasıl gelişim gösterdiğine değinilecektir.

Diaspora kültüründe kullanılan müzik yukarıda da belirttiğimiz gibi yerel halkın dışlaması ve baskısı sebebiyle önce meydanlarda müzik aracı ile toplanılması, sonrasında bazı bölgelerde bu toplanılmanın ve yapılan müziğin toplum, diktatör tarafından sansürlenmesi ya da yasaklanması sonucunda, kapalı alanlarda icra edilmek zorunda bırakıldığından bu mekanların organizasyonu, mekan içerisinde kullanılan materyaller gibi detaylar geride bırakılan anayurtlara atıf yaparak geçmişi hatırlatan atmosferler oluşturmaktadır.

Diaspora kültürlerinde genel olarak azınlık halklar kendi içlerine kapanık yaşamasına karşın ABD'ye köle olarak getirilen Afrikalılar, yerel halkın kültüründe asimile olmadan, kültürlerini sokaklarda açıkça yaşayarak oluşturdukları Blues, Caz, Reggae ve Hip-hop müzik türlerini isyan ve özgürlük ile bağdaştırmışlardır. Kendilerine özgü müziklerin batılı enstrümanlarla harmanlanması ile doğan bu müzikler en başta Amerikan halkı tarafından tepki gösterilmiş hatta dönem dönem yasaklanmışsa da azınlığın yasaklara direnişi en başta da bahsedilen halkların tarih ve kültürlerini müziğe sentezleyip yaşam biçimlerine dönüştürerek yaşatmasını sağlamıştır.

Buna karşın "Rebetiko" adı verilen Türkiye'den Yunanistan'a göçen Rum halkının hem anayurtlarında hem de göçtükleri ülkede dışlanan halk daha kendi içerisine

kapanarak daha ücra köşelerde kültürünü yaşatmaya çalışmıştır. Tamamen dışlanmış ve izole olarak yaşayan Rum halkı yaşadığı zorlu günleri müziklerine yansıtarak yeni bir müzik türü oluşturmuştur. Yeni türeyen müzik, anayurda özlem ve tutku halini alan kabullenilme isteğinin beraber yoğrulduğu bu müzik hem içeriği hem de icra eden kesimin sosyo ekonomik durumları sebebiyle ABD'de ortaya çıkan ve Dünya'ca kabul edilen Blues örneğine benzemesinden kaynaklı olarak Rebetiko sosyolojik açıdan "Greek Blues" olarak da anılmaktadır. Genel olarak neşeli ve hareketli olan Yunan müziklerine karşın Rebetiko'nun duygusal ve melankolik yanı ile iki kültür arasındaki fark bariz şekilde görülmektedir. Yerel kültüre bu kadar tezat oluşturmasına karşın kısa sürede Yunan halkı tarafından benimsenmiş ve tüm ülkede Rebetiko müziğinin icra edildiği mekanlar yaygınlaşmıştır. Göçmen Rum halkı tarafından yaratılan, kendi dışlanmışlıklarını ve anayurt tutkularını dile getiren Rebetiko müziğinin "Greek Blues" olarak geçmesi ile yerleşik halkla bağdaştırılması ironi oluşturmaktadır.

Tez kapsamında, diaspora kültürüne ve bu kültürün iki farklı örneğine değindikten sonra diasporanın mekanlara yansımasına değinilmesi gerekiyor. Azınlık halkların dışlanmışlığı sebebiyle kültürlerini yaşatmak amacıyla müziklerini icra ettikleri mekanları da özlem duydukları yurtlarını hatırlatacak şekilde dekore etmişlerdir. Belki bilinçli belki istemsiz de olsa zaman içerisinde mekanların atmosferleri, kullanılan materyaller gibi detaylarla yalnızca müzik değil, icra edildiği mekanların da diasporik kültür etkisinde kalması kaçınılmaz olmuştur.

Diasporik müziğin yalnızca mekanlarda değil alternatif alanlarda, örneğin sokaklarda uygulanması ile müzik ile taşınan geçmiş kültürün geleceğe taşınmasına değinilmekle beraber baskılar sonucu uygulanan sansürler ile daha kapalı mekanlarda icra etme zorunlulukları da doğmuştur. Sansürler sebebiyle gizli ve kapalı mekanların kullanılmasının zorunlu hale gelmesi, mekanlarda diaspora kültürünün gelişmesini hızlandırmıştır.

Tezin ilerleyen kısımlarında diaspora kültürünün mekânsal olarak en yaygınlaşmış örneklerinden birisi olan Rebetiko'nun mekanlarda kullanılan objelere, müdavim alışkanlıklarına ve bu ikisinin birleşimi ile doğan mekansal atmosfere değinilmiştir. Yunanistan içerisinde yaygınlaşan Rebetiko kültürü, engellerin kalkması ile Türkiye'ye geri dönen Rum göçmenlerce Türkiye'de uygulanmaya çalışılsa da Yunanistan'da gösterilen ilgiye ulaşamıştır. Rebetiko kültürünün temeli anayurt olan Türkiye'ye özlem ve azınlık oldukları Yunanistan'daki dışlanış olsa dahi bu kültürün yalnızca Yunanistan'da bu denli yaygınlaşması ve popülerite kazanmış olması göçmenlerin getirdiği kültürün istemsizce bile olsa yerel kültür ile kaynaşarak yeni bir kimlik oluşturduğunu göstermektedir.

Tezin sonuç kısmında, Türkiye ve Yunanistan'da bulunan rebetiko mekanlarının analiz edilip karşılaştırıldığı gözlem metodu ile birlikte rebetiko müziğinin çalındığı mekanlara giden Türk, Yunan ve Rum'lar ile anket ve görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Bu bağlamda, Türkiye'de eski Rum evinde bulunup haftalık rebetiko müzik performanslarının yapıldığı O Maestros ile, rebetiko tarihini ve atmosferini iyi yansıtarak, müzisyen ve dinleyicilerin oturma biçimleri açısından Türkiye'de seçilen mekan ile benzerlik gösteren O Αγγελος seçilmiştir. Anket çalışmasında ise Türkiye'de 22 kişi, Yunanistan'da 27 kişi olacak şekilde toplam 49 kişi ile anket ve görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Birbirlerini destekleyen bu iki metodun sonucu olarak, anket çalışmasında elde edilen verilerden, rebetiko müziğinin icra edildiği mekanların özellikleri: nostaljik, mütevazi, küçük, loş ışıklı, rahat, geleneksel dansların yapıldığı,

müzisyen, dinleyici ve dans edenlerin birarada olduğu, mikrofonsuz rebetiko söylenildiği, geleneksel enstrümanların ve rebetlerin fotoğraflarının duvarlara asıldığı, kültürel hafızanın canlanmasını sağlayan ve dumanaltı atmosferdir. Bununla birlikte, mekanların gözlemlenmesi sonucunda ise, rebetiko müziğinin icra edildiği mekanların, mekansal açıdan Türkiye'de temsilleri neredeyse yokken, Yunanistan'da bu atmosferin hissedildiği ve tarihinin korunduğu birçok mekan bulunmaktadır.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Purpose of Thesis

As contradictory as it may seem, diaspora is mainly identified with the concepts of forceful "scattering" and "dispersing", but the culture is kept alive through communities performing and musicking together.

Two examples standing out from the examples in the world history, in my view, are the purely authentic music of the Black People, who were brought to the USA through slave trade, making its way among the most popular music genres of the world, and Rebetiko of the Rums, who emigrated to Greece through population exchange, coming to a point where it was accepted and embraced by the whole Greek community. Both examples require further discussion, separately.

As much as the African slaves in the USA reclaimed their freedom after the American Civil War, the exclusion and despising by the white people continued onward for many years. Becoming an enclosed community as a result, the Black People had to continue their tribal culture in the western world order to stay resistant against the oppression they had been exposed to. Among the prominent cities with large populations of Black People, New Orleans, the first location the slaves were brought to, was also home to their music. All the prohibition did not stop people from performing Jazz, Blues, Reggae and Hip-hop, which were initially played in secluded ratty places, then in upscale places, and worked its way up to the top of popular culture thanks to the strong resistance of Black People and even gained reputation in the White people' environment. It is phenomenal how their music - born in the African diaspora to become the white people's most popular entertainment choice - became that successful while they were not even allowed to dine alongside the white people in restaurants,

even after they gained independence. What could not be achieved by law and guns was achieved through music.

Meanwhile at the other edge of the world, in Greece, the Turkey-Greek exchange Rums had adopted a more introverted way of living due to social exclusion on both sides, and reflected those feelings of pain to their music, created in secluded places. Unlike the Black People who started movements for their civil rights, the excluded Rums chose a different path; they tried to ease their longing by adorning their performance venues with elements from their culture and past. Although the Rebetiko culture was kept and maintained in isolation, Rebetiko music and associated places became popular all across Greece and were embraced by the whole society. Rebetiko music was born out of the feelings of homesickness and rootlessness. Ironically, the Rums, who are back in Turkey today, tried reviving Rebetiko music there, but could not succeed. As a result of its evolution through years, the Rebetiko culture was truly accepted in Greece, where it was born and rose as a passive resistance. Compared to Blues due to its nature filled with sorrows, Rebetiko was named "Greek Blues", which is also a sign of the extent of acceptance it received within Greece.

Emerged at two different corners of the world, in the same period of history, African and Greek diasporas are chosen as the main theme of this dissertation for their contrasting characters. Further study of African and Greek diasporas, characterized as aggressive and passive respectively, will be beneficial for supporting the theme of the dissertation.

The purpose of the thesis briefly is to examine spatial effects of cultural identities in diasporic communities. Musical performances play a crucial role in the social interactions and creating social spaces in diasporic cultures. In this sense, field study was designed to determine the spatial atmosphere and organization of the places where rebetiko music is performed.

1.2 Scope and Methodology

The scope of this dissertation encompasses the ways cultural identity and music are perceived and evaluated in diasporic communities, and how these concepts reflect on lifestyles and places. Living the same fate in far corners of the world, various

communities could find comfort in music and thrive in their new lands amidst hard emotions originated from dispersion, alienation, etc. Reclaiming their joy of living and being a whole by the means of music, led to the formation of new identities within the new environment. Thereby, they were able to save the fragments of their original identities and kept them as part of their life philosophies throughout their lives. These common values they adopted to live by, shaped their perspectives on life, their resilience as minority groups, and even the clothing they wore and the places they went to. Also thanks to the very same values, members of diaspora were able to create strong connections among their community.

This study started with the following question: "How can we define the relationship between performance places, the music genre and the culture of a society?" During the two year long research and observations, it is clearly assumed that music and diaspora are two inseparable and complementary concepts. In this respect, there are many studies by ethnomusicologists who approach the concept music in a cultural context.

The music of communities needs to be studied within the cultural context they were born in, and with an understanding of the environment they live in. Along with its influence on behavioral patterns, music is the best tool for self expression inside diasporic communities. The most prominent diasporas with a focus on music are the Greek and African diasporas. To make themselves heard, these two diasporas used their genuine music genres born out of intense feelings of rootlessness, homesickness, and sorrow. As much as these genres were looked down upon or banned in their early years, today they have been adopted by many and become elements of popular culture.

Given the places they are performed, the conditions they were born in, the behaviour patterns of the their performers and audience, music and culture in diasporas could clearly be considered "genuine" and "specialised". While African diasporas music genres are called African Diasporas blues, jazz, reggae and hip-hop, Greek diasporas's is Rebetiko. Brought to life in different parts of the world by people sharing similar fates, these genres do also share common features. Rebetiko is named "Greek Blues" by many researchers due to the socioeconomic context of its emergence and the themes it covers, such as sorrow, passion, pain, longing, etc. As Gauntlett (2001a) suggests, ''their composers and performers tended to have very little to do with the fringe-dwellers that they were still writing and singing about," also the lyrics of rebetiko and

blues are ''the unadorned singing styles of both traditions are also a far cry from western bel canto'' and '' highly androcentric''.

Two performers, Bessie Smith and Roza Eskenazi, were born in different continents in the end of the 19th century, however, their music were both influenced by similar themes like the search for belonging and grief. Having spent most of her life in agony, Bessie Smith was called "blues queen", while Roza Eskenazi was called "the queen of rebetiko". The duo are alike in many ways – from the powerful personal attributes of their songs and dance forms, to the specific places they chose for singing. Duke Ellington's ''It don't mean a thing (if it ain't got that swing)'' and Markos Vamvakaris's ''Taxim zeibekiko'' are among the songs that emerged in the same period and were featured in various dances that also emerged as part of the new genres. The rebellious side of these cultures could be characterized as "aggressive" for the African diaspora, and "passive" for the Greek diaspora. Considering the fact of slave trade in the African diaspora's history, this level of reaction does not come as a surprise.

The study consists of five parts: First part explains the content and the aim of the research and the research methodologies. The second part studies the definition of diaspora, the role of music in the formation of cultural identity in diasporic environments, and the concepts of diaspora and music as the theoretical base of this study. In addition, the music genres that the alienated Greek and African communities used to cry out for protest and freedom, were analysed in terms of the environments they live in, in other words from the ethnomusicology perspective. The third part features the spatial requirements regarding the performance and gathering places of diaspora. In this context, the reasons behind minority communities's pursuit of belonging were researched from the social and musical aspects, and the diasporic memory in the hostland influencing the music and daily life is analysed. Migrants coming together on the sreets for musicking, which later became events limited to indoors, and the humiliation and censorship issues are other topics of this part. The fourth part analyses the Greek diaspora's music genre, Rebetiko, in the spatial context. From this perspective, Rebetiko is extensively covered by addressing spatial objects, spatial user habits and spatial atmosphere of Rebetiko places through various

observations, research, and movies. The fifth part features the comparison of rebetiko places in Greece and Turkey through the diasporic perspective.

With respect to below notes, two consistent research models have been used. The initial stage includes the observational study and analysis of two exemplary rebetiko places from Greece and Turkey, regarding their interior organization and spatial atmosphere. Interviews with both places's owners were also made. Moreover, the scenarios and behavioral patterns are also drown to express the differences of two selected study areas. The second stage features a survey made with 49 participants consisting of Rums, Greeks and Turks from Greece and Turkey, about their opinions and experiences on how a rebetiko place look like. In the final stage, the survey results were evaluated, and the exemplary rebetiko places were examined on the basis of these results. Therefore, the data derived from the initial research phase on how rebetiko places are, from the survey, and from the exemplary places were reviewed with an integrated approach; then, rebetiko as a diasporic music was analysed not only in the music context but also in the spatial sense, in hope it will be a contribution to design strategies within the interior design discipline. The scenarios and behavioral patterns are also drown to express the differences of two selected study areas.

Flowchart of the Research

Literature Review

Theoretical Background of the Study

Definitions of Diaspora
    Diasporic Identities

Relationship Between Diaspora and Music
Music as Symbol of Rebellion and Freedom
    Blues
    Jazz
    Reggae
    Rebetiko

Adaptation Process of Refugees and
Spatial Requirements
    Needs of Belonging
    Music and Everyday Life
    Musical Millieu
    Musicking (Streets)
    Musical Cencorship (Indoor Spaces)

Sample Review

Rebetiko
    Examination of Spatial Parameters
    through Literature
        Spatial Objects
        Spatial User Habits
        Spatial Atmosphere

Case Studies

Spatial Comparison of Rebetiko Places
Between Greece and Turkey

Observational Study
    Direct Observation
    Participant Observation

Ο Αγγελος in Exarchia, Athens
Ο Maestros in Atnavutköy, Istanbul

Survey Study
    Structured Interviews
    Semi-Structured Interviews
    Open-ended discussions

49 participants
Turks, Greeks and Rums
in Greece and Turkey

Conclusions and Recommendations

Figure 1.1 : Flowchart of the Research

2. MUSICAL OTHERNESS IN DIASPORIC ENVIRONMENT

2.1 Definitions of Diaspora

The type of migrant group in this research is defined as the people who have to leave their homeland. Diaspora, as a notion, expands on a much broader area of use than the theoretical framework associated with this study. In its widest sense, diaspora indicates a migrant group living as the minority in a country other than their home countries. Diaspora, both means groups of people dispersed from their original homeland and the act of dispersion itself. Rooted in Greek language, the word diaspora is comprised of the words dia (over) and speirein (to scatter). The word diaspora appears twelve times in Septuagint, the Greek translation of the Torah, in order to describe the Jews living in exile (Dufoix, 2011). In spatial thinking, it leads to the geographical scattering of a population over space (Bonnerjee, 2010). Diaspora had been one of the most controversial terms of the 20th century and encompassed numerous definitions. The variety in diasporic communities and the evolution of the features and conditions associated with their diasporic state were the reasons behind this phenomenon. Diaspora was initially used by Hemetek to explain the connections between migrant groups and their original culture. Hemetek (2008) ''...forced migration without the possibility of returning to the home-country''.

The word origin shows it was originally used to refer to the Jewish diaspora. The history of the Jews, their forced exile across the world, and their nation-building activities have been important factors for the establishment of its theoretical frame. Having spread extensively worldwide, the Jewish diaspora is considered the most financially and politically powerful one. The conquering of the Kingdom of Judah and the deportation of its people in the 6th century BCE marks the beginning of Jewish diaspora. A second great exile was when the Temple in Jerusalem was destroyed and the Jews were forced out of their homeland. On the other hand, some authors define diaspora as the Jewish population living in Eretz Israel (the land of Israel today), which used to be the political center (Yaldız, 2013). According to Marienstras (1999), diaspora defined the groups that left Eretz Israel. Marienstras's definition distinguishes

7

the word diaspora from the word Galouth, that means exile in Hebrew. "Galouth" describes groups that moved under other authorities due to forced migration in the absence of the political presence of state (Yaldız, 2013). The extended periods of scattering and spreading of the Jews formed what diaspora is today, however, there had been opposing views on this later, as Boyarin, D., & Boyarin, J. (1993) stated "diaspora is not the forced product of war and destruction''. In other words, Jewish identity is more about intergenerational connections than geographical ties, as Yaldız (2013) differently put, the majority of the Jewish community voluntarily lived outside even before the fall of Judah.

Through later periods diaspora had been used not only for addressing Jewish diaspora, but also explaining various situations associated with different nations and cultures. In the academic articles and books it could be observed that the term have spanned more definitions with additional qualities, and the authors have emphasized the need to consider it from a different point of view. Reis (2004) discusses diaspora studies in two distinct periods – classical period and contemporary period. Classical approach adopts the definition involving Greek, Indian, Kurdish, Chinese, Palestinian and in particular Jewish, African, Armenian diasporas, where the notable common pattern is the forced migration and the religious and cultural elements also carried with it (Ulusoy, 2017). According to some, it is not necessary to have a global consciousness, a global horizon of world society or justice in the definition of diaspora (Bauböck R., Faist T. , 2010). However, the modern approach studies the interaction of post-modernizm and the migration activities taking place after 1980s. These diasporas embrace individual-centrism, instead of being culture-centric. In this context, an individual develops their social integration through human rights (Ulusoy, 2017). These definitions suggest an extensive association with all types of activities related to scattering and migration. Tötölyan (2012) believes "… while old, nation-centric diasporas were being re-shaped, new diasporas were being formed both through the shift of information, ideas, images and music, as well as the intense mobilization of the people, money and cultural products''. According to Tötölyan and others Tötölyan (2012), contemporary period of diaspora can be considered as the masses who do not wish to return to their homelands since they are content, in other words are not obliged to do so. Similar to the Jewish example, migration here is not associated with the

homeland in the spatial context. As Reis (2004) points out, it is not necessarily originated from any sort of crisis or traumatic incident.

Today, a large number people leave their family and homeland behind due to economic reasons. The shift in the worldwide status quo due to globalisation, offers new job and educational opportunities as well as more room for intercultural interactions. Diaspora, approached from this angle, becomes more about voluntary migration in hope for better living, rather than the concept of rootlesness due to forced migration because of political or cultural conflicts (Ulusoy, 2017). This new approach to re-identify diaspora led to - a distinctively different path - describing masses who wish to move abroad in pursuit of better life conditions or self-improvement. In proportion to this, the Turkish-speaking community within Germany portraits a perfect example. A new group identity takes shape alongside with the social dynamics between the newcomers and the host society. Generation after generation, the behavioral and communicational patterns of these people begin to vary even when they are visiting their home countries. There occurs a state of limbo, where they do not feel a particular sense of belonging for any sides. This voluntary migration could also be categorized as diaspora formation. According to Sheffer (2006), the members of and ethno-national diaspora mostly regard themselves as minorities in several host countries. Sheffer (2006) also claims Armenia's geographic location was another factor behind their voluntary migration. Voluntary for some, as well as forcefully for other groups within, Armenians fled to the lands of Byzantine Empire where their commercial colonization took place. In the context of diaspora, Armenians share common features with Jews (Safran, 1991).

African expatriates are also similar to Jewish diaspora in the sociological regarding both nations's history of slavery, oppression, exile and cruelty (Brackman, 2010). The term "black diaspora" was used in 1965 for the first time in Abiola Irele's article "Negritude or Black Cultural Nationalism" (Yaldız, 2013). The term "African diaspora", on the other hand, appeared in George Shepperson's paper The African Abroad or the African Diaspora in 1966 (Yaldız, 2013). It is stated by Dufoix (2011) that this notion has appeared in the literature as diaspora since 1955.

There is no doubt that the studies of Gabriel Scheffer (1986), William Safran (1991), James Clifford (1994) and Robin Cohen (1997) are crucial works in the shaping of the

concept of diaspora. Safran describes six basic characteristics of diaspora (Safran,1991). According to him, the communities in diasporas should be scattered from a specific original center to two or more foreign regions; have a collective memory and history; believe that the host society always make them be outsider and outrageous; idealize their homeland and assume to return when proper circumstances exist; have a belief that all society assigned to the restoration and maintenance of the homeland and a powerful communal consciousness with a belief in a common fate (Safran, 1991). Cohen adopts Safran's description of diaspora with four features which are; involving groups who moved by voluntary migration, representing non-assimilation through the continuation of own culture, being positive issue, sharing a common identity with fellow compatriots who live in other countries as colonial settlers, overseas students, refugees and economic migrants (Cohen, 1997). As opposed to Safran, Clifford argues that Jewish diaspora do not embrace the last three features and diasporas require their own norms and borders (Clifford, 1994).

Consequently, it is clear that diaspora owns a great number of definitions. This dissertation recognizes Safran's definitions which are forced migration due to war, holding their authentic history, memory and culture in the host land, feelings of isolation and rootletness in the host land.

2.2 The Role of Music in the Formation of Cultural Identity in Diasporic Environments

''Music constructs our sense of identity through the direct experiences it offers of the body, time and sociability, experiences which enable us to place ourselves in imaginative cultural narratives'' (Frith,2000).

This part studies the comforting effect of music on the feelings of alienation, as well as its contribution in protecting the cultural identity. The concepts to be studied in this regard, migration, cultural identity and music, are implicitly interconnected. Associated terms and concepts require extensive explanation regarding the theoretical aspect of this dissertation, which will provide better clarification on the way they are used, addressed and evaluated within this study. Thus, it is beneficial to start with the concept of music. More than simply being an art form, music is interrelated with every societal realm. Despite its presence within all sorts of public life, music has been a

tough subject to explain due to its abstract nature (Kara, 2014). Steven Pinker (1997), Charles Nussbaum (2007) and Kant (2000) are among the authors and thinkers, who described music as a complicated riddle. Based on his evaluation of music in the social and beavioral sciences context, Pinker (1997) defines music as "auditory cheesecake". According to Pinker (1997), ''music is auditory cheesecake, an exquisite confection crafted to tickle the sensitive spots of at least six of our mental faculties''. Pinker believes the sensitivity of humans, even in situations where reproduction and survival instincts are not primarily needed, are activated by arts. He exemplifies this by considering a particular mice experiment. In this experiment, electrodes are placed onto the pleasure body parts of a mouse that are not provided with the resources necessary for its vital activities, however, it is observed that the mouse keeps pressing the electrode button in order to sustain the pleasure until it gets physically exhausted (Pinker, 1997). Referring to Charles Darwin's note in The Descent of Man (1871), ''music as a form of secual selection'', Pinker (1997) also discusses the important role of the music in finding a potential partner. On the other hand, Kant (2000) claims music is the "lowest" art among the auditory system and is placed between mere sensations. Kant (2000) ''demands, like any other enjoyment, frequent change, and cannot bear frequent repetition without inducing antipathy''. In other words, Kant describes music as an art form comprised of sensations without any context; and believes it is difficult to determine its essence, whether it is about the entertainment the body craves or satisfaction. Schopenhauer (1969) believes music is a reflection of our wishes and desires as a sum, which can also be interpreted from his remarks: ''…music… exhibit the ideas or grades of the will's objectification, but directly the will itself, we can also explain that it acts directly on the will…''.

Ethnomusicology studies music in the culture, migration and cultural memory context, in other words, music as a social reflection, and will be expanded upon because of its broad scope. In the most basic sence, the term ethnomusicology identifies the science of music in its cultural context. Ethnomusicologists not only study the music of a particular community, but also the venues they are performed at, the circumstances they were formed under, as well as the relationship between the performers and the audience (Bayburtlu, 2015). Approached from this aspect, ethnomusicology could be considered an interdisciplinary science bringing fields as anthropology, sociology and musicology together. Nettle (1983) states that the way the perception of

ethnomusicology has changed in different periods; it was characterized as "folk music", "primitive music" or "ancient music" in the 1950s, "ethnic music" or "ethnomusic" in the 1970s, and "diversity" and "world music" in the 1980s ve 1990s. Ethnomusicology was defined as "comparative musicology", then "ethno-musicology" by Ellis (1885), Baker (1882) and Stumpf (1886). Alan P.Merriam (1964) made the most basic temporary definition of ethnomusicology. According to Merriam (1964), ethnomusicology is the harmony between field work and individuals in the community. In other words, Merriam states field work depends on the harmony between individuals and the observation process, highlighing the methodology and technical attributes as of significant importance. According to Zelewicz (2006) , Merriam brings a new insight to the literature by classifying ethnomusicology in three groups. The first group is the instruments and musical performances of primitive societies, the second is oral tradition, and the third is the music science which studies music cultures outside a particular genre (Zelewicz, 2006). Nettl (1983) states a relationship between ethnomusicology and diasporas was being established in the period after the 1980s and many researchers addressed that. A related quote of Nettl (1983) is as follows: ''One relevant area of study is the musical cultures of immigrant societies compared with the traditional homeland, a type of study begun fifty years earlier but now a standard, often labeled with the catchword "diasporas" ''.

Migration has always been a crucial role in the formation of natinalities and the existence of diasporas. Besides, migration, the inseparable part of diaspora culture, is a live-transforming factor. The music of migrants carries traces of their past memories and the life in foreign hostlands. Migrants reshape the traditions they brought along to hostlands, according to the region's conditions, which eventually forms a new cultural identity. This new cultural identity becomes a broad concept covering the language, customs and traditions and behaviour patterns of migrants, any value within life in short. It also embraces common behavioural and perceptional patterns of individuals sharing similar life experiences and mentality. This way, it becomes a realm where a new sociocultural life and an identity could be built within. From this perspective, culture is a direct manifestation of one's lifestyle. According to Erinç (2004), culture is the sum of everything created for the humankind and humanity, by humans. The formation of cultural identity can be studied in three stages. The context of the first stage is the development of the local culture homogenously, adding on new values.

The context of the second is the culture being shaped during periods of social stagnation or intercommunal interactions, where culture is exposed to outer impacts and open to change. The third is focused on the culture as a contributor in shaping new identities within the region. This stage is when new identities are born upon the need for creating and maintaining identities due to the migration. All cases demonstrate the fact that cultures are human-made. Therefore, it affects lifestyles, and places after that. This condition involves customs, traditions and life values of anyone sharing a common everyday etiquette. In identity shaping, all sorts of culture, either universal or local, indicate a common pattern that embodies reciprocal influences between the individual level of culture. As Levendoğlu (2006) states, "Identity reveals itself through the means of either an individual identifying themselves, or them being identified by an outer source". This quote addresses anthropology as the most effective discipline in addressing concepts like cultural and national identities.

As stated by Hall (1994), ''Cultural identities are composed of both the stable and unstable points of distinction or suture … the unstable points of identification or suture … are made within the discourses of history and culture''. Stuart Hall (1994) suggests that cultural identity is 'a matter of becoming' as well as of 'being'. As concepts belonging to both the past and the future, diasporic identities were shaped in accordance of location.

Weber (1968) states that '... the structure of dominancy and its unfolding is decisive in determining the form of social action and its orientation toward a 'goal' ''. This quote of Weber emphasizes that diasporic communities need self expression in order to establish a structure of dominancy. Music becomes the symbolic tool for the individuals within migrant groups to express their emotions and cultural memories. Diasporic music is an important tool for migrants to maintain the connection with their homeland, as well as for self expression within the hostland community. The role of music is integragtion, assimilation and transnationalism in identity construction. As for music, it had become diversified among multiple identities. Majority of migrant communities used music for sustaining and protecting their cultural identities. As stated by Baily and Collyer (2006), '' In many situations music is used to address the wider community, as a way of establishing a group's identity in the eyes (and ears) of others. In this sense it is outer-directed''. With respect to diasporic music, in some

examples it was used in both inner and outer manners. In receiving countries, music plays a role as a cultural element that is constantly being reproduced, blended and reinvented. Researchers as Stokes (1994), Bennett (2000), Whiteley (2004) and Frith (2000) focused on the significance of music in the construction of identities and etnicities. Music is not only essential for reflecting the culture and identity but also embodying the identity itself. Combined with dancing, music plays a greater part in constructing identity (Erol, 2012). Merriam (1964) did studies on the interpretation and analyses of music within the culture context, which led to the emergence of different perspectives for understanding the music in the migration context. Merriam (1964) refers to the interrelation between acculturation and music as "cultural transformation in progress".

According to Kearney (2010), ''Music travels with emigrants and migrants often perform their identity through the performance of music ''. Giving priority to the social functions of music, as stated by Lidskog (2017) music is "a dynamic process involving context and culture". Moreover, Lidskog (2017), "context and culture, thereby creating, maintaining, and changing meanings".

Finally, in this section, interconnections between the concepts music, culture and diaspora are discussed with respect to Lidskog's (2017) statement as follows: ''In its most general and fundamental sense, diaspora concerns a triadic relation – between a group of people, a host country and a homeland''. In other words, this section will cover the endeavours of the communities, who were displaced due to postwar migration and struggled for adaptation in their hostlands, in creating their identities as well as their music. There are two phases with the identity building, that are the identity and music of the homeland, and the re-shaping of new identities in the hostland by building upon the original identity with music from the homeland. Playing an important societal role in cultures by creating social statuses, music has an impact on the whole society, from the individual to the whole. Music not only maintains the existing identitites but also builds connections between identities to form other identites. Music also shapes and strengthens social identities by drawing lines between identity formation groups and statuses (Rice, 2013).

2.3 Music as Symbol of Rebellion and Freedom

''Got to give us what we want

Gotta give us what we need

Our freedom of speech is freedom or death

We got to fight the powers that be

Let me hear you say

Fight the power'' (Whiteley, Bennett, Hawkins, 2004).

Restrained from raising their voices, minority communities choose the most effective and political tool, music, in order to articulate their words of rebellion and desire for freedom. As in the case of the prominent civil rights movement figure, American Muslim minister Malcolm X being featured in the lyrics of the American hip-hop group Public Enemy's song "Fight the Power" ("Fear of a black planet" album), music has become a symbol for resistance and power for the alienated and oppressed groups in speaking out against authorities. With music as a tool for protest against oppression and violence, minority communities have the chance to publicly address the political circumstances, emotional traumas and social struggles they experience. In this aspect, music is not only a means to transfer and express their daily experiences, but also a course of dialogue through which minorities could engage and be more vocal in public realm more. This way, with the cultural domain they create, minorities perform a musical resistance within diasporic environments.

