Music, Urban Contestation, and the Politics of Place in Istanbul

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As this edited collection goes to press, Donald J Trump is completing his first month as President of the United States. Even those who are dissecting every angle, moment, movement, and policy of this controversial personage may miss the connection between that important event and our own conversation on music, exclusion, and inclusion in Istanbul. For music and high politics are not commonly subjects of the same conversation.

So, how do music, power politics, and social justice intersect around mid-January 2017? As the days and hours ticked on until Donald Trump's January 20th inauguration as the 45th President of the United States, the events planned for that day became stages for political contestation: Hopeful liberals wondered if the inauguration would take place at all. Others questioned who might not attend it. Others asked how many Democratic and Republican Party dignitaries might refuse to attend. And who would, ultimately, agree to perform in the pre-inauguration celebration at the Lincoln Memorial planned for the evening of the 19th, or be showcased on the big day? In the weeks between Election Day – November 8, 2016 – and Inauguration Day, it became clear that, unlike prior inaugurations, no notable American voice would be raised in song to celebrate the 45th President. Indeed, none did – on either the eve of the Inauguration or on the big day. The music repertory performed on January 20th would politically construct both the national capital and the office

of Chief Executive in a manner exemplary of the social and political divisions that have defined US politics at least since the beginning of the first Obama Presidency and the rise of the anti-establishment Right. So would the star-studded music events surrounding the massive Women's March that took place on January 21, 2017.

Adam Gopnik reflects on the significance of the American music world's rejection of Trump: "There is an abyss", he writes "between the man about to assume power and the best shared traditions of the country he represents." The operative term here is "shared": The allusion is not to elite musical tastes – what at one time was called "serious music" – or the Boston-Washington corridor's cultural traditions. Gopnik hallmark's the musics that were born out of conflict, difference, and disparity at times when the world was "a-changin'", as Bob Dylan once put it. He refers to the shared musical traditions that have implicated stories about race (think of New Orleans and Chicago blues), class (think of Bruce Springsteen's hymnal of blue collar life), war (think of the song book that emerged out of the carnage of Vietnam), and ethnicity (from Irish songs in Boston pubs to Greek Rembetika in New York's Astoria neighborhood). Gopnik notes that "[t]his music was often made in protest, and frequently made best by the most oppressed among us. And so politics and our political life have always wrapped and unwrapped around that music, left and right and in between."[1] He continues that Trump's and his entourage's inability to recruit any musicians of note – regardless of whether they come from the worlds of rock, or country, or blues, or Broadway – to perform in Washington, DC, considered by many to be one of the most important places in the world, and certainly constructed as such by American politics every four years, is paradigmatic of the yawning gap between musics of the establishment (military bands and the "for-tourists-only" Rock-

1 | Adam Gopnik, "The Music Donald Trump Can't Hear", The New Yorker, January 13, 2017. http://www.newyorker.com/news/daily-comment/the-music-donald-trump-cant-hear

ettes) and musics that build inclusion or express opposition to (even rage against) exclusion.[2]

The factors and circumstances that precipitated the rise of a populist and reactionary, if not authoritarian, New Right[3] in the United States remain unclear. There is an emerging consensus, nonetheless, that liberal ideals crystalized in the 1960s and 1970s of a emerging urban-based feminist, multicultural, and environment-caring America, and neoliberal, post-fordist, globalization-constructive strategies rolled out at a relentless pace since 1980, provided the basis for an oppositional, socially and culturally conservative worldview in the US rural/economic periphery. That worldview appears to have produced an effective electoral politics and landed an extraordinarily unlikely star of reality television in the White House. That the Escatawpa, Mississippi-based Three Doors Down rock group, country-western star Toby Keith, Tony Orlando, and the Mormon Tabernacle Choir (McIntyre, 2017: online) were among the best-known performers on the Inauguration playlist may be interpreted as both illustrative and symptomatic of the New Right's politics of contempt for liberalism, cosmopolitanism, and globalization. That there is a geography to the musicians' fan base that articulates

2 | It would not be an unreasonable critique to claim that Bruce Springsteen and Lady Gaga, among others, who vehemently opposed the Trump candidacy and later dismissed any forthcoming invitation to perform in the inauguration are themselves elites, and creatures of the corporate music establishment. That said, there is little doubt that their vastly popular musics, alongside bluegrass, jazz, Delta blues, and George Gershwin, to name a few, capture the dreams, anxieties, and horrors of America in the throws of rapid social transformation.

3 | The New Right has absorbed many of the Tea Party movement adherents, elements of the so-called "alt-right", which appears to be the home of a number of extremist rightist, racist, and openly neo-nazi elements, and generally disaffected working class whites, some of who used to be long-time Democratic voters.

with the Republican victory map, is consequential, for it reveals the coherence of geographic-, social-, political-, and cultural positionalities with the dilemmas, competing logics, cleavages, and deepening unevenness in the new century.

The suggestion that music, landscape, and social contestation can be usefully triangulated to reveal the contours of a cultural politics of place forms the genesis of this book. This association is powerfully represented by the cultural experiences of Istanbul that are analyzed here across a century and a half of musical practice. First as Ottoman imperial capital, later as the primate city of a republican Turkey, and since the mid-1980s, as an emerging global city, Istanbul exemplifies polarities, oppositions, and dialectics associated with the transformative agency of modernity. Martin Stokes points out in his discussion of Istanbul's culture industries in the era of globalization that "sound ... provides a manipulatable but politically loaded fount of symbolic difference ("the West," "the East," "the Turkish," etc.) ... [Music's] political power lies in the fact that the movement of music in public space is so difficult to police and control, a fact intimately connected to the mobility of musical technology and predominantly collective means of musical production" (Stokes, 1999: 124).

