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DRAWING
BOUNDARIES
—
ON
TURKISH
POP
MUSIC
IN
GERMANY
FROM
THE
1960s
TO
THE
PRESENT
DAY

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"Grenzziehungen—zum Umgang mit türkischer Popmusik
in Deutschland von den 1960er-Jahren bis heute."

'Parallelgesellschaften' in populärer Musik? Abgrenzungen—Annäherungen—Perspektiven,
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"Migration is not some kind
of temporary marginal phenomenon,
but a constitutive element of our society,
so it is very formative, very important."

İmran Ayata and Bülent Kullukcu,
compilers of the series "Songs of Gastarbeiter"
(in Ruhland/Wilczek 2022)

"When I see all the stores here now
where I have to pay nine euros for a loaf of bread
and I can only order in English, I think to myself:
that's actually the real parallel society."

PTK, rapper from Berlin-Kreuzberg
(in Kendler 2023: 114)

"Do the rich live in a parallel society?
Yes, many wealthy people have described this to me.
In the past, children of very wealthy parents
were more often sent to normal schools.
Today, it's common for children to go to private schools.
The rich go to the same places, you often travel in such a way
that you don't come into contact with normal people in the queue,
but are taken directly to the airport by the driver.
This isolation characterizes the lives of many rich people."

Julia Friedrichs, author of the book *Crazy Rich*,
interviewed by Robin Schmidt
(in Schmidt 2024)

Phenomena of Social and Cultural Demarcation in Society

The treatment of Turkish music, and Turkish pop music in particular, has been characterized by various mechanisms of demarcation in the Federal Republic of Germany since the 1960s, i.e. since the strong Turkish presence due to the recruitment agreement. In this article, we will explore the questions of where these mechanisms are applied, by whom and how they are argued, but also how they change over time, for the period from the 1960s to the present day. As musical demarcations are not purely musical phenomena, but also involve social aspects, we will first look at social and cultural demarcation phenomena in German society, with particular reference to migrant communities. We will then pursue a series of core questions concerning Turkish music and its audience, music features, and the music market. In particular, we will focus on the respective evaluations of Turkish music in Germany. The discussion of these questions will be accompanied by an examination of mainly music-related aspects of German migration policy.

The presence of Turkish communities in Germany is part of the continuous increase in migrant presence in Germany since the late 1950s. In 2021, 83 million people lived in Germany. Of these, 22.3 million people, i.e. more than a quarter of the total population, had a "migration background" (Statistisches Bundesamt 2022). This data disproves all those who denied migration movements to Germany for decades. "We do not want to be and cannot be a country of immigration," declared Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt of the SPD in 1979 (Schmidt in BR24, in Kodýdková 2018: 19). In 1996, the conservative coalition government of the CDU/CSU and FDP answered the question of whether Germany saw itself as a country of immigration with a clear "no" (BR 2010). It was not until 2015 that a head of government, the then-Chancellor Angela Merkel of the CDU, recognized Germany as a country of immigration, following the position of the Greens rather belatedly (dpa 2015). However, SPD politician Andrea Nahles, head of the Federal Employment Agency, remarked in 2022 in view of the annual onward migration of two-thirds of the people who immigrate to Germany due to unfavorable legal conditions and a problematic German bureaucracy: "We obviously still do not see ourselves as an immigration country in the final analysis" (in Specht 2022: 8). The current debates on this topic do not yet appear to have been concluded. The statement of the federally funded German Centre for Integration and Migration Research (DeZIM), which describes Germany as a partly post-migrant society, points to a source of conflicts: "It is no longer a question of whether the country describes itself as a country of immigration, but rather how and by whom this country of immigration can, may, and will be changed and shaped" (DeZIM 2023).

Based on this, we would like to start by making various observations on phenomena of social and cultural demarcation. The term 'phenomena of demarcation' sometimes seems more suitable for our argument than the highly politicized term 'parallel society,' which usually comes with negative connotations from the outset and is one-sided because it is often discursively associated with blood feuds, honor killings, forced marriages, or compulsory headscarves for girls and women (see Rat für Migration 2014). This type of argument was put forward by the conservative SPD politician Thilo Sarrazin, for example, in his (in)famous conversation with Frank Berberich in *Lettre Internationale* (Berberich/Sarrazin 2009). It subsequently served as the foundation for the discourse on the notion of a 'parallel society,' a concept that was further fed by Sarrazin's books and corresponding counter-writings (see Kaube/Kieserling 2022).

The discourse on the concept of 'parallel society' is still very much alive. Falko Liecke, CDU district counsellor for social affairs in Berlin, recently stated in the *Berliner Zeitung*, for example, that a "complete parallel society" has "arisen that has nothing to do with our state organs, the police, or our education system" (in Hauenstein 2023). However, he was not referring to ultra-right so-called Reichsbürger [German Citizens of the Reich] but to the immigrant-dominated Berlin district of Neukölln.

Urban researcher Stephan Lanz aptly summarizes that terms such as 'parallel society' serve to "blame the causes of segregation from the majority society on migrants. The alleged inability to integrate is made the subject, but not the unwillingness of the majority society to integrate" (in Arin et al. 2005: 643). In fact, hardly anyone associates the term 'parallel society' with those parts of the population who—like the 'German Citizens of the Reich'—consciously and discriminatorily separate themselves from migrants as part of society (see Kaube/Kieserling 2022: 216–239). In addition, there are far more complex phenomena of demarcation such as external demarcation and self-demarcation on both sides—the dominant communities and the migrant communities—thereby increasing the complexity of the conceptual field.

Nevertheless, where necessary, we will return to the term 'parallel society,' which refers to the conference and subsequent publication in which this text first appeared. In other cases, we will rather speak of phenomena of demarcation or exclusion. Sometimes, however, it makes sense to adopt the term 'parallel society,' as it can also be used critically, as Jürgen Kaube and André Kieserling provocatively show in the blurb of their book: "If the Islamic-dominated district of Berlin-Neukölln is a parallel society, shouldn't the villa district in Grunewald also be described as such?" (Kaube/Kieserling 2022). CDU politician Armin Laschet recently made a similarly provocative turn of phrase that was well-received across all parties and directed at the ultra-right AfD: "You talked about parallel societies, and indeed, you are right, that was a parallel society: the NSU [National Socialist Underground], which murdered across the country for ten years!" (in Matteoni 2023).