As Attali (1985), ''All music, any organization of sounds is then a tool for the creation or consolidation of a community … noise is inscribed from the start within the panoply of power … And since noise is the source of power, power has always listened to it with fascination …''. How could music alone be the symbol of power and negotiation, rather than a tool for entertainment? Regarding that, Nooshin and Howard (2009) studied, how music, utilizing the power lyrics hold, became such an efficient tool for the communities to make themselves heard about the subjects of resistence, devastation or ideology.

Sound itself has become the power symbol with a part in the revival of memory (Nooshin and Howard, 2009). The broadcast of mediated sounds on the radio enabled

the prompting of the Nazi propagandists by the sounds of violence and war. In the Nazi Germany, spaces would be defined and transformed by sonic landscapes. Adolf Hitler's claim "sound is more suggestive than the image" strongly exhibits the significance of this notion (Bandt R., Duffy M. and MacKinnon D., 2007, Chapter 17). German people would gather and form an "imagined listening community'' in their houses, through Hitler's voice and other war sounds from their radios, as in Birdsall's remark, as "earwitnesses" (Bandt R., Duffy M. and MacKinnon D., 2007, Chapter 17). The poster from 1934 depicts this notion powerfully, with the monumental black radio in the center, broadcasting Hitler's voice, that creates a visual power mesmerizing the massive outdoor crowd (Figure 2.1) (Birdsall,2012).

Figure 2.1 : "Ganz Deutschland hört den Führer mit dem Volksempfänger" [All of Germany listens to the Führer with the People's Radio Receiver], poster [ca. 1934]. Courtesy of BPK, Berlin, (Birdsall,2012).

There are numerous examples in history where music was used for prompting masses. Apart from that, a variety of genres - from the aggressive punk and heavy metal to classical music pieces of Beethoven and Wagner - feature criticism against the

commonly accepted, uniform lifestyles. In this dissertation, genres as Rebetiko and Blues are chosen as the music of resistance, for further study.

2.3.1 Blues, Jazz, Reggae and Hip-hop in African Diasporas

Studied and interpreted by countless researchers, the term diaspora was used to refer to Greek and Armenian diasporas, as the following expression from some journals would show: "in Greek literature as a term for traumatic migrations…" (Leontis,1997). Used solely for the Jewish community during the 1960s, diaspora has later been used for migrant groups who were forced out of their homelands. Another diversified term like the Greek, Armenian and Jewish diasporas, "Black Diaspora" was initially used by Abiola Irele in 1965 to describe the African diaspora, until in 1966 George Shepperson (simply) called it "African diaspora". African Diaspora is the most coherent one with the Jewish diaspora in terms of the slavery, oppression and cruelty context. The racial oppression within African diasporas had an impact on the formation and spread of transnational identities (Monson, 2000).

> "…those who see the music as the primary means to explore critically and reproduce politically the necessary ethnic essence of blackness and those who would dispute the existence of any such unifying, organic phenomenon" (Gilroy,1993).

Doubtlessly, their past memories associated with violence and injuries became parts of their identity which made them more fearless. Music, on the other hand, became a healing instrument. The prominent reason for having music as their core value is that African diaspora expresses their cultural expression forms as songs, dances, rituals, oral narratives through music (Monson, 2000). Gilroy's "The Black Atlantic" (1993) is a significant book that examines the formation of transnational identities through the interaction between the African diaspora and music. Gilroy introduces three basic positions, ethnic absolutism, antiessentialism and anti-antiessentialism, regarding the interaction between race and cultural meaning (Monson, 2003). According to Gilroy (1993), the actual origin of the black music is ''the self-identity, political culture, and grounded aesthetics that distinguish black communities have often been constructed through their music" .

From the point of view of the Afro-American experience, imprisonment is first of all the loss of a people's freedom. The questions of individual freedom, class freedom, and even of human freedom derive from that social imprisonment. From this point of view, American society as a whole constitutes the primary prison (H.Bruce Franklin's quote in Tucker,2007).

As much as the term African comes with the connotations of racism, it should be discussed through the cultural movement processes like Pan-Africanism, Freedom Now, Black Power, Black Nationalism, Black is Beautiful, Black Panther Party. In history there had been numerous movements to stop phenomenons like racial discrimination and racial segregation that African migrants had gone through in their hostlands. Without a doubt, figures as Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X played a great part in pioneeering such civil rights movements. The "I Have a Dream" speech in 1963, where Martin Luther King Jr. addressed the need for humanity to abandon the long slavery and alienation, and embrace freedom and equality; and the black movements initiated by Malcolm X, who prompted a new Afrocentric consciousness, are the most prominent freedom movements in history. "Black Power", originated from Martin Luther King Jr.'s "Freedom Now!" quote, is another civil rights movement against racism with an aim to form a political body. Martin Luther King Jr.'s SCLC, SNCC, NAACP and CORE movements, along with the Malcolm X's organization of Afro-American Unity and Black Panther Party has influenced masses. The Black Panther's official house band called The Lumpen, was a revolutionary black power singing group. The Lumpen group was also complete with their unique revolutionary dances and costumes at every concerts (Figure 2.2).

Figure 2.2 : Left, The Lumpen performing at Merritt College, 1970, Right, The Lumpen in DC circa, 1970 (Url.16, Url.17).

Chernoff, J. M. (1979) and Keil, C. (1995) are among the ethnomusicologists who study African diasporic music and their processes. Within African communities, music is a distinct and powerful element experienced by the community on a very deep emotional level. In DeNora's (2000) interview with a Londra resident of Nigeria origin, the quote "Europeans merely listened to music, whereas in Africa people made music as an integral element of social life" on the topic "music in their lives" is an extremely powerful statement in that sense. According to the majority of ethnomusicologists, as well, music is not only a means of entertainment for African people, but also a sum of anything that is part of their lifestyles. As stated by Floyd Jr. (1995), African American music ''is based on the assumption that African musical traits and cultural practices not only survived but played a major role in the development and elaboration of African American music''.

Small also sees African American music as ritual and it is the combinations of making,paying and responding. As Small (1987a) it is ''an approach to the act of music making, a way of playing and responding to music''. Claiming that Blues is the most frequently performed genre among African American folk music in the ritualistic sense, Small (1987a) states the following, ''The blues style of performance, which pervades almost the whole of the Afro-American tradition as a colour, an emotional tinge,…, which is to say a definitive way of organizing a performance…''.

There are countless examples for political resistance associated with music. To mention another one; the book "Women, Culture and Politics" by Angela Davis features the powerful quote: "As a result Black people were able to create with their music an aesthetic community of resistance which in turn encouraged and nurtured a political community of active struggle for freedom" (Bonnette, 2015). Almost an anthem for the civil rights movement, "We Shall Overcome", which began as a gospel song and later became a protest song, is a concrete example of expression featuring the African diaspora's deep-rooted fight for freedom. Having been subjected to slavery and consistent punishment for even singing , Africans came together on the fields on Sundays to sing their gospel songs. The expression "Freedom" in Aretha Franklin's song about black freedom struggle, Sam Cooke's "A Change is Gonna Come" album, James Brown's "Say It Loud – I'm Black and I'm Proud" album, and Jazz performer Billie Holiday's "Strange Fruit", a song telling the story of two black people massacred and hung by a group of White people; all cover their feelings of helplessness, disappointment and hopelessness in their hostlands (Sullivan, 2011). Billie Holiday sang ''Strange Fruit'' for the first time at Café Society where NYC's first integrated nightclub during 30s (Figure 2.3, Figure 2.4).

Figure 2.3 : Contemporary Photo of The Cafe Society Interior (Url.18).

Figure 2.4 : Billie Holiday at Cafe Society, 1939 (Url.19, Url.20).

The rebellious genres, Jazz and Blues, are considered almost sacred within the African diaspora. These genres were born as forms of worksongs while African slaves beat out rhythms with the hoes they used on cotton fields they were forced to work on. The main trait distinguishing Jazz from Blues is the improvisation factor. Western music in the 1900s never featured improvisation. These genres are classified by periods with respect to the sociocultural and sociopolitical circumstances they were born into. Blues is the folk music of the African slaves who were brought to the USA, while Jazz was born on the basis of the traditional music in Africa. Amiri Baraka (1963) interprets the relationship between Jazz and Blues as "Blues is the parent of all legitimate jazz". At

the same time, Baraka (1963), describes Jazz as a "purely instrumental blues", stating "although jazz developed out of a kind of blues, blues in its later popular connotation came to mean a way of playing jazz".

The periods in the history of Jazz can be classified as: Work songs and spirituals (1619-1865), gospel, blues and ragtime (1866-1916), jazz hot: early style (1917-1929), swing era (1930-1939), bebop era (1940-1948), coll jazz era (1949-1953), hard bop era (1954-1959), free jazz (1960-1968), fusion jazz (1968-1979) and after 1980 (Bergerot, 2004). All these periods demonstrate differences between the performance places, spatial behaviour and the user profile. Congo Square in New Orleans can be considered the birthplace of Jazz since the African migrants met there every Sunday for drumming, dancing and singing together. This indicates that Jazz music emerged from the blending of the culture of its era with the local resources. The periods of Jazz exhibit the difference Jazz styles between the uptown and downtown cultures, or black and White people; as well as the interplay between these genres. Jazz went through some changes at the time of Jim Crow Laws, which enforced racial segregation that eventually led to racial violence. For instance, in this period, between 1865-1877, there were "Minstrel Shows" where White actors would paint their faces in black and play the supposedly lazy Black people. Even prominent Jazz figures as Duke Ellington and Count Basie were affected by this hate culture. Miles Davis, who was raised in a wealthy family and grew up among White people, also voiced his feelings of grumpiness related to the alienation he experienced in the USA, while he felt completely equal as the rest of the society in France. The following anecdote of the violence he experienced during one of his shows at the time of his album "Kind of Blue" reinforces that: He was playing at the club "Birdland" on 52nd Street, where prominent performers of the time like Charlie Parker, Art Blakey, John Coltrane, Dizzy Gillespie, Thelonious Monk, Lester Young also performed at, and when he went outside the club for a break he was dismissed by the police for no obvious reason. Moreover, the seating layout and stage location of Birdland club are the same as the original (Figure 2.5). Within the same period, there were also civil rights movements aiming for social equality and social freedom, and quotes like Abraham Lincoln's "all men are created equal" were emerging.

22

Figure 2.5 : Interior of Birdland club, 1950s (Url.10).

The initial period of Jazz features either Africans coming together to sing at Congo Square in New Orleans or jazz performances in ratty places - Jelly Roll Morton playing at Storyville is one of them. Buddy Bolden or Kid Ory are particularly prominent figures in New Orleans for their Dixieland style, in orther words the traditional style (Figure 2.6). These musicians later moved to Chicago, conveying Jazz to indoor halls and introducing it to White people.

Figure 2.6 : The Woodland Band, Kid Ory's first band (1905) (Url.9).

Musicians like Louis Armstrong ve Duke Ellington achieved the wide recognition of their music by White people; and during their time female singers made their ways to the stage. Later in the age of swing - Count Basie is a renowned performer of it-, with

the emergence of combos and bing bands, Jazz evolved to be what is Swing today, with its distinctive traits as the rhythmic entertaining sound, well-dressed audience, etc. Among the countless dance styles such as Lindy Hop, Big Apple, Mambo, Shimmy etc. originated at Savoy Ballroom (Figure 2.7). Unlike other jazz clubs, Savoy Ballroom was more glamour and much bigger, it also never had discrimination policy. The Savoy Ballroom was on the second floor and had huge lobby with glass chandelier and marble staircase. Moreover, the interior of Savoy Ballroom was pink coloured with mirrored walls.
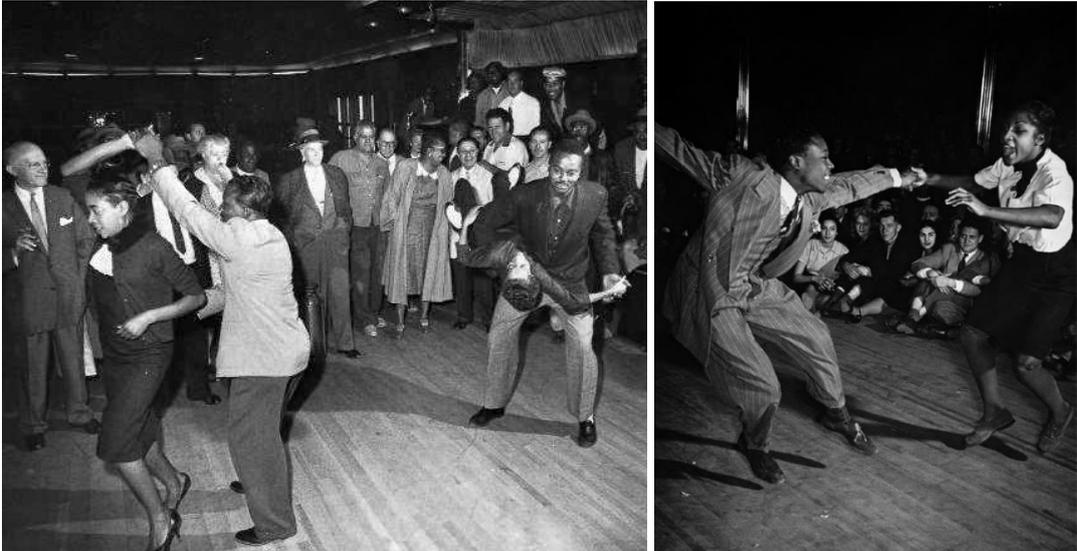
Figure 2.7 : Savoy Ballroom in Harlem, NY, 1930s (Url.21).

After this period, the genre Bebop, known for its strict technical rules which makes it a hard genre to play, as well as for listening, was born. Charlie Parker, Dexter Gordon and Thelonious Monk were among the performers who played at clubs in Manhattan at the time Jazz was becoming popular. Featuring improvisation as a leading characteristic, this Jazz genre is both difficult to perform and listen to; and can be titled as the classical music of the black people. The later divergent period of Jazz started with White musicians like Chet Baker, followed by the emergence of "Hard Bop", the Jazz style featuring more "scats" (a vocal improvisation technique mimicing an instrument) which originated from the desire of black musicians to start a style that White musicians were incapable of doing. This period is characterized with the powerful harmony in all the styles that had come out within. John Coltrane's free jazz identified the next next period of Jazz as Jazz with a new spiritual dimension. Later came the diffusion and fusion periods. In the light and history of all, Tin Pan Alley (collection of New York City music publishers) in Manhattan played a major role in the recording of Jazz. Meanwhile, at the times Jazz was becoming popular, famous Jazz musicians would play at upscale places on the 52nd Street and continue to make music and smoke together after their performances. This way, Jazz and Blues became integral parts of the African culture, as well as a significant music genre. As Art Blakey '' It's just that I feel that African thing: it has a good beat and something that gets to the soul. There's nothing wrong with technique, but I like to keep it swinging, do something that moves an audience'' (Monson,2003).

> '' Won't you help to sing
> These songs of freedom?
> 'Cause all I ever have
> Redemption songs'' (Bob Marley,Redemption song,1980).

Throughout Rastafari culture and Reggae music, Africa grew into the center for diasporic formations due to slave trade, however, rastafari culture could also be described as "spatial elsewhere" and "temporal elsewhere" (Whiteley, S., Bennett, A., and Hawkins, S.,2004). Reggae was born in Jamaica in 1960s and spread across Jamaica and its diasporas. Identical to other African diaspora music, it influenced other music genres, the usage of colour in performance places, dance styles and the lifestyles of individuals. As stated by Clarke (1986), Rastafari is ''concerned above all else with black consciousness, with rediscovering the identity, personal and racial, of black

people''. Reggae is also closely linked to Rastafari that is an Africa-centered religion. The Rastafarian movement of Jamaica had originated from Pan-Africanism, which is basically a socio-political attitude. Lyrics in Reggae music cover subjects as solidarity of Africans from all diasporas across the world, similar to Pan-Africanism.

The resistant characteristic of Reggae culture was not only embraced by the Americans, but also other groups. Regarded as the God of Rastafarianism, Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie and the Prophet Marcus Garvey are the prominent figures of this religion. Rastafarian follower Bob Marley defined "Zion", the utopian sacred place (of unity, peace and freedom) in this religion, as the "African Homeland" and featured it in his song lyrics to address his longing for it and his desire to go back home (Sullivan, 2011). Bob Marley emphasized peace as a concept in the majority of his songs, while using terms for protesting about slavery, racism, injustice (Bonnette, 2015). This peaceful and pro-freedom attitude manifests itself in Bob Marley's work, such as his "Get Up, Stand Up", "Redemption Song" and "400 Years" songs; while his political involvement became more visible along with his songs, as would show in his words: "Government sometimes maybe don't like what we have to say because what we have to say too plain" (Sullivan, 2011).

Rastas re-shaped their physical appearances and habitats according to the Reggae style so that their religious views could become visible. As could be seen in the old Ethiopian flag, the flag colours of Pan-Africanism would generally be green, yellow and red, combined with black as representation for the skin of black people. The meanings of red colour is the shedding of blood, and black for the skin color, and green for vegetation. At the same time, the Jamaican flag features yellow along with black and green. As for yellow, it could be considered a representative for the raw materials in Africa. Commonly used by Rastas, the colors red, black and green also featured in the flag of the Pan-African, which is a representation for all African diasporas. Moreover, the Lion of Judah symbol of the Ethiopian flag are commonly used in their places (White, 2010). According to White (2010), rastas paint their vehicles, kiosks, buildings and other items in order to symbolize their beliefs.

Sound systems is an essential subject in the Reggae music context (Figure 2.8). As much as sound systems were occasionally affected by the sociopolitical shifts in Jamaica, they had an important role in the spread of Reggae across African diasporas.

Music would be played on large speakers called "Houses of Joy", in clubs, warehouses and at street corners. This way, migrants were able to maintain their culture through music, and speak out their opinions. Reggae beats, radio and sound systems combined, created an underground music culture in the African diasporas, making Jamaican music an internationally renowned genre. As Henriques (2008), ''sounds carry people, as much as people carry sounds; 'vibes' find bodies to move''.

Figure 2.8 : Jamaica 1974 Charlie Ace's mobile 'Swing a Ling' recording studio (Url.12).

Political information through music is another element of the hip-hop culture. Although hip-hop did not start as a political movement, the community who started it was living under the politics of abandoned lands like east Brooklyn and the South Bronx. DJ Kool Herc, known as ''Founder of Hip-hop'', threw his first hip-hop party called as ''Back to Shool Jam''with his younger sister in their apartment building in Bronx, New York city, in the 1970s (Figure 2.9).

Figure 2.9 : The front of 1520 Sedgwick Avenue, where DJ Kool Herc threw his first parties (Url.15)

Malcolm X had a major impact on a number of hip-hop artists as Tupac, Public Enemy, Dead Prez, Ghostface Killah, who covered topics like freedom and equality in their song lyrics. Hip-hop is a cultural movement born in the ghettos of Bronx, New York, in the 1970s. MCing (rapping or rhyming), deejaying (turntabling), B-boying (street dance) and graffiti painting are the specific elements establishing the hip-hop culture (Kniaź, 2017). Hip-hop culture can not be held exempt from the environment it was originated at and started dispersing from. Relationship between space and music in the hip-hop context can be depicted in its own visual art, graffiti, paintings or even the acts of vandalism in the urban areas, such as the symbols drawn on walls and trains. Hip-hop is the music for the minority groups to make themselves heard in the specific areas of urban environment. Hip-hop made its first appearence in mostly the "ghetto spaces", in other terms the cultural "hood" which was determined by the minority groups themselves. Regarding that, the following comment was made by Rose: "which provided the context for creative development among hip hop's earliest innovators, shaped their cultural terrain, access to space, materials, and education'' (Rose, 1994). Majority of hip-sop songs feature spatial references for their performers's birth places. Most of the time, hip-hop culture is generally identified with the black culture; and is also a political music for defining the regions that are home to African-Americans or Latinos as the majority population.

Hip-hop both served as the political voice of a certain community, as well as the sonic outlet for their intercommunal conflicts, case in point, the conflict between the well-known subcultures "West Coast" and "East Coast". Amidst all these musical and political conflicts, the death of the renowned artist Tupac Shakur, is a clear sign for the impact of music on masses. Tupac's song "Changes" featuring the lyrics "…I see no changes all I see is racist faces, Misplaced hate makes disgrace to races… We ain't ready, to see a black President…", is a political song addressing the racism they faced, the hardships they experienced living in the ghettos and the African American culture in general.

All these genres from across African diasporas have their genuine styles, and ways to fight for freedom, however, their common trait is the use of music as their tools. These music genres influenced the ways migrants dressed, behaved, spoke, as well as the places they inhabited.

2.3.2 Rebetiko in Greece and its Diaspora

Rembetiko has always been called various names – rembetika, rembetiko, and rebetika. Greek language do not have the word b, and the (Turkish) words m and p together is spelled as a b, which has caused this confusion. Today, this notion is commonly called rebetiko. Rebetiko is both a name for the subculture and the musical reflection of a particular culture. There are many theories explaining the word origin of rebetiko. Most commonly acknowledged is the assumption rebetiko comes from the Turkish word "rebet", that is supposed to mean "marginalised" or "outlaw" (Gauntlett,1982). The word rebetiko was first used in Marika Papagika's record issued in 1926 (Dikbaş, 2014). 2005 version of Oxford English Online Dictionary's defines rebetiko as 'oriental-style song of urban low-life', while the 1928 Numerical Catalog of Foreign Columbia Records decribe it as 'vagabond' under the rebetis section (Smaragdi, 2012). Rebetis or mangas, equivalent for "kabadayı", the Turkish word for bully , are names to call the outlaw.

Rebetiko is a music genre that emerged in Greek-speaking communities and their diaspora in 1920s. As for the earlier periods, it used to be the music of Anatolian-born Greek Orthodox community, in other words Rums, who lived in Smyrna (today Izmir of Turkey) after 1850s. With the population exchange between Greece's Muslims and

Turkey's Orthodox community, which took place based on the Treaty of Lausanne following the Asia Minor Disaster in 1922, brought this music to Greece. Asia Minor Disaster is a great tragedy in Greek history that had caused the forced migration of about 1,5 million Greek inhabitants of Asia Minor. In that diasporic environment, Rums initially started to live in squatter houses of Piraeus, a Greek port city, upon forced migration. Rums were involuntarily torn off from Turkey, where they moved to and adopted as home many years ago. Rums had to leave all their belongings and houses behind and emigrate to Greece. The Greek government was incapable of providing for them, and Rums, alread severely suffering for having left their homeland, were now experiencing feelings of isolation and rootlessness due to social othering. They almost found themselves as inferior citizens. Chorbajoglou (2012), ''They spoke Turkish and had acquired Turkish ways of thinking and behaving. A flood of homeless and unemployed refugees sweeld the population of Greece by about one quarter.''. In later years, a horrendous event, the Istanbul Pogrom of September 6,7/1955 Anti-Greek Riots, caused massive damage on the private properties, Orthodox churches and cemeteries of the socially excluded Rums of Istanbul. The aftermath caused the Rums to construct another migration wave and leave Turkey due to feelings of insecurity. Koglin (2016) created a statistical data for the Istanbulite Rum population during 20th century based on the studies of Alexandris et al. (1991), 39 and 515; Seufert and Kubaseck (2004). According to this data, the Greek Orthodox population in Istanbul was 100.200 in 1927, 80.000 in 1955 with a 20% decrease, 48.100 in 1965 with a 40% decrease, 7.900 in 1978 with a 84% decrease, 3.500 in 1990 with a 56% decrease and, finally, 1.650 in 2014 with a 53% decrease (Koglin, 2016, p.95).

The cultural and social impacts of the compulsory population exchange between Greece and Turkey, it is obvious how painful to feel alienated and to be excluded. Emerged as the music of the people from the bottom of the working class, rebetiko could be interpreted as the Greek subculture. Rebetiko is not only a music genre but also a subculture comprised of a particular lifestyle, psychology and geography. One of the principal historians of the Rebetiko style, Elias Petropoulos, divides the history of the style in three periods. First period is between 1922- 1932 which was the era when Rebetiko emerged from its roots in the music of Smyrna (Izmir in modern Turkey). Second period is between 1932- 1942 which is considered as the classical period. Third period is between 1942- 1952 which is considered as the era of discovery,

spread, and acceptance. Morevover, the incidents marking these periods and their impact on the rebetiko music are summed by Gauntlett (1985) as below:

- End of 19th century – 1920: oral non-commercial tradition

- 1920 – 1936: first recordings and personal compositions

- 1936 (the imposition of censorship by Metaxas' regime) – 1941 (the invasion of Axis allied military forces)

- 1941-1946: the occupation years (World War II)

- 1946-1952: the popularization of rebetiko music (the emergence of *arhondorebetiko*, bourgeois-rebetiko style)

- The 1960s-1970s: the first revival of early rebetiko music among urban intellectual circles

- 1980s-up to today: second rebetiko revival

The music and the life styles through these periods differ as Smyrna style and Piraeus style. Musical bands also used different instruments. Smyrna style musicians used oud, violin, kamancheh, qanun, clarinet, tambourine and the cymbals female performers used. Piraeus style, on the other hand, adopted buzuki and baglamas. The below photo taken during the early times of rebetiko bans in Metaxas's regime portays the gusto of the time and the individual behaviours (Figure 2.10).

Figure 2.10 : A group of rembetes and refugees in the fish-market at Piraeus in 1937 (Holst, 1983).

Rums brought Greece their music, despite all the misery of that time. Rebetiko was performed for entertainment in Izmir, however, it became an expressive means to ease the sorrows of the underground lives of Pireaus. The music of rebetes, as a subculture, reflect their features as being outlaws and against authority. Holst (1983), ''Rembetika songs were written by rebetes… The rembetis was a man who had a sorrow and threw it out''. The subjects Rebetiko usually cover could be listed as; love, society, parting and separation, crime, sorrow and pain, labour, the underworld lifestyle, illegal life, prison, crime, illness, death, the mother figure, alcohol, hashish, war and historical events which are the Asia Minor Disaster of 1922, the Population Exchange of 1923-1924, the dictatorship of Metaxas 1936–1940, the Second World War, the German occupation of 1941–1944, the Resistance the Civil war of 1944–1949 earthquakes and floods (Petropoulos,2000 and Smaragdi,2012). Below are the lyrics of an anonymous zembekiko, recorded by Giorgos Katsaras in the USA in 1920s, which is about the hardships of forced migration:

 Ah, if I die, what will they say? Some fellow died,

A fellow who loved life and enjoyed himself. Aman! Aman!

Ah, if I die on the boat, throw me into the sea,

So that the black fish and the salt water can eat me. Aman! Aman!

If I die on the boat (Holst,1983).

As much as Rebetiko songs cover such subjects, some songs, since they are designated to ease people's pain, have entertaining rhythms and lyrics that are not necessarily sad. People would drink wine and dance to this music.

As mentioned before, there are a number of different diaspora definitions. In case the categorization of rebetiko in the Greek diaspora is made on the basis of Lidskog's (2017) diaspora definition, *group of people, a host country and a homeland*; group of people is Greek Orthodox Community who had to leave their country, host country is Greece and homeland is Turkey (Figure 2.11).
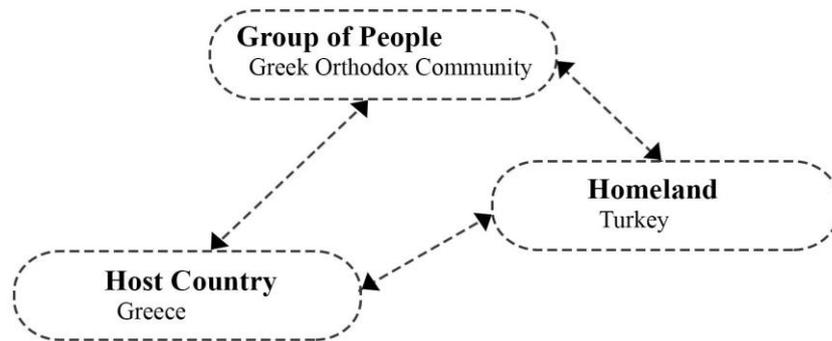
Figure 2.11 : Diaspora Concept of Greek Orthodox Community

2.4 Section Results

Among many diaspora definitions as in Safran's, that are are "forced migration due to war", "holding their authentic history", "memory and culture in the host land", "feelings of isolation and rootlesness in the host land", this concept is the closest one to the subject of this thesis/dissertation. In this thesis/dissertation, the significance of the concept diaspora is emphasized by these definitions. From the sociological lens, diaspora groups tell of individuals forming their own cultural identities in the hostlands they were forcibly brought to, through war or slave trade. In diasporic environments, the best expression of this cultural identity becomes music. The music genres addressed in the theoretical framework of this thesis/dissertation are the most prominent tools in terms of this expression. As a field that studies music in various contexts as culture, migration and cultural memory, ethnomusicology enables us to examine diasporic music genres in the light of sociology, anthropology, as well as musicology. This section of the thesis/dissertation focuses on the studies in this field.

This chapter has provided the dissertation with a different dimension regarding the importance of cultural identity in diasporas, and how music plays a major role in sustaining it. For their strong traits in expressing freedom and resistance, music genres of African ve Greek diasporas were chosen among other diasporas for supporting the framework of this dissertation. Genres as Blues, Jazz, Reggae and Rebetiko that had emerged in these diasporas do not only embody musical traits but also distinct spatial traits. These traits are characterized by factors like spatial organization, spatial

atmosphere, colour, illumination, etc. This section strongly contributes to the establishment of the ground for the theoretical framework of this dissertation. The latter sections address the following concepts regarding their roles as fundamental factors in identity formation in diasporas and space-making in the urban domain through musical gatherings and feelings of familiarity: diaspora, cultural identity, resistance, freedom and music in sociological, anthropological and spatial contexts

3. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN REFUGEES AND MUSICAL SPATIAL REQUIREMENTS

3.1 Needs of Belonging in Minority Communities

Sense of belonging and the act of belonging are two essential concepts for the minority or migrant groups to sustain their lives. An individual has to fulfil their needs for belonging and having roots. As stated by Baumeister and Leary (1995), ''human beings have a pervasive drive to form and maintain at least a minimum quantity of lasting, positive, and significant interpersonal relationships''. An individual who does not feel they belong in a particular society experiences feelings of loneliness and isolation. This notion applies to migrants who went through forced exile and do not feel any belonging in neither their hostlands, or homelands. For being "different" than the majority, migrants face exclusion in their hostlands. As a common notion for many migrant groups, exclusion in the diaspora context originates due to the subjects as religion, roots and nationality. Being the "other", or othering, are commonly studied concepts. From this perspective, Hegel defines the existence of the other as a tool for identifying the self, whereas according to the Marxist philosopy, that approaches the individual within the societal context, being the "other" in a society is linked to the modes of material production. In the light of studies about feelings of minorities, being a minority generally feels as not belonging. A related example is the set of interviews Koskinen (2015) held with people of Ethiopian, Indian, Taiwanese, Colombian and Russian origins who lived in Finland. All of the interviewees, except for the one of Russian origin who possessed the common physical traits of their hostland population, mentioned feelings of exclusion and othering. Another example, the interviews Reyna (2016) held with a group of Jewish people living in Turkey, shows that they faced exclusion and othering in anywhere they went to.

