Music and Cultural Memory:
A Case Study with the Diaspora from Turkey in Berlin

Submitted by Pinar Güran to the University of Exeter
as a thesis for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology
In May 2014

I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University.

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Abstract

This thesis explores the relationship of music and cultural memory in a migrant community, namely the Turkish diaspora in Berlin, Germany, and the changing patterns of music consumption within generations. Music is a significant agent that helps communities bridge the past and present time and place and carries the material that is used to create cultural memories for communities. This research attempts to put forward how music, as a part of our daily lives, is a part of the social arrangements that structure the operations of memory. In the context of modern diaspora, this study looks at the role of music in producing and shaping cultural memory in Berlin with the community with ties to Turkey, and how it is practiced by three different generations in the Turkish diaspora who experience music as a socially constructive element. The study also considers the extent that Turkish cultural heritage and identity is transmitted via music to the third generation, who were born and raised in Germany, examining the narrative of 'Turkishness' being woven into the music production of the third generation Turks.

This research has been conducted using qualitative research methods with several field trips to Berlin. In-depth interviews mostly with second and third-generation German-Turks show that the Turkish diaspora has been utilising music for remembering, preventing memories from being forgotten and transmitting them to the next generations since the beginning of the guest-worker agreements in 1961. In addition to this connection with music, the timeliness of this study coincides with an era of major generational conflicts. While the second generation's attempt to introduce their children to Turkish culture through encouraging or pushing them to learn Turkish music at private schools continues, young people have created their own diverse musicking traditions and spaces that connect them both to Turkey and Germany. New developments in technology have also provided young generations alternative paths to find music from Turkey. Building cultural memories via shared music listening experience is

decreasing today within immigrant families in Berlin, while young people explore their personal links to Turkish music and create their own memories as a consequence of easier access to Turkish media.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

> "*Memory establishes life's continuity; it gives meaning to the present, as each moment is constituted by the past. As the means by which we remember who we are, memory provides the very core of identity.*" (Sturken 1997, p.1)

Preface

In this section I will introduce and explain the focus of my thesis, my aims, the research question and I will indicate what is significant and distinctive about this research.

My work began as an attempt to explore how cultural memory was transmitted between generations of immigrants from Turkey in Germany via musical practices. My first encounter with this subject was in the mid-nineties when the hip-hop group Cartel had a huge and sudden impact on the Turkish music charts. They were a group from Germany with members from several nationalities, including Turkish. These young men in their twenties were rapping songs in Turkish and German about their rebellion against hostility and racist attitudes towards immigrants. They had influenced many people in their communities in Germany and in Turkey with their different music, lyrics, and styles. Cartel's music and people's reactions to the band were indicators of how certain cultural elements were changing while others had stayed stable in a migrant community. The hip-hop music and the visual components like the attire and dances in Cartel's performances were a part of their European heritage while the lyrics and Turkish music samples used in songs came from their Turkish

heritage. More importantly it was clear that while holding on to cultural elements from Turkey, they had severe differences compared to their peers in Turkey. Their idea of Turkey and/or Turkishness was shaped in relation to their experience of migration and this was expressed in their music.

The young immigrants were participating in a cultural memory transmission between generations, and music was an important medium that provided that kind of communication. The relationship between music and memory, which also links to cultural heritage, encouraged me to investigate how the Turkish-speaking community in Berlin used music from the cultural memory perspective.

How memory, music, and Turkish emigrants meet

Memory is indisputably one of the most important elements of our personal, internal existence, since it becomes the core of identity, as Sturken argues (1997, p.1). My observations of how migrants' experiences with music interacted with cultural memory has yielded a deep and rich insight into immigrant groups. Approaching the concept of memory from a sociological point of view, Olick echoes Sturken: "All individual remembering takes place with social materials within social contexts, and in response to social cues" (2008, p.156). Several scholars, such as Halbwachs, Warberg, and Assmann, have developed theories that connect personal memory from its independent and biological framework to societal activity. According to Assmann, our memories are founded upon the existence of others (1995, p.127). Music and migration experience provide the social material and social context in this study which examines how the act of remembering is formed in this community.

Music is one of the two things, along with food, observed to be preserved in all diasporas (Daynes 2004, p.25). It serves as a connection to the past, evoking things to which people are emotionally attached, and therefore provides a private and comforting zone for the migrant. In this study I present many examples of how immigrants from Turkey have endeavoured to protect their music and have attached much importance to its authenticity, often more so than

people involved with music in Turkey. One of the reasons for that is music's potential to be used as a medium to store one's memories of one's past. According to Greve (2006) and Hemetek (2008), it is possible to see how the guest-worker immigrants in Europe have preserved their folk musics for many years and that they are emotionally attached to them, opposing new music from the countries they live in.

Music is also a means for transmitting a group's cultural memories to new generations, forming new memories in the process. One of the main foci of this thesis is to examine the process of this transmission. Several scholars have pointed out how music and memory are related in a similar context. For example in Olsen's study (2004) with Nikkei people in South America, music became a learning tool, prompting memories in ways that contributed to identity formation. Stokes also indicates how music can be a tool for evoking and organising intense collective memories, more intense than most other social activities (1997, p.3). The memory transmission that I put emphasis on in my study also acts as a bridge between the cultural heritage from Turkey and the young generation. This kind of remembering, or transmission of remembering, provides a connection to homeland and it becomes a form of knowledge for the immigrants.

In my study I examine how the older members of the migrant communities feel the need to generate this kind of cultural conservation or transmission which Dijck describes as the "intergenerational transfer of personal and collective heritage" that form musical memories (2006, p.364). This experience with memory is more often observed in migrant communities compared to their peers in the homelands. It emerges from a lack or loss due to being removed from one's own cultural environment, and the grief that produces, as my study shows. This is similar to a community's shared experience of grief over events in its past, such as the catastrophic events like the Holocaust, terrorism, war, and natural disasters. There are many examples in the literature that focus on that issue, such as Tota's (2004) study on the remembrance of the massacre at Bologna railway station or Sturken's (1997) work on the Vietnam War and the AIDS epidemic. Eyerman states that the formation of a collective identity in direct

relation to collective memory can be grounded in situations of loss, crisis, and triumph (2004, p.161). It is also important to emphasise that not all migrant communities go through a similar experience, but those I have looked at in relation to memory studies are diasporas in which individuals had to leave their lands, perhaps not involuntarily, but often half-heartedly, and those in which migrants settled in places where they encountered unpleasant conditions.

As a person from Turkey, the Turkish diaspora in Germany was among the first sites that occurred to me when I chose music and migration as a subject, probably due to Cartel's influence as mentioned above. The Turkish community in Germany has, since the early years of the migration in the 1960s, attracted the attention of international scholars in the fields of migration studies, sociology, political science, economics, art, and other disciplines. This community and its home and host lands have changed a great deal in the last fifty years. Turkey's ambition to enter the European Union, and the acceptance of Turkey's nomination for membership, has drawn attention to the Turkish people living in Europe, who, being perceived as representatives of their country, are receiving more scrutiny than ever before. This field thus continues to offer the researcher many different spaces to explore. The present study focuses on the notions of migration, cultural memory and music from a sociology of music perspective at this important time for the community in Berlin.

Turks in Germany

Turkey and Germany have had solid relations since the nineteenth century, through historical events such as the first and second world wars and other economic, social, and cultural connections. In this thesis, my main focus is on the people who arrived in Germany as part of the guest-worker agreements, although there were other Turkish people entering Germany at the time with different motivations, such as the pursuit of a scientific or artistic education. The first guest-worker agreement between Turkey and West Germany was reached in 1961. Since then almost four million people have chosen to reside in different cities around Germany. Conducting this study after fifty years of immigration, I

encountered a very culturally dynamic and diverse community. Not only did the people present various relationships with music, but different groups of people were going through several changes socially, culturally, and economically.

The people of the diaspora in Germany have their stories: for the majority of the people, history, and politics of their host country are perceived to be unwelcoming much of the time, and the immigrants struggled with these attitudes and with finding ways to survive in their new environment. Germany also has an important role in EU politics while Turkey's EU membership is debated. With these facts and many more besides, the diaspora community in Germany is very visible and very appealing for a social scientist. Conducting the research in Berlin also added an important dimension to this work since the city has a very rich history besides having the largest population of Turkish immigrants in Europe. Berlin has witnessed many of the most important political events in Germany of the last century: the division in two of the country and the city itself by the famous wall and then two regions' reunion; it hosted many people from different nations and it still does; and it has been home to several sub-cultural movements, such as punk and hip-hop, and other non-mainstream, alternative groups. All of these factors have had an impact on the Turkish-speaking community's experience. Reciprocally, in a city that manages to accommodate this level of diversity, Turkish immigrants and their culture constitute a highly visible part and contribute to Berlin's soul.

In addition to the character of my research location, the rapidly changing music-listening practices due to developments in technology have enriched my study. Internet technology has changed people's ability to access music and has thus changed their relationship to music. In today's Germany, people of Turkish origin have new concerns in terms of accessing their music, along with other artistic activities. This creates whole new forms of relations between generations since the shared listening experience is decreasing in favour of personal use of the internet and private associations with music, and therefore cultural memory takes on new shapes. I explored these aspects of immigrants' associations with

music and cultural memory, hoping to draw a picture of how this community has evolved, and to foresee where it is going.

Music can be considered an underestimated part of the social science scene, especially when we see how people consciously or subconsciously make it an important part of their lives. While studies related to music and memory have proliferated in the last decade (Hillman 2003, Hemetek 2008, McParland 2008, Velcic 2008, Hara 2013) it is still an emerging field with much potential for approaching the subject of memory from a cultural point of view. It can bring together several disciplines such as social anthropology, sociology, social psychology, and the arts in an interdisciplinary approach. This study also shows that music is a rich and fruitful partner that can complete cultural memory in many ways and provide a comprehensive understanding to the field. As expressed in Halbwachs' work, memory is constituted from minds working together in a society (1980). With my thesis I aim to present how music, as a part of our daily lives, is a part of the social arrangements that structure the operations of memory. I hope that this thesis will contribute to music and memory studies, and to the larger field of music sociology, the *terra incognita* which has much to offer to social science.

This thesis thus has two main concerns: first, to understand the relationship between music and cultural memory in a diaspora. On this point I have focused on how people use music as a tool to preserve cultural heritage and pass it on to the next generation; second, to identify how this process is changing with the young generation people given their different processes of integration into the host land's culture, which, for successive generations, is increasingly becoming their own culture. The constant evolution of technology has allowed new generations to create their own relationships with music from Turkey in a city where there are stimuli from Turkish culture in every corner, and it is difficult to lose ties to it.

As a social scientist in the making and in search of meaning I have been questioning my position in my research throughout its progress and how I relate

to my topic in general. Besides contributing to the academic literature, I hope that these kinds of studies can also work to support the research subjects themselves. As Appadurai states, modern diasporas today are an important part of the cities they reside in:

> "The diasporic public spheres … are no longer small, marginal, or exceptional. They are part of the cultural dynamic of urban life in most countries and continents, in which migration and mass mediation coconstitute a new sense of the global as modern and the modern as global." (1996, p.10).

The diaspora from Turkey is a very important and acknowledged part of Germany and constitutes a vital aspect of Berlin's urban culture which most Berliners embrace.

In terms of methodology, besides some prior preparations and follow-up research, my fieldwork constitutes the main source of data for this thesis. The qualitative component of this study consists of semi-structured, one-to-one in-depth interviews in addition to some spontaneous, casual dialogues I had with people I encountered. My study is mostly constituted on my fresh data about the second and third-generation's musicking and other social, cultural activities. In addition to several German people and my informants in Turkey, my main target group was people who migrated from Turkey and their children. This work does not aim to focus on a specific ethnic group from Turkey, but rather people who have a connection to Turkey and its culture. My use of the term 'Turkish community' heads away from the general literature on this topic and covers a group of people who mainly share Turkey as their homeland and/or their citizenship is Turkish, and their descendants. While I try to avoid calling these people or the community 'Turkish' for the sake of acknowledging and respecting people's different ethnic identities, in addition to their identities associated with their life in Germany, there are times when I do use the catch-all term "Turkish". Since this issue has been problematic for me from the beginning I have explained it in more detail in my Methodology chapter.

Outline of the thesis

In the context of modern diaspora, my research as a whole aims to answer these questions:

a) What is music's role in producing and shaping cultural memory in Berlin within the community from Turkey, and how is it practiced?

b) How do the three different generations of the Turkish diaspora experience music as a socially constructive element?

c) To what extent is the Turkish cultural heritage and identity transmitted via music to the third-generation, who were born and live in Berlin, and how is this narrative of 'Turkishness' woven into the music production of third-generation?

In addition to the larger scope of my research questions, I have been exploring the following themes throughout the thesis: what are the immigrants' musicking activities? To what extent are these activities shared across generations? How are these habits changing, and why are they changing? How do these changes in habits reflect on the formation of cultural memory?

This thesis consists of seven chapters. This introduction is followed by the Literature Review where I explain the main concepts of the thesis, such as cultural memory, diaspora, and how music is related to them, by going through the key works on these themes. I then present other influential works in a similar vein to my own and discuss the similarities and differences between their construction and my thesis. I believe that it is crucial that the reader be familiar with the main issues around the migration process from Turkey to Germany in order to have a better understanding of the situation of the immigrant community today. Therefore, in the Historical and Musical Background chapter I cover the details of the immigration process, focusing on political, social, and economic conditions in Germany and Turkey, the reasons behind Turkey and Germany's migration agreement, the details of this agreement, the conditions of the workers, policies regarding the immigrants, the immigrants' settlement patterns, integration issues, and the different groups of immigrants from Turkey with different migration motivations, like guest-workers, asylum seekers, and other

disparate groups. In the second part of the same chapter I set out a detailed picture of the musicking activities of the immigrants from the 1960s to the 1990s. In my Methodology chapter I describe the technical details of how I conducted my fieldwork through my preparation process before going to the field, my research techniques in the field, and other strategies, in addition to all the practical issues that forced (or helped) me to shape my work. In the next chapter, Findings from Fieldwork, I present my data and identify the outstanding themes. Further Themes and Reflections on the Data chapter serves as a complement to the Findings from Fieldwork chapter, where I continue to present my data and analyse the important themes that emerge from them in light of all my previous work. Finally, in the Conclusion I present a detailed summary of this work and make recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

> "*Memory creates the chain of tradition which passes a happening on from generation to generation.*" (Benjamin 2011, p.102)

Introduction

With this chapter, I present an overview of some of the most important works in the existing literature in this field, and explain the essential terms and concepts upon which I build my work to provide a clear understanding of the fundamentals of this study. In addition to that, I introduce some of the relevant research conducted on similar subjects that has informed and influenced the development of my ideas.

The present study works with notions like music, cultural memory, diaspora, migration, identity, community, and daily life. Today these concepts are widely used in social sciences, and it would not be wrong to say that they are among the most "popular" themes. However, the relationship between music and cultural memory is a theme that has so far been overlooked. Even though exploring cultural memory has become a well-trodden path, doing it so via musical practices has been a less common way compared to other disciplines linked to memory. While memory studies are gaining momentum in academia and the body of literature has grown in recent years, cultural memory has been paired mostly with visual materials of perception, as in film studies, urban design, or photography (i.e. Stewart 1993, Keenan 1998, Sturken 1999, Kanar 2008). Working with terms so widely used, but incorporating them with a much more

narrow focus, it is crucial to carefully explain and discuss these terms and how they function in this work.

In the first part of this chapter I look at the literature on memory studies, the relationship between music and memory, and diaspora studies that is most relevant to my work. In the second part I present examples from the studies and research that contributed to my work more directly and closely. I had to choose only some of the most pertinent studies among the vast literature (especially on guest-worker immigration from Turkey to Germany and how music is a part of their lives). The works I present and discuss here carried great importance in developing my ideas for this study. Some of the rest of this vast literature will be discussed in other parts of this thesis.

Critical terms and concepts

In this section I will define and clarify the critical terms, concepts, and core ideas upon which I build my work. Among the most important terms that I should examine and discuss in order to provide a better understanding of this study and to show how they have been formulated are *cultural memory* and *diaspora*. I will treat the term *cultural memory* together with the complementary term *collective memory*, and its product, *constructed memory*. The relationship between cultural memory and music is a rather overlooked issue, as I mentioned before, and the context of the term diaspora has changed over time, and has thus become a widely debated issue. Here I will explain the meanings of these terms as I use them and present the discussions on these subjects in the existing body of literature. Along with these two concepts, I will also review some of the works on the relationship between memory and music and demonstrate different representations of them.

A brief overview of memory studies

Memory studies had been subject to investigation since the early twentieth century, but it reached to its real "boom" in the 1970s. In the late 1970s memory became a field of focus that was contemplated extensively. This was associated with the fact that utopian visions for the idealised society were losing their

currency, and this initiated the inclination to explore collective pasts (Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi and Levy 2011, p.3). Nostalgia became commodified, history became popular and both resulted in an interest in memory. Since then, the phenomenon of memory has had a significant place in the literature.

Considering memory in the context of my work, the existing literature as a product of the memory boom-era works mostly examines memory from the perspective of widely shared or known public events, such as wars, epidemics, natural disasters or catastrophes like the Holocaust or the 9/11 attacks. Additionally, these themes are mostly examined from historical and political aspects. The concepts I examine in my study are the sociological aspects of the act of remembering: collective memory and cultural memory, two complementary terms, and constructed memory, a product of the social realities that constitute collective and cultural memory. And they fall under the category of memory of everyday life, a smaller yet growing portion of the memory studies. In order to explain and discuss these terms within the sociology of everyday life, however, I utilised the essentials of historical and political memory studies.

Memory studies in relation to history (such as several works of Assmann 1995, 1997; Benjamin 1936, 1940; Nietzsche 1862, 1873) are the predecessors of this field. Some of these studies look at how specific events influence the memory of the societies involved as collective bodies and the process behind the interaction of memory, society, and mutual experience. While I consider my work not to fully belong to a category about publicly well-known events, a common point is that events such as the Holocaust, the Marmara earthquake, or the 9/11 attacks are still tangible; many or most of the people who witnessed these events and survived are still alive today, and thus these events are still discussed first-hand. With the case of Turkish immigrants in Berlin, we also witness a comparable first-hand experience and in a similar manner to aforementioned events the transmission of its memory to younger generations. The guest-worker migration to Germany has been a mutually shared event that influenced the diaspora's character deeply and created a historical collectivity within this community.

A key point to reference for the purpose of my study is research dealing with the interrelationship between memory and political structure. That is more specifically to see how memories can be under the influence of political forces and how they can determine what communities remember and what they forget. Within this focus, work on diasporic memory offers a rich seam for my research, in particular, as it has concentrated on the ways in which commemorative statues, ceremonies, films, and photos come to structure, and sometimes manipulate the remembering experience of communities. My study can, therefore, be lodged in this tradition. What I shall add to this perspective is a focus on music as a medium for remembering. While the desire to protect their culture can be seen as a necessity for immigrants, nationalistic politics also plays a notable role, and in my work I observed that these two aspects constitute the constructed or imagined part of the reality of immigrant life.

Nevertheless, neither historical nor political aspects, despite their contribution, will not dominate my perspective on memory studies. Rather, my study can be identified as falling under the category of memory studies focusing on identity issues within everyday life, and therefore, I chose to utilise and review the body of literature mainly in this aspect.

Memory in its sociological forms: collective memory, cultural memory, constructed memory

The concepts of collective memory, cultural memory and constructed memory are all related and derived from one another. We usually see that there is a very thin line between them, and in some cases they intersect. In formulating the relation between them, I define collective and cultural memory as being counterparts and constructed memory as a product of the two, as explained above. In this section I elaborate on the use of these terms in my study and their role in shaping my assumptions regarding the Turkish diaspora in Germany.

1. Collective memory

The main concept of this study, cultural memory, is a notion built upon the collective memory theory developed in the early twentieth century by philosopher

and sociologist Maurice Halbwachs. He was especially inspired by the way commemorative rituals were handled in Durkheim's *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (1912), which led him to write about the idea of collective memories.

Halbwachs (1980) described memory as a phenomenon that is not only formed in the past but it is mostly shaped in the present time. According to him, memory is not stable but changes continuously. In order to understand memory we should look at the shifting social and cultural patterns in communities. The nature of remembering leads us to think of it as a personal process and an individual experience. However, according to Halbwachs, memory is a collective experience; our memories are recalled to us through others, even when we are the only people participating in the recalled event, and all activities of recalling, recognising, and localising memory occurs in society too (1992, pp.23, 38). In the light of Halbwachs' perspective, the collective, interconnected and solidarist structure of the first-generation guest-workers in Germany keeps immigrants' memories about their homeland alive and the very state of being a member of a diaspora constantly recalls these memories, whether intended or not, as a result of this collective experience. In support of this, Olick states that individual remembering is a part of the social context and it takes place with social materials: remembering is "a fluid negotiation between the desires of the present and the legacies of the past" (2008, p.155). An example of this evaluation can be seen in the *gurbet* songs, which I will discuss in detail in the next chapter: songs the immigrants write about their homeland and their past, and which carry their stories to the present day. The past they remember is mixed with their desires and needs to recollect a compilation of good moments.

In Halbwachs and Olick's works there is great emphasis on the influence of our social surroundings on our individual memory, even if we are not aware of it. Irwin-Zarecka also points to a similar aspect of the concept and defines collective memory "as a set of ideas, images, feelings about the past" located in shared resources but not in the minds of individuals (1994, p.4). When looking at Olick and Irwin-Zarecka's definitions, it is possible to recognise Olick's emphasis

on memory being a thing of the present in Irwin-Zarecka's idea of memory as a "feeling" which again connects it to the present. Whether we think about the past, present, or the future, the feeling of the moment affects how we think about things, and in the case of memory this is joined by the collective character of the phenomenon.

Irwin-Zarecka also emphasises that all cultural forms may inform the shape of memory and that no one form should be privileged over another. So for example, she suggests that films may be as, if not more, important as memory resources than history books (p.4). Compared to a history book in this study's case, as in Irwin-Zarecka's example, popular culture materials, and especially music are more informative; music is without hesitation much more communicative as a communal experience compared to a history book. In terms of where to look for the memory materials, Wagner-Pacifici (1996) explains how collective memory may take shape in relation to different forms and how these forms affect the shape that memory takes. She envisions memory as a cultural reality that comes into being in the form of "narratives, pictorial images, textbooks, pamphlets, legal charters, wills, diaries, and statues" (p.302). So collective memory can be found in different shapes and it can be influenced subtly by numerous cultural facts in the surrounding society. Several other scholars, such as DeNora (2003) and Zelizer (1998), identify memory as a cultural product. Therefore memories are as important as songs for the immigrants to use as tools for self-care in times of deprivation. Wagner-Pacifici also states that memory is uncertain and that the root of this uncertainty "lies rather in the necessary embodiment of collective memory as, and in, cultural forms" (p.301). This uncertainty makes memory more unstable and malleable, and it is therefore available for migrants to construct something they need out of it.

In brief, collective memory theory shows us that the memory of societies is shifting, it changes, it can be shaped by a wide range of variables from ruling bodies to our psychological needs, and it is in constant connection to our social relations. Most importantly, it is a product of the culture to which we belong. The

sociological aspects of memory and their terms are closely connected to each other as presented in the next section with the concept of cultural memory.

2. Cultural memory

The notion of cultural memory was developed by the Egyptologist Jan Assmann based on the theory of collective memory. Errl defines the concept as the act of remembering, which is a cognitive process taking place in individual brains, being "metaphorically transferred to the level of culture" (2008, p.4). As its processor, cultural memory is also interdisciplinary and its concepts circulate in many different fields from history to psychoanalysis. Errl treats cultural memory on two levels: the first one being the cognitive, and the second one social and medial. The cognitive level of memory is related to biological memory and focuses on the fact that memories are never solely individual, they are always formed in collective contexts. Errl writes: "With regard to this first level, 'memory' is used in a literal sense, whereas the attribute 'cultural' is a metonymy, standing for the 'socio-cultural contexts and their influence on memory.'" (p.5). The second level refers to the symbolic order, that is, "the media, institutions, and practices by which social groups construct a shared past." (p.5). According to this level of the theory, the remembering act of societies is not literal but metaphorical, and "much of what is done to reconstruct a shared past bears some resemblance to the processes of individual memory, such as the selectivity and perspectivity inherent in the creation of versions of the past according to present knowledge and needs" (p.5). According to Assmann, it is one of the ways a society maintains cultural continuity with the help of cultural mnemonics: "Memory enables us to live in groups and communities and living in groups and communities enables us to build a memory" (2008, p.109). Cultural continuity has to be preserved in migrant communities and this preservation is provided by the transmission of cultural memory through generations, as I claim in the case of Turkish immigrants.

Assmann (2001) explores the relationship between remembering, identity, and cultural continuity by arguing that cultures form a "connecting structure" and

this structure connects and unifies on both social and time dimensions. Mutual experiences bring people together by providing safety and support with their connecting and unifying potential (p.21). In the case of my research, I am looking at a community whose communal identity is directly fed from the mutual experiences of the immigration and life in the foreign land. This "connection structure" is thus fundamentally important in my work. The social realities that are considered to be shared with others, like a homeland, memories, or a past in this case, create a group with a sense of belonging. Music is one of the most active cultural agents in this togetherness since, along with its other features, it is something that people can internalise more easily and naturally.

Memory's relation to culture emerges in the idea that memory is reconstructive rather than a retrieval because "experiences were seen to be broken into constituent units for storage, which are then reassembled (in new combinations) later." (Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi and Levy 2011, p.12). This approach is as an effort towards linking cultural memory to the natural science of memory in biology. Especially in communities like the Turkish diaspora, where the members come from different towns with different stories but unite under the shared experience of migration, it has been possible to observe that individuals embrace a collective memory of the group they belong to and these memories could be manifested in new combinations due to their collective origins. This is an outcome of group membership. The concern of belonging to a group is critical to the memory-oriented perspective of the present study. Olick argues that "group memberships provide the material for memory. …recalling particular events and forgetting others. Groups can even produce memories in individuals of events that they never experienced in any direct sense." (2007, p.19). Here we see that the identity deriving from being a part of the immigrant community has the potential to shape people's memories by protecting some, letting go of others, and creating new ones. In a similar manner, Sturken describes how memories can be manipulated and manipulative:

> "…memory is a narrative rather than a replica of an experience that can be retrieved and relieved … The degree to which memories are 'faithful' to

original experiences is difficult to ascertain. What we remember is highly selective, and how we retrieve it says as much about desire and denial as it does about remembrance." (1997, p.7).

These features of memory are a result of its being subject to group ownership, which also makes possible the existence of a constructed memory (a critical theme for my study and upon which I elaborate below). Sturken continues to explain this issue with an important parallel of remembering, which is forgetting. She claims that both our activities of remembering and forgetting are created. We need to forget things in order to open up space for new memories to be constructed, and therefore what we choose to forget from the past is "often highly organised and strategic" (p.7). Again, like the scholars mentioned above, Sturken emphasises how memory is open to be shaped by people. So, like the shared remembering experience, shared forgetting derives from the similar needs of the immigrants. In my research, I have observed that my respondents usually did not relate any negative memories from Turkey, although they had to leave Turkey to seek better economic conditions in Germany. This derives from the need to protect their memories about the past in a positive light so that they can get support from them. This can be seen as an example of a type of self-care seen in Nietzsche: "the past has to be forgotten if it is not to become the gravedigger of the present…" (1980, p.10). In the immigrants' case, the past is partially forgotten and recreated with good memories. But, on the other hand, being stuck in the past may have a negative impact on their present, as Adorno states: "Love for the past is frequently accompanied by resentment toward the present …" (2011, p.111). In my study we see the consequences of this in discussing Turks' integration to life in Germany.

In the scope of my work I describe music as a tool that has the power to create cultural memories that have not been experienced by the younger generations. This had been possible for many years because the Turkish-speaking community in Berlin has been in close contact with other people who migrated from Turkey. In his study, Connerton asks how the memory of groups is conveyed and sustained. He divides societies into two: small, face-to-face societies and extensive societies like nation states and world religions (1989,

p.1). He discusses how the past influences the present and also how the present influences the past: "Images of the past commonly legitimate a present social order … Participants in any social order must presuppose a shared memory." Connerton relates the following notions in a particular order: social memory, commemorative ceremonies, performativity, habit, and bodily automatisms. According to his ordering, habit memory is carried in bodily automatisms and ritual performance. He also emphasises the embodiment of social memory in bodily gestures which was easily observed about the memory of movement and imitation with the Turkish-speaking community, especially with the folkloric dances and other notions of cultural gesticulations.

In many studies dealing with music and migration (Kaya 2000, 2002; Olsen 2004; Soysal 2004; Greve 2006) we see that music is widely related to the feeling of nostalgia. Particularly in the initial phases of immigration and during the process of acquiring immigrant identity, being new and the lack of belonging feeling drive people to hold onto something which results in recollection as Connerton also argues (1989, p.12). People tend to recollect memories to build a space that is well known to them and to which they belong. This is another way in which the act of remembering works in the aspect of cultural memory.

It is possible to notice the connection between the need for belonging and memory in the word "ReMembering" itself, if we look at it in a deconstructive way. When it comes to studying the concepts of memory, society and identity, "ReMembering" is as visually strong a word as it is in terms of its content. The word carries within it the meaning of remembering as a deliberate act for engaging an individual with his or her community and being a part of its cultural memory. Dijck points out that musical memories can act in a similar way: "Musical memories can thus be understood as an intergenerational transfer of personal and collective heritage, not only by sharing music, but also by sharing stories. Like photographs, recorded songs relate personal memories." (2006, p.364). The knowledge of music and the shared activity of listening provide membership to the group. As much as people have the need to belong with a group, the act of remembering favours being surrounded by other people.

Halbwachs also emphasises the role of other people in an individual's remembering: "… the greatest number of memories come back to us when our parents, our friends, other persons recall them to us" (p.39). So here again we see how remembering can be a collective act within a group and also how cultural memory and collective memory are interwoven.

It wouldn't be wrong to say music, in a way, acts as a soundtrack to the moments of life. Hilman's (2003) work on the cultural memory on film soundtracks brings out a connection between life, music, and how they are related to cultural memories. Hilman treats music as a cultural item with historical layers attached. In addition, music triggers the feeling of nostalgia, and these are all effects used in films to evoke our emotions. But how do the music and emotions at a personal level transfer to the community level? That is where the shared listening experience enters the equation and provides a social and cultural activity, and we can see how this created tight bonds between the first people to migrate from Turkey to Germany as guest-workers. Sturken argues, as do many other scholars, that "… when personal memories of public events are shared, their meaning changes" (1997, p.3). The migration as a whole was a public event, but it had different meanings for the guest-workers who went through the process together, than it did for the people outside this group. The interaction between them provided the main content of their story. They became a big family because they needed to support each other to be able to survive the difficulties they were facing in the foreign land. At first they were mostly people who left their families behind, and the music they brought with them (either in the form of a tape or an instrument) became the soundtrack to the film that was the experience they shared. This was also their collective musical memory. In a similar manner to Sturken, Tota talks about the "collective knowledge of public events" in her work about remembering terror (namely the massacre at the Bologna train station in 1980) (2004, p.131). In relation to that, I find that the whole process of the guest-worker agreement and its impacts on the community has become a public collective knowledge via mutual experience, in addition to the media's role in turning it into a well-known issue.

In this section I aimed to indicate and describe the most important features of the concept of cultural memory. According to this concept, cultural memory brings people together and is built on shared experiences that provide a feeling of safety. In addition, cultural memory is reconstructive so it has the potential to affect groups' memories, acts of remembering and forgetting. In my study I show how remembering operations shape memory both within interfamily relations and the interactions within the immigrant group. Also, as mentioned earlier, the properties of remembering allows the capability to construct memories.

3. Constructed memory

When planning my thesis, one of my main arguments had been that the immigrant societies had constructed a life in the middle of Berlin that looked as if it was brought along with them from Turkey. The neighbourhoods where Turkish-speaking communities predominate are visibly Turkish. Today some places in Berlin are known and established as Turkish neighbourhoods and they even have names like "little Istanbul", as in Kreuzberg or Neukölln's case. When designing my research questions, my assumption had been that the memories of some of the members of the younger generation were open to be constructed and imagined in a similar manner to the neighbourhoods they live in. The idea that memory is "imagined" means that these common features that bring people together come to prominence when people feel the need to belong and this triggers the imagining. And notions such as national identity, which might have been disregarded by the immigrants or which might not have raised awareness in them under different circumstances, become important and are reconstructed in their new context. New identities are constructed in order to adapt to new lives. On this point, Appadurai (1996) argues that "It is the imagination, in collective forms, that creates ideas of neighbourhood and nationhood … The imagination is today a staging ground for action, and not only for escape." (p.7).

The literature on constructed memory or memory as a constructed entity is mostly among the works on collective and cultural memory. Anderson essentially discusses how a society can be an imagined reality and all communities that

have not come face-to-face are imagined (1991, p.20). This argument, a crack in the belief of nation, is very significant for this study, especially when looking at people who call themselves Turkish and link themselves to Turkey through family ties. From a different perspective, however, we see that in reality many of these people are losing touch with Turkey; many among the younger generations have never been in touch at all, so in a way they are living in an imagined community according to Anderson's understanding of how a community is connected. Being Turkish or belonging to the Turkish community is a condition in flux today for the young generations because the ties that connect people to Turkey are becoming weaker over time. According to my informants, many immigrants go to Turkey only for summer holidays and their idea of Turkey is limited to a nice place where they are surrounded by family and friends and always have good times. I elaborate on this issue in my Findings (fifth) and Reflections (sixth) chapters and look at how "imagined" the ideas and lives in Turkish enclaves can be and how this relates to their popularly supposed "real" or unimagined life.

On a similar point, Ewing (2004) also emphasises the role of the state in manipulating memories and argues that "… the fixing of identities is a basic means by which the state contributes to the ordering of the social world … Immigrant populations are defined by their collective identities and are referred to overtly as 'ethnic minorities.'" (p.117-118). While in many cases I would agree with the idea that states manipulate memories, in my study I did not observe many direct instances. In my opinion this is because neither the Turkish nor the German government considered this groups of immigrants worthy of attention on this issue. In this case it was the community's own effort to fix identities for themselves until they thrived and became important. On the other hand, moving from the assumption that the collective identity an immigrant community is given fosters the collectiveness of memories too, leads us to the fact that memories are also given, in a sense. What we remember as a whole is a combination of what we experience, feel, learn, and what we are taught.

Radley states that remembering occurs in a world of things and words, and that "...artefacts play a central role in the memories of cultures and

individuals." (1990, p.57). In my work, I treat music as one of the artefacts linked to our memories. Along these lines, DeNora defines memories as cultural constructs (2003, p.74) and links memory with music as follows:

> "Here music again comes to the fore, as part of the retinue of devices for memory retrieval (which is simultaneously, memory construction). Music can be used as a device for the reflexive process of remembering/constructing who one is, a technology for spinning the apparently continuous tale of who one is. To the extent that music is used in this way it is not only, in Radley's sense, a device of artefactual memory [Radley, 1990; Urry, 1996]; it is a device for the generation of future identity and action structures, a mediator of future existence." (2000, p.63).

DeNora's emphasis on future identity and existence supports the idea that Turkish-speaking community have been investing in their future culturally with the effort to construct memories for young generations. On the subject of memory construction and how music can have a role in it, Stokes also calls our attention to how music is an effective agent rousing our collective memories. He emphasises the fact that music has the ability to give people the feeling of "relocation":

> "The musical event, from collective dances to the act of putting a cassette or CD into a machine, evokes and organizes collective memories and present experiences of place with an intensity, power and simplicity unmatched by any other social activity." (1997, p.3).

Music leads us to imagine a place or create a space in which we want to be. In migrant communities this imagined space can be used for a variety of reasons, such as the need for belonging, preserving culture, or communication. Among these, communication can be provided by sharing knowledge, by music reminding people of shared experiences and allowing an emotional connection to other people. From this perspective, the important point for my study is how remembering becomes a form of knowledge, as discussed by DeNora (2003, p.60), and why music is an agent in this process. When I talk about a constructed memory in my study, it means that the act of remembering becoming the form of knowledge that connects the younger generation of immigrants to Turkey and its culture, in addition to the older members of their community in Germany.

When taken as a whole, music's role in this study is directly related to how it affects cognition. Taken from Adorno's perspective, musical forms as aesthetic forms shape our awareness and how we perceive the "material world". The act of knowing includes "...remembering, recognising, and more generally becoming aware of some phenomena." (DeNora 2003, pp.59-60). In the present study it is assumed that the immigrants from Turkey and their descendants have been using music for remembering, for preventing the memories being forgotten and transmitting them to the next generation and for recognising who they are with or without knowing music's impact on their perceptions. As shown in my research the younger generations' preferences goes toward the more popular and Western tunes from Turkey which affects their view of Turkey and how they construct their "Turkish" memories.

Summing up this section on several aspects of memory, this study uses the concept of cultural memory, which touches on a rather sociological aspect of remembering. The term cultural memory allows to work with a wide group of people and their interaction with music, society, and their daily lives. In terms of how I look at memory, we can see how it has the potential to be woven into songs and how these songs could have been used to preserve and transfer these memories over time. However, to better understand their experience, I needed to dig deeper into the Turkish diaspora in Germany.

Diaspora

The term diaspora is one of the much-debated concepts of the twentieth and twenty-first century. This is possibly because of the shifting patterns for the communities that fall under the category of diaspora and also the diversity of diasporic groups, the diversity of the characteristics and conditions that make a diaspora, as well as the changes in these characteristics and conditions over time. In this section I will try to explain the general context of diaspora and how it fits the Turkish-speaking community I am studying, and look at how it differs from its counterpart term "migrant".

Diaspora is a Greek word derived from the terms *dia* (over) and *speiro* (to sow), and it has become a controversial term since its first use with the meaning "...forced migration without the possibility of returning to the home-country." (Hemetek 2008, p.8). However, Hemetek argues that today the term is used to indicate a connection of the migrant groups to their culture of "origin". In this study I use this much-debated term to designate this connection to cultural origins. Therefore, the term *Turkish diaspora* is used here for the very visible fact that it shows the relation between the Turkish-speaking communities and Turkey. Before elaborating on how I utilise this concept in my work, I begin by presenting a detailed definition of the concept by Sheffer:

> "...an ethno-national diaspora is a social-political formation, created as a result of either voluntary or forced migration, whose members regard themselves as of the same ethno-national origin and who permanently reside as minorities in one or several host countries. Members of such entities maintain regular or occasional contacts with what they regard as homelands and with individuals and groups of the same background residing in other host countries. Based on aggregate decisions to settle permanently in host countries, but to maintain a common identity, diasporans identify as such, showing solidarity with their group and their entire nation, and they organize and are active in the cultural, social economic, and political spheres. Among their various activities, members of such diasporas establish trans-state networks that reflect complex relationships among the diasporas, their host countries, their homelands, and international actors." (2006, p.9-10)

I have chosen Sheffer's definition among many other definitions of diaspora for it justifies handling the Turkish-speaking community as a diaspora for this study and helps understand the conditions that make it one. According to this explanation, the social dynamics built by the community abroad define the group's identity. The main emphasis is on feeling and practices in daily life as a group with a common ethno-national origin, the will to be in contact with the other members of the group, and solidarity. Another aspect that makes this definition appropriate for the Turkish community is that, according to this explanation, voluntary migration is also categorised as a possibility for diaspora formation, something not agreed on by all diaspora definitions.

In order to be able to better understand the community in Germany, it is important think about the differences between or common points of 'diasporans' and 'migrants'. The answers to the question 'what makes one a diasporan or a migrant' do not necessarily provide a clear indication of the differences between the two. The term 'diaspora' puts an emphasis on the migration process experienced as a community and its effects on the migrant group as a whole. Therefore it is difficult to analyse the diasporan individual separate from the diaspora setting. On the other hand, the word 'migrant' provides a rather personal space. We can therefore look at migrants as units and see their personal experiences. Having said all this, when comparing both terms it is still possible to run into grey areas in the literature and there are no clearly defined borders between two terms. Sheffer (2006) also agrees that there is an ambiguity in the definition and distinction of the terms. He claims that it is partly the result of changing generations:

> "This ambiguity is due to the fact that the time periods during which transient individuals and groups are allowed to remain and choose to remain in host countries before they finally decide to settle there permanently, or migrate to a secondary or tertiary host country, or return to their homeland are highly variable, making generalisations difficult." (p.16).

Sheffer emphasises how the factors that have an effect on the duration of the transition periods can be very different, and he continues to explain that what we should look at is whether, before or after their arrival, migrants have the option to choose to settle down in the host country, or if this choice is made for them by others. According to this, what we should discuss in relation to the Turkish community in Germany may be how the diaspora identity evolves over time, how do the immigrants, especially the new generation, perceive themselves to be a member of a diaspora.

Similarly trying to understand this community through the differences between applied meanings of diaspora and migrancy, Ostergaard-Nielsen explores the distinction between the terms diaspora and transnational community in her work on Turks and Kurds in Germany (2003):

"The concept of migrant transnationalism reintroduces the ties, which migrants may have back to their country of origin … Such a transnational approach to immigration acknowledges that migrants identify with more than one state at a time." (p.13).

