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MUSIC IN THE EUROPEAN- TURKISH DIASPORA

1. INTRODUCTION

The concept of 'Turkish music' has existed in Turkey for approximately 100 years and yet still no agreement exists as to exactly which kind of music it covers. In fact examples of various styles of 'European music' exist in Turkey as a variety of 'Turkish music' does exist in Europe. With regards to the social or political implications of the idea of 'Turkish music in Europe' there are several problems. First of all, there are only a few examples of reliable data concerning the number of 'Turks' living in Europe. According to the Independent Commission on Turkey of the European Community, approximately 3,8 million Turkish citizens live in Europe.[1] However, these statistics do not include the many naturalised people of Turkish origin or/ and their children and grandchildren who may only have one Turkish (or naturalised) parent. Three quarters of European Turks live in German-speaking countries with the majority living in Germany itself. Although in Germany Turkish migrants occupy a central role in public and migration discourses, they do not hold the same social and political position in other European countries such as the Netherlands, France and Great Britain.[2]

Most of the existing musicological research concerning the music of the Turkish diaspora is engaging with the situation in Germany (Wurm

1 Persons born in Turkey and/or those with Turkish nationality in 2001: Germany (2,6 million), France (370 000), Netherlands (270 000), Austria (200 000), Belgium (110 000), Denmark (53 000), UK (70 000), Sweden (37 000), rest of EU: 20 000 (Independent Commission on Turkey 2004). The Turkish population of Switzerland was about 74 000 in 2006 (Perchinig 2007).

2 Outside the scope of this article but also worthy of mention are the nominal Turkish minorities which exist in the USA, Canada, Australia as well as in some Arabic and Central Asian countries (de Tapia 1995, Unbehaun 1995).

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2006; Greve 2003; Uysal 2001; Öztürk 2001; Kaya 2000; Schedtler 1999: 125–136; Reinhard 1987; Baumann 1985; Anhegger 1982) and Austria (Netzer 1995). As for other European countries, only a few case studies have been published (Kalyon 2005; Lundberg 1994; Hammarlund 1993) though further research does exist on the Turkish diaspora of North America (Hall 1982) and Australia (Marett 1987). The first international conference about music in the Turkish diaspora took place in Vienna in 2007 (Hemetek and Sağlam 2008). In general, our understanding of the European Turkish diasporic music scenes is still limited; all we know is of the existence of a broad diversity. Unfortunately, reliable figures about the musical preferences or practices of European Turks do not exist for any country.

2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The first emigrants left the Ottoman Empire during the 19th century. Most of them were ethnically not Turkish and the majority of them had North America as their intended destination (Karpat 1995). Persecutions and massacres led to a mass exodus of Ottoman Armenians and this initally occured in the 1880s and again in 1915–16. From 1893 onwards an Ottoman Armenian music scene was very active in Chicago and New York (Rasmussen 1992) and at around this same period there were also Ottoman Armenian communities emerging in European cities such as Leipzig, Berlin and Zurich. During this time Ottoman Jews, Armenians and Greeks developed increasingly close relations with Europe. Members of the Ottoman high society started traveling regulary to France and in particular to Paris.

In the late 19th century students from Turkey started to enrol in European universities, including many who would later be influential in Turkey. Among these was, for instance, Saffet Bey [Atabinen] (1858–1939) who lived in Paris in 1876. In 1908, Saffet Bey became the conductor of the court orchestra *(mızıkay-ı hümâyûn)*. Another example is the musician Musa Süreyya Bey (1884–1932) who studied in Berlin at the dawn of World War I and later became the director of the Istanbul Conservatoire.

Following the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, the newly-formed government started sending young musicians to study in European cities such as Paris, Vienna, Prague or Berlin. In 1935, the German composer Paul Hindemith was officially invited as an advisor to build up a Western musical scene in Turkey and sent German musicians such as Eduard Zuckmayer and Ernst Praetorius to Ankara. A couple of years later, refugees from Nazi Germany became music teachers in Istanbul and Ankara (Neumark 1980) and up until the 1950s German musicians remained influential in the Western music life of Turkey. Consequently, and until

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the 1960s, this exchange encouraged many young Turkish music students to begin or continue their studies in the homelands of their teachers. Today we can observe that many Western oriented Turkish musicians have a wide range of international experiences.