Identities, to some extent, are the ways we name our place in various lifestyles, or the connection we have with our past. As Bauman (2000) states, ''identity is a name given

to the escape sought from uncertainty''. Identities are never stable, and are always prone to change or transformation. Most of the diasporic identities carry traits both from the diaspora and home. Therefore, diasporic identities adopt similarities and differences related to both places. According to Hall (1994) identitites are ''framed by two simultaneously operative axes or vectors: the vector of similarity and continuity and the vector of difference and rupture''. As for cultural identity, it is not a reminiscent of the concept "sense of belonging"; on the contrary, is a notion complying with the changing and transforming social beliefs in a society. Cultural identity, for being an ever-transforming concept, cannot be ever considered an utterly consistent and completed identity (Erol, 2012).

Minorities living in diasporas not only share the same past, but also the same fate. Greek, Armenian, and Jewish and African diasporas in particular, either maintained their culture or assimilated in order to have a sense of belonging. As stated by Lidskog (2017), ''It can serve as a space and practice that binds group members together, so that they understand themselves as belonging to each other and maybe even having a specific task or mission to accomplish''. These minority groups feel a sense of belonging within their community, in the places the come together.

3.1.1 Relations of Musical and Social Othering

The social othering in minority communities, indirectly reflects on the music genres originated in these communities. In the context of "musical othering", musical classification occurs on the basis of the culture it is performed within. Musical othering happens through the remarks describing a certain type of music as "nothing but noise", "sounds like rumbling'', or "against religion". Moreover, if a community is discriminated in the religious, national or sexual sense, that means their music is discriminated and censored in the same senses as well.

As mentioned before, music is a reflection of a community's cultural identity. According to Canova (2013), "[d]ifferent places seem to produce different types of music that reflect regional identities and attachments, … At the same time, it is music that tends to define the place''. As Canova (2013)'s remark highlights, while music becomes a reflection of its location, it is also coherent with the identity of the community. Nettl (1983) points out to the importance of location in the history of

36

ethnomusicology; and states that the emerging music genres trait from their environments and exhibitis its geography. From this perspective, music that had emerged in diasporas, doubtlessly, was subjected to occasional prohibitions because of the social othering and discrimination. That the drumming element in the Afro-Cuban music provides a sense of belonging to the African diaspora, is a powerful example for understanding this notion on a broader level (Monson, 2000). Drumming is known to have been banned previously due to being a part of African culture. The lyrics of the music pieces produced by minorities exhibit other examles for social othering. Rebetiko music has lyrics about feelings of exclusion, othering and rootlessness. Below are the lyrics of the Hasapiko song, that was composed by the famous Rebetiko composer Kostas Skarvelis and first sung by Giorgos Kavouras in 1934:

> For every pain and every sorrow I've found a remedy
>
> But the sorrow of parting can never be healed…
>
> …Even if you go to a strange place to forget it,
>
> You'll remember and cry for the hour you parted
>
> Parting goes on hurting (Holst,1983)

There are noticeably more examples for social othering through music. Studies show both concepts are interrelated, and social culture and musical culture are in constant interaction. This is a more common phenomenon within migrant groups in diasporas.

3.2 The Reflection of Diasporic Memory to Music and Everyday Life

> Memory is the seamstress, and a capricious one at that. Memory runs her needle in and out, up and down, hither and thither. We know not what comes next, or what follows after. Thus, the most ordinary movement in the world, such as sitting down at a table and pulling the inkstand towards one, may agitate a thousand odd, disconnected fragments…(Woolf,1956).

The relationship between memory, music and cultural identity has been studied by numerous researchers. A piece of music generally gives the listener a sense of security because it reminds them of their homeland, where their personality-shaping experiences took place (Baily and Collyer, 2006). Expanding on this argument on the diasporic music, Baily (1994) states that identity and memory merge in a particular way and music has powerful emotional connotations. Accordingly, music helps to

''maintain group identity in a multiethnic society'' (Baily,1994). To put it differently, the role of the music is creating emotional connections and being a reminder of one's genuine identity within a community (Lidskog, 2017). Collective experiences are associated with music; and music renders historical conciousness and diasporic conciousness significant within cultural identity by reshaping them (Roberson, 2010). Klein (2005), Lewis (2010) and Roberson (2010) are researchers studying collective memories, the concept that has a significant role in creating diasporic communities, through music. Klein (2005) states that ''music is not in diaspora but about diaspora''; and using the term *re-membering*, claims that music is the most important factor in transferring the collective memory to younger generations who reside in the hostland and have never seen their homeland. Whereas Chapman (2005) argues that the use of the instruments from their homeland is what evokes strong memories and emotions for the migrants living in a diaspora. In addition, Baily and Collyer (2006) claim that another role of music is decreasing the potential dangers or distrust within refugee communities. Music is mostly reminiscent of something, places or people, therefore it makes the refugees, whose major life experiences are about homesickness or the hardships in the hostland, forget their reality. Memory is an inseparable element of the human life. With respect to that notion, Proust (1927) remarks in Search of Lost Time, ''It seems that there exists too an involuntary memory of the limbs, a pale and sterile of the other but longer-lived…Our legs and our arms are full of torpid memories'' (Volume VII-Time Regained). Proust defines memory as the search for a lost reality, while Deleuze describes it as seeking realities. For Samuel Beckett, it is the look for a lost memory and a sequence of habits.

With respect to diaspora, another connection to be addressed is the one between diaspora and memory. Baily (1994), '' …be used to assert and negotiate identity in a particularly powerful manner''. Based on Baily's remark, music does not only reflect emotions but also evokes memories (Bittel, 2018). Shelemay (2006) describes music as a sound world and an affect-laden recollection of the past''. Shelemay's interviews with a participant from Syrian-Jewish diaspora in the USA unveils the connetions between music and memory. Additionally, Shelemay (2006) states that ''Migrant music creates something new: "That musical repetition is acknowledged as ''creating something new'' is not a contradiction ". With this remark, Shelemay claims that the music from the memory blended with the diaspora experience forms a new thing. As

for the diasporic memories, social forms of memory needs to be discussed. Therefore, comprised of both cultural and individual memories, collective memory has an important part in diasporic memory. Collective memory is a term for defining the cultural identities of social groups within a society. In his book The Social Frameworks of Memory, published in 1925, the French sociologist Maurice Halbwacks explains that the collective memory stands for an individual's social power and social setting within a society. According to Halbwacks (1992), individuals gain their memories within the society, which influences in what they make of past memories (Halbwachs, 1992). Claiming that memory is a societal concept, Halbwacks states it is stored inside the human brain. Memory, in other words, can only function as long as it has a place within the societal structure. This remark of Halbwacks contradicts with Freud's opinion on memory, that he defines as a storage for all past experiences of the subconscious mind with a suppression mechanism. On the importance of memory in the formation of identity, Halbwacks explains as follows; ''We preserve memories of each epoch in our lives and these are continually reproduced; through them, as by a continual relationship, a sense of our identity is perpetuated''(Halbwachs,1992). As much as the term "displacement" from Freud's unconscious formation contradicts with Halbwacks's collective memory, it is still beneficial in helping communities in diasporic environment get over past traumas. With the homeland memories diminishing, traumas like the forced migration were replaced with fresher memories, while those traumas were moved to a corner in the subconscious mind.

Meanwhile, Fortier (2005) defines diasporic memory as the bridge between time and space, and the reflection of lost, abandoned identities in the homeland, in other words "threads of continuity". Fortier (2005) describes diasporic memory as "place based", and not "place bound" (Baronian, Basser and Jansen, 2006). Fortier (2005), ''Memory, rather than territory, is the principle ground of identity formation in diaspora cultures, where 'territory' is decentered and exploded into multiple settings ''. It is stated in Baronian, Basser and Jansen (2006); ''…memory is at once the condition and the necessary limit of diasporic identities'' . Music, at the same time, is the temporal structure of past and present circumstances. Flowing throughout the time, music is remembered as part of an environment along with our related experiences, rather than being associated with tangible objects. Music plays a great part in reminding us of our emotions connected with past experinces. Therefore, diasporic memories or diasporic

consciousness are concepts for, rather than evoking traumatic experiences, prompting cultural identity realization in their hostland.

> ''At the level of daily life, music has power … Music may influence how people compose their bodies, how they conduct themselves, how they experience the passage of time, how they feel – in terms of energy and emotion – about themselves and others, and about situations ''(DeNora, 2000).

Music has a great impact on people's lives. In other words, music has social power on the daily life level. The type of music one listens to, influences their emotions, thoughts and their perspective on life in general. Directly connected to their character, the music choice one makes influences the way they dress, the places they go, and even the home they live in. Music not only effects the human mood but also shapes their character, social status and behaviour patterns. Without the need for articulation, music also has the power of making us understand and analyse any situations we happen to be in. That power of music in shaping our lives were studied by Adorno ve Plato (DeNora, 2000). Adorno thinks müzik is interconnected with cognitive habits, historical developments and modes of consciousness (DeNora, 2000). For Adorno, music ''trains the unconscious for conditioned reflexes'' (DeNora,2000). Heidegger's ''everydayness'' concept could be reconciled with the life-shaping power of music. Heidegger (1927), ''We take pleasure and enjoy ourselves as they [man] take pleasure; we read, see, and judge about literature and art as they see and judge … we find 'shocking' what they find shocking. The 'They', which is nothing definite, and which all are, though not as the sum, prescribes the kind of Being of everydayness''. This remark of Heidegger talks about how our daily activities affect what happens in our whereabouts. To associate this fact with music, music choices influence everyday feelings, thus the way we perceive what is happening around us.

Music is a sound; and sound has the power to revive memories of the masses. With respect to that, musical gatherings within diasporas activate the collective memory. Stokes (1994) in Ethnicity, Identity and Music ''The musical event […] evokes and organizes collective memories and present experiences of place with an intensity, power and simplicity unmatched by any other social activity''.

In accordance with these considerations, diasporic cultures survive by creating memories in meeting places. The music performed in such places merge with the new culture they shape, which will later be manifesting itself in their daily lives.

3.3 Alternative Places of Musicking

Musical performances play an important role in the social interactions among communities. In other words, musical activity is crucial in creating and maintaining social spaces. Especially in diasporic communities, migrants, who were dispersed from their homelands and alienated in their hostlands, come together to build their own musical activities in order to create their special social space within the community. The subject emphasized and studied in this thesis, the music making in diasporic environments, is leverage for communities in production, maintenance of their cultural identities, and expression of feelings through the means of music. This way, the music created inside their communities also become a tool for making themselves heard by other communities. In the light of all previous remarks, the meaning of music in diasporic communities is more about social and political connotations, rather than being about esthetics.

In this part of the dissertion, my intent is to draw on a discussion about how communities in diasporas experience, create or share their cultural memory by muisc making or, in Christopher Small's term, *musicking*. Through this concept, the relationship between musicking, cultural identity and cultural memory will be examined and the diasporic communities's search for musicking spaces will be discussed.

Space, as a concept, can be interpreted in numerous ways. Being in a space as addressed in this dissertation, does not correspond to solely the act of *being in an enclosed space with four walls and a roof*. In order to define a volume as a space, sense organs are necessary in order to identify the elements that confine an area. Smell, sound, taste, texture can define the borders of a space. The most important thing is that these borders are of perceptible nature. As Paul Valery (1924), ''music and architecture differ from the other arts in their capacity to surround man entirely''. In this respect, both music and architecture consist of the combination of various

disciplines as art and mathematics. Both concepts are interpreted and defined on the basis of regionality, culture, historical period and personal preferences.

With regard to addressing "space" in abstract thinking, Henri Lefebvre (1974) is the first thinker to affiliate space with social theory. The production of space is an information source for understanding the user and the occupants. While the definitions of space are generally associated with geometry, Lefebvre, claiming *urban space is a social production*, suggests that space is related to the city. From this perspective, space does not produce itself but is a "production"; every mode of production creates its own space, and these spaces together become a "system of social relationships". Lefebvre (1974) addresses space from the scope of production, and defines it as a political process shaped by historical factors. In other words, Lefebvre focuses on revealing the space of history, instead of the history of space. As the result of associating music with spatial practice in the frame of Lefebvre's spatial triad - *spatial practice, representations of space and representational spaces* -, social spaces provide information about the individiuals within society, as well as social formation. As Lefebvre (1974), ''Social space contains a great diversity of objects, both natural and social, including the networks and pathways which facilitate the exchange of material things and information'', whereas spatial practice "embraces production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation" . Giddens (2010b) defines space as more of a set of sociocultural deeds including social behaviors, rather than a physical element. On the basis of Giddens's quote, places hosting musical performances can be considered "spaces".

> To music is to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing, or practicing, by providing material for performance (what is called composing), or by dancing. We might at times even extend its meaning to what the person is doing who takes the tickets at the door or the hefty men who shift the piano and the drums or the roadies who set up the instruments and carry out the sound checks or the cleaners who clean up after everyone else has gone. They, too, are all contributing to the nature of the event that is a musical performance. (Small,1998).

As mentioned before, the term 'musicking', used by Small, is associated with musical performances. In the beginning of his book, Small (1998) suggests anything that

engages in the formation process of the music becomes a part of it. According to Small's (1998) "inventory" of music's elements are; musicians, audience and even the sound technicians in a concert hall; customers in a supermarket being exposed to the "buzzing" sounds of the loudspeakers, the conversations between the managers and shelf assistants combined; a housewife murmuring a song while making the bed which might bring memories, or an applause and the lighting blending together to create the atmosphere of a stadium, the football player's actions or John Cage's 4'33. Accordingly, "music" to him, is a verb, not a noun.

In the ''A Place for Hearing'' section of his book, Small (1998) states that scale and design of a building are among the parameters that affect musicking; and exemplifies by considering a concert taking place as the following: ''We take our allotted seats,..When the other seats in the row are taken, we shall have to stay here for the duration of the performance; there will be no moving around. Since all the seats face in the same direction, we can talk only to our neighbors in the same row...''. In addition to that, Small (1998), ''For musicking, even large-scale musicking, does not need a building such as this. Human beings have been musicking for as long as there have been humans…''.

Through musicking, both social memory and identity are developed, and individuals intertwine with social groups (Sheleman, 2006). In order for the diasporic communities to continue their identities and become a whole, the role of music making, or "musicking" is crucial.

3.3.1 The Use of Streets as Musical Milieu

Art and culture are essential tools for a diaspora's self expression. Obviously, migrants bring along different cultural traditions and forms of expression. Migrant musical engagement is particularly crucial for urban neighborhoods. Instead of metopolitan locations, migrants move to suburban areas where they can live better lives. There, they come together for musicking and socializing. In this respect, the immigrants's cultural expression through music becomes an important part in the suburban music of the hostland. Obviously, this does not apply to every migrant group - each has different

ways for musicking and self expression. The distinction in social statuses and generations influence the interaction between communities.

Musical performances of a community, in other words cultural practices, are considered realms that carry the patterns of behavior and beliefs, and social values within that community. Forced migration, rootlessness, and any other hardship in their altered lives reflect on these practices. Looking back on history in the chronological order, individuals primarily used the streets, then indoors, to make music. People gathering on the streets to make music initiated behavioral interactions. Doubtlessly, jazz music in the late 18th century and hip-hop music in the 1970s are important music genres to gather around, dance and make music (Figure 3.1 , Figure 3.2).
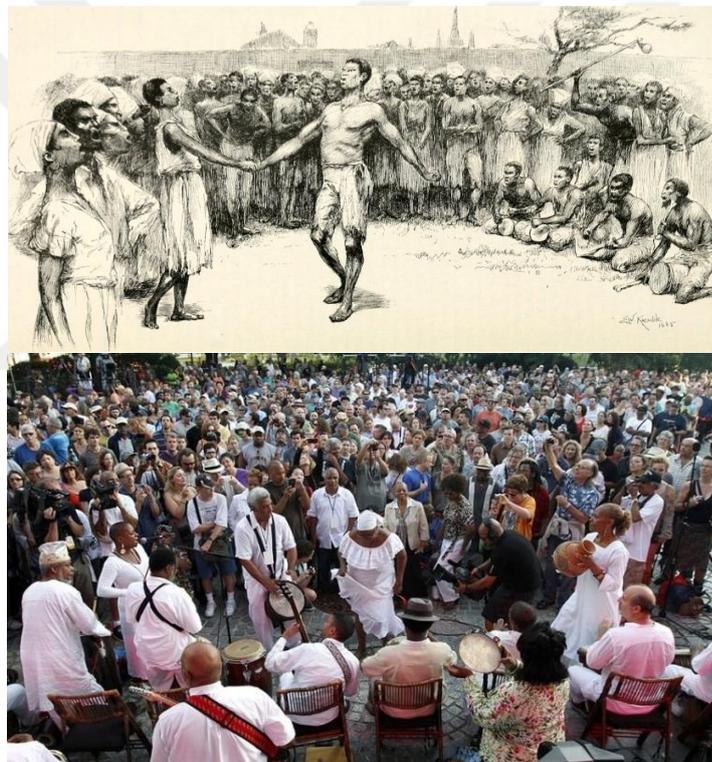
Figure 3.1 : Congo Square in New Orleans , above,Edward Winsor Kemble,1886, under, International Jazz Day,2019, (Url.13, Url.14)
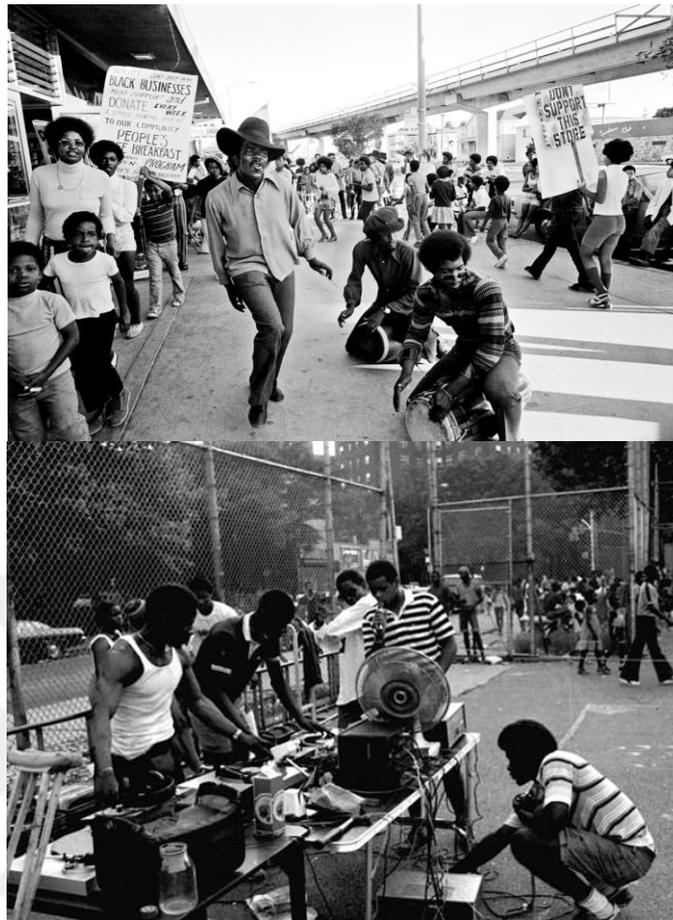
Figure 3.2 : Above, The Lumpen, the Panthers' singing group, performs at the boycott of Bill's Liquors, Oakland, 1971, under, street in Bronx (Url.22, Url.15)

Nketia (1962) refers to music as the universal aspect of human behavior. Ecological psychology needs to be addressed in order to understand musicking and social gathering from the behavior lens. Barker (1968) explains this (notion) with "behavior setting", while Gibson (1986) explains it with "cognitivism". As stated by Barker (1968), ''A behavior setting is said to exist at the interface between a standing pattern of behavior and the milieu''. The description of behavior milieu can be the collective actions of individuals. Barker's principle in ecological psychology refers to the linked behaviors of individuals in the ecological environment, which become an agglomeration of units as a whole. According to Barker, human behavior should be studied in their daily life environment context. Environment and behavior are two inseparable elements; open spaces become the natural habitat for community's daily life, where people come together to form "milieu"s.

Along with the fundamental theory of his study, "behavior setting'', Barker (1968) introduced the following terms as to explain milieu; "standing patterns of behavior," "milieu," "behavior-milieu patterns," "interdependence," "synomorphs," "synomorphy," "synomorphic," and "circumjacent.". This theory of Barker explains one of the links between behavioral pattern of an individual with the physical environment they inhabit in. In this respect, Barker (1968) states that '' "the phenomena of psychology and the environments in which (they occur) are interrelated; they are interdependent in the way a part of a system and a whole system are interdependent". Along with these definitions, other attributes forming behavior setting are; ''occurrence'', ''population'', ''occupancy time'', "duration", "occupancy time", "action patterns", "behavior mechanisms", "pressure", "autonomy" and "welfare" (Barker, 1968).

In the light of all above remarks, migrants within a diaspora create urban spaces for musicking, where their own social milieus are formed through individual sociocultural bonds.

3.3.2 Indoor Spaces:Musical Cencorship

Music is the most important tool for a community for reflecting their culture, self-expression and entertainment. How could music ever be banned? Why would an artist, musician or an instrument be censored? If music is banned, will it also cause cultural deterioration? There are numerous examples regarding banning of a particular music, from Algeria to Afghanistan, Americas, or Asia. Throughout history, music has been banned for both religious reasons and government ideologies such as racism, nationalism, traditionalism and sexism (Brown, Volgsten, 2005). There are five definitions for the term censorship in The Shorter Oxford Dictionary, that are: those who occupied such positions in ancient Rome, a person who exercises supervision over the conduct or morals of others, an adverse critic, officials with the power to suppress media and a psychological power to limit thought (Korpe,2004).

Music has always played a great part in prompting and organizing masses, and being a voice for the alienated. The first written text in world history regarding a music ban dates back to Plato's period in Greece. Plato categorized music as good music and bad music, and banned bad music since he thought it would break the community's

solidarity and divert people from a decent life (Korpe, 2004). Along with that, Jewish, Christian and Muslim communities labeled music as sinful and against religion, thus banned them (Korpe, 2004). Murdering of musicians in Sudan and Algeria, or threathening and killing of musicians in Somali, Tunisia, Morocco, Nigeria and Kenya due to Islamic practices are also historical facts.

Traditional fiddlers, who were then called "the tools of the Devil", were burnt to death in Sweden in the 19th century (Brown, Volgsten, 2005). The 1950s Rock'n'roll was advised to not be made available to children since it was believed to have a bad impact on the young generation's psychology (Korpe, 2004). Moreover, in 20th century, Jazz, Rock'n'roll and pop genres were banned from the radios by the NIF. Because they were believed to have a manipulatory effect on people. The place of music in Islam is also a controversial subject. Some groups categorized music as legitimate music (halal musiqa), and prohibited music (haram musiqa) (Brown,Volgsten, 2005). For reasons of being against religion, African drums and the Swedish fiddle were also prohibited in a particular period of history (Korpe, 2004). The Jazz and Blues songs today are mostly comprised of guitar or wind instruments, and the reason for this originates from the times drums were banned (Brown, Volgsten, 2005). Furthermore, Jazz was named "The Devil's Music" and prohibited for a time in history. As stated by D'Entremont (1998), 1920s jazz is ''the accompaniment of the voodoo dancer, stimulating the half-crazed barbarian to the vilest deeds''. It is stated that in Hitler's period Jazz was prohibited and Jazz music fans were being subject to torture (Çifci, 2016). Theodor Adorno suggests that the Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union banned the identical musical pieces, which is a sign that political structure non-directly effects the musical structure (Korpe, 2004). The Indian Emperor Ashouka from BCE, is claimed to have buried all the musical instruments used throughout his reign. In the time of the Zhou Dynasty of ancient China, percussion instruments were also banned (Çifci, 2016). While genres as salsa and rumba are seen as fortresses of a national identity in Cuba, rock, rap and punk performances are prohibited there.

Due to such cases of cencorship, the requirement for further study on the subject came into sight. One of them, FME, aims to report the cases of music censorship and fight for reclaiming freedom of speech for composers, musicians through activities like the "Music and Censorship" conferences that host musicians from across the World.

There are more examples like above regarding the censorship on music. For the authorities that execute these bans, there are a number of actual reasons that are validating the censorship. The results of such cases lead to the alienation of particular groups within society, or in other cases, their forced integration.

3.4 Section Results

This chapter has led to field studies about the history of feelings of exclusion in diaspora, social memory and its reflections in daily life through its identity-formation, need of belonging that brought about music making, and social millieus for music making. Over the years, these subjects still evoke new discussions. Minorities living in diasporas feel a sense of belonging within their community, in the places they come together. This act of coming together is best explained in Small's (1998) remark, where he states it takes place by ''musicking'', in other words music making. Later, Barker's (1968) description, where he addresses the term behavior milieu, defines environment and behavior as two inseparable elements; and open spaces as the emerging natural habitats for community's daily life, where people come together to form "milieu"s.

From the same perspective, "diaspora", "cultural identity" and "diaspora music" has been adressed in the former section, concepts as "the ways diasporic identities are shaped", "belonging" and "cultural memory" are covered, as well as "the expression of social exclusion by music". How emerging diasporic identities reflect on daily lives of individuals is as well discussed. This reflection is vividly exhibited in a number of domains - the dressings, homes and the urban gathering places of individuals within diaspora. Also addressed in this thesis, "musicking" is a concept that plays a significant part in place making in the urban domain within diaspora. In this regard, musicking initially taking place as street performances, then as indoor performances due to banning, were examined. The next section approaches Rebetiko music, also part of my culture, as a cultural and spatial element, apart from its musical nature. It explained concepts like migrants being the minority in the hostland, their feelings of rootlessnes and exclusion, their expression of these feelings by music, having designated places for gatherings, and these places being banned in some periods throughout their history. The very concepts in this section has had major impact in forming and sustaining the Rebetiko music

4. REBETIKO FROM A SPATIAL PERSPECTIVE

This chapter examines the rebetiko music in relation to culture, music, gender, and space within certain periods.

If we go back a couple of hundred years to look where musical events had been performing in Smyrna (Izmir). It had an active musical life, harbor and fertile hinterland. As Petropoulos gave one of the traveler's, named The Frenchman Joseph Tournefort, observation in 1702 that ''The taverns (in Smyrna) are open at all hours of day and night. They play music, they eat good food, they dance in the European, Greek and Turkish style…''(Petropoulos, 2000).

Rebetiko appeared towards the end of the 19th century in a series of Greek settlements. During this period, plenty of musical cafés emerged in towns like Athens and Piraeus, Larissa, Hermoupolis on the island of Syros, Thessalonika, still under Turkish domination, Smryna, on the Turkish coast, and Constantinople. The conventional type of subculture musical coffee houses in urban centers where Greek lived was called Café Aman. The audience in these coffees were of various intellectual level (Holst,1983).

The determination of Café Aman can be found in many articles. Perhaps, the main definition of Café Aman is a multicultural entertainment place on the subculture (Demir, 2018). According to Holst (1983), ''Café Aman, probably a corruption of the Turkish Mani Kahvesi, a café where two or three singers improvised on verse, often in the form of a dialogue with free rhythm and melody''. The places playing this type of music usually had female musicians who would improvise manis[1]. Manis were performed as a call-and-response involving two or more musicians, and the performers would repeat the words 'Aman, Aman' in-between lines while improvising for the next set of lines. Greeks called the earliest rembetika songs as amané. According to some, this particular type of musical coffee houses were called Café Aman due to their

---

[1] Turkish poetry combined of short verses of four lines rhyming in a particular way.

repertoire majorly consisting of lyrics starting with Amané, in other words, Aman (Holst,1983). Café Aman hosted musicians of Greek, Jewish and Armenian origins who performed pieces that could be considered melancholic due to their nature of lyrics. Those lyrics were about emotions related to pain, resentment, revolt, love, longing, and most importantly they were rebellious. Previous to Amané would be a taksim[2] that would last more than 30 minutes, and later on, the musician would take stage for their genuine performance. In the course of the performance instrumental solos (bouzuki, santuri, etc.) would outweigh the lyrics part and the word 'Aman' would finally become an occasional repetition (Dikbaş,2014).

It is considered that theater, concerts and similar performances have been shown in several coffee houses in İzmir, most of them are located on the coast, as well as buildings constructed for this purpose. These types of coffee houses have been called the Cafe Chantant[3] and the Cafe Concert[4] (Beyru, 2000). Café Kivoto was one of the most popular of these musical coffee houses in Izmir. During a performance given by a company of acrobats in 1873, wooden building that built upon piles over the sea, broke down abruptly. According to The New York Times records published on March 8, 1873, at least fifty people died in the water. Most of them were Greek people and were of the poorer class. As a reaction to this disaster, one of the engravings states that ''Disaster at Smyrna: Fall of a seaside coffee house into the water – removal of the dead''(Url-1). Other examples of the coffee houses in Izmir might be Café Levantino, Captain Picolo Café and Captain Paoli's (or British and Smyrna Club). British and Smyrna Club was the oldest of the coffee houses on the bay. There was a large billiard room and sometimes a small Italian dramatic company was performing.

According to Hatzipantasiz (1986), the first newspaper featuring musical coffee houses called Café Aman as Sandur Café in the 1800s. Sandur Café was named after santur, which is a musical instrument originated in Iraq, Iran and India and is also used in Rembetika music. Coffee house musicians in Athens and Piraeus stated that the female musicians and dancers were mostly Ottoman Greeks and İstanbulite Armenians, and the first Café Aman of Athens was opened in 1873. On the other hand,

---

[2] Taksim/Taqsim is a solo instrumental improvisation in Middle Eastern and Turkish music.
[3] Cafe Chantant was an outdoor café where small groups of performers performed popular music for the public in Paris and London.
[4] Cafe Concert are concert venues with the entrance fee.

according to Zakos (2009), firstly it was Sandan Café in Athens, which later evolved into Sandur Café[5] in 1873, and finally into Café Aman after 1886.

A general literature review on Café Aman would indicate that the first Café Aman was opened in İzmir by the Greek Orthodox Community (Figure 4.1). This type of musical coffee houses would be characterized as places bringing people of various nations and races together as in the crammed dwellings of Athens. Avelot (1897) stated that Turks and Jews would watch Karagöz[6] shows in smoke-filled isolated places. That the Asia Minor's Greek community immigrated from İzmir to Athens in 1922 was when the Café Aman culture began to evolve.

Figure 4.1 : An example of Café Aman; Rosa Eskenazy, Costas Karipis, Giannis Dragatsis, Giorgos Vidalis (Chorbajoglou, 2012).

When it comes to discussing rebetiko places, musicians who play rebetiko music is also an important subject to be addressed. Rebetiko music performers were called rebetis (pl.rebetes). Today the term Rebetis stands for the individual who represents the subculture in their whereabouts along with their dressing style, attitude and character as a whole concept. As Petropoulos pointed out in his book ''The

---

[5] Sandan Café is the Greek name of Cafe Chantant (Demir, 2018).
[6] Karagöz is a Turkish shadow puppet.

Underworld and Karaghiozis[7]'', the concept Rebetis bred many derivations that were considered to have their own style in their periods.

According to Petropolis (2000), rebetis is the denizens of the underworld and the origins of rebetes are kapadaides of Istanbul. Moreover, in the Greek shadow theatres, the figure of the rebetis occurred around 1900. Another figure of rebetiko subculture is that mangas (pl.manges). In general, mangas was belonging to the working class and had their own typical style. Both rebetes and mangas were using their knives as part of the representation of power (Petropoulos, 2000). They were called as swash guy in a negative way and brave man in a positive way. They would not hesitate to use knives during a fight or end up in jail. Resources show that many rebetes and manges used hashish and perform rebetiko in jail. Rebetiko music was banned for being considered the music of rebetes and manges, however, even the Metaxas's dictatorship in 1936 did not prevent Markos Vamvakaris, one of the most renowned rebetiko musicians, and his colleagues from secretly performing rebetiko in jail (Prudhomme, 2009). The famous rebetiko songs today were written in jail as a reaction to the oppression.