In that sense, the activity of reintroducing ties is also a part of a construction that preserves the connection to the homeland to an extent. Levitt also points out the potential for imagined or fictional relations during the process of diaspora forming. According to Levitt, transnational communities are the building blocks of potential diasporas (2001, cited in Ostergaard 2003, p. 15). In later chapters I also present my observation that this tie is becoming looser for the younger generations, especially those who speak German as their native language and no longer speak Turkish well. I agree with Ostergaard-Nielsen that, today, the category of diaspora is so inclusive that the concept no longer provides a clear distinction for the community we are looking at. In subsequent chapters I discuss how the Turkish diaspora has become so multicultural and containing multiple identities that the definition of Turkish diaspora may in fact be too limiting for the different groups of people who are members of this diaspora.

When studying migrants, another thing to consider is that migration can take different forms, and we should acknowledge what kind of migrants we are dealing with. According to Koser (2007), a common initial distinction is whether migration is voluntary or forced. The reasons for migration can further be distinguished between political and economic reasons, and a sub-category would be the migration of spouses and children for family reunifications. Koser's final distinction is between the categories of legal and illegal immigration (pp.16-17). According to Koser's categorisation, then, where do Germany's immigrants from Turkey stand? The immigration from Turkey to Germany was not forced for the majority of cases, it was undertaken for economic reasons. This continued to be the main motivation for three decades, until political asylum joined in the picture. Nevertheless, migration for economic reasons never stopped, and has always accounted for the larger part of migrants. The workers from Turkey were mostly from impoverished towns, disadvantaged in terms of education and employment opportunities; they travelled in search of a better standard of life for themselves

and their families. According to my respondents, they would most probably not have chosen to emigrate if conditions had been better in Turkey. In order to find better economic conditions, they had to separate from their loved ones and their land. Therefore, though this migration may not have been forced, nor was it volunteered for whole-heartedly.

Horrocks and Kolinsky state that the term migrant carries an assumption that the migrant communities are destabilised and that migration has a negative effect:

> "At its most descriptive, 'migrant' acknowledges the fact that the person or group in question arrived at the present domicile through 'migration', i.e., leaving one place of residency and settling in another … 'migrant' emphasizes movement, not settlement, distance, not belonging. 'Migrants' in their new society seem under suspicion of detachment and divided loyalties.". (1996, xi).

Therefore a discussion on whether the people in my study can be called diasporans and migrants or not, may be a positive contribution to the situation of the Turkish-speaking community in Germany today. Horrocks and Kolinsky go on to say that Turkish people's position in Germany is not that of migrants, but residents, "social citizens". In the next chapters, I show with my findings that there is a transformation from migrant to resident, social citizen and even legal citizen across generations, yet the feeling of being a migrant still exists like an invisible tag when people encounter the barrier of their Turkish names or appearances.

Turkish Diaspora in Germany and Europe

When we look at emigration from Turkey to other countries, there are usually two types of economic motivation: the first is the guest worker agreements with several European countries beginning in the sixties; the second is people who go abroad, mostly to Europe or the USA, to study and then settle down in these countries to benefit from the better social and economic conditions they have to offer. The main difference is that the second group are highly skilled and educated immigrants and in most cases have a good knowledge of the language of the host country, or will soon if they do not already. The voluntary

migrant group are usually seen as a well-integrated community. Immigrants of this group are usually invisible in the society in terms of their national identity, having assimilated to a great extent, compared with the conspicuous groups defined as guest workers. In this context, Lewis talks of Turks in Britain as invisible when compared with the rest of the Muslim community in the country. "Turks are doing well" in Britain he argues, in terms of integration (2010). One might speculate about why the position of immigrants from Turkey in Britain is so different from that of their counterparts in Germany. I argue that one of the main elements to bring people together is the shared grief. As is shown in the later chapters here, Turks in Germany did not have a good standard of living during the first decades after the guest worker agreement and today most are still disappointed about certain issues such as integration or the denial of the right to dual citizenship. This element of grief strengthens their bonds and provides the community the character of a diaspora. Having said that, in my later chapters I also discuss how the new generation is evolving and the migrant identity is changing for most people, and these people start to be "invisible" because they integrate more easily or they create a life of their own that also fits the German lifestyle, unlike the older generations of their families, who were recognised by their dissonant visibilities. This change in identities can be viewed as a characteristic of the diaspora as described above.

Cultural approaches to music and migration

From the preparation phases of this study to the final stages I have come across many important works that inspired me and helped me shape this thesis. In this section I present a digest of these studies and the vital arguments that influenced me throughout the writing process.

When planning this work, my starting point was that music is one of the most important and noticeable cultural agents for communities, and I emphasise this point often in my work. It is especially impressive to observe that in times of societal change music becomes an agent that carries the cultural cues and reflects the impacts of these changes. Music can be a tool to create a sense of

belonging, for cultural conservation, and communication among many other things. Eyerman and Jamison (1998) address how music acts as a tool for "...the diffusion of movement ideas into the broader culture" in their work. They take the social process of what they call "mobilisation of tradition", which they explain as follows:

> "...in social movements, musical and other kinds of cultural traditions are made and remade, and after the movements fade away as political forces, the music remains as a memory and as a potential way to inspire new ways of mobilisation." (pp.1-2).

With a similar approach, this research began with the assumption that music is used in societies where major changes had been taking place, as one of the constant coded set of values, which is highly valued and useful in reconstructing new lives. Turkish-speaking communities have been using music as a constant cultural unit in opposition to their rapidly changing conditions in Germany. Music has acted as a self-care tool and support. Eyerman and Jamison support their thesis about how music and movements exist in a "synergetic relationship" with the case of black music traditions (p.77). The community in their case presents certain solidarity of the oppressed, which is something to be observed in this research as well. In my work the essential role of music comes when the guest-workers migrate to Germany due to financial difficulties (maybe only one step better than an involuntary migration), then embrace their music at a time of a drastic change in their lives and use it as a shelter and means of self-therapy. This major life change continues to have an effect for the migrants even today since we are talking about a very dynamic community. Their sociality, status in wider society and habits continue to shift. Families kept migrating, reuniting, breaking up, and returning. At the same time, Berlin went through drastic changes, and the immigrant neighbourhoods got their share from this rapid transformations (especially at the time of the fall of the Berlin Wall).

Another example that places music as a constant cultural agent in times of change is the ethnomusicological research of Olsen. His work is very similar in certain aspects to this study. He conducted major fieldwork with the Japanese

immigrants in South America, where he focused on music, memory and identity issues in a diaspora. These immigrants had come to Peru as common labourers, as in the case of first-generation guest-workers from Turkey in Germany. Olsen worked with the Nikkei people in Peru, Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay and Bolivia and he prefers to handle music as a fact that gives the Nikkei people living away from their homeland a "cultural survival". He supports the idea that identity is formed by the relationship of music and memory where music is a tool helping to learn and remember (2004). One of the points my research differs from Olsen's is that I focus on the concept of cultural construction or imagination. In cases where minorities or diasporas are in question, concepts like collective and cultural memory emphasise the fact of identity construction as it takes place in my work. Another difference that has impact on this cultural memory construction idea is that I work mostly with the later or younger generation and therefore I had the chance to observe changes over time resulting in a generational breakpoint, which leads to a modification in music's role on formation of memories.

Two key figures who have focused on the music of the Turkish community in Germany are Ayhan Kaya and Martin Greve. Kaya has conducted studies on subjects including Euro-Turks, German-Turkish youth, diaspora, and citizenship. Greve is a German ethnomusicologist who has produced several works on music and the Turkish community in Germany. Both scholars have conducted field studies in Berlin in late 90s and 2000s.

Some of Kaya's studies on Turkish society are based in Berlin and he differs with his approach to the subject whereby he prefers to use the notion of "syncretic culture" as opposed to that of holistic culture, which argues that mutual meanings and values create the essence of cultures (2000, p.26). The main idea of syncretic culture, on the other hand, is that ethnicity does not belong to the essential and is not a stable component of cultural identity as explained by Barth (1994, cited in Kaya 2000, p.29). Kaya defines the Turkish people living in Germany as belonging to a "third culture", which is in a "rhizomatic place" (2002, p.58). According to Deleuze and Guattari, a rhizome has no beginning and no end, it is in the middle, it is an "interbeing, intermezzo" (1980, p.25). This kind of

identification has been beneficial for me to understand this community, especially when looking at the change of the migrant society in Berlin and how it is seen today. The rhizomatic place defines a large grey area in between the black and white or in another words Turkish and German duality. With the developments in the recent years and the changes in the social lives of the immigrants the grey area or the third place is not in the middle of the duality today but rather beyond them, as I further elaborate in my Reflections chapter.

Kaya continues with the Turks who are in the rhizomatic attitude, asserting that either Turkish or German is rejected. Instead, "German and Turkish and Global and …" is accepted (2002, p.59). He describes the notions of immigrant strategy, minority strategy and modern diaspora strategy in the context of the Turkish community living in Berlin. He states that being a minority was not about the "core", on the contrary, it was about social positioning (2000, p.57). Years ago the main characteristic of classic diasporas was that they were the result of a forced migration. According to Kaya, in today's modern diasporas, which are formed by events like labour migration and colonialism, the group of people who changed lands lacks the will to go back so "the myth of returning is left" (2000, p.61). Therefore Kaya also supports the idea that the concept of diaspora has gone through changes and is no longer only a term that covers involuntary migrations. Similar to Kaya's argument, I present in my following chapters how the numbers of the diaspora continued to increase year by year and that there were several reasons, from seeking better opportunities than in Turkey to the fact that having stayed in Germany for a certain amount of time the members of the diaspora in Germany became foreign in their homelands too.

In the musical aspect of his work, mainly focusing on rap music, Kaya tries to reveal the identity issues prevalent especially working-class Turks in Germany:

> "Rap music, as a popular cultural form, becomes a powerful vehicle to gain a better understanding of 'heritage' and their present identities when official channels of remembering and identity formation continually fail to meet their needs." (2002, p.46).

A special emphasis is also put on rap music in this study as a signifier of the breaking point between generations, in addition to its many other important qualities for this community. Kaya's work looks at the transformation of cultural identity in the Turkish youth involved in hip-hop in Kreuzberg. He shows how this community builds up a "diasporic consciousness" and deals with discrimination and exclusion using hip-hop music as a weapon as it will also be discussed later in my work. In opposition to the holistic notion of culture, Kaya states that the youth involved with hip-hop music formed a cultural bricolage or a creolisation, intruding the monolithic structure of the nation-state and resulting in the creation of a third place.

When we turn to Greve's study *Almanya'da "Hayali Türkiye"nin Müziği* (Music of Imagined Turkey in Germany), we find a detailed historical and musical background of the immigration story beginning from the 1960s until the late 1990s. It draws the picture of the music scene along with other cultural and social activities of the community from Turkey over an extended period. As we see in the title Greve chooses to emphasise the fact of being imagined in a similar manner to this study. According to him, the supposedly natural internal ties of cultures as social structures should be approached as imagined entities. While I agree with and favour the factors of imagination and construction of the social structures within communities, I also choose to point out the fact that being imagined and constructed has turned into a rather natural existence over the years. Along with the critical arguments on imagined and constructed structures, the most significant difference in our studies is my focus on what I call a generational breakpoint in the last decade, meaning that my work takes up where Greve's work finishes, at the beginning of the 2000s. In support of my work's timeliness, Appadurai (1996) also mentions the changes over time, particularly noting the technological changes, as I do in my analysis of change in media tools:

> "… there has been a shift in recent decades, building on technological changes over the past century or so, in which the imagination has become a collective social fact. This development, in turn, is the basis of plurality of imagined worlds." (p.5).

The last decade has witnessed drastic changes in information technology, which have affected almost every society exposed to it. I present how this changed people's access to music in Berlin and therefore the relationship with cultural memory by listening to their stories and witnessing their musicking activities first-hand. I must also point out that the main focus of this work is to examine the relationship between music and cultural memory and how it acts for different generations. The research indicates a drastic change in musicking habits for the younger generations and the use of internet and social media is among the reasons for that. However I chose to elaborate on these new technologies' impact on young generations in a limited fashion, in other words, as much as the information I got from my in-depth interviews granted me. One of the reasons for that is because I believe it is a major issue to explore and a separate study must be dedicated to it, conducting an ethnographic fieldwork focused on the younger generation whose main resource of music access is the internet. My study relies on in-depth interviews with participants who were mostly second and third-generation Turkish-speaking people. Their accounts mostly covered throughout their own childhood and youth, the interaction with their parents and their observation of their children and/or students today. Therefore the young generations' relation with music and new information technologies are mostly demonstrated in this work as their elders observe and speculate on it.

In his work Greve covers the history of the migration and how it was reflected in the immigrants' music. He looks at how the Turkish community built a musical life in Germany. As is seen in my Historical and Musical Background chapter, this is the part of Greve's work I favoured most in presenting the musicking activities of the first-generation immigrants in particular, and I have used his evaluations to make comparisons with my findings in this decade. As an ethnomusicologist, Greve provides an elaborated musical history content and analysis of the Turkish-speaking community in Germany. In contrast to Kaya's work and my research, he also explores the different ethnic groups and social identities within the Turkish-speaking community and their use of music. This kind of categorisation and detailed analysis of different groups' musicking

activities is something I had considered when planning my research, but I chose not to pursue it for several reasons. Among them, the most important reason was my wish to deal with the community in Berlin in a more general scope, focusing on the shared experiences that brought them together rather than their differing points. However, I present certain issues on national or ethnic identity when my respondents point them out. Greve's presentation of data on different ethnic groups' use of music shows the ethnomusicological aspect of this subject whereas in my work I have analysed people's relation with the songs and genres rather than the musical works themselves. On the matter of music and cultural memory, I observed people's reactions and attitudes towards my questions during my pilot study and seeing that people, especially the musicians, did not mention a clear musical distinction resulting from ethnic identities I decided to conduct my research this way.

Ayşe Çağlar is another key figure in research on the Turkish-speaking community in Germany. One of the most important points she emphasises is the heterogeneity of the community we are dealing with and the need to be careful not to use a notion of culture that could be limiting in explaining people. To be able to further investigate clichés, continuities, discontinuities and breaking points, which all prove to be critical themes to my study, we need to acknowledge that we are dealing with a very diverse group of people today. Çağlar treats the concept of culture as a "prison house" in her studies on labour immigration. She objects to "...the holistic view of culture in which cultures are assumed to be integrated wholes characterised by unmodifiable relationships, i.e., they are seen as structured systems." and to "...the conceptualisation of the link between ethnicity and culture as intrinsic, i.e., the assumption that each ethnic group has its own discrete culture." (1990, p.6). Agreeing Çağlar, through my findings I argue that social or political categorisation as "Turkish immigrants" should no longer be a valid identification if a researcher wants to analyse the groups of people or when the authorities work on policies of integration and other similar cases.

One thing that gave rise to the diversity of the Turkish-speaking community has been the drastic changes between generations. While I put an emphasis on the generational differences in my work and I also put this fact forward as a difference I was able to observe between my work and many others, including Greve's due to the timing of our studies, the idea of "generations" should be handled with care. Along with its widespread use, the classification generation can be criticised for being limiting, enclosing people and forming artificially constructed groups. The use of this idea can really be reductive unless cultural identity is taken into account. According to the syncretic notion culture cannot be taken as a whole, as something that does not change. I agree that the problem with the notion of generations could be overcome with this approach, too.

According to Mannheim:

"...a shared set of significant experiences by members of a birth cohort shape their generational identity and future memory, thus colouring their future experiences and perceptions distinctly from members of other cohorts who did not experience the same event at the same formative moment in their biographies." (1952, cited in Olick 2007, p.47).

Mannheim puts an emphasis on the fact that a generation is a group of people of a similar age and connected to each other by sharing a powerful historical event. In the case of immigrants of Turkish origin in Germany, I argue that the shared experience that unites a generation does not necessarily mean being in the same age group or other similar categorisation. The generations in this study have rather a complex formation and there are a number of different dynamics at work that would situate a person in different generations for different reasons. When we are talking about an immigrant community, the first idea of generation that comes to mind is that the first people coming to the host land constitute the first-generation and their children and grandchildren become the second and third-generations respectively. On the other hand, the matter of age is a very important variable. In a settled community, the shared experience of historical events (and therefore memories) constitutes an important factor that categorises people into the same generation. In this case, it is important that

people are in a similar age group that would allow them to have a similar perception of the historical events because of their experience in life. Generations in a family would not always match the idea of a generation in an established community, therefore people can belong to different generations. The same thing applies to the migrant families in Germany. For instance, a second-generation (which means a child of a first-generation immigrant) person in his/her twenties may have a similar musical background and perception to people in the third-generation but of the same age among the immigrant community. On the other hand, people identified as being in the same generation in different families can have different language competencies. One person might be able to speak Turkish fluently while another from the same generation lacks these Turkish skills but is more competent in German. This linguistic flexibility is something that has an influence on people's perception of the shared time period. In my study I choose to keep the generation idea, although it is a symbolic and imagined formation, which nevertheless still provides a tool helping analyse the groups of people. The idea of generation and the meanings it carries is a critical part of the present work, so, while handling it with care because of its problematic structure, I would not choose to rule it out. On the contrary, I include it in my work because, according to my observations and the outcomes of my research, the change in the community is told through the change of generations. The category of generation is similar to the cross-cutting identities of a person: one can belong to two different generations. It is more a context than a fixed position, especially in immigrants' situation, where there is fluidity within generations. As Ewing suggests, "People can be observed to project multiple, inconsistent self representations that are context-dependent and may shift rapidly." (2004, p.121). In the case of the Turkish-speaking community, generation is one of the representations of migrants that can shift according to the context. In relation to the musicking experience of the migrants Dijck explains: "Shared listening, exchanging (recorded) songs, and talking about music create a sense of belonging and connect a person's sense of self to a larger community and

generation." (2006, p.370). So for this study music is one of the agents that defines people's belonging with generations.

Reulecke also writes on the generation theory and states that a generation is a:

> "...progression that traditionally assumes a distance between generations of about thirty years … In reference to the population structure of a society, 'generation' is used (although "cohort" would be the correct term) to statistically group all those born in the same year or the same five year period or decade." (2008, p.119).

When it comes to determining generations within migrant communities, the categories are usually formed according to the time people arrive in the host country. Therefore, even if this description does not correspond to the migrant community's situation, it complies with the new understanding of the term originating in the humanities and social sciences by which "generation" symbolises a group within the community "...that is characterised by its members having grown up in the same particularly formative era.", as stated by Reulecke (p.119).

To conclude

In my effort to review the existing literature relevant to my work, I have specified the critical terms, namely collective, cultural, and constructed memory. I have presented the content of these terms in addition to the themes of diaspora and migrant. In the light of these definitions, I have compared the use of these terms in my work and in the existing literature and why I preferred to go with these specific definitions.

Following the section on terms, I have presented some of the works that has been influential in designing this research and shaping my ideas. As I mentioned before, I believe that studies on the relationship between music and cultural memory is a growing area, but has not yet fulfilled its potential. Musicking as a cultural agent can be among the most important habits from which a person or community's characteristic can be read. I am hoping to add to the perspective of analysing the immigrant community in Berlin through music.

As presented in this chapter music has a critical role in discerning the developments in a community and transmitting cultural memories in this case. In the coming chapters I will look at how music has been used from the beginning of the migration process, how it is being used today and how it is changing and reasons behind that. In so doing I will continue the discussion of my critical terms regarding which I have presented the most important literature, and I will go on developing my suggestions by referring to many more examples in the literature on this subject.

CHAPTER 3: HISTORICAL AND MUSICAL BACKGROUND

> "*The people from Turkey made money in a country which did not want them; they became migrants despite their intentions in a land where they were neither happy nor content, and Germany became a land of immigrants against its will.*" (Eryılmaz 2002, p.66)

Introduction

This chapter aims to draw a picture of the historical background of the immigration process starting in the 1960s as a part of West Germany's *Gastarbeiter* (guest-worker) programme. The era that will be covered here is considered to shed light on how a Turkish diaspora was formed in Germany. This is important to know since the Turkish immigrants in Germany have a history of more than fifty years and they are observed to be carrying the burden of this immigration process to this day. The issue of the transferring of cultural memory across generations, one of the critical points of this study, is not possible to understand without looking at the immigrants' conditions from the beginning. As discussed in the previous chapter in detail scholars such as Halbwachs (1980, 1992), Assmann (1995), and Olick (2007) describe how social realities constitute collective and cultural memory. The history of the immigration process will provide the information about how these social realities were built since 1961 to this day. The historical collectivity within the community in question rises from the immigration process as a shared experience. This experience with its difficulties, particularly in terms of integration to Germany, made it for the diaspora to be even more important to be in solidarity. The collective knowledge of the migration

experience as a past event became a shared and collective memory for the diaspora, as Eyerman (2004), Sturken (1997) and Tota (2004) also emphasises how shared grief over events in the past creates a collective memory. In this chapter I will look at the *Gastarbeiter* process in general, tracing the repercussions of that era to the present day and their effect on the lives of the Turkish people living in Germany. Based on the information presented here, I will attempt, in the following chapters, to investigate whether this process still has an influence today on the Turkish diaspora.

The main points that are touched upon here include the political and economic conditions of both Germany and Turkey from 1961 to the present, and therefore Germany's need for an additional labour force. Also to be discussed are the reasons behind Turkey's being one of the countries to have signed bilateral agreements with Germany, including the following issues: the nature of these agreements; the workers' rights; general governmental policies regarding the immigrants; the immigrants' settlement patterns; integration issues; and the different groups of immigrants from Turkey in terms of different motivations for migration, such as guest-workers, asylum seekers and other disparate groups. In addition to the vast literature on Turkish immigrants in Germany, I will also draw upon excerpts from interviews I conducted for this study and use these accounts as first-hand resources to illustrate the ideas of my informants about the migration process.

Looking at the diaspora studies (some of which were mentioned in the preceding literature review) we see that in most cases music has a vital role in the immigrants' lives. Daynes states that "Food and music are the easiest tools to transport memories, and they also have an immediate and forceful power of evocation." (2004, p.25). As part of this study's focus on music and its potential to carry cues from the cultural and social conditions of a society, in addition to the historical background focusing on the immigration process, I will also look at how music was a part of the Turkish immigrants' lives; the mediums of music listening and making as it was transferred from Turkey to Germany; the kind of music in demand in comparison to the music scene in Turkey; and how music was used

by individuals of the Turkish community as a coping tool. A brief summary of the Turkish music scene will cover the era from the 1960s to the late 1990s. The different genres that were popular at different times, or at the same time but demanded by different groups of people, will be analysed from a sociological point of view. The drastic change in the accessibility of media tools in the 1990s and 2000s brought new means of creating and consuming music. This chapter will only briefly touch upon these two decades; a more detailed look at them will follow later in this thesis. The history of Turkish-speaking immigrants' musical life in Germany is also hoped to serve as a foundation for the later sections on media.

Historical background

The migration movement from Turkey to Germany can be categorised into four periods. According to Sirkeci, the first period, from 1961 to 1973, is mainly identified by the labour migration agreed on with bilateral agreements between the two governments. This period is followed by that of family reunification, between 1973 and the early 1980s. The third period, from 1980 to the early 1990s, is rather dominated by asylum seekers; and, finally, the fourth period is what Sirkeci calls the clandestine migration period, from the early 1990s to the 2000s (2002, pp.11-12).

To begin with the first period, after World War II the West German economy developed rapidly and labour was in short supply. To address the need for workers, the government signed bilateral agreements with Italy, Greece, Turkey, Morocco, Portugal, Tunisia, and Yugoslavia for the recruitment of their workers. In 1961, when Turkey signed the agreement, there were 572,758 vacant jobs and 94,856 unemployed people in Germany (Eryılmaz 2002, p.62). Looking at some of the countries of the era that are considered to have had the immigration of workers on their agenda, Abadan-Unat suggests that Turkey's situation should not be taken as a single case by itself. She sees similarities with the movements from other Mediterranean countries and believes that this matter "...must be evaluated both within the general framework of an enlarging disparity

between the rich and the poor countries." (1976, p.2). In studying the history of emigration out of Turkey we need to bear in mind that it was only after the adoption of the 1961 constitution that "leaving and entering the country became a fundamental right" for Turkish citizens adding an impetus to the emigration movement to Germany (Abadan-Unat 1995, p.279).

Looking at the issues motivating migration from both sides, we see:

- Germany was in need of an additional workforce

- The problem of unemployment in Turkey

- Turkey's need of technologically qualified people to operate the new systems of the industrialisation era with the skills that they would acquire working in Germany

- Turkey's need of foreign currency, which would help the country's economy

Soon the majority of the migrant workers coming to Germany were Turkish citizens, mostly men. Although there was demand for female workers in the electronic, textile and clothing industries, their number remained low compared to their male counterparts. According to the agreement, the "guest" status of the workers would be valid for a short period of around two years. Later it was extended due to demand from both Turkish and German sides. Eryılmaz tells us that:

> "A letter from the Federal German Employers' Association on 12.12.1962 stressed the disadvantages of the rotation principle and reiterated their 'satisfaction with the Turkish workers'. With this note the gates of permanence and along with it the process of becoming migrants opened." (2002, p.66).

Initially, the workers were moderately educated people from urban areas in Turkey, but later that profile changed as migration was dominated by undereducated people from rural areas.

The first period of migration started on 31 October 1961, when the bilateral agreement was signed between Germany and Turkey, in the same year

as the Berlin Wall was erected, which also contributed to the labour shortage. There then followed Turkey's acceptance of the first five-year development plan for the years 1962-1967. Abadan-Unat argues that this plan, with its "...export of excess, unskilled labour to western Europe...", was believed, in Turkey, "...to represent […] one of the possibilities for alleviating unemployment." (1976, p.14). Turkey had a massive population growth at the time, which both caused unemployment in Turkey and encouraged emigration to Germany. The growth rate also increased the immigrant population rapidly. Another motivation behind the sending of Turkish workers to Germany was the government's need of and reliance on the foreign currency that the workers would send home to their families. This later proved to be a good plan when the money the guest-workers had sent from Germany reached Turkey's export revenues (Greve 2006, p.47). It was also believed that the technical expertise the Turkish workers would acquire working in German factories would be beneficial for the industry in Turkey when they returned (Eryılmaz 2002, p.2). The Turkish government's planners assumed that the export of unskilled workers would facilitate the acquisition of new skills and this would contribute to the industrialisation of the country. In the years following the first agreement with West Germany, Turkey signed similar recruitment agreements with Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands, France, and Sweden (Abadan-Unat 1995, p.279).

Eryılmaz, who had been working as the coordinator of the Centre and Museum for Documentation of Migration from Turkey (DOMID), argues that the recruitment agreement signed between Turkey and Germany was "a second class agreement" compared to the other agreements Germany had made with countries like Italy, Spain, and Greece. The terms of the agreement were more beneficial to Germany and the Turkish government's input was minimal. Eryılmaz especially focuses on three points that he believes reflect the domination of German interest: the short-term labour and residence permit given to the workers; the humiliating nature of the workers' medical examination to protect the German population from epidemics; and the absence of the right of family reunion in the first agreement, which was given to the workers from other

countries (Eryılmaz 2002, p.2). Sökefeld states:

> "In its original version, the German-Turkish agreement for recruiting labourers had explicitly ruled out family reunion because the German government intended to prevent immigration of Turks – in contrast with temporal sojourn for the purpose of employment … These restrictions applied solely to workers from Turkey and distinguished them from others like Italians or Portuguese." (2008, p.40).

Sökefeld goes on to note that this restriction on family reunification was renegotiated and lifted, as was the two-year time limit of guest-working status.

Following the agreement in 1961, 7,000 people emigrated from Turkey to Germany, and the number rose to 18,500 by July 1962. Another wave of migration followed from the eastern regions of Turkey in 1967, possibly triggered, Sirkeci (2002, p.13) argues, by the mandatory relocations of people as construction started on the Keban Dam in that region and a major earthquake in Varto, Muş province. There were 615,827 Turkish immigrants in Germany in mid-1974 (Abadan-Unat 1975, p.5). Eryılmaz explains the figures and the profile of the immigrants in those years:

> "Between 1961 and 1973, 910,500 workers arrived in Germany from Turkey. About 200,000 of them came through the so-called 'second way', i.e. having been recruited by German employers who asked for them by name. Compared with other labour exporting nations Turkey sent the highest proportion of skilled workers to Germany as 30 per cent of all recruits were skilled. Furthermore, 20 per cent of the recruits were women." (Eryılmaz 2002, p.64)

Germany was greatly affected by the oil crisis in 1973. The government stopped the recruitment of guest-workers (*Anwerbestopp*) from Turkey, limiting it to citizens of the European Community. It was also at this point that the second period of Turkish migration, that of family reunifications, started, and that the issue of foreigners was beginning to be discussed seriously in Germany (AA 2001). "In [the] late 1970s, when West Germany tried to discourage family reunification, [the] failure of restrictionism came into play once again." (Diker 2012, p.17). Since the families were worried that their reunification might be forbidden later, the number of families reuniting increased rapidly.

Settlement patterns and life in Germany

When we look into the Turkish immigration, among the first things to catch attention are the touching pictures of hundreds or thousands of people boarding the trains that will take them away from their homes. The guest-workers left Istanbul from the central station in Sirkeci, bound for Munich on a journey that lasted three days. The workers coming to Germany mostly had positions in the construction industry, in the iron, steel and metal industry, in the mining industry, in brickfields, in the processing of synthetic material and asbestos and in the automobile and textile industry – all in noisy, foul-smelling factories with back-breaking conditions (Eryılmaz 2002, p.64). They were settled into dormitories called *Heim* where several workers shared a cabin, a toilet, and a kitchen. My informant Hasan does not remember those days with pleasure:

> "It was the first time I was away from my family and my village for that long… The conditions were not good at the *heim*. It made the homesickness even more unbearable. But we had to stand it because we had to save money for our families and for a better life… I missed my mum's food so much that I couldn't put anything in my mouth the first months. Then I got used to it. We had to get used to everything."

The train from Sirkeci to Munich (www.yenisafak.com.tr)

The common trend was for guest-workers to save money to be able to invest when they went back to Turkey. They were making every sacrifice from having a poor and unbalanced diet to living a socially inactive life so that they

would spend less money. This inevitably caused physical and emotional breakdowns among the workers. Eventually, as families reunited, the workers started leaving the dormitories and moved into houses or family dorms; this was the first sign of longer settlement. In 1973 the number of Turkish workers was 600,000 and the number of family members had reached 900,000 (AA 2001).

The Turkish workers were longing for their homes. Their lives were isolated from German society. They were only able to see their extended families (if not their close relatives) and loved ones once a year, if they could, during their annual holidays. Until 1964, when *Westdeutscher Rundfunk* (West German Broadcasting) Cologne started broadcasting in Turkish under the name *Köln Radyosu*, they had no news from home other than by the limited communication with their families in Turkey. One of my informants, who used to work in a factory in Munich in the 1960s, and returned to Turkey after he retired, told me about his first years: "We were missing Turkish cuisine and music a lot. When we went back to Turkey for holiday we were bringing back chickpeas, beans, bulgur, and vegetables in gunny sacks with us." They were not legally allowed to start their own businesses, so they paid German citizens to apply for business permits and then ran these businesses (butchers, grocery stores, restaurants, and electrical goods stores which they called "export") themselves (AA 2001). In her book Abadan-Unat (1976) discusses the problems of guest-worker immigration. She lists the major problems as follows:

> "The intrusion of a large, unskilled labour force, the growing presence of social groups adhering to the Islamic faith in the midst of a predominantly Christian setting, the lack of migratory traditions, the inability to make better use of social welfare institutions (where they exist) and the impact of their absence in many cases, the rural background of the majority of Turkish workers, the short history of the Turkish trade-union movement..." (p.2).

Eryılmaz also points out that the issue of religion added to the difficulty of adapting to life in Germany:

> "...only a few big companies supplied prayer corners in their worker hostels or factories. In particular, fasting during Ramadan and sacrificing animals during the feast of sacrifice caused serious problems. For the first

time in living memory German society was encountering Islam through the Turks. Historically embedded prejudices kept the society from acknowledging and accepting this religion. However, in a country where everything was foreign, religion was a means to protect cultural identities." (2002, p.65).

With unemployment in Turkey, and Germany's image as a land of opportunity, emigration became increasingly appealing. As immigrant numbers in Germany grew, it became more difficult to find a job through legal means, so people started emigrating as tourists, working without a work permit and settling down illegally (Abadan-Unat 1976, p.8). My interviewee Hasan told me about his aunt who married a man just so he could go to Germany, and then repeated doing the same thing for other people: "People in my village were so poor that they wanted to come here to work. They had fake marriages to their own relatives just to get a visa."

Most of the Turkish women who had migrated to Germany as a part of the family reunification plan never entered the public sphere; they formed a community of their own and neither needed nor endeavoured to learn the language of the country to which they had migrated. Men, on the other hand, were in the public sphere but experienced a similar situation to that of the women, creating a small community of their own in the factories where they worked and in the neighbourhoods they lived in. They were, and still are, criticised for not learning German. This has always been seen as the major barrier towards integration, but at that time they worked very long and tiring hours in the factories. Tan and Waldhoff notes that "Since migration had been envisaged for an interim period only, the main aim was to use the time to work and to save enough money to set up a business back home" (1996, p.143). My informant Mehmet, who was seventy years old, complained that he was tired of being criticised for still not speaking German:

> "We were working under very hard conditions. The hours were long and very tiring. Who could go to a language class after a day of work like that? We didn't know that we would stay that long anyway… We were trying to save money so our social activity was gathering in our *Heim*s and chatting with other Turkish friends. Who could blame us for that?"

Integration

With the Arab oil crisis in 1973, the recruitment process ended and some of the immigrants left Germany. But many of the Turkish workers stayed, and as already mentioned, the family reunifications increased; a high birth rate resulted in a comparatively high Turkish immigrant community (White 1995). This immigrant settlement was unexpected and within a short time they were no longer seen as just a cheap labour force when the country was in need of labour; they were seen as taking jobs away from Germans. Politicians began to be hostile towards that kind of multiculturalism. Faas states:

> "Whilst the national and multicultural agendas were perceived as incompatible at the time, politicians remained ardent proponents of a politically integrated Europe. Europe became a focal point for national political identities in German schools... Several German federal states (such as Baden-Württemberg) subsequently overhauled their curricula to implement a European dimension. This highlighted the role of education in shifting German national identities towards a more European agenda." (2007, p.46).

Before shifting to a European agenda, the education system in Germany was not designed to include the immigrants in any way. The selective system divided pupils between different kinds of secondary schools. Students were recommended by their examiners or teachers to continue to *Hausptschule*s, which provide a general certificate, *Realschule*s providing an intermediate qualification, or *Gymnasium*s (or grammar schools) leading to the best qualifications. Children of the first-generation of immigrants were usually placed in *Hauptschule*s after primary school, mostly due to their lack of competence in the German language. They were not competing on an equal basis with German children in terms of educational support from their parents. In addition to poor levels of schooling, these students' road to further education and quality professions were blocked by the system. According to the 1991 data from *Bundesbildungsbericht*,

> "...only 28 per cent of German but 44 per cent of Turkish pupils leave school with the lowest educational qualification… 28 per cent of young Germans and 6 per cent of young Turks pass the *Abitur* and gain the right to study at university." (Kürşat-Ahlers 1996, p.130).

Kürşat-Ahlers considers this either "...an unintentional structural discrimination, or even an intentional discrimination against foreign children at school" (p.130).

Around the same time, new regulations concerning child allowances resulted in a drastic increase in the population of Turkish children in Germany. According to the new child allowance policy, a higher rate would be paid to immigrant families who had their children with them in Germany compared to those who had left their children behind. Consequently, between 1974 and 1980, "...the number of Turkish children under the age of 16 living in West Germany increased by 129.8 per cent." (Abadan-Unat 1995, p.280). Along with the change of population, the new policies on family reunification resulted in changes in the societal dynamics of the immigrants:

> "People from the same towns … settled together and formed mutual aid societies … First generation, specifically men, were organized around coffehouses. In this coffehouses, which serve the purpose of a public sphere in which to discuss politics, Turkish men play cards, drink coffee and tea, watch television, talk about daily events [Meeker 2002]. The windows are covered with curtains or frosted glass to cut off the outside world. … Such coffee houses were the precursors of immigrant associations, specifically the compatriot and nationalist associations in Berlin." (Yurdakul 2009, p. 32).

As I discuss in the Literature Review chapter Assmann points out that mutual experiences bring people together by providing support and safety. The forming of immigrant associations as Yurdakul mentions is the product of the mutual experiences but more importantly that need for support and safety. As mentioned previously, Halbwachs, as well as many other scholars, puts an emphasis on the fact that memory is a collective experience and it is affected by the recalling of the other people one is surrounded by. The way people from Turkey stayed together in solidarity against the integration problems they were facing and have built a new life together as a group solidified their ties while constructing cultural memories. In addition, the issue of immigrant integration, which should have been handled long before, became more prominent. Eryılmaz criticises Germany's integration policies during the first years of the recruitment

process. According to him, even the most basic and intimate habits could be very different, and trying to change them should have been handled in a more sensitive way:

> "The toilets did not meet the religious and traditional habits of the Turks. A considerable part of the workers had difficulties in using them. They tried to use the toilets as they were accustomed to back at home. This did not work and consequently problems surfaced. The Germans tried to demonstrate the 'right and hygienically safe way' of using toilets by providing humiliating drawings. Renowned professors were consulted about the issue. They gave instructions on how to use toilet paper. Except for a few employers they did not suspect that other Mediterranean countries, members of the European Community, also utilized such toilets. It was difficult to accept that other cultures had other hygienic habits." (Eryılmaz 2002, p.65).

Most members of the Turkish diaspora in Germany were connected to each other not just by nationality but also by religion. Religion remains an important issue in the lives of these immigrants today. According to McGowan (2001, p.292) religion is more important to the Turks in Germany compared to those who remained in Turkey, and they relate this to religion being a reassurance or support in ethnic as well as purely religious terms. Considered in this way, religion had a more critical role for the immigrants; they suffered because of the lack of religious rights or customs that had been woven into their daily life in Turkey. My informant Hasan, who retired from his post in an automotive factory in 2000, comments on this problem:

> "It was heart breaking for me to see my German or other European colleagues celebrating their religious holidays like Christmas or Easter together with so much joy, while we Muslims did our celebrations away from them in our houses. Just having a Christmas tree at the entrance of the factory is a shared joy for them, and something that reminds us we are not one of them… *Bayram*s [religious celebration days] were the best days of my life when I was young back in Turkey. It is not the same when you are in *gurbet* [foreign land]. It doubles your longing."

Even the basics, like food, could be an issue for Muslims. Immigrants, especially the first-generation, were reluctant to eat outside of their community for fear that there might be pork products in German foods. When I asked my informants about language, a few of them told me that their mothers were afraid

they would buy pork at the grocery store by mistake because they did not understand German writings on the packaging. During the first years of migration there were few mosques in Germany and Turkish Muslims had to get permission to use rooms in hostels or their places of work to perform their daily prayers (Karakaşoğlu 1996, p.160). Certainly there were some regulations for the Muslim communities living in Germany at that time, especially after the family reunification process began. For instance, abandoned factories started to be used as mosques, and would continue to be: most Turkish mosques remained in the industrial districts of West German cities until the 1990s (Karakaşoğlu 1996, p.160). The Turkish Muslim community in Germany found their own solutions for their religious needs, but religion continued to be seen as an obstacle, especially when it came to integration. The view of the popular series *Frauen Aktuell* (Women Now) about Turkish women reflects the mainstream idea about the immigrants in general:

> "They…[are] far from invisible, on the contrary: thanks to head scarf and floral pattern trousers, gestures and behavior they are very visible, evidently strangers. Strangers, that is to say, strange … they stand close together all muffled up, speak an incomprehensible language, cook unfamiliar dishes." (Paczensky 1978 cited in Beck-Gernsheim p.187, 2006)

Migration in the 1980s, 1990s and the Citizenship Laws

In the early 1980s, a new wave of migration comprising people fleeing Turkey's political climate raised the population of the Turkish community in Germany. Sirkeci (2002, p.12) argues that that more than two hundred thousand politically affiliated individuals started to emigrate to Germany after the military intervention of 1980, and that another wave of asylum seekers, mostly Kurdish, began to arrive in 1984 following the armed conflict between the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) and the Turkish Army: "Thus in the first half of the decade 105,480 asylum seekers fled abroad while about half of them arrived in Germany."(p.15). This new group, with different backgrounds and motivations, experienced different issues of integration to the first wave of immigrants. Precautions were taken by the German government to limit the migration, among

which was the new visa obligation for Turkish citizens which came into force in 1980. Some chose to return to Turkey after the German government's specific programmes encouraging migrant to return:

> "Despite Germany's explicit attempts to promote return migration by, for instance, providing the migrants with departure bonuses [see Sayari, 1986] and by the introduction of a new law *Das Gesetz zur Förderung der Rückkehrbereitschaft* [law for encouraging foreigners to return home] in order to promote return migration [see Sirkeci, 2011], [the] majority of Turkish migrants decided to settle permanently with the fear of losing their right to re-enter Europe." (Diker 2012, p.16).