Musical milieus also show signs of efforts to distance themselves from migrants. For a long time, “No foreigners” was not only a fixed addition to housing offers (Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 2023: 48) but also a rejection formula for migrant people in music venues. In 1974, for example, Manfred Vollmer photographed the façade of the Club 99 discotheque in Gelsenkirchen, on which a sign was clearly emblazoned with the inscription: “No entry for foreigners” (see Lund/Lund 2026/2021: p. 174, fig. 4). However, in light of phenomena such as the ban on foreigners applying for housing and access to localities, as well as the decades-long persistent political declaration of Germany as a supposedly non-immigration country, one could also argue that the German dominant society positioned itself as a separate entity from migrant communities. This was achieved by excluding as well as denying social access and participation to people who were ‘non-immigrants’ in terms of status, but who nevertheless came from abroad, worked, and lived in Germany—i.e., the so-called ‘guest workers.’

The German dominant society expected nothing less from the so-called guest workers from Turkey than their complete existential exclusion: They were expected to do the unpleasant and hard jobs no one else would do, for minimal pay and with hardly any legal protection, and then disappear into separate residential areas during the evenings and weekends (see Gutmair 2023: 27–33). The desire for the invisibility of migrant workers can already be found in a *Spiegel* lead story from 1973: “Every second Berliner wishes to have nothing to do with Turks, every seventh wishes them to live in a separate residential area” (Spiegel 1973). According to an opinion poll in 1982—about ten years before the post-reunification wave of hate against Turkish migrants—already 50% of the population in West Germany wished that migrants should return back to their home countries (Abadan-Unat 2005: 90). This overt rejection was bound to result in a certain phenomenon of demarcation that excluded the needs, rights, and ultimately the recognition of migrant workers’ existence.

While the visibility and acceptance of migrant culture in general has certainly evolved, the contextual framework for dealing with non-Christian (post-)migrant life remains politically highly charged. After the German federal election in early 2025, the building of a government of conservative CDU and social-democratic SPD resulted in a coalition agreement that included a political strategy for the following years. The Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland [Central Council of Muslims in Germany] assessed the political performance outlined in the agreement as follows:

“It is particularly concerning that Muslim life is neither acknowledged nor positively recognized throughout the entire coalition agreement. The contributions of Muslim communities to education, social affairs, culture, and cohesion are not mentioned [...]. Instead, the term ‘Islam’ appears exclusively in the context of combating Islamism and security threats. This one-sided presentation conveys a distorted image—and sends the wrong political signal” (Witte 2025).

If, against this background, we now turn our attention specifically to the demarcation and delimitation of Turkish (pop) music in the Federal Republic of Germany from the 1960s to the present day, a number of questions arise which this article explores:

1. Who listens to which Turkish music in Germany, where and for what purpose?
2. What role do devaluation and exclusion of Turkish music play in Germany?
3. How do 'parallel society' and the parallel music market relate to each other?
4. To what extent is Turkish music being devalued in the context of self-exclusion?

The example of the German music journalist Oliver von Felbert, who admits to "a complete lack of knowledge about Turkish society and the Turkish music scene" when writing an article about the Cartel group for the renowned music magazine *Spex* (Felbert 1995: 33), despite the fact that so many Turkish people live in Germany, illustrates the degree to which foreignness and demarcation have been the standard in society, affecting both the Turkish and German sides.

Academic publications on Turkish music in Germany, and especially on Turkish pop music, are still rare. Christoph Ramm (2020) and two texts by the editors of this book (Lund/Lund 2026/2022; 2026/2021) provide an overview of the research situation regarding Turkish (pop) music from Turkey and Germany. Historiographical analyses of German-Turkish cinema and literature (see Neubauer 2011; Alkin 2017; Sievers 2024), as well as German-Turkish theater (see Boran 2023) are comparatively more advanced. The only comprehensive study of Turkish music in and from Germany, published by Martin Greve in 2003, focuses on the 1980s and especially the 1990s (see Greve 2003). The 1960s and 1970s, as well as the period from the 2000s onward, are not covered. Greve's book has been complemented by Güngör, Loh, and Kim's *Remix Almanya: Eine Postmigrantische HipHop-Geschichte* (Güngör/Loh/Kim 2024), which focuses on music culture in Germany from the late 1980s to the present, particularly regarding the genre and history of hip-hop in Germany and the developments from the 2000s to the present.

In comparison to other forms of cultural expression by Turkish people, the academic and curatorial treatment of Turkish music in and from Germany is conspicuously inadequate. For example, the extensive, periodically published catalog projects on the history of migration, which have repeatedly been issued on the occasion of anniversaries of the German-Turkish recruitment agreement of 1961 (Eryılmaz/Lissner 2011; Kölnischer Kunstverein 2005; Eryılmaz/Jamin 1998), contain hardly any discussion of Turkish music in comparison to other forms of cultural expression. In the most comprehensive of these catalogs (Kölnischer Kunstverein 2005), one of the most prominent

German pop music theorists and connoisseurs, Diedrich Diederichsen, wrote an article on the representation of Turkish people in German film but not on Turkish music. Here, the gap is particularly noticeable. Remembrance culture, if it exists at all, takes place without reference to Turkish music. Both Ramm's and our texts shed light on the reasons for this, although further research on the historiographical neglect of migrant music in Germany seems necessary (see Ayata/Kullukcu 2022). Due to the lack of music historiographical work on migrant music in Germany, we primarily rely on a broad discourse-analytical approach derived from Foucault (see Jäger 2012), which critically evaluates statements from politics, academia, journalism, and musical practice in various (mass) media formats in order to address the questions posed above.

This approach is supplemented by an experimental, qualitative-reactive listening survey (Brennen 2021) designed to test the acceptance of Turkish pop music among a non-Turkish audience in Germany. Additionally, a museological observation (see Janelli/Hammacher 2008) of the first museum exhibition on Turkish music in Germany is included, as public exhibitions can also be understood as institutional discursive contributions.

2. Who Listens to Which Turkish Music in Germany, Where and for What Purpose?

The cultural anthropologist and Islamic scholar Maria Wurm states:

"Turkish music in Germany is met with great scepticism. Rita Süßmuth [sic] (CDU), former president of the Bundestag and chairwoman of the immigration commission set up by the federal government in 2000, said in an interview with the *Tageszeitung* that the emergence of ethnically oriented [...] discotheques should be avoided. This must come as a surprise, as virtually nothing is known about Turkish discotheques in Germany, and nothing is known about what a preference for Turkish music says about attitudes toward life in Germany or even toward the German state. A preference for Turkish music is often seen as an adherence to the culture of origin and a relic of tradition and as such it is seen as an obstacle to integration" (Wurm 2006: 10).