İzmir had popular Café Aman during the first period of rebetiko, while rebetiko was being performed in the tekés[8] of Piraeus. There were contradictions with the Café Aman and tekés in terms of their musical features and architectural memory. In times of rebetiko, Greek cafes would have designated corners for the music bands to perform. At the İzmir style Café Aman the instruments of music bands would consist of violin, oud, qanun, kamancheh, clarinet, tambourine, and cymbal which was exclusively played by women. People could spend time together regardless of their race, gender or status in Café Aman, where belly dancing was also performed by women. Piraeus style tekés, on the other hand, welcomed manges and only admitted men. The rebetiko performed here involved only bouzouki and baglamas, and men would dance the Zeybekiko and the Khasapiko. Those were smoke-filled, gloomy places where men would go to relax at. (Dikbaş, 2014).

As mentioned previously, rebetiko songs were banned during the dictatorship of Metaxas in 1936. Rebetiko musicians were getting arrested for singing rebetiko and

---

[7] Karaghiozis is a Greek shadow puppet, borrowed from Karagöz.
[8] Tekés are dervish lodges in the Ottoman Empire.

playing bouzuki, and were also punished with the worst spots in jail. They were even accused of smoking hashish in jail. The tekés in Piraeus were being shut down by the dictatorship. However, hashish was not banned in the Ottoman Empire and Greece and was casually smoked at coffee houses. Moreover, according to Petropoulos (2000), ''The hash den was known as a tekkes – from the Turkish tekke, meaning dervish convent – and the rebetes who frequented these dens sometimes referred to themselves as 'dervishes[9]'''.

Figure 4.2 : Café in Thessaloniki, 1890(?), showing Muslim Albanian porters with their narghiles (Petropoulos, 2000).

After immigrating to Greece from İzmir in 1922, the Greek Orthodox communities combined the tekés style in Athens and Piraeus with the Café Aman style. Meanwhile, the number of Café Aman in Greece increased significantly to make Rebetiko the popular culture. Lastly, the table below examines the periods of rebetiko style in spatial and cultural way (Table 4.1).

---

[9] Dervish is a member of Sufi tariqah in Islam.

Table 4.1: Periods of Rebetiko music

	1920-1936		1936-1941	1946-1952	1960-
	Smyrna Style	**Piraeus Style**			
Places	coffe houses, Café Aman etc.	Sandan Café, tekés etc.	prison	laiko period, the popularization of rebetiko music	rebetadiko etc. the first revival of early rebetiko music
Atmosphere	multicultural entertainment, place on the subculture women dance belly dancing etc.	to ease the sorrows of suburban lives, ruined corners of the town, men dance zeybekiko etc., soft lighting	making music with tin can etc singing was forbidden musicians would squat in circle and would sing in a low voice gloomy, soft lighting	popular places	expressed their emotions in an authentic way, sense of belonging, remembering memories
Lifestyles and Gender	various intellectual level, female musicians who would improvise manis	various nations and races together, working class, manges etc., male centric	underground lfestyles	various intellectual level	urban intellectual circles

4.1 Examination of Parameters through Literature

There are many books, movies and thesis about the emergence and history of rebetiko music, its musical styles and various dance forms. As mentioned before, rebetiko is not only a music genre but also a significant means to learn about the subculture within the region it was born in. Reading books and watching movies about the rebetiko music of Greek Diaspora, or even simply being an observant at a live music show in Athens or Piraeus reveal a lot about the impact of music on a wide range of communal aspects, from the clothing style to characteristics of the individuals, as well as the spaces they are associated with. This also applies to many other music genres in various diasporas. Different periods through the history of rebetiko (Greek blues) culture display a variety of differences in music and dance styles, ways of dressing and sitting.

> From the outside, all you see is a small wooden cottage, a few huts tacked together. In the back rooms, the family live. The front room is larger, and almost bare of furniture. There is a dirt floor and a few low seats. Mikhaili has a fire going – he's burning thyme. Thyme is the sweetest wood to light the narghile, but almond will do, or walnut. There's a charcoal brazier in the centre of the room, and the atmosphere is heavy with smoke. Four men are already smoking a narghile. Not the elegant glass narghile of the cafes, but a crude pipe made out of a coconut. The proprietor, or tekedzis, brings another narghile and sits down to warm a piece of hashish over the charcoal brazier (Holst, 1983).

In the second half of the 1920s, Mikhaili's teké in Piraeus, Hiotika, was the place where the pre-war rebetiko music was born. It is also the place where the best manges

went (Holst, 1983). Holst's depiction of Mikhaili's teké in Piraeus, another all-male place, clearly portrays the Piraeus style rebetiko places during rebetiko's initial periods. They were places in the ratty cabins of the worn backstreets of Piraeus, where manges and rebets would go to have fun and relax. Today the real rebetiko in the musical sense is believed to have died out. Looking at the same depiction, one could have the same interpretation based on the visual reflections of the lifestyle changes, thus the spatial impact.

Marcos Vamvakaris of Syros, who was considered the father of rebetiko music, played in this teké with his 'kumpanya'. Vamvakaris started playing bouzuki upon seeing Nikos of Ayvalık who came from Anatolia as a refugee in 1922. 'Kumpanya' is the name of the rebetiko music bands that are formed by a group of musician rebets. Vamvakaris's band, consisting of Marcos, Batis, and the "lanky" Papayuannu along with a santur player and a few female singers, performed almost every night at a popular rebetadika club in the city of Votanikos in Athens (Holst, 1983).

Rebetes usually have worn republika hats, jackets, and belted trousers. The hat, usually in black and with a hatband, mean lament for the murdered friends, or a sign of an enemy to be killed recently. Their trousers were plentiful at the top and narrow as they descended to the ankles. In the style of the kapadaides of Istanbul, rebetes often twisted their trousers to show off the velvet they sewed into them. They wore their jackets over the left shoulder. The belt, called zonari, was worn just above the waist, which was used as a pocket for weapons or knives. If the rebet wants to fight, he stepped on the swinging end of the belt of the other rebet with his foot. They wore high-heeled shoes and preferred yellow shirts and red ties called chasapikes (Petropoulos, 2000). Rebetes would have avoided flashy clothing style and did not pretend to be well-off. Additionally, they were carrying worry beads, also called rosary, with their tattooed right hand that makes them forget about their sorrow for a while.

The houses where the rebetes were living and the places where they gathered together were mostly ruined places. Rebetika music is therefore written in underground musical language. Tragaki (2007), ''The topics employed in song lyrics of this era discuss drug consumption, gambling, violent affrays, heroic adventures and prison life''. According to Trigaki, most of rebetes' lives have passed with poverty, misery and a sense of othering, therefore they have an underground lifestyle. They were often quarrelsome

and did not see women on an equal level. Besides, some of the rebetes were apart from these issues. Some of them never even got involved in a fight or smoke. Among all these excluded feelings, they came together with music, composed songs and danced that would ease their sorrow.

This chapter analyses the places playing rebetiko, today known as popular traditional Greek music. The spatial analyses are based on the way rebetiko is performed as in rebetiko style street carnivals, outdoor gatherings at coffee house patios or outdoor areas in general, as well as the interiors regarding the associated spatial objects, user habits and atmosphere. It is noticeable that subculture reflects on the space, especially in the time of its birth and initial development. Today rebetiko culture can be most vividly perceived at the places in the Plaka of Athens, the heart of Greek music, where the Greek Orthodox community is the majority. However, these analyses also depend on the size and budget of the spaces.

4.1.1 Spatial Objects in Rebetiko

> The essence of a propositional sign is very clearly seen if we imagine one composed of spatial objects (such as tables, chairs, and books) instead of written signs. Then the spatial arrangement of these things will express the sense of the proposition (Wittgenstein, 2001).

Through the analysis of films, books, thesis, and observations, I identify specific objects that are using in both conventional and contemporary rebetiko music venues. It is obvious that from the early periods of rebetiko to nowadays, the audiences change in terms of appearance and gender. However, the initial impression, ornamentation styles and the nostalgic décor of rebetadikas are still the same. The rebetadika is ''night-time establishment devoted to live rebetika performance that offers drinks, appetizers and a space for dancing for its customers in Athens'' (Stamatis, 2011). Stamatis (2011) describes the oldest rebetadika in Athens, named as Rebetiki Istoria (Rebetika History), ''At the end of the road, two small lights illuminate the quaint wooden sign ''Rebetiki Istoria'' that hangs outside the oldest *rebetadiko* in Athens'' (Stamatis, 2011). Indeed, most of the rebetiko has wooden signage at their entrance and mostly, the figures of bouzouki and Greek flag exist on these signages. Stamatis (2011) continues to describe inside Rebetiki Istoria:

> Inside Rebetiki Istoria, old chandeliers and candlelight lend a warm glow to the room and it takes a moment for my eyes to adjust to the dim lighting. Wooden chairs surround it takes a

moment for my eyes to adjust to the dim lighting. Wooden chairs surround small round tables lit by candles and covered with white tablecloths. The thick cigarette smoke clings to my clothes and hair and settles into the nooks and corners of the dark wood paneling and cream-colored walls. Giorgos Batis, Giorgos Katsaros, Vassilis Tsitsanis and hundreds of other rebetika icons look down from faded photographs on the walls. As usual, the musicians are sitting around the table in the corner of the room holding their instruments (Stamatis, 2011).

The most specific objects that are using in both conventional and contemporary rebetiko music places:

•Wooden signage

•Narghilé (usually not elegant glass one, but made out of a coconut)

•Gas Lamp, Candlelight

•Wooden chair, low seating stools

•Net (cities are located on the bay), Laterna, the gramophone

•Hanging musical instruments that represents rebetiko songs such as bouzouki, oud on the wall and ceiling

•Photographs of Rebetiko icons on the walls

•Recordings of Rebetiko songs on the walls

•a small smoke-filled room

This explains, rebetiko culture has its own specific characteristic features. It is seen that these spatial elements are generally used in places where only rebetiko music is performed. The presence of orientalist elements such as narghile, gramophone, and laterna, make the place authentic. Besides, rebetiko icons and recordings are the elements that must be present in the place because they remind of the memories experienced at that time. Since the places are generally in the fusty and remote parts of the city, the interiors are illuminated with dim light. Since it is a type of music that occurs in port cities such as Piraeus and Izmir, there are net, low stools, and tables that remind that environment.

4.1.2 Spatial User Habits in Rebetiko

''Another time, when my child died, I got up and danced. The others said '' Zorba's gone mad.'' But I knew that if I didn't dance at that moment I would go mad''(Zorba the Greek by Nikos Kazantzakis,1964). Rebetiko songs have profound meaning for the rebetes and mangas and they feel it from the deep inside their hearts while they are singing. For the rebetes, dance is inseparable a part of their songs and it wasn't just for enjoying for them. It represents Greek national identity, suffering, and deprivation.

Rebetes danced four types of dance: Two of them are the Tsiphte Teli, a sensual dance rhythm, and the Karsilama which both originated from the Anatolia (İzmir and İstanbul) before 1922. The other two, Zeybekiko and the Khasapiko, are characterized as more individual and slow-paced dancing styles played by manges in Piraeus and Athens. Still being kept alive in Greece and some other countries, all four folk dances can be played solo, or in groups of two persons or more. However, the original form can be found in non-urban areas of Greece (Chorbajoglou, 2012).

The dances of the rebetes:

•The Zeibekiko

•The Khasapiko

•The Tsiphte Teli

•The Karsilama

The Zeybekiko is a far more distinguished dance among other Zeybek styles for its attitude and distinctive asymmetric rhythm patterns that can be described as "limping". Greek immigrants from Anatolia poured their feelings of misery, social exclusion and rootlessness in the urban underground of Athens and cultivated a culture and music called Rebetiko. Meanwhile the Zeibekiko, most commonly played in public spaces until then, began to evolve. It became an underground activity taking place in hidden locations, changing from a publicly performed Anatolian custom to a solo dance, mostly played by "Rebet" men, in smoke-filled crowded parlors. Tough

living conditions, homesickness, heartbreaks, being drunk, being outcast, isolation and all other kinds of suffering rendered a whole new kind of persona with a bit of a rogue character. And this is how the Zeibekiko we enjoy today was born (Url-3). Through the Zeibekiko, the rebetis can express his feelings in a manly manner. This is why women do not play zeibekiko. According to Haritopoulos, a woman playing zeibekiko entails public expression of her sorrow, which could insult her man since it could mean he is incapable of easing her pain (Haritopoulos, 2008). The roots of the Zeibekiko, the most popular rebetes dance, is deeply individualistic. As much as women also perform it today, it had always been a man's solo dance. It can be described as a ritual for letting go of the super ego. It is an impeccable dance, and an expression of freedom, expanded sorrow and suppressed violence. Not just a solo dance improvisation, but more of an outcry reflecting the sorrows inside, it is played by a sorrowful one - be it out of being hazy, lovestruck, poor or lonesome but the main mood is indeed sorrow. That it is based on improvisation does not mean it is simple to play. While rebetes or manges play Zeibekiko, the audience leave him alone on stage so that the dancing and the emotional setting do not get interrupted. The performer sits down once he is satisfied with his act. There is no applaud or beating time involved since it is not a dance for entertainment purposes (Chorbajoglou, 2012).

> Now one of the manges pushes back his chair and gets up. Putting his lit cigarette between his lips, eyes on the floor, body tense and slightly crouched, arms loosely out to the sides, he begins to move slowly, deliberately around some fixed imaginary point on the floor. Snapping his fingers to the rhythm, he elaborates his steps, occasionally doubling a step or holding a step for two beatsi always circling round the point on the floor which is the unwavering focal center of his intense concentration, now and then breaking the heavy tension of the dance with explosive outbursts of energy as in sudden leaps, hops, turns, squats (Chorbajoglou, 2012).

Rebetes sometimes dance around a tangible object, like a glass of wine, without touching it or dance with an object without dropping it. They can also put an handkerchief on the floor and grab it with their teeth while dancing, or try keeping their balance on top of a chair placed upside down during the dance. All these moves are aimed for physical and emotional release (Figure 4.3)
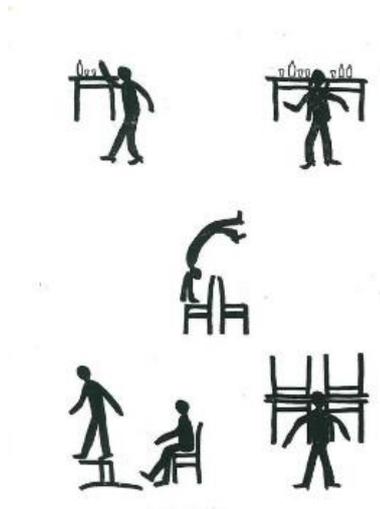
Figure 4.3 : Various ways Rebets dance (Chorbajoglou, 2012)

The Khasapiko expresses the performer's comradeship and improvisational. It has a slow or medium cadence for two or more men dancing side by side with their neighboring hands on each other's shoulders. The present-day the Khasapiko called as Syrtaki. Syrtaki owes it worldwide popularity to the movie Zorba, starring Antony Quinn and produced in 1960. Both dances share the same rhythm, however the styles are different. In the genuine Khasapiko the dancers are close to each other and the moves are clear. Syrtaki, on the contrary, is audience-centric, involves jumping and the dancers are connected to each other with loose arms (Chorbajoglou, 2012).

The Tsiphte Teli and the Karsilama are dances as solo or couple dances. They can be described as a sexual and smooth dances and more common in Asia Minor. The Tsiphte Teli and the Karsilama can be recognized more in the İzmir style adopted from Asia Minor in 1922. Later in Piraeus and Athens, female Rebetiko singers played these dances for entertainment purposes. Women were observed playing the Tsiphte Teli on dinner tables (Figure 4.4). It was also played by men. Accordingly, Chorbajoglou (2012), ''When men danced these two dances, they moved their bodies in imitation of the female entertainers, with swaying hips, rotating bellies, undulating arms, and vibrating shoulders''.

Figure 4.4 : The Tsiphte Teli (Chorbajoglou, 2012)

Plate smashing, a Greek custom, is an element that should not go unnoticed about Rebetiko dances and places (Figure 4.5). It could symbolize getting rid of the evil in the Greek culture, and indicate one's wealth in ancient times. Before the custom was smashing one or two plates in total. In 1969, during Giorgios Papadopoulos's period, plate smashing was banned in Greek restaurant and taverns. Instead, the audience would throw flowers or plaster plates at the singer. These customs are still in use today, however, they have transformed into commercial activities which encourage tavern owners have more than 100 plates smashed a night for the sake of entertainment. It is without a doubt creating a false cultural image for the country.

Figure 4.5 : Rebetiko (Prudhomme, D. 2009)

Throughout the periods of rebetiko places there were changes with not only the music style but also the seating layout of the musicians and the audience. In Ordoulidis N.'s dissertation about a famous rebet's recording career during the popular period of

rebetiko between 1932-1940, the relationship between musicians is as below examplified;

> This is made obvious by photographs from the pre-laikó period which show the players of the basic instruments sitting in a front row of chairs and the players of the other accompanying instruments sitting behind them. For example, the composer with his bouzouki should sit in the front row along with another bouzouki player, the guitarist, a female singer and, occasionally the accordionist while the double bass, the piano and the percussionists would be situated at the back (Ordoulidis, 2012).

As could be interpreted from the quote, the laiko style brought many changes about the rebetiko. In this period of the music, the role of the singer is emphasized by having them sit in the front row. As the author also pointed out, this layout could change depending on the size and the budget of the venue.

During the times rebetiko was performed in tekkes, there were designated areas for musicians, separate from the audience. Musicians would come here, perform, and then leave. Within time venues would have in-house musical bands called *'kumpania'* (Dikbaş, 2014). In 1955 the famous rebet Markos Vamvakaris would take stage with his *kumpania* in many venues. Kalamata Group formed by Markos, his brother Keromitis, Hadzichristou, Mitsakis, Papaioanou and Manisalis (Figure 4.6). Even the way rebetes held their instruments had a genuine way to them regarding that particular period. Holst's (1983) interpretion of Markos Vamvakaris's image, "he is holding his cigarette in traditional bouzouki-player fashion" , is an example visualising that phenomenon.

Figure 4.6 : Tsitsifies in 1948. The Kalamata group….The advertisement is for Easter Sunday at the club, and misspells Markos's name collection. (Holst, 1983)

The analysis of films featuring rebetiko culture is essential in understanding rebetiko periods and the overall culture itself. One example is Rembetiko produced by Costas Ferris in 1983, which was based on his book with the same name, and the 1955 movie Stella by Micheal Cacoyannis, who was also the director of Zorba the Greek, released in 1964.

Costas Ferris's Rembetiko covers all rebetiko periods, from 1920s to the end of World War II. The movie also tells the story of Anatolian Rums who were exiled to Greece through the population exchange, and how their situation in their host land became what could be called being ''in-betweeners'' due to social rejection. A depiction of the social exclusion, alienation and rootlessness Anatolian Rums went through, the movie plot was inspired from the life of rembetiko artist Marika Ninou. The audience would vividly experience the intertwined elements of the movie - music, pain, feelings of struggle and alienation. The spaces in the movie also are important in making the audience understand and feel the rebetiko periods through architectural memory. The very first scene of the movie takes place at Café Aman in Izmir, Smyrna in 1920s. The musicians plays Stavros Xarhakos's song *Ta Pedia Tis Amynas*, a song about equality with an entertaining rhythm. The audience, situated inside the vaulted room representing Anatolian architecture, are elegantly dressed. The atmosphere is not male-centric. The audience are faced towards the stage, the musicians are sitting on

stools in an area not separate from the dancing spot. Later appearing are the scenes from the war in 1922 against Turkey, which is soon to be called Asia Minor Disaster by the Greek. The forced migrants's struggle for fitting into the subculture caused rebetiko to become an underground culture usually despised by the Greek. The place called Thomas's in Piraeus, the slum city of the refugees, had a small room where manges smoked shisha. Here portays a male-centric, gloomy environment with lots of smoke. Musicians are playing Nikos Gatsos and Stavros Xarhakos's song *Stis Pikras Ta Xeronissia,* a rebetiko song with a sad rhythm. Alongside with the gloomy look of the place, the lyrics "To set fire and burn it entirely, The world that I loved so much, which abandoned me and let me rot" contribute to the overall feeling. Musicians and audience sit on the same level, in a circular order, in the smoky room. In the middle of the circle manges play sirtaki in order to forget about their pain. Other manges, with beads in their hands, watch the performance. The table spared for women is a smaller one. In the movie, Marika dances on the streets to the live violin to make some money. In this scene, manges are observed smoking shisha in front of the cafes, as in the French culture, facing the street. Marika dances in front of the very cafe (Figure 4.7).

Figure 4.7 : Rembetika,movie. (Ferris, 1983, 15:40)

Twenty years after her mother's passing, Marika is in an entertainment place where Karagiozis and Hacivatis is performed. Having taken the first steps on the ladder of fame during World War II, especially the times of the German invasion, Marika emigrates to USA when people start losing interest in rebetiko and turn to popular music. Here in the movie, Babis's line "Greek's biggest tragedy is not Izmir, it is the immigration" comes up as the most dramatic thing. After a while Marika and others

return to Athens to find rebetiko started making its way out of the undergrounds upon the decline in the cultural conflicts.

Stella, released in 1955, features the rebet Stella who is a disobedient soul among her fellows as a woman. According to Stavrinides, Stella is the first Greek film that exhibits gender relations and a woman's position within Greek society. As much as she suffers social exclusion due to being "different", Stella never gives up on her powerful and independent self. From the very beginning, the movie covers gender power relations within the social sphere that are considered the fundamental rebetiko attributes (Stavrinides, 2011). Bouzouki, the other rebetiko symbol besides zeibekiko, is a prominent element of this movie too. Bouzoki represents the uneducated and the poor of the urban population. A scene from the movie demonstrates women who secretly watch men play their bouzoukis and perform rebetiko outside. This is a sign showing a particular period of rebetiko is certainly male-centric. Another one is a zeibekiko scene full of men, where the table and stools are placed facing the musicians and the dancing area. The singer is female, however, exhibits a masculine attitude with the way she holds her cigarette and her overall behaviour. Next to her are other male musicians who sit there with their bouzikas. At the back, there are standing guitarists. Later in the scene a man plays zeibeiko with sharp moves to an audience watching quietly (Figure 4.8).

Figure 4.8 : Stella,movie. (Cacoyannis, 1955, 22:45)

Houses of some famous rebetes, as the photography of Thanassis Athanasiou and Agapios Tomboulisve indicate, share similarities such as their decorations including Anatolian style look-alike carpets and war weapons hung on walls, similar to rebetiko

places. There are also wall-hung pictures and musical instruments, and low stools and tables are other interior elements (Figure 4.9, Figure 4.10).

Figure 4.9 : Thanassis Athanasiou, 'The Teacher', with some of his collection (Holst, 1983).

Figure 4.10 : Agapios Tomboulis in 1930s (Chorbajoglou, 2012).

A line from Rembetika, Pitraharas's early rebetiko period documentary, is a perfect indicator of rebetiko being performed in small places: "in tiny clubs the musicians and the rebetis set on the tint stages and sang of love". Another line, "The clubs were commercialized and glomorous woman singers appeared on the stages in 50s", on the other hand, implies post-war rebetiko performances were moved to large fancy venues.

4.1.3 Spatial Atmosphere in Rebetiko

Rebetiko places were not just for entertainment but also lament. Rebetiko song can be described as both a dystopia and a utopia, healing ones sadness and dwelling on the past. According to well-known Greek rebetiko musician Pavlos Vassiliou (1952-), it is ''a music that what it wants from people is to sit and to listen and to heal their pain. Rebetiko is not a music for crazy entertainment'' (Stamatis, 2011). Rebetiko has changed from Greek liberation until today. At times it signs sorrow and bravery, not mass entertainment and dances (Stamatis, 2011). The rebetes and mangas feel the meaning of the songs and it reprensents Greek national identity. Petropoulos (1967) wrote, ''rebetika songs are songs of the heart. And only he who fills them with pure feeling feels them and enjoys them. Because the heart is measured by other hearts ''.

As mentioned earlier, the roots of rebetiko music have their birth in the late 19th century, it was the music of the secondary citizens, the urban subculture and hashish smokers. In 1920s, it began playing a certain style of music in Café Aman which is a type of cabaret musical styling in İzmir and İstanbul. The music was not heavy in the lyrics and describe romantic disenchantment and passion (Url-2). The audiences were verified in terms of ethnic, gender and education. There were Ottoman influences in musical styles, and the musicians were playing oud, violin, canoni, clarinet and cymbals used by female singers. Women used to perform an oriental dance in an erotic way and the tsiphte teli. They gathered in Café Aman in Symrna for entertainment.

Simultaneously, in Piraeus and Athens, there were small pubs which were called as tekkedes. The music was heavy in the lyrics. Mangas who are best visitors of tekkedes, provoked the forces of social power, without taking any form of activist action. The rebetis was always male with a metallic and hard voice (Url-2). Hashish was legal in tekkedes and smoke covered the whole rooms. There was a speration between men and women. Women were not admitted to tekkedes, and they would also stay at home while men sang Rebetiko on the streets. As Eisenstein (1981) would approvingly state, Eisenstein (1981), ''consistency with which societies have organised themselves into public realms considered male and private realm con idered female".

An excellent example of the French comics ecole, Rebetiko the comic book written and illustrated by David Prudhomme, features the rebet resistance against dictatorship and their defeat against time and tourism. The use of colour, light and shadowing in the spatial drawings provide a fine aftertaste given the correct spatial depictions of the time it has. This comic book makes a fuzzy impact on the reader with its narrative of rebetiko, its positive start and how things took a negative turn to an extent where it was marginalized. A sorrowful man playing zeibekiko to find comfort, an observer holding a shisha, a male-centric environment overall are main features in the majority of his imagery (Figure 4.11).
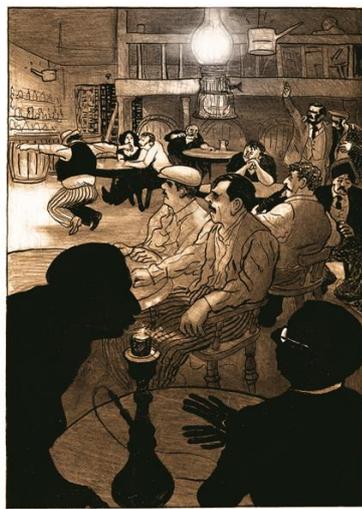

Figure 4.11 : Image from Rebetiko (Prudhomme, D. 2009)

To give another idea of the spatial atmosphere and social attraction in which rebetika originated, Petropoulos's comment on Pitharas's documentary could be considered an example regarding its success for creating a successful image of that period.

> It's 1935, in the working-class bar on the Athenian waterfront. From the outside, the bar looks like a ramshackle hut, but inside, the atmosphere is furious. In air thick with the smoke of narcotics and incense, a small band sits on a stage….The crowd, made up of poor people, mostly men, roars its approval. One of them, hat cocked to one side and jacket hanging from one arm, rises to the floor… The music he is dancing to is rebetika – a Greek blues …(Petropoulos, 2000).

During Metaxas's dictatorship in 1936, rebetes and manges were being jailed for smoking hashish and bullying. Metaxas banned Rebetiko songs which led to imprisoned rebetes, including the famous rebetis Markos Vamvakaris, build their own instruments and perform Rebetiko in jail. As if their sorrows from the forced migration

were not enough, rebetes were even imprisoned for the music they found comfort in. As much as this added more to their sorrows, it never kept them from playing their music. Since they would not be able to find baglamas there, prisoner rebetes would use tin cans, tortoise shells or dried pumpkins as instruments to play rebetiko together. Blocks of firewood taken from the prison kitchen would also make a decent bouzouki to play. To shape it, rebetes would patiently carve it with a knife, then burn it inside with coal so it would produce better sounds. Rebetiko, ''music of the poor'', continued to live thanks to those instruments invented behind prison walls (Petropoulos, 2000).

Another vivid example of how social ambiance in prisons can be captured Lysandros Pitharas's Music of the Outsiders- Rembetika documentary on rebetika for British television in the 1980s. It is also realistically depicted in Prudhomme's graphic novel (Figure 4.12).

> Those songs were sung in prisons. Someone would have a drink, the other a smoke, etc.. They'd sing softly to avoid detection. Singing was forbidden. They would squat in circle and would sing in a low voice so the guard wouldn't hear them. Giorgos Mouflouzelis (composer of over 200 popular songs) (Pitharas,1988,19:35;20:10)

Figure 4.12 : Prudhomme, D. (2009). Rebetiko

Sources on rebetiko's classical period brings to light that not all rembets and manges smoked hashish. Although many books and photograps demonstrate Piraeus tekkes as smoke-filled places, some rebetes as Rovertakis and Roukounas are known to be non-smokers (Holst, 1983).

1960s was the time for the rebetika music revival in Greece. Rebetes as Vasilis Tsitanis, Grigoris Bithikotsis, Sotiria Bellou started to sing their songs again, while rebetadikas began to liven up with the performances of rebetes like Markos and

Stratos. As much as the rhythms of rebetiko gained back its reputation as tradition, this comeback did not spare the rebetes the scornful opinions of some Greek conservatives who looked down on their transformation. The rebetadikas are more different than the Cafe Aman and tekkes. 20th century music went through a second evolution as a reminder of another time, and as an expression of timeless suffering. Rebetika now has its dark atmosphere and "den of thieves" style of performance (Url-2).

Rebetiko is a lifestyle where people from a particular period in time expressed their emotions in an authentic way. As Sarah Rubidge (1996) ''Authenticity is…not a property of, but something we ascribe to a performance''. Stamatis (2011) states, the musicians of Rebetiki Istoria and its owners defined rebetiko by its authentic attributes and believed it had to stay as in its early style, without being exposed to modernization. He also provides some descriptions of the Rebetiki Istoria, which gives clues about the place's atmosphere. He mentions the audience was joyful in a serene way, and chatted about subjects like the economic crisis and the political system of contemporary Greece.

The interviews with Miltiadis Papas ve Hristos Psomiadis published in Rıdvan Şentürk's book Müzik ve Kimlik (Music and Identity), tell about the spaces and places Rums performed their music during the Ottoman times. Miltiadis Papas defines Rum music as the music genre played in ceremonies in the Byzantine times. As for the Ottoman period, he states, it evolved into the music of serious and elegant clubs, aside from the ceremonies. Beste and semai (instrumental and vocal forms in Ottoman classical music) was performed in the quiet of clubs. Hristos Psomiadis, on the other hand, Rum music was the traditional music of entertainment activities as weddings and festivals during the Ottoman period. Because of the alcohol ban during Ottoman period, the genuine Rum folk music would be performed in meyhanes in the Pera district, owned by the Rums themselves (Şentürk, 2016).