If that holds true in the era of ubiquitous electronic communication and instantaneous access to globally-available musics, early vestiges of that equation can be traced back to the 19th century and the old ala-turka versus ala-franca debate – the terms referring, respectively, to Western versus Ottoman/Turkish cultural modes, and especially musical genres. That division was also about globalization, albeit at its infant stage, when change, writ-large, in the Empire was scripted in terms of the "encounter," interdigitation of, and competition between, East and West, alongside of the emergence of European nationalisms, the advent of industrialization that annihilated agrarian states and empires, and the conjuring of 'the modern' as both material and psychosocial structural and ontological manifestations. "Music", as Stokes remarks, "provides means

by which people position themselves, and can be positioned in temporal and spatial schemes … Global forces may thus encourage or inhibit a local industry, encourage or inhibit state intervention, and encourage or inhibit music making outside the domain of mass media" (Ibid: 122).

At the onset of modernity in Istanbul, the mid-19th century Tanzimat reforms (1839–1976) triggered the incipient "global forces" that created means by which people would (re) position themselves moving both upwardly and downwardly, in a world of new opportunities and perils. They represented a spectrum of regulatory, structural reforms rolled out by the imperial state over five decades, which incubated capitalist entrepreneurialism catalyzed from abroad (mostly European Great Powers and the Ottoman successor states in the Balkans), and technological transformation associated with the industrial and transportation revolutions of that century.

In the current era "global forces" in the world of music take the shape of international recording and media conglomerates, or at least their national or regional outposts. Their strategies and market priorities construct ephemeral systems of music stardom, selectively elevating or bringing down (and thus silencing) different musics. The seemingly liberatory technologies of the Internet and social media allow musical polyphony as long as the technology is financially accessible to both producers and consumers, and the national telecommunications provider is not prone to filtering or outright censoring disapproved cultural expression.

Thus starting in the mid-19th century, musics that were largely, products of locality or of established circuits of musicians' mobility, would be transformed by the geographical dilation of the Ottoman world under the auspices of industrial capitalism and European cosmopolitanism. Interaction with other sites of cultural production (mostly in the West but also in the Arab world) began to increase exponentially, eventually producing a wide range of musical subgenres that bespeak such spatial articulations. Rembetika – the music of marginalized Istanbul Greeks – is a good example of such

transformation-as-Hellenization of both its musical and lyrical content following its transplantation to Greece in the 1920s.

A later example was arabesk, a popular, though government-disapproved musical genre that drew heavily from scores of Egyptian film and bore strong associations with migrant people and marginality. Writing about its ethos of social alienation and disillusionment, Martin Stokes notes that "[arabesk] flaunts the failure of a process of reform whose icons and symbols dominate every aspect of Turkish life … As well as a musical form, arabesk is an entire anti-culture, a way of life whose influence, it is often said, can be detected as an aura of chaos and confusion surrounding every aspect of urban existence, from traffic to language, from politics to kits" (Stokes, 1992: 1). Importantly, Stokes points to politically fraught links between arabesk and the sema, the (previously outlawed) liturgical Alevi music (Ibid: 203–27).

While Rembetika and arabesk share similarities in terms of their focus on life in the margins, the former was a grass roots-based musical genre, exemplary of organic articulation of musical creation and social state, while the latter was a cultural commodity that emerged out of Istanbul studios of the 1960s and 1970s, and alimented the city's musical star system. Both were highly political. Both together reveal the broad range and complexities of the triangulation of "place-music-politics." Stokes concludes that embracing or participating in a musical genre reflects upon the political-cultural positionality of Turkey and the Turks in the world – no simple matter, as their geopolitical semiotics are fluid and a subject of continuous negotiation (Stokes, 1999: 123–24).

The Guiding Idea

This book is as much about Istanbul as a site of politicized cultural production as it is about exploring the geographic meaning of a select range of musical genres. Our main objective is to engage and explore the multiple histories, geographies, and cultures of

Istanbul music landscapes as crucial settings where identities are formed, performed, negotiated and transferred, resulting in various forms of social exclusion and inclusion. The overarching question for the chapters is What roles do musical genre, music-referent subcultures, and all the informal and unregistered everyday musical encounters and performances play in the making of diverse urban lives? This question has two political implications both of which are addressed by the authors: First, exposing past and ongoing dynamics, instances, and practices of *exclusion*, and second, discovering and bringing to life the practices, factors, and settings which suggest potential for *inclusion* and democratic political praxis.

The genesis of the project was the "Visceral Landscapes of Well-being" panel in the States of Mind and The City: Wellbeing and Place International Symposium in Istanbul, in October 2014. The symposium was an extension of a broader research program on changing imaginations of Istanbul from the 19th to the 21st century, mainly in terms of the production of urban culture in three historical periods: as an "Oriental" city, a "Third World" city of "crude urbanization", and as a global city subject to the forces and currents of urban neoliberalism. Panelists presented work exploring historical and contemporary everyday practices and urban musical settings as influential places where identities were/are performed and social segregation and exclusion were/are negotiated and extended. The papers provided new information on how musical landscapes functioned as significant political hubs of seeding, organizing and practicing emancipatory politics and inclusion. By providing examples of musical settings from historically distinct periods of urbanity in Istanbul, the papers also worked coherently in overviewing Istanbul's transformation in time and in relation to the past and present national, global, regional processes.

Thus, landscape, per the book's title, is not merely a metaphor that draws attention to the multiple histories and geographies of musical settings. We also deployed it as a critical relational perspec-

tive vital to the interpretation of musical histories and geographies that embody social and spatial exclusion, and "othering" in the city. Our use of musical landscapes draws on the Lefebvrian idea of space (and by extension landscape) as socially produced. Accordingly, we employ landscape as a means of conceptualizing and relating to the ways in which musical practice is spatial and determines our understanding of urban space. So the landscapes of Istanbul's historic core and Galata-Beyoğlu encapsulate and reproduce relationships, differences, and change in imagined and real places.

