

**ISTANBUL TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY ★ GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SOCIAL
SCIENCES**

THE SOUNDS OF POLITICAL ACTIONS IN THE STREETS OF ISTANBUL

Ph.D. THESIS

Emine Şirin ÖZGÜN

Department of Music

Music Programme

SEPTEMBER 2012

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**Emine Şirin ÖZGÜN
(409062002)**

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**Thesis Advisor: Prof. Ş. Şehvar BEŞİROĞLU
Co-Advisor : Doç. Dr. Robert REIGLE**

SEPTEMBER 2012

İSTANBUL TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ ★ SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ

İSTANBUL SOKAKLARINDA POLİTİK EYLEM SESLERİ

DOKTORA TEZİ

**Emine Şirin ÖZGÜN
(409062002)**

Müzik Anabilim Dalı

Müzik Programı

**Tez Danışmanı: Prof. Ş. Şehvar BEŞİROĞLU
Eş Danışman : Doç. Dr. Robert REIGLE**

EYLÜL 2012

Emine Şirin Özgün, a Ph.D. student of ITU Graduate School of Arts and Social Sciences student ID 409062002, successfully defended the thesis entitled “THE SOUNDS OF POLITICAL ACTION IN THE STREETS OF ISTANBUL” which she prepared after fulfilling the requirements specified in the associated legislations, before the jury whose signatures are below.

Thesis Advisor : **Prof. Dr. Şehvar BEŞİROĞLU**

İstanbul Technical University

Co-advisor : **Doç.Dr. Robert REIGLE**

İstanbul Technical University

Jury Members : **Prof. Songül KARAHASANOĞLU**

İstanbul Technical University

Prof. Dr. Helmi JARVILUOMA

University of Tampere

Doç. Dr. Levent SOYSAL

Kadir Has University

Prof. Dr. Arzu ÖZTÜRKMEN

Boğaziçi University

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Can KARADOĞAN

İstanbul Technical University

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To Cem and Yasemin,

FOREWORD

The environments and people mutually determine and transform each other. This study started by just listening, admiring and sometimes hating the loaded sonic environment of the city. Istanbul, in some aspects is still the most beautiful city to me. After living in this city for more than 20 years, no landscape is powerful enough to impress me as does Istanbul. It is a problematic attachment with the city: in a country with a relatively wide geography, people flow to this city. It is certainly due to the existence of various economic and cultural opportunities, not found in other places of Turkey, but it is mostly because of the attraction of Istanbul, as a place of possibilities, in its complexity. The inhabitants of Istanbul both love the city and also hate it. The pollution, the crowds and insufficient infrastructure make everyday life unbearable. Nevertheless, few people can leave this city, and I still prefer living here. I listen to Istanbul, and in the sounds I “see” our lives: how we are interconnected, and how we confront each other. This study has started with these thoughts, with an enthusiasm of attempting to grasp the overall soundscape of Istanbul. During the years of the study, one thing I realized and learned: the more complex the task, the less the result would be. In a city of this size, I realized that it was nearly impossible to grasp all, and I changed my direction to a more specific, but still representative part of the sounds in the city: the sounds of the political action in the streets. These political actions reveal all the inner conflicts and hidden ideological stances that all of us possess. This revelation through political action transforms the city, the daily life, and challenges the established order of things. The medium for challenge and transformation is certainly the mass physical presence in the street; but one indispensable aspect of this presence, and its power source is the sound. People make noise, shout, chant slogans and sing in the streets to be heard and seen by the others. These events are compact summaries of what we are in this country, how we solve our problems, how we negotiate, what are our sacred symbols, and what we believe in.

During the field work process I attended several political demonstrations in the street, recorded, talked to people, and contemplated. At one point I felt I reached a saturation point, where I finally felt having a basic understanding of all these events. In the following process, I chose three significant events, determining not only the life in the city, but the life in the whole country, as mirrors of all our inner conflicts, and constructed my narrative around these three cases.

This thesis is the result of a long period of work in the field, of confusion and discussions. Now, writing this foreword, I know I tried to accomplish a hard work, but I believe I could develop a basic understanding and could explain it throughout the chapters. Here I would like to mention that without the intellectual supports of my advisors Prof. Ş. Şehvar Beşiroğlu and Doç. Dr. Robert Reigle, and of the jury members Doç. Dr. Levent Soysal, Prof. Songül Karahasanoğlu and Prof. Dr. Helmi Jarviluoma, this thesis would not be completed. Also I would like to thank to my friends Mine Tan, Tolgahan Çoğulu, Evrim Hikmet Öğüt, Gönenç Hongur, Burak Erdem and Burcu Yıldız for their insights, intellectual and friendly supports,for

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June 2012

Emine Şirin ÖZGÜN

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
FOREWORD	ix
TABLE OF CONTENTS	xi
ABBREVIATIONS	xiii
LIST OF TABLES	xv
LIST OF FIGURES	xvii
SUMMARY	xix
ÖZET	xxi
1. INTRODUCTION: LISTENING TO ISTANBUL	1
1.1 Purpose of Thesis	3
1.2 Framing Istanbul	4
1.2.1 Istanbul as a global city	6
1.2.2 Istanbul as a divided city	7
1.2.3 Istanbul as a contested city-a city of illusions	7
1.3 The Sounds as Turning Points	8
1.3.1 Istanbul in late 1980s and in 1990s.....	9
1.3.2 Traumatic sounds.....	14
1.3.3 Sounds of growing social polarization	15
1.4 Theoretical Framework	19
1.4.1 Perspectives from acoustic ecology	21
1.4.2 Perspectives on space.....	26
1.4.3 Perspectives on ritual	28
1.5 The Scope and Methodology	29
2. MAY DAY CELEBRATIONS IN ISTANBUL: SOUNDS AS TRANSMITTERS OF POLITICAL TRADITION	33
2.1 May Day 1977.....	36
2.2 May Day 2009: Kadıköy and Taksim	44
2.3 May Day 2010, 2011, 2012 in Taksim	51
2.4 May Day Concert, 2011	61
2.5 Continuities and discontinuities	71
3. NEWROZ: SOUNDS FOR CLAIMING IDENTITIES	79
3.1 Invention of Tradition	80
3.1.1 Şahname, Şerefname, and Mem-u Zin.....	83
3.1.2 The rewriting of history	85
3.2 Symbolic Practices in the Field.....	91
3.2.1 The Kazlıçeşme field	94
3.2.2 Being in the threshold.....	96
3.3 Sound Narratives-Songscape: Communicating the Message.....	100
3.3.1 The political climate	101
3.3.2 Songscape in the field.....	102
3.4 Evaluations.....	117