4.2 Section Results

In addition to the musical perspective, this section features the Rebetiko music genre from the spatial organization and spatial atmosphere perspectives as well. Also an element of my own culture, Rebetiko has musical periods where spatial differences stand out. As much as there are plenty of resources about the Rebetiko music, there are only few about the Rebetiko places. Therefore, this section is meant to serve as the conceptual foundation to build upon the field research, which will be featured in the next section. In the literature review, various analyses were made on the basis of Rebetiko-related documentaries, movies, books and academic journals. Throughout, it was observed that the spots for the musician and the audience spots, and the overall place in general, were differently organized according to different Rebetiko periods. Rebetiko was initially played in "Café Aman"s in Turkey, which were visited by people from all socia-economical groups. After the Rum population forcibly migrated to Greece, it started being played in the ratty places of suburban areas, where only men would usually go to.

Through studies, a wide range of unique features were marked as the spatial objects of a Rebetiko place: Wooden signages, gas lamps, nets, instruments, etc. Also, that spatial user habits evolved as the Rebetiko music periods changed, was discovered. The dance styles accompanied this evolution - zeibekiko, khasapiko, tsiphte teli, karsilama – while the physical separation between the performer and the audience became blurred. Finally, it was concluded that spatial atmosfer transformed from a former fun, cheerful, stylish to the ratty, smoke-filled, almost prison-like place image. The literature review on this section enabled us to have a full understanding of how a Rebetiko place should look like, as well as providing us with the comparison of temporary Rebetiko places with the old ones. At the same time, it provides the ground for the field study taking place in the next section. In this next section, Rebetiko places in Rebetiko's two homes/homelands, Turkey and Greece, were examined in terms of their spatial atmospheres and spatial organizations; and a supporting survey study was executed. A same number of participants from both countries were selected for the survey. This way, various opinions on how a Rebetiko place should be were collected by interviewing Turks, Greeks and Rums living in Greece and Turkey. The field study featured in the next section wil be supported by these insights.

5. SPATIAL COMPARISON OF REBETIKO PLACES BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY

In this chapter, field study has been divided into two steps with visual research methods to compare and analyze rebetika music places in Greece and Turkey. Numerous places representing the 1922-1932 era today exist in Greece, especially in the Plaka neighborhood in Athens, Piraeus and Thessaloniki. As less touristic and smaller cities compared to Athens, Piraeus and Thessaloniki are home to places with more local features and authenticity. However, the majority of the rebetiko music places in Turkey are kept for commercial purposes which makes them less of a representation for the old rebetiko music places.

The rebetiko periods indicate that the use of rebetiko places had evolved along with the music style. This is visible both in the layout of the stage and the dancing area and the seating order of the musicians and the audience. As mentioned previously, the rebetiko music lost its significance after the rebetiko places like Café Aman and tekkes were banned, then shut down. Later on, during the 1960s, rebetiko music went through a revival phase in Greece. In that period rebetiko places with distinguishing ornamentation styles and nostalgic sceneries were called Rebetadika. Rebetadika clubs were places where the guests could have appetizers as well as local drinks and dance to rebetiko as the club's only music genre. Rebetadika clubs were of a different culture than the Café Aman and tekkes, which were rebetiko places active in 1920 and 1940s. Rebetiko during the 20th century had evolved into a stylistically different type of music reminiscing old sorrows due to forced migration, thus transforming the spatial atmosphere and the audience as well. Rebetadika clubs also differ from today's rebetiko places in that it only had live rebetiko performances. Today rebetiko is played also in places like taverns, pubs and ouzeries in Greece and Turkey. In this regard, taverns, pubs and ouzeries, similarly to rebetiko places, differ in their spaces, music, musicians and audiences. Taverns, initially, used to be places where people from various social backgrounds/people from various groups could sit to have liquor and

chat, as well as a stopover point for travelers. Taverns, in the Turkey context, became gathering points through means of music during the times of re-urbanization after the 1980 coup. Their audience consisted of people from different political, economical and sociological backgrounds. In this respect, taverns have the spatial and musical power/quality to bring people coming from different backgrounds together. As for the tavern employees, there is this hierarchy: The tavern owner, almost as a host would warmy do with guests at their home, would greet customers one by one at the entrance, and have a chat with them. Bellboys would clean and set the table, while waiters take orders and headwaiters organize the table layout. Tavern repertoire is a blend of arabesque, pop or Turkish popular music and is performed by a keyboard player, compatibly with the Greek tavern culture, while the audience can sing and have fun. As a physical fact about taverns, they were located in less busy areas outside the city. Taverns are urban spaces, mostly transformed through restoration of other buildings (Turan, 2011). What taverns have in common with other Rebetiko places are their plain scenery without any objects that could be defined as luxurious, in other words "their modest looks". Distinguishing features of taverns are their layouts where the audience and musician areas can physically meet due to the same level design without any barriers and the level of proximity. Dancing area is also on the same level with the other functions, while there is also a dressing room for the musicians. A distinctive feature of a tavern is the outdoor neon boards with the performer names on them. Tavern interiors are spacious and cozy with a large seating capacity, while Rebetadika clubs can host 50-60 people. Used commonly for celebration activities, taverns have long tables, while Rebetiko places have smaller and lower tables. On the other hand, Turkish "house of wine" or Greek ouzeries are places that are not mainly visited for live music, eating or drinking. Commonly identified with having regular customers who like to visit for social gatherings and long conversations, these places offer a calm musical atmosphere with record players or radios playing in low volume. The overall atmosphere make the customers feel at home, while they can snack on appetizers, or have main dishes or drinks. In wine houses the table setting involved white tablecloths, earthen chandeliers, appetizer platters and special saltshakers made from carved out log which was a symbol for abundance. According to Çokuğraş (2016), wine houses are generally underground and with few or no windows, with low tables and four or five wooden stools, and often dark, small spaces. All these features describe a place

suitable for performing Rebetiko. The history of meyhanes/wine houses dates back to the Byzantine period. Districts as Galata, Pera, Beyoğlu, Tatavla (today's Kurtuluş) and Balat were the chosen zones for developing traditional meyhanes. The non-Muslim inhabitants of such districts - Greek and Armenian community – would use those places together for social gatherings where daily social life adopted Western culture characteristics. As stated before, this kind of rebetiko places with a significant Greek audience were called Café Aman. Meanwhile in the Ottoman life, Muslims with Anatolian roots spent their spare time in cafes within the old city where alcohol was not served (Turan, 2011). With the impact of Tanzimat Fermanı (1839-1876) on the general life style, non-Muslims were given new rights and could go to Muslim meyhanes in the new westernized atmosphere. This period was when Baloz meyhanes, a place for top bureaucrats and sailors where women could also go, sing and dance and even play the piano for the first time at, emerged in the Galata and Pera whereabouts. The below quotes from the owners of two renowned meyhanes in İstanbul validate that the female presence in meyhanes was well-received by the society: 'We want men and women together in life and at the table.'Kör Agop, owner of the Kör Agop Meyhanesi opened in 1938 , and 'Where there are women, there's civilization. Before the women came to meyhanes, it was a rowdier place.' Yorgo Okumuş, owner of the İmroz meyhane – one of the oldest Greek meyhanes opened in 1982 (Url-5). In recent years many new places have also opened, offering a similar ambience, but with a modern twist. Visited for entertainment, these places have a flamboyant and elegant atmosphere.

From the music coming out from the stores, and the variety in how passersby look and talk, one could easily tell İstanbul is one of the most culturally diverse Turkish cities, if not the most, with a single street stroll. Especially in İstanbul and İzmir there are many places hosting performances that involves Greek music and traditional dances, and the Greek, Rum and Turkish were the regular customers. Kurtuluş (priory called Tatavla), Burgazada, Fener and Taksim are the districts where Greek Orthodox community live in İstanbul. İstiklal Avenue, called 'Grande Rue de Pera' in Ottoman times, is a large boulevard home to numerous entertainment spots. There are places on the avenue for dancing that features Greek music, and even Rebetiko music. Furthermore, there are antique shops with Rebetiko recordings. İstanbul's Rum and Greek community come together in places where they could sing Rebetiko, or play

Sirtaki or Zeybekiko, in order to keep their culture alive. However, they are not happy with the fact that those places are used for commercial purposes. During 1960s, Rebetiko's revival period in Greece, there were also Rebetiko places in İstanbul with orientalist influences. Their customers consisted of well-dressed Rums, Armenians and Turks who would come together for having conversations or listening to Rebetiko. Armenian-Turkish journalist, photojournalist and author Ara Güler's depiction in 1962 about a rebetiko music place demonstrates a good visual example:

> ''On the neighboring streets of Beyoğlu, at the darkest corners, there are eerie looking doors. You pass through them to find dimly lit corridors and sometimes a few steps leading you inside. You sit across the stage and your eyes meets odd warning signs above it once they get used to the gloomy room…People have drinks, appetizers and listen to Saz/Baglama/stringed instruments. Just like the Greek Rembetiko. Civilizations with deep-rooted ancient roots embrace their customs strongly, as our saz and the Rembetiko of Greece" (Figure 5.1)

Figure 5.1 : Ara Güler, 1962 (Url-4)

The section 'Rebetiko in Istanbul: A View from the Bosphorus' from Koglin's book 'Greek Rebetiko from a Psychocultural Perspective' (2016) features his visits to İstanbul taverns and meyhanes where greek music and dances take place. He also held interviews with Greek and Rum citizens of İstanbul, as well as with the Turkish citizens who came to the country from Greece through the forced population exchange in 1922. On the basis of those interviews, Rebetiko, characterized with authenticity, could be defined as an expression of social marginality. The statement of Haris Spatharis, a Rum citizen who was born in İstanbul and emigrated to Greece at the age of 16, upon his unpleasant experience at one of the taverns in Fanari (Fener), the Rum district of İstanbul, provides a depiction for the behavior setting

those places during the pre-war rebetiko culture:

> ''There were some tavernas frequented by rebétes who brought the quarter into such disrepute that we kids were forbidden to go there […] and we saw the situation there and were afraid to get near the rebetiko tavernas. […] … […] … […] Let me point out that in those days and much later the characterization 'rebétis' was an insult for most people who were incredibly undemostrative and tidy.(Spatharis 1988)'' (Koglin,2016)

According to Koglin (2016), there are four approaches to how the rebetiko places in İstanbul performed and presented rebetiko. In that sense, Koglin's first approach is synthetic that is related to Greece ('ethnic' sound) reminding of Turkish World Music, second approach is traditionalist that is related to yesteryear (old recordings) reminding of Anatolian folk song, third approach is orientalist that is related to Ottoman era (slideshow) reminding of Turkish classical music and the fourth one is meyhane that is related to non-muslim (alcohol) and Greece (décor) reminding of taverna music and songs of the Rum of Istanbul (Koglin,2016). The overall picture displays that Rebetiko in İstanbul has an eclectic structure in the musical and spatial aspects. The past and the future, intertwined, is presented to the audience in a blended context of the Greek, Rum and Turkish cultures.

Figure 5.2 : Elias Petropolous (middle) with the bouzouki-players Karolos and Nikos Milanos Outside their café,1973. (Petropoulos,2000)

Elias Petropoulos, who was born in Athens in 1928 and lived in Thessaloniki for a long while, did a number of researches about the Rebetiko culture. Issued in 1961, Hristianopoulos's article qualifies as the first of the Rebetiko literature, the first

Rebetiko anthology and the first printed monograph featuring this subject. Following the article, 'Rebetika Songs', Petropoulos's book published in 1968, inspired the name 'rebetika' to call such songs (Dikbaş, 2014). A picture in Petropoulos's Rebetika Songs demonstrates Rebetiko places in 1970s as modest places. They feature wooden signboards and, identical to most of the other Rebetiko places, low tables and stools made of wood and straw so that the visitors could sit outside and listen to the street musicians while smoking shisha (Figure 5.2).

As already indicated, before the dictatorship of Metaxas banned rebetiko songs in 1936, rebetes and manges were gathering around, performing rebetika songs and smoking in tekkes. As reported by Pikinos (2018), during the times rebetiko was commonly sung in Athens, there were tekkes where rebetes and manges would gather. However, in modern times they began to be used as kindergarden facilities (Figure 5.3).

Figure 5.3 : The old building and yard that used to host the opium lounge of the notorious Manthos Gravaras, Leoforos Dimokratias 128, Agioi Anargyroi, Athens, Personal rembetiko archives of Pikinos,2014. (Pikinos,2018)

5.1 Introduction of Field Research

The field study research was based on two steps that are supported by each other. Both of the studies are aimed to compare and analyze rebetiko places in Greece and Turkey. Although there are some studies about the subject of rebetiko through a musical perspective, spatial parameters have not yet researched enough. Therefore, the field research of this study aims to make a contribution to literature. While deciding the methodology of the field research, related case studies that questioning spatial objects, spatial user habits, spatial atmosphere, and their effects on an individual's emotions and feelings, has examined and the structure of the study has created.

5.2 Methodology of the Research

In this research, previous researches such as movies, books, scholarly articles and any other sources relevant to the thesis were examined and revealed common spatial parameters related to rebetiko music places. To analyze this kind of attributes, a descriptive research model is applied for this dissertation. Primary research of descriptive research model is observational study, secondary is survey study (Table 5.1). To evaluate the results, visiual research methods are applied. Moreover, information retrieval methods and methods of transforming design information are also used. According to Henry Sanoff (1991), in order to understand human behavior in the environment, it is necessary to record behavior and actions or direct interact with people.

Table 5.1: Observational study and survey study datas

Field Research	
Observational Study	**Survey Study**
Online access and Visitation	Online access and Face to face
two locations one location in Turkey one location in Greece	49 participants Turks, Greeks, Rums in Turkey Turks, Greeks, Rums in Greece
Observation and informal discussions of various rebetika music places	Qualitative and Quantitative interviews
Direct observation Participant observation	Structured interviews Semi-structured interviews Open-ended discussions
Revealing pattern language of rebetika music places and making activity analysis and behavioral mapping	Showing photos of rebetika music places and asking questions regarding spatial parameters and feelings
To compare customer profile, spatial use of customers and musicians rebetika performances in Greece and Turkey	To investigate the relation between spatial parameters, feelings and rebetika music places

5.2.1 Observational Study Methodology

The primary purpose of the research is to identify the similarities and differences of rebetiko music places between Greece and Turkey. Thus, Rebetiko places in both Turkey and Greece were searched on online databases. At the same time, online and one on one interviews were held with Rum and Greek people residing in Turkey as well as Turks who like rebetiko music. Greek and Turkish citizens residing in Greek were also interviewed. According to the interview results, the majority of the Turkish residents who like to listen to rebetiko music live and rebetiko music in general, do share the opinion that the places in Turkey do not fully reflect the true ambience as much as the performances have the musical quality. On the other hand, Greece has historical music venues that only featured rebetiko music. Among the interviewees, residents of Turkey state they prefer to visit Greece in order to experience the real

feeling of the rebetiko music. Meanwhile, residents of Greece indicate the rebetiko music and such places exist the way they used to be, and they believe many places still offer the rebetiko spirit feel both musically and visually, although some of those places became commercial facilities. Following all the interviews and researches, an old Rum house hosting weekly rebetiko performances is chosen as the Turkish example. As for Greece, that is home to plenty of rebetiko music places, a historical place is selected for reflecting the rebetiko history and atmosphere best, and also being similar to its Turkish equivalent regarding the layout of the audience and the musician areas.

The methods have used to compare the places are; observation and behavioral mapping, the activity log and social mapping. While using these methods, four basic components are considered which are; *what may one need to know about people? , what might one need to know about activities?, what might one need to know about the setting? and what will one need to know about timing?* (Sanoff, 1991, p.79) Activity analysis of the customers was carried out by observing an evening where both places had live rebetika music performances. As a result of this activity analysis, a progress report on the pattern language for these two places has been done. Moreover, descriptive attributes of both places were examined and compared with each other. This comperative method was used by Sanoff for analyzing the similarity structure and defining pattern language of places (Sanoff, 1991).

5.2.1.1 General Descriptive Attributes of Chosen Locations

It is crucial to examine the historical places in Greece in order to have an extensive understanding of the rebetiko culture today. Literature research shows that the numerous places in Greece do not entirely reflect the genuine culture. Angelos (Ο Αγγελος), Rebetiki Istoria (Ρεμπέτικη Ιστορία), Stoa Athanaton (Στοά Αθανάτων), Feidiou 2 (Φειδίου 2), Kapnikarea (Καπνικαρεα), Rebetadiko Anifori (Ανηφόρι Ρεμπετάδικο), Tobourlika Taverna (Τομπουρλίκα), Prinkepessa (Πριγκηπέσσα), and Diporto (Δίπορτο), now a restaurant popular for its eccentric atmosphere, are the prominent contemporary rebetedikas that are considered to be the most nostalgic and authentic examples for representing the true rebetiko feel.

The history and the physical qualities of rebetiko music places are also important in understanding them. Kept by the old rebet Pavlos Vassilio, Rebetiki Istoria is a great

example that comes to mind. Rebetiki Istoria was opened in 1981 in a neighborhood full of students, and is one of the best rebetadikas in Athens demonstrating early- style rebetiko music culture. Vassiliou also used to teach classes about traditional Greek culture there. Rebetiki Istoria, along with its owners and performers, is a place to play, dance, drink and understand rebetiko in specific ways. Situated in a neoclassical building, the entrance of Rebetiki Istoria has a signage above, decorated with baglama figures, and marble steps leading the way inside. This place is exceptional for being open six days a week and having a moderate entrance fee. Its audience majorly consists of citizens who like to discuss Greek politics (Stamatis,2011). Small circular tables and wooden chairs stand out as elements of the design elements of Rebetiki Istoria. Musicians sing rebetiko at the corner table designated for them. As for the stage, it is located inside the niche at the center of the room and usually used as a spot for five performers to play together. Bouzuki and vokal, the lead instruments of rebetiko music, are placed at the front, and at the back are usually the guitar, tambourine or the violin. The rectangular area in front of the stage is for playing sirtaki, zeybekiko, etc. Similar to many other rebetidako, the overall place is illuminated with kerosene lamps. The interior walls are decorated with photographs of famous rebetes like Markos Vamvakaris, Giorgos Batis, Anestis Delias, Rita Abatzi and their recordings, as well as newspaper clippings featuring rembetiko in wall frames. Although a bit tight, the seating layout does not keep the audience from feeling at home. Besides, people who experience rebetiko as more of a lifstyle other than mere entertainment are also parts of its audience (Stamatis,2011).

Stoa Athanaton is one of the oldest rebetidakas in the Omonia area of Athens. Welcomed by a long corridor and walls adorned with portraits of old rebets and rebetiko artists, one finds themselves in the middle of a small but cozy place with a high ceiling once entering. In contrast to other places, musicians and dancing area here are elevated to a level higher than the audience and highlighted with velvet covers draped over above. Customers have appetizers and drinks on long tables, placed in order. Hung on the high interior walls are boat models, photographs and antique radios. Arched windows were ornamented with lacy curtains. Priorly a place visited commonly by people over middle ages, Stoa Athanaton is not operating anymore.

Feidiou 2 Music Café is a cozy little place opened in 2006 in the Exarhia of Athens. There is nothing separating the musicians from the audience included in the design of the place. The performance takes place at one corner, in proximity with the audience. Dim linterior lighting adds to the overall cozy atmosphere. Its walls are identical to the most of Greek rebetiko places in terms of the hung objects such as the photography and antiques. During summertime customers choose to sit at the outdoor area with tables and the music performance and the dancing take place on the street. Illumination and the seating layout are the factors that make this place specific.

Named after the Byzantine church, Kapnikarea is another tiny music café located in Plaka, Athens's touristic and upscale area with many luxurious stores. Dimitri Sofos took over the family business, that was initially opened in 1977 as an avant-garde sandwich shop, and transformed it into a live rebetiko music place. It is now a little funky place with a museumlike interior and extra tables outside, where musicians start playing in a covered sidewalk extension at noon. Turquoise walls have instruments and photographs hung onto them, as well as a colored lamp from India giving out a dim light. What the owner Dimitri Sofos points out reinforces the fact in the rebetiko culture that customers do not visit these places just for dining; "I don't want people to think they have to spend a lot to sit and enjoy themselves." (Url-6)

Another place, Rebetadiko Anifori, is situated within the renovated neoclassical building of an old elementry school in Piraeus. Commonly visited by people above the middle age, the place has a slightly elevated stage enabling the musicians to sit next to each other, directed at the audience. Customers would use the area between the tables and the entrance for performing dances like zeibekiko. This place is particularly important for its qualities as being tiny and historical. Another cozy tiny place is the Tobourlika Tavern in Thessaloniki. Its entrance comprises of a wooden door and a wooden signboard. Interior features are wall photography, instruments within niches and small tables placed closely together, and musicians perform right next to the audience on an elevated small stage, sitting in a row. The pianist sits on a high stool that is placed on the ground level and performs there, although the piano is placed on the elevated stage. The reason for this use could be the spatial limitations of the place. In the whereabouts of Tobourlika Tavern, close to city center, is Prinkepessa, which is a historical place with an authentic atmosphere. Finally, opened in 1887 at downtown

Athens without a signage or a menu, Diporto, is a significantiy important example for having kept its authenticity as a traditional, historical and a secluded restaurant until today.

Located right across the fish market of Athens, the basement-level tavern has a gloomy/dark atmosphere with a faded concrete-block mosaic floor and one wall covered in wine barrels. Those wine barrels were not only decoration but actually used as a wine store. The place still does not have a signage of any kind. The name "Diporto" translates as "having two doors" and actually refers to the two doors it has. Military police would bust places serving alcohol; and that the place is built on the basement level and has two doors but no signage were precautions against that. The owner would use the second door in such a case.

Speaking of Rebetiko music places in Turkey, there are several in İstanbul and İzmir. Similar to their Greek look-alikes, they offer more than rebetiko music, however, only a few reflect the true rebetiko atmosphere: O Maestros, Neşemore Greek Tavern, İkinci Kat Rum Meyhanesi, Kumbara Kafe, Makine Lokal ve Istos Kafe (Ιστός). These places host not only rebetiko performances but also various musical performances by amaetur groups.

Discussing these places in further detail are beneficial to comparing the rebetiko places in Turkey with the Greek ones. In Neşemore Greek Tavern, which was opened in Arnavutköy, İstanbul in 1969, a variety of popular Greek music, such as laika, is played, except the days when there are scheduled rebetiko performances. Primarily used for entertainment, the place has long tables people like to dine at while they listen to Greek music and occasionally dance. The customers and the musicians are well-dressed. İkinci Kat Rum Meyhanesi in Kadıköy, İstanbul, is a gathering spot for people to dance sirtaki on a certain day every week. Downstairs is a second-hand bookstore. Kumbara Kafe in Taksim, İstanbul, features Tatavla Keyfi, the rebetiko band named after Tatavla, the old name of the Rum district Kurtuluş in İstanbul. During the Ottoman period Tatavla used to be the center for the rebetiko of İstanbul. Adopting a mission for contributing to the old İstanbul rebetiko revival, the band Tatavla Keyfi offers a wide range of musical repertoire including İstanbul, İzmir, Thessaloniki, Pireaus rebetikos to their audience. The band consists of Greek, Rum and Turkish

musicians. Kumbara Kafe does not offer live performances every night, but one can find various music styles being played there.

Opened in 2017, Makine Lokal is located on the uppermost floor of the Chamber of Mechanical Engineers building in Taksim, İstanbul. During the interview held with the owner Ümit Bektaş, he states there are not any specific places in Turkey that could be comparable to any authentic Greek rebetiko place, and it is hard to find a real performance except there are very few places where bands do perform real rebetiko. He describes the real rebetiko place as a local, plain, cozy one with a minimal sound system. He claims there are places in Greece where one could peacefully listen to rebetiko without worrying about sitting for long hours without ordering anything, or anything similar, and experience the accompanying architectural memory of place. He adds that there are Greek meyhanes in Yeşilköy and Etiler whereabouts, however, they are commercial facilities, and upscale places acquiring a serious dress code. Raised in the old Beyoğlu cultural context, the owner Bektaş wants to bring the very same culture to his place and hopes to create a more laid-back atmosphere by attracting rebetiko admirers. As much as Makine Lokal does not completely reflect the rebetiko culture in the architectural sense, customers, dances and the musical structure of the place do so. Established by Rum, Greek and Turkish founders in Taksim, İstanbul, in 2011, the independent publishing house İstos – meaning "web" in Greek, functions as a cultural platform for promoting Rum culture through seminars. Rebetiko music is occasionally played in this publishing house that is much more than a commercial facility. In addition, Café Aman Istanbul, a band formed by Greek and Turkish İstanbulites featuring Stelyo Berber and Pelin Süer, often gives concerts in the Armada Otel. Stelyo Berber ensures these concerts are a real manifestation of the rebetiko culture.

As mentioned before, the primary purpose of the research is to identify the similarities and differences of rebetika music places between Greece and Turkey. Following the interviews and research, O Maestros and O Αγγελος were selected in Turkey and Greece, in the respective order. O Maestros operates in an old Rum house with weekly rebetiko music performances. Chosen for being the most representative of rebetiko history and atmosphere, O Αγγελος is also similar to its Turkish equivalent regarding the locations of the audience and the musician.

5.2.1.2 Ο Αγγελος in Exarchia, Athens

As stated by the owner Angel Tsirkos during the online interview, Ο Αγγελος successfully reflects its history and the rebetiko culture. Opened in 2010, Angelos hosts live rebetiko performances every night after 22:00. Musicians singing rebetiko without a microphone is a specialty of this place, and an act entirely in compliance with the candid, local and laid-back attitude of rebetiko. The place is on the Zoodochou Pigis street in the Exarchia area in Athens, a non-touristy area where most of the buildings are covered in graffiti. Angelos is on the ground floor of a two- storey neoclassical building with stores at the basement. The wooden door above a single step opens to a simple cozy interior, which is identical with the façade in terms of simplicity. Once inside, one would again be welcomed by wooden steps leading them to the music hall where other customers are seated. The main room is enclosed by two separate chambers on the left and right, and on the walls are photographs associated with the elements of rebetiko culture. The main room and the two chambers have a capacity of 50 people in total. The outer windows have neoclassical style frames, while interior walls have openings enabling the customers in the separate chambers to see each other and hear the other side's music. The musicians and the audience are sitting on the same level and next to each other. People playing zeibekiko, dim lighting, small low stools and tables are the elements that build up the nostalgic spatial atmosphere. Since the place lacks a specially designated dancing area, the audience plays dances like zeybekiko in the corridors, musician areas and around the tables. The owner Tsirkos says live music is possible only on Mondays, once a week, because of the hardship in providing live music every day during times of financial crisis in Greece (Url-7). The repertoire there is a compilation of 40s and 50s heavy rebetika, which exclusively attracts the true fans of these particular styles. Schedules of the Greek rebetiko places, including Angelos's, could be reached on the link aptaliko.gr.

| Entrance | Corridor | Stage and Dancing area |

Figure 5.4: Images of Ο Άγγελος (Url-8)

5.2.1.3 O Maestros in Atnavutköy, Istanbul

Inhabiting the historical 3-storey Rum mansion, O Maestros was opened in Arnavutköy, İstanbul, in 2013. The mansion used to be kept by Kosovan Turk Suzan Kardeş, under an alias, Bekriye. During the interview held with the owner Mehmet Can Akyıldız, he says the places operates in a Rum meyhane concept and rebetiko is played most of the time. Also the owner of a second branch in Thessaloniki, Mehmet Can Akyıldız explains the story behind O Maestros's Rum concept: "My father Cemal Akyıldız raised us in Kurtuluş, where I internalized the Turkish, Rum and Armenian cultures. I realized there are very few places associated with this culture, and since I use every chance to visit Greece to listen to rebetiko, I decided to open such a place here as well." Akyıldız adds his customers seek sincerity and coziness while listening to music. Not content with the transformation of meyhane culture into modern meyhanes, Akyıldız puts effort in transferring the old meyhane culture to future generations the way it is. Since some customers might occasionally get bored of listening to rebetiko alone, Akyıldız adds, performers Kosta and Tuba change their repertoire every once in a while. A former rebetiko performer of Rum origins, Hasanaki, had to move to Greece due to his finances and

is now running a döner shop. As a Rum born and raised in İstanbul and a performer with jazz and blues background, Kosta explains this as: "The heavy feeling rebetiko music evokes could not be appreciated by those who do not have any knowledge about it. As much as it also has cheerful songs, rebetiko music is vastly about memories. We end up having to change the repertoire when the majority of the audience is from the young white-collar segment. Other days are usually above middle age Armenians and

Rums, especially in the Easter season. Their presence renders a whole different environment since they know about the music and are usually regular customers.

The place is located along the seaside and has a turquoise wooden door. After the entrance wooden stairs lead the way to the upper floors. Inside, first things to catch the eye are the plates showcased at the corridor with paintings representing rebetiko on them. A relative of Akyıldız, who loves to paint, made those paintings for him, Akyıldız states. The three-storey building has a total capacity of 120 people. The upmost floor can host 50 people. Musicians perform while they wander between floors. Within this study/thesis, the third floor will be examined since the musical performance and dancing take place more often on the uppermost floors. Musicians, similarly to Greek places, sit close to the audience on the same level, at small and low tables, and sing without microphones. Audience are seated around the tables, however, they are allowed to change their seating whenever they want to. Since the place lacks a specially designated dancing area, the audience plays dances like zeybekiko in the corridors, musician areas and around the tables. The third floor has a bay window, with a sea view, still one could feel the simple, warm feeling of a Rum home there.

| Entrance | Corridor | Stage and Dancing area |

Figure 5.5: Images of O Maestros

5.2.2 Survey Study Methodology

The secondary purpose of the research is to investigate how rebetika music places should be in accordance with participants. The survey tries to read what kind of spatial parameters remind the participants of rebetika music places and to describe the feelings during visitation.

Participants were accessed both online and face to face, besides they were asked to volunteer for the survey anonymously. In this dissertain, selection of a sample are the people who live in Turkey or Greece and who love rebetika music.