Another group of migrants were Jews, who left Turkey during the 20th century for the United States, South America, and from 1948 on for Israel (Cohen 1999; Seroussi 1989).

The 1960s marked out a new era of Turkish emigration to Europe. Several factors necessitated a new type of migration: strong economic growth in Europe, the massive loss of Europe's male population during World War II, and finally the Cold War, that blocked access to countries in Eastern Europe which had traditionally supplied workers. Many central European states began to recruit workers from Southern European states including Italy, Turkey, Yugoslavia and Spain. At this point in time, Turkey was feeling the effects of a weak economy and high unemployment rates. This led to recruitment agreements with Germany and the United Kingdom (1961), Austria (1964), the Netherlands (1964), Belgium (1964), France (1966), Sweden and Australia (1967), Switzerland (1971), Denmark (1973) and Norway (1981) (Perchinig 2008). The majority of the so-called 'guest workers' came from rural Anatolia, although many of them had lived in various Turkish cities before their departure to Europe. For many migrant workers of this era, the experience of poverty, devastating housing and working conditions and the feeling of alienation were a fixture of everday life. In these first years in particular many Turkish workers aimed to save as much money as possible to put aside for a later return to Turkey or to send to their family members who had remained in Turkey.

In the early 1970s, most European countries stopped the recruitment of Turkish workers (Germany in 1973). After these developments, another wave of Turkish migration began, to countries such as Libya und Saudi Arabia, Iraq (between 1981 and 1990) and from the 1990s onwards to the countries of the Commonwealth Independent States (Unbehaun 1995).

In some European countries, Turkish workers who suspected that the legal possibility of family unification might soon be stopped, called their families to follow them. From the 1970s onwards, a European Turkish family culture began to develop with slightly better housing conditions and the establishment of self-entrepreneurial activities. The first Döner Kebab take-away shops, Turkish grocery shops and small handicraft enterprises emerged. In the 1970s, a Turkish entertainment market developed with music restaurants and *gazinos* [music nightclubs]. At the beginning, amateurs played and sang folk music for the guests but as the years passed semi-professional and professional musicians took over these jobs. Professional commercial musicians were also in high demand for Turkish weddings, which began

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to be celebrated regularly from the 1970s onwards in European countries. Many Turkish migrant associations founded at this time offered lessons in folk dance or the *bağlama* (a long-necked lute, sometimes also referred to as *saz,* literally 'instrument'). A few schools, music schools and social projects in Germany and the Netherlands (among other countries) started to offer these classes. European-Turkish life became more and more diversified. While in the 1960s, almost all Turks in Western Europe had been unskilled workers, from the 1990s onwards this situation changed significantly. Since then, European-Turks have occupied almost all professions and social strata.

Initially, most of the 'guest workers' had came to Europe with the idea of returning to Turkey after some years. However, only some of them put this plan into practice and others postponed their return again and again or gave up completely on this idea.

Thus, while in Europe this period was perceived as a transition, a longing for a glorified past in Turkey began simultaneously. At the end of the 1960s, the longing for a faraway 'home' found its expression in *Arabesk*, a new hybrid music style with sentimental and fatalistic lyrics that combined Anatolian folk music with Western, Turkish and Libanese pop (Güngör 1990; Stokes 1992). *Arabesk* as a new musical genre emerged in Turkey alongside increasing migration to the major cities. Amongst European-Turks, it became the most popular music style, thanks to the introduction of music tapes that had made recorded music affordable for the poor sections of the population.