Official action on the residency rights of the immigrants was still not satisfactory; on the contrary: Eryılmaz points out that "...the discussion on the new 'law of foreigners' in 1991 and the 'law of asylum' in 1992 again turned the attention of the general public towards the foreigners." (2002, p.67). These developments sadly resulted in further rises in xenophobia, resulting in some violent episodes. Two arson attacks resulted in the murder of eight Turkish people in the 1990s, inevitably leading to a feeling of being unsettled, and creating horror and anger among the Turkish community. (In the later sections we will see one outlet, at least for the youth, in hip-hop music, a source of rationality and positive feeling amidst the violence.) According to Başer's (2013) observations in Germany the second-generation Turks developed nationalistic ties towards their parents' homeland because of the struggle about their rights in Germany such as citizenship or another form of acceptance of their existence in Germany. With the tension created by these citizenship negotiations second and third-generation embraced their Turkish identity with more intensity and in a way they developed a "long distance nationalism" towards Turkey as Anderson calls it (1998).

Germany had used the same citizenship law, which was the *Reichs – und Staatsangehörigkeitsgesetz* (RuStAG) from 1913 to 1991. This law was based on the *jus sanguinis* (right of blood) principle, which provides a right to citizenship if one parent is a German citizen. The other model is *jus soli* (right of the soil), giving a right to citizenship by birth in that country. When it was understood that the immigrants in Germany would not leave, but would permanently remain, the

German government agreed to reformulate the citizenship law making it compatible with this situation. Hagedorn states:

> "In 1990, the German Parliament (Bundestag) passed the Alien Act containing a section that was aimed to facilitate naturalisation for legal permanent residents and young aliens. Both groups are explicitly mentioned and together with the programmatic title the government wanted to demonstrate its special interest in these persons. Since then the Alien Act exists parallel to the RuStAG." (2001, p.245).

The law changed again in 2000 with some amendments in the Alien Act. According to the new version, the minimum residency time was reduced from fifteen to eight years. The other criteria were "...a secure income, no criminal record, the renunciation of former citizenship, and integration." (2001, p.246). One impetus for the new law was the conservative Christian Democratic Union's (CDU) stance against dual nationality; in the final citizenship model one has to choose between the two nationalities before they reach the age of 23. If no decision is taken by that age, German citizenship is automatically lost. If rejection of one's original, inherited citizenship is impossible by law or it is too difficult to bare (humiliating, too expensive, etc.) then dual nationality can be kept. The obligation to choose a nationality has created big debates among immigrants and the government. Immigrants were not pleased with the so-called optional model and the requirement to give up the citizenship inherited from their parents. One of my informants told me how humiliating it was to give up his Turkish citizenship:

> "I come from a rather traditional family and my friends are nationalists who are very proud of their Turkishness. I decided that it would be better for me to get a German passport in the long term although I, too, am a proud Turk… Some of my friends started calling me names after that, said that I was not a Turk anymore, although they knew I did it because it would be better for me… These kinds of things make this choice even harder, and it is hard enough already."

Hagedorn argues that "Although the official discourse is that Germany adheres to the principle avoiding dual nationality, there is a great deal of tolerance for dual nationality. Dual nationality is accepted in 25 per cent of all naturalisation cases." The issue still remains controversial for many sides (2001, p.246). With the new immigration law in 2005 Germany seemed to embrace the

idea of being a country of immigration on the surface. While the new law was more suitable to country's status as a host to many migrants, it didn't ease the conditions of the migrants as expected because of the high demands from them such as integration courses, better knowledge of the German society and language (Başer 2013, p.125).

Numbers in the 2000s

Germany is the largest country in European Union in terms of population, with 82,282,988 people according to July 2010 census. The Turkish population is 2.4% of the total, while other groups like Greek, Italian, Russian, Spanish, and Polish together represent 6.1%. If we look at the religious demographics, according to the *CIA World Factbook*, Muslims represent 3.7% of the whole population, while Protestants are 34%, Roman Catholics are again 34%, and other religions and unaffiliated people account for 28.3%. The immigrants with Turkish citizenship make up the largest denomination in Germany after native Germans. Germany has the largest Turkish population after Turkey itself. Hagedorn states:

> "Since 1990, each year more than 100,000 persons obtained German citizenship, since 1993 between 200,000 and 300,000 persons have been naturalized annually... in a comparison with other OECD countries, Germany takes the second position in naturalisation numbers, right after the U.S.A." (2001, p.256).

Migration from Turkey to Germany is the third biggest in the world after that from Mexico to the USA and from Bangladesh to India (King and Kılınç 2013). On the other hand, there are many people who are invisible in the statistics, like the asylum seekers who had to enter into Germany by clandestine ways:

> "Over staying on tourist visas and using migrant trafficking gangs were [the] most common ways. Apart from registered figures of asylum seekers and refugees, large numbers of illegal residents estimated are coming from Turkey's Kurdish speaking population, which is not less than a hundred thousand." (Sirkeci 2002, p.17).

Here I have presented the latest data on the immigrants' situation in Germany and Germany's position as a host country. The numbers show us how

this community became important in Germany over time and thus how it can affect government policies by becoming a visible part of the country.

Musical history

Alongside all these shifts in immigration, citizenship, education, and other daily practices were the cultural expressions of the people. The first examples of music production by Turkish immigrants in Germany are labelled as guest-worker songs. These songs were in the folk music style with lyrics about immigration issues. Greve, who developed an interest in Turkish music in the 1990s and undertook comprehensive ethnomusicological research into the Turkish music in Germany between 2000 and 2006, draws a general outline of the musical life of the Turks in Germany (2006). According to his study, Anatolian folk music was the main genre of music listened to and played by the first Turkish immigrants. The workers were mostly living in big dormitories and these dormitories are where this music was first consumed together, creating a shared listening experience. The immigrants did not have radios, tapes, or cassettes to listen to music from Turkey. So those who had their *bağlama*s (the most popular and widely played long-necked lute in Turkey) played and sang *türkü*s (or folk songs) together (p.37). It can be argued that this form of shared musical experience can be more profound in terms of bonding for immigrants than other forms of musicking.

The lyrics of the songs mostly concerned their homesickness. They were telling their stories, starting with their immigration and singing about their daily lives through songs. According to Greve this was, in a sense, a continuation of the *aşık* (minstrel) tradition of Anatolia (p.38). One of the most well-known musicians of that time was Metin Türköz. His music was in the traditional Anatolian folk style, but his work was significant for the mostly satirical lyrics about life in Germany. Some of the songs from his album *Şirin'in Düğünü* (Şirin's Wedding) are named *Guten Morgen Mayistero* (Good Morning Master), *Almanya'dan Döndüğüm Zaman* (When I Return from Germany), *Kabahat Tercümanda* (It's the Translator's Fault), all of which talk about immigrants' lives,

experiences and feelings, and complain about being in Germany. Yüksel Özkasap[1], also known as the nightingale of Cologne, was another famous musician among the Turkish community. According to her biography on her personal website, she had music lessons when she was in Turkey and moved to Germany after she finished high school. She received many awards during her career, including one from the Cannes Music Festival and Köln Music Festival. In a sense, she had a different background to other, mostly male, Turkish musicians who came to Germany as guest-workers, and a wider audience has appreciated her. Still, when we look at the names of some of her albums it is possible to see the *gurbetçi* (a name for the people who live away from their homes) discourse in them: '*Gurbet Yolu Gariplerin Yoludur*' (The guest-worker's way is the poor's way), '*Ayrı Düşünce Anladım Anam Kıymetini*' (I understood how dear my mum was to me when we got apart), '*Alamanya Gardaşımı Geri Ver*' (Germany, give me back my sibling).

Looking at these lyrics and others besides, Öztürk argues that these songs can be considered within the 'Migrant Literature' genre, since it was considered by literary critics in Germany to be "...a formation that talks of the living conditions of the Turkish workers, especially of the first-generation." (2010). Some of the texts were written in a mixture of German and Turkish. Complaining about the *meister* (the boss in the factory) was a common feature, as in these pieces written by Rıza Taner, Metin Türköz, and Mustafa Çiftçi (Öztürk 2000):

> *Ulan Almanca germanca* /*Ulan* German
> *Konuşup anlayamadım seni* / I couldn't speak or understand you
> *Boğazımda laflar tıkanır kalır* / The words got stuck in my mind
> *Meister başlar dır dır dır* / *Meister* (master) starts nagging
> (by Rıza Taner)
>
> *Almanya dedikleri* / This is Germany
> *Domuzdur yedikleri* / They eat pork
> *Bizi çok hırpalıyor* / They mistreat us

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[1] www.yukselozkasap.com

Meister inekleri… / These *meister* cows (used as a slur word in Turkish)…

Âşığın dedikleri / We minstrels

Doldurduk gedikleri / We filled the holes

Türkleri geri yolluyor / They send the Turks back

Hitler'in köpekleri / These dogs of Hitler

(by minstrel Metin Türköz)

Meisterin yüzü gülmez / Meister doesn't smile

İşçinin derdini bilmez / They don't know the workers' problems

Yabancıyı Alman sevmez… / Germany doesn't love the foreigner…

Karakter sıfıra inmiş / Their character is bad

İnsanlıktan geri kalmış / Their humanities are underdeveloped

Yapmadıkları kalmamış / They've done every bad thing

Hiç utanmaz meisterler / The *meister*s are shameless

(by Mustafa Çiftçi)

One of the most well-known Turkish songs about immigration to Germany was Ruhi Su's '*Almanya Acı Vatan*' (Germany the Bitter Land). The song was recorded by several influential artists, including Ruhi Su, Sümeyra ve Dostlar Korosu, and Selda Bağcan, all of whom were political figures of the time. They appealed to both the guest-workers and the more intellectual immigrants who had to come to Germany for political reasons.

Almanya acı vatan / Germany the bitter land

Adama hiç gülmeyi / It doesn't allow you

Nedendir bilemedim / I didn't know how to smile

Bazıları gelmeyi / ...

Üçü kız iki oğlan / Three girls and two boys

Kime bırakıp gittin / To whom did you leave them?

Böyle güzel yuvayı / This beautiful house

Ateşe yakıp gittin / You set it on fire and left

Ancak para yollarsın / You just send money

O para neye yarar / What does that money do

Beş çocukla ailen / Your family with five children

Hepisi seni arar / They all miss you

Gitmişsin Almanya'ya / You went to Germany

Orada evlenmişsin / You married there

Tam yedi sene oldu / It has been seven years

Köyüne dönmemişsin / You haven't returned to your village

Tam yedi seni oldu / It has been seven years

Ne mektup var ne haber / No letters, no news from you

Yuvayı beter ettin / You've made your house miserable

Sen de olasın beter / You become miserable too

In 1979 a movie of the same name, *Almanya Acı Vatan* (*Deutschland Tragischer Lebensraum* was the German title), was released. The movie told the story of a female Turkish worker in Germany who became mechanical under the working conditions in the factories and her husband with whom she had a perfunctory marriage. It became a great success.

As Öztürk suggests, looking at the *gurbetçi türkü*s gives us a more intimate view of the guest-workers' experience and presenting these in a musical form allows the transmission of the immigrants' stories to later generations. As discussed in the previous chapter Olick (2008) argues that individual remembering is a part of the social context and the cultural materials such as *gurbetçi türkü*s became evocative tools for individuals and groups.

From an ethnomusicological perspective, we can say that the musical form of *türkü* was used in Germany the same way it was used in Turkey. German music had almost no influence on Turkish music at the time. One of the few exceptions was the addition of electronic instruments like electro-*bağlama* (Greve 2006, p.42). Artists like Cem Karaca, Zülfü Livaneli, and Melike Demirağ, who were important and well-known political figures and internationally recognised musicians, were living in European cities as political refugees in the 1970s and 1980s. Although their music was not as popular as *arabesk* and not as widely received as traditional folk music was, concerts by these political artists became a part of the music scene in Germany and remained so for some time.

An important milestone for the music scene in Turkey was the introduction of *arabesk* music (a hybrid genre of Turkish and Arabic music) in the late 1960s. During the Westernisation era, beginning with the proclamation of the republican regime, the Turkish government had introduced new policies regarding the consumption of art. According to these policies, the people were encouraged (and sometimes forced) to listen to Western art music. The cultural policies of the time supported a trend towards Western music and Berlin was one of the major cities to which Turkish musicians were sent to receive western musical training. This was seen as a way to the new modern republican Turkey. Extreme measures were taken, namely limiting or banning Ottoman classical music: "...the classical art music of the Ottoman court or its more popular counterpart, popular art music […] were regarded as representing the ethnic diversity of the Ottoman Empire, the detested Orient and backwardness itself." (Wurm 2008, p.372).

There was little enthusiasm for these efforts to construct a new modern Turkish identity. By that time the people living close to the south-eastern borders were able to listen to radio shows from Syria and these Arabic tunes were more listener friendly alternatives to Western classical art music, in the absence of their folk music. These melodies were the first influence in the birth and rise of *arabesk* music in Turkey. With the population movement from the rural areas of Turkey to major and industrial cities like Istanbul, Adana, Mersin, *arabesk* music migrated from the rural to the urban and became more popular countrywide, much to the government's chagrin: "The lyrics of arabesk songs address unfulfilled love, yearning for home and desperation. The government and the cultural elite condemned the arabesk as too oriental and an expression of resignation and fatalism..." (Wurm 2008, p.373).

The songs had similar lyrics to the *gurbet* songs of Germany for so many reasons. Longing for home, being humiliated by the elites, not being able to adapt to the city life were among the common topics. Stokes explains the context of *arabesk* song texts as:

> "…focuses a dense cluster of themes connected with the *arabesk* drama: *gurbet* (living alone as a stranger or foreigner, particularly as a worker),

yalnızlık (loneliness), *hicran*, *hüsran*, and *özlem* (sadness and yearning), *gözyaşları* (tears), *sarhoşluk* (drunkenness), *zülm* (oppression), and finally *kader* (fate)." (1992, p.142).

The highly welcoming attitude of the migrants in Germany towards *arabesk* music was thus not surprising. It became the most popular genre among the Turkish community. With *arabesk* music coming to the scene, the use of percussion, wind instruments, and keyboards increased in the Turkish music of Germany, which had previously been limited for the most part to a few instruments (Greve 2006, p.43). Like folk music, *arabesk* music had a wide audience. The children whose parents were filled with homesickness grew up with this music in their houses and these feelings had been passed from one generation to another.

As mentioned earlier, during the 1970s most immigrants started settling in Germany enabled by family reunifications. Seeing this development as a new opportunity and a clear field full of potential, some people started businesses catering to the needs of the immigrants. Among these was entertainment. After record companies, restaurants with music were opened and it became a tradition to have live music for important occasions, especially weddings. Business people, especially those in the tourism field, started organising concerts and inviting musicians from Turkey.

With the arrival of the political immigrants to Germany, immigrant associations were founded. They ran music and folkloric dance courses (Greve 2006, pp.44-45). One of the German government's requirements for immigrants' integration was the establishment of associations that ran socio-pedagogic projects. Significant among these projects were the hip-hop projects for young people. Greve points out that the problem with these music education efforts in general is that they are not institutionalised. The music institutions in Germany, like the conservatories, on the other hand, do not have music from Turkey on their curricula. The private music courses serve as places where people from Turkey meet, socialise and learn a little about the music of Turkey. They mostly avoid professional training, including music theory, since it may prove difficult

and boring for the students. There are exceptions, of course, but when we look at the majority of the music courses, a comprehensive and committed Turkish music education is lacking. Most of the music and folkloric dance courses express their prior concern as saving the young from the streets or teaching children their Turkish culture and giving them the opportunity to meet their German-Turkish peers. Their artistic concerns are rather modest (Greve 2006, pp. 95-101). In some houses (especially those of members of the Alevi sect of Islam) within the first and second-generation immigrant community, people brought their own instruments from Turkey. They played these instruments and sang together in their houses whenever they had the opportunity. Many children learned music from their families, which did not constitute a theoretical education in most cases, but rather the continuation of an oral tradition. The musicking experience was mostly seen as social sharing without artistic considerations.

As presented earlier in this chapter, when the immigrants first came to Germany the idea was that they would stay temporarily. They were saving money to invest back in Turkey. As a result, they did not tend to spend money for daily pleasures like cassettes or record players (Wurm 2008, p.375). In time, however, they settled down and their spending expanded to include music cassettes, which gradually became cheaper and more affordable. They also brought cassettes from Turkey when they had the chance to visit their families. Connell and Gibson suggest that: "Recordings themselves move as objects – as treasured artefacts of lives and places, traded through migrant links across countries, underpinning musical economies or sustaining diasporic connections." (2003, p.45). Around the time of Greve's research, from the late 1990s, he observes that while cassette players were still common in the houses of Turkish families in Germany, they had mostly been replaced by CD players in German houses in Germany and in houses in Turkey. During the 1960s, many small record labels were established in Germany, copying and distributing cassettes of music from Turkey. With the new custom regulations in 1990 the production of these cassettes in Germany ended (Greve 2006, p.78).

The 1980s was the time of the videocassette and television became almost an essential object in the houses of the Turkish families. It had the place of honour in the living rooms with the video player (2000, p.74). Çağlar (2003) also mentions the central position of the TV in Turkish homes in Germany, whereas the setting may have been different in the houses in Turkey (with the TV in a less central position). Videocassettes were very popular as they made it possible to watch Turkish movies. One of the most popular genres in Turkish cinema was that in which *arabesk* musicians had leading roles and sang their popular songs, almost like musicals. My forty-year-old informant Zeynep recalls those days:

> "All of a sudden, videocassettes became our family entertainment. The films were not very good quality, not at all, but we were not looking for quality then. It was very important that the stars of Turkey were in our house, on the screen… My sisters usually bought the films with musicians playing the lead roles, İbrahim Tatlıses, Müslüm Gürses, etc."

Another informant, Handan, emphasises how these movie watching sessions became a shared family activity:

> "Watching Turkish movies on video was the only activity we did together as a family. Everyone found something in them… I guess my younger brother didn't understand much, but he liked to be a part of the shared activity… We already knew most of the songs playing in the movies but my brother heard them for the first time from the video movies while he was playing with his toys."

It was also very popular to record wedding parties and people would gather in each other's houses to watch the videotapes over and over again. My respondent Bahri told that it was possible to buy videocassettes for as little as 1 Deutsche Mark. The time of the videocassette ended with the rise of the satellite broadcasting in the nineties.

Hip-hop culture enters the scene

Rap music has always been the popular music category that first comes to mind when the issue is Turks in Germany. This is the first and maybe the only genre in which German-Turks had a presence in the German music market. Immigrants' use of hip-hop culture got the attention of the public when it came to

the scene as a musical reaction to the arson attacks against Turks in the 1990s. Some members of the Turkish youth found it more rational, positive, and therefore useful, to answer not with violence but with lyrics rapped to hip-hop rhythms.

More than storytellers of their communities, rappers were, as Kaya calls them, contemporary minstrels – a telling moniker as minstrels were spokespersons for the degraded and undervalued Turkish popular culture against Ottoman high culture in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (2002, p.46). Being inspired from Walter Benjamin's concept of "storyteller" –the one who narrates others' and their own experiences to large masses– (1973), Kaya states that the minstrel storytellers draw on their own or heard experience, turning it into the listener's experience. In much the same way, Turkish rappers, denoted by Greve (2006) as "transnational minstrels", use similar modes of translation to:

> "...remind us of what we are already inclined to forget, namely, the 'communicability of experience' which is destined to decrease. In this sense, rap turns out to be a critique of the modern urban way of life, which disrupts the 'communicability of experience.'" (Kaya 2002 p.45).

The most popular Turkish hip-hop group of the 1990s was Cartel, who sold 320,000 copies of their self-titled 1995 album, *Cartel*. Cartel was the first music project with Turkish lyrics in Germany that reached out to a broad audience (both Turkish and diasporic Turks). As a compilation project, they actually consisted of three all-male rap groups with eight members in total – five Turks, one Kurd, one German, and one Cuban. The Turkish lyrics created a new domain for the Turkish minority to take part, providing them a musical public sphere. They reclaimed the word *Kanake*, used by right-wing Germans to identify 'blacks', giving the message "Don't be ashamed, be proud to be a Kanak!." Indeed, Kaya explains that:

> "...the term Kanak also permits a class consciousness among the Turkish enclave youth in the sense that it distinguishes Turkish urban working class from those middle class Turkish youth who feel denigrated whenever the term is used." (2002, p.51).

As argued by Steyerl, the German-Turkish hip-hoppers changed this stereotypical image of migrants:

> "By making ethnicity fashionable and connecting it with elements of global pop culture, the media attention towards the cultural output of migrants increased greatly. During spring and summer of 1999 the phenomena of German Turks' was being discussed in all major German magazines. Successful German Turkish entrepreneurs, DJs and artists of all kinds were in high demand, thus replacing the older working class stereotype of migrants by a new young urban professional image." (2004, pp.161-162).

The 1990s and popular music

1990 was an important year in Turkish broadcasting. Until then TRT (Turkish Radio and Television), the state television and radio broadcaster, was the only institution with TV channels and radios. In 1990 Magic Box was the first private channel to appear on Turkish TV screens. Many others have followed it in recent years. With the establishment of private TV channels in Turkey several music channels, like Kral TV and Number One TV, started broadcasting, too. As was the case with MTV starting to broadcast in the USA and Europe, the music channels encouraged and carried the video clip sector to a higher place in Turkey (Greve 2006, p.84). These private music channels were playing popular music of different genres, from *arabesk* to rock. Zeynep talks about her excitement about these new musical media:

> "I remember that I used to watch the music channels from Turkey in the nineties a lot. It was my whole world… It was fascinating because the new, young musicians looked very modern and European compared to the Turks in Germany… You could tell that the productions were cheaper than their European or American peers but the whole popular music world was so colourful and great to me… Sometimes they had Turkish musicians from Germany too, like CanKat or Ahmet. I remember wishing that they would get to the top of the chart because they were one of us…"

Handan's comments also show how important these TV channels were to the immigrant community: "It was very exciting for us to have Turkish channels after all these years of separation. It felt as if suddenly Turkey got closer." The other private channels also had music programmes and they had popular music in the background of many of their entertainment programmes. On the other

hand, TRT INT (International) had music programmes too. These were more dedicated to what Greve calls "...modernised Turkish folk music, Turkish classical music, and programs about Muslim culture as well as jazz and European classical music." (2006, p.86).

The Turkish community in Germany got their share of exposure from the Turkish popular music boom of the 1990s. The young Turkish population in Germany especially welcomed this development with great enthusiasm. Previously, Turkish youths in Germany used to listen to the same music as their family. Greve argues that one of the reasons for this is that, when compared to their German peers, Turkish youths live with their families for longer (a significant portion of them live with their parents until they get married), private space is limited and therefore listening to music in the house was an experience shared by the household until the computer and internet age (this will be covered in detail in the following chapters). Popular music became Turkish youth culture in Germany. Discos where Turkish pop music was in high demand opened. These music venues in Berlin were outside of the Turkish neighbourhoods so that the young people and especially women would be more comfortable coming there, without the potential social oppression of the Turkish ghettos. Their names echoed those of the famous discos in Turkey, or they were called names like *Taksim* and *Bodrum* (popular places in Turkey famous for their nightlife as well as many other things). The aim was to give them a more modern image compared to the more traditional names of the other Turkish establishments. However, the youth going to discos were still considered to be a minority. After 1994 four new music shops were opened, and there had only been one in the fifteen years before 1994 (Greve 2006, pp.142-146). This was the result of the high demand for new music. Wurm states that this high demand was also linked to diasporic identity: "Many Turkish youths experience their situation as migrant youths as very uncomfortable. Their use of Turkish music is not the reason for but rather a symptom of this experience." (Wurm 2008, p.388). In the next chapters I will discuss young people's use of music in more detail and present how their social situations have an impact on their musicking habits.

Summary

In this chapter I presented a general picture of the immigration process from Turkey to Germany, and I hope that the background information I have presented will help to contextualise the material that I will present in chapters five and six. Fifty years of living as part of an immigrant community and the way this experience evolved over time should, I believe, provide clues about how things will develop in the near future. Looking at the historical background of the immigration process and the Turkish music scene in Germany, it is possible to read the stories of the Turkish diaspora in Germany in its songs. As one of the most important agents of a culture, the music scene of an immigrant community allows us to see the migrant's experience from the inside. More on this will follow in the next chapters in the light of my fieldwork and findings, which will ground the theory about music's role in this community from several aspects.

As a continuation to this chapter I will go on to present my findings in the field and my observations of the everyday lives of people from Turkey, and explore the musical developments in the 1990s and 2000s after a period of poverty in terms of musical options. I will also focus on the media's role, in particular the way in which it influenced the younger generations' relationship with music. Wurm suggests that "...the internet brought contemporary Turkey closer than ever before and led to a major change in the transnational social space between Germany and Turkey." (2008, p.375). These issues will be discussed in the next chapter, where I will also look at how these changes in musical consumption have affected the process of cultural memory construction/preservation.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

Can you see the forest for the trees?

Introduction

In this chapter, I will present the methods I chose and discuss how they were applied in the field, as well as the practical factors that helped me decide on my methodology and those that forced me to change my initial plans. This section is not solely dedicated to methodological issues, but also includes stories from my fieldwork that had an impact on my research design from beginning to end. All this information will serve as a basis for, and shed light on the factors that had an influence on, my interpretations and analysis in the coming chapters.

As is discussed further in coming chapters, my work focuses on three adult generations of immigrants from Turkey in Germany and a fourth-generation whose members are still very young. For the most part, I considered second and third-generation immigrants in Berlin, and the relation and interaction between them, especially in the area of cultural memory. I made the decision to work with second and third-generation immigrants partly due to certain practical details that needed consideration, such as language and visa issues. These issues are discussed further in this chapter, along with my sites of enquiry and the duration of the fieldwork. For my data gathering techniques I mainly used in-depth interviewing and direct observation. In addition I also benefitted from participant observation and document analysis and I elaborate how I performed these techniques again further in the chapter. The entire research project includes 27

individual interviews: nine women and 18 men. Seven of these interviewees were music teachers, three were students in *bağlama* schools, three were parents of students in *bağlama* schools, and 14 were people from other backgrounds who have no professional or amateur relation to music making, but who like listening to music. The interviewees were aged between nine and 55. My main method for meeting contacts was snowball sampling. Most people I interviewed in Berlin referred me to other potential interviewees. My sample was not random but consisted of mostly people who were involved with music in some way or another (from avid listener to performer). People I had random chats other than in-depth interviews provided me a lot of information about their life in a diaspora community if not anything about music. Another fact in designating my sample was the language issue. I interviewed most of my informants in Turkish and a few of them in English as I was not competent enough in German. More information about how I found my contacts and the sampling of informants follow later in this chapter.

But who are my participants?

One thing that challenged me the most was what to call my participants and the community I was studying. After reading the section "What to Call the Participants" in the introduction of Christine Ogan's (2001) work on Turkish immigrants in Holland, I decided that I should also write something similar, hoping that sharing this challenge with the reader can make some of the issues more meaningful. The literature on the subject of people from Turkey who immigrated to Europe starting in the 1960s as workers predominantly mentions these groups of people as "Turkish immigrants" or the "Turkish diaspora" (another much debated term because of the concept of diaspora). According to Ogan, this terminology can be inaccurate since most of the second and third-generation people in her work were born and lived in Holland – so did not that make them Dutch? I had a similar concern with labelling second and third-generation people in Germany. But that was not my prior concern, so I will return to this after I explain the first.

During the last decade a heated debate has been continuing in Turkey over the word "Turkish". One side of this discussion defends the idea that there are people belonging to different ethnicities in Turkey, so calling all of the population as Turkish would be to neglect some ethnicities. This discussion mainly emerged from the political conflicts concerning the Kurdish people in Turkey. So the alternative term *Türkiyeli*, meaning a person from Turkey, started to be widely used and received a lot of reaction from the other side, who support using the term *Türk* for all people of Turkey. I will not go deeper into this discussion, but I must say that I respect the ideology behind using the word *Türkiyeli* and I support its cause. Therefore when writing about the immigrants in Germany, I had to be conscious of this issue, especially considering the Kurdish people who had to immigrate to Germany as political refugees. But how has this challenged me? While the word *Türkiyeli* has begun to be used widely in Turkey, linguistically it is still a new and difficult word. To give an idea, an equivalent of this word could be something like "Englander" for the people of England. I mainly use the term Turkish in most parts of this work where I find it appropriate.

The second point, which is at least as important as the first, is the issue Ogan identifies in her study. When it comes to using the term "Turkish" in Turkey, we can employ the word to mean "citizen of Turkey." Initially, I thought that with the proper pre-explanation I could use this word stressing the aspect of citizenship. But I realised that it would not be fully appropriate since there are people with dual citizenships and others who have chosen German citizenship after the dual citizenship law was changed. On top of all these legal issues there are the identities people choose, such as Berliner or German-Turk, and in some cases people describe themselves as "having fallen in between identities." Another example can be people who want to be referred as Turkish or Kurdish although they are German citizens or vice versa. On the other hand, if it is wrong to call the community Turkish, calling them "people from Turkey" is also imperfect since the new generations are not from Turkey, they were born in Germany.

I have gone into detail in this section to reflect my concern about appropriate use of these terms without falling into the trap of a generalizing and

stereotyping approach. I mostly took reference from how my interviewees chose to refer to themselves, and in different situations I used the phrases "people from Turkey", "Turkish-speaking community", "German-Turk", or "Turkish" where I considered them appropriate. I must admit that it was always most comfortable using the word Turkish since it is the term I am most accustomed to, it is widely used in the literature and linguistically the simplest. The difficulty presented by use of the term *Türkiyeli* in Turkish sometimes became even more complicated in English, but I chose to alternate between these terms acknowledging the meanings behind them and hoping to reflect these to the reader, at the expense of sounding untidy with my English.

Other terms I frequently use but may also be problematic in some ways are home, host, immigrants, homeland and host land. My choice of words and the meanings attributed to them can be discussed in terms of their validity and deserves an explanation. I chose to use these terms the way my respondents use them in order to reflect their perspective on the matter. Technically, the expression 'third-generation immigrant' may be problematic, since third-generation people are not immigrants but on the contrary they are born and raised in Germany in most cases. The term immigrant however, although technically not true, shows their belonging to a group of people who are perceived and see themselves as immigrants no matter how many years have passed since the beginning of the migration from Turkey. The word immigrant loses its dictionary meaning and stands for a status for the German-Turks or other diaspora groups in this setting. From the same standing point the words home and host are used in alternative meanings according to the context and they express the respondent's feelings about the certain place rather than the geographical place itself.

Preparations for the field and practicalities

Before Berlin

In terms of content, my PhD work relies fundamentally upon my fieldwork. I had an intensive period of preparation prior to going to Berlin, a city I would be

visiting for the first time. This period included research into the history of immigration between Turkey and Germany, reading the secondary works to which I had access, and watching movies and documentaries about Germany's immigrants. I had been following the daily magazine *Der Spiegel International*'s online English version since 15 November 2009. This is the best-selling weekly political magazine in Germany and it gives an idea about how the educated German mainstream thinks, or at least shows the type of material upon which their thinking is based, as I was told by several well-educated German people. In addition to *Der Spiegel*, I followed the Turkish newspapers *Radikal* and *Hürriyet* and NTVMSNBC. *Radikal* and the website of the NTVMSNBC news portal are followed mostly by people belonging to high socio-economic classes in Turkey. *Hürriyet* appeals to an average audience and has a European edition publishing news from countries in which there are large populations of immigrants from Turkey. I continued to immerse myself in the field both during and after the fieldworks.

Before going to Berlin, I attempted to find and/or contact the people or organisations that I had read about in newspapers, articles or books related to Berlin and immigrants from Turkey. I had e-mail correspondence and a few face-to-face meetings with some scholars such as Ayhan Kaya and Martin Greve, who gave me very useful advice and generously shared their opinions and contacts' information where ethically possible. This was my first step in terms of finding contacts in Berlin. I observed that approaching my respondents through the internet (e-mail and Facebook messages) provided a comfort zone for both parties. As Hanna describes his experience with Skype interviews and how it offered a 'safe location' for both the researched and researcher (2012, p. 241), in my research's case online contact brought certain equality to our dialogue. While online mailing or messaging is convenient (easy, free…) it is also a gentle way for the researchers to introduce themselves to the potential respondents without entering into their private zone (or approaching as much as they allow). On the other hand it has some practical and ethical superiorities as Hanna mentions: contacting through the Internet is environmentally conscious and it is also an

almost effortless way of documenting the dialogue. However this gentle way is not the most prolific tool to get information from the researched. People can simply not answer the researcher and not having a real-time conversation (face-to-face, on the phone, or some other form) makes it easier to withdraw from the communication.

Another dimension of communicating respondents through the Internet is that they can instantly carry out an online search about the researcher. Başer tells about her experience as a Turkish researcher approaching the Kurdish diaspora in Berlin. She tells that some people, especially politically active groups, sometimes got suspicious about the researcher's true intentions and don't let her/him near them. In these instances Başer offered them to do a "Google" search on her. That way the informants could see her affiliations with the academia and they were convinced to be interviewed (2013, p.58). In my case I noticed that some of the informants, usually young people to whom I approached via e-mail knew a few details about me before we met and I could tell that I was "googled". Some of them told me later when we met that they did an online search on me. I noticed that our conversations with these respondents were more friendly and sincere.

Parallel to my gathering of information from existing literature, media, and experts, I relied heavily on online research, using the Google search engine as a starting point. Google is not by any means an appropriate medium from which to expect academically satisfying results. However, it gives one quick access to the daily news and debates going on between people outside the academia. Typing in my keywords, I found many websites (about music schools, societies, blogs, online newspapers, art events, conferences, forums, and more) that informed me about current and past issues and happenings. I also found several group formations on social networking websites, particularly on Facebook. Seeing the variety of these groups and pages (for a few examples*: Memleketim Magazin*

Berlin,[2] 679 people following; Netzwerk Turkei/Network Turkey, 106 members; Berlinli Türkleriz,[3] 784 members in October 2010). I was very excited as a researcher, feeling that I had found a goldmine of contacts. Unfortunately, and surprisingly, I found hardly any participants for my research in this way. I assumed that this was due mostly to the language issue for the younger people, plus the unsecure and informal nature of Facebook.

My initial contacts with the people and organisations/institutions were made via e-mail. I received far fewer responses than I had expected (the response rate was just under 20 per cent), and some responded very late, in several months. At the beginning, I mainly searched for music schools teaching music from Turkey. This was a good way for me to initiate my interviews: I would go to organisations or institutions where groups of people were working together. It was a gentler start for both the researcher and the interviewee, since in the early phases of my fieldwork I was potentially more nervous when meeting interviewees, introducing myself and my work, and trying to convince them to talk to me. This latter depended greatly on the attitude of the individual interviewee. On the other hand, some people whom I contacted were more comfortable with agreeing to be interviewed because they were part of an organisation. I later observed and understood that they were more comfortable because they had an institution behind them. I felt the same way when I was applying to an institution with requests for interviews and observations. Music schools were thus a good starting point for me to meet my informants.

Practicalities

I conducted the fieldwork in Berlin during several visits between March 2010 and March 2012. As is the case with most research designs, I had a number of restrictions due to several practical reasons, as I explain below. These determined many factors, such as the period in the field, the duration of stay and

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[2] *Memleketim (My Land) Magazin Berlin*, which presents itself as a lifestyle magazine. The audience is the Turkish community in Germany. The online version of the magazine can be accessed at www.memleketim.eu.

[3] *Berlinli Türkleriz (We are Turks from Berlin)*, an open group that people can join for free. Mostly used for advertising, listings and communication.

where and who to talk to. In the following section, I explain these practicalities, which did not always comply with my initial research plans and forced me to make decisions which gave my research its shape.

1. Language

At the beginning of the chapter, I mentioned that I decided to work with second and third-generation immigrants. The main reasons for this decision were certain obstacles and difficulties accessing the first-and coming fourth-generations. Starting with the fourth-generation, there were ethical barriers due to their young age. Another major barrier was that most of the fourth-generation has real difficulty in speaking Turkish, if they speak Turkish at all. Even the people who understood Turkish very well were shy to speak with me in Turkish and they refused to be interviewed mostly for that reason.

The language issue also helped me frame my target group, in a way I had not considered beforehand. As has been stated from the very beginning of this study, the target group is the people who migrated from Turkey to Germany, and their families. As I have mentioned earlier, the use of the notion 'Turkishness' may feel problematic since among those who migrated from Turkey are people who identify themselves with different national and ethnic identities such as Kurdish, Circassian, Laz, German, or Berliner. The language issue stepped in at this point. Because of my linguistic abilities, I conducted the interviews in Turkish, with a few exceptions where I spoke in English. For this reason, I also refer to the group of people with whom I was working "the Turkish-speaking community". Language, therefore, has been a defining element in designing my research. People with different ethnic origins and national identities in my study intersected in the language set.

My fieldwork was thus conducted in a German-speaking country with a Turkish-speaking community and was reported in English. A language, and the way it is spoken, carries cues of the characteristics of a culture. The Turkish used by the migrants in Germany had its own properties and helped me in a very special way to understand the "German-Turkishness experience" in Berlin. The

fine details can be lost when translated from one language to another, or can be difficult to see for an audience unfamiliar with the culture studied. These details certainly had an impact on my understanding, my rationalising of what I have observed, and on my analysis of my data, so that is how they are reflected in this study.

2. Duration of stay

The difficulty of accessing first-generation immigrants on the other hand had nothing to do with a language barrier. On the contrary, most first-generation people speak only their native language and in most cases are utterly incapable of speaking the German language. This is a common feature of many diasporas (Ogan 2001; McDermott, P. and Odhiambo, E. 2010), as is discussed in more detail in my next two chapters. The issue here was that the limited time available for the fieldwork did not allow me to stay in Berlin long enough to gain the trust of potential interviewees, so that I would be accepted and invited into their homes. The guest-workers of the first-generation who were up to 85 per cent male (Straubhaar 1992, cited in Sari 2003) are mostly retired now and their families, particularly the first-generation women, are not and have never been in the public scene very often. They have their own private bubbles and they are unwilling to allow people they do not know to enter. One forty-year-old man whose family immigrated to Berlin from Erzurum in 1972 told me:

> "My mum hardly knows anyone outside the family and the building we live in, where mostly Turkish people live. She doesn't speak to people she doesn't know. She doesn't speak German anyway. She understands most of what people say in German, but she is too shy to talk. It is as if she is locked in her own very small world."

The major practicality that affected the duration of my fieldwork was the German government's visa policy. According to the regulations, as a Turkish citizen, I was not eligible to be granted a long-term visa in order to stay in Berlin and conduct my research, but only a tourist visa, which allows one to stay in Schengen states within Europe for a total of 90 days within a six-month period. This was a critical issue to be considered when planning my fieldtrips to Berlin. I thus visited Berlin four times over a period of two years. This gave me the

opportunity to visit the field having advanced in my research each time, and I was able to have follow up interviews or make more observations where necessary on some issues that proved important as the project developed and took shape.

Field visits

The first time I set foot in Berlin was 8 March 2010. My first visit was about a month long. In my first weeks, I walked around the city all day, watching people, trying to get a general idea about the daily life. I spent a lot of time in streets where there were shops selling food or other products from Turkey. I stayed in a sublet house near Mehringdamm, in the western part of Kreuzberg, where a mixture of many Turkish shops and other businesses can be found (unlike some neighbourhoods, where the dominance of Turkish businesses is very visible). In order to observe people in their daily lives, I tried to visit these Turkish shops as much as possible when doing my own grocery shopping. In addition to these shops, I went to the Turkish farmers market on Maybachufer Straße every Friday. This is an open-air market where the majority of sellers speak Turkish and they have booths selling food like vegetables, fruit, pastries, and dairy products from Turkey. I watched people in their daily interactions, listened to them as they were speaking to each other, for instance when they were bargaining with the sellers.

I attended two concerts during this visit. The first concert was a performance by a quartet at the Berliner Philharmoniker concert hall. The second was in a youth centre, organised by a social pedagogue and a music teacher. Twenty teenagers with roots in Turkey who were prone to violence took the stage in turn for a two-hour concert. The first concert had a dominantly German audience while the second had a full Turkish audience.

In addition to my efforts to become familiar with the Turkish-speaking community in Berlin, I toured most of the tourist attractions and went to places that are popular among Germans, like bars, restaurants, shopping malls, and galleries. This I did for the sake of acquiring a good understanding of Berlin, not just of the migrant groups, but also of the many different lifestyles of the locals of

the city and other visitors (as Berlin gets many tourists and temporary visitors like myself). Towards the end of my first trip I started paying visits to private Turkish music schools, sometimes with a prior appointment and sometimes spontaneously. I managed to obtain five recorded interviews in my final week. I ended that field trip having met contacts in person who would be very useful for my subsequent trips, some recorded and unrecorded interviews, a first but substantial impression of Berlin, and more.

My next visit was on 23 May 2010 and lasted five weeks. Berlin in the summer was a very different experience. It was much more alive with locals and many tourists from all over the world on the streets. This time I met more people randomly: in shops, in bars watching the 2010 World Cup games, during Christopher Street Day LGBT celebration, to which almost one million people from Berlin and other European cities were said to have attended, and at concerts. I did informal interviews (chats that involved some of my interview questions), what Kahn and Cannell define as "a conversation with a purpose" (1957, p.101). I visited more music schools; sometimes I visited the same music teachers more than once. I also attended classes in the music schools.