The survey consists of 6 questions that examines participants' perception of rebetika music places. Firstly, participants were asked to choose three spatial elements that remind them of the rebetiko culture. The aim of this question is finding out about the objects representing the Rebetiko music culture in the rebetiko music places. Another open-ended question was asked to the participants to learn about why they chose those objects. What was aimed with the second question was finding out the meaing each object entailed, and then those concepts were sorted out in categories. In the light of these categories the impact of the rebetiko culture on the participants was evaluated in the cultural, sensorial and physical context. Secondly, participants were asked to choose one of the following photos that belongs to a rebetika place and the two photos of the question is from Turkey and Greece. The aim of this image question is to identify participants' mind image of rebetika place and to see if there is any resemblances with chosen case rebetika places both in Turkey and Greece (Ο Αγγελοσ and Ο Maestros). For this particular question, only images of the places were made available to the participants, and not their location information. The Kumbara Cafe in İstanbul was chosen from Turkey, while Feidiou 2 in Athens became the Greek choice. Main reasons for this selection is the difference in the way the audience sit, and the gender of the dancers in these two places. Both places also share similarities in their lighting, atmosphere, and ambience, therefore the grayscale versions of their images were presented to the participants in order to avoid any distracion. Later on, an open- ended question was directed to the participants about the reasons in their selection. Based on their answers, these photographs were categorized through their characteristics such as design language, atmosphere, scale and concept. Designated to inquire about spatial

user habits in authentic Rebetiko places, Question 3 enables to examine the ways the audience and the artist should settle in the place and make use of it. Since the number of dissertation studies about this subject are quite few, this study aims to contribute to the Rebetiko literature. Through the insights from books and movies about rebetiko music places, certain specific qualities have been discovered. Along with that, participants were addressed related questions so that opinions from people who are strongly interested in the rebetiko music could be obtained. Participants were asked to indicate their expectations regarding the stage, dancing area and seating layout with adjectives, such as square, round, elevated, same level, within seating area, scattered, planned, facing the stage and around tables at the rebetika music place. The answers were in compliance with one another. In question 4 and 5, the perceptual characteristics were measured by using 5 point semantic differential method with adjective pairs. These adjectives were derived from the data based on the results of two previous surveys. The first of them was from the survey executed by Daniel Koglin in İstanbul, where he provided a table of list of feelings when thinking of the term 'rebetiko'. (Koglin,2016,p.105) The second was, again, Koglin's table where he compared his previous data with the results of the work of Anastasia Riga, a Greek social psychologist, and her collaborators, in which 380 inhabitants in Greek had been interviewed about moods and feelings they associated with Rebetiko. (Koglin,2016,p.135) In question 4, participants were asked to indicate their emotional status, on adjective pairs such as; exotic-familiar or sense of belonging, solitary-gregarious, remembering memories-forgotten past, depressing-uplifting, melancholy-cheerful, unpleasant-pleasant, emotional-serious, boring-entertaining, rebellious-non-rebellious, tense-relaxed, formal-informal. In question 5, participants were asked to rate the options/adjectives that describe rebetiko music places (they visited) regarding its interior. The adjective pairs were; nostalgic-modern, traditional-contemporary, feminine-masculine, magnificent-simple, narrow-wide, gloomy-spacious, flashy-plain, authentic-non-authentic, orientalist-non-orientalist, soft lighting-bright, cold-hot. Finally, the observations, studies and interviews on the subject led to the conclusion that Rebetiko music is confused with other Greek music, and is used in some venues for entertainment and commercial purposes. Regarding that, in question 6, participants were asked to choose one of the photographs that reminds of a typical rebetiko music place. The first photograph is of a scene from the movie Rembetiko, a

movie by the producer Costas Ferris, featuring the life of the half Armenian, half Rum Rebetiko singer Maria Ninou, who had to emigrate to Greece upon the 1922 Asia Minor Catastrophe. 43 minutes 54 seconds into the movie, the scene portrays a setting, Thomas's as called in the movie, resembling a typical Rebetiko place characterized with cigarette smoke. The second photograph is the minute 35:30 scene involving plate smashing while a person performs zeibekiko, from the BBC documentary 'Music of Outsiders: Rembetika' aired in 1988, telling the story of the 1960s Rebetiko revival period when Rebetiko places were claimed to have lost their identity and became 'universal commercial discos' instead.

5.3 Analysis

Two research methods were used to understand differences between two study areas. Observation method is done to identify the similarities and differences of rebetiko music places between Greece and Turkey, also graphic representations of both areas were drawn. After that, survey method was used to understand the dominant views-opinions of users both in Turkey and Greece. The data gathered from these methods was analized by using the same focus as in the literature review, that are spatial objects, spatial user habits and spatial atmosphere. In addition, graphic results were produced on the basis of both methods, as well as a comparison of the two methods.

5.3.1 Observational Study Analysis

Through observational study, both places were sorted in six categories on the basis of their unique design characteristics, similar technique was also used by Henry Sanoff's (1991) North Carolina houses studies. Later on, interviews were held in order to collect opinions on the characteristics and the similarities of both houses. As a result of these interviews similar responses were classified into seven major categories (descriptive attributes) which are form, detail, quality, context, style,size and status. (Sanoff,1991,p.17) The spatial analyses were made on the basis of these discriptive attributes. Explained in further detail in his book Methods of Architectural

Programming (1975), Henry Sanoff's below techniques were used in evaluating the comparison of the two places: (p.38)

- Observation and behavioral mapping is a way to look at what people do in the designed environment.

- The activity analysis is a way to view a person's behavior over a period of time in order to compare the actual use with the intended use of spaces.

- Social mapping helps to explore and identify relationships between people in designed environments.

This way, a comparison was possible through the analyses of use -from both the performer's and customer's aspects- and the spatial form in Turkey and Greece.

Figure 5.6: Ο Αγγελος Floor Plan

Activity analysis of the customers has done by accessing an evening while the musicians perform live rebetika music at this place. As a result of this activity analysis, a progress report on the pattern language for Ο Αγγελος is as follows (Figure 5.6);

> 1. Around 8 pm, customers entered the place without check. Greek music was playing from the radio and university students were having their meal around tables.

> 2. Around 10 pm, middle-aged customers came to the place. Seating layouts have been changed for customers to sit together. Four musicians sat on the stage where there was no microphone.

> 3. Around 10:30-12 pm, one of the visitors started doing zeybekiko, and the other customers were watching in silence and without applause.

> 4. Around 10:30-12 pm, when zeibekiko performance finished, the customers started to do khasapiko in the other room.

> 5. Around 1-2 am, some of the customers were dancing while the musicians continued playing rebetika.

1
8 pm

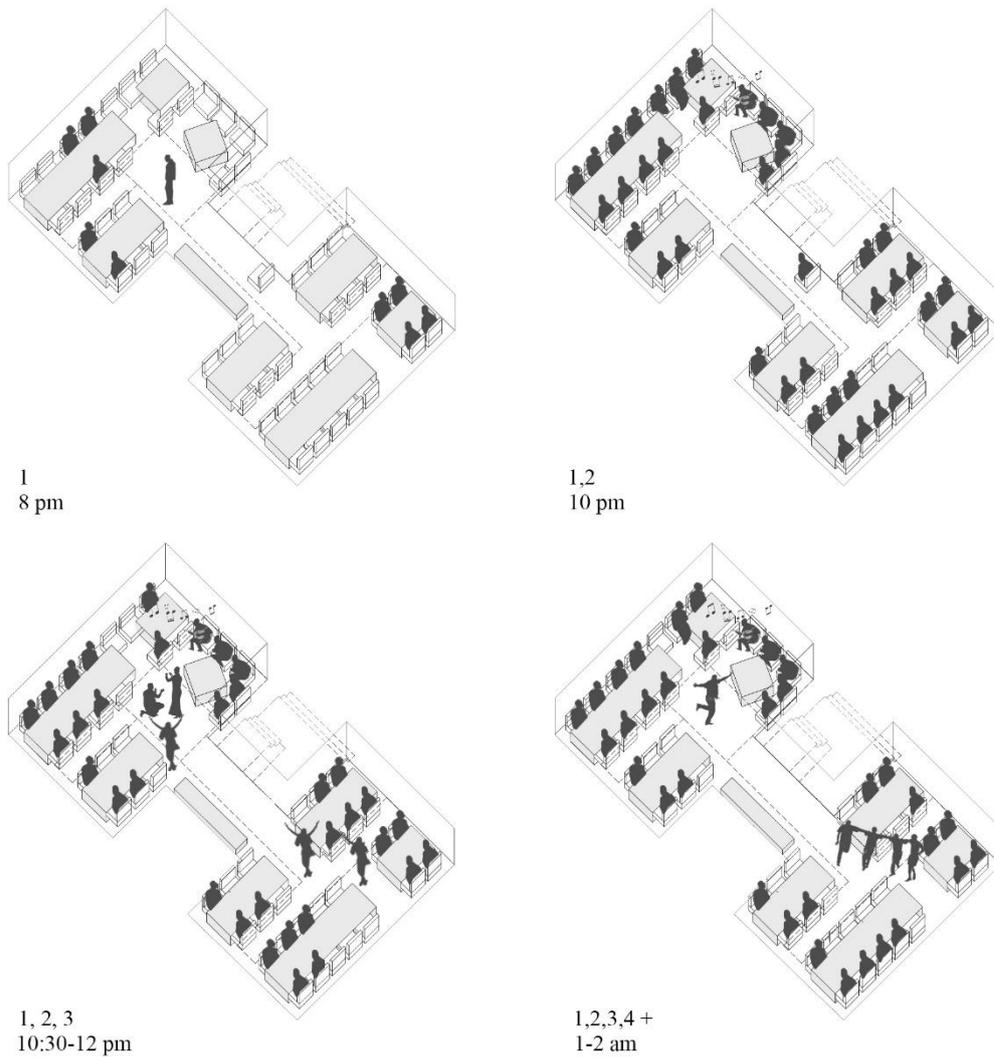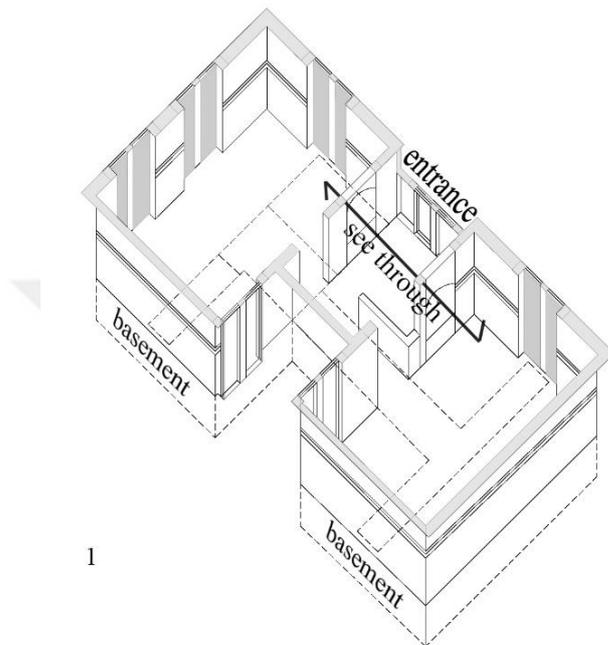1,2
10 pm

1, 2, 3
10:30-12 pm

1,2,3,4 +
1-2 am

Figure 5.7: The Progress Report on the Pattern Language for Ο Αγγελος
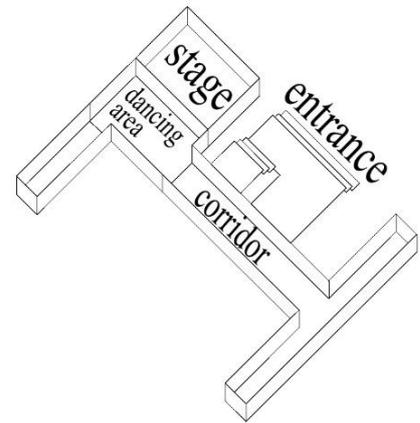
Descriptive attributes of this place as follows (Figure 5.7);

- Form: symmetrical

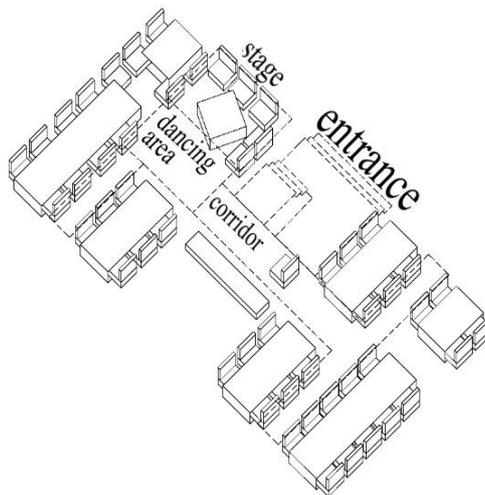- Detail: stairs, wood, concrete, windows

- Quality: comfortable

- Style: plain, neo-classical

- Size: small two rooms connected with corridor

1- The building has a basement, ground floor, and second floor. There is a small shop on the basement floor. visitors enter the ground floor, where the concert at, with staircases. The entrance door and flooring are made of wood, the walls are also made of both wood and concrete.

2-When entering the place, there are two small rooms connected with corridors on the right and left sides. The stage is at the same level and within the seating area. The dancing area is also at the same level and within the seating area.

3-The seating layout is both planned and scattered. Chairs and tables are small and are made of wood.

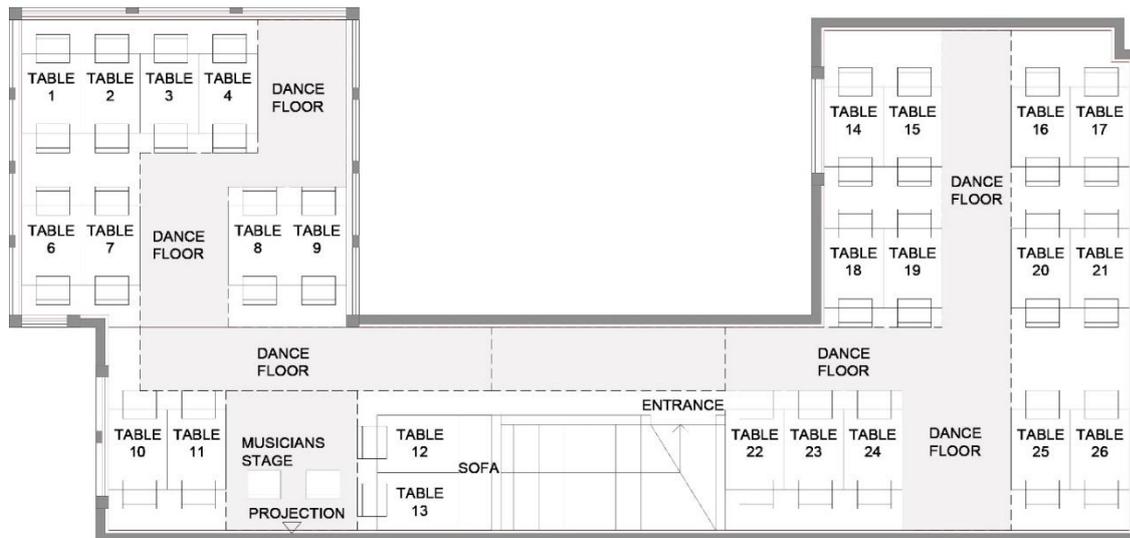**Figure 5.8:** Architectural Layouts of Ο Αγγελος

Figure 5.9: O Maestros Floor Plan

Activity analysis of the customers has done by spending an evening while the musicians perform live rebetika music at this place. As a result of this activity analysis, a progress report on the pattern language for O Maestros is as follows (Figure 5.9);

> 1. Around 9 pm, customers entered the place without check. Three or four young people were eating their appetizers while the owner of the place was asking if they feel cozy at the place. Greek music was playing from the radio and the projection reminding the rebetiko is reflected on the wall.

> 2. Around 10 pm, middle-aged customers came to the place. Seating layouts have been changed for customers to sit together. Two musicians sat on the stage.

> 3. Around 10:30-12 pm, musicians separated from each other, took their chairs next to the other customers while the customers were dancing in both of the rooms.

> 4. Around 1-2 am, the musicians sat at the place where they were at the beginning. There were ten or eleven people at the place. The musicians started playing laika songs. Some of the customers put their chairs in front

96

of the musicians and began to sing with them while the other customers were dancing.

1
9 pm

1,2
10 pm

1, 2, 3
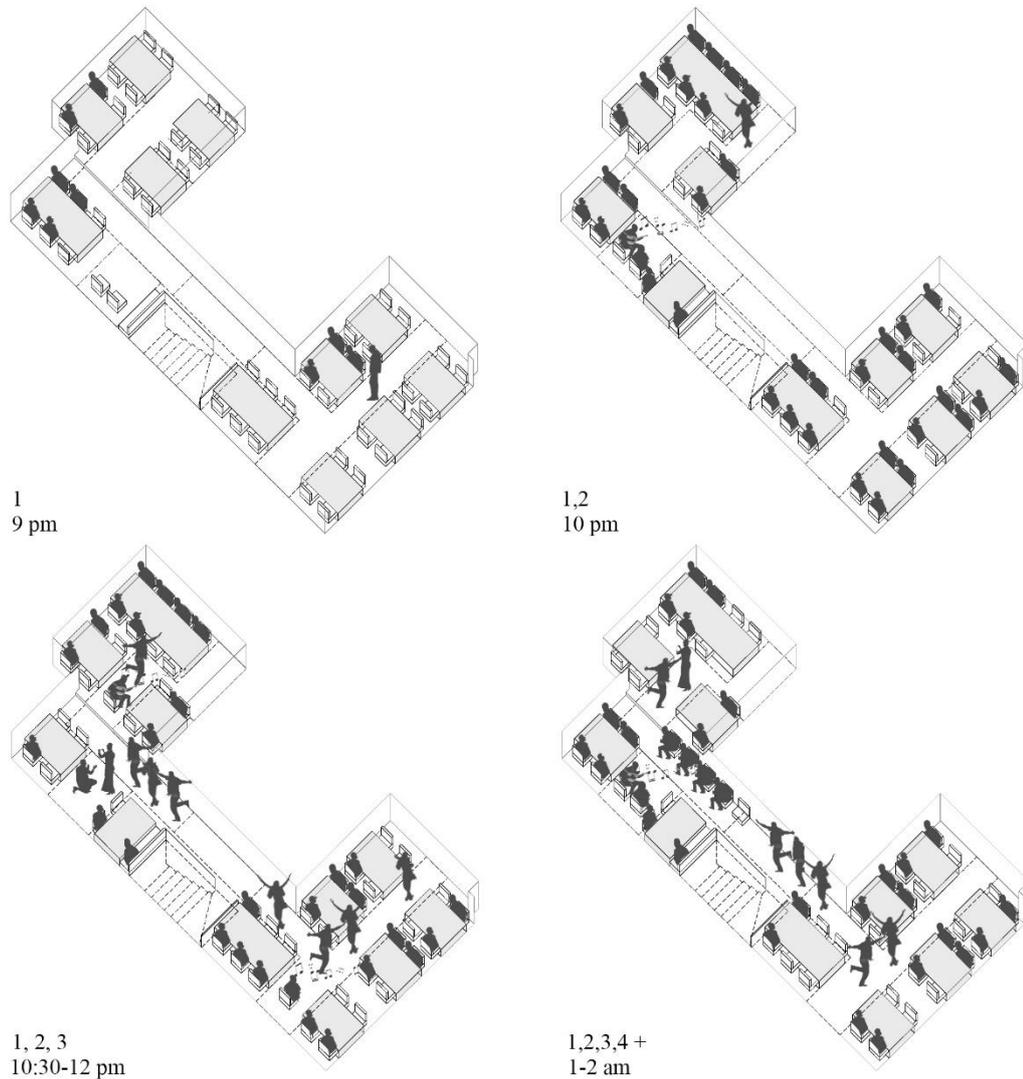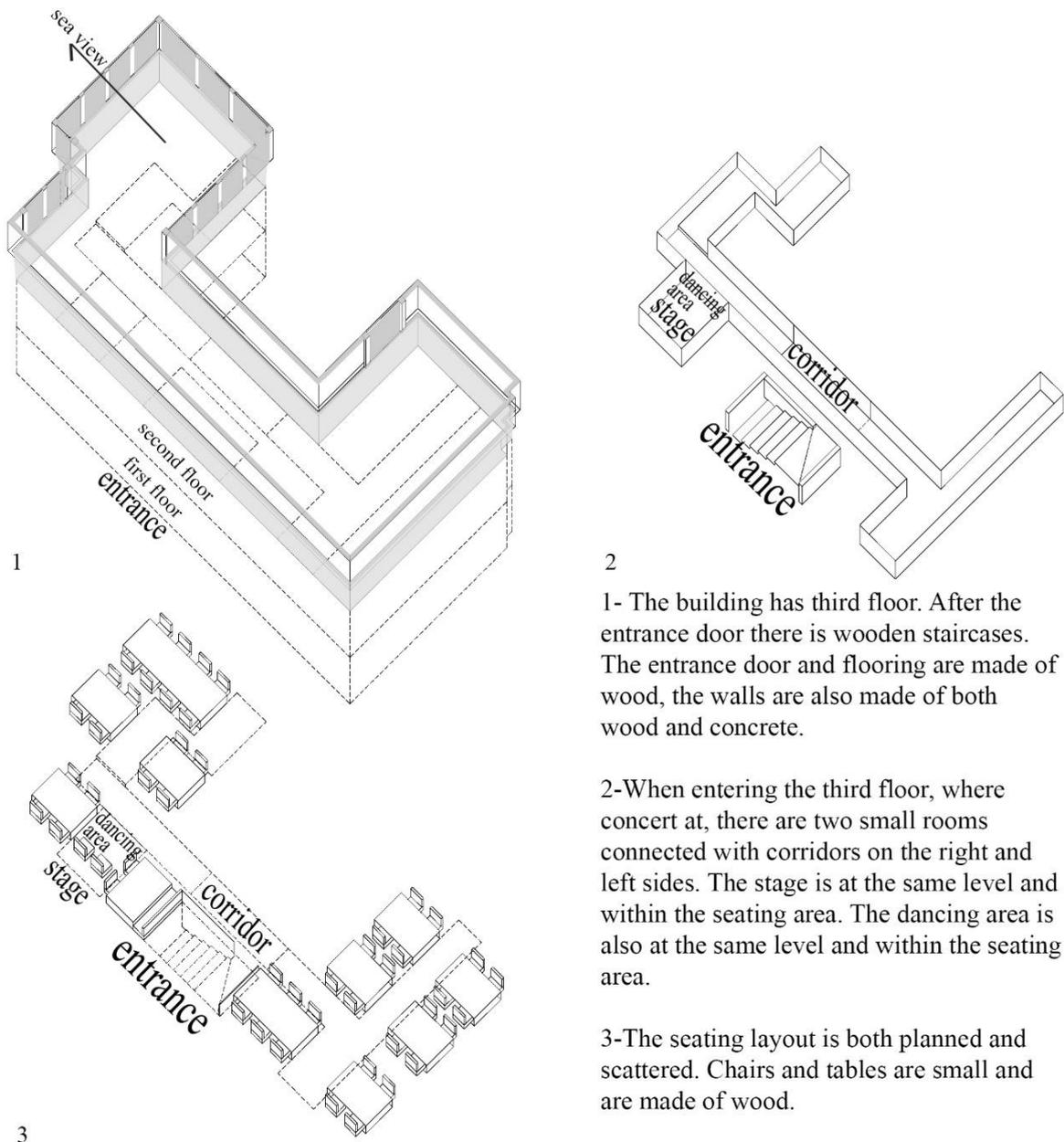10:30-12 pm

1,2,3,4 +
1-2 am

Figure 5.10: The Progress Report on the Pattern Language for O Maestros

Descriptive attributes of this place as follows (Figure 5.10);

- Form: symmetrical

- Detail: stairs, wood, concrete, windows

- Quality: comfortable

- Style: plain, historical Rum house

- Size: small two rooms connected with corridor

1

2

3

1- The building has third floor. After the entrance door there is wooden staircases. The entrance door and flooring are made of wood, the walls are also made of both wood and concrete.

2-When entering the third floor, where concert at, there are two small rooms connected with corridors on the right and left sides. The stage is at the same level and within the seating area. The dancing area is also at the same level and within the seating area.

3-The seating layout is both planned and scattered. Chairs and tables are small and are made of wood.

Figure 5.11: Architectural Layouts of O Maestros

5.3.2 Survey Study Analysis

Survey datas were collected by using Survey Monkey which is online survey software that helps to create and run professional online surveys. Furthermore, each answer was thoroughly reviewed and mutual answers were categorized and numbered.

The secondary purpose of the research is to investigate how rebetiko music places should be in accordance with participants. Fourty nine participants from Turkey and Greece valunteered in this study. According to the selection table of participants (Table 5.2), it was seen that the participants' who live in Turkey percentage was 44.9% and the participants' who live in Greece percentage was 55.1%. It was observed that 59.9% of the respondents were accessed from social media and 61.2% of the them were interviewed face to face.

Table 5.2: Selection Table of Participants

Demographic Features	Participants: 49					
	Social Media (28)		Face to Face (21)		Total (49)	
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent
Turkey	1	3.5	21	100	22	44.9
Greece	27	96.5	0	0	27	55.1
Turkey and Greece	28	59.9	21	61.2		

As mentioned previously, the survey consists of 6 questions that examine participants' perception of rebetiko music places. In question 1, participants were asked to choose three spatial objects (Sanoff, 1975) that remind them of the rebetiko culture. The responses given by the participants living in Turkey or Greece divided into categories within the frame of words and compared(Table 5.3).

Table 5.3: Spatial Elements/ Spatial Atmosphere Table of Rebetiko Music Places

Spatial Elements / Spatial Atmosphere	Turkey (22)		Greece (27)		Turkey and Greece (49)	
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent
Image/Photo of Rebetes, Manges	7	31.8	1	3.7	8	16.4
Small Spaces/Rooms with Enough Room for a Small Dance Floor/Stage	2	9	7	26	9	18.4
Folk instruments (Bouzouki ,Ut, Kanun, Baglamas, Finger bells)	8	36.4	10	37	18	3.7
Wooden, Old Fashioned Table/ Wicker Chairs Set	4	18.2	8	29.7	12	24.5
Small Traditional Glass and Carafe	3	13.6	2	7.4	5	10.2
Traditional Drinks (Ouzo, Tsikoudia)	4	18.2	3	11.1	7	14.3
Narghile, Ashtrays for Cigarette and Smoky Space	7	31.8	5	18.5	12	24.5
Oil Lamp, Candles for Low Lighting	4	18.2	5	18.5	9	18.4
Vintage Objects as Decoration, (The Gramophone, Book)	2	9	4	14.8	6	12.2
Oriental Corner (Carpet on the Wall, Rug, Couch as Anatolian Style)	2	9	1	3.7	3	6.1
Basement or Ground Floor, Floor made of Beton or Mosaic from Sixties, Small Windows	0	0	3	11.1	3	6.1
Traditional Clothing (Tesbih, Gras,Kompoloi,Tragiaska (Kind of Hat)	7	31.8	3	11.1	10	20.4
Traditional food and Kitchen	1	4.5	3	11.1	4	8.2
Gloomy, Dark, Melancoly, Nostalgic, Cosy,Local Atmosphere	4	18.2	4	14.8	8	16.4
Talking about Social and Political Issues, The real feelings, The Truth of Life, Anarchist Squats	0	0	4	14.8	4	8.2
Music, Rythme, The Simplicity of the Lyrics, Singing about being Poor without Using Microphone and Speakers	2	9	4	14.8	6	12.2
Singers, Rebet, Manges	2	9	1	3.7	3	6.1
Original Artisans (Barba, Fisherman, Butcher, Man with Calluses Hands)	2	9	0	0	2	4
Tekke, Tavern, Jail, Street, Aman Cafe	0	0	8	29.7	8	16.4
Other	3	13.6	7	26	10	20.4

Table 5.4: Conceptual Categories of Responses[10]

Feelings (19)	History (27)	Spaces (6)	Activities (14)
completed (1) modest (8) sorrow (1) warmth (3) nostalgia (1) joy (1) misery (2) represent (2)	cultural memory (12) spatial memory (3) tradition (3) old times (4) irreversibility (1) political issues (2) history (2)	simplicity (2) jail (1) tekke (1) tavern (1) anarchist squats (1)	relaxation (2) a night out (1) dance (5) drinking (6)

Physical Features (2)			Ambience (32)
taste (1) smell (1)	**Attitudes (1)** resistance (1)		cozy (8) soft (4) authenticity (8) roots (2) vintage (10)

Social Life (6)		Aesthetics (2)	Other Qualities (12)
loneliness (1) friendship (1) sense of belonging (1) the people (1) togetherness (1) injustice (1)		beauty(1) rhythm (1)	(12)

Music and Dance (7)	Person (9)	Substances (10)	
amanes (4) zeybekiko and chasapiko (2) buzuki (1)	working class (2) rebetes,manges (5) man with calluses hands (2)	food (3) alcohol (3) hashish (4)	

An open-ended question was asked to the participants about why they chose these objects. Concerning this question, by learning what object and atmosphere mean, attributes were divided into categories. As stated in conceptual categories of responses (Table 5.4), particitipants reponses has categorized twelve words that came to their minds when thinking of rebetiko culture. The categories are *feelings, history, spaces, activities, physical features, attitudes, ambience, social life, aesthetics, music and dance, person and substances.* Of the answers categorized, the most common answer was ambiance with 32 out of 147. Vintage objects, comfortable ambiance, and originality are the most requested features of the rebetiko music place. The answers given about it are as follows; ''I think that these elements are very usual in authentic places that you can listen to rebetiko.'' , and the other reponse; ''The first one is a very distinct and vintage piece of clothing that old rebetes used to wear. The kompoloi, is connected directly to the rebetiko culture.'', another response is ''Candles are for soft

---

[10] Inspired by Daniel Koglin's answers of Istanbul respondents table. (Koglin,2016)

lighting, warm and cozy ambience, the same as old rebetiko times in 40s''. With 27 answers, the history feature comes after these features. According to most respondents, it is important to see the impressions of cultural memory at the place. The answer given about it is as follows; '' I think after some years, living outside of Greece made me to like to those songs, and spending some nights hearing them and feel somehow completed.'', the other example is ''…And the food is because we mostly hear rembetiko inside taverns etc, so it brings those memories back.'', another one is '' The reason for choosing the picture of the rebets that reminds me of my memories and stories that happened at rebetiko place.'' The answers about feelings, social life, and physical features categories are as follows; ''The reasons for choosing the drink and glass, make me feel the region through taste and smell. Also, they remind me of memories.'', the other response is, ''Pictures make me remind of history, wooden chairs and tables are the objects that were at that time, and do not remind the richness, the place should be a more modest environment.'', another example is ''… Tesbih is a good companion while conversing and dancing. …''

In question 2, two different rebetiko music place's photos were shown to the participants. The aim of the question is to identify participant' mind image of rebetika music place. The reason for choosing two places from different countries is to determine whether there are any differences or similarities in the results of the responses. In order not to change the consideration of the participants, the photos are shown in grayscale. As mentioned before, main reasons for this selection is the difference in the way the audience sit, and the gender of the dancers in these two places. Both places also share similarities in their lighting, atmosphere, and ambience.

The first image was the Kumbara Cafe in İstanbul,Turkey, and the second image was Feidiou 2 in Athens, Greek. As the result is that the place in Turkey with 71.4%, while the place in Greece with 28.6% (Table 5.5). In this case, although most places in Greece reflect the rebetiko culture, it is understood that some places sometimes do not reflect the culture. However, However, there are few unique places that reflect the rebetiko culture in Turkey and it has seen that a random place can also reflect the rebetiko culture with its atmosphere.

Table 5.5: Table of Responses in Question 2

	Frequency	Valid Percent
A	14	28,6
B	35	71,4
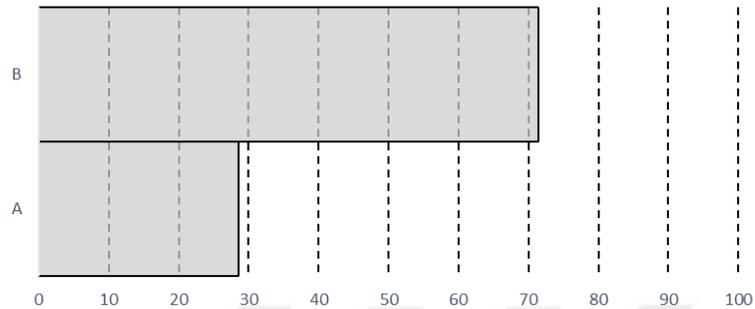
Later on, an open-ended question was directed to the participants about the reasons in their selection. Following the answers given, from Henry Sanoff's classification of descriptive attributes, form, detail, quality, context, style, size and status; form, detail, and quality are selected. (Sanoff,1991,p.17) These answers were categorized based on these attributes. (Table 5.6).