4. REPUBLIC DAY: THE SOUNDS OF THE STATE MERGING WITH THOSE OF THE STREET	121
4.1 Republic Day, 2010.....	123
4.2 Republic Day, 2011.....	134
4.2.1 The music in the parade	138
4.2.2 The slogans in the procession	145
4.3 2012 and Beyond.....	150
5. CONCLUSIONS	153
5.1 Structure	156
5.2 Symbols.....	160
5.3 The Place Transformed to Space.....	162
5.4 The Sound	163
5.5 Epilogue	167
REFERENCES.....	171
APPENDICES	179
APPENDIX A	181
APPENDIX B	185
APPENDIX C	191
APPENDIX D.....	193
APPENDIX E.....	199
APPENDIX F.....	201
CURRICULUM VITAE.....	203

ABBREVIATIONS

AKM	: Atatürk Kùltür Merkezi(Atatürk Cultural Center), in Taksim
AKP	: Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (Justice and Development Party)
BDP	: Barış ve Demokrasi Partisi (Peace and Democracy Party)
CHP	: Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (Republican People's Party)
CNT-FAI	: Iberian Anarchist Federation
CD	: Compact Disc
DGM	: Devlet Güvenlik Mahkemesi (State Security Court)
DİSK	:Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu (Confederation of Revolutionary Workers Unions)
EU (AB)	: European Union (Avrupa Birliđi)
KESK	:Kamu Emekçileri Sendikaları Konfederasyonu (Confederation of Public Workers Unions)
PKK	:Kurdistan Workers Party
RP	:Refah Partisi (Welfare Party)
TRT	:Türkiye Radyo ve Televizyon Kurumu (Turkey's Radio and Television Institution)
TÜRK-İŞ	: Türkiye İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu (Confederation of Turkey Workers Unions)
US (ABD)	: United States (Amerika Birleşik Devletleri)

LIST OF TABLES

	<u>Page</u>
Table 1.1: Excerpt from the poem “I am listening to Istanbul”	2
Table 2.1: Excerpt from the poem “DISK’in Sesi” (The Voice of DISK)	38
Table 2.2: “Haklıyız Kazanacağız” flow chart	49
Table 2.3: Excerpt from the poem “Türkiye İşçi Sınıfına Selam”	52
Table 2.4: “Bekle Bizi İstanbul” flow chart.....	54
Table 2.5: The succession of songs in May Day 2012 procession	58
Table 2.6: “Cemo” flow chart.....	63
Table 2.7: “Dağlara Gel” flow chart.....	67
Table 2.8: Dominant slogans	73
Table 2.9: Structural analysis of 8-beat slogans	75
Table 2.10: Structural analysis of 4-beat slogans	76
Table 3.1: The text of the march “Ey Reqib” (Oh, Enemy)	85
Table 3.2: “Herne Peş” flow chart.....	87
Table 3.3: “Diren Diyarbekir diren” flow chart.....	104
Table 3.4: “Dağlara doğru” flow chart	107
Table 4.1: Annual Calendar of National Days and Holidays.....	122
Table 4.2: “10 th Year March” flow chart	140
Table 4.3: “Youth March”	142
Table 4.4: “Ankara türküsü”	143
Table B.1: Chronology of some important events in the history of Republic of Turkey	185
Table C.1: Annual Timeline of mass participated cyclic events in Istanbul	191
Table D.1: Information about songs	193

LIST OF FIGURES

	<u>Page</u>
Figure 1.1: The Funeral of Hrant Dink	16
Figure 1.2: Rakel Dink and her children	16
Figure 1.3: Two views from Çağlayan square on April 24 th , 2007	18
Figure 2.1: “Disk’in Sesi”, transcription of the rhythmic recitation.....	38
Figure 2.2: The worker breaking his chains	40
Figure 2.3: May Day 1977 field	43
Figure 2.4: People in Taksim Square after the attacks	44
Figure 2.5: The Turkish flag in May Day 2009, Kadıköy	46
Figure 2.6: 2009 May Day clashes in Taksim Square	48
Figure 2.7: May Day 2010 in Taksim Square.....	57
Figure 2.8: May Day 2012 in Taksim Square.....	57
Figure 2.9: First rhythmic transcription of Fenerbahçe fans’ cheering	59
Figure 2.10: Second rhythmic transcription of Fenerbahçe fans’ cheering.....	59
Figure 2.11: Bandista performng in the May Day 2012 procession.....	61
Figure 2.12: Rhythm transcriptions of selected slogans- first part.....	74
Figure 2.13: Rhythm transcription of a Kurdish slogan	75
Figure 2.14: Rhythm trascriptions of selected 4-beat slogans	76
Figure 2.15: Taksim Square, May Day 2012.....	78
Figure 3.1: Kazlıçeşme Newroz Field, 2010	93
Figure 3.2: A baby on his father’s shoulders and women wearing traditional costumes.....	94
Figure 3.3: The stage in Kazlıçeşme Newroz field.....	95
Figure 3.4: Newroz, moment of silence.....	114
Figure 3.5: The fire of Newroz	115
Figure 3.6: Police barricades framing the field	116
Figure 4.1: The military band in the Republic Day parade	124
Figure 4.2: The governors saluting the audience.....	125
Figure 4.3: 6-measure signal.....	126
Figure 4.4: The rhythmic walk of boy Scouts	127
Figure 4.5: The procession of the soldiers.....	128
Figure 4.6: Rhythm transcription of military cheering.....	129
Figure 4.7: Transcription of the rhythm phrase	131
Figure 4.8: Taksim after the explosion	133
Figure 4.9: Bağdat Caddesi procession, 2011	135
Figure 4.10: Engine rhythm.....	136
Figure 4.11: Rhythm transcription of the slogan “Martyrs do not die”	145
Figure 4.12: Rhythm transcription of the slogan “Türkiye laiktir laik kalacak” ...	146
Figure 4.13: Rhythm transcription of the slogan “Titre AKP Türk gençliği geliyor”	147
Figure 4.14: Selected slogans from the Republic Day 2011 field	148