The World Cup football games served as a good conversation starter for this field trip, since football is something people (mostly men) from Turkey are very interested in and eager to talk about. The June 2010 games were getting a lot of attention from both the locals and the tourists from all over the world. Football is by far the most popular sport in Turkey and national games in particular are taken very seriously. These events can even be attributed a status of national solidarity. It would have been a great observation opportunity for me if Turkey had also been in the competition, but, unfortunately, they did not qualify. However, the subject of "how unfortunate that Turkey could not join the competition this year" was another good excuse for me to start a warm, friendly chat with people supporting Turkey. When I was at a game-watching event in a café in Neukölln where Turkish-speaking people were the majority, a young German man I met told me that Turkish immigrants in Germany were

wholeheartedly supporting Germany that year. He had seen many cars and shops with German flags in the windows, but playing loud Turkish music.

My longest period of fieldwork was between January and April 2011. I rented a room in the house of a German family. Normally I would have preferred staying with a Turkish family, but within Turkish culture it is not common for a family to share their house with a stranger, so I was not surprised about not being able to find a Turkish family offering a room. I was fortunate to find this German family via a friend who was also doing research about immigrants from Turkey and had rented their room a year before I did. I was told by this friend that the lady of the house, Christina, was a social pedagogue who dealt with children and families with roots in Turkey. I learned a lot from her especially on the conditions of Turkish women during our casual conversations in the house. According to Christina, women coming from Turkey were put in a very difficult position:

> "They are usually forced to come here. Sometimes for marriage, or sometimes to work. Their opinions are not valuable, men decide for them. Their fathers, brothers, husbands decide what they should do … They usually stay at home, responsible for the housework and raising the children. They don't speak German well. They are backed into a corner … They don't have the resources to do anything about it and that depresses them. The children these women raise have other problems… "

> In a different conversation, she told me:

> "The same structure continues in these families, but it is getting better, very slowly, but it is better. Before, the majority of the families were like that. Now I can't say it is the majority any more … So it is better than nothing. The children are becoming less troubled … It takes time, but we have to be patient … I love Turkish people. They are very good people, I always enjoy working with them. And I know they love me, too."

My chats with Christina and her family were an opportunity for me to hear the experiences of a German family living in the same city with people from Turkey over almost thirty years.

Finding contacts

During my visit in 2011, I registered on a German language course and attended four days a week. This school also ran *integrationskurs*, which the

Federal Ministry for Migration and Refugees (BAMF) requires of all the immigrants in order for them to gain basic knowledge of the German language and culture. My initial plan was to meet people from the Turkish-speaking community at this school; I had heard that especially middle-aged housewives were attending these day courses. But, unfortunately, I was put in a completely separate group and thus did not have access to the people who were taking the integration courses. The school management was also rather unwilling to help me meet these people. Eventually, after a month of intensive language courses, I met people who knew other Turkish people at the school. Through classmates, I met four people who got involved in my research and I was able to interview one of them. Ultimately, I succeeded in meeting people from the Turkish-speaking community worked, even if it was not in the way I had anticipated.

One of my main points of contact, Zeynep, was a lecturer at a university in Berlin. She was the wife of one of my close friends' brother-in-law and a second-generation immigrant from Turkey born in Germany. She helped me with many things; most importantly, she put my advert calling for participants[4] on the board of her department at the university, and took part in my research as an interviewee. There is an important detail with this search for contacts about the identity issue: only one student showed interest in my research advert, and she told me that it was the fact that I had used the expression "people with an origin from Turkey" that made her accept to be interviewed. She said that if I had used the word "Turkish" she would not have come. This made me wonder if my preference of expression upset some people, thus limiting the responses to the advert. In Turkey, preferring the expression "from Turkey" over "Turkish" can be taken as a stand against Turkish nationalism and emphasises that there are

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[4] The original advert read: Merhaba

İsmim Pınar Güran. İngiltere University of Exeter Sosyoloji bölümünde doktora öğrencisiyim. (http://eprofile.exeter.ac.uk/portfolio.php?uid=pg252) Doktora tez konum Müzik ve Kültürel Bellek ilişkisi. Bununla ilgili olarak Berlin'de yaşayan Türkiye kökenli nüfusun müzikle ilişkilerini araştırıyorum. Müzik yoluyla kültürel belleğin, anıların, hatırlananların, duyguların jenerasyonlar arasında nasıl aktarıldığına bakıyorum.

Konuyla ilgili olarak her yaştan, her kesimden Türkiye kökenli kişilerle Mart ayı sonuna kadar (ideal olarak daha erken) görüşmeler yapmam gerekiyor. Görüşmeler sizin uygun bulduğunuz bir ortamda ve en fazla bir saat sürecektir. Bana e-posta ve telefon yoluyla ulaşabilirsiniz. Yardımcı olabilecek arkadaşlara şimdiden çok teşekkür ederim.

many other ethnic identities living in Turkey. It is a delicate issue and an important portion of the population finds this attitude rather offensive against the Turkish national identity. When I asked Zeynep what she thought about my concern, she told me that people, especially the younger generations in education in Germany, were used to discussing issues like religion and nationalism more openly compared to people in Turkey. She thought I had received so few replies because it was a busy time in the semester and for other reasons, but not my choice of words.

The snowball technique proved effective in my study since, as Burgess (2006, p.44) indicates, this kind of sampling needs a certain familiarity with the group and culture one works on. Researchers should have good enough relations with their contacts that they can ask to be put in touch with more people who would be interested to help them with the research in question. Although I knew no one in Berlin before going to the field, I knew that the snowball technique would work for this research because I was familiar with the culture and that allowed me to trust that in most situations people from Turkey would try to be of help as much as they could. I had also heard this from other researchers who had conducted similar researches in Germany and the impression I got from the literature I had read. From my experience as someone from Turkey, this is how things usually work among people in Turkey: people ask questions to other people and the one who is asked does not usually prefer to say "I don't know", even when that is the case, but tries to answer in one way or another. This does not mean that one always receives the right or relevant answers, but one always receives some kind of information. In an ethnographic study, this becomes something more than a researcher can ever ask for.

Snowball sampling allowed me to be introduced to groups I would not normally have had the chance to come across. By this I mean I had access to more exclusive groups, like the music workshop for teenagers prone to violence or with minor criminal records, and women's literacy courses. These are organisations that I would not otherwise have been allowed access to if someone they had confidence in did not introduce me. In some cases, people with whom I

made contact told me that they would not normally let me join them, record them or take photos, but since I was introduced to them by a "gatekeeper", I was "ok." As a result of the snowball technique, I could plan my research concurrently as the informants were designated or after I had obtained the data from my interviews. In a way, snowball sampling as a methodology helped me stop every step of the way to review my research plans because I had to maintain a harmony between them and the material from my informants.

Approach

As it is often the case with most research, the stories we researchers want to tell have several side stories. To be able to explore the relationship between music and cultural memory in this context, I had to investigate life in Berlin for the Turkish-speaking community because the connection between music and cultural memory is fed by all the different dynamics of life offered to the immigrants in Berlin, and therefore carries its impacts with it. To be more specific, I needed to know what people had gone through during the immigration process and how it is today: How are relations between the immigrants and the wider German community? What are both governments' policies on this migration/integration issue, and are they satisfying? I considered the integration debate from different parties' perspectives. And at the end of it I had to find the links between these processes and music, how they all contributed to my subject of focus.

At that point, there arose the problem of having an over-researched issue. The process of immigration from Turkey to Germany has been thoroughly studied by social scientists since it began. As is emphasised in previous chapters, the different perspective that my research will bring to the subject is the focus on music and cultural memory within the scope of this migration story. When designing my research, my main concern was how I would overcome the possibility of a deadlock in coming up with new information. I needed to avoid asking the same questions and getting the same old answers. When I went to the field, I realised that it was as if some of my interviewees knew what answers the researcher expected and sometimes they were just repeating what they had

heard from the people around them or from the media. An example of this is how, when I spoke with a 22-year-old man in a *türkü bar*, he told me how Germans hate the immigrants:

> "They never want us here. They think we are stupid. If they had the chance some of them would do anything to send us back to Turkey… They even write books about it and say that Turkish people are incapable of integrating into life in Germany…"

From his explanation I understood that he was talking about the then very famous and much-debated book by Thilo Sarrazin, *Deutchland Schafft Sich Ab*, (Germany is abolishing itself) wherein the author claims that Muslims were lowering German society's intelligence level. When I asked him what book he was talking about, he said he did not know the writer's name or the book's title: "you know, the book everybody talks about." At this point, I must also stress that many people I talked to had their own opinions about Sarrazin's book, both positive and negative. This is just one example of how other people in a migrant community can be influential in shaping one's ideas.

Turkish immigrants in Berlin have always been, and still are, a topical issue both in academia and other platforms such as media, the arts (movies and music), and politics. While collecting my data, I was concerned to take this knowledge for granted. I had to be careful about basing my reasoning on this prior knowledge because it was mostly formed under the impact of commonplace ideas and I had to either go beyond it, or in some cases ignore it, to be able to open up a new place for the fresh and first-hand data I would get in the field. As Bechhofer and Paterson (2000, p.69) suggest: "First, the interviewer may have expectations of the respondent in terms of what the respondent knows, believes, feels, and so on. This is a normal aspect of social interaction." I had to be careful about not repeating the same questions often asked in studies on this community. As is mentioned in Bergh's (2011) work on music and conflict transformation, participants may have a tendency to answer the interview questions automatically, without considering their responses, and therefore fail to put forward their opinions.

In the case of questions about the migration process and integration issues in particular, people tend to give almost memorised answers. They are not usually aware of this, but often they repeat the things they hear at home and in their community. This is another product of the formation of cultural memory. Atkinson, Delamont, and Housley suggest that narratives are a part of cultural conventions: "Experiences, memories, emotions, and other apparently personal or private states are constructed and enacted through culturally shared narrative types, formats, and genres." (2008, p.38). In one of my interviews, I realised at one point that my respondent was telling me the story of immigration in its early stages as if he was a first-hand witness. From his narrative, one would think that he himself went through all these difficulties in the 1960s, but he actually arrived in Munich in 1987. He was probably repeating things he had heard from his family and others, feeling like he had been there. I noticed similar discourses in several interviews. Another respondent started our interview saying: "I am probably a good informant for you because I have been part of a study like this before, so I know the answers." The respondent thus imagines that the more general questions about migration that are covered in most research have fixed answers. The mainstream media, where most subjects about migration are covered in a similar manner, also forms this idea that these questions have solid, established answers. It is not just the participants, but also the researchers who have presupposed answers to their questions, and therefore manipulate their respondent unintentionally by shaping their questions in a certain way. Bechhofer and Paterson argues that the expectations of the researcher have an effect on the participant:

> "These expectations which the interviewer may have are mirrored by those of the respondent, who may have expectations of the interviewer. It is obviously impossible to stop the respondent having these expectations, or in any way to set up the interview in a manner requiring or even requesting the respondent not to have such expectations, but it is … possible up to a point to manipulate them." (p.67)

Another issue that is problematic about interviews is that in most qualitative research mainly based on in-depth interviews, the researcher tends to rely on solely narrative analysis. However some scholars are sceptical of that

kind of approach, pointing to the fact that interviews as the sole form of data gathering can lead the researcher to a lack in analysing the social organisation and interaction in the community we are working with. Atkinson, Delamont, and Housley echoes this perspective stating "There is an overreliance in methods – such as the interview alone– that generate little or no understanding of social action and that are certainly incapable of capturing its complexities." (2008, p.32). I have tried to overcome this issue by combining my findings from the in-depth interviews with my daily observations that were mostly focused on people's interaction with each other and everyday life in Berlin, as I mention in detail below, and the data I got from other sources like the academic literature, media and visual materials such as documentaries and photographs.

In a study that has direct links to immigration issues and to related sub-issues like integration, it was almost inevitable for the respondent to have expectations, even if the interviewer had none. The reason for this is that most members of the Turkish-speaking community in Berlin find themselves in the middle of these discussions as a simple result of their existence there. Having music as a key element helped me engage in this "manipulation" as Bechhofer and Paterson suggests above. In most cases, critical issues like integration, nationalism, and citizenship were discussed in very similar ways, with similar terminology. I decided that the first step was to determine how I wanted to tell this story and indeed what part of this story needed to be told. My main concern was to see how music acted in forming cultural memories. Moreover, these critical issues were the ones shaping this phenomenon. My approach was to use the subject of music in my interviews as the main thrust. I tried not to ask questions about integration, religion, nationalism, and ethnic identities directly. Instead, I drew attention to these issues through music and daily life, if we can call this the "manipulation."

My position as a researcher and music elicitation

In most cases I can say that my approach to people with a request to interview them was met with positive reactions. I observed that my position as a

Turkish student coming from Exeter to Berlin for research created a sympathy and an urge to help me. I was both an insider and an outsider at the same time: an insider for being familiar to Turkish culture, music scene in particular (both as a listener and an ethnomusicologist by training) and anything related to Turkey but an outsider for not belonging to their diaspora and being rather unfamiliar to their experience of German context. I believe that there was a good balance between my two positions. I had the desired dose of outsiderness to be able to view my subject with a fresh set of mind and my insider position allowed me to have profound conversations with my informants. In my interviews my main advantage has been having the discussion of music as the focus. Başer (2013) whose research concentrates on the Turkish-Kurdish conflict in the diaspora mentions how her informants in Berlin could be hesitant to trust her because of the sensitivity of the issue. I haven't experienced any issues as such. On the contrary, approaching my informants on the subject of music helped me break what Lerum calls an *academic armor* "...that prevents the intimate emotional engagement often required in qualitative research." (2001, cited in Marshall and Rossman 2011, p.78). Music provided me the intimacy with which I have been able to go beyond the clichéd answers to the common issues like the immigration process, integration, and the issues around that, and to overcome the problem of receiving only memorised answers. Many of my respondents told me that they enjoyed talking about Turkish music with a researcher. Occasionally my respondents became emotional when thinking of a song or humming it for me. Mahmut, a 40-year-old man I met among the audience in a *türkü bar*, had tears in his eyes during our conversation, which started with me asking how he had learned all the songs he was singing along to. He opened up and made himself vulnerable and emotional with a stranger faster than expected. At one point during our conversation, he told me:

> "I don't cry easily, but some songs make me very emotional. I remember the past … And in this musical space we share these feelings, so I think everybody feels secure here, they relax and let the music take them wherever they want."

When I approached people introducing myself and my research, people showed interest almost every time. Common first reactions were "This is very interesting", "This is a very good subject", "I love music", "Music is very important to me." Music is seen as a part of everybody's life and therefore the people I interviewed felt personally that they had things to say on the issue. As might be expected, the way the researcher approaches the interviewee and their attitude is key to convincing people to take part in research. As much as the approach and the attitude matters, having music as my main subject was a great support for this study in terms of getting people's attention and drawing information from them. As has been discussed in previous chapters, music is very important for immigrant communities, something that they take with them as a part of their identity and a source of solace and relief.

Relying on my personal experience of having been born and brought up in Turkey, and my fieldwork in Berlin, I can say that most people from Turkey love music and they are quite generous in showing their emotional attachment to music. One of my interviewees started our conversation with the words: "Music is our lifeblood, music is our lives, we can't live without music." This woman in her mid-40s was working as a social pedagogue and her husband was a music teacher who ran a Turkish music school: "There is something magical about music. Music is a universal language and therefore it is the easiest and most civilised way to reach out to children and young people." Music thus became an element that not only gave me the advantage of asking questions about something people like, but also allowed me to engage people over something with which they have emotional ties. Additionally my position as an insider in terms of the shared music knowledge with my informants had an impact on the course of the interviews, my analysis of the data, the informants and me as the researcher. My informants were not the only ones feeling emotional or pleased about music but I was also feeling pleased, comfortable and sometimes emotional. Coffey reminds us ethnography's biographical ("the observing and telling of lives") and autobiographical dimension and tells us that our fieldwork take shape in relation to our identities, emotions and personalities (1999). My

knowledge of Turkish culture and music oriented me in deciding which subjects to call attention to. Allett, in her work on how music can be used as an elicitation device in research methodology, suggests that:

"Music could change the 'tone', 'feel' or 'mood' of the research interaction. As a result, this could change the nature of the relationship between researcher and researched, making it more informal and giving intense shared experience. Using music elicitation, introduces a relational and sensory experience into the qualitative interview." (2010, p.6)

Allet's suggestion has been something I have experienced very often in my fieldwork. Lofland and Lofland (1995, p.16) argue that the researcher has to "...participate in the mind of another human being … to acquire social knowledge." The subject of music acted as a bridge in this participation, creating an emotional, mutual connection with the people I interviewed. The fact that we were talking about music and disclosing our mutual appreciation helped to create a sense of trust. In particular, talking about the music from your country of origin in a foreign place (or music you love in some other way) creates a feeling of "belonging to the same club"; it becomes a shared experience between the researcher and the informant. Talking about music also increases the self-confidence of the informant since music is a subject about which they are able to communicate easily. Hara (2011) talks about how music took a similar role in her research into music and dementia, and again handles music as a means of eliciting information within her research methodology. Hara conducted interviews with care givers and care receivers on music as a "means of building interactive relationships", not just between the care giver and care receiver, but also between them and herself as researcher. Music became a communication and memory-stimulating device in many studies. She argues that "...music elicitation is an active and naturalistic way to access deep and musically entrenched memories woven into the fabric of one's life." Similarly, music acted as a natural element in building a rapport with most of my informants. These interviews took relatively longer than the others.

Talking about music is similar to listening to music in terms of evoking emotions. It carries the feelings one attaches to one's musicking experience to

the conversation. Betül had lost her mother two years previously and she became very emotional when I asked her about the music she used to hear at home when she was young:

> "My mum used to hum one song all the time when she was cooking. I think it was her mother's favourite song. She remembered her family whom she had to leave back in Turkey when she was seventeen … She had to come here with my dad and I think she regretted it all her life … They were not able to go back and forth very often so she missed her family a lot. She used to tell me that she sang the songs her mother loved silently whenever she thought of her. Now I do the same when I think of my mum."

My informants thus seemed to enjoy themselves when we were talking about music, even though they sometimes became emotional, which had a positive impact in providing more and genuine information. I was also able to use a more casual tone in most cases while asking my questions, such as: "Now in your mp3 player, I wonder about the top 50 songs you listen to. Do you have Turkish songs?" In some interviews, the informants actually took out their mp3 players and showed me their playlists, which can be an intimate space to share for some people.

Methods

While I designed my study and planned my fieldwork, I determined that my main methods would be participant observation and semi-structured in-depth interviewing of individual subjects. The snowball technique proved to be an efficient choice for my field and enabled me to find most of my contacts. In this section, I discuss my choice of methods, the motivations behind my choices, and how they affected my research.

Direct observation

I relied on direct observation as a starting point to my research in general, and in designing the fieldwork. This was an important part of my efforts to conduct an ethnographic study in which I needed to examine the diaspora, their actions and accounts in their natural, everyday settings, as argued by Atkinson and Hammersley (2007). I kept a journal for my daily observations and recorded

therein the things I thought were related to Turkey and Turkish immigrants that I saw on the streets; such as shops with Turkish products, people speaking in Turkish (or a hybrid language of German-Turkish) on public transportation, their appearances, their interaction with German people (described in more detailed below) and my impressions of them. This helped me process the new world I was trying to understand. As I was taking my notes I benefited from Geertz's (1973) "thick description" approach with which Geertz explains his way of doing ethnography by not just describing the phenomenon existing, but the context it belongs in detail as well. It provided a better conception of culture, exploring what interviewees meant in their own context and how this meaning is different when the same phenomena are taken in different contexts (i.e. how similar daily events take place in Turkey or within the immigrant community in London). Direct observation also enabled me to reflect everyday practice in more detail, something that is impossible with an hour-long interview. It provided me with direct information, as opposed to the interviews where information came via an intermediary. As I have emphasised Atkinson, Delamont and Housley's warning against using interviews as a sole way of data gathering (2008), my observations provided the context to analyse my interviews in and make more meaning of the social organisation within the Turkish diaspora. Direct observation also takes place in a different setting from an interview, and I was able to see people in their natural environments engaging in activities of normal life. As a starting point to my research, I began by taking field notes as soon as I was out on the streets in Berlin. I had a small notebook with me at all times and I jotted down anything that was interesting or unknown to me related to the daily lives of the community from Turkey. These notes mostly covered information about the people I saw in the shops (both sellers and shoppers), on the U-bahn (the subway), or in parks and other public places. I noted down the things I was able to observe, like behaviours, the language people used in their daily conversations (their choice of words, which I noticed most in the hybrid German-Turkish among third-generation youth), their looks, and attitudes. Ideally, at the end of a day of observation I wrote a more detailed summary of my day in my research journal,

based upon the notes I had made during the day, and the thoughts my observations inspired. I was also taking photos in the Turkish neighbourhoods. I preferred to take photos of the shops with Turkish writing in the windows or some other feature that indicated a link to Turkey. The majority of these shops were related to food, such as restaurants, cafes, butchers, grocery stores, and particular forms of shops common in Turkey, like dried fruit stores (*kuruyemişçi*), and men-only coffeehouses (*kıraathane-kahve*). Stores unrelated to food included photographers, boutiques, travel agencies, music shops, and bookshops. It was possible to see photos of weddings or circumcision ceremonies in shop windows that were shot in a very traditional, familiar fashion to Turkey. There were also billboards or poster ads in Turkish, listing activities such as concerts, political party gatherings, or meetings for people from specific regions of Turkey. Atkinson, Delamont, and Housley put an emphasis on the importance of principled and systematic ethnography "...that is faithful to the complexity of social life. That complexity is grounded in the diverse modes of everyday life." (p.3). In that sense, my observations of the daily life in Berlin let me see the complexity of the social organisations within the Turkish diaspora. These were important cultural materials for me to develop an understanding of the community living in these neighbourhoods.

A secondary observation and information source was movies related to the immigration process. I watched movies by celebrated directors, like Şerif Gören, Sinan Çetin, Fatih Akın, and Kutluğ Ataman, that were mostly or partly about immigrants from Turkey in Germany, shot in different decades beginning from the 1970s. These movies mostly focused on the problems of being an immigrant and it was possible to see in them the same issues that my informants mentioned, and also the transformation of some values, social facts, or the things that have not changed in years. Apart from movies, I watched several documentaries made for Turkish and German TV. Permanent photograph exhibitions in some museums in Berlin, such as the Kreuzberg Museum, were also among my visual sources. These photographs from the past along with

movies helped me see the transformation of the neighbourhoods where the immigrants from Turkey have been living since their arrival to Germany.

The year 2011 witnessed many events for the 50th anniversary of the immigration to Germany. There were many academic and artistic collaborations along with other events to celebrate the half-century. German-Turks had an increased presence in the news in Germany and in the media throughout the year in addition to their presence in Turkish media. The movies, documentaries, and photos provided me with information from the past, just as did literature. Unlike literature, the visual materials allowed me to look at what and where I wanted to whereas the literary materials were more direction oriented. In addition to being a rich source of information, this kind of observation and data gathering helped me shape my research and interview questions. An example is the movie *Der Polizei*, a Turkish-German production shot in 1988 by the famous Turkish director Şerif Gören. The movie takes place mostly in the Kreuzberg, Kottbuser Tor area and we can see the Turkish neighbourhood in West Berlin by the wall. From the literature I have read I knew that the Turkish immigrants were pushed to this side of the city and that it was a poor district. Watching the movie and seeing Kottbuser Tor in the late 1980s, however, I had the chance to observe the physical changes the neighbourhood went through, most importantly, the Berlin wall covered in graffiti just by the district, how the Turkish businesses developed and became established in the area, and how today's popular and touristic neighbourhood of Kottbuser Tor was once only a residential area with mostly grocery shops run by immigrants. A similar opportunity to observe and compare the physical changes over time was provided by the movie *Berlin in Berlin* by Sinan Çetin, which takes place in the streets of Kreuzberg in the early 1990s, immediately after the wall was torn down. On the other hand, the photos in the Kreuzberg Museum also showed me the neighbourhood before and after the immigrants arrived. All these visual sources thus provided me with material that I could interpret myself, an alternative to the material offered by the literature.

Interviews

Every research project and research site has its own dynamics and, therefore, in addition to favouring the established research techniques, researchers must identify their own methods which fit the character of both the field and the researcher. In this section I recount how I got into my research site by giving more details about the way in which I conducted my interviews, how I established my role, and how I positioned myself as a researcher in different situations.

During my three-week pilot study, I engaged people in casual conversations in shops, restaurants, on public transportation and many other places. These conversations acted as rehearsals for my interviews and helped me design my questions and how I would manage the interviews. The duration of the interviews varied from 20 to 90 minutes in some cases, but in general they took about an hour. The length of an interview depended mostly on the interviewee's interest in music. Some felt shy because they were not knowledgeable about music. On the contrary, those who expressed their love towards music were very enthusiastic about being interviewed.

All of the interviews were semi-structured and the questions were mostly open-ended.[5] The questions were not asked directly in all situations, but the desired information was obtained within the responses to other questions too. Most of my questions were potentially open to long answers. For instance, in my interview with a social pedagogue whose husband ran a music school, my one series of questions took the form:

> "For the young people at these ages, how does the fact that they play these instruments from Turkey affect their rapport with their German peers? I mean, do the German youth take an interest in these different instruments? How do they react?"

A question posed to a *bağlama* teacher working at the same school would go as follows:

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[5] A list of the questions that featured in almost all interviews can be found in the appendix.

"Some students prefer to learn to play the *bağlama*, or rather their families decide for them. Some choose a western musical instrument like the guitar. How do you think the instrument they play might affect the adaptation process?"

The tone of the interviews was closer in tone to a friendly chat than a formal interview. For this reason, I listened to many different side stories along with the responses to my questions, as Atkinson and Hammersley (2007, p.130) state:

"There is a sense in which all interviews, like any other kind of social interaction, are structured by both researcher and informant … Ethnographers do not usually decide beforehand the exact questions they want to ask, and do not ask each interviewee precisely the same questions, though they will usually enter the interviews with a list of issues to be covered … they adopt a more flexible approach, allowing the discussion to flow in a way that seems natural. Nor need ethnographers restrict themselves to a single mode of questioning."

On the issues of identities, as I was able to observe in Berlin, deriving from the nature of the phenomenon itself, that being an immigrant adds up to the life roles of an individual. The role of immigrant is flexible and linked to presentation of self. The community of immigrants is defined by the world outside, and the community itself sometimes defines itself in these terms. I asked many questions about the immigrant experience and many questions that had no relationship to immigrant identity, but which rather addressed interviewees' alternate roles. I tried to see as many personae as I could in each person. This helped me see the distinction between being an immigrant and belonging to an immigrant community though born in Germany.

Marshall and Rossman (2011) argue that observing directly, interviewing in depth, using participant observation, and analysing documentary and material culture are the main data gathering techniques. According to this logic, I can categorise my own data gathering into primary and secondary methods where direct observations and in-depth interviews were my primary sources and participant observation and document analysis were the secondary sources. Among the four techniques, observation and in-depth interviewing are clearly visible in my work. On the other hand, my secondary sources allowed me to

further understand my field. I consider my participation in casual daily activities, like grocery shopping in a Turkish market, or visiting a Turkish bookstore to buy newspapers from Turkey, to qualify as participant observation. Often, my leisure time and my research activities blurred into one another. These kinds of association in daily life allowed me to have a better understanding of what my informants were talking about, as Marshall and Rossman note: "...combined with observation, interviews allow the researcher to understand the meanings that everyday activities hold for people." (p.102). As for analysing documents, I went through the musical materials from the beginning of the migration process, observed the photos, posters, and flyers published about or for the immigrants and tried to get a better sense of the times past that are described in detail in my chapter on the historical and musical background.

Something else that became an icebreaker in my interviews was the fact that I was also living away from my homeland. Although my situation in the UK as a PhD student has major differences to being an immigrant, it is still easy to find common problems. I say "problems" because I observed that complaining about similar issues acted as a connector between myself and the participants. Atkinson and Hammersley suggest that "'neutral' topics are not actually divorced from the researcher's interests at hand, since they can throw additional and unforeseen light on informants, and yield fresh sources of data" (p.71). I was not aware of this common feature before I went into the field, but I saw that it was a good conversation starter when the participant was reticent. It also encouraged interviewees to ask questions about my life, which created a more intimate atmosphere and equality between us.

I would like to mention two practical details which emerged while conducting my interviews: consents and recording the interviews. I did not use a written consent form in any of my interviews since it might have disrupted the research process, due to cultural differences or the formality of such a request. To be more specific, I knew that asking most of my informants to sign a document would make them feel uncomfortable and would lead to them distancing themselves from the interview. Signing a document and being

recorded can be intimidating, especially in a situation where the informants have the feeling that they are doing the researcher a favour. I wanted to keep uncomfortable demands to a minimum for the sake of my interviews. Instead of asking for a written consent, all of the terms of consent were fully explained and an oral consent was obtained from my informants. I explained my research, why I was doing it, who would read it, and where it would be published. I told my informants that I would change their names and all other identifiable information about them if I mentioned them. I began the interview and the recording after I obtained their permission. Oral consents were recorded at the start of the interviews. I also gave interviewees an information sheet with my details, which would enable them to contact my supervisor or myself in the event that they wished to withdraw from the research.

I have mentioned the possibility of interviewees' discomfort at being recorded. Ives (1995, p.39) believes that things such as "...mic placement … using photographs, and transcribing..." are based on a "trialogue concept". According to this idea, the interview process is not a "...*dia*logue but always *tria*logue, with the tape recorder itself as the third party." I realised during some of my interviews that I unconsciously reduced possible discomfort to a minimum: I used my mp3 player, which is an iPod Touch and looks exactly like an iPhone, one of the most popular, and therefore familiar, gadgets of the day. The cable that connects the ear buds to the mp3 player had a very small microphone attached to the volume control button. After I explained the details of the research and asked for permission to record our interview, I turned on the recording device on my mp3 player and placed it between the interviewee and myself. In two of the interviews, the informant asked where my sound recorder was. They were surprised to learn that I was using my mp3 player. They also told me that they were pleased I was not using a "real" sound recorder or a microphone, meaning that they would be intimidated by a strange device causing them discomfort by recording their words.

Five of my informants did not allow me to record our conversation. In some of these cases, I took notes on my pocketbook with the interviewee's

consent. In the event that they also felt uncomfortable about my note taking, I wrote a summary of the interview immediately after I left the room.

One final point I would like to touch on concerning my interactions with participants is the gender issue, as this is something I have experienced during my research. Atkinson and Hammersley suggest that researchers "...cannot escape the implications of gender." (p.73). They go on to discuss the situations women researchers may have to face:

> "Not only may the female researcher sometimes find it difficult to be taken seriously by male hosts, but also other females may display suspicion and hostility in the face of her intrusions. Of course, female researchers may also find advantageous trade-offs. The 'hustling' informant who is trying to impress the researcher may prove particularly forthcoming to her; males may be manipulated by femininity. Similarly, in so far as women are seen as unthreatening, they may gain access to settings and information with relative ease." (p.74)

The reason I quote this rather long section is that I have had very similar experiences. One incident where I wished I were gender neutral was when I met a friendly, talkative man in his late 60s. It was my second day in Berlin. I was trying to find my way around a big supermarket. Everything was in German and I was surrounded by food that I could not identify. He was sitting in the cafeteria near the entrance and exit area, having coffee and a cookie. From his looks, I assumed (and I deeply hoped) that he spoke Turkish. I approached him and said a shy "Hi". After my relief seeing that I had aimed for the right person, I asked him if he knew where the eggs were. As much as I really wanted to buy eggs, they were just my excuse to start a conversation. While I was interested in him as a potential participant in my research, I was an object of interest for him as well: a Turkish-speaking person my age in Berlin, who did not speak German and could not find her way around the supermarket. In the middle of our conversation about eggs and what kind of yoghurt tastes most like those in Turkey, I started to tell my story. We were having a conversation that was very productive for my work while touring the market and filling my basket at the same time. I could tell that he was enjoying himself because he was being helpful to someone from his homeland. Unfortunately, it did not last long. He said goodbye and walked away

fast when of his angry wife caught sight of us. I could not help but overhear them talking later: he was explaining who I was while the woman looked me over. She must have been convinced that I was harmless though: she asked me if I had been able to find everything I wanted when we met later at the check-out. She advised me to ask aloud if anyone spoke Turkish when I needed help in that kind of situation.

In one of my interviews, I felt that the participant was rather flirtatious. I was really enthusiastic about interviewing him because he had many years of experience in music education. He kindly invited me to dinner in a restaurant. We finally agreed on meeting at a café and talking over a coffee. Although he knew that I preferred to record my interviews and had already accepted to talk to me, first he refused to allow me to record our conversation and, second, was not really interested in my questions, but rather wanted to talk about his own achievements. Finally, in contrast, I thought I had much easier access compared to a male colleague when I was trying to enter a women's café in Neukölln. Schilleria Mädchencafé is a "girls club" as they style themselves on their website.[6] Among their activities, they organise theatre, music, arts courses, and events for women. I would probably not have been allowed to observe them if I were male, because the women participating in these events might feel uncomfortable.

Sites of enquiry

When I first began to plan this research project, I decided on the title "Music and Cultural Memory: The Kreuzberg Experience." Being highly influenced by the work of other researchers conducted in Kreuzberg, I thought that limiting myself to the borough of Kreuzberg would be an appropriate decision. Kreuzberg is a district in Berlin well known for its large population of people from Turkey and their businesses (shops, cafés, restaurants, nightclubs). Before I started my PhD, when I spoke to people in Istanbul about my potential research subject, I noticed that many people in Turkey who had never been to

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[6] http://schilleria.blogmonster.de/

Berlin had heard of the place. This was a factor supporting my decision giving the project this title. I continued to use the same title until I went to Berlin in 2010 for the first time to initiate my research. After spending about a month in Berlin, I found my decision to be too limiting because the immigrants were spread widely all over the city. People from Turkey not only lived and worked in Kreuzberg, but in many other districts, such as Neuköln, Wedding, Schöneberg. This was also an example of how the snowball sampling shaped my research in terms of the sites I chose to work. When I started to make contact with the music schools and visit them, I had the opportunity to discover different areas every day. I realised that it would be a pity to limit the material I could acquire, and the scope of my study, by conducting interviews and making observations solely in Kreuzberg. I therefore decided to expand the project to look into the immigrant experience of Berlin as a whole. One of the positive consequences of this decision was that I avoided re-using the same materials that had been used in previous studies on Kreuzberg, of which there is a remarkable amount. Of course, there are more studies about immigrants in Berlin, or in Germany in general. Nevertheless, the larger field provided me the opportunity of working with more data.

Despite the general focus on Berlin, Kreuzberg inevitably deserved special attention since the borough carries a special meaning for the immigrant community in Berlin since the beginning of the 1960's. Hence my fieldwork and data reflects the significance of this place. From the music venues, restaurants, grocery stores to all other kinds of Turkish shops were high in numbers in this neighbourhood. Movies taking place in Kreuzberg such as *Berlin in Berlin*, *Der Polizei*, and Kreuzberg museum where it is possible to witness the borough's transformation with photos from the 19th century to day were my materials for document analysis. Literature on Turkish immigrants in Germany often times cover information about Kreuzberg if not totally dedicated to it. Turkish population is spread in many different parts of the city today and Kreuzberg may not be the most populated area any more. (A reason for this is the popularity the neighbourhood is getting, other groups' interest in the neighbourhood and gentrification making it more difficult to afford for the immigrant groups). However

Kreuzberg is still seen as a center because of the high number of Turkish establishments from food vendors to entertainment venues. The most prominent Turkish associations such as *Türkischer Bund Berlin-Brandenburg* (Turkish Federation of Berlin-Brandenburg), *Türkische Gemeinde zu Berlin* (Turkish Community of Berlin), *Diyanet Isleri Turk Islam Birligi* (Religious Affairs Turkish Islamic Union), *Demokratik Isci Dernekleri Federasyonu* (Federation for Democratic Worker's Associations, *Milli Gorus-Islamische Gemeinde* (Islamic Community) are all located in Kreuzberg (Yurdakul 2009, pp.1-2).

Therefore Kreuzberg remained the neighbourhood in which I conducted the majority of my interviews, in which I met many people from the community, did my personal grocery shopping from the Turkish stores and markets, and observed people's interactions, but the study as a whole contained data from many different sites in Berlin.

Organisation of data

In this chapter, the main purpose is to give the reader an idea of how I collected my data and why I chose to do it in these particular ways. In this section, I explain how I used my raw material to construct a meaningful whole. After I finished my fieldwork, the next stage involved gathering all the data I collected in a systematic way, and analysing them in order to create a map out of them. This was an on going process that had begun before my fieldwork since some of my research design decisions acted as a coding, my interview guides for example.

I prepared several interview guides to help me through my meetings with my informants. I had an idea about my informant's age, gender, and profession, and how he or she was relevant to my research before conducting the interview, which allowed me to prepare my questions for each particular interviewee. This functioned as a coding system for me. As a researcher, I felt the need to obtain different answers from different people and the "difference" here was the categorisation that I was naturally undertaking with the help of my tacit knowledge coming from being Turkish and hearing, watching or reading about

this issue since a very long time. While categorising I was careful to stay away from the "dark side" of tacit knowledge for, as Sharen notes (2011), the researcher may mislead if he or she is unaware of possessing controversial perceptions. In order to avoid that we worked together with an American friend who was conducting a similar research with immigrants from Turkey in Berlin and London at the time. We compared our knowledge about this community and that is how I became aware, while I was designing my research, that some things were very different from my original understanding or that they had changed in time. One significant point that influenced my interpretations was my shared music knowledge with my informants. Their choice of music genres and my knowledge about how those genres are attributed certain social codes (such as elite, low-class, political) oriented the ways I have read my data. The transformations of these social codes have been one of the main outcomes of this research and it is also a good example of how my 'self' was involved in this research. I believe this issue has become one of the outcomes of this study as a product of my selective perception among many others. It wouldn't be unexpected if some other researcher didn't call attention to this matter. The outcomes of this research, the points I chose to emphasize and how I orchestrated this study were all a product of the researcher's background.

The process of interview guide preparation can be seen as the first stage of my data coding. This kind of coding was informed by the first impressions I took from the interviewees in addition to my tacit knowledge. For the later stages of data coding I added/changed categories for my informants in the light of the information they gave me and I found different categories of meanings other than who they are, more related to the social phenomena they were talking about.

For my coding and analysis stages I transcribed all my interviews word by word, I added my field notes to them, the notes I took from my informal conversations with people, and other notes that I had made about the material I immersed myself in (media, museums, movies, etc.). I read all of these notes closely several times and located the important issues for each individual piece of text. I defined these issues as those to which my informants attach importance

or emphasised when answering my questions. My interview questions were open-ended and usually formulated in such a way that allowed the informant to lead the conversation. Then I put all the emerging issues together, looked through them all, and created a big picture of this research. Among the issues I identified, I chose those that were expressed by two or more informants. The repeating patterns in my interviews produced a list of emerging categories of meaning for my study. In addition to new categories of meaning, some of my initial ideas changed or developed in parallel with the coding process, opening doors to new understandings. An important example of this was my discovery of the theme "transformation of social/musical codes", which I would not have been able to predict before coding, or in other words, before identifying my data. The main categories of informants included, but were not limited to, generation, education, socialisation, musical background (the kind of music they like, the kind of music played in their homes), and experience as an immigrant (had they ever lived in Turkey, were they born in Germany or, if not, at what age did they come to Germany, etc.).

This study was not a problematic one in terms of ethical issues. I did not have any difficulties obtaining ethics approval from the university committee and I conducted my research as planned and presented in my ethics approval proposal. In some cases, ethics acted as a fair barrier preventing me from interviewing unattended minors at the music schools. It came to my attention that nobody asked me to show any document or permit before accepting to talk to me, although I had my ethics approval with me at all times when I was out to interview people. This could be another effect of talking about music, which tended to create an informal air between my respondents and myself.

Summary

In this chapter, the intention has been to present the suitability of my methodology and research design to understanding the relationship between music and cultural memory within the Turkish-speaking community in Berlin. With the data gathered from my 27 interviews, observations of daily life, media

research, and with the help of other sources from the literature, I concluded that I had sufficient data to conceptualise my work pursued herein. The practical factors, like my language skills and my need of a visa to travel to Germany, had an important impact on my research design. Although at first I had a tendency to see this as bad news for my research, I realised soon enough that I could use it to my advantage. These practical factors provided me with some useful boundaries. The research questions were not finalised until I had conducted a pilot study in the field. These research questions would define the boundaries and direction of this study. Finding the right questions was an iterative process (O'Leary 2004) and it had to be considered and reconsidered at every step of the way. My initial interactions with people who had expertise in this field also helped me decide upon my attitude, my approach, and how to raise the issues that interested me.

In this chapter, I have presented my choice of research methods. I have also tried to reflect important details in the background of my fieldwork that shaped the project. I hope that these details will help the reader to better understand how I collected the data that will be presented in subsequent chapters and the circumstances that influenced my analysis.

CHAPTER 5: SOUNDS OF TURKEY IN BERLIN: FINDINGS FROM
FIELDWORK

> *"Migration throws objects, identities*
> *and ideas into flux."* (Mercer 2008, p.7).