Concurrently with the migration of factory workers to Germany, Turkish musicians also came to Europe and they were highly interested in building up co-operations with the European music scenes. Paris, in particular, became a starting point for international careers such as it is the case for the singers Tülay German (since 1966) and Timur Selçuk (1964–1975), the rock group *Moğollar* (late 1960s), the *ney* (end-blown-flute) player Kudsi Ergüner (since 1975) and the bağlama-player Talip Özkan (since 1977). During the 1970s, the Turkish rock singer Erkin Koray moved around various European countries. After the military coup in Turkey in September 1980, a number of intellectuals and artists escaped to European countries, especially to Germany, Sweden and Switzerland. Amongst these were Selda Bağcan, Melike Demirağ, Sanar Yurdatapan, Fuat Saka, Sümeyra, Nizamettin Arıç, Karaca, Şivan Perwer and Zülfü Livaneli. Some of these refugees returned to Turkey after the political situation changed for the better, such as for instance Cem Karaca, Melike Demirağ, Sanar Yurdatapan and Livaneli. Others such as Sümeyra, Fuat Saka or Şiwan Perwer stayed in their new home countries.

Since the 1980s, the size of the Turkish population in Europe has remained more or less constant, with a gradual increase due to a birth surplus.

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Today the structure of the Turkish population is not the same in all European countries. In countries such as Germany, Austria or the Netherlands, second-generation Turks are the dominant group. However, in Switzerland or Sweden there is a much higher percentage of Kurdish and Turkish refugees. In the United Kingdom, most of the Turks originate from Cyprus and have a completely different migration history (Coggins 1995). At this moment in time, there are still complex migration movements going on. Refugees, guest students and their spouses come from Turkey to Western Europe, whilst retired workers of the first generation or people with a high level of education and the second generation move to Turkey or to other countries.

3. TRANSNATIONAL CONNECTIONS

Transnational connections between European countries and Turkey are much more developed today than in the early period of Turkish mass migration to Europe. Travelling has become cheap and easy, although flight prices to Turkey differ widely between European countries and cities. Whereas flights from Germany are quite cheap, in particular outside the holiday season, flights from France, the Netherlands or Great Britain are more expensive.

Since the 1970s, a major part of the European Turkish population has spent the summer holidays in Turkey to enjoy the beach and meet relatives and friends. Conversely, Turkey-based businessmen, politicians or musicians regularly visit Europe, for hours, days or even weeks at a time. Intensive contacts between families usually maintained by regular phone calls or Internet chats. Today, almost every Anatolian village is connected to the telephone lines. Family celebrations such as weddings, funerals or circumcisions and also private business matters lead to frequent travel between Europe and Turkey. European Turkish pensioners often live in two countries, spending six months in one home and six months at their other home.

A similar form of travelling can be observed with regards to the production of music CDs. Studio musicians come from Turkey to Europe or singers and groups fly to Istanbul to record. Moreover, various Turkey based musicians, doing all sorts of music, come regularly to Germany for gigs or concerts. For young musicians in Turkey, it has become, in recent years, also more and more usual and normal to spend some time in Germany or another European country. At the same time, Turkish-European associations and businessmen regularly invite musicians from Turkey. Many popular singers in Turkey have, in the past, worked for a long time in music restaurants in

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Germany, e.g. Mahsun Kırmızıgül and Özcan Deniz in Berlin, or Ceylan in Munich.

Many first generation migrants invest their money in houses or apartments in Turkey (Zentrum für Türkeistudien 1992), while in their European homes photos, posters or religious symbols document their connection to Turkey.

The Turkish media enforces these transnational connections. Turkish newspapers such as *Hürriyet*, *Milliyet*, *Zaman* or *Türkiye* dominate the influencing of public Turkish opinion-making in Europe. Many younger European-Turks of the second generation however prefer newspapers in German, Dutch, French, etc.

The Turkish newspapers available in Europe are similar to those in Turkey; they are just shorter and include added pages with news and advertisements from Europe.

Since the early 1990s, television has become the most important factor for the formation of a Turkish diaspora, influential in particular for the development of music. *TRT-INT* (run by the Turkish state) has become available on many European cable networks, and from 1993 on, the deregulation of the Turkish TV market and the spread of TV satellites has opened further possibilities for Turkish TV programmes. Today there are more than a hundred Turkish TV channels available in Europe (Berliner Institut für Vergleichende Sozialforschung 2005), including several *TRT* channels, private commercial programmes, music channels (such as *Kral TV*), channels from special Anatolian regions (like *Karadeniz TV* from the Black Sea coast) or religious channels. Some of the bigger channels have studios in Germany; a few are even completely produced in Germany (*TD 1* in Berlin, *Kanal Avrupa* in Duisburg, *Düzgün TV* in Lünen). A unique case in the TV-landscape is the Kurdish *Roj TV*, intitially broadcasting under the name *Med TV* from Belgium, later officially from Denmark (Hassanpour 1997: 246). In co-operation with the 'Kurdish Academy' in Neuss (Germany), Roj TV produces many live or pre-recorded concerts and music talkshows with Kurdish musicians.