Figure 4.15: May 19 th , Şişli procession	150
Figure A.1: Map of Turkey	181
Figure A.2: Map of Istanbul	181
Figure A.3: Taksim Square map	182
Figure A.4: Kadıköy map	182
Figure A.5: Zeytinburnu map	183

THE SOUNDS OF POLITICAL ACTION IN THE STREETS OF ISTANBUL

SUMMARY

The aim of this thesis is to understand relationships between the sound structures in the street that people produce in the course of political action in Istanbul, and the social context within which these political actions happen. The study has been conducted using the participant observation method, attending, observing and recording several demonstrations, which took place in different parts of the city, organized and performed by different actors, with different political-cultural aims; talking to people in the course of the events. The theoretical basis of the study consists of a synthesis of the core concepts of soundscape studies, such as the emphasis on the cultural production of sounds and their effects on the society in constructing both the everyday and cyclic routines; the ritual theories, focusing on mass gatherings and their rules, as expressing discontent in the form of protest, and/or as means of cultural safety valve, discharging the tensions through irony and entertainment; and ethnomusicology's core concerns, such as the role of music in the public expression, its functions as to create identities, its role in the construction of the memory and the multiple layers of meanings the music can achieve through time and practice. Within this context, this study will introduce an approach to the cyclic political actions in the streets of Istanbul, taking into account the production and reproduction of sounds with multiple meanings; illustrate the way these sounds are produced, through detailed narratives of the fieldwork and analysis of the sounds from the field; and more specifically focus on both the "songscape" as reflecting the society's multiple concerns and memory, as well as the rhythmic characteristics of the slogans, along with the discourses embedded in both ways of expression. The thesis begins with an introductory chapter that discusses and outlines the core theories, upon which the arguments of the thesis are built, that sets the objectives of the study, and explains the methodology through an overall look at the fieldwork process. The second chapter discusses the May Day celebrations in İstanbul, the history of the celebrations since 1977 that determined the characteristics of the ways it is performed in the years that follow, and the sound aspects of the celebrations-clashes produced in these conditions. The third chapter deals with Nevruz celebrations, happening on 21st March every year, with their political aspects, and the ways political concerns are articulated through sounds. The third chapter focuses on the Republic Day celebrations, the relationship of the sounds with the changing manners, from the perspectives of both the civil and official (state) celebrations. In the conclusions, the data collected from the field and the analyses are reconsidered in order to illustrate the latent discursive habits active in the production of the sounds investigated; the commonalities and differences in the ways different groups express themselves politically are revealed; and notably how these expressions are carried out through sound (e.g. songs, environmental sounds, slogans) is clarified. The CD accompanying the thesis provides the reader with visual and sound excerpts from the field, and referred to in the text, in order to illustrate the discussions more clearly.

İSTANBUL SOKAKLARINDA POLİTİK EYLEM SESLERİ

ÖZET

Bu tezin amacı kent sakinlerinin İstanbul'da politik eylemler sırasında sokağa çıkarak ürettikleri seslerin yapısıyla bu eylemlerin içinde gerçekleştiği toplumsal yapı arasındaki ilişkiyi incelemektir. Araştırma katılımcı gözlem yöntemi kullanılarak; kentin farklı bölgelerinde gerçekleşen ve farklı politik-kültürel hedeflere sahip farklı aktörler tarafından organize edilen çeşitli gösterilere katılarak, bu gösterileri gözlemleyerek ve kaydederek; gösterilere katılan kişilerle alanda görüşmeler yaparak yürütülmüştür. Çalışmanın kuramsal temeli, seslerin kültürel olarak üretilmeleri ve bu seslerin günlük ve döngüsel rutinlerin oluşturulmasındaki etkileri gibi *soundscape* çalışmalarının temel kavramlarının; toplumsal rahatsızlıkları protesto şeklinde ifade eden kitlesel toplantılara dair ritüel ve performans kuramlarının; müziğin kamusal ifadedeki rolü, kimlik üretme süreçlerindeki işlevi, hafızanın kurulmasındaki rolü ve müziğin zaman ve pratik yoluyla kazanabileceği çoklu anlam katmanları gibi etnomüzikolojinin temel kavramlarının bir sentezidir. Bu bağlamda, bu çalışma İstanbul sokaklarındaki döngüsel politik eylemlere dair bir yaklaşım geliştirmekte; bunu yaparken çoklu anlamlara sahip seslerin üretilme ve yeniden üretilme süreçlerini göz önünde bulundurmakta; alan araştırmasına dair ayrıntılı anlatılarla bu seslerin üretilme biçimlerini örneklendirmekte; ve daha da önemlisi toplumun önemseydiği çeşitli konuları ve toplumsal hafızayı yansıtan şarkılara, kullanılan sloganların ritmik özelliklerine ve bu iki ifade biçimine için söylemlere odaklanmaktadır.