Introduction

In considering music, migration, and culturally transposed identity of
Turkish-speaking immigrants in Berlin, I have looked into the history of their
immigration, and the immigrant music scene from the beginning of the guest-
worker programme to the 1990s. I have also explained my methodology, drawn a
general picture of my research site, and described how I conducted the fieldwork.
The previous chapters have provided a background and context within which to
approach the data. In these chapters, I set out a general history, how the
community in question has been perceived, the way its members have been
treated, and how they have reacted to their treatment, partly based upon the
existing literature. Now I will take this information and approach it from the
perspective of my informants' experiences of everyday life, to see how this
information is embedded in real life, and/or how it can conflict with my informants'
responses and my observations. Building upon this, I aim to investigate the
continuities and discontinuities in the received wisdom about everyday life among
people from Turkey as put forward in the media, academic literature and other
sources, through my fieldwork. I focused on the different realities I observed in
people's lives that clash with the clichéd stories about the diaspora from Turkey.
The reason I call them clichéd is that they lack an elaborate analysis, their
attitude treating all immigrants from Turkey as if they are one, with the same
beliefs, the same lifestyles, or the same way of thinking. They put everyone in the

same pot, where in fact the groups of people we are talking about deserve a pluralist approach.

In the rest of this chapter, I will discuss these issues of continuity-discontinuity, clichés, and generational breaking points in five sections, following a presentation of the bigger picture of my findings.

1. Places of music

2. Hip-hop as an immigrant cultural expression

3. Mixing and moving village

4. Media and remembering

5. Music and life in Berlin

The section on places of music will introduce the Turkish-speaking community's most significant sites of music consumption and production, other than their homes, like music schools and *türkü* bars, in addition to some alternative venues. The second part, hip-hop as an immigrant cultural expression, looks at how rap music became a medium for the Turkish-speaking youth to express themselves both to German and Turkish societies. In this section I demonstrate the transformation of certain cultural values leading to a major generational rupture. While there are no direct accounts of the musical practices in the chapter, my attempt is to illustrate them through my interpretations and analysis. The events I experienced first hand (such as performances at *türkü* bars, classes in music schools, concerts, studio practice of hip-hop artists) are among the centerpieces of this study and I explain and discuss them while keeping the relationship of memory and music as the focus point. Therefore my respondents' perception of music, how they talk about it, their emotions as they reflect have the leading roles while the actual musical accounts are complementing the picture.

The mixing and moving village section draws a detailed picture of my site, including its current situation and the relationship between the city itself and the immigrants' musicking. The section on the media and remembering explores the influence of the media on immigrants' remembering, looking especially at

extracts from the print media, and discusses how they are a reflection and continuation of the culture and traditions of which they are a product. Finally, in the section on music and life in Berlin, I will present additional data on emerging themes from my interviews that are crucial for understanding the issue at hand and are therefore worth analysing in subsequent chapters.

The big picture

The first thing I learned from my findings is that I am dealing with a very diverse community of people. Contrary to common beliefs about immigrant groups, like the homogeneity of culture and its reflections in daily life, people with ties to Turkey in Berlin are a big community today and they are scarcely different in terms of diversity from the German population in Germany or Turks in Turkey. I am hoping to show a part of this picture in my interviews with people from different social backgrounds. The issue here is that this group has always been identified by its members' common origin and their history of immigration to the host land. Treating people thus as one big group over-generalises the immigrant experience and encourages stereotyping. It prevents one from seeing the actual picture of my research scene, but instead fosters and maintains the empty clichés, as has been discussed in my literature review, with examples from works of Çağlar. In my work, I try to tease out the different cultural practices and attitudes among people with ties to Turkey.

This may raise the question of what is a diaspora today and how the so-called Turkish diaspora in Germany might be handled in such research. In addition to the discussion of the term diaspora by Schieffeur, Ostergaard-Nielsen, and Levitt, presented in the Literature Review chapter, the "Music and Minorities" Study Group of the International Council for Traditional Music has agreed upon a broad definition of diaspora that includes social and religious minorities and indigenous people, describing minorities as "...groups of people distinguished from the dominant group out of cultural, ethnic, social, religious or economic reasons." (Hemetek 2000). Looking through my findings from the field study, I explore and analyse the community from Turkey in Berlin in terms of how

it relates to the concept of diaspora defined above. Few definitions and discussions of diaspora (as discussed in my Literature Review chapter) apply to what I observed in Berlin during my field study. Under today's conditions, it is important to question the notion of being "distinguished from the dominant group" as in Hemetek's definition. Who is the dominant group? Has it always been dominant? How does the young generation feel about it? Who are *their* dominant groups? I believe that these questions should be taken into consideration when looking at this subject. In the case of Berlin, where 10 per cent of the city's population has ties with Turkey, some claim that this community is now too large to be called a diaspora. Based on my own observation, I argue that the discussed dominant group for the young generation is a new formation of "their people" in Berlin, no longer the people in Turkey. Or maybe we should say "the image of the people of Turkey they constructed in Berlin." This issue will be treated in this chapter and in those that follow in detail.

The clichés I will discuss here emerged with the beginning of the immigration process: most immigrants came from underprivileged towns in Turkey, they were impoverished, they had problems adjusting due to poor language skills, education, and their foreign religion. These were just a few examples among many issues. These stories are still very fresh today as it has only been 50 years since the beginning of the labour work agreement. That is a relatively short time for a community to emerge from its impact zone. Most of the people who went through the initial dramatic cultural and social changes and difficulties are still alive today. Yet the stories of the migration are still popular material for the media and have kept very much alive the idea of the *Alamancı* (a sarcastic name for the immigrants frequently used in Turkey) for the people in Turkey as well as for other audience. Therefore, I also intend to show how the media represents the Turkish community, in addition to how this affects their general situation and remembering experience.

Furthermore, in my case I observe a generational breaking point that is clearly seen in my interviews, which contradicts the established wisdom of immigrant groups' homogenous culture. That is also in relation to my first point

above. In reality, it would not be wrong to think of this time of critical change as a subsequent stage to my first point. But it is not limited to that. In the following section it is hoped that my data will support my argument that today is a time when we can see the hints of transformations in the near future in terms of culture, identity, act of remembering, and in this study's case, music production and consumption.

Places of music

Berlin is home to a dense Turkish-speaking population and the community has gradually settled, creating an increase and diversity in their spaces in the city. In this section, I will present examples of music places where the most significant music consumption and production relevant to this thesis takes place.

Music schools

There are many music schools in Berlin where people can learn music from Turkey. According to the data obtained from my participants, while the number of private tutors seems to have decreased in recent years, a considerable number of schools still maintain an important place in the Turkish music scene. These schools have students from a wide age range, from children to adults, and they are observed to teach folk musics of Turkey predominantly.

During my visits to several schools, it came to my attention that in private Turkish music schools the plucked string instrument the *bağlama* is accepted as the traditional musical instrument of Turkey. Almost all the schools have *bağlama* classes, and most of the time and tutoring is dedicated to this rather than to other instruments, or to singing lessons. This was a critical discovery at the beginning of my research since the *bağlama* was a traditional instrument from Turkey that had no place in Western popular music in the classical sense. I therefore developed my interview questions in order to elaborate this point. It is important to note that, as stated by music teachers commenting on the children who take *bağlama* lessons, in nearly every case this instrument was chosen by the parents, not the child. The music teachers argue that the reason for this is that the parents take great pains to keep their cultural heritage alive, trying to ensure

their children learn about the culture from which they come, and of which the *bağlama* is symbolic. Some parents may even be a little too passionate about this cultural symbol. As Baran, a Kurdish guitar teacher and music practitioner from Turkey, recounts of one of his students:

> "He was eleven years old and he had a great talent for music. I remember seeing him before at the music school where I work. He was taking *bağlama* lessons. He was very shy and nervous during my classes. Some time later, his mum told me that they had recently separated from the boy's father. His father had wanted him to play the *bağlama* and he used to tell him that if he touched the *bağlama*, angels would be with him, but if he touched a Western instrument (like a guitar or a piano) he would go to the devil's side. Then I understood why the boy was so nervous with the instrument, even though he was so good at it."

Here we see how far a parent might be willing to go to convince his child to do what he believes is right. At the same time, he passes on his values, woven with the Turkish and Muslim identity values in which he was raised in Turkey, to his son, who is being raised in Germany. This vignette also shows how music can be associated with cultural factors, belief systems, and desires, sometimes in unexpected ways. The father's wish to keep his son away from a Western instrument originates from several motives and leaves a serious impression on the child.

The music genre taught in schools during the *bağlama* lessons is traditional folk music from Turkey. According to music teachers and parents, the provision of such lessons offers a bonding mechanism where, through a specific social activity (*bağlama* instruction), children can learn about their culture, while being with other people of their ilk, rather than spending time out on the streets, getting into trouble and being potentially open to drugs and violence. The idea of "Music lessons to keep the children away from bad habits" is a theme often referenced by my informants; I therefore think it is a key point when looking at an immigrant community's relationship with music. Both music teachers and parents state that one of the main reasons the children are sent to Turkish music schools is to keep them away from the streets, where they can be introduced to bad

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habits. This can be evaluated as a side product of the fear, another theme to be explored in later sections.

At this point, I asked Baran about these children's interest in music:

"Most of them come here because their families force them. Maybe 'force' is not the right word, but the families think that the children should learn to play an instrument, at least to prevent them from getting bad habits on the streets. They think that it is good for their children to have a hobby, to be involved with something like sports or music, rather than staying at home. And if they choose music, they think the kid should learn to play *bağlama* since it is our own culture. … the kids don't want to play at first, they find it difficult. Another thing is, you know children don't like to stand out. When they go to school and play the *bağlama* … their classmates are mostly German. *Bağlama* doesn't mean anything to them. This can discourage them. But sometimes their teachers at school show an interest in *bağlama*, so they become more enthusiastic about it."

According to Baran's observation, parents send their children to *bağlama* schools with mixed intentions. On the one hand, they want their children to be out in public instead of staying at home or wandering the streets. But they want to control this public space, they want their children to be in a familiar setting, a setting that they can relate to and in which they have confidence. This is their way of protecting their children. In terms of intention, this kind of protective behaviour is no different from that of other parents who are not immigrants. However, here the context of protection is interwoven with the values acquired from the migration experience.

In addition to children's ambivalent feelings towards the *bağlama*, the higher-level music education system in Germany neither encourages nor supports a career with Turkish music instruments. Zeynep is a pedagogue in her mid-40s working with underprivileged immigrant women and their children. Her husband is a professional *bağlama* player and they are running a Turkish music school. Zeynep spends most of her time at the school when she is not working. She complains:

"One of the issues I consider problematic about music education here is that there are no departments for our instruments at the conservatory. So, if you want to have a degree here in your field of music, you cannot … at the entrance exam you need to be able to play at least one instrument …

but our instruments are not accepted. My husband has trained great musicians in this school for 20 years now, but they have no future here. There are no professors in German conservatoires to represent us … I have been fighting to introduce *bağlama* to UDK (Universitat der Kunste or University of the Arts) for years, but they ignore us."

From this perspective, we can argue that instruments and different forms of music from Turkey are condemned to stay a part of immigrants' nostalgia if they cannot offer a musical socialisation like the other instruments and forms of music in Germany. This is the policy of the official musical institutions, which creates disappointment and a feeling of "ill-belonging" among migrants.

Taylan and Leyla are two siblings who have been mostly brought up in Germany. Taylan is the younger brother and his sister Leyla describes him as "more German" than herself. Leyla has a better knowledge of Turkish music; she works as a DJ and plays at parties attended by mostly Turkish-speaking audiences. During my interview with them, they also talked about what they think about *bağlama* lessons:

> T: "*Bağlama* is not modern enough for a kid. Today I am almost 40 years old and mature enough to enjoy *bağlama*, but when I was young you wouldn't see me anywhere near a *bağlama*."

> L: "If kids want to learn to play the guitar, *bağlama* would be too old-school for them. They want to play rock music, not *türkü*. Today there are very popular rock bands in Turkey, like Manga, Duman, Athena, and they all come here to play concerts. So the children think that *bağlama* is not the only instrument of Turkey, that they can also play music in Turkish with guitar, drums, bass guitar, and they want to play these. They want to have the opportunity to go beyond traditional music. But families put pressure on their children that they should learn the *bağlama*."

Taylan and Leyla are in their mid-and late-30s and they draw a different picture of music consumption as they perceive it from the older generations. On the one hand, they emphasise that they have been brought up listening to Turkish music, and that they are familiar to different genres. But they have developed a different interest in music in connection to the immigrant groups to which they can relate. They partly attribute their different attitude to their mother, who migrated to Germany on her own, thinking that she would have a more liberal life there after her divorce in Turkey. Her reasons for coming to Germany

as a worker thus did not correspond to the typical stories. Taylan and Leyla are examples of younger people with non-traditional ideas. People like them play an important role in the transformation of values. I include more of Taylan and Leyla's stories in this chapter and the next chapter where I elaborate on the issue of generational change.

In the case of music schools, we see that music is used both as a pedagogic and a communal tool, as well as a method for channelling energies away from civil transgression. In March 2010, Mehmet, a social pedagogue and music teacher, organised a concert of performances by some 20 teenagers from immigrant families, aged between 14 and 17, who had previously committed petty crimes. They had been taking music lessons in Turkish music schools as part of their rehabilitation. Their performance formed part of this therapy, demonstrating musical skills through a range of songs chosen from different genres: Turkish pop-*arabesk* music, hip-hop, and the hybrid form "*RnBesk*" (essentially, rapping over traditional *arabesk* riffs). It was observed that the audience at this event mostly consisted of the families and friends of the performers and other teenagers who were also in rehabilitation or had been in the past. These young people were third-generation immigrants and more comfortable speaking in German than in Turkish. They were mostly using a hybrid language of their own, which was predominantly German with Turkish words and expressions. The music repertoire mainly consisted of current popular Turkish songs, *arabesk* music from the 80s, along with a few German raps over well-known Turkish songs. When I asked people in the audience how they knew about the current songs, they told me that they heard them on the television and radio all the time. The youth on the stage and in the audience were mostly listening to popular songs, but they still danced the traditional folk dances of Turkey to the music they heard. When asked about the dances, concert attendees related how they were drawn from *düğün*s (Turkish wedding parties) and special dancing associations called "*halay* (a style of folkloric dance in Turkey) nights", where one can learn, practice, and perform folkloric dances from Anatolia. Intriguingly, some of these dances are no longer danced in their original

locality, only within the diaspora, and they are no longer danced to the original accompanying music.

I found this issue of dance very striking as dance is a significant part of the musical experience and an important aspect of the cultural tradition. I posed questions on this issue to one of the musicians playing in the orchestra at this private concert. He pointed out that:

> "Yes, the young people here listen to *arabesk* music from the 80s and dance *halay*, but they want us to put hip-hop rhythms to traditional Anatolian songs. That is what they like, that is what they are stirred up by today."

From this example, we see that there are separate social worlds for the young generation, inside the house and the outside world. They express themselves with a hybrid musical language (or body language, when it comes to dancing). When I had the chance to talk to the organiser before the event, he told me about the preferences of these teenagers:

> "We don't limit them to specific genres, but most of them are fans of *arabesk* music. I think it is a bit weird that a young person who is brought up in Germany is so into this music. Some of them listen to *arabesk* from the 70s and 80s, songs that are forgotten in Turkey. *Arabesk* today is modernised in Turkey. But these kids like the old-school, depressing songs. They hear them in their homes of course. In my opinion, it would be better for them if they listened to the songs their peers here in Germany liked. It would make it easier for them to adapt to life here. Hip-hop is an exception in this case. They like its rhythm and they relax by releasing a lot of energy when they rap."

One of the accompanists at the concert, who also works as a music teacher, explained the tastes of the young people attending this and similar concerts:

> *"RnBesk* takes the most popular features of both genres, *arabesk* and pop, and combines them, so it is very understandable that young people love it so much. They love hip-hop because it is the best music for them to let off steam … You should see the weddings here. They get carried away with *halay* because it gives them the chance to dance to something that is from Turkey. Actually, rhythm is more important than music to young people. I am also a wedding musician. We use hip-hop rhythms with traditional folk music so that young people can dance."

A scene from the concert

These third-generation youth enjoy a hybrid music that carries the traces of their families' legacy, as well as current musical trends similar to their German peers. So, just how is traditional Turkish culture maintained for these expatriate citizens?

Türkü Bars

Third-generation immigrants from Turkey have been constructing certain collective identities in connection to their homeland and traditions of the homeland through music consumption and music making. Berlin has a rich musical scene and *türkü* bars are inevitably a part of it. The word *türkü* means the folk poetry performed to a melody. Herbert Jansky describes *türkü* as (cited in Öztürk 2001):

> "One of the oldest types of Turkish folk poetry that gives voice to the pleasure and affliction of the masses in great historical events; their regard and hatred for major individuals; pathetic love stories of youths in verses that captured hearts and measured with national syllable meter and by literary and melodically essential compositions. In a narrow sense, they are qualified as a historical document."

Türkü bars are places where the different forms of traditional music from Turkey are performed on a regular basis. They are formations of musical spaces that used to be common in cities where there is a dense immigrant population. Today, there are a considerable number of these bars in Berlin (I have been told that there used to be more of them in the recent past, but some were shut down) and these events create a medium to participate in the musical aspect of nostalgic feeling. For most of the immigrants attending these venues, sharing the emotions speaking in the traditional songs with people of the same national identity satisfies their need to feel they belong to their "home" land. *Türkü* bars in Berlin have usually attracted the second-generation immigrants who were introduced to Turkish music at home by their families, or the people who moved to Berlin in their twenties or later, meaning that they are already familiar with the music.

Türkü bars started to become popular in the mid-1990s in big cities in Turkey, such as Istanbul, Izmir, and Ankara. Before that, the two words, *türkü* and bar, were unlikely to go together. In some circumstances, they became the meeting point of people who immigrated to the big city, especially if the place was known for playing live music from a specific region. The owners of *türkü* bars in Istanbul are mostly from eastern and south-eastern regions. It is possible to see indications of where the owner is from in the traditional interior design of these bars. Objects that reflect the region's culture are a part of the decoration. Furthermore, the waiters and most of the performers working in these bars are from the same region as the owners.

In order to elaborate on the subject of *türkü* bars in Berlin, I compared the findings from a previous study conducted in Istanbul on this subject by a research team of which I was a member. Knowing how *türkü* bars were formed and structured in their original locations enriched my point of view when making observations in the Berlin *türkü* bars. I was a research assistant on the project in Istanbul (conducted by Şehvar Beşiroğlu and Aslı Kayhan between 2007 and 2008). We conducted in-depth interviews with musicians working in *türkü* bars and with the audience members who regularly attended in several

neighbourhoods of Istanbul, such as Taksim, Kadıköy, and Bakırköy. I thus had the chance to observe the *türkü* bars both in Istanbul and Berlin, and compare them. The styles of decoration were quite similar in both cities, and the fact that the immigrant community, in some cases outsiders, constituted the regulars of these bars. Very few of those who attend the *türkü* bars in Istanbul were born and raised there. These places usually attract people who have moved to Istanbul from another region. Similarly, hardly any German people go to listen to music or work in *türkü* bars in Berlin. One of my interviewees, a PhD student who moved to Berlin from Istanbul three years ago, told me:

> "The first time I went to a *türkü* bar was in Berlin. My friends from the neighbourhood invited and I went with them. I really liked the atmosphere because it felt like I was in Turkey. Even though it's not very often, when I feel homesick, I go to a *türkü* bar."

The difference with *türkü* bars in Berlin is that there is regional and thus linguistic diversity in the *türkü*s performed. There are songs in Turkish, Kurdish, Laz, and other languages within the same performance. This is rare in Istanbul's *türkü* bars, where the songs are mostly chosen from a certain region, reflecting the background of the owner and staff, and determining the profile of their clientele. One of my interviewees, Okan, mentions this diversity in Berlin *türkü* bars:

> "I like going to the *türkü* bars and listening to the songs and singing them. They play different songs from different regions, but to me it is all my country's music, it doesn't matter which region it comes from. I learned different *türkü*s here from those I learned from my parents at home."

Thus, while the *türkü* repertoires in Istanbul's bars determine their regulars according to their regional homeland in Turkey, the bars in Berlin do the same thing by playing music from Turkey as a whole and attracting its audience this way so the scale has moved from regional to national. Okan's younger sister adds to her brother's comments: "We go there with our friends and we sing and dance. Our parents don't worry about us when we are there because we are with our people." *Türkü* bars are identified as "safe" spaces in an "unsafe" environment. This understanding of a safe/unsafe dichotomy belongs to the

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same way of thinking to which the homeland/host land or us/them dichotomies belong.

I encountered folkloric dances once again in *türkü* bars. The young people here were perfectly capable of dancing the complicated folk dances from Turkey, just as their peers at the youth concert mentioned above, who danced the traditional *halay*. According to a participant, some folkloric dances that are forgotten today in Turkey are still danced without any change in Berlin because they are better preserved: "The folkloric dances are performed better here than in their places of origin. The young generation in Turkey are not interested in these dances because they don't feel the need to preserve their traditions, but we do." Another interviewee later explained to me again that weddings were very important social gatherings for the immigrants and that young people learned the dances at these wedding parties.

Here we see that *türkü* bars act as spaces where immigrants go to listen to music from their "home" land, be with their people, feel safe, and enjoy themselves dancing the folkloric dances. It is uncertain whether they will still exist in the future as the younger generations do not show a big interest in them, but rather participate in them at family or community events, and the number of these events keep decreasing.

At home: Media tools as a musical space and grounds of change

The key experience of shared listening takes place at home through several media tools. As Hoskins has also observed, the media is a part of everyday life, affecting people's memories (2008). Representing one facet of this media connection, Turks living in Europe today have access to all the mainstream television channels broadcasting from Turkey, with the use of satellite dishes and newspapers from Turkey as well as local Turkish newspapers produced in the European cities in which they reside. TRT INT started broadcasting in 1990, and was followed by several private channels. Today, there are more than one hundred local and national television channels and radio stations from Turkey available via satellite. Among these, numerous

channels dedicated to music have been established to cater for differing audience tastes. Added to this, the internet is a relatively new medium that allows one to watch popular television programmes online or listen to audio streams from radio stations virtually whenever and wherever one wants. Favourite television series are uploaded onto the internet the minute the programme is broadcasted on television in Turkey. The internet is a tool that has had a drastic effect on the immigrant music scene.

According to Castells (2010), who has an interest in social movements, despite the influences of the information technology on society and their effect on the changing forms of cities, physical places will continue to be important in people's everyday lives. Home villages will always have significant meanings for people and will therefore never be replaced by a non-place. On the other hand, the role of place will nevertheless decrease because of the rise of information technology and globalisation. In this sense, the geographical place has lost its importance, especially for the third-generation in comparison to older generations. In relation to this explanation, I have observed that the availability of technology has facilitated the creation (or construction) of a homeland within the diaspora. I analyse this issue in detail in the next chapter, one of the most important outcomes of this research.

When the subject is the younger generation, the role of popular music among all others cannot be ignored. Book and album store owner Cemal emphasises that the people who buy albums are mostly interested in popular music:

> "People who buy Turkish or Kurdish albums are mostly interested in popular music. The media has a big impact on that. The songs that are used in TV shows or TV commercials get great success. But I can say that our audience is more from the eastern parts of Turkey and they like more touching, depressing music. We sell a lot of traditional folk music albums. Nostalgia songs, songs of longing."

DJ Leyla, who is deeply involved with music both emotionally and professionally, approaches the matter from a different angle, and complains about the homogenous nature of the music market in Berlin when it comes to

music from Turkey: "We only get the kind of music that would sell here, only popular stuff. Pop, *arabesk*, and rock … It is more difficult to find music from the alternative scene in Turkey." This could be linked to the broadcasts on television and radio stations to which young people have access, which mostly play popular music. Apart from the choice of music, the role of mass media is crucial in supporting national communication that assists in processes of belonging. Turks who live in Europe benefit directly from these mass media organs. They watch Turkish television channels, listen to Turkish radio stations, and read Turkish newspapers. Turkish mass media is well aware of its target audiences living throughout Europe so they establish strong networks and distribution channels to reach them.

In order to clarify my argument on the generational breaking in the 2000s, I'd like to point to the altering forms of music consumption. With the entrance of Turkish media in the 1990s with private television channels, and the internet the decade after, the diversity of music consumption habits increased. People started to go beyond the old music listening patterns. They started to develop an interest in different genres. This began to make the clichéd stereotypes even more irrelevant, and generalisations became more inaccurate. This period of the media's prolific entrance into people's daily lives helped to form smaller and more specific Turkish-speaking communities in terms of musical taste, just as has happened with the music consumers and producers in Turkey. People who united under big musical sets began forming smaller subsets. Unlike the first-generations, who had mostly enjoyed folk music from Turkey, the young generations are rather diverse in their choices of musical genre, from *arabesk* to rap to rock, and music in English in addition to German. This was an expected development, similar and parallel to the music scene in Turkey. There were relatively few alternatives in the 1960s and 1970s in the Turkish music market. With the pop music boom in the 1990s and media developments, such as the launch of private radio stations and music channels like Kral TV and Number One, and access to foreign music via European and American television channels, such as MTV, MCM, and VH1, people in Turkey were introduced to a

variety of music and developed different tastes. The Turkish music audience in Germany had a similar experience. After 30 years of limited access to music, from the 1990s they started having access to the same broadcasts their relatives had back in Turkey via satellite. This made a drastic difference in the diversity of music they could reach.

The transformation in musical tastes was not limited to the media's effect. My interviewee Fatih owns a café in Kreuzberg and he organises musical events there. He shows at every opportunity that he loves music and he is very knowledgeable about different genres:

> "… with the opening of discos, music listening habits changed drastically. That resulted in a big gap between generations, like between my daughter and me. Many parents were not pleased about it and they insisted on İbrahim Tatlıses … during the videocassette era, they came across the songs played in Turkish movies. Some became interested in Turkish art music, especially the second-generation. They established choirs, some still continue today … kids today, especially in Kreuzberg, encountered the music of different cultures and there are DJs who mix music of different cultures. They like the multi-cultural works. They proved that this musical diversity is rich and you can enjoy it … but, according to first-generation mentality, they see the third-generation as the 'lost generation'. Because they don't listen to their ancestors' music, they don't have their cultural values. They became separated and got lost in a foreign culture."

Fatih's comments show how the third-generation's interest in music started moving in a different direction from that of their families, sometimes leading to clashes with and disagree with the elder family members of their families. Actually, the disagreement here arises from the attitude of the elder generations, expecting their grandchildren to have a similar kind of admiration for the music they themselves value and enjoy. In a way, they perceive this as a kind of loyalty and when they observe their children to be lacking this loyalty, they perceive the third-generation as the "lost generation". However, the changes in musical taste and interests occur naturally: a similar development would have been observed had they stayed in Turkey. Therefore, I see this generation breaking point as a mutual experience. It is not only the young people opening a gap between themselves and the older generation of immigrants with their changing musical tastes, but families contribute to that gap with their expectancy

of continuity, which mostly results from the fear of becoming alienated from the familiar culture and traditions of their past.

Above, I used the example of the Turkish music market in Turkey in the 1990s to emphasise that the process experienced by immigrants in Germany was a natural matter of course. I do not argue that the change in music consumption in Turkey and Germany are exactly parallel, but they are similar. The Turkish-speaking society in Germany had its own dynamics and norms, as is to be anticipated. Music from Turkey is not just music for these people; it also acts as a means of keeping memories alive, a technology of remembering, a nostalgic agent, or an emotional shelter from time to time. In relation to this, one of my respondents, who went to Germany to study for her master's degree, told me:

> "I had two roommates; they were both German-Turks. We were the same age, and going to the same school studying law … But they were listening to pop music from the nineties like Of Aman Nalan, a style that has long disappeared in Turkey. I guess these songs have always been valuable for them in a way we don't understand … That's why they keep listening to the songs that are forgotten in Turkey."

We can see that for immigrants, new music and old music that is perceived as "old-fashioned" or "forgotten" go hand in hand. I consider this to be another result of music being used differently by migrants compared to people living in Turkey. These issues were often raised by my informants in interview and will be mentioned in the coming sections. Along with music old and new, it is possible to see diversity in the places where immigrants go for their musicking activities. The following section presents a sample of these places in Berlin, focusing on who prefers to go to these places, and why, and how their activities and audiences differ.

Alternative places of musicking: Weddings, SO36, Luzia, concerts

In the section places of music, I dealt with music schools and *türkü* bars in detail. Needless to say, places of music are not limited to these two sites. On the contrary, various venues and occasions bring people into contact with music. As is mentioned by many of my informants throughout this chapter, wedding parties

(*düğün*) play a significant role in the transmission of music, dances, and other traditions to younger generations. Weddings are events where people come together within their immigrant communities, receive news from their people, mingle, and connect to Turkey. According to my interviewee Barış, the families hosting the wedding want everything to be as similar as possible to the weddings in Turkey; they even go to Turkey for the wedding shopping:

> "Today, you can find everything in Berlin. In the past, people used to bring dried fruits (*kuruyemiş*) from Turkey when they had a *düğün*. Now you can find any kind of dried fruit from Turkey in the *kuruyemiş* shops in Kreuzberg."

Many *düğün*s take place in Germany, especially in the summer, and people travel between cities to attend them.

A *kuruyemiş* shop in Kreuzberg

SO36 is one of Berlin's most famous entertainment venues. It is very central in Kreuzberg's entertainment district, Kotbusser Tor, where the Turkish-speaking community largely resides or runs businesses. It is a very popular club with its various themed parties. When I was there some of their regular parties were Roller Skate Disko, Kreuzberg Live Band Karaoke, Dancing with Tears in

Your Eyes (an 80s party), and Gayhane. SO36 also makes its stage available for live concerts in various genres from internationally well-known groups such as Therapy? to Turkish bands like Athena, Duman, and Halil Sezai. This is an important venue for the population with ties to Turkey in Berlin since the Gayhane (*hane* means house in Turkish) party which takes place every last Saturday of the month hosts DJs who play Turkish and Arabic tunes from various genres such as *arabesk* and pop. SO36 also has become a meeting place for the Muslim gay communities. The managers and employees of SO36 are very sensitive about the people coming to their club to be respectful about gender issues. SO36 is thus a place where the culturally oppressed Muslim gay, lesbian, and transgender individuals can meet openly. Many young women from immigrant families are also regulars of the Gayhane parties. They say that their fathers allow them to go because it is safe. "We will be partying with gay men, no harm will come from them", they say. They can dance to Turkish melodies and have fun without "getting hit on". Another informant who regularly attends these parties told me that they go there to listen to popular and "cheesy" songs and dance to them without being judged:

> "I came to Berlin seven years ago from Ankara to study for my PhD. I love Gayhane parties because people can have fun here without caring about their gender, class, or appearance. I can't go to a club in Turkey and dance to *arabesk* İbrahim Tatlıses songs. It is considered vulgar to do that in the socio-economic class I belong to. I normally don't enjoy İbrahim Tatlıses music, but you have a lot of fun at these Gayhane parties and feel like dancing to these songs."

One of the regular Gayhane DJs said that a lot of tourists from Turkey come to these parties:

> "… normally you wouldn't expect someone from Turkey who came to Berlin as a tourist for a limited time to come here to listen to Turkish music in Berlin, right? But they do come, because here you are free from class, judgement, and every kind of oppression. It is usually their first time at a gay party, or a party where they can enjoy *arabesk* music."

The DJ's observation affords us a good way to compare attitudes towards certain kinds of music in Turkey and in Berlin. The issue of class and its

relationship with musical genres will be discussed later in this chapter supported by other interviewee extracts.

Luzia is one of the most popular bars in Kotbusser Tor. Artists, graduate students, and other visitors from Turkey have recently preferred to go to Luzia. It is a very international place that attracts a lot of Germans and tourists, too. The venue is usually full to capacity at weekends and usually plays music from European and American artists, chill out music, or down-tempo dance songs. Although these elite Turkish groups are well integrated with the rest of society in Berlin and they do not only go to places identified as "Turkish"; they gather at Luzia knowing that people like them from Turkey will be there. I have observed this as an alternative kind of Turkish grouping in the entertainment scene of Berlin, in which German-Turks and upper class socio-economical groups from Turkey tend to come together.

Concerts have, naturally, always been among the most important musical activities. Although the demand for concerts has decreased in recent years, the emotional function of these musical activities does not change a great deal. Concerts, just like weddings, are perceived as an opportunity to come together within the immigrant community. The drastic changes in the music market, the internet's role in music consumption, and easier and cheaper access to music have reconstructed the position of concerts in the music market worldwide. In times of financial difficulty, concerts are among the first things people give up. In comparison to buying an album, or even better, watching the video clips on YouTube for free, concerts are costly activities. However, going to a concert is about more than just music consumption for immigrants. My informants used expressions like "it is as if your distant home is coming to you." For some people, it feels like "disloyalty or shame" not to go to these concerts. Taylan and Leyla have a good knowledge of the live music scene in Germany. They spoke about the importance of concerts in the past and how it is changing:

> Taylan: "There were very big concerts in Germany. Sezen Aksu and MFÖ came to Cologne once and we all got in one big car and drove to the concert. I am not that interested today."

Leyla: "But today more musicians are coming for concerts. "

Pinar: "Are people more satisfied in that sense?"

L: "Everything is more accessible now. People do not want to pay 60 Euros and go to a concert. They would rather watch videos on YouTube."

T: "We were hungry before. Now a lot of bands come here. Since my sister is in the music business, she gets invitations to all the events. She invited me to at least 70 concerts and I barely made it to three. And I didn't even have to pay."

L: "Today a lot of musicians come here … Before, people thought that not many artists came from Turkey, so they had to see these concerts even if they didn't like the music that much. They thought it was something special to be a part of this kind of event and they got together with other people from Turkey."

Another informant who is a piano teacher at a Turkish music school told me an anecdote before commenting on immigrants' relationship with Turkish music:

"Once I was in a taxi with my friends. The driver was Turkish, which is very common in Berlin. My friend asked him which sports team he supported. He said 'Istanbulspor'. My friend was surprised because that team was not among the popular ones, it was playing in the second league. Then the driver explained, 'I mean all the teams from Istanbul: Fenerbahçe, Galatasaray, Beşiktaş.' Because the man missed the place. It is the same with music. Maybe they just like to hear a Turkish sound, to see a familiar dance move or a familiar face. They don't care what it is. They are not selective."

We can understand from these testimonies that concerts were a musical activity seen as almost sacred in earlier times, and that they are still very important but have lost some of their attractiveness in the age of the internet. Certainly, the places of music are not limited to those mentioned above. My interviewees frequently talked of other shared musical activities, like *halay* nights (though there were more in the past, they still exist), Turkish music parties, other celebration parties related to marriage such as engagements, or *kına* (gatherings for the bride where her female friends and family members sing and dance together), and circumcision feasts (*sünnet düğünü*). Yet I aimed to discuss here the most common activities, such as those in music schools, concerts, and *türkü* bars. In addition, I have demonstrated alternative venues and events mentioned by my informants. It is important to look into different kinds of music places since

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they help us identify alternative worlds of musicking. From the music schools and *türkü* bars, where you can find traditional music, to Gayhane parties at SO36 and Luzia, we see what continues, what is likely to discontinue, and what is new in habits of music consumption.

The music of choice for young German-Turks and hip-hop as an immigrant cultural expression

I have presented the growing of hip-hop culture among the Turkish-speaking community in the Historical and Musical Background chapter. I stated there that the hip-hop scene opened a new window for the young generation. Young German-Turks' discovery of hip-hop culture and rap music was a milestone in the social differentiation between generations, an issue I handle under the generational breaking points in later sections. Another intriguing fact is how hip-hop was used in more ways than just a trend young people enjoy. Soysal writes:

> "Hip-hop became the pedagogical tool of choice among social workers and government officials for channelling youth away from violence and into productive artistic endeavours. Almost all youth centres in Berlin attempted to include at least one hip-hop related activity in their itineraries. They regularly organised hip-hop shows, graffiti workshops, and disco nights with local and out-of-town rappers billed as main acts. Rappers and break dancers then took centre stage of the metropolis and attracted media attention as the new marvels of the ghetto." (2004, p.69)

The discovery of hip-hop culture occurred naturally in time, as a result of the needs and interests of the youth. Young immigrants started tuning into the society by listening and performing the musical genres their German peers were interested in. In that sense, when I claim that this process is natural, I take into account the language issue. Lyrics are the most direct way of communicating musically with the outside world. Therefore, comprehension of the lyrics is fundamental. One of my interviewees, Nedim, who works at a youth centre as a rap music teacher, told me about his relation with rap and Turkish music:

> "My father was concerned that the family was away from their homeland and would forget our culture. We are from Urfa. We listened to Urfa songs; we memorised them and sang them all together. This is how my interest in

music began … when I was in the seventh grade, I heard German hip-hop for the first time and I really liked it. I hadn't liked it before because the first songs I had heard were in English and I hadn't understood what they were saying. Then I started writing my own songs … although I liked German hip-hop, Turkish music has always been my first love. I joined Turkish music choirs where I played *darbuka* [a percussion instrument]. Then I discovered *arabesk*. So I can say that Turkish music is dominant in my life."

As we can see from Nedim's explanation, Turkish music takes an emotional priority for him. However, he chooses rap music as a genre that he thinks will develop:

"Look at the Turkish folk musicians of today. They sing the same songs today that Arif Sağ was singing 25 years ago. Why? Because it is very difficult to reflect what you live today in this music and produce new songs. So the music is not developing in that sense. Rap music, on the other hand, is developing now … Looking at the kids I work with today, I can say that Western music will dominate in the near future. The tendency is in that direction. And it is easier to be creative. Especially with rap … but you can't do that with Turkish folk music or *arabesk*."

The important point in these comments is not the evolutionary potential of a musical genre, but the genre Nedim chooses as a way to express himself. It is important because it is an indicator of what Nedim expects from music in his life. He wants and needs his music to move with him and with time so that he can use music as an agent to express himself. I suspect that if Nedim could write music in Turkish and express himself that way, he would not feel that Turkish music was not evolving. He chose rap music and German as his language of expression. The dominance of Turkish music in his life, the reason it is his first love, is his family. Turkish music is thus like home to him and German music is like the world outside his house.

The Turkish youth's reception of Turkish and other music differs in as much as they describe Turkish music as more emotionally moving. If we suggest that most emotions are learned, then what is it that makes music from Turkey seem more emotional? Wurm (2006) argues that "...a musical genre cannot be regarded as more emotional in an absolute way. Only the quality and intensity of the emotional implications differ according to the music, the situation, and the

listener." Young people from immigrant families grow up in an atmosphere where the contexts of German and Turkish are separated, as in Nedim's case. According to my interviewees, home and family life belong to a Turkish context and often connotations of emotional warmth. Pedagogue Zeynep describes how:

> "Turkish folk music means life to us. It tells the stories of our people. It has history in it. Music is an entertaining way to pass on our history, culture, religion, traditions, and lifestyle to our children. It also has emotion. When a lament is sung my son is moved by it, even though he doesn't understand it. And he asks me why this music upsets him so much."

Here we see how Zeynep and her family are emotionally bonded to music, the meanings they attribute to music from Turkey, and how her eight-year-old son is affected by it. The outside world, on the other hand, often has connotations predominantly with unfamiliarity, and belongs to a German context of which they are also part. Pelin is a 40-year-old jazz musician who moved to Berlin 10 years ago; she gave me some observations: "Turks don't go to places where Germans go. They like to create a space of their own … I have a jazz band here and I don't see many Turkish people coming to listen to us."

The ways that German-born Turks affiliate themselves with rap music has aspects that both support and destroy the clichés. Hip-hop is almost a combination of home and the outside world, or a third alternative, a backyard they have created for themselves. The perception, or expectation, that the immigrant families' children would resort to only traditional values from Turkey is destroyed when these children, like their white German peers, become interested in a Western musical genre. On the other hand, as in rap music's case, the way they use this music, mixing it with riffs from Turkish music and using it as a tool to get their voices heard, shows a continuing interest in Turkish music in their re-creation of it.

Turkish culture as ethnic emblem in a globalised age

In this study, as indicated earlier, I hypothesise that immigrants from Turkey use music as a tool for cultural remembrance, to prevent cultural memories from being forgotten, and to ensure their ongoing transmission to

future generations, that they might recognise "who they are" even while the "who-they-are" of the third and later generations of Turkish immigrants is (going to be) vastly different from the "who-they-are" of their first-generation ancestors. The so-called German-Turkish youths of today have a rapidly changing area of concerns. From online forums, blogs, and websites like KulturForum TürkeiDeutschland, and contemporary German-Turkish artistic events (such as the Beyond Belonging theatre and film festival in Istanbul and performances at Ballhaus Naunynstrasse in Berlin), it can be observed that one of the chief concerns often raised (as oppositional critique) by young people is national identity ascription affecting emancipatory identification and a troubling "Othering" of ethnic origination and affiliation since,

> "...due to the German media coverage of Islam, which [young Muslims] consider to be negative, they are sometimes confronted with arguments, descriptions or pictures of their religion [Islam and violence; Islam and domestic abuse; Islam and honour killings, etc.] that are strange, hurtful or discriminating." (Pies 2008, p.410).

Entering into such debates, Aziza-A is the first of the comparatively few female German-Turkish rappers on the scene. In 1997, her debut year, she was chosen amongst the one hundred most important people in the Berlin-based magazine *Zitty*, and, in a programme for BBC World TV, she was called the "New European". Her personal interpretation is that:

> "I attempt to erase the question 'are we Turkish or German', and announce that we are *multi-kulti* and cosmopolitan. I want to show that we are no more sitting between two chairs, we have got a 'third chair' between those two." (cited in Kaya 2002, p.57).