Turkish radio programmes can be received in Europe via satellite, but they are much less popular. Europe-based radio stations that do exist are *Metropol FM* (Berlin) or *Londra Türk Radyosu* (London; O'Connell 2008).

Most striking in Turkish-European music life is the overwhelming production of CDs (and earlier MCs). Many European Turkish amateur musicians spend thousands of euros to produce CDs, believing that this plan will help them achieve their dream of becoming famous. Their primary aim is to become successful in Turkey, which will lead to performances on Turkish TV programmes. Only at a later point in time, so the common

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belief is, can concerts be of any serious financial benefit. The selling of CDs itself is much less lucrative. Of course there are only very few European-Turkish musicians who are actually successful with this approach, such as for instance Özlem Özdil or the group Yurtseven Kardeşler (Germany). By far most of these CDs contain Anatolian folk music, whereas pop is of minor importance. CDs with Arabesk or Turkish art music are rare exceptions. Many recordings are made in Europe as Turkish Studios exist in many European cities. Music managers select and arrange the songs and organise guest musicians. Production and distribution is usually based in Turkey due to its higher prestige. For the Turkish music industry the productions of European-Turkish musicians are an important source of income. Unfortunately, many inexperienced amateur musicians lose a lot of money in this process and are left with nothing but a bad experience, plus some copies of their own CD which, of course, nobody ever buys.

Over four decades, Turkey has thus remained an important point of reference. At the *Eurovision Song Contest*, for instance, candidates from Turkey regularly receive high marks from countries with a large Turkish population (Solomon 2007). The official Turkish holidays are also celebrated in Europe, such as April 23rd (children's day), which in Berlin is celebrated with two competing street festivals. Less successful is the so-called Türk günü [Turkish day] in Berlin, a street festival organised yearly (since 2002) like its American model on the prestigious *Straße des 17. Juni* (Klebe 2008). Similar events take place in Odense, South Denmark (Odense Türk Günü) and Zurich (Türk Günü). Formally, many European-Turks are still connected to Turkey by their Turkish citizenship. Embassies are responsible for all issues of passport, wedding, military service and other documents. The biggest Islamic organisation in Europe, DITIB, is associated to the embassies as well as with the state office for religion in Turkey (Diyanet).

In musical affairs, however, the Turkish state remains almost inactive with the exception of some small cultural centres (Türk Kültür Merkezi, Türk Evi) which are affilliated with the Turkish consulates.

The earlier-mentioned extension of transnational connections has changed the attitude of European Turks towards Turkey. The first generation used to compare their daily lives in Europe with an idealised picture of Turkey as it was when they left. In European-Turkish music life this attitude still prevails: Instruments, even strings, are not considered as good when they have not been bought directly in Turkey. Since the 1980s, the nostalgic longing for a lost home has become more and more obsolete. New developments in Turkey concerning ideological and political debates as well as changes in the language immediately lead to similar developments within the European-Turkish diaspora. Similarly, new musical styles, instruments or

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songs are instantly adopted in the diaspora. During the 1980s, for example, musicians based in Turkey, such as Arif Sağ, and the group *Muhabbet* contributed substantially to the popularity of the short-necked variant of the traditionally long-necked lute bağlama – and soon young Turkish musicians in Europe also prefered this type of instrument. Later, musicians such as Arif Sağ, Erdal Erzincan or Erol Parlak developed the new – or renewed – technique of tapping (the so-called *Şelpe* technique) and, again, most Europe-based bağlama players tried to learn it as soon as possible.