Tez konuyla ilgili temel kuramları tartışan ve bu kuramların tezde nasıl kullanıldığının çerçevesini çizen bir giriş bölümüyle başlamaktadır. Bu bölümde tezin hedefleri ve yöntemi alan araştırması sürecine genel bir bakışla açıklanmaktadır. İkinci bölüm İstanbul'daki 1 Mayıs kutlamalarını, bu kutlamaların 1977'den günümüze tarihini; bu tarihin 1977'den günümüze kutlamaların karakterini nasıl belirlediğini ve bu kutlamaların sessel yönünü tartışmaktadır. Üçüncü bölüm her yıl 21 Mart'ta kutlanan Nevruz bayramına odaklanmaktadır. Dördüncü bölüm 29 Ekim Cumhuriyet Bayramı törenlerini tartışmakta, seslerin değişen yaklaşımlarla ilişkisini hem sivil hem de askeri törenler açısından incelemektedir. Sonuçlar bölümünde alanda toplanan veriler ve analizler yeniden ele alınmakta ve incelenen seslerin üretiminde başat rol oynayan, altta yatan söylemsel alışkanlıklar tartışılmaktadır. Farklı grupların kendilerini ifade etme biçimlerindeki ortaklıklar ve farklılıklar ortaya çıkarılmakta, özellikle de bu ifadelerin sesler yoluyla nasıl hayata geçirildiği açıklığa kavuşturulmaktadır.

Bu çalışma *soundscape* çalışmalarının, popüler müzik, etnomüzikoloji, kent sosyolojisi ve müzik sosyolojisi çalışmalarının kesişim noktasında konumlanmaktadır. Aynı zamanda çalışma kapsamında kentteki belirli alanlardaki belirli bir pratiğe antropolojik bir bakış açısıyla odaklanılmaktadır. Özellikle sesler alanına öncelik veren bu çalışma bir yandan da, bu sesleri üreten pratiklere dair

antropolojik bir yaklaşım geliştirmeye çalışmakta; bu olayların kentin günlük hayatını dönüştürmekteki rolünü sorgulamakta ve bu pratiklerin sadece kentin değil, bütün ülkenin tarihi, gündemive politik kültürü hakkında ortaya koyduğu verileri de değerlendirmeye çalışmaktadır. Politik gösterilerde sokağın sesi, akustemolojik açıdan insanların dünyayı algılama biçimlerini hem yansıtmakta hem de yeniden inşa etmektedir; çatışma öncelikle sesler yoluyla gerçekleşmekte, sokağa yönelik fiziksel müdahale sesler aracılığıyla güç kazanmakta ve en önemlisi, ‘anlamlar’ sesler yoluyla üretilmektedir. Bu akustemolojik yaklaşım araştırmacının sesleri belli bir kültürel olayın önplan unsurları olarak ele almasını sağlamaktadır; zira bu sesler eylemin ardındaki ana fikri ve niyetleri anlamak ve çözümlmek için gerekli olan bütün kültürel birikimi ve tarihsel bağlantıları içlerinde barındırmaktadırlar.

Tezin merkezinde yer alan sessel yapılar dinamik yapılar olarak ele alınmaktadır. Bu yapılar yalıtılmış değildir ve daha büyük bir sistemin parçası olarak iş görürler. Bu anlamda, bu tezin merkezinde yer alan bir kavram olan *soundscape* diyalektik bir sistemdir. Belirli bir çevrede insanlar tarafından üretilen sesler her zaman hâlihazırda sosyo-kültürel kodlarla yüklenmiş olarak alınırlar. Öte yandan, anlamın kendisinin varlığı, çevresiyle iletişim halinde olan tekil veya kolektif bir öznenin varlığına bağlıdır. Bu iletişim *soundscape* çalışmaları yazınında “akustik iletişim” olarak anılmaktadır. Akustik iletişim ise seslerin çevresel bağlamda yarattıkları anlamlar ve ilişkiler sisteminin anlaşılmasında uygun bir başlangıç noktası olarak ele alınmaktadır. Bu paylaşılan anlamlar akustik cemaatler olarak adlandırılan topluluklar tarafından hem üretilir, hem de bu toplulukların oluşumundaki temel kurucu unsurlardandır. Araştırmanın ölçeği küresel bir kent olduğunda ise, küçük akustik cemaatler tarafından üretilen seslerin kentin geri kalanına bu cemaatlerin temel sorunlarını iletmediği, aynı zamanda da bir araya gelerek kentin toplam sessel çevresini oluşturdukları görülmektedir.

Özgün kullanımıyla “*soundscape*” terimi “sessel çevre” olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Söz konusu İstanbul olduğunda ise, kentteki akışkanlık göz önünde bulundurularak tanım genişletilebilmektedir. Bu tezde “*soundscape*” teriminin anlamı genişletilmekte ve yeni bir tanım önerilmektedir: kent ve küreselleşme bağlamında tarihsel bir akışkanlığa sahip olan, kültürel ve bilişsel kodlarla yüklü sessel çevre. Bu sessel çevre günlük ve döngüsel çatışmalara sahne olmakta ve toplumsal iletişimin unsurlarından biri olan politik eylem, sesleriyle de kent hayatını belirlemektedir. Bu eylemler genellikle kamusal alanda-sokakta- gerçekleştirilmektedir. Sokak birbiriyle çatışan ideolojilerin yeniden üretildiği, dönüştürüldüğü ve güçlendirildiği bir alandır. Sokakta gerçekleşen politik eylemler ise kentin iktidar yapısını sokakların sembolik olarak kontrol altına alınması yoluyla geçici olarak ters-yüz eden olaylardır. Kamusal gösteriler söz konusu olduğunda, kitlelerin belli bir mekândaki fiziksel mevcudiyetinin yanında, sesler ve mekân arasındaki ilişki de bu sembolik kontrolün elde edilmesinde önem taşımaktadır: mekân yerleşik davranış kural ve kalıpları vasıtasıyla tanımlanır ve bu gösteriler bu kurallara şiddet ya da rahatsızlık verme yoluyla, fakat her koşulda sesleri kullanarak meydan okur.