On the other hand, another well-known German-Turkish hip-hop group takes on the challenges of collective identity differently. Called Islamic Force, their chosen name deliberately attracts attention and provokes those who hold stereotypical perceptions of Islam. That is, in appropriating negative connotations, while exerting power relations of their own, they (play to) subvert such notions. Later on, after abandoning English and writing their lyrics in Turkish, and redirecting their marketing strategy to incorporate audiences based in Turkey, they found that:

"… to avoid the name Islamic Force [being] … misunderstood by the Turkish audience (as they were aware of how Cartel's discourse was misinterpreted in their homeland), they … changed their name to Kan-AK. The reason why they chose this name for their group is … because the word '*kanake*' is rather an offensive word used by right-wing Germans to identify 'blacks'. Just [as] the word 'nigger' was changed into 'nigga', and … appropriated by the Blacks in the USA … [so] they converted the negative connotation of the word '*kanake*' into '*kan-ak*', which in Turkish refers to 'running blood' (*akan kan*). For Islamic Force, the [word] transformation … was … instructive in the sense that they felt themselves to be the 'white niggers' [of] … German society." (Mert 2003, p.177)

As demonstrated in the output and personal stances of artists like Aziza-A and Kan-AK, the third-generation of Turks who left the aforementioned Turkish cultural enclaves and adapted to life in Germany, or those who produced a new symbiosis of German life suffused with a large seasoning of Turkish culture, seem to maintain their relations with their Turkish communities at a basic level. As Erdem, a 31-year-old Turkish artist living in Berlin, recounts:

"After primary school, I knew that I would be different from my parents and my elder sisters. I didn't like the music they listened to or the TV programmes they followed. The stuff my German friends were involved with, their lifestyle was a lot more exciting and interesting to me. My relationship with the Turkish community is that I go to see my family several times a year and have very few friends from my childhood that I hang out with sometimes. I watch football games when Turkey is playing. I believe that having studied graphic design, something artistic, also helped me become a universal person. I feel more Berliner when I am here and more Istanbulite when I go there from time to time to work rather than being only Turkish or German."

The same interviewee also points out that looks and language skills are also important in "...not being perceived as a typical Turkish immigrant". He says that his blonde hair and blue eyes (traits more associated with Europeans than Turks) are features that distinguish him from the common image of a person from Turkey. Moreover, an accent indistinguishable from indigenous speakers marks him from his heavily accented Turkish-German compatriots. As a rather recent immigrant, a piano teacher, reiterates:

"I came to Germany from Istanbul to study for my master's degree and before that I had been in Turkey all my life. I took a German course

here, most of my friends and my fiancée is German and as a result, although I have a foreign accent, it doesn't sound like most of the people from Turkey who have been here for many years. Most people think I am Italian or Spanish."

This informant's comment stresses how groups of immigrants can be diverse and the established and "visible" idea of an immigrant from Turkey has in fact long been rendered obsolete with the new generation of German-Turks and the new generation of immigrants arriving in Germany. People are not contented with the commonly accepted idea of "Turkish"; they want it to change. Among the places to look for this change are the Turkish neighbourhoods, as I continue with population movements and the role of musical activities in the Turkish neighbourhoods of Berlin.

The mixing and moving village

One of the issues that assists the processes of transformation in third-generation Turks taking the "third-way" identity mentioned above is population movement in Berlin, Germany and, indeed, across Europe, aided by European Union mobility laws.[7] These have come to the fore in the changing historical dynamic of a once divided city. When, in the 1960s and 1970s, Turkish workers began moving into the Kreuzberg area, the Berlin suburb with one of the highest immigrant population concentrations in the city (Sleutjes 2008, p.75), they found themselves in the eastern part of the city pressed against *Die Mauer* (the Berlin Wall). Cheap accommodation and the fact that the area was not favoured by middle or upper-class Berliners gave immigrants the chance to create a home away from home. Moreover, Kreuzberg became the residence for sub-cultural groups, embracing the excluded Berliners. This diversity of "others" in Kreuzberg has had an impact on differing generations of immigrants. For the first wave of Turkish immigrants, mostly heralding from the small towns of Anatolia, sub-cultural groups such as youths involved in punk and hip-hop movements were an almost impossible thought. Subsequent generations have been somewhat more

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[7] As yet, Turkey is not a member of the European Union, though its membership is under discussion subject to Council approval and adherence to EU requirements, of which mobility of people is actually causing an impasse. However, as German-born citizens, third-generation diaspora members enjoy the rights of any other EU resident, as do first and second-generation naturalized Turks.

adaptable (the clash of cultures mentioned earlier aside) engaging with a range of newer cultural products, like rap music and graffiti, for instance, and hip-hop culture in Kreuzberg. With the fall of the Wall, Turkish neighbourhoods in Kreuzberg, once isolated and secluded under the "wall of shame", were suddenly placed geographically at the heart of the new unified Berlin. Today, the area (with its central position) is one of the most popular and attractive parts of Berlin for both tourists and homeowners, "...a marquee district … [which] has retained its alternative flair … [through] the coexistence of a varied palette of cultures". (VisitBerlin.de 2010). Nonetheless, despite a take up of accommodation in some parts of Kreuzberg by more affluent people, with its vast Turkish population the borough still features the sign *Kreuzberg Merkezi* (Kreuzberg Centre) at its entrance and the same text in German on the other side.

The Turkish sign at the entrance of Kreuzberg

Behlül, a native Istanbulite, came to Berlin seven years ago to study for his master's degree in engineering:

"I can say that I spend most of my time in Kreuzberg. I don't live here …
Most of my friends who live in this neighbourhood don't leave Kreuzberg
… it is very limiting in a way, like living in a shell. It is one's own choice,
but you can't break the shell after a certain point."

The German sign at the other side of the entrance

When I ask what is so tempting about living or spending time in Kreuzberg or other neighbourhoods that are highly populated with immigrants of Turkish origin, "food" is among the first answers, not surprisingly. Apparently, sports is another factor that connects people from Turkey, according to Behlül: "We meet here to see the football games from Turkey … We cheer together … it is a meeting point for us." A German informant adds to this: "Turkish games in Berlin are often crazier than the German games. This is one of the things where they can show national pride."

A grocery store with the Turkish name 'Bereket'

Umay has been a resident of Berlin since the early 1980s and lived in different neighbourhoods during this time:

"Kreuzberg has become very touristic in the last decade … I hear and see that the number of German students, artists, and intellectuals living in this

neighbourhood has increased drastically. The rents have risen and I think it has resulted in a kind of gentrification because the families of lower socio-economic status had to move to Neukölln. When I was living in Neukölln, few German people preferred to live there. Now a lot of students live there so there is a new movement in Neukölln now, new bars are opening, there is a livelier nightlife scene."

Similarly, Neukölln, a Berlin suburb lying to the south of Kreuzberg, and also containing a large Turkish population, has been experiencing movement and change in its populace. More recently, large numbers of students and young families have begun choosing to live there, attracted by affordable housing and an active city life founded on restaurants, cafes, cinemas, music clubs, shops, and a public library. Not that Neukölln is without problems. Plagued by high crime rates and reports on gun-related incidents that trigger ongoing debates about violence perpetrated by the youth from immigrant families, as reported in *Spiegel Online* on 16 January 2008. Neukölln citizens have voiced concerns over the social issues facing the area: in 2006, a group of teachers from Rütli Hauptschule wrote a letter to the senate administration, decrying the school as a "...symbol of the disastrous conditions within the German education system." (Degener 2010). Pedagogue Fehmi lives and works in Neukölln and says:

"I work in a school as a social worker. Ninety-four per cent of the students belong to immigrant families. Forty per cent of these are from Turkey … Turkish kids don't have a language problem any more. Their German is good; their Turkish is not. The problem is that the families are not that concerned about their children … they mostly live on social welfare, they don't work. They have a lot of children. It is impossible to raise a child with 200-300 Euros of welfare … these kids are more prone to violence…"

However, this reading of Neukölln, which re-emphasises cultural conflict as the root of the area's problems without acknowledging the role played by socio-economic impoverishment, is assuaged by positive cultural and environmental projects, such as Neukölln's selection by the European Commission for its Intercultural Cities Programme in 2008. As part of this programme, the Young Active Citizens from Berlin-Neukölln: Designing the Intercultural City project was funded by the Council of Europe and the European Commission, using the motto of "Be Neukölln, Be Different" to give motivation and pride in celebrating "difference." As the director of a youth organisation in Neukölln observed,

"...it is essential to bundle the resources of young people, their energy and creativity, and to encourage them in more participation, activity and a realistic self-esteem by developing strengths and overcoming weaknesses." (Neukölln Carnival Report 2009)

During the Berlin Carnival of Culture in 2009, 900 artists performed in Kreuzberg. The event was deliberately:

"...open to everybody and all forms of cultural expression. It [was] regarded as a platform for a proud expression of hybrid cultural identities, containing traditional and contemporary elements. It include[d] and attract[ed] all age groups, professional artists and amateurs, people from all walks of life." (Neukölln Carnival Report 2009)

This included a music recital of 65 young people from Neukölln Music School working collaboratively with other schools and youth from "educationally deprived families." Thirty per cent of the concert members originated from Turkish families, while "Turkish dance", as part of the music and dance section of the show, involved eight Turkish youngsters and 14 from other ethnic minority groups.

In addition to the above initiative, one of the most important institutions to play a role in the musical life of Neukölln is the Paul Hindemith music school, founded in 1927 and now home to more than 200 teachers and over 4,000 students. In particular, their "Music–Language–Movement" project allows every child of Neukölln between the ages of 3 and 7 to receive a musical education. As noted in the report on the Neukölln Intercultural Cities (2009) project and the carnival performance:

"...a 'special' task of the music school is to find solutions to the problem of reaching non-academic population classes. This task can only be fulfilled with the help of and in cooperation with other educational and cultural institutions and politicians using culture and music as a tool for intercultural and social integration."

Inter-culturation and integrative measures pertaining to third-generation immigrants are thus pertinently intertwined with musical (and other artistic forms of) activity, at least within the sphere of education as a route in connecting personal identity to a collective identity, though this does not include cross-

cultural influences (i.e. rap and hip-hop) as it is a mostly extra-mural and extra-cultural activity.

Media and remembering

In order to understand my field better and as a part of my data gathering process, I systematically followed newspapers, news websites, and online journals for features about the immigrants in Germany since 2009. The relationship between immigrants and the media is essential to observe for many different reasons, including music consumption. Most importantly, the media is a significant part of the daily culture and its use by immigrants carries the clues to several cultural and identity issues which in turn affect the consumption of music and remembering. In this context, other than looking into the way in which media connects people with music, which is a significant feature of my work, I have also focused on the representation of immigrants in the press and its influence on remembering. Schmidt suggests that remembering is systematised by invented occasions such as commemoration days, monuments, special places, or museums (2008, p.196). Moving on from my observation of the media in this case, I came to perceive that the media has a similar influence on remembering which emerges from these invented occasions. Newspapers, magazines, and television programmes systematically remind communities what to praise, condemn, celebrate, or mourn in a comparable manner to monuments, commemoration days, or museums. People's relationship with music is also subject to the impact of these reminders. For instance, TRT International, a television and radio channel targeted to the Turkish immigrants in Europe, often broadcast folk music from Anatolia and documentaries about that region in the 90s, while other popular music channels in Turkey did not have such content.

The Turkish-speaking community in Germany has always been a popular topic both in Turkish and German media, particularly after Turkey began the negotiation process with the European Union, which has been taking place since 1999 with Turkey's acceptance as a nominee for membership. Attention has been drawn to Turkish people living in Europe, who are seen more than ever

before as representatives of Turkey, as the image of Turkey. The critical point here is that the mainstream media has acted as a provider (or a repeater) of established understandings, rather than being a source of fresh information. By way of example, in recent years several incidents have been reported in both German and Turkish media, like the many news pieces on the murderous neo-Nazi terror cell in Zwickau which killed 10 people, of whom eight were of Turkish origin, several studies on the integration of Muslim youth, the honour killings of Turks, and pieces on Thilo Sarrazin's book, in which he accuses Muslims of being incapable of integrating into German society and of lowering society's IQ level. One of the most important things to notice is the remarkable range in the tone of language in different news sources reporting the same story. If we were to see the media of two countries as different sides then it is expected that they would choose to tell the story differently. However, the content here is not only different because of political attitudes. Different media sources are reflections of the culture of a society and they can act as a conserver of traditions. These traditions are extremely valuable to migrant communities, and their remembering is affected by the media's presentation. Ogan, in her study of Turkish immigrant workers in Holland, argues that the media works by reinforcing the values of a culture, and therefore the media of a foreign place can feel "discomforting and alien", thus leading people to seek the media of their own country, which maintains familiar values (2001, p.72).

In the case of the present study, the differences in the media were worth examining since they provided valuable details about immigrants' perception of themselves and how others perceive them. Schmidt (2008) argues that media systems rely on former descriptions of reality rather than initiate a fresh reality, and rewrite these former descriptions to present them as new ones (p.198). According to this description of media, its role as a medium for remembering originates from its subtle but repetitive form of delivering news.

Contrary to the news themed around how Turks cannot achieve integration mentioned above, it is possible to see pieces in Turkish media about how successful Turks have become in Germany over the years. During my

research, the latest such piece was published in the edition of *Hürriyet* of 31 July 2011, in celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the migration agreement:

> "Fifty Successful Turks in Germany
>
> … Millions of men and women followed the first Turkish guest-workers in going to the "bitter land" (*acı vatan*) in 1961 … The first-generation, who were called "Alamancı" had the greatest difficulties … But their children and grandchildren have a saying in all fields in Germany today. The third-generation defines themselves as a mixture of the two countries and cultures. There are world famous movie directors, authors, actors, athletes, scholars, and politicians among them …"

The impression of Turks in Germany given by this piece is that after the first and second-generations of immigrants, the third-generation has assimilated well and integrated with German society and culture, while also being nourished by the Turkish culture, in a well-balanced and peaceful manner. However, what I have observed is predominantly a clash of cultures and traditions rather than a peaceful mix, thus far at least. The scene presented in this piece is more an ideal than a reality.

The immigrant communities differ in their habits of media consumption, as they do in other things. Many people tend to follow either the German or Turkish media, exclusively, though the number of people following both is considerable. An important question here is how the accessibility of Turkish-language media affects the perception of the Turkish-speaking community's sense of place. The established (or the clichéd) belief is that following the Turkish media, watching and/or reading the news, watching television programmes, and more, creates a negative impact on people's integration into German culture. In their research with the Turkish-speaking community in London, Aksoy and Robins look into media consumption and claim that there is a tendency to readily accept that transnational broadcasting, "...support[s] the long-distance cohesion of transnational 'imagined communities'":

> "Because it has been principally concerned with acts of bonding and belonging, the diasporic agenda has generally been blind to what else might be happening when migrants are, apparently, connecting to the 'homeland' culture. The limits of diasporic media studies come from the readiness to believe and accept that migrant audiences are all behaving

as the conventional and conforming members of 'diasporic communities'." (2002, p.7).

In the case of the present study, I suggest that the consumption of transnational media cannot in itself be a reason for disintegration, but can only support the latter if such a separation of worlds already exists. This is a significant point since the issues surrounding integration/disintegration are argued to affect the music consumption habits too. As I have discussed before, also presented in my Historical Background chapter, music serves as a shelter; people's relationship with the media has provided a similar bridge between people and between both countries. On the other hand, using music or other cultural forms from Turkey as a shelter is not necessarily a barrier to integration into life in Germany, but rather a personal technology of self-care and a natural effort that nurtures people's multicultural identities.

Accounts of music and life in Berlin

During my time in Berlin, I met many people, chatted with them at random, and interviewed some. I always aimed to leave an open window for my informants to tell me anything they wanted. That way, I let them lead me to the stories of what happens in their lives and how they feel about it. I have mentioned Atkinson and Hammersley's comments about this method in my previous chapter: the interaction between the respondent and the researcher during the interviews is a social one, and a flexible attitude in a researcher helps the flow of the conversation as it would in any other kind of interaction. Such an attitude also gives the respondents the feeling that their opinion on the issues at hand is important and appreciated; they thus became more candid with me and sometimes showed their vulnerable side.

Many different issues emerged in my interviews. In this section I list the most prominent ones that help us understand the immigrants' stories more profoundly, such as the way in which music plays a role in the integration of immigrants, how the perplexity of the integration issue causes fear, and music's threefold relation with fear and integration. Secondly, I present snippets of interviews about another issue that I consider to be distinguishing for my

research: how the musical social codes are transforming with the young generation of German-Turks, an issue caused by both spatial and temporal distance from the music of the homeland and the ancestors.

Music, integration, and fear

Integration is today, and has been for some time, the most important debate in Germany concerning the German-Turk immigrants. It is almost impossible to omit this issue when talking about anything related to immigrants. Another issue that emerged often in the interviews was fear. During my fieldwork I observed arguments in which fear and integration were woven into each other, which we can see in my interviews. I therefore introduce them together here.

In most of my interviews, I observed the tendency to apportion responsibility for the integration problem to both sides. A musician working in a *türkü* bar told me:

> "About the integration issue: they are Turkish at home and German at school. That's why they are in a dilemma. They say that they were born in Germany, but they are Turks so they can never be German, even if they have German passports. I think that passing on our own culture, our music to children is important but, on the other hand, we shouldn't be keeping them away from the culture here and sometimes we do."

> But he went on to add: "The final word on integration will always be determined by the Germans, so I don't think we will ever manage to satisfy them with our integration."

When I asked the music teachers if they observe any different characteristics between families and/or children who choose to play the *bağlama* or a Western instrument like guitar or piano, İbrahim told me:

> "Integration begins in the home. The Turks here, they don't speak German in the home. They listen to Turkish folk music or Turkish art music and the kids grow up hearing these songs. They are not raised with German culture … Their friends at school play Western instruments, so when they want to play these instruments or listen to these songs, they don't get the attention they are looking for from their families since these musics don't mean anything to them. So the kid feels that their family don't appreciate what they are doing. I guess that is why they feel closer to *bağlama*."

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In both interviews the duality of space, Turkish private space and German public space, is stressed. İbrahim also spoke about how some families are concerned about their children becoming friends with children from foreign cultures:

> "The families have a tendency to ask their children to choose decent friends who are one of us. Children mostly become friends with other Turkish children. Integration can't happen like that. Turkish people go to *halay* nights while Germans go to discos. These groupings have an impact on people's music choice."

If one reason for people to attend *halay* nights is that they enjoy it, another is the fear of not belonging in the discos. This fear is also highly related to the integration issue. We do not have to see it from the context of integration in terms of the governments' regulations, since that is rather problematic, but from the angle of people's coping skills. Fear is an issue that I have encountered in nearly all my interviews when immigrants who are at a higher socio-economical level spoke about the immigrants they see at a lower level than themselves. They argue (and sometimes blame) Turkish immigrants for having still being fearful about taking action. They say that people are afraid of trying new things, going beyond the Turkish sphere, socialising with Germans. Even those who have German citizenship do not feel like they are a part of this country, and this creates a struggle. According to my interviewees, this fear prevents young people from listening to different musical genres as well. They see Turkish music as a shelter they can run to and which helps them fulfil their need of belonging. When I asked the pedagogue Zeynep what she thought about the musical activities in her husband's music school, she spoke about how immigrants' musical choices can be related to fear:

> "The immigrants here lived with fear and that made them hold on to the nostalgic feeling for Turkey … Part of this is their relationship with music … Most of the musical styles from the past are lost today in Turkey, whereas you can still hear them here in Berlin. The Turkish musical culture is more authentic here compared to Turkey…"

When I mention this comment to one of my younger interviewees, he gets slightly annoyed:

"Yes, it may be more authentic, but so what? How does it contribute to our identity or society? … The more you are excluded here, the more people hold onto the things like *bağlama* courses etc. This is action and reaction … I think this is a step back in terms of development."

İbrahim also talked about development:

"Turks in Turkey are much more developed compared to Turks here. The families who came here in the sixties and seventies stayed where they were, while people in Turkey kept moving forward. I am not sure if it is for the good or bad, but they moved on somehow. The people here closed themselves to the world to preserve their culture. That's why cultural details that had already been forgotten in Turkey are known by a lot of people here … Erzincan has 50-60 folkloric dances. If you ask young people in Erzincan if they know them, they might remember 20. Here, they would know all 50-60. Because they cling more to the traditions and this is how they raise their children."

Here we observe a polarisation within the immigrants, with one group determining the fear factor of the others and blaming them in a way for not integrating. A similar kind of differentiation is witnessed between generations too. My 32-year-old respondent Serdar spoke in a regretful tone telling me about how German-Turkish youth were held back by their families:

"Our parents didn't want us to go out at night, the girls in particular were not allowed. We didn't have German friends at school because we were usually accepted to schools with a high number of immigrant students. Even if we had the chance to go out once in a while we went to Turkish discos with other Turkish friends or relatives. So we didn't socialise with our German peers … even if we wanted to go to nightclubs where the German youth hung out, we were mostly refused."

Murat, who is a 24-year-old master's student born and raised in Germany, complained about the same refusal:

"I was going to my friend's birthday party in a nightclub. We were a mixed group waiting at the door of the club to enter. When it was my turn to go in, the bodyguard looked at me and asked for my ID, which didn't happen to any of my friends in the group. I especially showed him my university ID, which shows that I am a master's student at the faculty of engineering at a German university with a good reputation. And I have a fluent accent because I was born here. Then he let me in. It is not nice when this only happens to you."

Even if a young member of the immigrant community has grown up in Germany, owns a German passport, speaks the language perfectly, and is well

educated, he still has reasons to think twice about approaching German public places. This is an indicator of the fact that integration can be achieved only when there are reforms in ideas on both sides.

In this section, I explored how the issues of integration and fear are positioned in the lives of people with a history of immigration and how music relates to both issues by presenting testimonies from my interviews. The fear factor comes from the very beginning of the immigration process, which was illustrated in earlier chapters, and the discussions on integration, not surprisingly, show different opinions, but, more importantly, they show the differentiation between people in terms of their social existence. The class issue is clearly observed from the perspective that culture is used as capital. In the next section, I go on to present more themes emerging from my interviews. A bridging point between all these themes is the major ideal separations within this community of people with a migration background that proves once again that treating this community (or communities) as a one monolithic unit is a mistake.

Musical social codes and their transformation

Through my interviews, I have observed that the German-Turks who belong to a higher socio-economic class perceive listening to Western (especially classical) music as a sign of being developed and belonging to a high culture. I frequently encountered the statement "...they are not refined, so they still listen to Turkish music." (or vice versa). Here we see the continuation of the ideas planted in the modernisation era of the Turkish Republic as I've discussed in the earlier chapters. The founders of the Republic took extreme measures (such as banning Ottoman music and forcing people to listen to Western art music) idealising the West with a Euro-centric vision. We can observe the reflections of these policies on people in Turkey too, especially in the elite class. In this section, I will elaborate on this issue, treating the musicking habits in such a way that presents them as social codes, in the light of my informants' demonstrations. I will then look at my findings for the transformations of these social codes.

Arabesk is a genre more discussed for its social position in Turkey rather than its musical aesthetics and it is possible to see a similar discussion in Berlin too. In the earlier chapters, I described *arabesk* music's rise in Turkey and what made it such a polemical genre. In brief, this music was adopted from Turkey's neighbour Syria during the period in which the Turkish music scene was trying to westernise and in response or reaction to the government's modernisation policies. From that moment, *arabesk* music has always been in conflict with the modernists. Stokes argues that "From a variety of critical perspectives, *arabesk* has attracted widespread condemnation." (1992, p.91).

This issue can be explored further by looking at the discussions of the relationship between aesthetic genres and social class.

> "Cultural genres create boundaries between racial, gender, age, national, sexual orientation, and other groups … groups adopt an *aesthetic identity*, the appropriation of a cultural boundary to solidify a group boundary. They adopt an aesthetic standard to define an invidious distinction that marks *us* vs. *them.*" (Roy 2002, p.461).

Roy's work discusses the academic elites and political activists' use of folk music as a constructed genre to separate the "others" from the gentrified, and how the recording industry perpetuated that definition and created the labels "race records" and hillbilly music" in the USA. He writes:

> "… aesthetic identity does not mean that every member of a group embraces the aesthetic standards attributed to the group … But people recognise that they are members of groups that are associated with particular genres." (p.461).

Similarly, *arabesk* and other genres that have been influenced by it have been an element of social identity and its perception within the immigrant population in Berlin as well as in Turkey. I elaborate upon this issue in my Reflections chapter under the section discussing musical genres and social codes, but in this section, we shall note briefly that in some of my informants' discourses we see the favouring of *arabesk* as a lower-class attribute, and the glorification of listening to Western music. This is not a simple genre preference or diversity in music listening habits. It carries deeper meanings for we see that most of those who adore Western classical music are not members of the guest-

worker programme, but either political refugees or people moving to Germany for other reasons.

As mentioned in previous chapters, there are many in Germany who left, or were forced to leave, Turkey during the climate of political upheaval surrounding the 1980 coup. Here I present two such cases who locate themselves in the higher, educated socio-economic class. I will also investigate the phenomena of being an immigrant from Turkey in Berlin from their points of views. The first is Fatih, a café owner in the Kotbusser Tor area of Kreuzberg, as previously mentioned. I introduced myself to him and told him about my project, asking him about the impact of being in Berlin on all these issues related to the immigrants and music. He was very comfortable being interviewed, unlike many of my informants. He preferred to give rather long answers:

> "I arrived here in 1982. I was mostly listening to Turkish protest music then, and I found myself in a similar musical environment here, with people listening to Zülfü Livaneli. In some communities people listened to İbrahim Tatlıses, supposedly Turkish folk music. They called it 'tearful music'. You listen to it and feel relieved … the music of the groups that emerged from the guest-workers and the groups who had to leave Turkey for political reasons were separated from each other. The guest-worker families' children were interested in rap music, with which they were able to express themselves."

Fatih's reference to "tearful music" has a patronising air. From his tone, it is possible to assume that he sees guest-workers as a separate group of Turks from himself and people like him. Later in the interview, we also see that he puts himself and his social group in a different musical category:

> "My generation moved on from protest music to Western classical music … Classical music was much easier to access here. The number of people like me, who engaged with classical music raised … we resisted people's listening to those tearful, emotional songs because we realised that it was depressing the people who had to immigrate here. We were saying that these kinds of music were taking the kids down … we were not against rap but lots of it was meaningless. It was a so-called reaction, but it was insulting German people, British people, Dutch people. We tried to give it decent content."

As mentioned earlier, Fatih sees developing an appreciation for western classical music as development, as "moving on" or going forward, while the other

music he refers to as "tearful, emotional songs" is a step backwards for him. Yet he feels responsible for "correcting" the course of events.

My second informant, Bilal, arrived in Germany in 1979 as a political refugee. He has a music school in Berlin and is a well-known *bağlama* player. He organises concerts with highly respected Turkish folk musicians like Arif Sağ, Zülfü Livaneli, and Musa Eroğlu. I visited him at his music school, where piano, violin, and singing lessons are offered by German teachers in addition to *bağlama* lessons. Bilal was understandably proud of being the first musician from Turkey to perform his compositions with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra: "I showed our beautiful music to the Western listeners by synthesising it with Western musical harmony." He emphasised the importance of a Western music education in addition to learning the different forms of music from Turkey, and thus offers several alternative paths of music education. His students aim to be educated as musicians who can compete with their German peers in terms of their musical knowledge, and to be successful in the German conservatory entrance exams.

If we turn to Fatih again, he is also a social worker for organisations that aim to improve the immigrants' conditions. He works as a negotiator between the immigrant communities and the German government to provide the necessary conditions for integration for both parties. He sees the issue as very problematic on many levels. He thinks that the immigrants recreated their old villages in Turkey in their German neighbourhood. He goes on to complain about immigrants carrying on the typical patriarchal gender roles:

> "… there is a huge diversity in this city, with people from 130 different cultures. And they just continue to live with the same values they brought with them from Turkey in the sixties. They don't care if it fits into the society they live in now or not. Actually, it is a bit schizophrenic in a way. A very macho man trying to express himself differently when he sees a European woman … when girls from Turkey behave a little freely, they are stigmatised as sluts. So they find girls to marry from their villages back in Turkey. These women come to Germany and they become miserable … There is a lot of oppression from the grandfathers. They threaten not to pass on their wealth if the boys don't obey their rules."

Fatih thinks that cultural interaction should be much easier via music, but he also mentions the issue of fear, which he sees as a huge obstacle to development: "Our immigrants are more closed. Sometimes we open up a little, but then we go back to our un-progressive, conservative values and music because of the fear of getting lost, losing something, and disappearing." In spite of all his disappointment about the immigrants' conditions, he is hopeful that things will change for the better in the future:

> "I don't think this will continue. This is a transition period. People will see that diversity and differences are better for them, they will experience that. And by that time the oppressing fathers and grandfathers will have left that world. I believe people will try to exist as they are and they will come to this point … I am not talking about integration or assimilation. People will learn how to exist here with their own values respecting other people's spaces at the same time … the more people socialise with people from other cultures, the more knowledge they will have. It is also a matter of being aware of yourself to stand up to German structuring."

Fatih's perception of this time as a transition period supports my observation of this era as a time of generational breaking points. In addition to this, he stresses that this transition is not a result of either integration or assimilation, which also parallels my identification of this process as occurring naturally. I will discuss these issues further in my next chapter.

In a similar attitude to that shown by Fatih and Bilal towards *arabesk* music, some of the music teachers I interviewed reacted strongly when I asked about the *RnBesk* music phenomenon: "This is not art. These people call them musicians, but they are just using computer programmes to add some rhythms to old *arabesk* songs and then they rap to it." said a 40-year-old Turkish piano teacher. She was critical of the music education in most Turkish music schools and youth centres. According to her the children attending these places do not receive a music education that will later lead them to be professional musicians or towards a music studentship at university. However, as reported by the pedagogues who use hip-hop as a part of youth therapy, the important point here is to channel their anger into something productive and to keep them away from violence. The new genre of *RnBesk* music is the most popular among the

teenagers of today. Murat, who is the former music producer of the aforementioned hip-hop group Cartel, is today assigned by the German government to work as a hip-hop teacher and social pedagogue at Kreuzberger Musikalische Zentrum youth centre in Berlin, attended mostly by children with an immigrant background:

> "We help them compose the music, then they write the lyrics themselves. We encourage them to express their feelings. We don't interfere during their writing process, but there are certain rules: No swearing, no racism, no sexism."

Here we see the conflict between different educational traditions, mostly emerging from the choice of different music genres. The point that caught my attention here is that these musical genres are believed to serve certain social purposes, they are not just an art form or hobby. This use of music is something that I observed in Germany but not in Turkey.

From the same point of view, the existence of *arabesk* music and some other activities identified as "modern" or "Western" together was perceived as conflicting by some of my informants. Pelin moved to Berlin from Turkey fifteen years ago. She is a jazz musician who continued her career in Berlin. She became a professional in Istanbul; she occasionally gives concerts in Istanbul, but more often in Berlin, so she knows both cities' music scenes very well. She told me about a friend she met in Berlin whose parents migrated from Turkey: "She is a *reiki* trainer, she is very cool. She organises *ausstellungs* (expositions) and things like that, they do workshops. But when she goes home, she listens to İbrahim Tatlıses! Can you believe it?" Pelin was rather astonished that a well-educated, "developed" person interested in activities like yoga and *reiki*, which are perceived as high-brow in Turkey, would listen to *arabesk* music, which, for Pelin, clashes with her position as a modern person in social life. This shows how different cultural components represent certain meanings, as Roy explains: "...all popular culture is embedded with racial codes, associating genres and racial groups." (2002, p.467). In the present context, *arabesk* music is mostly associated with the lower socio-economic classes, placing it in the "low-brow" category. However, *arabesk* is responded to with a very different level of emotion

by some people in Germany and can said to be used as a weapon against elitism, for the most part unconsciously. This latter point is reflected in Turkey too: *Arabesk* stars, like Müslüm Gürses and Orhan Gencebay, have appeared in projects that are produced, marketed, and consumed by "high-brow" organisations. Müslüm Gürses recorded an album (*Aşk Tesadüfleri Sever*) in which he sang re-arrangements of popular songs from artists like Björk, Garbage, Leonard Cohen, and David Bowie with Turkish lyrics. The album was aimed at a completely different audience from Gürses' devoted fan base. Similarly, there is much opposition to the attitude that despises *arabesk* music and other related genres, especially in the younger generations. Here I turn once again to the siblings Leyla and Taylan and present their dialogue on this issue:

> L: "Yes, some people listen only to Turkish music. Well, why not? If that's what you like then it is ok. You don't have to start enjoying European music all of a sudden just because you live here … I listen to jazz and classical too, but music with an oriental background is more touching to me. I have more fun when we dance *halay*. We have a *halay* culture here that doesn't exist in Turkey. Here, people know how to dance *çepki*, *bagiye*, *şemmame*, *düz halay*, *delilo* because the people here want to learn them, value them. But in the big cities of Turkey, *halay* is perceived as a country-dance and it is despised. I am a DJ and I see that when I play a *halay* or a Kurdish song in a high class club in Istanbul, people don't dance."

> T: "In Turkey, you usually know only the folklore of your region … But here there are people from all over Turkey and we know the folklore of Izmir, Diyarbakır, Gaziantep, and anywhere our friends come from. There are 70 different *halay*s."

> L: "This is how it is in Berlin: you can be a rocker today, you can be a jazz fan tomorrow, you can go to an *arabesk* concert some other day, you can listen to *türkü* or classical or techno. It doesn't say anything about your identity. It is just that you like many musical genres … the music coming from Turkey is not classified here, I mean it doesn't say anything about your character if you listen to this or that … people come to parties to fulfil their longing for Turkey."

Berk also agrees with most of Taylan and Leyla's comments; his testimony supports them:

> "Music is not something you think about, it hits your emotions. But when we are in Turkey we can be pickier because of socio-economic labels … many Turkish people here learn the songs and dances of Kurdish traditions, and

sing and dance them. It is not like that in Turkey. It is almost impossible for many reasons, but mostly for political reasons. There are more transmissions across cultures here because there are less barriers."

While *arabesk* is considered the lower-class or poor people's music by the elite in Turkey (Stokes 1992), we observe a different consumption of the same genre among German-Turks. It is a fact that many people from middle and high socio-economic classes in Turkey listen to *arabesk* music behind closed doors and deny it because this music is not socially "approved." However, for the Turks in Berlin this kind of a labelling is not valid. In a way, therefore, they are more liberated in their music-listening experience. A similar kind of liberation affords access to different cultures' musics. From Taylan, Leyla, and Berk's comments it is possible to see hints of transformation in the musical-social codes, and this evolution is not just limited to music. This transformation is a part of the bigger transition period in which a guest community in a host land with values borrowed from both sides becomes established as part of German society and forms fresh values for younger generations.

To conclude

In this chapter, I presented the outcomes of my fieldwork, comparing my findings with findings from the literature. In addition to my observations in the field, the interviews were my main source of original information and I tried to allow space for my interviewees to voice their most significant thoughts. In the light of these data, I presented the important themes for this thesis, focusing on the musical spaces of the immigrant community in Berlin, hip-hop culture as a means of expression, changing Turkish neighbourhoods, and how music is involved, and finally what people say about music in their everyday lives.

Taking Berlin as a representative field in drawing a picture of the Turkish diaspora in and across Europe, it is possible to observe the flux in identity issues through the "musicking" experiences of third-generation Turks. Today, in the western and developed world, we live in a so-called "Information Age" where rapid changes take place, quickened by technological advances (internet, telecommunications, etc.), affecting issues of society and identity development.

Past, present, and future are mixed in constructed and virtual mediums. The people of the diaspora today are more diverse in terms of social interaction with people outside their community in their daily lives, mostly because the third-generation are more competent in the host country's language and therefore live more confidently in the host culture compared to elder generations. The host culture of the elder generations (in symbiosis with their ancestral culture) has become the native culture of the third-generation, in a sense.

At the same time, conflated and connected within these quickly changing dynamics, as my research indicates, music schools labelling themselves as Turkish revolve around and reflect the need of first and second-generation Turks in Berlin to hold on to their traditions and cultures. As a result, their children are raised in a climate of ethnic reinforcement, promoted by communal enclaves, even while the external (secular German) world is much more accessible than ever before. In the case of music, it seems that the immigrants from Turkey use music for a sense of belonging, to recognise who they are in unfamiliar surroundings, which is believed to have a totally different dimension for the young generation compared to the first immigrants to arrive in Germany. Looking at the attitude of the younger generation attending Turkish music schools, we can say that *türkü* bars may be less popular with the younger third-generation and the future fourth generation.

The data presented here lead us to several different issues that are to be analysed in the next chapter. While my subject and my findings open up a great number of avenues for consideration, the most important outcome that I wish to develop in the next chapter is the way the relationship between music and cultural memory changes under the impact of social changes within the community, showing that cultural memory is variable rather than constant. In the present context, it is assumed that the immigrants from Turkey utilise music for remembering, for preventing memories from being forgotten, and for transmitting them to the next generations. At the same time, it is observed that this phenomenon has evolved between the first-generation and the third. The data presented here show that the community formed by the Turkish diaspora in

Berlin has evolved into an important part of the city's cultural dynamics. In spite of all the accusations to the contrary, under the given conditions, the Turks integrated as much as possible. This integration is reflected in the consumption of music too. I argue that when the Turkish immigrant community settles in the host land and becomes an acknowledged part of society, the diversity in music listening experiences, and the number of micro groups in terms of taste, increases. It is therefore passé to talk of a community that predominantly listens to musical forms inherited from previous generations. Today, the community is in a transitional period; we see today's music consumption and production habits blended with yesterday's musical modes of experience. We can understand this to be a result of the establishment of the Turkish diaspora in Germany over time, as well as a consequence of the changing means of accessing music with the development of the internet and the proliferation of technology. These two facts, one of them occurring slowly and naturally in time, the other more rapidly, and in an artificially constructed manner, define the breaking points within generations in terms of music consumption habits and the migrants' ever-changing music scene. In the next chapter, I will elaborate upon the issues discussed in this chapter and demonstrate the relationship between music and cultural memory for the immigrants in Berlin today, while continuing to present more findings to support my analyses.

CHAPTER 6: FURTHER THEMES AND REFLECTIONS ON THE DATA:
DIVERSE MUSICAL IDENTITIES AND HETEROGENOUS MEMORY

> "*The migrant is not on the margin of modern
> experience – he is absolutely central to it*"
>
> (Berger 1975)

Introduction

Up to this point, in this thesis, I have presented examples from the
literature on cultural memory studies involved in identity issues, migration, and
their relation with music. That was followed by the story of the migration process
from Turkey to Germany in the chapter covering the historical background, where
I also presented the music scene of the Turkish-speaking community from the
1960s to the 1990s. Along with the all the information concerning the past, the
historical background section helped us in understanding why the diaspora from
Turkey is in its current position in terms of integration issues. The Methodology
chapter provided detailed information on the techniques I chose to use while
conducting my fieldwork, as well as the other factors that helped (and sometimes
forced) me in shaping this study focusing mostly on the third-generation. Finally,
in the light of all this information, I discussed my gathered data which have
pointed me to the issues for analysis. This chapter serves as a continuation and
complements some of the previous chapters by referring to more data from my
fieldwork while providing an analysis and interpretation of them. The issues I
have been highlighting throughout this work are discussed and embedded into

context in relation to each other. As a reflection on the data from my Findings chapter, I focus on the issues of:

1. The generational breaking point
2. Continuities-discontinuities and their meanings
3. Music and cultural memory relation in the new era

While I analyse these issues, which I consider to be significant from a socio-musicological point of view, I also focus on them from the perspective of cultural memory, which provides me with a way of thinking about how the technology of remembering is being shaped and reshaped within this context.

The 2000s as a generational breaking point

There is a vast literature about the immigrants from Turkey in Germany but the majority of these studies mostly cover or focus on the period of the first 20 or 30 years of the immigration process. In 2011 the immigrants celebrated the 50th anniversary of their first arrival to the country once seen as the "host land", which has, for some, become the "homeland" in time. At this point in my study, the most important and inclusive argument is that the community from Turkey in Germany has been going through a generational breakpoint in the last decade. This process, in which the generational changes have become a shared experience for a wider group of people, has been ongoing for a while now and what makes it notable at this time is that it has just started to be visible (although I think it has not yet reached its peak point). In this chapter, I aim to show that this is an important time for observing change between the generations. I have been able to observe this because I used music as a tool to look at change and the musicking experiences of people, along with other factors, provided me with this information about the generational breaking points. This information may not be accessible to most outside observers with a different point of view. Therefore music has provided a valuable perspective for this case. The diaspora I am looking at has a fairly recent history and the members still have a lot of points in common. They mostly still share this group identity, in addition to continuing social patterns, which I will be looking at later in this chapter. In this section I

present my observations about this period and I start by talking about some members of the migrant community who could be accepted as a minority among the Turkish immigrants and could be counted as the predecessors of the new generation immigrants, new in terms of their life styles and reformist attitudes.