**Table 5.6:** Open-ended Responses to the Selected Photo

	Form	Quality	Style	Size
A (Greece)	reminds of concert venue (4) as if dancing show (4) clear separation (3)	feeling belong (1) familiar (2) cosy (1) original (1) commercial (1)	reflects reality (1) local (1) authentic (5) traditional (3) formal (1) entertaining (1) vintage (1)	large (1)
B (Turkey)	no separation between musicans and audiences (3) in rebetiko, you need your table to eat/drink,talk and hear the music (5) reminds of tekke atmosphere stage, musicans and audiences' location (1) lighting details (2) theatrical stages (1)	confortable (5) feeling belong (6) less overcrowded (1) express yourself by dancing (4) non-professional musicians (1) warm (2) participated (3) feeling spontaneous (1) cosy (2)	informal (2) reminds of tekke style (2) imitation (1) political left beliefs (1) decorated beautiful (1) hospitality (1) touristic (1) modern (1)	small (1)

In question 3, in relation to spatial user habits, participants were asked to indicate their expectations regarding the stage, dancing area and seating layout with adjectives in rebetiko music place.

Responses to the question of how they want the stage to be; the same level stage is with 65.3%, stage within the seating area is with 63.3%, the square stage is with 26.5%, the elevated stage is with 18.4% and the round stage is with 10.2%. (Table 5.7) In this case, it is understood that the stage should be at the same level, within the seating area and square-shaped.

Table 5.7: Table of Stage Responses

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Square stage	13	26,5
Round stage	5	10,2
Elevated stage	9	18,4
Same level stage	32	65,3
Stage within the seating area	31	63,3
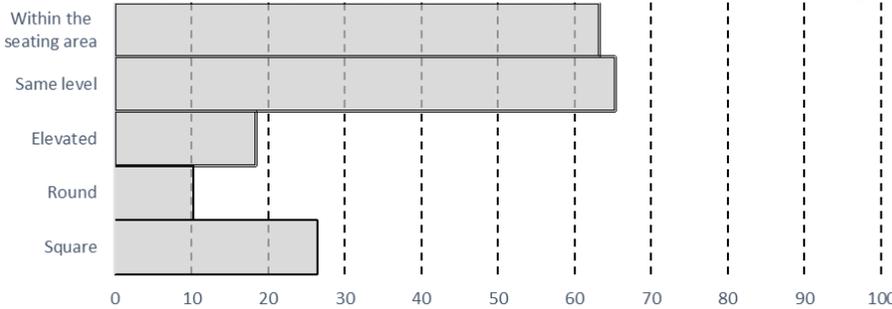
Responses to the question of how they want the dancing area to be; dancing area within the seating area is with 67.3%, the same level dancing area is with 61.2%, the round dancing area is with 20.4%, the square dancing area is with 5.1% and elevated dancing area is with 0%. (Table 5.8) In this case, it is understood that the dancing area should be at the same level and within the seating area.

Table 5.8: Table of Dancing Area Responses

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Square dancing area	3	6,1
Round dancing area	10	20,4
Elevated dancing area	0	0
Same level dancing area	30	61,2
Dancing area within the seating area	33	67,3
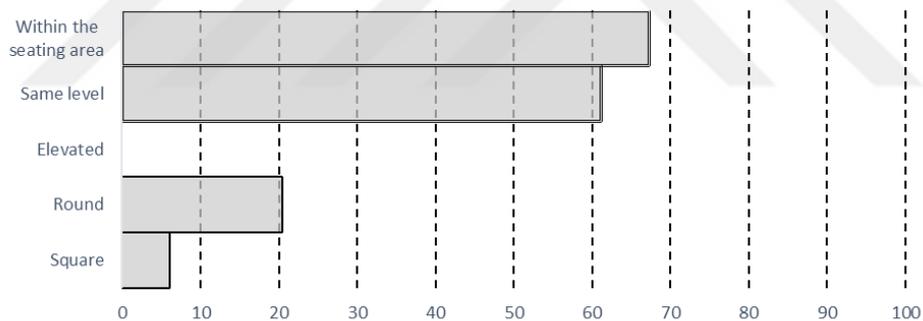
Responses to the question of how they want the seating layout to be; chairs around tables is with 67.3%, scattered seating is with 44.9%, chairs facing the stage is with 38.8% and planned seating is with 0%. (Table 5.9) In this case, it is understood that the seating layout should be chairs around tables, facing the stage and scattered seating.

Table 5.9: Table of Seating Layout Responses

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Scattered seating	22	44,9
Planned seating	0	0
Chairs facing the stage	19	38,8
Chairs around tables	33	67,3
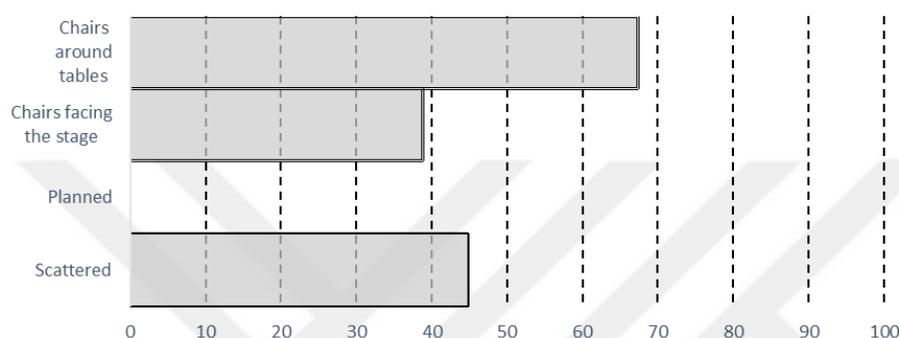
In question 4 and 5, the perceptual characteristics were tried to be measured by using 5 point semantic differential method with adjective pairs. As reported by Osgood, the semantic differential as a measuring instrument is a general way of getting at a certain type of information, it is also *generalizable technique of measurement*. (Osgood,1957) In relation to this, in question 4, participants indicated their emotional status which consisted of eleven variables such as; exotic-familiar or sense of belonging, solitary-gregarious, remembering memories-forgotten past, depressing-uplifting, melancholy-cheerful, unpleasant-pleasant, emotional-serious, boring-entertaining, rebellious-non-rebellious, tense-relaxed, formal-informal.

The frequencies and valid percents of the answers were analyzed (Table 5.10). The numerical statistics according to the number of people indicates the participants' feelings clearly. It was seen that participants tend to feel belong with 51%, neutral in respond to solitary and gregarious with 53.06%, remembering memories with 51.02%, neutral in respond to depressing and uplifting with 48.97%, melancholy with 48.97%, followed by neutral in respond to unpleasant and pleasant with 44.89%, emotional with 61.22%, neutral in respond to boring and entertaining with 44.89%, rebellious with 40.81%, neutral in respond to tense and relaxed with 46.93% and informal with 75.51%.

Table 5.10: Cumulative Frequency Distribution[11]

1.	Frequency	Valid Percent
Exotic 1	3	6.12
2	0	0
3	10	20.4
4	11	22.44
Familiar, Sense of Belonging 5	25	51

2.	Frequency	Valid Percent
Solitary 1	1	2.04
2	9	18.36
3	26	53.06
4	6	12.24
Gregarious 5	7	14.28

3.	Frequency	Valid Percent
Remembering Memories 1	25	51.02
2	4	8.16
3	8	16.32
4	2	4.08
Forgotten Past 5	10	20.40

4.	Frequency	Valid Percent
Depressing 1	10	20.40
2	1	2.04
3	24	48.97
4	0	0
Uplifting 5	14	28.57

5.	Frequency	Valid Percent
Melancholy 1	24	48.97
2	4	8.16
3	8	16.32
4	3	6.12
Cheerful 5	10	20.40

6.	Frequency	Valid Percent
Unpleasant 1	0	0
2	4	8.16
3	22	44.89
4	5	10.20
Pleasant 5	18	36.73

7.	Frequency	Valid Percent
Emotional 1	30	61.22
2	5	10.20
3	9	18.36
4	5	10.20
Serious 5	0	0

8.	Frequency	Valid Percent
Boring 1	0	0
2	6	12.24
3	22	44.89
4	3	6.12
Entertaining 5	18	36.73

9.	Frequency	Valid Percent
Rebellious 1	20	40.81
2	16	32.65
3	13	26.53
4	0	0
Non-rebellious 5	0	0

10.	Frequency	Valid Percent
Tense 1	0	0
2	3	6.12
3	23	46.93
4	6	12.24
Relaxed 5	17	34.69

11.	Frequency	Valid Percent
Formal 1	0	0
2	0	0
3	12	24.48
4	0	0
Informal 5	37	75.51

---

[11] Inspired by Henry Sanoff's cumulative ferequency distribution fiqure. (Sanoff,1975,p.76)
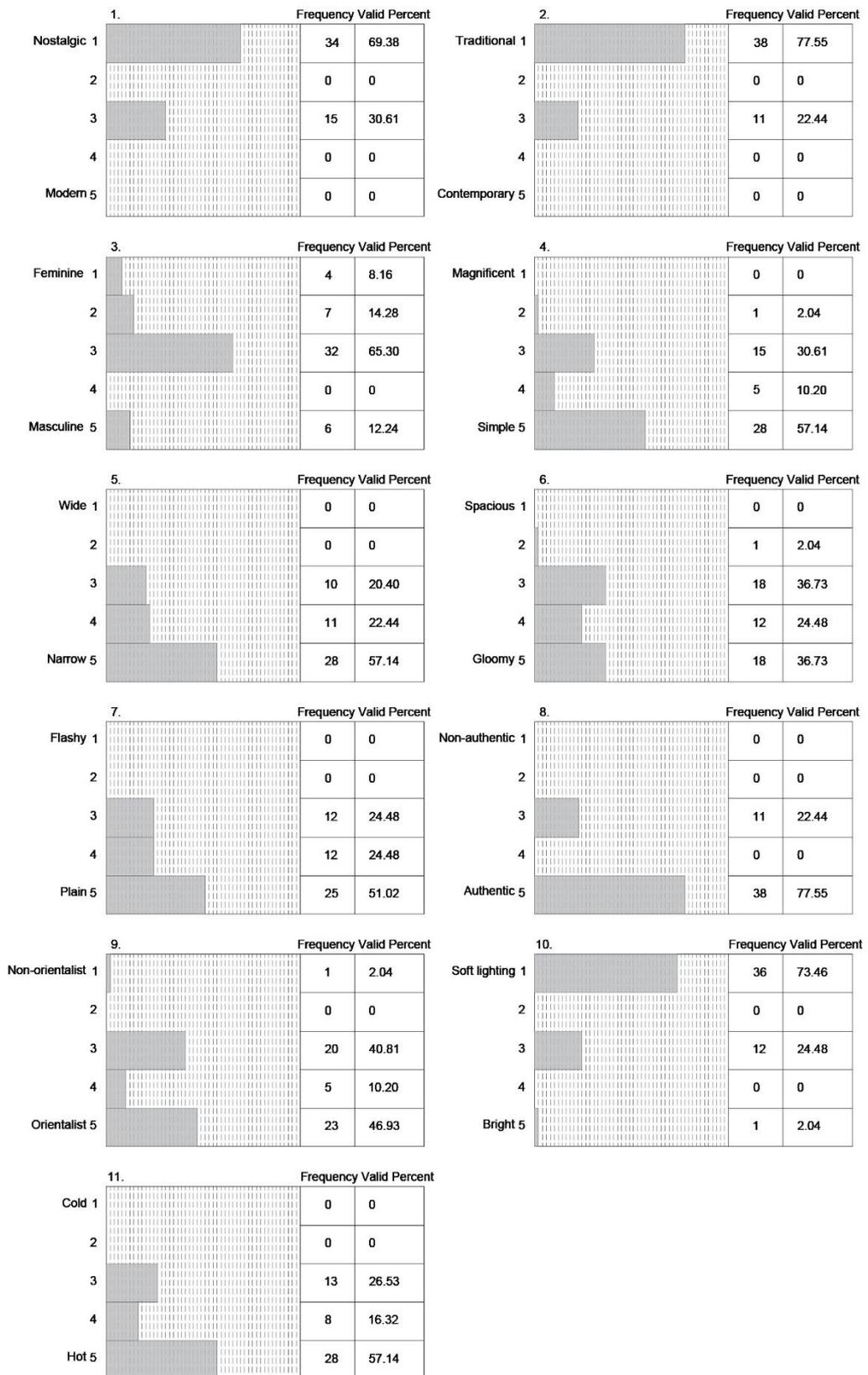
According to mean of these scales, it can be seen that participants had the tendency for various affective states because all the means are under or above 3 which is neutral value (Table 5.11) Some responses were neutral according to valid percents. Therefore, arithmetic mean distribution of the emotion scale results more definite. In this respect, participants tend to feel familiar, gregarious, remembering memories, uplifting, melancholy, pleasant, emotional, entertaining, rebellious, relaxed and informal.

Table 5.11: Arithmetic Mean Distribution of the Emotion Scales
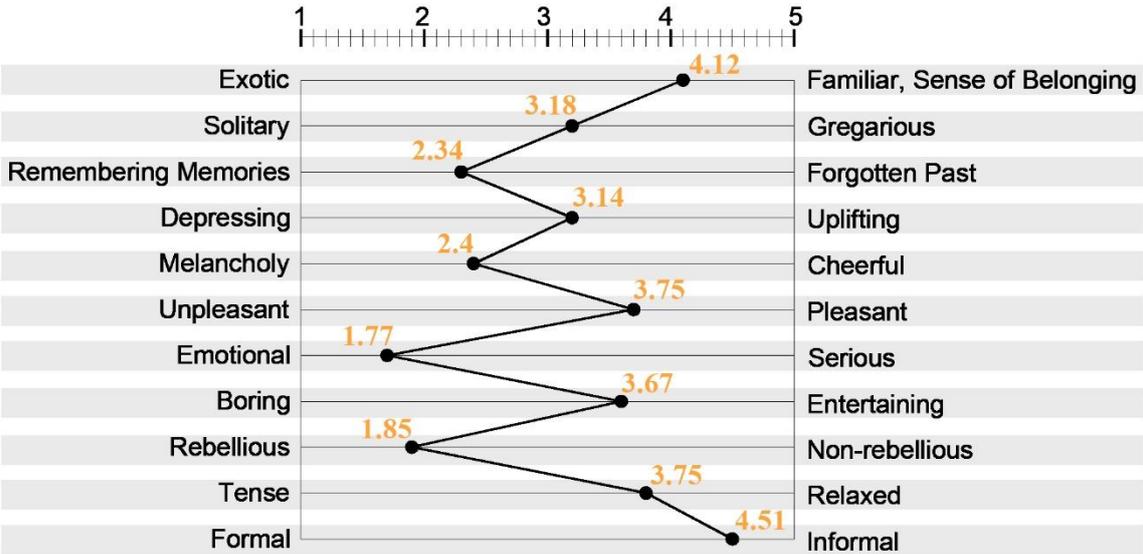
In question 5, participants indicated their opinions/adjectives that describe rebetiko music places (they visited) regarding its interior. The opinions/adjectives consisted of eleven variables such as; nostalgic-modern, traditional-contemporary, feminine-masculine, magnificent-simple, narrow-wide, gloomy-spacious, flashy-plain, authentic-non-authentic, orientalist-non-orientalist, soft lighting-bright, cold-hot.

The frequencies and valid percents of the answers were analyzed (Table 5.12). The numerical statistics according to the number of people indicates the rebetiko music places' form, quality, style and size clearly. It was seen that participants opinions of the rebetiko music places; nostalgic with 69.38%, traditional with 77.55%, neutral in respond to feminine and masculine with 65.30%, simple with 57.14%, narrow with 57.14%, equal neutral and gloomy respond with 36.73%, plain with 51.02%, authentic with 77.55%, orientalist with 46.93%, soft lighting with 73.46% and hot with 57.14%.

Table 5.12: Cumulative Frequency Distribution[12]

1.		Frequency	Valid Percent
Nostalgic 1		34	69.38
2		0	0
3		15	30.61
4		0	0
Modern 5		0	0

2.		Frequency	Valid Percent
Traditional 1		38	77.55
2		0	0
3		11	22.44
4		0	0
Contemporary 5		0	0

3.		Frequency	Valid Percent
Feminine 1		4	8.16
2		7	14.28
3		32	65.30
4		0	0
Masculine 5		6	12.24

4.		Frequency	Valid Percent
Magnificent 1		0	0
2		1	2.04
3		15	30.61
4		5	10.20
Simple 5		28	57.14

5.		Frequency	Valid Percent
Wide 1		0	0
2		0	0
3		10	20.40
4		11	22.44
Narrow 5		28	57.14

6.		Frequency	Valid Percent
Spacious 1		0	0
2		1	2.04
3		18	36.73
4		12	24.48
Gloomy 5		18	36.73

7.		Frequency	Valid Percent
Flashy 1		0	0
2		0	0
3		12	24.48
4		12	24.48
Plain 5		25	51.02

8.		Frequency	Valid Percent
Non-authentic 1		0	0
2		0	0
3		11	22.44
4		0	0
Authentic 5		38	77.55

9.		Frequency	Valid Percent
Non-orientalist 1		1	2.04
2		0	0
3		20	40.81
4		5	10.20
Orientalist 5		23	46.93

10.		Frequency	Valid Percent
Soft lighting 1		36	73.46
2		0	0
3		12	24.48
4		0	0
Bright 5		1	2.04

11.		Frequency	Valid Percent
Cold 1		0	0
2		0	0
3		13	26.53
4		8	16.32
Hot 5		28	57.14

[12] Inspired by Henry Sanoff's cumulative ferequency distribution fiqure. (Sanoff,1975,p.76)

109

Some responses were neutral according to valid percents. Therefore, arithmetic mean distribution of the adjective scale results more definite (Table 5.13). In this respect, participants opinions that describe rebetiko music places were nostalgic, traditional, feminine, simple, narrow, gloomy, plain, authentic, orientalist, soft lighting and hot.

Table 5.13: Arithmetic Mean Distribution of the Adjective Scales
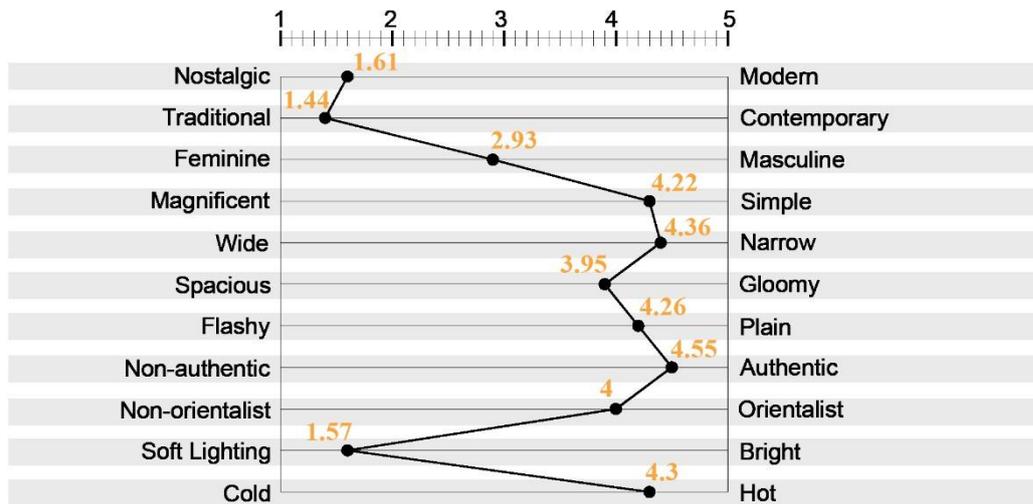
Lastly, in question 6, participants were asked to choose one of the photographs that reminds of typical rebetiko music place. As mentioned before, while the previous questions enable the comparison of the places in Greece and Turkey, this question inquires about the opinions of the inhabitants of Greece and Turkey on which rebetiko period matches their idea of the typical rebetiko. As a result of the survey, while the rebetadiko image with smoky, flattened atmosphere from Rembetiko movie is with 95.9%, the bouzoukia image with square smashing plates from the documentary Music of Outsiders: Rembetika is with 2%. (Table 5.14) In this case, in proportion to the responses given in other questions, typical rebetiko place should be gloomy, plain and authentic. However, according to most responses, participants found that smashing plates is also popular culture.

Table 5.14: Table of Responses in Question 6

	Frequency	Valid Percent
A	47	95,9
B	2	4,1
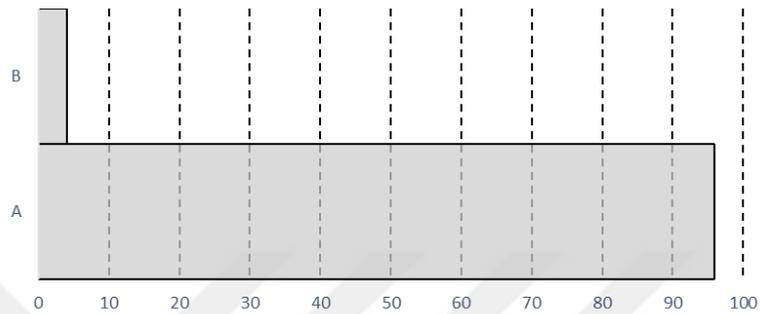
Later on, an open-ended question was directed to the participants about the reasons in their selection. The responses categorized in accordance with the answers given. (Table 5.15) Some responses are as follows; ''The image B depicts the situation around '70 where the transformation of the rebetiko music to the so-called "popular" music result an ugly form of lifestyle, in which everything resolves around show - off by money spending.'', another example is ''The environment in the image A more serious, while the image B is more friendly and reminds of Greek culture. Moreover, people should be in the same social background and have fun with each other without hesitation.''

Table 5.15: Open-ended Responses to the Selected Photo

	User Habits and Clothes	**Periodic Factors**	**Architectural Factors**	**Cognitive Factors**
A (Rebetadiko)	people wear typical clothes and hats of the era, more iconic (1) people's social background is lower class (3) slang style, hats, mustaches atc. (1) on the real rebetiko maximum you throw some flowers (1)	referring to rebetika era up to 1955 (2)	don't have this separation of audience and performers (performers in the same level, audience actively participating by singing) (1) foggy atmosphere and soft lighting authentic and simple	to remind of historical rempetadiko (3) feeling that typical rebetiko moments (1) friendly, cosy place (1) expressing his grief in smoky place (2)
B (Bouzoukia)	"Breaking plates" is a completely different type of musical experience (1) plates white flashy clothing where upper classes would normally go for entertainment (2) having fun and showing off your money (3) ugly form of lifestyle (2)	referring to 70's and on (1) play songs created years after original rempetiko (2)	from bouzoukia, eveything is in excess here (1) no authenticity (4) aesthetically quite kitsch (2)	did not reflect at all the 'blues" part of rembetiko (2) feeling the stereotype (1) to remind of bouzoukia culture (4)

5.4 Section Results

Observational study and survey study results are reciprocally supporting; and they convey both compatibilities and incompatibilities with the insights derived throughout the literature review. Literature review revealed that Rebetiko places demonstrated cultural reflections relevant to the period they belong in. In the context of spatial objects, spatial user habits and spatial atmosphere of Rebetiko places, and based on the insights mentioned above, the field study aims to construct the organization and atmosphere that bears the most resemblances with the initial and mid phases of Rebetiko places, in other words its unpopular times. Firstly, observational study results (Table 5.16) show that today there are very few Rebetiko places left in Turkey, Rebetiko's homeland, and they bear little resemblance with the Rebetiko culture. Meanwhile in Greece, there are plenty of protected Rebetiko places, and it is observed that Rebetiko fans today have the greatest part in what is keeping them alive. Later, the survey study results (Table 5.17) emphasize that Rebetiko places should embrace the atmosphere that original Rebetiko places had.

Table 5.16: Observational Study Results

Observational Study Results		Ο Αγγελος	Ο Maestros
Spatial Objects	**Similarities**	the walls are photographs associated with the elements of rebetiko culture	
		wooden signage at the entrance	
		gas lamp, candle lights	
	Differences	small low wooden stools and tables	high wooden chairs and tables
Spatial User Habits	**Similarities**	same level stage, seating and dancing area	
		stage within seating and dancing area	
		planned seating and chairs around tables	
		during the performance: scattered seating ans chairs facing the stage	
	Differences	doing zeibekiko and khasapiko	doing mostly tsphte teli, sometimes zeibekiko
		the other customers are watching the dancer in silence and without applause	the other customers are watching the dancer with applause, also they are dancing at the same time
		hosts live rebetiko performances every night repertoire is a compilation of 40s and 50s heavy rebetika	hosts live rebetiko performances twice a week repertoire is a compilation of entertaing rebetika and turkish music
		musicians singing rebetiko without a microphone	musicians singing songs with a microphone
		attracts the true fans of rebetika particular styles	attracts the fans of rebetika styles and white collar young people
		act local and laid-back attitude of rebetiko	act entertaining and not calm
Spatial Atmosphere	**Similarities**	wooden door above a single step opens to a simple cozy interior	
		wooden steps leading customers to the music hall where other customers are also seated	
		same level seating layout	
		symmetrical (small two rooms connected with corridor)	
		openings enabling the customers in the separate chambers to see each other and hear the other side's music	
		nostalgic atmosphere	
	Differences	two- storey neoclassical building	the historical 3-storey Rum mansion
		dim lighting	bright lighting
		the main room and the two chambers have a capacity of 50 people in total	a total capacity of 120 people the upmost floor can host 50 people
		located in a non-touristy area where most of the buildings are covered in graffiti	located in touristy area along the seaside
		small smoke filled room	small, spacious room

Table 5.17: Survey Study Results

Survey Study Results	responses in Turkey and Greece
Spatial Objects	Image/Photo of Rebetes, Manges
	Wooden, Old Fashioned Table/ Wicker Chairs Set to eat, drink and talk
	Small Traditional Glass and Carafe
	Traditional Drinks and Clothing
	Oil Lamp, Candles
	Vintage objects as decoration
	Folk instruments (Bouzouki ,Ut, Kanun, Baglamas, Finger bells)
	oriental corner
Spatial User Habits	stage: square and same level
	dancing area: round and within the seating area
	seating layout: chairs around tabes and scattered seating
	no separation between musicians and audiences
	typical dancing: zeibekiko, khasapiko
	not breaking plates
	lower class with slang style, hats, mustacles
Spatial Atmosphere	familiar, sense of belonging
	remembering memories
	melancholy
	pleasant
	emotional
	entertaining
	rebellious
	relaxed
	informal
	nostalgic
	traditional
	simple
	narrow
	gloomy
	plain
	authentic
	orientalist
	soft lighting
	hot
	reminds tekke style
	less overcrowded

Once both methods are compared with each other (Table 5.18), the following have been observed: Observational study, in contrary to the literature review, shows that the places in Turkey do not fully reflect Rebetiko culture. According to the survey that was based on the photographs of Rebetiko places in Turkey and Greece, places in Turkey reflected the Rebetiko culture more. As much as this contradicts with the observational study that indicates places in Greece are better representatives, results usually show the (typical) Rebetiko place is generally tiny, cosy and multifunctional places without any barriers between the musician and audience spots.

Table 5.18: Comparison of Observational and Survey Study Results

	Similarities
Observational Study Results **Survey Study Results**	1- photographs hanging the wall associated with the elements of the rebetiko culture
	2- wooden signage at the entrance
	3- gas lamps and candle lights
	4- small low wooden stools and tables
	5- same level stage, seating and dancing area and no separation
	6- planned seating and chairs around tables but during performance: scattered seating and chairs facing the stage
	7- doing traditional dancing
	8- other customers are watching the dancer in silence and without applause
	9- musicans singing rebetika without music system
	10- up to 50 customers

	11- familiar, sense of belonging, remembering memories, melancholy, pleasant
	   emotional, entertaining, rebellious, relaxed, informal, nostalgic, traditional, simple
	   narrow, gloomy, plain, authentic, orientalist, soft lighting, hot, reminds od tekke style

	Differences
	1- Although most places in Greece reflect the rebetiko culture in observational study results, it is understood that some places sometimes do not reflect the culture in survey study results. However, there are few unique places that reflect the rebetiko culture in Turkey and it has seen that a random place can also reflect the rebetiko culture with its atmosphere

Considering the coherent cases derived from the field study, literature review on how Rebetiko places should be are supported with the interviews from the survey study. At the same time, observational study indicates that the places in Greece have the spatial elements that were addressed. The cases that were not coherent with the anticipations show that it was expected to find more authentic Rebetiko places in Turkey since Rums created many of them before fleeing to Greece. However, according to the observational study, it is observed that in Greece there are actually more of these Rebetiko places that could survive until today through preservation.

Inadequateness of related literature has been a challenge in this field study. Rebetiko places have been examined, not for their architectural forms, but from the cultural perspective regarding their spatial organization and spatial user habits. Consequently, the elements/materials evoking Rebetiko culture throughout Rebetiko's history since it was born, were revealed. The weakness of this study can be articulated as follows: Places that are Rebetiko-exclusive in terms of musical performances are extremely few in number today, therefore majority of Rebetiko places adopted a modernized look regarding their atmosphere and users. This lead to Rebetiko places that are not really Rebetiko-like. The examples examined for this thesis seemed to have slight resemblances, still they were not enough. However, both observational and survey studies were found to be supporting each other which lead to achieving desired results.

6. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATION

Starting from the question "How can we define the relationship between performance places, the music genre and the culture?", this dissertation studied the following: How the music production, with the aim of protecting the culture and maintaining the wholeness of a community, contributes to the lives of individuals; and how this feedback has a triggering effect on the transformation of places. With respect to above conclusion, the interpretation of the prominent human and environment relationships are crucial for the theoretical dimension of this study. On the basis of this note, initially, how cultural identity and cultural musicology concepts are perceived and evaluated, then design elements obtained from spatial analyses of lifestyles, were both discussed. Culture can be described as a concept comprised of any accumulation and achievement regarding humankind. Delving into the core of the values culture is made up of, it is possible to examine it with both an individualistic and societal approach. In the case of identity as a concept, it defines the community by expanding from individual to whole. Anything accumulated throughout its history and its geography, in other words all the elements of a culture, creates what is called the local culture of a community. The traditional tunes originated from local cultures differ by region. The impact of this notion can be displayed in the interior design variations of traditional places that are designated for listening to musical performances. Place and music born out of the need for creating and protecting a cultural identity. Looking at some examples from the regional perspective: The combination of Turkish folk music and Arabic tunes bore the genre Arabesque; laments and folk songs featuring regional instruments and accents can be found all across Anatolia. Some other examples for traditional music are, the fado in Portugal and the Celtic music in Scandinavia. The ineraction between the culture and space has a dialectical basis. The identity crises due to migration only resolve after identification with places and creating territories within the space, then new identities begin taking shape. The relationship becomes visible through feelings like identification and belonging, and such feelings contribute to the transfer of some identical attributes to the space. For the sake of protecting their

117

identities, individuals assign meaningful attributes to those interior spaces. This reveals how interior spaces are affected by the user and interpreted by the communities.

In the light of the perspective explained above, African and Greek diasporas were selected for their identification with the hardships in their history and their coping methods that embrace the power of music. Having emerged in these diasporas, Blues, Reggae, Hip-hop and Rebetiko differ from the rest of the genres, not only for being reflections of cultural identity or emotions, but also the longing for homeland, and the pain of being subjected to forced exile and slavery.

The subjects covered by initial phase of this dissertation studies can be encapsulated as the following list of keywords and expressions: The importance of music within diasporic communities, cultural identity, cultural memory, revolt, freedom, rootlessness, being a whole through musicking, censorship of their music and lifestyles, and even imprisonment, being unable to meet and make music, music becoming their lifestyle and influencing their daily life, starting performing on the streets which later became indoor performances.