Akustik iletişim üç sistem yoluyla hayata geçirilir: konuşma, müzik ve *soundscape*. Bu sistemlerin her biri diğer bütün anlamlı –özel bir anlam taşımasa da anlamlı-seslerle birlikte genel *soundscape*’in bir parçası olarak işlevlenir. Öte yandan örgütlü gürültü apaçık bir meydan okuma aracıdır. Bu gürültü konuşma içermediğinde, iletinin dile çevrilmesi mümkün değildir fakat açıkça bir anlam ifade etmektedir: bedensel bir varoluşu ilan eder, gündelik hayata yapılan fiziksel bir müdahale girişimidir. Gürültünün kontrolü iktidar ilişkilerinin bir veçhesi olarak

değerlendirilebilir ve bu anlamda örgütlü gürültü kontrol edilemeyen kitlelerin yıkıcı bir simgesi olarak değerlendirilebilir. Kutlama alanında akustik iletişim, kalabalığın duygularının ve hedeflerinin ifade edilmesinde vazgeçilmez bir rol oynar. Bu olaylardaki sesler, sadece hâlihazırda yapısal olarak tanımlanmış olan toplumsal alan içinde bir işaret fişeği olarak yer almaz, aynı zamanda bu toplumsal alanı dönüştürmek için gerekli araçları da sağlar. Bu olaylardaki sesler, katılımcıların bu olaylardan önce, olaylar sırasında ve sonrasında ürettikleri konuşmaları, sloganları, şarkıları ve gürültüleri içermektedir. Bu olaylar kentin ses alanını değiştirmekte, günlük hayatı dönüştürmekte ve belli talepleri görünür/duyulur hale getirerek kamuoyuna müdahale etmektedir.

Politik seslerin kültürel bağlamları içerisinde, kentin genel ses yapısının bir parçası olarak incelenmesi bu seslerin üretildiği ve deneyimlendiği koşulların incelenmesini de gerektirmektedir. Bu çalışmada politik eylemlerin sesleri daha geniş bir kültürel bağlamın parçası olarak ele alınmış ve sessel anlatılar olarak değerlendirilmek üzere kayıt altına alınmıştır. Sokakta gerçekleşen politik eylemlerin sesleri dört farklı şekilde deneyimlenmektedir: bağlam olarak, bilgi olarak, hafıza ile ilişkili olarak ve duygularla ilişkili olarak. Öte yandan seslerin kendisi kültürel kodların yeniden üretildiği, tarihsel bağların yeniden kurulduğu, toplumsal sınırların ve ortaklıkların sağlamlaştığı bağlamlar olarak ele alınabilmektedir. Bu sesler, anlatılar olarak; yani sosyo-kültürel söylemlerin taşıyıcısı olan metinler olarak değerlendirilmelidir: sesler bu tez kapsamında incelenen olayların hem katılımcılarına ve üreticilerine; hem de bu etkinliklerin dışında kalan “ötekilere” yönelik iletiler içermektedir. Meydanlarda protesto gösterileri için bir araya gelen kitleler, bu eylem aracılığıyla üretilen akustik bilgi tutarlı bir bütün haline geldiği ve kentin geri kalanına hitap ettiği; aynı zamanda da katılımcıların kimlik algılarının bir parçasını oluşturduğu ölçüde akustik bir topluluk olarak değerlendirilebilir. Seslerin örgütlenme biçimi doğası gereği topluluğun örgütlenme biçimiyle bağlantılıdır: atışmalar, lider-grup etkileşimi, düzenle ilgili kurallar ve benzerleri hem seslerin üretilme biçimlerini denetler, hem de toplumsal yapıyı yansıtır. Seslerin üretilmesiyle ilgili kurallar toplumsal sözleşmenin kurallarını da göz önüne sermektedir. Kısıtlanmış seslerin kullanımı-bir dilin, belli bir müzik türünün, “gürültü” olarak nitelenen seslerin ya da kolektif sessizliğin kullanımı- toplumsal yapının işleyişine meydan okuyabilir. İstanbul’da gerçekleşen politik eylemlerde seslerin bu doğrultuda kullanılmasına sıklıkla rastlanmaktadır. Sokakta gerçekleşen politik gösterilerin merkezinde önemli simgelerin bulunduğu gözlemlenmektedir. Bu simgelerin en önemlilerinden biri seslerdir: şarkıların belirli toplumsal ve tarihsel anlamları vardır; sloganlar tarihsel bir birikimin ürünüdür; marşlar, ritimler, sessizliklerin ve gürültülerin kullanımı, inanışların ifade edilmesi-bunların hepsi toplumsal yapıların bir aynasıdır ve söz konusu eylemi bütün toplumsal sistem içinde konumlandırır. Öte yandan yine bu sesler katılımcılara da kimliklerle ve anlamlarla ilgili kodları sunmaktadır. Çalışma kapsamında incelenen bütün olaylardaki ortak duygu birlik, bütünleşme, ötekilerden farklı olma ve güç kazanma-sistemi değiştirmeye muktedir olma- duygusudur.

Tezin bölümlerinde ele alınan olayların ortak yapısal özellikler sergiledikleri görülmektedir. Öncelikle, bu olayların hepsi önceden organize edilmişlerdir; hepsinde toplumun hafızasında sembolik önemi olan belirli bir alanda toplanılmakta ve çoğu kez bu alana yürünmektedir. Alandaki topluluğun mesajı salt o alandaki fiziksel birliktelikle bile iletebilmektedir; alandaki ortaklık ve bütünlük ses (müzik, konuşma, slogan ve gürültü) ve simgeler kullanılarak sergilenmektedir. Ayrıca bu gösterilerde belli nesnelere tekrar tekrar kullanılması, belirli bir dansın icrası ve

kurulan söylemler bu olayları birer simge haline getirmektedir. Son olarak bu olayların döngüsel karakteri ve tekrarın kendisi bunların birer ritüel olduğuna işaret etmektedir. Bu ritüellerde birey ve topluluk arasındaki sınırlar muğlâklaşmakta ve bir bütünleşme duygusu kalabalığa güç kazandırmaktadır. Bu nedenle bu gösteriler “adanmışlık ve dayanışmanın kamusal ifadeleri” olarak nitelendirilmektedir.