In a similar vein, the theologian Handan Aksünger-Kizil observes that the teaching of values from the society of origin is said to have an inhibiting—and at times backward—effect on integration (Aksünger 2013: 43).

From 2000 to 2001, Rita Süßmuth served as chairwoman of the Independent Commission on Immigration appointed by the German government. She was criticized, particularly within her own conservative party

ranks, for taking positions that were too pro-migrant. After all, in the aforementioned interview, she countered the concept of a social “load limit” in relation to migration with the concept of “enrichment.” However, even under her chairmanship, it remained clear that the “emergence of parallel societies” had to be prevented (Süssmuth in Gaus 2000: 3). With the dreaded emergence of ‘parallel societies,’ which implied a division of German society, she also saw the “integration limit” reached (*ibid.*). She combined these considerations with musical concerns, advocating that interfaces between places, migrant communities, and their music be avoided: “Purely ethnically oriented discotheques” were to be avoided (*ibid.*).

Remarkably, however, this directive did not apply equally to all migrant communities and their music: it did not apply to the actually ethnically oriented discotheques of the U.S. Armed Forces, such as the Black Soldiers Clubs, and Italian-influenced discos. On the contrary, the Italo disco music style was one of the most popular disco sounds of the 1980s in all discotheques, regardless of whether they were Italian or not.

But for how long have Turkish discotheques—about which “virtually nothing” is known—existed in Germany? In fact, there was a brief wave of Turkish discotheques in Germany in the 1990s. The Black Soldiers Clubs served as a model, developed for and by Black soldiers in response to being denied access to discotheques on their military base or in German clubs. These soldiers wanted the opportunity to play their own music that was not otherwise played on their bases or in German discotheques. This included funk, soul, and especially the then-new hip-hop music (see Güngör/Loh/Kim 2024: 50–51; 250). In general, these Black Soldiers Clubs were open to everyone, including migrants. In conjunction with the Turkish *gazino* tradition, they served as a blueprint for Turkish discotheques in Germany (see *ibid.*: 249–251). The ethnomusicologist Martin Greve writes on the brief wave of Turkish discotheques in Germany:

“Semih Yıldırım, for example, who is actually a trained welder, has been running ‘Efendi,’ probably the best-known wedding salon in Duisburg, for several years.

When Turkish *pop müzik* came into fashion shortly afterwards [around 1993], he organized the first Turkish pop parties in the city at his wedding salon and eventually renamed the establishment ‘Disko Andromeda.’

When the wave died down, the ‘Efendi’ became a wedding salon again, hosting concerts and women’s matinees, as well as individual disco evenings. The list of guest musicians ranges from the German-Turkish rap group Cartel to *arabesk* singers such as Müslüm Gürses, the Kurdish singer-songwriter Ivan Perwer, Alevi singers such as Arif Sağ or Musa Eroğlu, and the pop star Burak Kut”

(Greve 2003: 130).

The wave was so strong that it even led to an attempt to prominently place a Turkish *gazzino*, a kind of music restaurant or *café chantant*, in the center of West Berlin. However, this idea proved unsuccessful. Greve writes that

“the bold attempt to run a large [...] restaurant (‘Kudambah’) directly on the expensive Kurfürstendamm in Berlin in October 1994, featuring a permanent ensemble of seven accompanying musicians and three singers from Turkey every month, failed after just two months”

(Greve 2003: 124; see also Lorenz 2021: 24).

According to Gonca Mucuk, the emergence of the Turkish disco scene in the Ruhr area in the 1990s was more successful. Mucuk also links this emergence to the increasingly “westernized” Turkish *pop müzik*, combined “with the fact that as a ‘Kanake’ [pejorative expression for global southerners] you could hardly ever get into a ‘German’ disco anyway. This [...] led to the establishment of a new party culture in Germany—and from here in Europe—at the beginning of the 1990s. The era of Turkish discotheques [...] was ushered in” (Mucuk 2011: 232).¹ Mucuk also points out that “[...] in the course of the 1990s, not only German-Turks but also more and more Germans became regular customers” (ibid.: 234). She explains the emergence of the Turkish disco scene also and above all as a reaction to experiences of exclusion in German discos (something that Süssmuth, see above, does not mention).

A twist that Süssmuth seems to have completely missed is that the Turkish discotheques, for their part, apparently acted inclusively towards the German audience, which in turn was attracted by the music of global pop stars of Turkish origin such as Tarkan. The avoidance of ethnically oriented discotheques envisaged by Süssmuth would therefore virtually prevent and counteract what the German government was striving for at the time: integration. The fact that people of non-Turkish origin in Germany might be interested in diverse cultural experiences was not taken into account in Süssmuth’s statements.

However, it should be noted that the few publicly accessible institutions of Turkish cultural life in Germany, such as the *gazinolar*, discotheques, and video rental shops, closed in the course of the 1990s. This can be explained in particular by the emergence and spread of the then-new satellite television, which changed the accessibility and consumption of film and music. Essentially, it led to the privatization and individualization of music and film consumption in the home. At the time of Süssmuth’s interview, around the year 2000, there was no longer a significant number of Turkish discotheques in Germany.

Unless stated otherwise, all online sources in this text were accessed on April 29, 2026.

1 For the individual localities and their scope in North Rhine-Westphalia, see Mucuk 2011: 232–233.

What was the media's discourse like at the beginning of the 2000s?
Maria Wurm summarizes the situation:

“The extent to which young people could be influenced by ‘undesirable’ content or role models takes up a lot of space here. This is probably one of the ‘German majority public’s’ greatest fears and contributes significantly to the mistrust of Turkish music in Germany” (Wurm 2006: 11).

Thus, music seems to be held politically and educationally liable, as a negative catalyst for socialization. Wurm does not pursue this idea historically, although conventional stereotypes from the allegedly youth-spoiling demonization of rock ‘n’ roll resonate here (see Mattern 2023). Rather, she raises a criticism about not allowing any turn towards the positive:

“No consideration is given to the possibility that selected aspects of a culture of origin can be retained or that they can be taken up anew, perhaps even modified, and that this is an active and constructive form of localization in the migration context and of integration and harmonious participation in German life” (Wurm 2006: 10).