The first rebels

With regard to the majority of the literature on Turkish immigrants in Germany, it would not be wrong to say that the community was quite homogeneous in terms of their migration stories and their life styles during the early years of the immigration. The guest-workers did not socialise much with people from other nations, they stuck together, and tried as far as possible to live in a similar manner to how they had lived in Turkey. Despite this visible uniformity, there were some immigrants who did not agree to conform to the life that was presented to them. Some people had the idea that they could have more liberty if they left Turkey and moved to Germany. For others, this European experience opened new windows they had not imagined before moving to Germany. They were introduced to new life styles and drifted towards them. Some people chose to leave Turkey thinking that they would have a better life in Germany, that it would afford the opportunity to make a break, and that they could use the guest-worker system as a springboard. Some people (especially women) from very traditional families used the opportunity of being in a rather liberal environment to break from the chains of tradition. Having said that, the immigrant community in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s were rather more closed and traditional compared to later and these people seeking for alternative lives were definitely a minority group within the Turkish-speaking community. However they are still worth acknowledging since they are early examples of a generational breakpoint, and inspiration for some of those who are an important part of the change occurring today. In my Findings chapter I presented extracts from my conversations with Taylan and Leyla, and their thoughts about their mother show that she was an unusual character for her time:

> "She thought she could live a different life in Germany, away from the limiting traditions of Turkey … It is especially a question of being a woman

in Turkey … especially in the old times it was almost impossible to exist as an independent woman when you had a conventional family. So many women, despite the expense of moving to what was a more difficult life in most ways, chose to take this radical step to gain their freedom."

A similar example is my informant Zeynep, a social pedagogue whose husband runs a music school. She too told me that she decided to come to Germany in the hope that she could go to university there:

"My family was a rather modern one. We are from Erzurum and my father was a well-respected, educated person … They wanted me to be educated as well. When I was in high school I was in love with music. I wanted to study at the conservatory. But my father didn't let me, first because the conservatories were in big cities like Istanbul and Ankara then, so I would have to leave Erzurum, meaning that I wouldn't be in their eyesight anymore. Secondly, they did not think that being a musician would get me a decent job. A woman singer on stage might not be the most prestigious and, more importantly, not seem that moral … In short, I ended up not going to the university … When there was an opportunity for me to go to Germany, all I could think of was going to university there … I studied pedagogy here."

In both examples we see women seeking their dreams in Germany. In order to reach their dreams they had to choose a way different from that their families found appropriate for them. As examples of early alternative lives, some people argued against their families' values and the way they try to continue living their Turkish life style in Germany. They wanted to experience different lives than their parents' or what their families approve for them and sometimes they got into trouble for it, being disowned by their families or even worse, being killed in the name of so-called "honour killings". These kinds of incidents between family members mostly happen behind closed doors, but some of them get media attention. Among the mainstream media organs I have been following, *Der Spiegel* had many pieces about these honour killings in recent years, as did many other newspapers. One of them was reported as follows:

"A German court last week convicted and sentenced five siblings in the kidnapping and murder of their younger sister Arzu. Prosecutors, however, are still not satisfied. They believe that the family's father ordered the honour killing and are hoping to find enough evidence to put him behind bars." (24 May 2012, *Der Spiegel*)

Another example from the same source:

"Hundreds of young female immigrants are hiding from their families in Germany after fleeing oppression, physical violence and even death threats. Charities and social workers help the women get new identities and build independent lives for themselves, but the risk of revenge from honour-obsessed relatives remains." (11 April 2012)

These examples from the media, in addition to my interview extracts, show that some people saw migrating to Germany as an opportunity to escape the Turkish enclave, even though for some it meant that they had to (and still have to) pay a big price. These people were the early examples of what I claim to be taking place today in the form of a generational break point. If we can observe a wider wave of change today, one thing that contributed to that movement is the individual efforts of people like Taylan and Leyla's mother, who have been an influence on their children. In a similar manner, Zeynep stands as a different role model compared to many immigrant women her age (she is aware of that and emphasises the fact that she finds herself superior in a sense during our interview: "My family's life style is more similar to Germans' rather than the Turkish immigrants here … We are well-educated, we live in a good neighbourhood … we have a luxury car."). According to Zeynep, she encourages the younger generations to be themselves when she meets them at the music school and where she works as a social pedagogue.

Hip-hop and the 90s

Nearly three or four decades after Zeynep and Taylan's and Leyla's mothers acted on their independent-minded attitudes, the signs of change were difficult to miss during my daily observations and interviews. When I associate what Taylan and Leyla say about their mother, the kind of problems they had to face compared to their children's lives, it is possible to observe how much has changed. Observing the change from the perspective of musicking experiences, from these women's times to the 2010s, the most important discovery of the immigrant youth was, without doubt, hip-hop culture. As I have elaborated on this issue in my Findings chapter, hip-hop has become the sound of the youth who took a stance against conservative and nationalist German opponents in addition to their own traditional and cultural barriers posed by their origins in Turkey.

That era when hip-hop culture was introduced to the scene and after was also a very prolific time for the scholars interested in the Turkish-speaking community in Germany or social movements and music in general. As I have shown in my literature review, Greve and Kaya's fieldwork on Turkish immigrant music in Germany, which was conducted mainly in the 1990s, in addition to many other works by Çağlar (1990, 2003), Solomon (2006), Soysal (2004), and several others, provides information about that era and they helped me compare the successive decades up to the present. Academic works aside, this era and its musical reflections made its presence felt in Turkish media and the music scene very quickly. Hip-hop was already attractive to the young, but the successive arson attacks on Turkish immigrants' houses in the early 1990s lit the fuse (Solomon 2006, p. 60). Hostility towards immigrants was too much to ignore and young people got together under the umbrella of hip-hop music to respond to this violence. In its reflection in Turkey, the arson attacks and the generally hostile attitude of the xenophobes featured in the media for a long time and in the following years the first well-known hip-hop group, Cartel, received recognition in Turkey. They attracted a lot of attention because of both their music and their message. This was the first time that hip-hop was introduced to the musical scene in Turkey. It was also the first time people met "different Turks" from Germany. They did not fit the immigrant profile people in Turkey had been shown. They had a European feel with their music, appearance and attitudes. Therefore young people's involvement with hip-hop music was among the first actions marking the changing behaviours of the young people from their older relatives, visible both in Turkey and Germany. This movement was not only important for music, but it was an uprising criticising both sides, Germans and Turks. Young people were calling for their rights and protesting hostile and racist attitudes towards immigrants, while creating a space for themselves separate from their Turkish ties, and through Western music, bringing them closer to their German peers. This new Western music distanced them from their families' musical tastes, but they were also blending hip-hop with traditional tunes from Turkey to build their space, sometimes acting as a shelter, as a third alternative

to the lives of both sides. The nineties have therefore been a significant period in Turkish music history in Germany for hip-hop culture was introduced to the Turkish scene both in Germany and Turkey, and the German-Turkish youth has been involved with rap music ever since, very enthusiastically using it as a gateway to reach the third space they needed to create their own culture.

Cartel (www.tehparadox.com)

While hip-hop culture had a great impact in the music scene at the time, it has not triggered an interest in other genres. I thus find the movement rather limited. It was the first Western music genre the German-Turk youth had a major interest in. They did not only listen to it but produced their own music and created a sub-culture of their own within this movement. This involvement with hip-hop also provided a bridge between the immigrant youth and their peers in Germany. It could be expected, therefore, that this opening with rap music would lead to engagement with other popular Western genres like rock or metal music, but there have not been any other musical streams nearly as big as hip-hop culture. Other than the interest in listening and performing rap music, other forms of music consumption changed little from the past, namely the 1970s and 1980s.

When I think about what my respondents said about their relation with rap music, and when I go through the music they have been involved with, it is observed that rap music is among the most liberal genres and easily includes people from different groups. In rap music, the Turkish youth found the space to add their own tunes, lyrics, and styles. In contrast to other genres, there was no need to learn to play an instrument, complicated notation, or to buy expensive equipment. My respondent Hakan told how he joined his first hip-hop band:

> "Before hip-hop I had no interest in music. I had no idea if I had a musical ear or anything … Hip-hop was more like a game than music … When I try to sing I am out of tune, but I can rap beautifully. Rap music is for everybody."

> Mesut also explained why he had chosen rap music over other genres:

> "My friends listened to rap music, both the Turkish ones and the German teenagers our age. My friends were using Turkish tunes with hip-hop rhythms and it was becoming more likeable to us while gaining our German peers' appreciation because of the originality of our music."

> From Hakan and Mesut's extracts one can see that rap music provided space for all, free from prerequisites, to create their own style while getting attention and recognition from their peers for the first time.

On that account, though the hip-hop era may not have opened doors to further engagement with other Western music genres, it is still the definite and visible start of change in the Turkish music scene in the 1990s. In addition to the music, the emphasis on rap music's importance mostly comes from the fact that the genre brought German-Turkish youth and their peers together musically. My informant Koray was an active musician during the mid-1990s and early 2000s and he recalled his experience:

> "Before rap music I felt like I wasn't able to communicate with my German friends. I was fluent in German, so it was not a language issue, but as teenagers it was easy to feel the cultural differences. When I started getting involved in rap music it was a significant time because of all the arson attacks against Turks and music was a uniting power among Turkish youth. But, on the other hand, my German friends were also able to understand the music I was making, they enjoyed it and that made me feel that I had earned their respect."

Here we see that Koray found it important to communicate with his German peers as well as responding to the hostility of German society. He used rap music to eliminate the cultural barrier between them. Here it is important to note how people use music to loosen the solid cultural boundaries, where a mutual language cannot provide a solution.

In addition to the rap music that began as a movement among the German-Turks and later spread to the music scene in Turkey, the *RnBesk* genre took root in Germany and was presented to Turkey by the German-Turks. Although the significance of *RnBesk* is on a much smaller scale than rap music, it is still very important as a genre created by the Turkish diaspora. After the *gurbet* songs of the 1970s, which were original in terms of their lyrical content, these new genres in the German-Turkish music scene were signs of a more established new identity influenced by both lands but also a new formation in its own right. This was German-Turks' way of expressing themselves musically.

It is important to point out here that this action brought young people reactions from more conservative people, who interpreted it as assimilation or the thing they were most scared of: "becoming German". Schiffauer indicates that some things can be misinterpreted when the subjects under observation are of migrant origins:

> "It is noteworthy that this problem of syncreticism arises only when particular groups of people are in question. A Turkish girl listening to the same music as does a German youth becomes a sign of double cultural identity, while a German youth listening to English pop music does not pose any such problem." (1999, p. 8).

In his work, Schiffauer looks at the case of a young boy called Seyfullah, whose interest in skateboarding and graffiti, he suggests, is seen as "Germanisation" by his family and the immigrant community around him. A musical equivalent of this could be teenagers' interest in instruments like electric guitar, drums, or bass, which are dominantly used in popular Western music, interpreted as "Germanisation" by their families. That labelling is just another product of the families' fear, something that I have discussed in previous chapters and which is reflected in the excerpts of interviews with Fatih and Pelin.

As Schiffauer also suggests, a teenager's interest in such things is normal and has less to do with Germanisation than their families think. It is more a sign of naturalisation than Germanisation.

Another extension for the changing tastes in music could be that growing interest in Western instruments results in distancing from the traditional music instruments and music of Turkey. In several interviews conducted in Turkish music schools, the teachers claimed that the children showed no interest in learning to play traditional instruments anymore. Their parents send them to these schools to learn about Turkish culture. But the new generation, aged 5-15, seems not to relate to these musics. Even if they do relate, they are not appreciated by their German peers at schools for playing an instrument with which the latter are unfamiliar. So they get disappointed and lose their interest.

In these examples and many others, a natural change resulting from people's socialisation and adaption to the dominant life style surrounding them can be observed. From the older generation's perspective it is a negative change, but it is natural and normal for the young, who experience the life and customs in Germany in their own ways. The young today are naturally trying to build a life that reflects their identity, which is culturally nurtured by both German and Turkish sides, if not more besides. As some of my informants emphasised, they want their own identity to be acknowledged; they do not want to be burdened with Turkish or German tags. As Berrin said:

> "I am what I am. I was born here, Berlin is my city. I have a cultural heritage from my family, but I was born into German culture, both of them actually … I am very happy about it because as long as you can be at peace with your identity, being an immigrant is a very rich experience … I think Turks are very attached to Turkey, but that doesn't change the fact that everything changes, even them … I think that, at the end of the day, we are all Berliners."

The transformation of social musical codes

In Berlin one can see fans of different regions' folk music from Turkey, Turkish art music, *arabesk*, protest music, hip-hop, *RnBesk*, Turkish pop music, Western popular music and Western classical music. These genres helped

shape the differences or similarities among different classes of immigrants for years. However, during my research I witnessed the signs of transformation of social musical codes, and in my Findings chapter I have presented how the social codes surrounding musical genres were changing and genres like *arabesk* were being passed on or the ideas that relate certain genres to certain socio-economic classes were dissolving within the migrant community. In this section I try to analyse this transformation and focus on how it is a part of the bigger generational break that I claim to be occurring in this decade, and how this transformation has impacts upon cultural memory.

As seen in the interview extracts where my informants (Fatih, Bahri) identified themselves with the musics to which they were listening, it was recognised that the genres *arabesk* and Western classical music represented polar opposites. For these people, their choice of music said something about them. Or they chose music in order to benefit from its social significance. Consumption of certain musics, like *arabesk* or Western classical music, is thus attributed to people of different classes in Turkey. With some exceptions, *arabesk* music has always been seen as the music of the less cultured classes, while classical music has been a symbol of highbrow culture. However, my observations in the field and my interviews have shown that this kind of signification has been changing within the Turkish-speaking community in Germany, along with other cultural shifts. The new generation of German-Turkish youth does not see Western classical music as a superior art form – as it was imposed in Turkey. They are not perceived as belonging to the "lower class" in any way for listening to *arabesk* music (as in Murat and Leyla's cases). It would not be surprising for a young person of Murat's age and social status in Turkey to be belittled for listening to *arabesk* music. In contrast, the youth in Germany are free of these tags and judgemental ideas, and they think of music in a more liberal way than their families. I interpret this development as one of the most important clues of the generational change in terms of how people use music and other popular cultural products.

From this point of view, I assume that, for future generations particularly, when we talk about the relationship between music and cultural memory, this kind of transformation of social musical codes (or their disappearance) alters the perception, and therefore the memory, of that music. The meanings attributed to songs changed with the transformation of the diaspora's circumstances and with the new cultural structure the youth has been building for itself. In the preceding chapters I have discussed how migrant communities use music as a cultural connection to their past, memories, and homeland. This approach to songs influences the relationship between music and cultural memory. The transformation of social codes of music thus provides a new means for the formation of new cultural memories. In the following section I shall elaborate on how changing musicking habits impact upon the cultural memory formation of the younger generations.

The codes that are attributed to different music genres are often ascribed to social class or cultural investment, and can act as a social strategy. According to results of Bourdieu's study conducted in France in the 1960s, our consumption habits and personal tastes are expressions of our social and cultural background (1984). Bourdieu puts a special emphasis on musical taste stating that "…nothing more clearly affirms one's 'class', nothing more infallibly classifies, than tastes in music." (p.18). As much as Bourdieu's findings serve as a solid ground for most theories in sociology of music and culture, it is also being met with scepticism in the recent years (Prior 2013). Prior asks the question "...are Bourdieu's ideas sophisticated enough to deal with the specific ways that we interact with musical forms, their active presence in our everyday lives and the meanings we attach to them?" (p.182). In my research's case I observed that Bourdieu's understanding of 'distinction' doesn't necessarily apply to the young generation immigrants' music consumption habits. I argue that Bourdieu's statement is valid for a culturally settled society: it can be acceptable for people who feel at home. But when we look at a migrant group whose immigration can still be considered to be part of recent history, this notion of music appreciation doesn't act as expression of social class in Bourdieu's sense. Though they maintain their national identities

and their culture, the Turkish diaspora in Germany have different societal dynamics to people living in Turkey. Accordingly, the social strategies of music appreciation differ between home and host lands since the community has separate sets of concerns to survive in these different settings. An example of this can be seen in some informants stressing that music from Turkey, no matter the genre, is important to them simply because it is from Turkey, and in the social nature of musical events in *türkü* bars and concerts of famous musicians from Turkey (as we see in Behlül, Leyla and Taylan's interviews).

One might be tempted to ask how much of the music appreciation dynamics of the older generations are transmitted to younger people. One thing we see in the generational changing process is that the labels of different musical genres from Turkey are dissolving, be it with the input of the young or as people start to consider themselves as Berliners (if not German) rather than any identity related to Turkey. My respondent Murat said:

> "I am very interested in all kinds of music and you can see everything on my playlist, from German rap, Scandinavian jazz to Turkish *arabesk* … When I went to Turkey last summer with my friends I noticed that young people like me don't listen to *arabesk* music, at least not in the open … I am pretty sure they would listen to all these great songs by İbrahim Tatlıses or Orhan Gencebay if they were living in Berlin, because then they wouldn't be looked down on for being an *arabesk* fan."

In Murat's experience it is noticed that, as he is relieved of the oppression of identity issues related to his immigrant background, he is free to find his own musical taste in Turkish music. And as he points out, his taste conflicts with the social codes associated with certain genres in music. Murat can be seen as an example of a "cultural omnivore" as Peterson and Simkus puts it (1992). A concept that contradicts in many ways to Bourdieu's distinction idea, cultural omnivorous-ness points to a habit of consuming which is more heterogeneous in taste compared to one restricted to elite forms of art, and it also indicates open-mindedness (Prior, p. 187). Another respondent, Peyami, who works as a piano teacher in a Turkish music school, commented on these codes and why people in Germany feel free of them:

"Back in Turkey, there used to be classical music concerts on TRT on Sunday mornings. There you saw nicely dressed people in a fancy concert hall. Then there were the songs, the *türkü*s Atatürk loved, etc. These all had a message … There is no high authority here in Germany to tell the Turks what to listen to. Here it is all about the market. Everybody is trying to sell something … the radio only plays the recently released songs … Some people just buy music because it is from Turkey."

Peyami's emphasis on the lack of a higher authority on music appreciation and people's unconditional approach to music from Turkey are very significant for my claim about transforming musical codes. On the other hand, Bourdieu's theory of distinction between "us versus them" still has a lot of relevancy to this case, too. As some of the interviews I presented in my Findings chapter show, there are many people, especially among those who migrated for political reasons, who consider themselves to be an authority on music (Fatih, Bahri, Pelin, the piano teacher) and continue the same patterns of ideas of music appreciation. One music teacher told me about the concerts organised once a year in the Berlin Philharmonic Hall, where Turkish and German musicians collaborate to perform musics from Turkey arranged in the Western classical style. She complained about immigrants' lack of interest in such events:

"Only Germans attend these concerts. The Turks in the hall are usually friends of the organiser or the musicians, and they don't appreciate it. They just go to be seen at a concert at the Philharmonic Hall. These are plastic works. For Turks, a concert is good if it is crowded or expensive."

Accepting Philharmonic Hall as a prestigious place to be seen is again the product of discussed authorities on music in Turkey. As is the case for many other social factors, this is still a period of transition in terms of Turkish immigrant's relationship with music. It is a similar transition to that discussed in the preceding chapter on the relationship between different generations and decreasing familial pressure on children. The number of people from younger generations who do not embrace the same ideals of music appreciation is visibly on the rise. Looking at my interviews, it would not be wrong to assume that these biased ideas about musical genres are likely to disappear or may in time be reconstructed in accordance to the new cultural realities of the German-Turks.

Language

Among many the factors that have contributed to the transformation of music's perception by the migrant community are the rapid changes in the languages spoken by the German-Turks. When we look at the songs the immigrants listened to or wrote in the early decades (such as *gurbet* songs or some hip-hop and the *RnBesk* repertoire) we see Turkish lyrical content mostly based on the immigration experience. But today the new generation's Turkish fluency is decreasing. How does the musicking experience change, and how does that influence people's relationship with music and memory?

Echterhoff suggests that language is a system that mostly relies on conventional rules, it is also a product of the culture and "...it is a tool for people to shape the culture." (2008, p.263). Among the most significant changes in the new generation youth is their relationship with language. In many cases they speak a better German than the older members of their family. Their accents can be flawless. Their Turkish is less fluent or they do not speak Turkish at all. I argue that this shift in language usage is one of the most important differences between the old and young generations, and that it has the potential to change families' communication dynamics. To communicate with their children, families have to speak in German. In some cases they use a hybrid language, or hybrid conversations in which the parents speak in Turkish and the children answer in German. My informant Gaye told me that her own German improved after her 5-year-old son started going to school because he became a fluent German speaker, and as his mother she had to be able to talk to him all the time and understand every word he was saying. This kind of evolution in the use of languages inevitably changes the content of the conversations as well. Gaye went on to talk about her dialogue with her son:

> "My mum used to tell me traditional Turkish stories and sang lullabies when she put me to bed. I wanted to do the same thing with my son, but these stories and lullabies are not just different because they are in Turkish. They are told or sung in a way that it became meaningful to a person who understood that culture … I try to tell these stories in a simpler way, but I mostly read German stories from books to my son. And I don't want him to feel different from his peers. I want him to hear the same German stories his friends at school hear from their parents … Feeling

different is not a nice thing for a kid. We know because we suffered from that a lot."

Here Gaye points out how language has the potential to carry cultural cues and, since her son does not speak Turkish as well as she did when she was his age, and is unfamiliar with the cultural context to which this language belongs, she feels the need to switch to the language her son is surrounded by culturally. Another informant, father of a 12-year-old girl and married to an Austrian woman, Kemal tells me that he had difficulty talking in Turkish to his daughter:

> "I've spent most of my life in Germany since I was a little kid. My Turkish is fluent, but I feel more comfortable in German. I wanted my daughter to learn Turkish, but then I realised I wasn't able to communicate with my child in that language … And when I try to tell her my memories about the time I spent in Turkey with my mum, sister, and cousins, I can't always find the right words in German. Some things are difficult to express … I think she will understand me when she is older, but not now … She loves our holiday times in Turkey, but she can get tired of all the attention she gets from her Turkish-speaking relatives."

In this comment it is possible to see Kemal's desire to share his childhood memories relating to Turkey or Turkishness is blocked because of the language barrier. So the limits of his language designates which memories he shares with his daughter, probably bringing a natural tendency to tell more about his memories in Germany since he is more comfortable in German.

The relationship between language and music most simply lies in the song lyrics. When people start losing their Turkish (or no longer learn it, in children's case) and have a better command of German, and, usually, English as a second language, in these children's case, their link with the Turkish songs potentially dissolves. I gave examples of *gurbet* songs in my Historical and Musical Background chapter, where I presented some of the stories about the immigration in the lyrics of the songs that were produced by Turkish musicians in Germany or in Turkey, stories about the longing of people who were separated. Looking at the music scene today, we do not see *gurbet* songs or any similar production. That genre has disappeared, and the newer genres that are popular among the immigrant youth, such as hip-hop, mostly consist lyrically of a

synthesis of Turkish, German, and English. The shift in linguistic competence from Turkish to German thus alters music's role as a transmitter of cultural memories in the way that was valid for the older generations. As I have discussed in detail in my Literature Review chapter, cultural memory relies on shared experiences, and song lyrics have been providing a mutual and direct world of meanings to people in that sense. While this kind of transmission is decreasing, different kinds of cultural memory formations are beginning, as I discuss later in this chapter; and some patterns keep continuing in migrant's lives.

Continuing patterns of immigrant life in Berlin

When designing my study, one of the things I decided to focus upon during my fieldwork was identifying the continuing and discontinuing social patterns in the immigrant communities. This has served as an important tool to see the changing patterns of several behaviours, music consumption being the most important here, and other permanent customs. I have been discussing the changes in the new generations and their impacts so far, and this reality inevitably creates a lot of discontinuities. I have also discussed the transformations in music listening habits, language, daily life, and integration in these contexts. However, in contrast to the major changes, there are many continuing, unchanging patterns visible in my interviews too. These continuing behavioural and social patterns, including musicking habits, indicate the Turkish communities' immigrant side, no matter how much time has passed since the beginning of the migration process.

Fear of the new and different

Among the continuities I observed, the most visible and significant behavioural pattern is the immigrants' fear of certain aspects of being in a foreign land. Fear has always been emphasised both in my interviews and in the literature on immigration. As previously mentioned in the historical background section and other chapters, immigrants have always been afraid of this new world in which they are foreigners. They were forced to integrate and then they

felt themselves to be censured when they were unable to achieve the things expected of them. Music has been something to which people turned when they are afraid, as I have shown in several cases in my previous chapters. Music played this role of refuge until recently; even today people, especially those with less education or language skills, continue to seek solace in music. Pelin, the jazz musician, complained about this, putting both Turks in Turkey and in Germany in the same pot:

> "We are scared, we are shy. That's a part of our culture. That comes from the family. It is written into our DNA. We don't try anything new. We don't talk about stuff we don't know. We don't try to learn … even the Turks in Germany. They don't want new stuff. Some German-Turk musicians, like Ahmet and Cankat, tried to achieve a career in Turkey in the nineties. They had good ideas, they were very musical in a fine, European sense. But people in Turkey didn't understand them."

Pelin thinks that most people from Turkey are timorous when it comes to the new, and that it is a feature of Turkish culture. This shyness increases especially when people are faced with Western cultural values because people in Turkey are taught that it is the superior system in every way, music being one of them (as I have mentioned in my musical background section in chapter three on the conflict between Western and other musics) since the modernisation era.

In this chapter I have indicated from the beginning that one of the key points I would focus on in analysis was that this was a time of dramatic changes in the lives of immigrants, from daily routines to music consumption. In the younger generations it is observed that the culture of the German-Turks is changing, becoming something new, something that fits the conditions of living in Germany as a Turkish descendant. On the other hand, we see that some still try hard to maintain their traditions, keep their families away from strangers (in general, not only Germans). This again relates to people's fears and their will to hold onto familiar things. Holding onto familiar things also involves adopting the immigrant identity even for the third-generation who were born and raised in Germany. As I have discussed in the Methodology chapter I tried to illustrate my participants' perspectives by embracing their use of terms such as 'third-generation immigrants', 'home' meaning Turkey, and 'host' implicating Germany.

This is among the continuing patterns for a significant portion of the diaspora. At the music level, I presented my observations and my informants' views on *bağlama* schools and *türkü* bars, two non-German places, in the previous chapter. These are two musical spaces in which the diaspora seeks familiarity and connects to Turkey, or to their past.

Another phenomenon that reflects peoples' fear of the "stranger" (and which shows that after fifty years of immigration some Turks can still see Germans as strangers, while others feel themselves at home in Germany) is the importing of brides and grooms. Families bring young women and men from their hometowns in Turkey to marry their children. They attempt to continue their family bloodline, they want "pure" blood in the family, as they put it. Kelek, who has studied this "imported brides" issue, claims that this kind of immigrant traffic results in parallel lives between the public and private spaces (2005). After fifty years of immigration and integration, people still feel the need to separate their private and public spaces and try to continue their traditions in their private lives. Thus, on one side there is the big change in public life, but on the other, there is also a major effort to maintain the same cultural values and lifestyles.

German language course advertisement in Mardin (Photo by Duygu Tekgul)

The photograph above was taken in Mardin, a city in the southeast of Turkey. It shows an advertisement for a German language course especially designed for family reunification. They call all bride and groom candidates to prepare them for life in Germany, teaching them the language. "My uncle wanted a girl from our village to marry my older cousin. They wanted her to be morally clean, a virgin, and she would know our traditions," said 23-year-old Tülin. "She will make a good mother for the children and stop my cousin from going to strangers." Therefore, even though some third-generation diaspora members are born and raised in Germany they are getting married to people who emigrated from Turkey within the recent past and they form new families continuing the immigrant state of mind in the diaspora. Another aspect of this imported bride and groom phenomenon for this study is that these people bring their music consumption habits along with them and pass it on to their children. Therefore the musicking experience of this community doesn't develop in a linear manner but it is fed from multiple sources.

Despite everything, all the complaining, and the will to return, this, again, shows us that the migration continues even if in a different form from the beginning and on a much smaller scale. The idea that coming to Germany offers better opportunities is not that different from the original motivation for the immigration in the 1960s. People not only bring brides and grooms for their relatives. They take their relatives with them so that family members struggling economically in Turkey can have better lives in Germany. I identify this continuing migration as a sign also of how established the Turkish community became in time. Even though they are not seen as integrated in the sense the German government insists upon, the continuing migration shows that, despite their problems in Germany, Turkish people already have their own working system so they want their people to come to have the benefit of better conditions. For instance, there are examples of people marrying people from their extended families back in Turkey so that they can obtain a residency permit. Fevzi, a lawyer I met in Istanbul, told me that he had a client from his hometown of Kars who lived in Germany and married a woman from his extended family in Kars to

secure a working permit for this relative, after which they divorced. Fevzi told me that for this client he had arranged three divorces, all with extended family members, in the last fifteen years (similar to my example in chapter three).

When the Turkish diaspora is observed from one perspective, the impression is that the community does not want to integrate or allow strangers into their families, so they have negative feelings towards the place they see as a host land. But, on the other hand, they recognise that this host land provides better opportunities, and they want their people to benefit. Of course, there can be many different motivations behind this, not just economic: migration can be attractive for the members of marginalised political or ethnic groups. But I see it as an indication of confidence in the host land Germany; although migrants keep their distance and bear a certain mistrust towards Turkey, which they consider as their homeland. This kind of ambivalent attitude towards the host land is reflected in musical practices too. In its simplest form, parents prefer to send their children to Turkish music schools.

On the other hand, migration continues in the opposite direction as well. Especially in the older times when the community hasn't thrived and become a rather recognised part of Germany most people wanted to return to Turkey one day, and some have succeeded as I have mentioned in the chapter on historical background. While the community becomes increasingly settled, some still want to return to the land they consider home. We very often see news stories about them in both Turkish and German media, such as this one from *Hürriyet Daily News* on 14 March 2013: "In four years between 2007 and 2011, some 193,000 Turks living in Germany returned permanently to Turkey, mostly due to unemployment and discrimination, figures released by a study group show."

If the fear issue very frequently mentioned in the interviews results in some of the continuing patterns of immigration as explained above, it is also observed to be interrupted with the new generation. According to the narratives of some of my respondents, fear is a discontinuing issue for some people. Many of the well-integrated young German-Turks do not feel this kind of timidity, they

do not feel inferior to their German peers and they stand up to the discrimination against non-Germans. My informant Zeynep told me that sometimes she feels as if she and her daughter are from completely different worlds:

> "My daughter was born here and she is 14 years old now … Her father is Turkish too. Most of her friends at school are German kids. She has a couple of friends from Turkish families too, but even they speak in German among themselves. My daughter doesn't feel any different from her German friends, she is at least as successful as they are, even more … She considers Berlin as her home and Turkey is just a place we go for vacations."

Among my respondents others said similar things about their children being a part of the community in their school and getting along well with their German peers. But how does the continuing or discontinuing issue of fear intersect with the immigrants' musicking habits? Another parent I met at a music school explained to me why she had chosen violin as the primary instrument for her daughter:

> "I don't believe that learning an old-fashioned instrument from Turkey is good for my child. She is just a kid and she shouldn't be burdened with learning about Turkish culture. Germany is her home and it is better for her to do what her friends do … I don't want her to have any of the difficulties we did. I don't want her to feel like an immigrant."

When I asked her why she chose a school with a Turkish owner providing both Turkish and Western musical courses, she smiled and answered: "I guess as a parent taking my child to this course, I felt comfortable. Her violin teacher is German, but I like having a chat with Bahri (the school's owner and a *bağlama* instructor)."

These extracts and my observations in the field show that some among the new generation are able to consider Germany their home, unlike the majority of their parents. At the same time, many parents encourage their children to integrate as far as possible, which presents a dramatic change between the parenting of the generations, which in turn is reflected in the child. Most of the new-generation parents want their children to set aside the fears they themselves felt. On the other hand, we also see parents who want to carry on the family traditions and marry their children to people from their homeland, thinking that

this is best for their children. This continuing pattern often overshadows the discontinuing and changing patterns, as we can see in the common idea of Turkish immigrants in Germany and their integration issues. But how do Turks see their fellow citizens abroad? What do people in Turkey think of these new German-Turks, and how do the German-Turks feel about it?

German-Turks and Turkey

An important number of German-Turks have been feeling at home in Germany for a long time now. Many of them have been labelled as "successful, well-integrated, well-educated" and other similar tags, and are sometimes even identified as "model immigrants" for the Turkish community in Germany (these are notably people in professions such as politics, literature, cinema). It is often thought that the requirement to be a "model immigrant" is something forced upon Turks by Germans, but the same idea is actually also imposed by people in Turkey upon their fellow citizens in Germany. This has been one of the continuing patterns in immigrants' lives since the beginning and it has increased with Turkey's EU membership candidacy. Turkish people have always embraced the successful German-Turks with pride, both in Turkey and in Germany. In some circumstances it would not be going too far to say that the more an immigrant integrates and becomes German-like, the more people in Turkey are proud of them. They are model citizens presenting a fine image of Turks to the European Union. On the other hand, the unsuccessful, un-integrated crowd has been doomed to keep the tag "*Alamancılar*". The elite class in Turkey is ashamed of these latter since these immigrants present an undesirable image of Turks in Europe, while the successful German-Turks have become for them a symbol of Turkey's success. A respondent I met on the plane back to Turkey had spent a week in Berlin as a tourist and told me:

> "We tried to stay away from the Turkish neighbourhoods. They were not nice at all … We didn't speak in Turkish with my friends when other Turkish immigrants were around us because we didn't want people to think that we were one of them. It is not a nice image in Germany … But when we met German people on the street, we told them we were from Turkey and showed them that Turks can be different, more modern."

This person has a strongly biased attitude towards the immigrants in Germany and her concern is to prove to Europeans that Turks are modern in a Western sense. Similarly, I remember that some people felt sorry for me when I told them I intended to conduct research among the Turkish community in Germany and engage with their musics. I frequently heard responses like "How are you going to bear their cheap, *arabesk* songs?" or similar comments focusing on immigrants' "low qualifications". These responses are not surprising when we remember the café owner Fatih saying similar things about the immigrant community in Germany though he is, in a way, one of them:

> "It is like a village here. We are in the rural parts of Turkey. I live in Berlin, but the area I live in is a Turkish village in the Central Anatolian or East Anatolian region … And they just continue to live with the same values they brought with them from Turkey in the sixties. They don't care if it fits the society they live in now or not."

When we see these negative feelings about the immigrants, it can be especially ironic when a German-Turk enters a competition at a film festival, a music contest, a beauty contest, or a sports activity and succeeds, it becomes a very important issue in Turkey as if it was Turkey's achievement, even if this person represents Germany in the competition. When the director Fatih Akın won the best film award at the Berlin Film Festival in 2003 he suddenly became a very well-known figure of Turkish cinema. My informant Selin told me: "When Turks are successful in international contests or sports events we, the *Alamancılar*, are good for Turkey. Other times we are the bad Turks spreading a bad reputation for Turkey all around Europe." When 13-year-old Cihan Karaca sang the popular English song "Rolling in the Deep" on the German TV show *Das Supertalent*, the Turkish media cherished him for being such a talented Turk who could sing in English so perfectly and also spoke German as his native language. This shows in a way, then, integration is actually expected by the people in Turkey as well in addition to the oppression from the German side.

I therefore observe that people in Turkey have mixed feelings about their fellow citizens abroad, deriving from nationalist and modernist ideas, a modernism that is taught to the nation as being equal to Westernisation. The

earlier generations were very much under the influence of this pressure from Turkey, the pressure of "not being good enough citizens to represent Turkey in Europe", or "being too Germanised" for more traditional groups. This is one of the most important factors that make some feel that they do not belong in Turkey and others that they do not belong in Germany, or both. But the new generation, especially the children, are either oblivious of such pressure, or these kinds of constraints are not really their concern. This is another sign of the big change and the formation of new mentalities that is also a product of cultural memory becoming indistinct, or changing its form.

Where does music stand?

In the past historians claimed that the ability to read and write alters what and how we remember. Today it is accepted that media technologies are changing the shape of remembrance (Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi and Levy 2011, p.6). The internet is, without doubt, among the most influential of these technologies. Remembering as a technology, how memory is formed and how people use it changes continuously. With today's technology we no longer need to memorise information. Our cell phones, computers and the internet store information for us. The recent technologic developments opened a new way for building memory and remembrance. This has an impact on our relationship with music too, creating, again, a dramatic difference between young and old generations in terms of their experience of music and remembering.

Looking at the past and present experiences of the migrant community and exploring the theories on their relationship with music, I had the chance to observe different kinds of influence between music and cultural memory. For the first, second and, to some extent, third-generation immigrants, music helps protect and reconstruct the past in the present; among the younger generations, music and the new media technologies providing it offers and help build a new present.

Music and media

When we look at the 2010s as a generational breaking point and its connection with music, it is rather obvious that one of the most important dynamics affecting the direction of these transformations has been the rapid development of internet technology in the 2000s. The internet has an accelerating impact on the immigrant's expected level of change in time, but in this case the story has at least two sides. The internet provides unlimited access to all kinds of media, newspapers, music, movies and TV programs from Turkey, so that it does not matter where in the world one lives. One can reach all kinds of popular cultural material from Turkey at any time. I have observed that while immigrant generations' relationship with culture is changing and the younger generations of German-Turks will have different cultural identities in the future, at present the internet provides a constant and immediate bridge to the place formerly known as the homeland. I find this issue about the new media technologies and its impacts on certain groups' relation with music to be very critical and believe that this issue deserves a separate study of its own. Therefore it can be an injustice to discuss this important subject with less detail. However, despite the fact that my discussion about this issue is limited by my access to the young generations (as discussed in the Methodology chapter) I still wanted to deal with this issue as much as my observations allowed me and in proportion to how it arose in my interviews. This is one of the outcomes of my study that offers an introduction to possible future studies with more insight from the second and third generations who are experiencing both eras before and after the entrance of new media technologies.

Here I present some extracts from my interviews with informants from different age groups in order to compare their musical tastes and their access to music. It is also possible to see the change in the discourses for while the older generations put more emphasis on themes like nostalgia, integrity, and authenticity, the younger generations do not address these kinds of issues, but are still interested in music from Turkey. For example, consider 40-year-old informant Mehmet, talking about how he remembers his father and the music in their house:

"When I hear the *türkü Çeke Çeke* I think of my father, I remember how he gets emotional and carried away. I think of my father in our house, I imagine him sitting in his favourite sofa on the corner … I know that when he listens to that song or sometimes when he plays it on his *bağlama*, he goes to Erzincan. His body stays here, but his mind is gone to his *köy*. When I was a child, I knew that this song was related to Erzincan so I thought of Erzincan too. But after I left home several years ago, the song started to make me think about my father and his favourite sofa in our house in Berlin first … I keep a copy of these albums in my house and I'm trying to build a good Turkish folk music archive."

Mehmet's relationship with music from Turkey mostly involves old songs, the songs he had heard at home, and therefore involves nostalgia. His connection with music is also interwoven with his relationship with his family and things he considered related to home. However, when members of the young generation who are interested in popular culture and especially music from Turkey, they have access to the new culture being produced in Turkey in a parallel manner to access people have in Turkey. On the contrary to Mehmet, younger people's relationship with music is far from the nostalgic emotions of their families' but they build their new and own connections. This interest in new, popular products will probably continue in the future. For the same reasons, the cultural memories of the present are taking a very different shape to those of the near past. Most people with internet access have their own relations and connections to Turkey and they are building up their own virtual memories. I thus suggest that the constructed memories of the second and third-generations, which I claimed to be influenced by the older generations, are transforming and becoming virtual memories for the younger generation involved with the new technologies. So, in addition to the influence of the family and the community, young people today are creating their own memories via new media. In fact, I would still call this new form of memory a construction, it is just that the building blocks of these constructions are changing. In this new construction the collective character of the remembrance is joined by an individual memory forming experience.

When I compare the experiences of the people connected with Turkey between the 1960s and the 1990s, I observe that a physical effort was needed to acquire their homelands' music along with other impossibilities. Among these efforts was the community's travels back and forth between Turkey and Germany once a year for the summer holidays. At the beginning of the immigration process particularly, when the immigrants' economic circumstances were still poor, and when air travel was less widespread and affordable, families piled into their cars and drove to Turkey. My respondent Mehmet remembers these trips when he was a teenager:

> "We don't drive to Turkey any more, but I remember my father driving us to Ankara every year … On our way back, which took a few days, we would listen to the new albums we bought from Turkey … Everybody had their own favourite: my sister and I liked pop music, my mum liked folk music, and my father liked folk and art music. We would listen to them all in turn."

For most people their access to new music was limited to those trips. In addition to this, there were German-Turkish musicians playing live and recording albums on which they usually performed their own compositions written around the theme of the immigrant experience, such as *gurbet* songs and other similar styles. Very few radio programmes played Turkish music, some music stores imported albums and video films from Turkey. In the 1990s came access to TV channels from Turkey via satellite. Finally, the internet now provides a path to most media material that is out there in Turkey. Before, people had to bring the things they wanted with them from Turkey. The point here is that there had to be a physical transfer, which was inconvenient and limited compared to today's sources. People had to choose between albums or instruments to take with them, and they then had to wait until the next visit. There was physical construction, too, with the material brought from Turkey, and emotional bonding with these objects. My respondent Özlem told me how valuable are these cassettes brought from Turkey:

> "I was waiting all year and saving money to buy cassettes of my favourite Turkish musicians when we went to Turkey for the summer holidays … They were my most valuable belongings … Now I don't even have a

cassette player at home, but I still can't throw them away. They were once my connection to Turkey, when I was a teenager. They have sentimental value."