Sesler aracılığıyla iletilerini dış dünyaya duyuran ve katılımcıların kimliklerini de sesler aracılığıyla yeniden üreten bu olaylar kent yaşamının, kent ritminin temel unsurlarından biri haline gelmiştir. Bu sesler örgütlenmiş seslerdir ve seslerin örgütlenme biçimleri toplumun örgütlenme biçimleriyle paralellikler taşır. Sessel yapılar toplumsal yapılar tarafından üretilir ve yine bu toplumsal yapıları etkiler ve dönüştürürler. Bu tezde toplumsal yapılar ve sessel yapılar arasındaki bu ilişki örnek olaylar üzerinden tartışılmaktadır.

1. INTRODUCTION: LISTENING TO ISTANBUL

This is Istanbul, full of sounds emanating from everywhere. Five times during the day *Ezan* is heard everywhere in the city from multiple loudspeakers. The sounds of sirens foregrounded in the endless drone of the car traffic do not interrupt the inhabitants anymore, for people are used to these sounds as a normal part of city life. The sounds of animals, birds, dogs, insects, the sounds of the boats in the Bosphorus, air traffic, and construction sites, all have become normalized. Are these sounds “the mirror of the society, the expression of a truth or a text to decipher?” (Attali, 1985, p 6). Are they the product of the social structures, while at the same time transforming this social structure whereby they are born? Sitting in my office, trying to sleep at night, taking a promenade, I listen to Istanbul. I am not the only one, nor the first in this task.

Orhan Veli Kanık, a poet from the early years of the Turkish Republic, who introduced a new way of expression into the Turkish poetry has a well-known poem on listening to Istanbul: “I Am Listening to Istanbul” (Table 1.1). In this love poem, Kanık listens to Istanbul eyes closed, and hears the sounds of the blowing wind, of the leaves on the trees waving, of the birds passing by, the chimes of the water vendors of that time, the crowded sounds of commercial centers, and that of pigeons wandering around, merging with the sounds of hammers in the dockyards. Almost one century after Kanık, when I close my eyes and listen to Istanbul, I hear similar sounds, except the ones that no longer exist-the chimes of the water vendors; and also the sounds have unquestionably multiplied in the century that followed his. The soundscape is always subject to change, as is life, and society. The change in the sounds, their being caught in time and place is what makes them sociological. Today, as is the case with all industrial societies, a sonic flat line- the hum of engines- is the dominant drone in the soundscapes of Istanbul.

Table 1.1: Excerpt from the poem “I Am Listening to Istanbul”(Kanık, 1990 [1951]; Halman, 1997).

İstanbul’u Dinliyorum	I Am Listening to Istanbul
İstanbul'u dinliyorum, gözlerim kapalı Önce hafiften bir rüzgar esiyor; Yavaş yavaş sallanıyor Yapraklar, ağaçlarda; Uzarlarda, çok uzarlarda, Sucuların hiç durmayan çingirakları İstanbul'u dinliyorum, gözlerim kapalı.	I am listening to Istanbul, intent, my eyes closed: At first there is a gentle breeze And the leaves on the trees Softly sway; Out there, far away, The bells of water-carriers unceasingly ring; I am listening to Istanbul, intent, my eyes closed.
İstanbul'u dinliyorum, gözlerim kapalı; Kuşlar geçiyor, derken; Yükseklerden, sürü sürü, çığlık çığlık. Ağlar çekiliyor dalyanlarda; Bir kadının suya deđiyor ayakları; İstanbul'u dinliyorum, gözlerim kapalı.	I am listening to Istanbul, intent, my eyes closed; Then suddenly birds fly by, Flocks of birds, high up, with a hue and cry, While the nets are drawn in the fishing grounds And a woman's feet begin to dabble in the water. I am listening to Istanbul, intent, my eyes closed.
İstanbul'u dinliyorum, gözlerim kapalı; Serin serin Kapalıçarşı Cıvıl cıvıl Mahmutpaşa Güvercin dolu avlular Çekiç sesleri geliyor doklardan Güzelim bahar rüzgarında ter kokuları; İstanbul'u dinliyorum, gözlerim kapalı.	I am listening to Istanbul, intent, my eyes closed. The Grand Bazaar's serene and cool, An uproar at the hub of the Market, Mosque yards are full of pigeons. While hammers bang and clang at the docks Spring winds bear the smell of sweat; I am listening to Istanbul, intent, my eyes closed.
İstanbul'u dinliyorum, gözlerim kapalı; Başımda eski alemlerin sarhoşluğu Loş kayıkhaneleriyle bir yalı; Dinmiş lodosların uğultusu içinde İstanbul'u dinliyorum, gözlerim kapalı.	I am listening to Istanbul, intent, my eyes closed; Still giddy from the revelries of the past, A seaside mansion with dingy boathouses is fast asleep. Amid the din and drone of southern winds, reposed, I am listening to Istanbul, intent, my eyes closed.
İstanbul'u dinliyorum, gözlerim kapalı; Bir yosma geçiyor kaldırımından; Küfürler, şarkılar, türküler, laf atmalar. Bir sey düşüyor elinden yere; Bir gül olmalı; İstanbul'u dinliyorum, gözlerim kapalı..	I am listening to Istanbul, intent, my eyes closed. A pretty girl walks by on the sidewalk: Four-letter words, whistles and songs, rude remarks; Something falls out of her hand- It is a rose, I guess. I am listening to Istanbul, intent, my eyes closed.
İstanbul'u dinliyorum, gözlerim kapalı; Bir kus çırpınıyor eteklerinde; Alnın sıcak mı, deđil mi, bilmiyorum; Dudakların ıslak mı, deđil mi, bilmiyorum; Beyaz bir ay doğuyor fıstıkların arkasından Kalbinin vurusundan anlıyorum; İstanbul'u dinliyorum	I am listening to Istanbul, intent, my eyes closed. A bird flutters round your skirt; On your brow, is there sweet? Or not ? I know. Are your lips wet? Or not? I know. A silver moon rises beyond the pine trees: I can sense it all in your heart's throbbing. I am listening to Istanbul, intent, my eyes closed.