Furthermore, following Achille Mbembe, one can argue that the devaluation of migrant cultures, accompanied by mistrust and fear, clearly exhibits traits of (intra-)colonial politics. In this context, the systematic devaluation of the colonized culture serves on the one hand to legitimize the domination and exploitation of the colonized, and, on the other hand, to devalue the colonized, making them acknowledge their inferiority and lack of rights (see Mbembe 2015).

Let us revisit the “‘undesirable’ content or role models” that Turkish music is said to convey, as suggested by Wurm. What exactly is this Turkish music, which is largely undifferentiated in Germany? It is a very diverse, poly-cultural phenomenon that historically, stylistically, and in terms of musical practice grew out of the Ottoman Empire and its tendencies towards Westernization. These tendencies were expanded, strengthened, and Turkified during Atatürk’s cultural revolution (see Bartsch 2011). The resulting music has a hybrid character. From a long-term perspective, the hybrid character includes ‘Eastern’ elements—in particular Anatolian, Arabic, Persian, Central Asian, and Indian elements—as well as ‘Western’ elements from the Balkans, the Mediterranean, and the Anglo-American region (see Lund 2026/2020)—leading to very different and diverse hybrid styles, which are characteristic of music from Turkey (see Greve 2017).

Anadolu pop from the 1960s to 1980s and Turkish hip-hop from the 1990s are examples of hybrid musical practices that are sometimes very close to the conventions of Western pop music. Mazhar ve Fuat’s tune “Nerde Hani”

from 1973 provides a clear example of *Anadolu pop*. It exemplifies the top ten mainstream Turkish pop music of the 1970s—a gentle, melodious folk-pop music, easily catchy for Western ears. We used this tune as test music in a private setting around 2006, well before the (neo-) *Anadolu pop* revival of the late 2010s—with very positive acceptance feedback from people of non-Turkish origin in Germany. The decisive factor here was that the music was played for test subjects who had no prior knowledge of Turkish music. The music was played anonymously as a file, without any paratexts, so that no preconceptions or expectations would influence the listening experience.

However, the fact that Turkish pop music is sometimes very close to ‘Western’ pop is often ignored by non-Turkish people due to a conscious or unconscious othering of Turkish music. This othering prejudicially equates all Turkish pop music with microtonal *makam* music, which is fundamentally different from Western music in terms of tone and composition, even though, as Greve has shown very clearly in his book *Makamsız* [literally: “without *makam*”], the development of popular Turkish music has been moving away from *makam*-based music for decades (see Greve 2017), also by incorporating “scales like *Rast*, *Segah*, *Hüseyni* and *Kürdi* into major, minor, and Phrygian modalities” (Güner 2024: 167). Mazhar ve Fuat’s “*Nerde Hani*,” like most *Anadolu pop*, is already *makam*-free.

Who listened to which forms of Turkish music in Germany between the 1960s and 1980s? First-generation Turkish migrant workers began listening to *Almanya türküleri*, so-called ‘songs about Germany,’ in the 1960s. These are songs written by migrants in the *aşık* tradition of wandering singers in Germany. In terms of content, this parallels the development of the *chanson immigrée* or *chanson-banlieue* in France. These began in the 1950s as *chanson de là-bas*, origin-oriented migrant songs, and their content reflected the problems of migrant life (see Daadouch 2018).

An audio example of the aforementioned German songs comes from the probably first migrant *aşık* in Germany, Metin Türköz, and is entitled “*Meister İşçi Kavgası*” (undated, probably early 1970s). Sung in two languages, German and Turkish, it deals with a racist everyday work conflict between a German foreman who uses abusive language and a Turkish worker who makes fun of the foreman in Turkish. In this way, Türköz reflects the specific situation of migrant workers in Germany in the typical manner of *Almanya türküleri* (see Gutmair 2023: 80–82).

The Turkologist Robert Anhegger explains that Turkish music is listened to particularly by those sections of the immigrant Turkish population “who continue to lead their traditional lives among the ‘infidels’” (Anhegger 1982: 18). One song, for example, is about “the homeland, the villages [that] have been transplanted here.” Accordingly, a poem by Orkan M. Ariburnu reads: “In the middle of Germany an Anatolia” (ibid.). Turkish music thus serves as a demarcation from the foreign environment, as a return home, as protection, and as an anchor.

In addition to *aşık* music and vernacular regional styles, *arabesk* music and the very popular Turkish art music, *Türk sanat müziği*, as well as, in the 1980s, *disco folk* were also used for this purpose. These genres all tend to musically address and represent the Anatolian, Arabic, or post-Ottoman aspects of the identity of the migrant Turkish (rural) population. However, the mentioned music concerns only one section of a much more socially differentiated Turkish society—namely a rural population characterized by a rural economy and otherwise mostly unskilled. It only represents one part of an otherwise musically more differentiated Turkish music, namely the *aşık* tradition, vernacular regional styles, *arabesk*, *Türk sanat müziği*, and *disco folk*. Urban music styles, such as the *Anadolu pop* of Mazhar ve Fuat or *Roman oyun havası* by Roma musicians, were practically non-existent in the aforementioned migrant section of Turkish society.

Why have we, as part of the dominant German society—apart from folkloristic encounter festivals or activist approaches (see Lund/Lund 2026/2022: 208) and Turkish-German hip-hop—learned almost nothing about the musically diverse landscape of Turkish music for decades? This question leads to the evaluation of Turkish music in German mass media and to phenomena of exclusion as a form of demarcation.

3. What Role Do Devaluation and Exclusion of Turkish Music Play in Germany?

Radio journalist Barry Graves from RIAS Berlin summarized his observations on the situation of Turkish music in Germany in 1982 in an excerpt from “Berlinale Meets” on Cem Kaya’s film *Aşk, Mark ve Ölüm* (2022) as follows: “Turkish music, whether folk, classical, or pop, is limited to Turkish programs on the radio, of which there are not very many. Local disk jockeys and programmers like to complain about the allegedly low quality of productions in the pop music sector and the rapid fatigue of the audience with classical music” (in Möller 2022: min. 1:47–02:51). Graves continues by pointing out the inclusive potential that remains untapped:

“It would be no problem at all to have Turkish ensembles and Turkish soloists perform in so-called ‘colorful evenings,’ quiz shows, events of all kinds, in order to bring Germans and Turks a little closer via the detour of culture. So that people simply say:

‘Wow, that’s interesting, they’re no longer foreign to us.