This is one of the reasons why old songs are more valued by Turks in Germany than they are in Turkey. In Turkey, these products are consumed faster. Apart from people's individual connections with songs for specific reasons, greater meanings are attributed to them simply because they come from Turkey, again a part of the immigrant experience. However, with today's technology the physical transfer has mostly stopped or decreased drastically. The Turkish space people want to be in no longer needs to be physically imported, because it already exists in the Turkish neighbourhoods in Berlin. People do not have to buy albums from or in Turkey because they can find them online if they are not already on sale in their local music shop.

Though all communities experience natural change within the population, the gap between generations in the Turkish diaspora is greater because of the older generations' harsher and poorer circumstances and the timidity and fear of the new produced by these conditions. Some of my interviewees complained that the Turks, especially the older generations, were living in a much less civilised manner than their relatives in Turkey. They found that the old generation of Turks in Germany were in stasis because of the bubble they were trapped in while Turkey moved rapidly. This is also related to their access to technology. Although people in Germany in general had access to all kinds of technology probably long before the people in Turkey, some of the immigrants were hesitant to use it. My respondent Taylan touched upon this issue, which came up frequently in other interviews:

"When you go to a Turkish neighbourhood it feels as if time stopped there. They stayed the same as when they came from Turkey many years ago. Turkey today is very different from the way they remember it in the past. They stayed in the past to protect their values, but Turkey moved forward."

Erdem also gives an example of this issue from his own family:

"My 55-year-old aunt living in Trabzon (Turkey), who didn't go to school beyond the age of 12 is using a computer. She has a Facebook account. My other aunt, who is about the same age, and used to work as a primary

school teacher (in Germany) can't use a computer, she doesn't have anything to do with the internet. My uneducated aunt in Turkey has improved herself better than my aunt who lives in a modern, developed country. But the problem is that immigrants are closed to the world."

Music naturally stayed in this closed bubble and so did not move forward. In my Findings chapter I gave several interview extracts that speak to this issue. Some people were especially proud that the authenticity of the music has been better preserved in Germany. According to Olick in studies on national identity, cultural heritage, or collective memory, the meaning attributed to memory has to do with the fear of forgetting and the desire for authenticity (2007). It is also possible to observe in my study's case that the emphasis on the authenticity of music is more important in the sense that it shows the need for the information that it is authentic rather than its actual musical form or value. It suggests a direct and true connection between music (and everything music stands for) and the audience. According to that they are hoping that the authenticity will prevent them from forgetting the songs by providing the assurance that they will always remember them the way they used to sing them when they were in Turkey.

One might be tempted to ask to what degree the musics in Germany are authentic or culturally important, but this question presupposes that authenticity can be pre-defined. Connell and Gibson make this point clear when they suggest that: "… some music has been constructed as authentic because it suggested a directness of communication between artists and audiences – an emotive 'honesty' in words and sounds." (2003, p.46). However, the authenticity that some people are very proud to preserve in Germany is under risk since the consumption of Turkish popular culture is becoming similar in Turkey and Germany. The young generation's attitude towards and relation with music in particular will make it more difficult to maintain "authenticity." I have talked about this parallelism of consumption due to technologies in previous chapters. Nevertheless, this kind of similar consumption will not offer the same comfort to the listener because many Turkish people in Germany have the feeling of belonging to a diaspora, even if only subconsciously. This situation brings certain mistrust of belonging in Germany, so their expectancy from music may be

different from that of the ordinary listener in Turkey. Therefore music continues to provide a space for nostalgia, belonging, safety, or whatever that is needed, but the kinds of music that provoke emotions have changed. The face of the musics people choose for self-care is changing. Today the youth who are listening to musics from Turkey prefer the popular songs, as I have stated earlier. This is mostly because of the new media technologies. As we can see in Castells' (2010) discussion on the new information technologies and their role in the change of meanings, not only are immigrants' habits affected, but all societies exposed to new technologies:

> "New information technologies are not in themselves the source of the organisational logic that is transforming the social meaning of space: they are, however, the fundamental instrument that allows this logic to embody itself in historical actuality. Information technologies could be used, and can be used, in the pursuit of different social and functional goals, because what they offer, fundamentally, is flexibility." (2010, p.348)

So the new technology of the internet provides a whole new space for music consumption and for immigrants this becomes virtual worlds and memories. People can easily access video clips of current popular artists, TV series and other visual and aural materials, building up their own personal visions as well as the collective information they have. This creates a virtual idea of Turkey as a place, as the homeland of their families, in young peoples' minds. How is this altering the relationship between music and cultural memory for immigrants today?

Old musics, new musics, mixed memories

In the earlier chapters and the previous section I briefly mentioned how music consumption habits changed as a result of new media technologies. Essentially, the two important developments that impacted upon these habits were satellite TV technology in the 1990s, which brought access to TV channels from Turkey, and secondly, the internet in the 2000s.

Let us look briefly at how the new mediums changed the scene and the new music that the immigrant community is interested in. I simply asked people what kind of music they like listening to (sometimes, if I see that the person has

some kind of a music listening device like an mp3 player or simply a cell phone, I ask "what do you have on your playlist on your mp3 player?"). In response to the latter question, Betül replied "I love Sezen Aksu, I try to follow everything she does …". I ask Betül how she finds Sezen Aksu's music in Germany:

> "It is not difficult to follow her work because now you have access to everything if you have a computer and an internet connection. But since Sezen is the biggest pop star in Turkey her recordings are always available in music or book shops here as soon as the album is released in Turkey."

When I asked her why she thought she was so interested in this musician's work, her answer led me to a personal connection with this music:

> "My mother was a real fan, so my love for Sezen Aksu is a gift from my mum … I think if I had not heard her songs at home all the time when I was a child, I would still like her music, but I wouldn't feel such a connection. Now, every time I hear Sezen Aksu I feel like I'm sharing something with my mum in that moment and I remember how she got emotional sometimes when listening to Sezen, because her music reminded her of her youth in Izmir – a city in Turkey where Sezen Aksu also comes from."

Betül was a second-generation immigrant, meaning that her mother came to Germany in the 1970s when she was 32 years old, which makes her slightly younger than most in the second-generation. I would thus consider her as rather in between the second and third-generations of immigrants having been influenced from both sides. She told me that she remembered the times when the only source of music from Turkey was going to a Turkish music shop or bringing cassettes back when they went to Turkey for holidays. They also exchanged cassettes with friends and copied them. According to her that era has ended because everything can be found online. Cemal the music shop owner told me something similar about cassettes. He was upset that his business was going down, that many other music shops had shut down and they were only able to keep the business running by selling liquor and cigarettes as a side business. Another interviewee, Nedim, is from a big family and the youngest of five siblings. He is around the same age as Betül and he, too, belongs to the same in between generation. I addressed the same questions to Nedim. Like

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Betül, he told me about his love of all these phenomenal artists of Turkey who have been popular for many years now and loved by people from a wide range of ages:
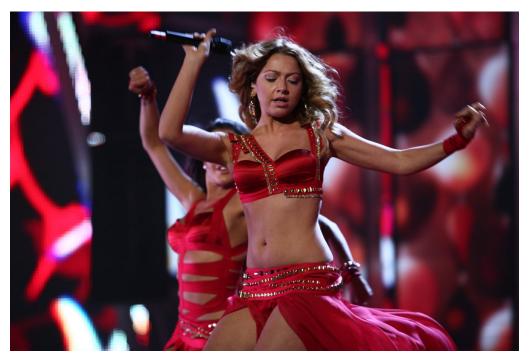
> "I always had a great admiration for İbrahim Tatlıses and Müslüm Gürses. They became well-known around the year I was born and I heard them in our house all the time … My brother used to save his pocket money to buy their latest albums as soon as they arrived at the music store in our neighbourhood."

Here we see the common points between Betül and Nedim's answers is that they are both fans of well-known and well-established artists who also have their families' admiration along with many other people's in their community, which may be the real reason of their fandom in the first place. These musicians are a member of the shared history and memory of these families. According to Bilgin, our memories are expected to have a social quality as long as they are shared by a group of people and are used in interpersonal communications (2013). Our social memories are not constructed through collecting the experiences that actually happened, they are formed by the meanings emerging from the dynamics of communications of people or groups. In Nedim and Betül's cases these shared listening experiences affected the meaning which these musics bear for them. These melodies carry along their memories with their families. They remember their parents' longing for their home country and culture when listening to these songs and they inherit these feelings along with admiration for these artists. They take on these memories to their own repertoire without questioning and music is the agent causing that with its great potential to be internalised easily.

On the other hand, during my contact with younger people I was able to observe the shift towards new interests, new popular forms of music from Turkey, how they are perceived and what kind of impact this has on the youth. I had the chance to observe the younger generation engaging first-hand with music at a music school, where they learn how to write and perform hip-hop songs. I attended a session with three girls in which the teacher was one of the former producers of the famous Turkish hip-hop group Cartel. Before we entered the
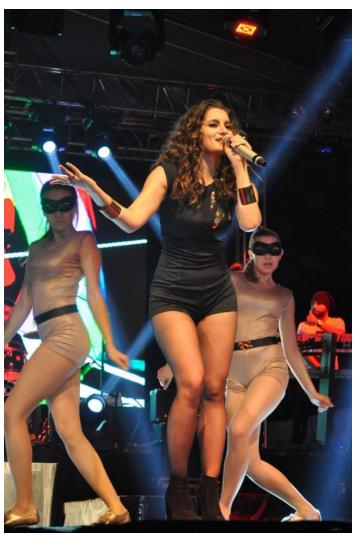
studio where the class was held, the teacher warned me that I would probably be surprised to see a girl hip-hopper with a headscarf. That is because hip-hop music is not generally associated with people who present a religious appearance. This is yet another code that has developed over time in the migrants' lives.

There were three girls in the class, aged 14 and 15. They spoke in German among themselves. Only one of them was fairly fluent in Turkish and she helped me translate my questions and the other girls' answers. They told me that they liked rap music and they mostly liked it because it was energetic, not because of its lyrical content and the cultural space it had provided for the migrant youth in the 1990s. One girl told me: "I usually follow music from the US and Europe. I like dance, music and I love watching the video clips. Turkish music videos are OK too, but the American ones are much better." Then she went on: "I like Turkish stars like Hadise and Atiye, they're great dancers."

Hadise at Eurovision Song Contest 2009 (www.eurovision.tv)

Perhaps unsurprisingly, Hadise and Atiye are both children of Turkish immigrant families. Hadise was born in Belgium and Atiye in Germany and raised

in Holland. Both women are in their twenties and they usually produce popular, energetic dance songs. They sing in Turkish but their looks, dances and video clips have a European feel. Hadise was chosen to represent Turkey at the Eurovision song contest in 2009, mostly for her international looks – a presentation of how "European" Turkey can be at the time of the debates surrounding Turkey's bid to join the European Union.

Atiye at a local concert in Izmir (www.haberciniz.biz)

The other musicians the girls mentioned are mostly new stars in their 20s. They said that if they liked the song a lot, they watch the video on YouTube. They do not buy albums. When I asked them why this was so, they told me that it is unnecessary to buy a Turkish album when you can listen to it online any time

you want; they did not want to spend their money on music. I asked them about the musical preferences of their households. One said:

> "My mum likes Turkish folk music, so I am familiar to the tunes, but I am not a fan. My older sister likes them and can usually sing along … my elder siblings used to hear these Turkish songs in *düğün*s, they used to go to lots of *düğün*s every summer. Now it is not that often."

The other girl said:

> "… my father wanted us to be modern, he wanted us to be open and integrate better. So he encourages me to come to this school to learn about hip-hop music … he doesn't mind that I speak German in the house with my brother, he wants to make sure that we speak good German … he doesn't want us to go through what my parents did. They have always been suppressed because they couldn't integrate enough, they couldn't find good jobs and always had to work hard for little money … So I guess I turned out to be more German than Turkish and I listen to whatever my friends listen to."

In addition to the changes in musical taste, their answers point to a miscommunication in some way between children and parents in terms of transferring and sharing musical knowledge which could result in a disconnection in the transmission of cultural memories as well. Another popular product that has immigrants' attention is Turkish TV series. Perhaps consumed a little differently from music, they still offer a shared media consumption experience and a link to life in Turkey and sometimes even some music. The same girls told me that they enjoy watching Turkish TV shows with their families:

> "I watch *Aşk-ı Memnu* with my mum. Sometimes I don't understand some of the Turkish words, but it's ok. Soap operas are easy to understand … I like *Aşk-ı Memnu* a lot because the family lives in this beautiful house by the water in Istanbul. They show how fascinating Istanbul is … The boys in this show are very good-looking and women wear very nice clothes."

I noted in these conversations that the girls emphasised that they prefer to see the modern face of Turkey: "Some shows can be found on the internet with subtitles, but they are usually already very easy to understand … I like seeing Turkey in the soap operas … I especially like the modern ones, taking place in Istanbul." The third girl at the music school spoke of the gap between her and her sister because of the age difference and how memory and perception of things related to Turkey differs from her family:

"My elder sister likes the shows that take place in villages similar to where my parents come from. She is eight years older than me and she has been to our *köy* many times. She remembers the place very well. The last time I was there, I was very young, I don't remember that well … There were animals, that's one thing that struck me as a child I guess … The people were very interested in me, they always wanted to hug me and kiss me … the rest of what I remember comes from photos … My sister's Turkish is better than mine, she watches all the shows with my mum. I prefer more modern ones in the city, like *Aşk-ı Memnu* and *Şehrazat* (both shows take place in Istanbul)."

These three girls were aged between 14 and 15, and they were among the younger people involved in this research with whom I was able to have an in-depth conversation. Their answers already show the difference of interests between generations, but when I compare them to the other interviews I have presented throughout this work it becomes more evident that the younger generations are becoming disconnected, not from Turkey, but from the shared memory of Turkey held by their families. It was especially impressive for me to see that siblings eight years apart could visibly contrast in their preferences. I thought that their language skills had an important impact here. Another informant, İdil, a 40-year-old musician, told me how she used to feel about the differences she observed between herself and her parents:

"I don't think I can remember the details very well, but I do remember a certain feeling of joy, laughter, singing and storytelling would come over my parents when they were around their friends and relatives from their homeland, from Turkey … which would dominate the way I felt in their presence. And in contrast they would get shy and a little lost when they were had to have conversations with German speakers in their daily life – shopping and so on. That also made me feel angry with them because I wished they would be the way they were when we were with other Turkish people. I had to guide them through certain things and as a child it felt too grown up to take on so much responsibility. So my understanding of Turkey mainly came from how happy and secure my parents were when they interacted with anything or anyone that had anything to do with Turkey."

İdil is an example of how children can observe a difference between themselves and their parents in terms of the groups they belong to, and of this creating a gap between them. Children observing their family in two different settings attribute certain meanings to this duality, and they see music as a

medium that makes their families feel good and perform at their best. They relate this good feeling coming with music to a sense of place, namely the "homeland." Music constructs a sense of place (i.e. the homeland) for people who know it and an idea of this place for those who are not as familiar with it. So how does music lead to constructing places and spaces, and how does this in turn influence the formation of cultural memory?

Music as a converter of place and space

Before turning to the young generations' relationship with music and cultural memory, the final issue of my analysis, I shall look at the function of music in this migrant society to the present and how it will continue to play a similar role in spite of all these transformations. Castells suggests that space is the expression of society: "Spatial forms and processes are formed by the dynamics of the overall social structure." (2010, p.410). I argue that if space can act as a representation of a society, then music is a medium through which to create that space, and it is also a means of expression.

On the personal and community level, music has been an element to set the boundaries of the immigrants' space. According to Stokes, "The 'places' constructed through music involve notions of difference and social boundary." (1997, p.3). At a personal level, we have seen in many of my interviews that people use music as an enclave in which to take shelter from the difficulties of the outer world, providing them what they need and emotional support, acting as a self-caring mechanism. Besides constructing differences and boundaries as Stokes suggests, the immigrants used music, as in the example of hip-hop, to present and express their social attitudes.

On a community level, I have mentioned in my Historical and Musical Background and Findings chapters, the musical events from the beginning of the immigration process, from the gatherings in the *heim*s, playing *bağlama* and singing together, to public concerts, as significant events. *Düğün*s and *bağlama* courses have provided a space parents consider safe for their children, in which they can meet people like them, people from Turkey or with a connection to

Turkey, but not Germans. People would go to *türkü* bars to feel relief from homesickness. My respondents expressed the feeling of "being home" there, showing how these musical settings change their sense of place. In all these examples throughout the history of the immigration, music has acted as a converter. It altered the place, transporting the immigrants to where they wanted to be, without the need to actually travel.

The creation of place need not necessarily transport one from "host land" to "homeland"; it can also work the other way. Music has also acted as an agent releasing people from the oppression and nostalgia of their homes, giving them access to the outside world of German culture to which some of the youth want to belong. These people used Western music to escape the space created by Turkish culture. Another example of music giving space to move from homeland to host land is families wanting their children to integrate better into the German system and giving them piano or violin lessons as opposed to *bağlama*. This is also an example of music providing mobility between classes. As we remember from Fatih and Bahri's interviews, their praise for Western classical music was also perceived as a sign of modernity and integration. For them, music is used to create, rather than break down, the boundaries of social class.

On the other hand, for some people, especially among the older generations, music took them back in time and place. They listened to the old songs from Turkey and comforted themselves. Music provided a safe space where they did not feel the weight of the integration debate on their shoulders. Meanwhile, the younger generations in the same houses try to catch the present time and the future by listening to the same music as their peers. This is an expression of the place in which the young want to exist. Or, alternatively, people go to the "third" place, by creating their own original playlists. We can see in Murat and Leyla's interviews that they have an emotional tie to Turkish music, like their families, but they approach this music from a distance. They listen to Turkish music as they would listen to any other music, and they form their musical tastes consisting of many different genres free of emotional bonds or

social codes. This seems to be the new practice of music listening and emerging alternative culture.

In these differing examples we see how music provides spaces or places to go in alternative directions. These created places directly affect the cultural memories formed or constructed. The experience of being an immigrant has an organic relation with places in connection to the contexts of homelands and host lands. From my interviews we learn that most immigrant memories are directly related to these places. People gave music even more importance and meaning because of its relation with place. The older generations in particular used music to imagine themselves in the places they loved. More importantly, the shared experience of musicking helped provide a cultural memory for this community. So how are music, sense of place, and ways of remembering changing for the new generation?

Cultural memory formation in the new era

I started off this research with the assumption that music has a vital role in regulating cultural memory in immigrant communities. I argued that each generation passes its own memories to the next and music is one of the tools used both consciously and unconsciously in this process. I have been claiming that a generational breaking point is occurring in this era; we can also see its reflections in the younger generations' musicking activities. Therefore, there should be a change in the transmission and formation of cultural memory as an outgrowth. At this point I will try to distinguish the memory transmission experience of the past and then explore how it has evolved to the present, in the light of the information presented in the Historical and Musical Background chapter about past musicking activities, and my recent findings about the situation today.

As I have shown in detail in my previous chapters, music was an integral part of the immigrant experience from the start, intentionally and unintentionally. When they settled down in Germany, they felt the need to develop strategies to protect and pass on their cultural memories to their children. Music was the one

cultural element to which they turned to preserve their heritage. The latest form of this behaviour is best observed in parents' choice to send their children to *bağlama* schools, an intergenerational conflict of desires. A quick glance at my findings from the *bağlama* schools shows that parents say they want their children to learn about Turkish culture, learn Turkish music, socialise with people like them (here read people with origins in Turkey). National identity is important for these parents, and they see it as a connecting ground. They feel that their children are safe in these environments, where they learn about music from Turkey and spend time with their similar children. So in this equation, families see Turkish music as a way of protecting and transferring their culture and cultural memories, as I have shown with the interview extracts in the Findings chapter. The conflicting desires show up when we look at this story from the children's perspective. As shown in my interviews, teachers mostly tell us that children do not enjoy going to the *bağlama* school. They are not interested in the instrument or the music, they do not fit in, and therefore they usually quit the course after a short while. In this picture we see different generations and two different desires. I acknowledge that some of the children may just not want to continue because they are not interested in music in general or for some other reason; I also particularly take into account that the teachers I spoke to often emphasised that the children were not interested because the music and instruments were not those their German peers knew. At this point it is critical to say that looking at the issue from an angle that compares Turkish children and their German peers is not the right thing to do today. The younger generation, especially children of primary school age, does not see the separation of "us and them". On the contrary, they are as "German" as it is possible to be after 50 years of the immigration process. Therefore it is also not surprising that children are not interested in a music they cannot relate to.

In my Literature Review and Findings chapters I have shown and emphasised how cultural memory is variable rather than stable. The way in which it is formed and what is remembered changes according to the influence of numerous social and cultural agents, in addition to other biological factors

influencing our memories. So, how does music interfere with cultural memory and what happened in the case of Berlin's immigrant community at a time I claim to be an era of generational breaking point?

In my work I deal with memory as the constructed wholes of experiences. These constructed wholes are also a production in space just as those created with music. Cultural memory is not related to what is happening in everyday life, but, it is at a distance from the reality of everyday life. It is a space emerging from the needs of the immigrants, needs such as belonging, identity, and safety. This way of thinking helps to see the relationship between music and cultural memory more clearly. From this perspective, how does the relationship between music and cultural memory alter in time? The first-generations of immigrants sought refuge in music, but the form of music has kept changing. This refuge is rather a way to establish a connection within the family, and shared experiences gain greater importance. This is what lies behind families sending their children to *bağlama* schools to learn or not forget their "culture" and feel connected to the family or community. On the other hand, there are immigrants who have a completely different approach to music, like Leyla and Taylan. The change in media has also changed the way cultural inheritance is transferred. The numerous methods of accessing music today allow people to construct a cultural identity through other means than family connections. Individuals can create "virtual" memories that differ from those of their families, as can be seen in the cases presented above.

The immigrant society of Turkish origins has grown a lot in its more than 50-year history to become the largest immigrant society in Germany today, and has become culturally and socially diversified in the process. The types of relationship between Turkey and the immigrants and motivations for travelling back and forth (to Turkey) have also increased with the growing connections in education and in art. Therefore, young people's access and interest in the music of Turkey may have changed due to both physical and technological means. People have brought thousands of mp3s to Germany on a tiny hard-disc or acquired the means to download them via the internet. Thus the phenomenon of

constructing or transferring memory through music that has accompanied the immigration process continues in various new ways. However, the key point for the formation of cultural memory is that collective and shared experiences are decreasing. The musicking experience of the younger generation is more personal today. The popular songs accompanied by visual materials from Turkey are one click away and they are usually more synchronised with Turkey in terms of music consumption compared to older generations. The scene is moving away from the picture drawn by respondents of the immigrant community clinging to old songs, old styles, old dances and praising their authenticity. It is changing in such a way that although younger generations might still be influenced by their families, we can assert that future generations who keep in touch with music scene of Turkey will have a predominantly "virtual" memory of the country and of anything related to "Turkishness", rather than one borrowed from older generations.

Summary

In this chapter I aimed to provide an analysis that would complement all the theoretical discussion about cultural memory and its relation to music with the current data from Berlin presented in previous chapters, offering fresh insight into how music is involved with cultural memory and a community with a history of immigration. In the light of my findings I chose to focus mainly on three issues: the first being the era of generational breaking point, which I was able to observe in the younger generation of immigrants, its background, its musical reflections such as the movements of the nineties and the transformation of social-musical codes in later years, and how language is an important element in this transformation focusing on its organic relation with music. Secondly, changing my perspective from looking at the transformations of today, I focused on the continuing social patterns within immigrant life, the reasons for this continuation, and how it affects the music scene and in turn the act of remembering for migrants. In this section I have also treated as a continuing pattern the idea of the immigrants held by the people in Turkey, their attitudes, and how this

influences the migrant community. And in the third part I elaborated on the music consumption of the young generation, the transformation of access to music and how this alters the scene. In addition, I have indicated how old and new musics, memories, and experiences intersect today, how this could develop in the future and how it affects the ways people remember.

In my attempt to analyse these issues we have seen how the community in Berlin thrived and today is too diverse to be seen in a general migrant picture. The young generation is developing its own culture influenced by its migrant background and its German side. The internet makes possible interaction with Turkish popular culture on a more parallel basis to Turkey than ever before. The easy access to music makes Turkish songs an ordinary thing in young peoples' lives; they are no longer the treasured musical items of times past. Young people are closer to Turkey's music than ever before, yet their relationship with it makes it similar to any other music from around the world. The generational gaps, language issues, and other similar transformations are decreasing the significance of the shared experience of Turkishness so important to the older generations, and creating new ones. Some families are already ready to leave it behind them with the idea that they should provide their children a more integrated life in Germany. The new developments in the community are determining how cultural memories take shape. The Turkish diaspora in Germany presents a good example of how memories and the way they are formed are variable, not constant.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

A review of my work, some general thoughts and projections

I wrote this thesis based upon a six months of fieldwork in Berlin, making observations of and conducting in-depth interviews with people with origins in Turkey. I aimed to explore their musical activities, how immigrants used music, what kinds of musics they listened to and how they related to them personally, how music plays a role in the forming of the cultural memory of a society and how this cultural memory is preserved/transmitted. With these starting questions in my mind, my thesis took shape over time and led me to the conclusions I present below.

People with roots in Turkey who are living in Germany today represent too diverse a group to generalise in spite of such tendency by the majority. Different people have different relations with music and the way they use it as an emotional support or socialising tool can vary radically. Primarily there are differences between generations because of altering processes of integration to the culture and life in Germany; socio-economic dissimilarities among different groups of immigrants have also been surfacing in recent decades.

During my fieldwork I have been in touch mostly with members of the third-generation in addition to some of the second. When I compare the early works on the Turkish community in Germany, which mainly cover first and second-generation immigrants' lives, to what I have heard from third-generation informants and my own observations, I am able to see that the timing of my study coincides with an important era in which we find a generational breaking point. Looking at my elder respondents' comments, it is possible to observe how musical practices were among the most important shared activities within families

and in the larger community. Most second, and older third, generation immigrants express similar musical knowledge and tastes as their parents and the memories around these activities become collective within small groups whether or not people had personally experienced them. They value music very deeply and attribute larger meanings to songs compared to their peers in Turkey. These migrants make a great effort to try to protect everything that is related to Turkey as far as possible, which extends from their neighbourhoods to maintaining the perceived authenticity of their music.

However looking at what my younger respondents have to say, it is possible to observe that things have started to change. As I have made clear in my last chapters, these changes did not occur suddenly or unexpectedly, rather they have been in the making for decades and they will continue to develop in the coming years. But it is now that they are becoming really visible and accepted as the "new normal", whereas the early examples of similar changing life patterns were mostly condemned as "marginal", "Germanised", "corrupted". Having said that, as change continues the patterns like fear, insecurity, feelings of exclusion, and distrust of all things attributed to being in Germany also continues, even though they are decreasing. I have tried to present both the continuing and discontinuing patterns, but I chose to mainly highlight and focus on the change, looking at what is new and what is the direction for the future. The reflection of that change in musicking practices is observed in young people's growing interest in Western music, and the abandonment of traditional musics from Turkey to the older generations, as seen in the data on the music schools, concerts, *türkü* bars and other similar musical practices. However, the music that is called traditional, folkloric or sometimes old-fashioned is not just disappearing, rather we meet them once again integrated into popular musical forms among the immigrants, like rap and *RnBesk*, with tunes or lyrics from Turkish music synthesised with Western music patterns and English or German lyrics. Again, I see this as evidence for my claim that this is an on-going period of change of diverse groups of people with diverse musicking experiences.

When I tried to explore what triggered this change, I identified several factors. First of all there is a natural process of change over time and difference among generations is expected and occurs in a similar manner to other societies. So one should not fall into the trap of observing an immigrant community as an isolated group. The changing attitudes towards Western music are also observed in the younger generations living in Turkey: this is not a sole result of "Germanisation" among the immigrants. The first-generation workers lived under difficult circumstances for years, which posed every physical and emotional obstacle to their integration into the new country to which they had migrated in addition to their own unwillingness to integration. Subsequent generations may have still experienced difficult but improving conditions, partly due to the immigrants' own efforts, and partly to the German government's initiatives for integration activities, which figure among the most important debates for the immigrants today. Changing social and political agendas therefore also had an inevitable role in the dissimilarities of the generations.

According to my study the second factor to affect musicking practices was the introduction of new technologies that altered the opportunities and means of accessing music. After satellite technology allowed access to TV channels from Turkey, the internet technology of the 2000s built a virtual bridge to Turkey from anywhere in the world. At the same time as the generations have been gravitating towards Western music, the immigrants became close to Turkey than ever via the internet. This means that anyone with internet access can watch any music video released in Turkey any time they want, in addition to many other TV shows with a lot of musical content. How did this affect people's relation with music? I came to observe that these personal devices for music access decreased the shared listening experience in homes. In the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s families and friends gathered to play instruments they had brought from Turkey, or their cassettes, and sang songs together. As emphasised several times throughout the thesis, this kind of shared music listening experience is one of the most effective ways of building a cultural memory. When we look at my respondents' involvements with music we see that most of their shared listening

experiences occurred in the past and they no longer happen on the same scale. Nevertheless, shared musicking events and locales like *düğün*s, concerts, and *türkü* bars still play an important role in the musical life and memory of the community with Turkish origins today, but their numbers are decreasing in recent years.

The new generation with internet access prefers to listen to songs from Turkey that are more rhythmic, popular and mixed with a Westernised sound. The new generation grasps the new, modern, Western sounds of Turkey while their older relatives used to have a good knowledge of traditional and authentic songs and dances and they were proud of it. The formation and transmission of cultural memory, therefore, is drastically different today where the new generation is forming its new relationships with music and builds virtual memories.

When exploring the transmission of cultural memory between generations in the present context, I mostly focused on interaction within the family, shared music listening in the home. People also shared musicking experiences at *düğün*s, concerts, and other musical activities. These experiences took place within extended families and among close friends, but mainly the closed group was formed by the common origin of being an immigrant from Turkey. My interviews with elder people show that there was a more direct transmission within the family or the community in the past. Music and other cultural agents were subject to minimal changes while people had very limited access to music from Turkey, and limited interest in the music they heard in Germany. But, as time passed and people became more settled, the fact of being an immigrant or descendant of immigrant is no longer seen as a reason to live separate from German culture. Before, being an immigrant was the most important shared feature for the diaspora and the most significant part of this sharing was a product of the troubles people were going through because of their difficult circumstances. So a shared past of migration, grief, and struggle brought together people who had a common cultural background. This alliance is losing one of its most important ingredients today: the struggle. As people invent their

own ways to integrate to life in Berlin they are giving up this important shared experience. On the other hand, the experience of constructing a cultural memory relies on a group of people sharing moments. In today's Berlin shared activity times are observed becoming weaker. The conditions are changing and the people are finally finding the strength to be more diverse. As they obtain better standards of living the primary social needs, like identity and belonging, give way to more sophisticated and complicated needs. In her interview Zeynep complained about how the institutions of higher education in music would not open up space for Turkish music education. This would not be a concern at a time when people experienced harsher conditions. Another example among many others is Fatih's complaints about how the young generation is oppressed by their families for trying to continue their conventional lifestyles.

To summarise, this is a time of rather rapid change compared to past decades for the German-Turks. And the change affects people in such a way that they are starting to lose their ties with traditional cultures from Turkey, music being among them. This is not an unexpected development for an immigrant community. A similar process can be observed in many other communities, both migrants and non-migrants. But I argue that the Turkish community seems willing to keep their ties one way or another with Turkey in various aspects. Even the young generation raised to embrace German cultural values rather than Turkish ones, come to see value in ties to the cultures of Turkey and want to experience them first-hand (as in the case of Erdem, who went to Eskişehir as an exchange student for a semester, and now works freelance in Berlin and Istanbul, or Leyla who as a DJ uses musics from Turkey in addition to her Western playlists at the parties to which she is invited).

This issue of generational change and how it takes place is largely related to the host country's policies as well. In Turkey and Germany's case, the on-going debate regarding integration is an important part of the political agenda. And we can see how it is reflected in most people's lives by my interviewees' comments on the integration issue. Almost all of the participants in this study had something to say about the integration policies even when I didn't bring the issue

up. Integration is in people's lives today even they object or embrace it, and having that as an agenda is creating a medium for the immigrants to realise and conceptualise the transformation.

The important thing to emphasise here is that a generational breaking point does not mean that the younger generation loses all ties to Turkey or the identities their families' homeland carry with them. It does not mean that they become "Germanised" and behave and feel like Germans, as some people agree that is one of the aims of Germany's integration policies. The dynamics of the inter-generational change is created by the social realities of the place, and in this place "Turkishness" has a very strong presence. It is my belief that the coming generations will still carry the traces of the culture and memories of their families and music will be an important part of these, at least as long as the Turkish media is a prominent part of the Turkish-speaking community in Germany.

When we talk about change we need to bear in mind that it is not just the community in question is changing. The city of Berlin is itself going through change with the old Turkish neighbourhoods like Kreuzberg and Neukölln, once ghettoes, becoming popular and centres of attention. Today the Turkish community lives with artists, students and members of many different cultures from all over the world, which was unheard of one or two decades ago. The influence of this kind of environment on the old habitants of these neighbourhoods should also be taken into consideration. While just a short time ago people living in these areas kept a strict boundary between the German and Turkish neighbourhoods, today people want to live in these neighbourhoods for their convenient locations, good prices, good Turkish food, and the lively nightlife. I observed that this change in the perception of Turkish neighbourhoods is flattering for the community in general and makes integration easier, although some groups always object to losing what is traditional and familiar. This is no longer integration for one side; it is rather a matter of both sides trying to live together in Berlin.

Deconstructing constructed worlds and memories

One issue to which I attached great importance in my work is the idea of "construction." When I began working on this thesis, relying on the literature about the Turkish communities in Germany, I considered many of the cultural and social formations of the migrant community as a constructed reality. At the end of my fieldwork, I realised that this idea is a sensitive one and it can be patronising for the immigrant communities if it is not be handled with care. In my study's case I reach to the conclusion that the "Turkish" neighbourhoods in Berlin today are as real or as constructed as any other neighbourhood.

My work looks mainly at the relationship between music and cultural memory in a migrant community. It is a sociological study that focuses on music. The nature of my subject inclines me to present the surrounding aspects of this cultural phenomenon too, mainly how this Turkish-speaking society in Berlin looks and exists today. When I started designing my thesis I proposed that this community had been transferring its memories with music and that new memories were being imagined and/or constructed by the younger generations. So I began my work by making an assumption about their lives and existence principally based on the literature on this topic and focused on the idea of construction. When I began my fieldwork I also started examining and judging how much this assumption was in line with my actual findings.

My work initiated with the hypothesis that the immigrants had constructed a life for themselves in Berlin by using music as a mediator as well as many other cultural assets. It is possible to see the most visible cues of this in Kreuzberg, also known as Little Istanbul, where there are many Turkish restaurants, shops, *türkü* bars and *bağlama* schools. When observed from the outside, however, the existence of this Turkish neighbourhood, a very dominant one at that, in the heart of a metropolitan European city may imply that this kind of existence is an unnatural construction and produces a certain feeling of astonishment. That is because without thinking we have a tendency to expect to see things that are specific to Germany in Berlin. During my field study in Berlin one of the things I

learned was the Turkish-speaking community and their neighbourhoods had become an organic and important part of Berlin after 50 years of shared history with the city's other residents. At that point the term "construction" could have a potential negative impression since it can reinforce the alienation or marginalisation of immigrant societies from the rest of the population by creating dichotomies such as natural-unnatural, real-artificial, normal-abnormal, and putting the immigrant communities in the position of the "other", suggesting that they do not belong. My experience of living in Berlin and engaging with immigrants led me to this conclusion that this whole community can be a construction on the condition that we acknowledge that everything surrounding it is a construction as well.

Recognising the fact that this kind of construction is normal led me to think that this city no longer belongs only to Germans, but is also home to many people who are not German, whatever they call themselves. Moving on from this point, the existence of a *bağlama* school or a *simit* café should not seem surprising or marginal any more. Looking at this neighbourhood as a construction can, in a way, be patronising towards the people living there. People fought to survive there in the early years and throve in spite of many difficulties. And they still live there today, with their children who see Berlin as their homeland and have established their lives there. Looking at the community as a construction in a negative way is to take an exclusive attitude and neglect what people have built themselves there.

Therefore in future studies and for policy makers working on improving this community's conditions, I believe that the right approach is to recognise that the 'construction's created by this community are people's efforts towards making meaning to survive and that is not 'strange' or 'exotic'. Turkish diaspora is an important and legitimate part of the complex tapestry of Berlin life. Both visible and invisible Turks should be acknowledged, one should not generalise all the migrants as one homogenous group but recognise the multicultural face of different groups within the community.

What is visible and what is not

Until now I have been talking about a general idea of "Turkish immigrant" and how it can sometimes be misleading. I believe the main reason for this idea's currency is that most of the discussion of problematic issues like integration is undertaken in reference to the "visible-un-integrated-un-Germanised" portion of the people who are immigrants or the first- or second-generation immigrants. These people feel a justified anger about this attitude that labels every Turkish-speaking person as a prototype immigrant.

The most critical point to consider about the Turkish diaspora is that this community has become too diverse today to be talked about as one big group. Today, in the mainstream media, which reflects the general opinion of the "migrant Turk", as discussed above, there still appears to be a clear idea of one "Turkish community." That idea includes a range of points from physical appearance to social, cultural, religious habits and more. My argument at this point is that the seeds of this idea may only reflect an older version of the real picture even if it is true to a certain extent. The idea itself follows the reality at a chronological distance.

I suggest that the common idea about the Turkish diaspora also defines the visibility of Turkishness. By this I mean the migrants who do not fit the common idea of a Turkish immigrant remain under the radar. This can sometimes be the result of language skills, education or sometimes it can even be because of a pair of blue eyes and blonde hair (as noted by the informant Erdem in the Findings chapter). We can also look at the examples of Turkish immigrants in other countries where they migrated in different circumstances to the guest-workers of Germany. In the United States or the United Kingdom, "the good, well-integrated" Turks are not visible to the eye of one who is looking for the "migrant Turk."

As I have mentioned in several places in the thesis, Berlin is a special city in terms of her relationship with migrant populations. I chose Berlin as my field mainly because of the high Turkish population. But most of my interviewees

indicated that Berlin is not representative of the rest of Germany, implying that Berlin is a more liberal city and that the local authorities try to maintain a more welcoming attitude towards foreigners compared to other places. This may not be the case for all German cities; there are cases where immigrants face rather conservative policy against them. When I discussed the changing and diverse profile of the people with immigrant backgrounds with people who know other cities in Germany, they were surprised by some of my comments and told me that the immigrant communities in their cities tend to remain traditional and conservative. Therefore, in my study, Berlin's influence on the community should always be considered if it is to be compared to guest-workers and immigrants in other European cities.

In addition to the city's influence, the much discussed integration regulations have effects which people both appreciate and oppose. They are mostly criticised for having an assimilative nature and being imposed to the immigrants. However, I still hope to see it as an important effort to include Turkish residents in German society in the long term, and I find it favourable considering that similar regulations did not exist at all at the beginning of the immigration process since the immigrants were considered and invited only to be temporary visitors. Much later it was understood that they were no longer guests in Germany, but neither the Turkish nor the German government took any steps to support these people's rights or to provide them better conditions. So, even if the integration policies may need to be discussed, this relatively new effort should serve as a way of acknowledging that these people are no longer guests, but social citizens, and are an important part of German society.

To conclude

In the case of my own research I made the assumption that the immigrants from Turkey use music for a sense of belonging, for recognising who they are, which is believed to have a totally different dimension for the young generation compared to the first immigrants to arrive in Germany. Looking at the attitude of the younger generation attending Turkish music schools, we can predict that *türkü* bars may not be popular for the younger third-generation and

the future fourth generation when they reach adulthood. The German-Turkish youth's agenda of concerns are changing every day. Today there is a group of young people in Berlin who rejects being referred to with any national identity. One of the main reasons for this opposition is said to be issues concerning Islam, Islam and violence, Islam and woman, honour killings and similar topics that regularly appear in the German media. This group of young people are very troubled to be at the centre of these discussions because of their ethnic origins. I believe that it would not be wrong to say that identity issues will always be at the centre of the discussions conducted within and about the immigrants. And these issues will always impact musical practices, so music will continue to be a good access point by which to try to understand this community.

Appendix

Interview questions:

The list of issues and questions covered were mostly as follows:

1. Sex and Age

2. Place and date of birth

3. How long have you been in Germany? How long have you been in Berlin?

4. Do you speak Turkish or any other languages spoken in Turkey (like Abaza, Arabic, Georgian, Kurdish, Laz, Romani Balkan, Tatar, Zaza, etc.)

5. Do you speak German?

6. What is your education?

7. What is your profession?

8. Are you affiliated with an organisation? (If yes) Is there music related activities in this organisation?

9. Are you familiar with music from Turkey? Which genres?

10. Do you play a musical instrument? (If yes) Where did you learn how to play and how long have you been playing this instrument?

11. Do you sing songs from Turkey? (If yes) What genres, and from which region?

12. Where did you learn them?

13. Do you remember if a member of your family either played a musical instrument or sang music from Turkey?

14. Do you listen to albums from Turkey? Where do you obtain them?

15. Do you watch Turkish TV channels? Which programs do you watch?

16. Do you listen to Turkish radio channels?

17. Do you use internet as a medium to watch programmes broadcasted in Turkey?

18. What is your favourite music? (favourite singer, musician, music band)

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