In the second phase, upon the selection of an exemplary genre, rebetiko is also a part of my culture, rebetiko in Greece and Turkey were compared from a diasporic perspective. In this section, field study has done with observational and survey study that are supported by each other. Observation method is done to identify the similarities and differences of rebetiko music places between Greece and Turkey, also graphic representations of both areas were drawn. Looking at the two selected locations, it is seen that there is no difference in terms of plan layout and pattern language. Observed in both places, the existence of two small rooms that connected with the corridor is one of the features of Rum buildings. The form, melancholic atmosphere of the two places, the seating layout of musicians and audiences are as the same as the scenes of Ferris (1983) , Stella (1995) movies and also Holst (1983)', Petropoulos (2000)', Wittgenstein (2001)', Chorbajoglou (2012)' spatial depictions of rebetiko places. After that, survey method was used to understand the dominant views of users both in Turkey and Greece. The data obtained from the survey study revealed the traits of rebetiko places as follows: nostalgic, modest, tiny, dimly lit, cozy, hosting traditional dances, designated for keeping the musicians and audience together,

singing without microphones, folk instruments, walls decorated with images of rebetes a nd manges, atmosphere evoking cultural memory, foggy with smoke. Meanwhile, the observational studies brought the following to light: Rebetiko is played the majority of places in Greece, that possess the mentioned qualities, and many historical places are well preserved, while in Turkey there are only a few Rebetiko places and only one of them has slight resemblances with respect to these qualities. The result of the interviews show that the regulars of Rebetiko do not see it as just a musical experience, but also a life philosophy, therefore they want to experience it as part of a spatial experience as well. This is why the Rebetiko fans in Turkey travel to Greece, since there is no such place in Turkey, in order to listen to Rebetiko, moreover feel it. Combined with the theoretical basis of this dissertation, this experimental study suggests that; the Rum music Rebetiko does not manifest itself in the spatial sense in Turkey, the *homeland*, while it is clearly visible in Greece, the *hostland*, with a few exceptions. Thereby, in addition to the literature review, what the field study contributed to this dissertation is the studying of Rebetiko places in the diaspora context and spatial comparisons being made on a broader level, between places in Turkey and Greece. Also, the following can be considered other contributions to the thesis: It was revealed whether the data obtained from the literature review were reflected on the chosen places, and whether these places were conserved. Moreover, during this study, Rebetiko fans both from Turkey and Greece were given opportunities to be heard about their spatial expectations.

Lastly, the dissertation studied the diaspora, music and space trio as a whole. Displaying an interdisciplinary nature in this respect, the dissertation brings the sociology, ethnomusicology, anthropology and interior design disciplines together. It also takes a closer look to the Greek and Turkish rebetiko as well as comparing nostalgia and contemporary rebetiko performance. At this point, it will be beneficial to mention that this study does not solely aim to provide a particular data that is proven, but more of an exemplary study for future studies to build upon. Based on the suggestion that space exists through the user experience, architecture could also be considered a part of the process.

REFERENCES

Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.*London: Verso.

Attali, J. (1985). *Noise: The Political Economy of Music* (translated by Brian Massumi), Minneapolis, MN, University of Minnesota Press. Originally published 1977.

Avelot, H. (1897). *Croquis de Grèce et de Turquie, 1896-1897.* Autour de l'Archipel, textes et dessins d'Henri Avelot. A. Mame (Ed.) Tours: Alfred Mame et fils, editeurs

Aydemir, Z. (2017). Experiments, practices and positions in architectural design studio. (PhD Thesis). İstanbul Technical University, Faculty of Architecture, ISTANBUL.

Bahloul, J. (1996). *The Architecture of Memory, A Jewish-Muslim household in colonial Algeria 1937-1962* (Cambridge Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology)

Baily, J. (1994). *The role of music in the creation of an Afghan national identity*, in Stokes, M (ed.), *Music ethnicity and identity: The musical construction of place*, Oxford: Berg, pp. 45-60.

Baily, J. and Collyer, M. (2006) *'Introduction: Music and Migration', Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 32(2): 167_82.

Bandt R., Duffy M. and MacKinnon D. (2007) *Hearing Places: Sound, Place, Time and Culture,* Chapter 17, Birdsall, C. *All of Germany Listens to the Führer: Radio's Acoustic Space and ''Imagined Listening Community'' in Nazi Germany*

Baraka, A. (1967) *Black Music (AkashiClassics: Renegade Reprint Series*

Baraka, A. (1963) *Blues People: Negro Music in White America*, (William Morrow and Company)

Barker, R. G. (1968) *Ecological Psychology: Concepts and Methods for Studying the Environment of Human Behavior*; Stanford University Press: Palo Alto, CA, USA

Baronian, M.A., Besser S. and Jansen Y. (2006) *Diaspora and Memory : Figures of Displacement in Contemporary Literature, Arts and Politics*, (Thamyris 13) (Thamyris/Intersecting: Place, Sex and Race)

Bauböck R. & Faist, T. (2010). *Diaspora and transnationalism: Concepts, Theories and Methods*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Bauman, Z. (2000) *'From pilgrim to tourist: or a short history of identity'*, in Hall, S. and Du Gay, P.(eds) Questions of Cultural Identity. London: Sage, 18_36.

Baumeister, R. F., & Leary, M. R. (1995). *The need to belong: Desire forinterpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation*.Psychological Bulletin, 117, 497–529.

Bayburtlu, A. S. (2015). *Kültür, Etnomüzikoloji ve Müzikoloji İlişkisi*. International Journal of Cultural and Social Studies.

Beyru, R. (2000). *19. Yüzyılda İzmir'de Yaşam*. İstanbul: Literatür

Beken, Münir N. (1998). Musicians, audience and power: the changing aestetics in the music at the Maksim gazino of Ġstanbul, Dissertation of PHD, Univ.of Maryland. The original manuscript by UMI. Microform: 9902746

Bennett, A. (2000) *Popular Music and Youth Culture: Music, Identity and Place*. New York: St Martins Press.

Bennett, A. (2005) *Culture and Everyday Life*. SAGE Publications Ltd; First edition

Bergerot, F. (2004) *Tarih Boyunca Caz: Gelenek, Stiller, Sahne Arkası, Kişiler*. Dost Kitabevi, Çevirmen: İsmail Yerguz

Birdsall, C. (2012) N*azi Soundscapes: Sound, Technology and Urban Space in Germany, 1933-1945*, published by Amsterdam University Press, reached from < http://library.umac.mo/ebooks/b28019684.pdf >

Bittel, S. (2018) Afghan son(g)s: The role of music in the migration process. Master Thesis, Univ.Geneve

Bonnerjee, J. J. (2010). *Neighbourhood, City, Diaspora: Identity and belonging for Calcutta's Anglo-Indian and Chinese Communities*. Queen Mary, University of London

Bonnette L.M. (2015), *Pulse of the People : Political Rap Music and Black Politics*. University of Pennsylvania Press

Boyarin, D., & Boyarin, J. (1993). *Diaspora: Generation and the Ground of Jewish Identity.* Critical Inquiry, Vol. 19, No. 4 (Summer, 1993), pp. 693-725

Brackman, H. (2010). *Jews, African Americans and Israel: The Ties That Bind.* Simon Wiesenthal Center/Museum of Tolerance

Brown, S., Volgsten U. (2005). *Music and Manipulation: On the Social Uses and Social Control of Music* (Chapter 9: Music Cencorship from Plato to the Present by Korpe M., Reitov O. And Cloonan M.)

Campbell, P. (1996). *Analysing Performance Chapter 13: Sarah Rubidge, 'Does authenticity matter? The case for and against authenticity in the performing arts'.* (Mancherster,1996)

Canova N. (2013). *Music in French geography as space marker and place maker*, Social & Cultural Geography, 14(8): 861-867.

Chapman, A., (2005). *Breath and bamboo: diasporic Lao identity and the Lao mouth-organ.* Journal of Intercultural Studies

Chernoff, J. M. (1979). *African rhythm and African sensibility, aesthetics, and social action In African musician idioms.* Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Clarke, P. B. (1986). *Black Paradise: The Rastafarian Movement. New Religious Movements Series.* Wellingborough: The Aquarian Press

Clifford, J. (1994). *Diasporas. Cultural Anthropology,* Center for Cultural Studies, University of California, Santa Cruz

Cohen, R. (1997). *Global Diasporas: An Introduction (2nd ed.).* New York: Routledge.

Chorbajoglou, Y. (2012). *Rebetika: Music from the Old Greek Underworld.* Black Rose Books

Çifci, Y. (2016). *Müzikal Ötekileştirme: Siyahî Müzikleri (Blues) Örneği* <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/download/article-file/583514>

Çokuğraş, I. (2016). *Bekar Odaları ve Meyhaneler, Osmanlı İstanbulu'unda Marjinalite ve Mekan 1789-1839*, İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü

Darwin, C. (1871). *The Descent of Man*, Originally published London: J. Murray

Daynes, S. *The Musical Construction of the diaspora: the case of reggae and Rastafari* (Part 1 Music,Space and Place in Music,Space and Place by Whiteley S., Bennett A. And Hawkins S.)

DeNora, T. (2000). *Music in Everyday Life*, Cambridge University Press

Demir, M. (2011). Kültürel Etkileşim ve Göç Bağlamında İsrail'de Türk Musikisi İcraları. Doktora Tezi.

Demir, M. (2018). *Osmanlı Eğlence Hayatında Bir Alt Kültür Müzikli KAhvehâne: Amane Kahvehâneleri*. Cyprus International University In Web. Data retrieved, 14 December 2019, from <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/544151 >

Deleuze, G. & Guattari F. (1987). *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, University of Minnesota Press, in English

D'Entremont. (1998). *The Devil's Disciples*, SAGE Journals

Dikbaş, E. (2014). *Rebetiko: Ege'de Aşk ve Hüzün*.Pera Kitap

Dufoix, S. (2011). *Diasporalar*. İstanbul: Hrant Dink Vakfı Yay.

Eisenstein, R. (1981). *The Radical Future of Liberal Feminism,* Boston: Northeastern University Press.

Erinç, S. M. (2004). *Kültür Sanat Sanat Kültür.* Ankara:Ütopya Yayınları.

Erol, A. (2012). *Identity, Migration and Transnationalism: Expressive Cultural Practices of the Toronto Alevi Community*, Ethnomusicology,Dokuz Eylül University in Izmir, Turkey

Ferris, K. (1985). Rembetiko (movie).

Floyd Jr., S. A. (1995). *The Power of Black Music: Interpreting Its History from Africa to the United States,* Oxford University Press USA

Fortier, Anne-Marie. (2005). *"Diaspora." Cultural Geography. A Critical Dictionary of Key Concepts* . Eds. David Atkinson et al. London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2005, 182-87.

Frith, S. (2000) *'Music and identity'*, in Hall, S. and Du Gay, P. (eds) Questions of Cultural Identity. London: Sage, 108_27.

Gauntlett, S. (1982). "*Rebetiko tragoudi as a generic term", Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, No 8, 1982. Greek translation by Κώστας Βλησίδης: «Ο ειδολογικός όρος «ρεμπέτικο τραγούδι»», in: Στάθης Gauntlett, Ρεμπέτικο τραγούδι. Συμβολή στην επιστημονική του προσέγγιση. Athens: Εκδό- σεις του εικοστού πρώτου, 2001.

Gauntlett, S. (1985). Rebetika. Carmina Graecia Recentioris. Revised edition of Ph. D. Dissertation (Oxford University), vols. 2. Athens: Denise Harvey.

Gauntlett, S. (2001a) Stathis Gauntlett, *"The discreet charm of Greek low-life: the fascination of the English-speaking world with rebetes and rebetika"*,

Journal of Liberal Arts (The Journal of interdisciplinary studies of the American College of Thessaloniki), Volume 6, No. 1 (June 2001). Thessaloniki, 2001, pp. 43-58

Gibson, J. J. (1986) *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception*, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc., London.

Giddens, A. (2010b) *Modernite ve Bireysel Kimlik: Geç Modern Çağda Benlik ve Toplum* , (çev: Ü. Tatlıcan), İstanbul, Say Yayınları

Gilroy, P. (1993). *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. New York: Verso Pub.

Goffman, E. (1959). *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. University of Edinburgh Social Sciences Research Centre.

Halbwachs, M. (1992). *On Collective Memory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hall, S. (1994). *'Cultural identity and diaspora'*, in Williams, P. and Chrisman, L. (eds) Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader. New York: Columbia University Press, 392_403.

Haritopoulos, D. (2008) *HpciJv rwv Miwv*, Athens: Topos.

Hatzipandazis, T. (1986). *Tis Asiatidos mousis erastai... I akmi Athinaikou kafe amansta bronia tis vasileias tou Yeoryiou A'*. Athens: Stigmi.

Hemetek, U., (2008). *Preface: Music from Turkey in the Diaspora*. In: U. Hemetek and H. Saglam, eds. Music from Turkey in the Diaspora, Vienna, Institut für Volksmusikforschung und Ethnomusikologie.

Henriques, J. F. (2008). *"Sonic diaspora, vibrations, and rhythm: thinking through the sounding of the Jamaican dancehall session"*, Singapore Management University Institutional Knowledge at Singapore Management University

Heidegger, M., (1996). *Being and Time.* State University of New York Press

Holst, G. (1983). *Road to Rembetika: Music of a Greek Sub-culture : Songs of Love, Sorrow, and Hashish*. Anglo-Hellenic Publishing; Denise Harvey and Company edition (1975)

Kallimopoulou, E. (2009). *Paradosiaká: Music, Meaning and Identity in Modern Greece.* Journal of Modern Greek Studies 29(1):146-149

Kant, I. (2000). *Critique of Judgment.* Çev. P. Guyer ve E. Matthews. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kara, U.Y. (2014). *Müzik Üstüne Düşünceler, Makale, Doktora öğrencisi*, Hacettepe Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi, İletişim Bilimleri Bölümü.

Kazantzakis, N. (1964). Zorba the Greek (movie)

Kearney, D. (2010). *Listening for geography: the relationship between music and geography*. Chimera, 25(1): 47-76.

Keil, C. (1995). *The theory of participatory discrepancies: A progress report. Ethnomusicology*, University of Illinois Press on behalf of Society for Ethnomusicology

Kniaź, L. (2017). *My City, My 'Hood, My Street: Ghetto Spaces in American Hip-Hop Music* (Maria Curie-Skłodowska University (UMCS) in Lublin)

Klein, E., (2005). *Maltese Australian Ghana performance and debates of home*. Journal of Intercultural Studies

Koglin, D. (2016). *Greek Rebetiko from a Psychocultural Perspective: Same Songs Changing Minds*. Routledge; 1 edition (March 11, 2016)

Koskinen, M. G. (2015). *Racialization, othering, and coping among adult international adoptees in Finland.* Adoption Quarterly, 18(3), 169–195

Korpe, M. (2004). *Shoot the Singer!: Music Censorship Today*. Zed Books; PAP/COM edition (May 1, 2004)

Lefebvre, H. (1974). *The production of space*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Leontis, A. (1997). *Mediterranean Topographies before Balkanization: On Greek Diaspora, Emporion, and Revolution* (Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies), University of Toronto Press.

Levendoğlu, M. F. (2006). *Küresinliler Örneğinde Kültürel Kimlik (Küresinliler'in Sosyo-Kültürel Yapısı).* Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Antropoloji (Sosyal Antropoloji) Anabilim Dalı, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara.

Lewis, H., (2010). *Community moments: integration and transnationalism at "refugee" parties and events*. Journal of Refugee Studies

Lidskog, R. (2017). *The role of music in ethnic identity formation in diaspora: a research review* (Örebro University)

Marienstras, R. (1999). On the Notion of Diaspora. S. Vertovec, & R. Cohen içinde, Migration, Diaspora and Transnationalism. Massachusetts: Edward Elgar Pub.

Merriam, A. (1964). *The Anthropology Of Musıc*. Unıversıty Press.

Monson, I. (2000). *African Diaspora: A Musical Perspective,* (Routledge).

Nettl, B. (1983). *The Study of Ethnomusicology Thirty- one Issues and Concepts*. The University of Illinois Press is a founding member of the Association of American University Presses.

Nketia, Kwabena. (1962). *The Problem of Meaning in African Music*. Ethnomusicology 6: 1-7.

Nooshin, L. And Howard K. (2009). *Music and the Play of Power in the Middle East*, North Africa and Central Asia, (Routledge).

Ordoulidis, N. (2012). *The Recording Career of Vasílis Tsitsánis (1936-1983), An Analysis of his Music and the Problems of Research into Greek Popular Music.* Technological Educational Institute of Epirus

Osgood, Charles E. (1957). *The Measurement of Meaning,* University of Illinois Press

Petropoulos, E. (2000). *Songs of the Greek Underworld: The Rebetika Tradition*. Saqi Books

Petropoulos, E. (1967). *Rebetika Tragoudia.* (Rebetika Songs). Athens: Kedros.

Pikinos (2018). *The roses reblossom – 9 narrations on rembetiko* [Publishing house LITHOXOOS, Athens, October 2018]. (Πίκινος: Ξανανθίζουν τα ρόδα – 9 μαρτυρίες για το ρεμπέτικο [Εκδόσεις Λιθοξόος, Αθήναι, Οκτώβρης 2018].)

Pinker, S. (1997). *How the Mind :Works.* New York: W.W. Norton Press.

Pitharas, L. (1988). Music of the Outsiders- Rembetika documentary

Prudhomme, D. (2009). *Rebetiko*, Graphic book

Proust, M. (1927). *In Search of Lost Time*, Volume VII-Time Regained

Ragazzi, F. (2008). The concept of 'diaspora' and the 'transnational social space', Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris

Randall, A. J. (2004). *Music, Power and Politics,* Routledge

Rapoport, A. (1969). *House, Form and Culture*, Pearson

Reis, M. (2004). *Theorizing Diaspora: Perspectives on "Classical" and "Contemporary" Diaspora*. IOM International Migration

Reyna, C. (2016). *The Sense of Belonging of Jews in Turkey: Affects and Encounters* (Master of Arts in Cultural Studies, Istanbul Bilgi University)

Rice, T. (2013). *Ethnomusicology: a very short introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Roberson, J. E., (2010) *Singing diaspora: Okinawan songs of home, departure and return*. Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power (430-453)

Rose, T. (1994). *Black Noise: Rap Music and Black Culture in Contemporary America (Hanover)*, Wesleyan University Press

Rubidge, S. (1996). *Does Authenticity Matter? The Case for and Against Authenticiy in Performing Arts,* Manchester University Press

Safran, W. (1991). *Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return.* Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies

Sanoff, H. (1975). *Methods of Architectural Programming*. Routledge Revivals

Sanoff, H. (1991). *Visual Research Methods in Design*. Routledge Revivals

Schopenhauer, A. (1969). *The World as Will and Representation, Vol. I*. Çev. E.F.J. Payne. New York: Dover

Sheffer, G., (2006). *Diaspora politics: at home abroad*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Shelemay, K. K. (2006, June). *Music, memory and history*. Ethnomusicology Forum

Small, C. (1998). *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening*. Wesleyan University Press

Small, C. (1987a). *Music of the Common Tongue, Survival and Celebration in African American Music*. Wesleyan University Press; Revised ed. edition (March 31, 1999)

Smaragdi, M. (2012). *Fire, Poison, and Black tears: Metaphors of Emotion in Rebetiko*. Lund University

Stamatis, Y. (2011). Rebetiko Nation: Hearing Pavlos Vassiliou's Alternative Greekness Through Rebetiko Song. University of Michigan, Dissertations & Theses.

Stavrinides, C. (2011). *National Identity in Greek Cinema: Gender Representation and Rebetiko*. Music Department, University of Sheffield

Stokes, M. (1994). *Ethnicity, Identity and Music*: The Musical Construction of Place. Oxford:Berg.

Sullivan, D. (2011). *Keep On Pushing : Black Power Music from Blues to Hip-hop.* Chicago Review Press

Şentürk, R. (2016). *Müzik ve Kimlik.* Küre Yayınları

Tabachnick, B. G., and Fidell, L. S. (2003). *Using Multivariate Statistics*. Boston: Allyn and *Bacon*

Tölölyan, K. (2012). *Diaspora studies: Past, Present and Promise.* Internaional Migration Institute/University of Oxford/Diasporas Programme

Tragaki, D. (2002). Urban Ethnomusicology in the City of Thessaloniki (Greece): The Case of Rebetiko Song Revival Today. (Yayımlanmamış Doktora Tezi). University of London/Goldsmiths College/Music Department, London.

Tragaki, D. (2007). *Rebetiko Worlds: Ethnomusicology and Ethnography in the City*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars

Tucker, L. (2007). *Lockstep and Dance : Images of Black Men in Popular Culture*. University Press of Mississippi

Turan, D. (2011). Mekan-Müzik İlişkisi açısından Türkiye'de ''Taverna''. Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Güzel Sanatlar Enstitüsü Müzik Bilimleri Anabilim Dalı Yüksek Lisans Tezi

Ulusoy, E. (2017). *Diaspora Concept and a Socio-Political Analysis of Turkey's Diaspora Politics in the Context of Modern Theory*. The journal of humanity and society

Weber, M. (1968). *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*. University of California Press

Whiteley, S., Bennett, A., and Hawkins, S. (2004). *Music, Space and Place: Popular Music and Cultural Identity.* Routledge; 1 edition

White, C. M. (2010). *"Rastafarian Repatriates and the Negotiation of Place in Ghana".* Central Michigan University

Wittgenstein, L.(2001). *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*. trans. David F. Pears and Brian McGuinness.London:Routledge. First published in German in 1922

Woolf, V. (1956). *Orlando: A Biography*. Orlando, FL:Harcourt

Valéry, P. (1924). *Eupalinos ou l'architecte*. Paris: Gallimard, 1924

Yaldız, F. (2013). *Diaspora Kavrami: Tarihçe, Gelişme Ve Tartışmalar.* Hacettepe Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi

Yıldız, D. (2019). Etnomüzikoloji Disiplininin Doğuşu, Gelişim Süreci ve Günümüzdeki Metodolojik ve Yaklaşımsal Tartışmalar. (Yüksek Lisans Tezi)

Zakos, A. (2009). *Bouzouki: The National Greek Instrument.* (Yayımlanmamış Doktora Tezi). Charles University/Pedagogical Faculty/Department of Music Education, Prague.

Zelewicz, Lee F. E. (2006). *'A Study of Ethnomusicology and the Influence of Western Cultural Ideas on the Realm of Native American Music.'* Lycoming College April 24.

Url-1<https://izmirkutuphanesi.blogspot.com/2019/07/8-mart-1873te-izmirde-yasanan-felaket.html >, date retrieved December,2019

Url-2<https://www.athens24.com/rebetadika.html>, date retrieved December,2019

Url-3<http://kakapedia.com/sirtaki-ve-zeybekiko-uzerine/>, date retrieved December,2019

Url-4<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/o-fotograflari-nasil-cektim-22370268>, date retrieved December,2019

Url-5<https://www.theguideistanbul.com/istanbul-meyhane-culture/>, date retrieved February,2020

Url-6<https://culinarybackstreets.com/cities-category/athens/2018/kapnikarea/>, date retrieved February,2020

Url-7<https://www.lifo.gr/articles/athens_articles/225938/sta-rempetadika-i-athina-anastenazei-ksana >, date retrieved February,2020

Url-8<https://www.facebook.com/angeltsirko/ >, date retrieved February,2020

Url-9<https://www.fellers.se/Kid/1910_The_Woodland_Band.html>, date retrieved April,2020

Url-10< https://www.wikiwand.com/en/Birdland_(New_York_jazz_club)>, date retrieved April,2020

Url-11<https://www.nytimes.com/2012/12/06/booming/drinks-live-music-and-that-head-nodding-thing-dads-do.html>, date retrieved April,2020

Url-12< https://jamaicans.com/brief-history-reggae/>, date retrieved April,2020

Url-13<https://tclf.org/places/view-city-and-regional-guides/new-orleans/new-orleans-landscape-legacy>, date retrieved April,2020

Url-14<https://jazztimes.com/reviews/live/international-jazz-day-a-hit-on-april-30/>, date retrieved April,2020

Url-15<https://invention.si.edu/invention-hot-spot-birth-hip-hop-bronx-new-york-1970s>, date retrieved April,2020

Url-16< http://www.rickeyvincent.com/>, data retrieved April,2020

Url-17< http://www.itsabouttimebpp.com/Our_Stories/The_Lumpen/the_lumpen_DC.html>, date retrieved April,2020

Url-18< https://gypsyjazzuk.wordpress.com/django-in-the-usa-canada-1946/django-cafe-society-dec-46/>, date retrieved April,2020

Url-19< https://gvshp.org/blog/2017/01/10/dissent-and-strange-fruit-in-the-village/>, date retrieved April,2020

Url-20<https://gvshp.org/blog/2019/05/08/hallowed-halls-greenwich-village-historic-district//>, date retrieved April,2020

Url-21<http://theharlemswingdancesociety.blogspot.com/>, date retrieved April,2020

Url-22<https://timeline.com/photos-black-panther-chic-bb8c6695b719>, date retrieved April,2020

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Survey Questions

APPENDIX A:

SURVEY RESEARCH

The results of this survey will be used in the master's thesis directed by Assoc. Prof. Ervin Garip, coordinator of the Interior Architectural Design (International) master's program at the Faculty of Architecture at İstanbul Technical University.

DENİZ ULUKSAR, Architect

Master's candidate in Interior Architectural Design (International), Faculty of Architecture at İstanbul Technical University

AIM

In this research, the reflection of rebetiko music culture, which is sub-cultural music and showing the lifestyles of rebetes, will be examined.

*Rebetiko, the music which began with Greek and Rum community in Asia Minor and in Greek towns. The rebetiko songs were the soul music of a group of people who felt themselves to be outside the mainstream of society, who developed their own forms of expression and those who made it called rebetes.

ARAŞTIRMA ANKETİ

Bu anket formunda yer alan sorular İTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi, Uluslararası İç Mimari Tasarım (IMIAD) yüksek lisans program koordinatörü Doç.Dr.Ervin Garip danışmanlığında gerçekleştirilecek olan Yüksek Lisans tez çalışmasında yararlanılacaktır.

Mimar DENİZ ULUKSAR

İTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi, Uluslararası İç Mimari Tasarım Yüksek Lisans Öğrencisi

AMAÇ

Bu araştırmada, alt-kültür müziği olan ve rebetlerin yaşam biçimlerini yansıtan rebetiko müziği kültürünün mekana nasıl yansıdığı incelenecektir.

*Rebetiko, Küçük Asya'nın Rum Mahallesi'nde ve Yunanistan'ın kasabalarında filizlenen bir alt-kültür müziğidir. Rebetiko kendilerini toplum dışında hisseden ve kendi ifade biçimlerini geliştiren toplulukların müziğidir. Bu müziği icra edenlere ise 'rebetes' denilmektedir.

1-What are the 3 favorite spatial elements you would bring along to remind you of the **rebetiko culture**? (Başka bir yere gittiğinizde **rebetiko kültürünü** hatırlatması için yanınızda götürmek istediğiniz ve en önemsediğiniz 3 objeyi (spatial elements) yazınız.)

       1. _____
       2. _____
       3. _____

Why? (Neden?)_____

2- Which one of the two places below would you rather **listen to Rebetiko** at? (Aşağıdaki iki mekandan hangisinde **rebetiko dinlemeyi** tercih edersiniz?)

A) ☐

B) ☐

Why? (Neden?)_____

3- How would you like the stage, dancing area and seating layout to be at a Rebetiko place? (Rebetiko dinlediğiniz yerde sahnenin, dans alanının ve oturma düzeninin nasıl olmasını istersiniz?)

Stage (Sahne):

Square stage (Kare sahne)_____ ☐

Round stage (Yuvarlak sahne)_____ ☐

Elevated stage (Yüksek sahne)_____ ☐

Same level stage (Aynı zeminde sahne)_____ ☐

Stage within the seating area (Oturma alanının içerisinde)_____ ☐

Dancing Area (Dans Alanı):

Square dancing area (Kare dans alanı)_____ ☐

Round dancing area (Yuvarlak dans alanı)_____ ☐

Elevated dancing area (Yüksek dans alanı)_____ ☐

Same level dancing area (Aynı zeminde dans alanı)_____ ☐

Dancing area within the seating area (Oturma alanının içerisinde dans alanı)_____ ☐

Seating Area (Oturma Düzeni):

Scattered seating (Dağınık oturma alanı)_____ ☐

Planned seating (Düzenli oturma alanı)_____ ☐

Chairs facing the stage (Sahneye dönük sandalyeler)_____ ☐

Chairs around tables (Masa etrafında sandalyeler)_____ ☐

4- Please check the options/adjectives that describe the feeling and mood you experienced during your visit at the Rebetiko place best. (Rebetiko dinlediğiniz yerde nasıl hissettiğinizi ve duygu durumunuzu işaretleyiniz.)

	1	2	3	4	5	
exotic (ait hissettirmeyen)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	familiar (ait hissettiren)
solitary (yalnız)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	gregarious (sosyal)
remembering memories (geçmişi hatırlamış)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	forgotten past (anısı olmayan)
depressing (depresif)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	uplifting (canlandırıcı)
melancholy (melankolik)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	cheerful (neşeli)
unpleasant (keyifsiz)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	pleasant (keyifli)
emotional (duygusal)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	serious (ciddi)
boring (sıkıcı)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	entertaining (eğlenceli)
rebellious (isyankar)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	non-rebellious (kabullenmiş)
tense (huzursuz)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	relaxed (rahat)
formal (resmi)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	informal (samimi)

5- Please check the options/adjectives that describe the Rebetiko place (you visited) best regarding its interior. (Rebetiko dinlediğiniz yerin iç mekan değerlendirmesini ve derecesini işaretleyiniz.)

	1	2	3	4	5	
nostalgic (nostaljik)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	modern (modern)
traditional (geleneksel)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	contemporary (çağdaş)
feminine (feminen)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	masculine (maskulen)
magnificent (görkemli)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	simple (basit)
narrow (dar)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	wide (geniş)
gloomy (kasvetli)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	spacious (ferah)
flashy (gösterişli)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	plain (yalın)
authentic (otantik)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	non-authentic (otantik olmayan)
orientalist (oryantalist)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	non-orientalist (oryantalist olmayan)
soft lighting (loş)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	bright (aydınlık)
cold (soğuk)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	hot (sıcak)

6- Which photograph below do you think reminds of a **typical Rebetiko musical place**? (Sizce aşağıdaki hangi fotoğraf **tipik rebetiko dinlenilen** mekanı anımsatıyor?)

A) ☐

B) ☐

Why? (Neden?)_____

CURRICULUM VITAE

Name Surname   : Deniz Uluksar

Place and Date of Birth : Üsküdar, İstanbul / 12.08.1990

E-Mail   : uluksardeniz@gmail.com

EDUCATION   :

- Hüseyin Avni Sözen Anatolian High School (2004-2008)

B.Sc.   :

- University of Applied Sciences and Arts of Italian Switzerland, International Master of Interior Architectural Design (2017 - 2018)

- Lisbon Technical University, Department of Architecture (2012 – 2013)

- Gebze Technical University, Department of Architecture (2008 – 2013)

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE AND REWARDS:

- Van Cleef & Arpels, Doha, Qatar, Duty: Lead Architect
- Givenchy Abu Dhabi, Galleria Mall**,** Abu Dhabi ,UAE, Duty: Lead Architect
- Chanel Fashion Store, Chanakya Mall, New Delhi, India**,** Duty: Lead Architect
- Chanel Fashion Store, Galleria Mall, Abu Dhabi ,UAE, Duty: Lead Architect
- Chanel Fashion Store, GUM, Moscow, Russia, Duty: Design Architect
- Christian Dior, Istanbul New Airport, Istanbul, Turkey, Duty: Design Architect
- Antiparos House Project, Antiparos, Greece, Duty: Design Architect