And the Ajda Pekkan that you play all day in your apartment next door, I saw her on TV the other day. She looks great and she can sing really well.’

Unfortunately, that doesn’t happen” (ibid.).

Graves' key conclusion is: "The media have failed badly. Nothing has been done in all these years [...]" (ibid.) to present Turkish music in general, or to showcase its stylistic diversity, in the media. This sentence remains valid, at least until the incipient popularity of (neo-) *Anadolu pop* in the late 2010s (Lund/Lund 2026/2022). However, some, like film director Cem Kaya, see Grave's observations confirmed even in 2022:

"Two years ago, I was in Cologne and Tarkan, who is a superstar in the Turkish community and worldwide, performed there. The huge Lanxess Arena was full to the brim; there were long queues outside the door. But not one German was there, and certainly no German press. Since my film [*Aşk, Mark ve Ölüm*], I've been asked again and again: Why were these great Turkish musicians never invited to a German TV show back then? Not much has changed in that respect. Why wasn't there a single journalist at the Tarkan concert in Cologne? The media's lack of interest is still huge" (in Bax 2022).

Indeed, Turkish music has been ignored, rendered virtually invisible and inaudible by the German radio and TV media, music distribution, music venues, and pop music festivals for decades (Lund/Lund 2026/2022; Lund 2026/2021). With the exception of short TV programs for migrants (in their respective languages) such as "Ihre Heimat, unsere Heimat" [Your home, Our home], "Nachbarn in Europa" [Neighbors in Europe], and "Babylon" (Brake 2022) or reports on intercultural encounter festivals, the German media rarely covered the musical or other cultural activities of Turkish migrants in the period before German-Turkish hip-hop—that is all the decades previous to the 1990s. Even German-Turkish hip-hop was only able to successfully fight its way into the charts in the 2010s.

The reasons for excluding Turkish music given by those responsible seem downright absurd. The musician and author Nedim Hazar notes: "The German radio producers claim that Turkish music sounds unpleasant to German ears and that the strange sounds could lead to concentration problems when driving, for example" (Hazar 1998: 287). Hazar also cites the aforementioned emergence of satellite television at the end of the 1990s as another reason for the invisibility of Turkish music in the media:

"This also relieved the German public, which until then had not been interested in issues relating to the culture and art of Turkish migrants anyway. This was the beginning of a cultural ghettoization, which was later reinforced by the emergence of the television channel TRT-International and other Turkish television channels that could be received via satellite antenna. In this way, two million fee-payers voluntarily gave up rights that should have been granted to them by the German radio and television broadcasters" (ibid.: 292; see also Brake 2022).

Jörg Becker addresses the latter aspect even more clearly. According to him, the GEZ fee collection center collected around 4.8 billion euros in broadcasting fees from migrants between 1960 and 2007: "Measured against the [...] 4.8 billion euros, migrant broadcasting recipients hardly received anything in return in the form of specific program offers (specific topics, broadcasting formats, broadcasting times, special-interest channels, music, films and/or native-language offerings)" (Becker 2011: 11).² The same applies to Austria, according to Gebesmair: "Migrants and their culture are clearly underrepresented in the major Austrian media institutions such as the public broadcaster ORF, but also in the major newspaper publishers" (Gebesmair 2009: 108).

The mechanisms of exclusion can also be observed in other segments of the German music market. Even players in the commercial music market did not or did not want to see the potential of Turkish music for a very long time. Racism seems to have overshadowed capitalist interest (see Lund 2026/2021; Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 2023: 54). German record companies such as Ariola, Polydor, Phonogram, or Bellaphon, but also media music formats such as radio and television charts, which were supposedly dedicated to the best-selling and therefore most popular music, almost completely ignored any kind of Turkish music in Germany, as well as its audience and markets, for decades (Güngör/Loh 2019: 31; 33; see also Reier 2020; Lund 2026/2021). This occurred despite the fact that Turkish music labels such as Türküola, Uzelli, and Minareci, which were based in Cologne, Frankfurt, or Munich, generated millions in sales with their music. Sometimes, their record releases generated even higher sales figures than the top ten hit parade music published concurrently (see İlgiç/Pilcz 2021; Genzken 2021; Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 2023: 54). Therefore, if the best-selling music was actually represented in TV and radio charts, as claimed, Turkish music should have been included. "Özkasap was awarded twelve gold records and sold hundreds of thousands of records, surpassing the sales figures of stars such as Vicky Leandros or Katja Ebstein. Leandros' 1974 hit 'Theo, wir fahr'n nach Lodz,' for example, sold 400,000 copies, while Yüksel Özkasap's album 'Beyaz Atlı,'

2 The Turkish state also did not make any effort to (re)present Turkish culture or the Turkish communities in Germany, as Çiçek Bacık states: "In an interview with TRT in Ankara [2006], the coordinator for foreign programs, Arslan Küçükıldız, admitted that the Turkish state had neglected to address the problems of Turks in Germany in a timely manner. Turkey has failed to set up advice centers in Germany, which is why a large proportion of migrants continue to face social problems. One reason for this was the indifference of the Turkish government. In contrast to other countries, which also sent workers to Germany but also dealt with their concerns, Turkey had completely neglected its compatriots abroad: 'When the Greeks went to Germany, churches were set up for them there. They brought their counseling centers with them. When the Turks emigrated to Germany, no provision was made for schools, mosques, or counseling centers. The Turks fell on German soil out of the blue and were left alone. Today, there are still no counselling centers, no family or youth centers, or a Turkish cultural center'" (Bacık 2014: 123). In fact, a comparison with cultural institutes of other countries of origin of so-called 'guest workers' reveals a clear difference: the first Italian cultural institutes were opened in Hamburg and Cologne in 1953/1954, while the comparable Turkish Yunus Emre cultural institutes were not opened until 2009. Bacık concludes: "Küçükıldız has openly stated that the Turkish government is neglecting the Turkish population in Germany and that the Turkish state has no interest in changing these circumstances" (ibid.: 132).

which was released just one year later, achieved sales figures twice as high. Nevertheless, it was not played on the radio and she was not invited to the ZDF hit parade [the most popular German TV charts format]" (Genzken 2021). At this point, the deliberate, discriminatory exclusion of Turkish music from music industry structures and thus also from the public sphere becomes very clear.