Nevertheless, one still can find sounds which give the city its spirit: the sounds of the seagulls, the sound of the boats, the sounds of the fireworks, the sound of the everyday flow of the people and most importantly the cyclic sound of the call to

prayer, *ezan*. Additionally, each area in the city has its own sounds, and there are cyclic events with their specific sound structures. Besides all the cultural, political, historical, and sociological aspects of this soundscape, this writer believes on the strength of these sounds on evoking deep feelings in the people who receive them, with their ephemeral composition. Living in this city for 25 years, I still find it captivating, just as Orhan Veli did 63 years ago, in 1949. It is captivating not only personally, but also in terms of academic interests: with the ever flowing population from every part of the country, in the midst of global flows, Istanbul is a perfect site for scholarly investigation from several perspectives. In this study, however, I will focus on the sounds of political action in the street, carrying all the inner conflicts of the society and communicating their messages through their symbolic sounds.

1.1 Purpose of Thesis

The fluid crowds are one of the main characteristics of Istanbul: without a glance at the organized crowds and their organized sounds, a study on the soundscape of Istanbul would not be representative. Departing from this view, this thesis is about sounds of conflict/contestation in Istanbul-sounds produced by, and which reflect and transform, people. During the following chapters the main purpose will be to answer one fundamental question: how do sound structures and social structures determine and transform each other in Istanbul? Obviously this single question hides two other questions to be answered: what is sound structure, and what is social structure? The “structure” implies relationships amongst the parts that form it, a totality formed by those relationships; but as a totality it is more than the sum of its parts. In this case, individual sounds emanate from various sources and each has its own life; on the other hand, the relational totality that they form is more than mere sounds: it has meanings, it represents things to the people who receive and produce it. Likewise, a social structure is more than the sum of the individuals who form it: individuals relate to each other according to specific rules of conduct and the totality is a dynamic and sensitive structure.

The sensitive dynamic structure at the core of this study, namely the sound structure, is never isolated, but is a part in a whole working system. The system is constructed through the dynamic interaction of multiple variables. One of the founders of general systems theory, Ludvig von Bertalanffy (1968), defines systems as the ones open to

and which interact with their own environments. This view, rather than the specific properties of single elements of a totality, focuses on the relationships of these elements-the relationships, which make a system out of singular elements. This is not a new idea, but rather a newer version of another age-old concept: considering the universe as a whole that is more than the sum of its parts. We can detect this idea in the pantheistic religions and more recently on the thinking of holism, chaos theory, and ecology.

In terms of the sounds, we can equally turn to this holistic perception: all human sounds are produced through and because of our perception and experience of the world as a whole. These sounds in turn determine and change this perception, transform the experience, and change human minds. In that sense, the soundscape is a dialectical system, where all the elements are interdependent. No matter whether we are conscious or not, the universe is full of sounds which have their effects on our very being. So for me, music is the totality of all the sounds in the universe, and the “music” human beings produce is an element of this broad totality. The sounds produced by human beings in a specific environment are always received already containing social-cultural codes: these are compositions of meaning. The existence of meaning, on the other hand is always connected to the existence of a single or a collective subject, communicating with her/their environment. Barry Truax proposes the term acoustic communication as “an appropriate starting point for understanding the intricate system of meanings and relationships that sound creates in environmental contexts” (Truax, 2007, p.7). These shared meanings are the product and a constituting part of what is called acoustic communities. When the scale is the global city, in the midst of global flows, the sounds produced by minor acoustic communities communicate to the rest of the city the main concerns of those communities, while at the same time contributing to the overall soundscape of the city out of the sum of these communications.

1.2 Framing Istanbul

Istanbul is a world-city and has always been: its history dates back to 1500 years. The life and the history of this city evoke a sense as if it has always been there, as if it has not a mundane history. It is perceived as a city of fairy tales, as Çağlar Keyder (1999) explains:

Unlike other global cities, Istanbul has always been a world city: an imperial capital for more than fifteen hundred years, its splendors were the stuff of legends, attracting the jealous gaze first of Europe then of the Balkans and the Middle East ... It was known as the city for the Greeks, *der Saadet* –the seat of bliss- to the Muslims, *tzarigrad* or the “emperor’s city” to the Balkan peoples. (p.3)

This is a city where diversity is in charge in every realm. In Byzantian times, it was a multicultural city; in Ottoman times it was again a multicultural city where different cultures were separated with strict rules. Eleventh edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica describes Istanbul’s population:

The inhabitants present a remarkable conglomeration of different races, various nationalities, divers languages, distinctive costumes and conflicting faiths, giving, it is true, a singular interest to what may be termed the human scenery of the city, but rendering impossible any close social cohesion, or the development of a common social life. (Van Millingen, 1910, p. 8)

This description made in 1910, is still valuable in today’s conditions. The First World War and the foundation of the Turkish Republic created a break in this history of being a world-city. During the lifetime of the Republic, ethnic minorities were suppressed in several ways, and most of them had to leave the country. This influenced the whole country, and one of the main impacts was on Istanbul; it has been culturally deserted. Istanbul would be reinvented through the immigrations since the 1960’s from Anatolia, recreating the diversity in an era of endless conflict and contestation.

Beginning with the 1960’s, Istanbul has received a significant amount of immigrants from Anatolia. This process accelerated with the liberal policies of 1980’s. The new cosmopolitanism was different than the older one: now the newcomers were the lowest in the power hierarchy and the conflict originated from this inequality gave way to new social and cultural constructions. During the 1990’s the migration to Istanbul was so great that the newcomers couldn’t be integrated to the economic structure. Ayşe Öncü (1999) posits it as follows:

Akin to all cosmopolitan cities where heterogeneous populations and intermingling of diverse cultures, Istanbul is a study in contrasts rather than uniformity. A plurality of social groups and cultures coexist in Istanbul, often separated from one another as the hard-edged pieces of a mosaic. It is a city of immigrants, with three-quarters of its population born elsewhere. (p. 95)

This is a city where conflict is an inseparable part of the daily life. Departing from its history and its present, how can we define Istanbul? Is it a global city, is it a multicultural city, is it a divided city, is it the city of illusions, is it a contested city or is it all?