The four authors who contribute to this volume address Istanbul's 'musical landscapes' as public or spatially hybrid (private-public) settings of identity-making and urban inclusion/exclusion and as sites of musical performance crucial to our understanding of the formation, organization, communication and regulation of identities and exclusionary urban practices. Their work illuminates connections between, and triangulations among music, regulation (including policing, censorship, disciplining) and "the urban." They focus on readings of cultural aspects of everyday life as settings for democratic progress and reconciliation. They ultimately construct case studies that consider musical settings at the local, national, and international levels, addressing a panoply of issues related to inclusion/exclusion: gender, ethnic and generational difference, memory, mobility and migration, social, spatial and economic innovation, and cultural heritage.

Figure 1: An evening at a music salon in Beyoglu (Ara Güler, 1962)

Magnum Photos, with permission

This collection is not a work of musicology (or ethnomusicology). Nor is it a survey of musical genres that historically or contemporaneously define Istanbul's artful soundscape. This entanglement between landscapes of music and their spatial, symbolic, and material constitution was approached using ethnographic and archival methods. Our desire has been to showcase a small number of musical traditions that as everyday practices exemplify connections among space, performance, and political expression and animation (and at times mobilization). It is based on the premise that place is crucial to how we think, feel, act, and relate to others, both as subjects and as communities. Musical settings of performance, listening, rehearsing and sharing are entangled with the histories and material and physical qualities of space and place. Doing music is physical and inherently spatial and embodied. Three of the four studies – on the Rembetika, the music of the Aşiks, and the musical tradition of the Zakirs – involve musics that have deep historical roots and a significant presence in cultural expressions of

inclusivity and resistance to, and critique of exclusion. They endure to this day, albeit, redefined in political and aesthetic terms, and the manner in which their music and its spatial grounding have been machined into globalization by capital and the pervasiveness of the Internet. Hip-hop, which completes the set, is a much more recent musical genre that embodies a critical urban musical aesthetic in a globalizing Istanbul. It strongly illustrates the adaptive character of grassroots cultural movements and their ability to speak at power across continents and languages.

Inevitably, we have to address how we can usefully generalize about the political territoriality of musics in Istanbul over an extended period of almost two hundred years. Our desire is to speak critically about a changing Istanbul of our own contemporary experience, and the politically expressive ways in which musical cultures construct spaces and provide meaningful explanations and mechanisms for inclusion, community-building, and democratic praxis. And when these important public goods appear infeasible or seem to be threatened as a politics of exclusion sets in, we wanted to explore how musical performance (and listening) have historically been (and continue to be) constructive of spaces and landscapes of community succor and resistance.

The common ground (literally) is Istanbul itself. We were tempted to broaden the book's geographic scope beyond Istanbul to include musics defined by, and defining other Turkish cities, in an effort to demonstrate the spatial complexities of a music politics of place. The spatial linkages expressing the mobility of musical ideas, performers, and audiences, however, defied any notion of an Istanbul-exclusive basis for any of these phenomena. Further, it became clear that political and financial teleconnections between decisions taken in different places (in Ankara, in other parts of Europe, or in North America), and actions in the Istanbul "local," readily reveal the geographic complexity of a politics of music. All four musics considered in this volume express regional and trans-boundary mobilities: Aşıks migrated historically into the Balkans and into cities from the

Anatolian hinterland; Alevi communities and Zakir song flourish in German cities; hip-hop, an originally underground, American, inner city movement, becomes transplanted to Istanbul and Ankara via Turkish guest-worker communities in German cities;[4] and Rembetika was played as widely as Izmir and New York in the interwar period, and assumed its final musical and political form in dive bars and clubs in Thessaloniki, Athens, and Piraeus after the population exchanges of 1922. We note these important trans-boundary geographies but remain focused on one city. Ultimately our concern was to devise an original way to understand better the Istanbul "urban".

With respect to the vast historical scope of the case studies, it became clear to us that temporal linkages of our chosen musics were as complex and significant to extracting meaning as spatial ones. The music of the Zakir, which is an important expressive element of community building and devotional practice in the Alevi-Bektaşi tradition, conservatively dates back to the 12th or 13th century (Markoff, 2013: online). Equally ancient are the roots of Âşik culture with evidence of early works of Âşik music and poetry going back to the 12th century (Korovinis, 2003: 17). Rembetika is variously dated to the second half of the 19th century (Gauntlett, 2001: 24), while hip-hop makes its appearance as an underground urban art movement in the early 1970s in the Bronx, NY (Thompson, 1996: 213). Their cultural histories and geographies at times interpenetrate: The Zakirs and the Aşıks share more than musicological affinities as the work of the itinerant poet-singers has long been employed in Alevi ceremonies (Soileau, 2007: online). Rembetika

4 | The first rap vinyl record produced in the Turkish language was "Bir Yabancının Hayatı" (The Life of a Foreigner), in 1991, by the Nuremberg-based group King Size Terror. Eventually an 'Oriental hip-hop' music subgenre would emerge by modulating the original American form and incorporating arabesk elements. Importantly, it came to serve as a mode of expression for a range of important local issues, especially racism and minority identity politics (von Dirke, 2004: 103).

and hip-hop grew up, separated by a century, in what Nerval called the "wings" of the city. In both cases, music and dance territorialize discontentment and resistance in a strongly embodied sense. Zakir, Rembetika, and hip-hop musics are still strongly present in expatriate, heritage communities in Europe and North America; these represent migration patterns produced by the industrial and finance capitalisms over the last century and a half.