The same applies for the concert market and the exclusion of Turkish concert music from concert halls. Jan Paersch investigates in 2025 how Turkish orchestras are represented at one of the main music venues in Germany, the Elbphilharmonie Hamburg. He states: "Hundreds of different orchestras have played in the Elbphilharmonie since the beginning of 2017. But the Borusan Istanbul Philharmonic Orchestra [...] will be the first Turkish orchestra ever to perform in the Great Hall of the Konzerthaus in September. How can that be?" (Paersch 2025).

Exclusion has also persisted in Germany's musical education landscape for decades. Turkish music is rarely represented at European music universities, colleges, or academies, and Turkish musical instruments are just as rarely taught there as they are at public music schools, as Greve recently concluded: "Until recently only European music academies remained institutions which completely blocked the integration of [...] Turkish music" (Greve 2017: 51). This was probably mainly because Turkish music was not classified as 'European,' despite the Europeanization and musical hybridization that the sultans initiated in the 19th century with the appointment of Gaetano Donizetti to the court to conduct the palace orchestra (see *ibid.*: 192).

For its part, the Turkish state hardly supported Turkish music. The Kemalist promotion of Turkish opera went hand in hand with mechanisms to devalue and exclude Ottoman and post-Ottoman music. This ranged from the decades-long ban on religious music, the temporary ban on Ottoman-Arab music on the radio, to the ban on Kurdish music, or the political banishment of *Anadolu pop* musicians by the military in the wake of the 1980 coup. Time and again, Turkish music was discredited by the state in Turkey, which made positive, state-supported identification with musical styles that were popular among the population more difficult (see *ibid.*).

Institutions with an educational mission in Germany include not only academic institutions, radio, and TV, but also museums. Has Turkish music been represented by German museum institutions, and if so, how?

Our research did not yield any exhibitions on Turkish music, particularly Turkish pop music, in Germany prior to 2021. Occasionally, exhibitions on other topics included sections on Turkish music in and from Germany, such as the photo exhibition "Bizim Berlin 89/90. Fotografien von Ergun Çağatay" [Bizim Berlin 89/90. Photographs by Ergun Çağatay], shown at the Märkisches Museum Berlin in 2018. It included a well-developed section on Turkish-German hip-hop from Berlin. However, this was not mentioned in the title of the exhibition or in the promotional information (see Märkisches Museum Berlin 2018).

The same holds true for the photo exhibition “Deutschland um 1980. Fotografien aus einem fernen Land” [Germany around 1980. Photographs from a Distant Country] presented at the Altonaer Museum Hamburg in 2024/2025. It also featured a well-developed section on Turkish music in Germany, based on material, music, and information by Ercan Demirel, for which he received no curatorial credit and was listed only as a lender. Once again, the Turkish music section was not mentioned in the title of the exhibition or in the promotional information (see Altonaer Museum Hamburg 2024/2025).

The situation was similar with the survey exhibition “Hits & Hymnen. Klang der Zeitgeschichte” [Hits & Hymns. Sound of Contemporary History] on the relationship between music and politics. It took place in 2021 at the Haus der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in Bonn. The sections on migrant music included the emergence of hip-hop as migrant music, highlighting Turkish participation in a small section (see Haus der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in Bonn 2021). Nedim Hazar summarizes: “In the Bonn exhibition ‘Hits und Hymnen’ [...] Yüksel Özkasap and Metin Türköz are exhibited for the first time alongside [very popular German musicians] Udo Lindenberg and Nena” (in Genzken 2021).

The first and so-far only specific exhibition presented “Gurbet Şarkıları. Lieder aus der Fremde. Musik und Zugehörigkeit zwischen der Türkei und Deutschland (1961–2021)” [Gurbet Şarkıları. Songs from Abroad. Music and Belonging between Turkey and Germany (1961–2021)] (see Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz 2021). It was dedicated to the aforementioned *Almanya türküleri*, songs by Turkish migrants that were written in Germany and deal with life in Germany.

The exhibition was organized by the Museum of Islamic Art—State Museums in Berlin at the Pergamon Museum, which is part of Germany’s largest and most powerful cultural institution, the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation. By taking place at the Pergamon Museum, one of the most prestigious German museums, the exhibition took on a particularly important and representative character per se. The short entry on the website and the digital presence of the exhibition, however, contain hardly any information about the cooperation partners, nor is there any information about the curatorial team (see *ibid.*).

This lack of information throughout the exhibition is apparent on various levels: Not only can no reverberations be found in the form of press reviews, but the specific exhibition location in the ramified building complex on Berlin’s Museum Island was not communicated either online or on site. There was no guidance system for the exhibition, which does not meet the basic exhibition standards (see Uebele 2006)—and would have been all the more important as the exhibition was located in a small, rather remote lab space. The museum store did not offer any publications or merchandise related to the exhibition, which does not meet the basic standards of museum marketing and museum store management (see Museum Store Association 2015).

The music exhibition was presented as a special exhibition by the Museum of Islamic Art. Classifying Turkish music as part of Islamic art can be read as othering the music, especially since the State Museums in Berlin complex would also have allowed it to be classified under a different museum umbrella. The music in the exhibition tends to be de-Europeanized, orientalized, and Islamized through this framing—thus making it appear foreign from a European-German perspective, which corresponds to the concept of othering (see Siouti et al. 2022: 7–30).

However, this runs counter to developments in music history. After all, Turkish music has clearly been predominantly secular since the founding of the republic in 1923, especially due to the Kemalist, deliberately anti-religious music policy (Tas 2014). Nevertheless, it is exhibited in the Museum of Islamic Art, i.e., under religious auspices. Moreover, the exhibition itself does not offer a single example of Islamic Turkish pop music—despite the fact that German-Turkish rap produced a successful Islamic variant as early as the 1990s, for example with the formation Sert Müslümanlar. Visitors also learn nothing about the popular *Yeşil pop* [Green Pop] genre, i.e., Islamic pop music in general, as neither the genre nor Turkish participation in it is mentioned anywhere.

The official claim of this exhibition on the 60th anniversary of the migration agreement between Turkey and Germany reads as follows: “The exhibition makes different perspectives of the so-called guest workers and subsequent generations visible by addressing the relationship between music, individual biographies, and social localization” (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz 2021). However, this promise is thwarted by the final presentation and its institutional framing, which in turn excludes, marginalizes, and renders Turkish (pop) music invisible, thus conveying information about its social location and the value attributed to it by the State Museums in Berlin/Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation.