Another example is the governmental encouragment of a new style of art music under the name 'Classical Turkish Music' [klasik türk müziği] in Turkey in the 1980s, which led to the formation of similar Turkish choirs in many European cities. Most of the first choir leaders were autodidacts and it was then that a first academic programme in Turkish art music came into existence in Istanbul. Subsequently, music graduates from Turkey have come to Europe – most of them by marriage – and improved the general musical level of this musical tradition. However, the members of these choirs, as well as those of folk music choirs, remain amateur groups. They make music without any prior knowledge of Turkish music traditions. Some choirs are attached to associations, culture centres or consulates, while others just meet privately.

On the other hand, it would be misleading to think of one coherent Turkish diaspora. In fact, a great number of transnational networks have emerged. Economical, religious, ideological, political, ethnic, regional or personal networks of different types: Families, friends, companies or several types of organisations.

Kurdish nationalism, for instance, grew in the 1980s, both in Turkey and in Europe. In particular, the developement of a new Kurdish culture and its influence on the European diaspora can hardly be overestimated. Many excellent Kurdish musicians, such as Şivan Perwer, Nizamettin Arıç, Ciwan Haco, Naso Rezazi, Temo or Yılmaz Çelik live in Europe (Skalla and Amiri 1999: 378–384). In the 1980s, most cassettes of Kurdish music were produced in Germany and secretly distributed in Turkey. Just after 1991, when the ban on the Kurdish language in Turkey was lifted, most Kurdish music productions moved to Istanbul.

For live music, in particular, Alevi associations have become increasingly influencial. In Alevism, a heterodox Islamic confession from Anatolia (Kehl-Bodrogi 1992: 7), music is an important element, both in ceremonies and for the transmission of religious knowledge. Most European Alevi associations offer bağlama lessons and some also have folk music choirs or dance groups. Alevi centres and festivals are networking opportunities for musicians, music managers or organisers. In 2000, the German federation of Alevi

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associations organised the *Saga of the Millenium* in Cologne, a monumental event with 1 246 young bağlama players from all over Germany.

Orthodox Islamic identity discourse also has an impact on music products, such as for instance the so-called 'Green Pop' genre, with its current star Yusuf Sami (London) or hip-hop groups such as *Sert Müslümanlar* [Hard Muslims; Frankfurt a. M.] (Solomon 2006).

4. INSIDE EUROPE

The integration of Turkish musicians in Europe differs widely, but actually less between countries than between musical styles. Historically, the first musicians from Turkey in Europe practised Western classical music. This exchange has continued to the present day, and many students come from Turkey to Europe (or to the USA) to study the piano, the violin, opera singing or composition. Such Western-oriented musicians usually do not face any problems integrating into the European music life. They play in orchestras, teach or study just like any other Western musician.

It is a completely different situation for 'traditional' musicians, those who play either Anatolian folk music or Ottoman Turkish art music. There is no public institutional financial support of any kind for these types of music in European countries. There are no publicly financed state ensemble or officially accepted education programmes. Only a few German and Dutch municipal music schools offer bağlama lessons and even fewer offer Turkish percussion lessons. Generally, Turkish migrants are primarily perceived as a social problem by the white, Christian European majority. European-Turkish culture is rarely seen in terms of a cultural enrichment. Many music projects run by non-Turks are mainly sociocultural and not professionally musical. Since the 1970s, for example, Turkish dance groups have regulary performed at German street festivals. This kind of sociocultural, yet artistically rather modest, presentation has shaped the white European perception of Turkish culture for decades.

As a reaction to this exclusion from musical institutions, Turkish musicians have opened several private and exclusively Turkish music schools in many European cities since the 1990s, especially in Germany. In Berlin alone there are seven private Turkish music schools. There is also one in Amsterdam and a smaller one in London.

Recent fears concerning Islamist terror has changed the attitudes of many white Christian Europeans, raising an awareness that there is too little knowledge about Muslim minorities, their daily lives and also about their music styles. In Germany and the Netherlands in particular, a growing debate seems to slowly change the public musical life, allowing

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Turkish musicians to also enter this sphere (Greve 2008). In 2000, the well-established German youth music competition *Jugend Musiziert* started in Berlin with a regular annual competition of bağlama at a regional level; the federal state of North Rhine-Westfalia followed four years later. From 2005 to the end of 2008, North Rhine-Westfalia supported bağlama courses in municipal music schools within the framework of the project *Bağlama Für Alle* [Bağlama for Everyone].