Of the near-millennium-long historical trajectory of these case studies, we identified the period 1839-to-date as the operative historical framing of our investigations. The 1830s signify the onset of the Tanzimat reforms and the setting in motion of formal efforts of westernization and modernization in the Ottoman Empire. Eighteen-thirty-nine is an important year for another reason germane to our subject: The introduction of commercial photography following critical improvements in metal-based daguerreotype processing revolutionized landscape representation and enriched, extended, and transformed the study of historical landscape and the ontology of landscape itself. The analytical coverage of the 178 years that follow is not continuous but rather accents sub-periods and historical circumstances of significance to each study. The onset of social-economic reforms in the beginning of the period is important to understanding patterns of regional mobility and city growth that related to the partial urbanizing of Âşik culture. The transition from Empire to Republic is, expectedly, discussed at length with respect to the changing character of Turkish politics and its implications for ethno-religious minorities and religious worship – dimensions that had direct implications upon Rembetika and Zakirhood, and their related communities. The emergence of hip-hop is nearly coincidental with the end of Fordism in the United States and the emergence of neoliberalism and globalization. Neoliberalism arrived in Istanbul in the early 1980s under the auspices of the Evren military government. In the guise of a denouement, late modernity, in the guise of corporate media and entertainment conglomerates and new technologies, served to transform the performance, production, dissemination, social reach, and political character of these four musics.

Book Structure

The book includes four studies by an interdisciplinary group of scholars and artists who produce academic and (musical and other) artistic content from a variety of perspectives. The work included here draws together relevant theories and methodologies from geography, history, music studies, anthropology, cultural studies, and the arts. It forwards innovative and productive ways of encouraging comprehensive, inter-disciplinary understandings of everyday articulations of music, place, urban politics, and inclusion/exclusion (or marginality), making special references to Istanbul's musical histories, geographies, and cultures.

Following social and urban historian Fariba Zarinebaf's foreword, and this project-framing chapter, the book is divided into four chapters, each dedicated to a case study. The narrative draws to a close in the Afterword qua editorial, which highlights the triangulation of "music-politics-landscape" in an exploration of the 2013 Gezi Park protests.

Since our geographic focus is a select set of sites in the city, a chapter order that dilated out of the old urban core was not immediately meaningful. Neither was a strict chronological ordering, since the selection of genres was not made with the intent of creating a historically cohesive and progressive narrative on music, landscape, and politics. Thus the ordering of chapters here highlights our framing themes of inclusion and exclusion.

Papadopoulos' Rembetika as Embodiment of Istanbul's Margins: Musical landscapes in and of transition is the first case study. The narrative introduces the historic geopolitics of transition from Empire to Republic, and importantly, includes a critical landscape sketch of the Istanbul cosmopolis in transformation. Rembetika, as the musical culture of the Greek/Rum millet, articulates social-spatial marginalities among Istanbul's largest ethno-religious minority, at the scales of the neighborhood – the mahalle – the broader city, and the region. Theorizing Rembetika (the musical genre and the life mode) through the perspective of the rembetes body schema, Papa-

dopoulos locates a Rembetika-brand politics of place in marginalized neighborhoods with a Greek/Rum population. Rembetika song and dance provide solace and inclusivity to an otherwise invisible and excluded, and spatially sequestered, urban minority population.

The study of hip-hop in Sulukule by Yildirim, "Poorness is ghettoness": Urban renewal and hip-hop acculturation in Sulukule, Istanbul," effectively completes the chronological arc with its considerations of mediation, (re)production, and transmission of global culture in the context of a resisting "local". Yildirim explores how young displaced former residents of the Sulukule neighborhood, and their peers, have acculturated hip-hop music, dance, style, and discourse in the aftermath of Sulukule's destruction. He argues that their agency and actions have reconceptualized Sulukule as a hip-hop ghetto and mediated the construction of an empowering local identity based upon this new spatial dynamic. Resistance to the condominial agency of the state and finance capital in the gentrification of the low-rent neighborhood is internationalized through the dissemination of hip-hop performances on social media.

Thomas Korovinis' chapter on the ethnography of the Âşıks (with commentary by Papadopoulos), titled "The Âşıks: Poet-minstrels of empire, enduring voice of the margins," draws substantially on Korovinis' classic ethnographic study The Âşıks. An introduction and anthology of Turkish folk poetry from the 13th century to today, which is only available in Greek. The author takes us considerably back in time, drawing the contours of the Âşıks' spatial-historical identities and mobilities as axiomatically rural and itinerant. He profiles the rich intersection of poetry and song in their works; and highlights the themes that have historically branded these artists as the embodiment of folk morality and rural consciousness. Importantly, Korovinis marks the Âşıks' intensifying connection with urbanity in the 19th century. The café-Âşık as an urban-musical phenomenon and landscape element that represents a new mash-up of rurality and urbanity, is exemplary of an Empire in convulsion/transformation. Korovinis traces Âşık music into the late modern era, when it is ontologically transformed through its incorporation

into other genres (including arabesk), and as a consequence of its commodification and its migration to electronic media. Deterritorialized from its historic identity of itinerancy, it is reterritorialized in globalization as a malleable cultural commodity. Critically, across its spatial and temporal iterations, it maintains its karmic identity as the soulful and, often resisting, voice of the people.

The concluding chapter on Zakirs and zakirhood by Özdemir, "Rethinking the Institutionalization of Alevism: Itinerant Zakirs in the Cemevis of Istanbul," builds on the charismatic character of Alevi music, which also draws on the Âşık tradition. It is a significant oral-history project, which explains important nuances of Alevi institutional politics that have implications for the urban grounding of Alevi infrastructure. Özdemir engages in a personal and intimate exploration of the mobility of Zakirs and the mechanics of music making and performance across a number of Istanbul cemevis at a time of great flux in Turkey's cultural politics. Inclusion is manifest in patterns of Zakir intra-urban mobility, which bolsters new associations, musical partnerships, and richly emotional ties with dedes and cemevis. Paradoxically, perhaps, these same mobilities (a novel kind of itinerancy) also signal a rupture with how things used to be done, deepening rifts (and exclusion) between different visions of local-practiced and institutional Alevism. Özdemir's study raises further questions – not addressed by the author, but inescapable nonetheless – regarding exclusion and the tightening of state regulation of cemevis. The changing political climate in Turkey, Alevism's increasingly precarious position, and the fluidity of the politics surrounding the 'cultural' versus 'religious' identity debate, make this study especially timely.