It is not clear from the context of the exhibition which entity is ultimately responsible for this framing. Given that the institutional context of large and powerful entities such as the State Museums in Berlin/Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation can develop its own dynamics (see Wissenschaftsrat 2020/1; 2020/2), it cannot be ruled out that the curators, whose names are not mentioned on the exhibition website, may have had other ideas for framing the exhibition. This possibility is supported by the fact that the exhibition podcasts and the central exhibition video by Mirza Odabaşı, *Sounds aus der Seele—Musik zwischen Almanya und Deutschland* (2021) [Sounds from the Soul—Music between Almanya and Germany], for example, lay out other discursive tracks by sensitively exploring the history of German-Turkish music, its reception, and value on the basis of interviews with contemporary witnesses.

4. How Do 'Parallel Society' and the Parallel Music Market Relate to Each Other?

How did the Turkish music scene in Germany react to its decades-long devaluation and exclusion from the media and music market? It was precisely these processes that led to the establishment of a parallel musical market. Nedim Hazar wrote in 1998: "Our presence of more than 35 years was and is—with a few exceptions—not reflected in the music [of the so-called dominant society in Germany]. The music produced by Turkish people in Germany does not find its way into the general market. Indeed, one must even speak of a second, parallel market" (Hazar 1998: 287).

Turkish labels in Germany produced and sold millions of recordings of Turkish music from Germany and Turkey. Since the labels had no access to the relevant official distribution channels of the German music industry—such as charts, media, music stores—due to structural and institutional racism (see Lund 2026/2021), they had to invent their own independent distribution channels. This was achieved with grocery stores and general stores as the main outlets and through Turkish newspapers promoting the music.³ What emerges from this phenomenon is, in the words of Teresa Vena, "that these literally millions of cassettes sold to Turks living in Germany completely bypassed the rest of the German population. The size of this industry was not reflected in the political or social consciousness" (Vena 2022). As Hazar puts it: "[...] in my opinion, the reasons for the lack of mutual influence, not only in the field of music but also in other cultural areas, are to be found in the way of processing the phenomenon of migration by the Turks, but especially also by the Germans" (Hazar 1998: 287). After a 15-year absence, Hazar makes the following diagnosis upon his return to Germany in 2017: "[We] found [...] parallel worlds in which migrants and locals now lived. All of it was almost peaceful but existed side by side. Parallel worlds had also emerged among people of Turkish origin. It felt as if the Turks, the Kurds, the Alevis, the secularists, and so on were still one here when I went to Istanbul in 2003" (Hazar 2021: 20).

Where does this come from and why? In her foreword to Hazar's 2021 book, SPD politician Lale Akgün writes:

"[...] [I]t's about different cultures that [supposedly] cannot or can hardly be brought together. This feeds the idea that even after sixty years, migrants still live in their bubble and have little or no contact with the majority culture. An idea that is simultaneously an insult to migrants and to the majority culture: some live in their closed-off world and others have such a weak culture that it is unable to influence immigrants" (ibid.: 11–12).

3 On the Turkish music market as a parallel and independent music market in Germany, see Lund 2026/2021 and Lund/Lund 2026/2022: 180–182.

However, Akgün also notes, in comparison with Spanish migrants:

"[...] [M]any intellectuals left their country because of the Franco regime.

In Germany, they were seriously concerned about the education of all Spanish children. They founded parents' associations and prepared working-class families for teacher interviews. I don't know if the Turkish military junta knew about this in the 1980s. But they knew that the intellectuals who had fled to Germany should never be given sovereignty of opinion over the guest workers. That's why so many Islamic associations were founded here—well financed from Turkey, to offer an alternative, to Islamize the people, and to ensure that they didn't wake up politically.

And they have succeeded. A successful initiative" (ibid.: 140).

The demarcation through Islamic education mentioned here is accompanied by a religiously motivated devaluation of Turkish music. Especially in conservative Sunni Islam, music is hardly valued or even forbidden, since, according to certain interpretations of the Koran, it is per se linked to dance, alcohol, and eroticism and is therefore reprehensible from a religious point of view (Abandan-Unat 2005: 271–272; Tas 2014: 381). This, in turn, encourages musical self-exclusion, as will be shown in the following chapter.

5. To What Extent Is Turkish Music Being Devalued in the Context of Self-Exclusion?

Gunda Bartels recently noted the following about the phenomenon of self-segregation:

"It is dismaying that the post-migrant generation represented by the singer Muhabbet or the rapper Aziza A is hardly familiar with its own artistic heritage. With people like Yüksel Özkazap, the nightingale of Cologne, who sang about the homesickness and isolation of men and women from Turkey in wistful arabesques in her 'Songs from Exile'" (Bartels 2022).

"This is not reported, the transmission does not take place," adds movie director Cem Kaya (ibid.). This break in transmission comes from three sides: first, as described above, from Sunni Islam, which generally rejects music; second, from the repressive music policy of the military junta following the coup in 1980, which rejected the immediate musical past (see Greve 2017: 192); and third, from prevailing Westernization tendencies from the 1990s onwards, which led to a devaluation of Anatolian-based music. Yaprak Melike Uyar, academic and musician, speaks of "the particularly complex nature of Westernization in Turkish society." She explains:

“As a DJ performing in my early 20s [around the 2000s], I recall hiding my Balkan and Anatolian folk music knowledge inherited from my family among my peers, because those weren’t appreciated as ‘hip’ back in those times. Before the age of internet, performance and a taste of Anatolian folk music were attributed to working-class and rural populations in Turkey” (Uyar 2021: 11).

Setenay Gültekin summarizes this perception even for youth of the 2010s: “I have observed that there is common sense that both Arabesk and Anatolian Rock are seen as ‘uncool’ or ‘a laughing matter’” (Gültekin 2025: 469).

The non-Western hybrid part—i.e., the Anatolian part of *Anadolu pop*—had a negative effect on the ultimate Westernization desire among a then-young Turkish generation, both socially and musically. As a result, it was suppressed. The perception “that people in Germany didn’t like Turkish music,” as the musician Derya Yıldırım, who grew up in Germany, summarized (in Rigney 2021), could not heal the break with tradition—on the contrary. Inferiorization became the program, as Cem Kaya puts it: “The Germans always clearly conveyed to us, through ignorance or sniffing, that our own culture was worth nothing. So, we were implanted with an inferiority complex even as children” (in Bax 2022).