Some music academies are seemingly opening up more and more. One of the leading institutions is the *World Music Academy*, which is part of the municipal conservatoire in Rotterdam (Codarts). In 2000, and for the first time outside of Turkey, a regular study programme for Turkish music was initiated. Talip Özkan (Paris) was its first musical director. The basic courses of the programme were held by lecturers from Rotterdam, in particular by Nahim Avcı. After internal difficulties, the programme restarted in 2006 with Kemal Dinç (Cologne), Alper Kekeç (Amsterdam) and recently Kudsi Ergüner (Paris). In Germany several universities and music academies are now discussing the importance of such programmes to improve intercultural skills.

At the Berlin *Universität der Künste, UdK* [University of the Arts] regular courses on Turkish music have been held since 2000 by the private music school *Konservatorium für Türkische Musik* Berlin [Conservatoire for Turkish Music]. In return, the UdK provides courses in Western music theory at the Music Academy for Turkish Music. At the *École Nationale de Musique de Villeurbanne* (Lyon), Marc Loopuyt offers a programme for the short-necked lute *ud* combining Turkish and Arabic art musics.

Concurrently to these developments, European concert promoters have tried to draw Turkish and non-Turkish audiences to Turkish music. The Amsterdam-based agency Kulsan has organised ambitious Turkish concerts at all of the main concert halls in Holland over the past 20 years. Their office is situated today in the prestigious *Muziekgebouw aan't IJ*. In Germany, an increasing number of festivals, which include Turkish music are taking place with official financial support, such as in Berlin in 1998. As from 2001, a festival has taken place in Munich annually. Similar events were held in 2003 at the Kemnade (near Bochum), 2004 in Karlsruhe and 2005 in Bochum (Hoffmann 2007). In 2004, the London-based management company Harrison & Parrot organised the festival *Şimdi Now* in Berlin in cooperation with the Istanbul Culture and Art Foundation. Taking place just before to the EU decision-making process concerning Turkey's official candidate status within the EU, the event had the character of a European application.

In 2005 a similar, but smaller festival *Şimdi Stuttgart* took place in Southern Germany. In 2006 and 2008, *Turkey Now* was held in Amsterdam

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and Rotterdam. In 2009, it will again take place, this time in Vienna. In 2007, Berlin witnessed two concert series almost simultaneously: *Alla Turca – a Cultural Dialogue* at the *Berlin Philharmonic*, and *Sound Culture* by the *Rundfunk-Sinfonieorchester Berlin* [Berlin Radio Symphony Orchestra], which were held in cooperation with the above-mentioned private *Conservatoire for Turkish Music Berlin*. It was the first time that Turkish concerts had been organised by these important institutions and took place in the most respectable concert halls of Berlin. In the federal state of North Rhine-Westfalia, there has been a similar development since the beginning of the run-up to the *European Cultural Capital Essen 2010*. Essen and the Ruhr area explicitly emphasised, for their application, the national and ethnic diversity of the region, which might have contributed substantially to its success.

Cross-cultural musical encounters have been witnessed since the 1980s and have fallen mainly within the frame of 'world music'. Most non-Turkish musicians in this field are not only interested in Turkish music, as for them Turkish music is generally speaking just one style among others, such as for example Arab, Indian or Persian music.

Two technical problems constrain these musical co-operations. Firstly, language: Both Anatolian folk music and Ottoman Turkish art music are primarily vocal music. Turkish is very different to Indo-European languages and difficult to learn, which means that non-Turkish musicians are often forced to remain in the background, only accompanying Turkish singers. The second challenge is the different tone system, which makes exact intonation for non-Turks very difficult. Most cross-cultural ensembles are thus forced to play in tempered tuning.

Moreover, only a few European-Turkish musicians are active in world music and many are actually percussionists. Their experience with the typical asymmetric Anatolian aksak-rhythms gives them a particular competence, which turns out to be highly interesting for European musicians. Once they are part of the world music scene, many Turkish percussionists learn to play other non-Western percussion instruments such as the *conga*, *djembe* or *berimbao*. Most successful in this field are artists such as Okay Temiz in Sweden and Burhan Öçal in Zurich.