We hope that the book will open up a wider conversation about the triangulation of music, politics, and geography, and will stimulate studies in the same spirit of other musical traditions and genres in Istanbul. Our aspiration has been to contribute four studies to the cultural geographic and critical social theory literatures that interrogate ways in which music and space become discursively active in

the making and conduct of a politics of inclusion and/or exclusion. In the section that follows, we contextualize these case studies and identify analytical themes that could animate future research on the music-space-politics complex.

An Istanbul Tale of Two Globalizations

If contentious articulations of music, power politics (at all geographic scales), and social justice reveal "the (Istanbul) urban" in a new way, we first need to establish the latticework of linkages and causalities that catalyze them. We suggest that our musical landscapes panorama can be best understood in terms of two manifestations of one-world-making, during which Istanbul experienced urban paradigm shifts: One iteration of globalization in Istanbul we are currently living through. It is the present of Istanbul as a "global city" – a strategic place for (primarily) Eurasian trade and services, and a significant hub for global policy exchange.[5] The other is historic, and describes the one-worldliness created in the 19th century by the global deployment of industrial capitalism through Great Power imperialism. Both globalizations have been instrumental in triggering new and intense migrations of people, reordering the priorities of national and local elites, animating domestic and transnational capital, and precipitating urban change (to the benefit, at the time, of some and to the detriment of, usually, multitudes, at least in the short term). Winners and losers of these globalizations have turned to culture – and to musics – to mark (and remark upon), celebrate, memorialize,

5 | This optimistic reading is, likely, best dated to before the attempted coup d'état of July 15, 2016. Since that time, tourism, the convention trade, and foreign direct investment flows have suffered. Nonetheless, the global imaginary about Istanbul as a "hot" (and also "cool") ascendant global city, albeit one that does not fit the mold of New York, London, or Tokyo, has been in the making for nearly three decades and will likely endure through this latest crisis.

lament, or vent about the circumstances of self and place. Istanbul music landscapes are the sounded, living, animated geographic tableaux where the city's passion plays of community and marginality are performed. Irreverent Rembetika and rebellious hip-hop, soulful Âşik poem-songs, and spirit-filled Zakir performances represent different ways of being poor, down-and-out, or politically and socio-spatially marginalized in Istanbul.

In the period that spans the transformation of the Ottoman World by industrial capitalism and Great Power geopolitics and nationalism to globalization and a politicized nostalgia for the Ottoman, musical meaning – from the perspective of both performer and audience – has mutated dramatically: This shift is by no means exclusive to the Ottoman/Turkish worlds. With respect to elite qua classical musics (including Ottoman classical music), between 1750 and 1850 audiences that had previously been loud and often inattentive, became newly engaged and grew silent. As James Johnson suggests, "[t]his transformation in behavior was a sign of a fundamental change in listening, one whose elements included everything from the physical features of the hall to the musical qualities of the works" (Johnson, 1995: 1–2). Bourgeois politeness and the geometric discipline of the concert hall regimented the behavior and shaped the listening etiquette of urban and increasingly affluent audiences from Paris to New York, to Istanbul.

Shifts in aesthetic responses and public behavior marked a new chapter in the cultural history of listening and suggested a new social-constructive process of musical appreciation and place-specific attentiveness (think Paris versus Istanbul, or at more intimate spatial scale, concert hall and the opera versus the Café-Âşık). Although Johnson's work focused on the French experience, his perspective is valuable to our exploration. In the "wings" of the city, as Théophile Gautier called Istanbul's poor, ruin-filled quarters,[6] usually ruckus

6 | Orhan Pamuk, hardly an apologist of Orientalism, would call these quarters parts of "a city littered with the ruins of the great fall" (Pamuk, 2004: 113)

audiences could just as reverently be listening to performances of vernacular music – like Rembetika in a mahalle teké or Âşik music at the local coffee house. Such musical landscapes interrogate and, perhaps, subvert the relationship of elevated class and propriety in listening culture as essentially linked.

The Istanbul visited by Gérard de Nerval in 1843 and Théophile Gautier nine years later, was already a site of such musical modernization and embourgeoisement, if not the city generally, then the rapidly Europeanized quarter of Péra, across the Galata Bridge from the old castellated imperial capital. The Europeans and Europeanized Ottoman elites would reproduce the European entertainment scene in Péra (and insulate themselves from vernacular musics of Istanbul) to the extent that resources and geography would allow. A year after de Nerval's visit, Michel Naum Duhanî and his brother Joseph, would renovate the Bosco Theater, an enterprise of Italian illusionist Bartolomeo Bosco, rename it Théatre de Péra and launch its inaugural season on December 29, 1844 with Gaetano Donizetti's Lucrezia Borgia. They would build a new theater – the Théatre Impérial – with a grant from Sultan Abdülmecid I, which would perish in the Great Fire of Péra in 1870 (Sener, 2013: online). It was also in Péra in June 1847 that Franz Liszt sketched out his first "Ernani" paraphrase. Fully integrated into the circuit of elite musical culture by the second half of the 19th century, Istanbul social events in diplomatic circles would be routinely covered by the Victorian press. A particularly grand ball attended by the Sultan, was hosted by the Viscountess Stratford de Redcliffe at the British Embassy in Péra on January 31, 1856 (ILN, March 1, 1856: 219). A few days later, on February 4, the Sultan, his ministers, and chief officers of the court attended another ball at the French Embassy.