In his filmic work of artistic research, entitled *FremdeTueren Archive—A Story of (Un)expected Counters* (2024), Ulaş Yener quotes an excerpt from *Kingodisco* (2010), a very popular Turkish TV talk show (Yener 2024: min. 19:19–24:34), in which Kabus Kerim of the renowned German-Turkish rap group Cartel performed a live DJ set. Kerim played *Anadolu pop* prior to the whole (neo-)*Anadolu pop* revival. The audience’s response was characterized by a complex array of emotions, including sadness, adoration, bewilderment, and a strong sense of estrangement. The music was at once familiar and strange to the audience. The moderator, visibly affected, articulated this explicitly, and it was evident that he was struggling to cope with the music for several minutes—especially as Kerim edited parts of a song by left-wing singer Selda Bağcan. In the lyrics she reflects on the Turkish state and how the so-called ‘guest workers’ were treated as migrant labor forces: “You dishonored us in front of the world. You sold us to Germany” (in *ibid.*: *passim*, for example min. 21:45). This open criticism was unexpected in a TV talk show and left the audience puzzled. Yet Kerim took it a step further by saying:

“We are mostly discriminated against in Turkey because our families went to Germany to work. We are the Turks who were sold to Germany” (in *ibid.*: min. 24:22–24:27).⁴

4 As the academic and artistic discourse shows, labor export was indeed part of the state planning, especially in the early 1960s (Abadan-Unat 2011: XXVI, 1–38; Yener 2021: 31, 44–47).

The alienated, almost forgotten, yet somehow familiar *Anadolu pop* music, together with its criticism against state and society in Turkey, created a highly emotional moment on TV, in which Kerim was on the verge of tears. The music resonated with him on a personal level, evoking memories of his own experiences and challenging him to confront his destiny. Consequently, Kerim's DJ set on television demonstrated the intricate and challenging reception of Anatolian pop music, particularly in the period preceding its resurgence, which was largely spearheaded by external forces (see Lund/Lund 2026/2022: 221–224). The TV talk captured a pivotal moment of a nascent rediscovery and reevaluation of Anatolian pop music by a new generation, overcoming its self-exclusion, yet not without painful aspects.

6. Concluding Remarks and Outlook

The phenomena of demarcation and the treatment of Turkish pop music in Germany from the 1960s to the present day outlined in this text show how diverse and complex these processes are, particularly self-demarcation and demarcation by others—and not only along the so-called “integration limit” (Süssmuth). Our observations provide only a small, incomplete insight. The attempt to answer our core questions about music and audience, music features, and the music market led to a critique of music-related aspects of German migration policy. But it also resulted in a critique of the institutional treatment of Turkish music in Germany, exemplified by the analysis of the Turkish music exhibition by the Museum of Islamic Art in Berlin. From our point of view, one important problem—very clearly demonstrated by the phenomenon of self-exclusion—is the lack of discourse, historiographical transmission, and structured accessibility to migrant cultural expressions. There is a fundamental lack of archives (Yener 2021: 88). At this point, however, reference should be made to the positive, discourse-shaping change that has taken place through comprehensive exhibitions such as “Wer wir sind. Fragen an ein Einwanderungsland” [Who We Are. Questions for an Immigration Country] (2023) at the Art and Exhibition Hall of the Federal Republic of Germany in Bonn, or the comprehensive museum of migration planned in Cologne for DOMiD (Documentation Center and Museum of Migration in Germany), entitled Museum Selma⁵ (in planning).

At the same time, a discourse from a post-migrant, cross-ethnic perspective is currently gaining momentum, which we would like to briefly address in conclusion. As a counterargument to the public discourse on integration—as attempted, for example, by Süssmuth—we would like to respond with the “new desire for disintegration” identified by journalist

5 See <https://www.museum-selma.de>.

Julia Lorenz in the Berlin city magazine *tipBerlin* on the occasion of “60 Years of Almanya” (Lorenz 2021: 25). She links this desire to the question: “What if we don’t want to belong [to Germany]?” (ibid.). *Eure Heimat ist unser Alptraum* [Your Home Is Our Nightmare] is the title of an anthology published by Fatma Aydemir and Hengameh Yaghoobifarah in 2019. Earlier, antisemitism researcher and author Max Czollek had already initiated a focused discourse on disintegration with the festival *Desintegration* (2016) at the Maxim Gorki Theater in Berlin—funded by the German Federal Cultural Foundation—the publication *Desintegration. Ein Kongress zeitgenössischer jüdischer Positionen* [Disintegration. A Congress of Contemporary Jewish Positions] (Czollek/Salzmann 2017), and his book *Desintegriert Euch!* [Disintegrate!] (2018).⁶ Disintegration means here: Who would want to belong to a Germany that treats migrants in the ways demonstrated in this article, using the example of Turkish (pop) music? Yet, according to the writer Çiçek Bacik, the starting point of the differentiating and provocative (post-)migrant desire for disintegration is an already existing attachment to Germany as the country to which one considers oneself to belong. It is precisely for this country that one now fights in a new, disintegrative, and emancipatory way (Lorenz 2021: 25) by withdrawing from the dominant practices of external attributions imposed by the dominant society and instead looking for commonalities, overlaps, and alliances among different population groups affected by discrimination and exclusion.

However, the “new desire for disintegration” can not only be read but also heard, for example in the more recent productions of the high-profile rappers Ebow, EsRap and NASHI44.⁷ And it is perhaps no coincidence that almost exclusively women’s names appear in this last chapter of our article—because this resistance is also a (queer-)feminist, gender-critical one. It is one that transcends ethnic communities. It is a resistance that Melissa Kolukisagil, director of IÇ IÇE. Festival for new Anatolian Music in Berlin, which has been taking place since 2021, summarizes as follows: “We are also the generation that no longer asks for space, but simply takes it” (in Cam 2022: min. 8:49–8:54).

6 See <https://www.gorki.de/de/themenseite-festival-desintegration>.

7 In particular Ebow/Yaghoobifarah’s “Hengameh Skit” (2019), Ebow’s “Giesing81” (2022), and EsRap’s “Der Tschusch ist da” (2019), but also NASHI44’s “Suck on My Spring Roll” (2022), “Nails Lashes Bubble Tea” (2022), and “Butterfly” (2021).

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