One of the most exceptional Turkish musicians is the ney [flute] player Kudsi Ergüner. Born into a respected Turkish Sufi family and having grown up with Ottoman music, he went to Paris as a young man in 1975. When he arrived in the city he soon discovered that many Europeans are fond of Sufi culture and music. Kudsi Ergüner gave concerts all over Europe and America and released up to 90 recordings, in particular for French labels *al sur*, *Inedit – Maison des Cultures du Monde*, *Arion* and *Ocora* (Ergüner 2000; Greve 2003: 395). Due to his extensive teaching activities, a European-wide

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ney scene emerged, that is today connected via the Internet. Noteworthy are the regular ney courses in Venice and Vicenza organised by Ergüner's student Giovanni De Zorzi (De Zorzi 2008). The students are Italians, many of them former saxophone and transverse flute players.

Most Europeans' encounters with Anatolian or Ottoman music are at least initially influenced by the still-existing expectation of an impassionate, irrational and mysterious 'Orient'. The best prospects for success in Europe lie in the hands of those Turkish musicians who meet these orientalist expectations. In Germany alone, there are three German-language journals for belly dance and most belly dancers are also Germans.

Until the early 1990s, most Turkish Sufi music was produced in Europe and not in Turkey. Still today European world music shops sell Islamic music in particular. Whereas Turkish shops in Europe sell this music as one style in its own right (even of minor importance) among many others. Similarly, concerts of Sufi music raise much more interest among European audiences than even the most famous Turkish folk music singers. This also explains why many cross-cultural oriented European musicians have concentrated on Sufi music.

Many European Turkish musicians, particularly those of the second generation, are familiar with European 'Orientalism'. Some Turkish presenters in Germany try to meet these expectations with their names, e.g. *Dervish Kulturmanagement* (Bochum) or *Oriental Media Network* (Berlin). Besides, many music groups or solo musicians that are trying to attract a non-Turkish audience consider themselves more or less ironically as 'oriental', such as the groups *Orient Express*, *Orient Connection* or *Orientation* (all Berlin). Whole styles have even picked up the term, such as 'orient rock' in Berlin (in the 1980s) or 'oriental hip-hop', which emerged ten years later. Similarly other keywords are sometimes used, such as *Fata Morgana*, the name of another group from Berlin. Another example is *Sultan*, a management company for Turkish pop music. A Swedish group playing 'ethnopop' has the name *Urban Turban*. The advert for the intercultural festival *Kemnade* (Bochum, Germany) in 2001, for instance, showed the picture of a Mevlevi dervish in front of a pink background. However, the most successful world music artist with regards to this particular ironic play with 'oriental' images is the ney player and DJ Mercan Dede from Canada.

The efforts for the establishment of an international market, for Turkish pop music in particular, have become important for a musical European-Turkish exchange. As early as the 1990s a new pop culture developed in Turkey, that soon spilled over to the European Turkish diapora. At that time in Europe, most of the first Turkish clubs were situated downtown and far away from the social control of neighbours and relatives in Turkish neigbourhoods, thus also stressing the social rise of the former migrants

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(Çaglar 1998: 49). Furthermore, many of the new pop stars from Turkey had grown up as children of Turkish working class migrants in Europe: Bendeniz in Switzerland, Ragga Oktay in the Netherlands, Tarkan, Rafet El Roman and Candan Erçetin in Germany.

During the second half of the 1990s some major international record companies tried to open up the international market by selling samplers with Turkish pop music. Concurrently, Turkish labels attempted to get access to the international market, often through the intermediation of European Turkish managers who were working for international labels. The main problem concerning the fusion of the European and the Turkish markets is, however, the very different price levels.

One of the few internationally-acclaimed Turkish pop artists is Tarkan. His record *Tarkan*, which was released in 1998 for the international market in particular, reached the top of the charts all over Europe. In 2003, the Turkish singer Sertab Erener won the *Eurovision Song Contest* with her song in English *Everyway That I Can* (Solomon 2007).