The correspondent reported that "[t]he streets of Péra, through which the Sultan passed on his way from Tophana, were illuminated, chiefly with Chinese lanterns and variegated lamps." During the ball, "as at the British Embassy, [the Sultan] seemed to look with great interest on the quadrilles, polkas, and waltzes, which took

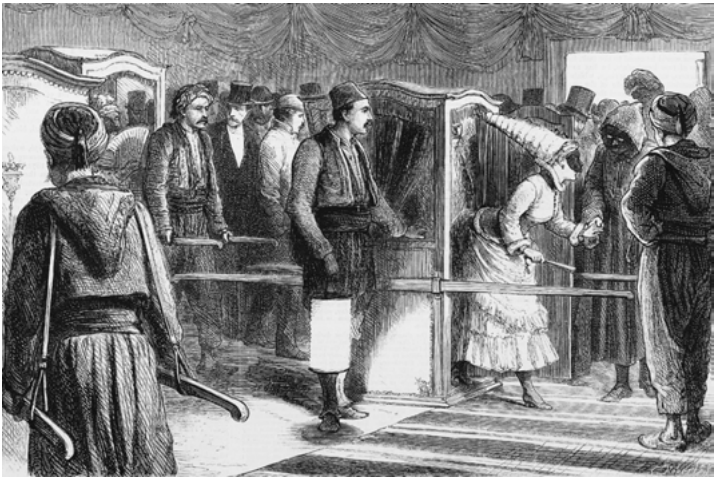
place immediately in front of his Highness" (Ibid: 220). The description of the surrounds of the French Embassy in Péra provides some sense of the European quarter's landscape:

The French Embassy is situated on the declivity of a hill, which overlooks the Propontis [the Sea of Marmara]. If it be not impossible, it is at least dangerous, to descend the avenue from the main street of Péra to the entrance of the Embassy. The Sultan came on horseback. From his palace of Tcheregaun to Tophana he passed in a caïque [a light skiff], and from the latter place he rode to the embassy. There are but very few carriages in Péra, from the difficulty and even danger of using them in the narrow and tortuous streets, or over the broken ways outside the town. Ladies go out in the evening in sedan-chairs preceded by a link-bearer, for the streets at night time are as dark as they are ill-paved and dirty (Ibid: 221).

Figure 2: Entrance of the Sultan at the French Embassy in Péra (Illustrated London News, 1856: 220)

Public domain

Figure 3: Woman on sedan chair going on a masquerade ball in Péra, Istanbul (The Graphic, March 3, 1877)



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Such reports marked the social and spatial distance between two Istanbuls changing side-by-side at different speeds. Accordingly, changes to the social and aesthetic content of music bespoke social-political convulsions of the 19th century and found strong resonance in Péra. From a positive perspective, these changes appear to be a consequence of the strategic opening of the Ottoman Empire to industrializing Europe. In 1838 the Divan abandons its state monopolies in accordance to the terms of the Anglo-Turkish Commercial Treaty of Balta Liman. In a first wave of industrialization, the focus was on munitions, weaponry, and woolen textiles for military uniforms, all this reflecting upon the state's mounting geopolitical anxieties. A number of factories was constructed on Istanbul's littoral, and outside the old Byzantine walls, providing new, albeit limited, sources of employment, and creating a new world of urban-industrial hazard. Istanbul would become increasingly visible to the industrializing world and structurally integrated into spaces of flows

of ideas and capital. The manner of that incorporation would be both unequal with respect to the balance of power in the international state system of the time, and socially unjust. Mounting inequality of wealth and access to the benefits of modernity would plunge marginalized communities into invisibility.

A more dismal view would suggest that the decision to embrace significant structural/regulatory and managerial reforms on very short order – most notably a series of commercial concessions to the British Empire and other Great Powers, and the Tanzimat Reforms (1839–1876) – was a reflection of growing power inequalities in the region. As Papadopoulos describes in his chapter on the Rembetika, urban restructuring was an important dimension of Ottoman modernization, and impacted the way mahalles and semts (neighborhoods and urban administrative regions, respectively) responded to economic change. The reach of these urban reforms was both socially and spatially uneven, producing a patchwork of improvements accessible to specific social and economic groups.

Models for planning and architectural inspiration were cities of Central and Western Europe, with Paris holding a privileged position as the quintessential modern European city of the 19th century. Sultan Abdülhamit II desired to have key sections of the capital redeveloped along the lines of European modernity, as part of his broader modernization strategy. Accordingly, his Ambassador to France, Salih Münir Çorlu, commissioned architect Joseph Antoine Bouvard to develop a new plan for Istanbul (Celik, 1984: 342).[7] Bouvard would adapt the Haussmann canon of "Clean-Isolate/ Reveal-Preserve-Embellish" in his urban renewal avant-projets. The direct transfer and application of French urban technocracy to a city with a vastly dissimilar urban morphology, political culture, and relatively scarce financial resources, would produce limited benefits, and highlight the limitations of a poorly ground-truthed

7 | Joseph-Antoine Bouvard, was a *beaux-arts*-trained architect, and the Inspector-General of the Architectural Department of the City of Paris. He was significantly influenced by the work of Baron Eugène Haussmann.

urban planning strategy. It would take thirty additional years until Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and his designated planner, Henri Prost, to relaunch the urban modernization agenda, again with a measured degree of success.

By the end of the 19th century, across the peninsular Old City, Galata and Péra (Beyoğlu) were rapidly mutating. Here too the urban morphological standard would be Western European. A domain of Istanbul's foreign population and one of the most significant nodes of millet populations, Beyoğlu saw considerable morphological change in the form of a partially standardized town plan and new building types and uses: stone and masonry mansions, arrays of townhouses in the main avenues reminiscent of Western European streetscapes, galleries, theaters – like the Theatre de Péra of the Naum brothers – and other commercial buildings. The foreign communities enjoyed limited municipal authority, which they used to reform parts of the municipality of Galata where commercial elites lived and held businesses. Steven Rosenthal notes that "[t]he streets that received the benefits of leveling, paving, gas lighting, and sewage were almost exclusively in the center of the district where the municipal councilors lived or possessed places of business … The carriage road to Péra, the lighting of the Grand Rue, and the building of Karaköy han had little direct relevance to the poor Greeks and Armenians of Galata and even less to the Muslim inhabitants of the district" (Rosenthal, 1980: 242). Augmenting and then crystalizing patterns of socio-spatial inequality, early municipal reform would contributed to exclusion. Increasing social polarization in such parts of the city would become a source for musics of defensive inclusion and discontentment.

Figure 4: "La grande rue de Péra a Beyoğlu" (cliché CNews) (Agence Rol, 1922)

Bibliothèque National de France, with permission

Figure 5: A Street in "Stanbul," (postcard, ca. 1920–30)

The Trustees of the British Museum, with permission

This new built fabric gradually displaced tracts of dense traditional Ottoman housing, mostly made of timber, and transformed strategic, centrally located mahalles that were previously segregated (though not entirely or exclusively) by religion. Lest we fall into the Orientalist trap of assessing this "renouveau" as an entirely

positive development, Cerasi remarks on the architectural significance of the lost urban fabric: "[A] synthesis, and a brilliant one, came about ... The lightness of house structures, inexpensive and expendable, accelerated experimentation. The impressive variety of detail and of volume solutions would not have been possible with heavier and more costly techniques" (Cerasi, 1998: 149). Such would be the urban landscapes of the marginalized. And such landscapes will endure in many parts of the city into the age of neoliberalism and globalization.

At the other end of our chronology, in the age of a second globalization, the cultural history of listening is increasingly defined by technological innovation and the asynchronous and mutually incorporeal relationship of performer to listener. Rappers and breakdancers in gentrifying Sulukule perform for their peers and thumb their musical noses at power. The ubiquitous and voracious-for-content YouTube and Facebook have replaced the place specificity of musical performances of times past. So is music-spatiality made trans-boundary in the era of the second globalization.

The conventional view on the twin birth of globalization and neoliberalism is that they manifest themselves in the mid-1970s and develop, within twenty years, into a global political-economic paradigm. They were the product of a political-ideological shift that identified markets as the solution to perceived public sector bloat, inefficiencies, and waste. Neoliberalism expressed a conservative, and in some senses a libertarian backlash against the great expansion of the social state that took place in the period that spans Franklin D Roosevelt's New Deal and Lyndon B Johnson's Great Society. In another sense, it was articulated as a technocratic means of rolling-back the state, at a time the material obsolescence of the great industrial metropolises required massive investments in public infrastructure. Public interest became handcuffed to private capital. Deregulation and privatization of swathes of the public sector, the increased porosity of borders, the enhanced mobility of capital, goods, services, and, in selected cases, labor (for example, in the case of the European Union's Single Market), and the tech-

nological innovations that enabled firms and now-leaner-states to manage new (global) relations of production, would signal a turning point for cities – especially cities of great managerial consequence to the global economy and policymaking. Instead of annihilating all alternative economic governance, as the dystopian playbook would require, the rollout of neoliberal strategies would take different shapes with different outcomes depending on the resilience of national governments and the presence of alternative paths.

Figure 6: Istanbul's financial district in Levent (Ali Kabas)

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In the case of Turkey, already in 1980 there were strong signs that Istanbul would emerge as a textbook showcase of globalization. From the standpoint of mainstream global cities scholarship, Istanbul's exquisite spatial logic as an historic intercontinental 'hinge city' presaged a bright future as a global city. Saskia Sassen is effusive in her discussion of the city's promise as a global city in the making. She identifies three trends that point to its global ascendancy:

A first trend concerns the flows of capital: Istanbul is at the center of a geography of capital flows that stretches both East and West. Even though the EU is Turkey's dominant trade and investment partner, current post – Cold War geopolitics make Asian countries increasingly important. The second trend concerns the in- and outflows of people, and here again we see a remarkable bimodality between Europe and Asia. The diversity of people migrating to and through Istanbul raises a question about the specific forms of knowledge that arise out of these intersections, about the contents at the heart of networked flows at a time of growing worldwide articulation among diverse, complex cultures in the world. The answer, perhaps, is reflected in a third trend coming out of a study of the top sixty cities in the world in terms of political and cultural variables (A. T. Kearney 2010). Istanbul sits in the top thirty, specifically as a global policy nexus, and as a city for human capital and talent (Sassen, 2011: 203).

While impressive figures on domestic and foreign direct investment in Istanbul's infrastructure in the last twenty years should reasonably support an optimistic assessment of Istanbul's urban futures, Sassen's assessment may not be adequately informed by Turkey's political complexity or grounded sufficiently on an understanding of the city's historical urban development trajectory. Formal and integrated urban development in the Istanbul metropolitan region has neither been sustained (or sustainable) across time, nor consistently financed at adequate levels by the state. After the implementation of important elements of Henri Prost's plan for Istanbul (1936–51), and the financial crisis of 1958 that precipitated a significant devaluation of the national currency, the state directed scarce investment to national industrialization instead of urbanization. Istanbul would continue to grow, its physical plant gradually deteriorating, bereft of the financial resources it would need to address infrastructure, social services, and strategic development needs. Informal urbanism inside the city and in the urban fringe would become all but inevitable a response to these deficits.

The movement of capital functions to Ankara in 1923 would diminish Istanbul's political centrality and vector financial resources

to the development of the new capital. Between that time and 1980, the Henri Prost plan for Istanbul would stand as the most comprehensive attempt to revision the city along the lines of modern urban planning. Keyder remarks that the cynical military government that seized power in 1980 would quickly dilute the policies that kept Istanbul tethered to a national developmentalist paradigm, undermine the national regulation of the economy, and open the door to a global logic of capital: "[T]he contours of the material world, ranging from the sites of investment to the patterns of consumption, from land development to building practices, were increasingly being determined by choices made by private capital" (Keyder, 1999: 12–13). He continues, "A series of urban renewal projects that had remained on the drawing board for more than three decades were begun: large tracts of nineteenth-century inner-city neighborhoods were cleared, central city small manufacturing establishments were evicted from their centuries-old quarters. Boulevards were built along the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus – both massive projects involving large scale development" (Keyder, 1999: 17).