At the same time, several European-Turkish musicians have succeeded in the European pop business: Mousse T. (Mustafa Gündoğdu), living in Hannover (Germany), was nominated for a Grammy as the best remixer in 1998, and two years later his song *Sex Bomb*, sung by Tom Jones, became an international hit. In 1999, the German Turkish group *Sürpriz* represented Germany at the *Eurovision Song Contest*.

The film *Crossing the Bridge: The Sound of Istanbul* by Fatih Akın (Hamburg, Germany), produced in 2005 directly after his prizewinning film *Gegen die Wand* [Head On], made Istanbul widely known as a cutting edge centre for rock and hip-hop.

In fact, the adaptation of hip-hop shows in exemplary for the change of identity discourse amongst youngsters with a migration background who have turned away (and still are) from any form of national identity in favour of a European or global identity. At the end of the 1980s, this still new cultural form attracted the attention of youngsters from the second generation of migrants. For them, hip-hop had no national connotation, neither German, Dutch, Swiss, Turkish, Arab or Italian. Hip-hop was completely unknown in Turkey at that time. Making music as a rapper does not necessarily involve buying expensive instruments and having a musical education. Multiracial migrant hip-hop crews emerged, whose members identified with U.S. African-Americans. For many of these young people, hip-hop was an African-American musical expression and they found similarities to their own position within European society. Music symbolised the articulation of the discriminated voice of migrants for them. Furthermore, freestyle gave the opportunity for playful internal competitions relating to virility and group hierarchy, which were also

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typical rituals within Turkish youth gangs (Elflein 1997). One of the very first recorded rap songs in German, *Ahmet Gündüz*, was written by the Turkish rap crew Fresh Family and told the story of a working class Turk in Germany (Verlan and Loh 2000: 134).

It was at this time that a considerable European-Turkish rap scene developed in Germany. The first rap song in Turkish was released in 1991 on the debut LP of the German Nuremberg-based group *King Size Terror*, entitled *Bir Yabancının Hayati* [The Life of a Foreigner], (Elflein 1997: 289). Four years later, the hip-hop formation *Cartel* with MCs from Nuremberg, Kiel and Berlin attracted the attention of almost all the main German media, which was followed by completely unexpected success in Turkey. During the subsequent hype of the so-called 'oriental hip-hop' in Germany, the female rapper Aziza A. (from Berlin) became particularly well-known. She performed among others at the Hannover Expo 2000 in the German pavillion representing Germany.

Today, the hip-hop scenes in Germany and Turkey (mainly in Istanbul) are closely linked to each other. Aziza A., for instance, travels regularly between Berlin and Istanbul. The most popular rapper in Turkey is at present Ceza who, in 2008, came to Germany for several months and collaborated with German-based artists in Berlin.

Another very well-known Turkish German rapper is Kool Savas, whose raps have marked out a new development in German hip-hop. Rapping in German, he is generally not perceived as a Turk by the German mainstream, but is considered merely as a pop star from Germany. In fact, hip-hop has become common in Germany (like in many other European countries), with an infinite number of record labels and styles, and many active rappers come from migrant families.

Whilst transnational connections are continuously growing and all traditional identities and musics coexist simultaneously in Europe today, we can also observe that there is an increasing disintegration of the Turkish diaspora. Many young Europeans with Turkish parents or grandparents refuse to be called Turks or migrants and consider themselves as Europeans. A similar self-definition can be found amongst musicians who are active in all sorts of pop and classical music styles.

In the last few years, the aforementioned self-ironisation and playful self-orientalisation has become a major trend in Europe. In Germany for instance, R'n'Besk has emerged as a new pop music style, a mixture of R'n'B and Arabesk.[3] In addition, many other musicians play with contradictions nowadays: the Kazakh-Turkish Swiss singer Saadet Türköz deconstructs

3 Muhabbet is the most famous R'n'Besk singer in Germany.

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old Anatolian folk songs, together with musicians of the international free improvisation scene. In Rotterdam, composers from Holland, Germany and Turkey discussed the 'Rewriting of Turkish Traditions' in 2007. In a recent project, Kudsi Ergüner interpreted Goethe's *West-östlicher Divan* [West-Eastern Divan] in the style of Ottoman art music ... in German.

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