Yet, the deep and comprehensive structural reforms that were applied in the core economies of the Global North, with their attendant political and social costs, were not fully implemented by Turkish governments to Istanbul, thus producing social-spatial inequalities, failing to roll-back informal urbanization, and causing the displacement of marginalized, politically unconnected communities.

By the time Chief of the General Staff Kenan Evren's military regime handed power to the popularly elected Torgut Özal and his Motherland Party in 1983, significant structural reforms, under the auspices of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, were already under way. Senem Aydin-Düzgit and Yaprak Gürsoy point to the ties between the junta and international regulatory institutions: "Özal's presence in the military's cabinet [he was a former World bank official] persuaded the IMF and World Bank that the Turkish Armed Forces were dedicated to the implementation of the liberalization program. The suppression of worker activities during the military regime was also a positive sign that

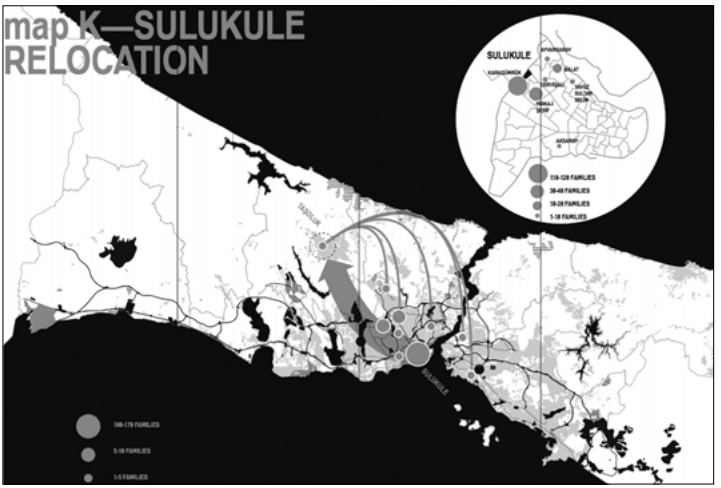
the reform program could be carried out" (Aydin-Düzgit; Gürsoy, 2008: 26).

Under the governments that follow the return to democracy, Istanbul would become a site of significant national strategic investment, and Turkey's premier globalization site. An international business district – eccentric to the historic urban core – featuring office high rises and advanced telecommunications infrastructure – would emerge to address demand for globalization-grade corporate space.

In a new spirit of Haussmanization (as in "renewal through demolition"), animated now by large amounts of finance capital from both national and international banks, urban renewal, and especially gentrification, become strategies for displacing marginalized populations from desirable terrain. Exemplary of this strategy is Law No. 5366 (Yıpranan Tarihi ve Kültürel Taşınmaz Varlıkların Yenilenerek Korunması ve Yaşatılarak Kullanılması Hakkındaki Kanun: Law for the Protection and Revitalization of Cultural and Historical Landmarks). It would give substantial latitude to the Istanbul Municipal Government to evict people and rezone land across the metropolis. Yildirim's critical study of hip-hop culture in Sulukule – a notable target of Law No. 5366 – reveals the connections among displacement and marginality (as exclusion), and rap and hip-hop as levers for reimagining and activating globalization as resistance.

The displaced population of Sulukule would not resist unaided. Kerem Çiftçioğlu, a human rights activist, reports on the surge in public campaigning by national and international civil society organizations, universities, and urban think-tanks, like "Sulukule Studio," to name and shame those who instigated the forced removals. Gentrification opponents would propose an alternative plan in August 2008 under the name Autonomous Planners Without Borders (STOP) (Çiftçioğlu, 2011: 27).

Figure 7: Forced evictions from the historic urban core to suburban and extra-urban sites: The case of Sulukule (Çiftçioğlu, 2011: 28)



Beyond-Istanbul.org, with permission

As Yildirim also confirms, gains in publicity, notoriety, and good will notwithstanding, the expulsions would take place. The vast proportion of the 5,000 mostly Roma residents of Sulukule were relocated to a TOKI Social Housing Project, in Taşoluk, forty kilometers outside the urban core. In time "[t]hey were forced to leave the [TOKI] tenements because they could neither adapt to the living conditions there, nor afford to pay the monthly installments, building fees, or other costs. Most of the evictees returned to areas near their old neighborhood." (Ibid: 27–28).

Urban zoning regulation is an instrument that has a political edge and can (and has had) implications for the permitting and operation of cultural and religious institutions: A ground truth of great consequence to the preservation and flourishing of zakirhood in cemevis, regardless of whether these are branded as religious or cultural installations. It also matters significantly in the case of the culture and musics of communities that are now largely absent.

The rembetes are long departed to Greece and Greek diasporic communities, and since the 1960s the Hellenic/Rum demographic has largely evaporated. But the built fabric of that most ancient (though no longer durable) community – its mahalles, its houses and gardens (the cosmopolitan, elite, and formally designed ones, as well as the modest, makeshift, and organic ones), and the Istanbul landscapes about which, and in which, music was made – are already annihilated or under threat by gentrification and global capital-authored projects (Beyoğlu has been especially impacted by such agency). The same cultural preservation challenge has impacted the landscapes of Âşik musical culture. The neighborhoods and Café-Âşik, as historic places of Âşik cultural production and landscapes of reference, are becoming annihilated. Accordingly, now fully deterritorialized, Âşik voices and story telling and their socially critical value system are becoming silenced.

Landscapes can be modified or erased, as a palimpsest. Urban spaces and populations can be made to bend to the will of an adamant state and of hyper-animated capital. Musics can be deterritorialized from places of meaning and memory, and either silenced or channeled to electronic media that modulate their cultural (and political) character. In the pages that follow we explore the co construction of music and the politics of place in an Istanbul that has become both socio-spatially dual and divided across two eras of globalization.[8]

8 | The comment is inspired by Keyder's statement that Istanbul is not dual but divided (Keyder, 1999: 25). We differ in finding it equally so – socio-spatially dual *and* divided.

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