1.2.1 Istanbul as a global city

Globalization is one of the main characteristics of the modern world system. This system is a chaotic one; it is a complex dynamic system, sensitive to its initial conditions. One of the main characteristics of globalization today is fluidity: fluidity of materials, ideas, knowledge, capital, people... In the condition of chaos, small inputs can have drastic effects on the behavior of the macroscopic system and create new developments. It is like that either in terms of physics or history and sociology (Prigogine and Stengers, 1996, p. 47). Where chaos exists, we cannot speak of equilibrium anymore. Ilya Prigogine and Isabel Stengers apply the definitions of chaos to the cities as follows:

By definition, structures of equilibrium are inert in a global level. That's why they are also "immortal". Once they have been formed, they may be isolated and maintained indefinitely without further interaction with their environment. When we examine a biological cell or a city, however, the situation is quite different: not only are these systems open, but also they exist only because they are open. They feed on the flux of matter and energy coming to them from the outside world. We can isolate a crystal, but cities and cells die when cut off from their environment. They form an integral part of the world from which they draw sustenance and they can not be separated from the fluxes that they incessantly transform. (p. 127)

Istanbul is a center of fluidity in many ways: historically it is home to many different cultures that came and went, and today it is a place where cultures and people meet and then go to elsewhere or transform themselves. Arjun Appadurai (1996), in his discussion on globalization, emphasizes the flow and the fluidity. He defines five dimensions of global cultural flows: ethnoscaples, mediascaples, technoscaples, finanscaples, and ideoscaples. The suffix "-scape" is used to indicate the fluid and irregular shapes of these "imaginary landscapes". He explains why he uses this suffix as following:

The common suffix -scape also indicates that they are deeply perspectival constructs, inflected by the historical, linguistic, and political situatedness of different sorts of actors: nation states, multinationals, diasporic communities, as well as subnational groupings and movements, and even intimate face to face groups such as villages, neighborhoods, and families. (p. 33)

When it comes to the "soundscapes of Istanbul" a parallelism between the other "-scapes" is obvious. In its original usage, the term soundscape means "sonic environment". In the case of Istanbul, when the cultural fluidity is taken into account, it is impossible that the sounds escape from the fluidity. As components of the city as a system, they are sensitive to the fluidity in the other realms. So, the use of the term "sonic environment" will not be enough in the context of Istanbul. I propose to use the term soundscape in the case of Istanbul as "the sonic environment that has a

historical fluidity in the context of city and globalization, charged with cultural and cognitive codes”.

1.2.2 Istanbul as a divided city

Istanbul is a divided city both in terms of space and in terms of culture. This is a city where strict but unseen walls are established between different communities and social groups. The divided city “conjures up images of the Berlin wall or the Danube, which divides Buda from Pest. Within anthropology it evokes hidden barriers of race and class encoded in metaphors of uptown and downtown, upscale and ghetto” (Low, 1996, p. 388).

In Istanbul, instead of a concrete wall, there is E-5 highway dividing the city into two parts of different class structures, we have isolated neighborhoods of the periphery instead of real ghettos, and we have real ghettos. The daily life is divided through the unseen walls between classes and ethnicities. On the one hand, the rising middle class fill the newly built gigantic shopping malls, the more privileged sections of the society live in a marginal luxury, within a contrasting cultural climate to those of the strengthening conservative masses. On the other hand, just side-by-side the centers for entertainment (Beyoğlu), is situated the hyperghetto (Tarlabaşı), now subject to severe gentrification. Gentrification is one of the main factors which strengthen this division: Gypsy neighborhoods are gentrified one by one (Sulukule, Ahırkapı), the enormously growing building sector, sets its eye to the old slums in order to raise gated communities. Not to mention that, there are preferred neighborhoods for specific ethnic groups, for example Armenians prefer mainly Kurtuluş; Jewish community once was populating Şişli, Pomaks prefer Pendik, a Laz community inhabits Arnavutköy etc. According to Çağlar Keyder, Istanbul is a divided city where on the one hand global material flows operate and create a social segment which integrates with globalization; on the other hand in other segments people construct almost alternative ways and rules of life in their closed neighborhoods. This segregation in the public sphere inevitably causes conflict. (Keyder, 1999, p. 35). It is this conflict that transforms Istanbul to a contested city.

1.2.3 Istanbul as a contested city- a city of illusions

On one hand, the center creates illusions, and touristic images. On the other hand there is an unseen city. The existence of an unprivileged and unseen city is the main

reason for conflict (Atkinson, 2007, p. 1905). A current example for this aspect is the 2010 Istanbul European Cultural Capital advertisements (Track 1), The Advertisements of Istanbul Municipality (Track 2), and that of Ministry of Culture (Track 3). In these ads, the main emphasis is on “historical” and “touristic” sides of Istanbul. Though in the unseen city, people loose their homes due to gentrification projects, even gunfights take place out of those problems¹, people are in the street everyday to protest something.

The contestation takes place mainly in the public sphere- namely in the street. The street is a place where the conflicting ideologies are reproduced, transformed and strengthened. These are “events that temporarily invert the urban power structure through symbolic control on the streets” (Low, 1996, p. 391). In the case of public contestation, besides the physical presence of masses in a specific place, the relationship between sound and space is crucial in obtaining this symbolic control: the space is defined according to established rules and patterns of behavior and the contestation challenges these rules either by violence, or slight disturbance; but always using sound.

1.3 The Sounds As Turning Points

Since I was fifteen years old, I walk in the streets, my bag on my shoulders; I walk and walk without tiring, alone or with company. Walking as a way to know the city, a way to conceptualize it is an excellent tool for someone like me, who cannot learn the roads, cannot visualize the map of the environment, and find herself lost, if she didn't passed walking from that place before. My interest in the sounds around me has been developed while walking, making experiments on pushing my ears on the foreground. This attention on sounds revealed itself years later, when I was reflecting on the significant sounds of Istanbul and their meanings. I found out that my own personal history of sounds coincides with the important sound events, which marked the history of the city and the country; and this insight has been proved when I listened to people about their memories of sounds in Istanbul. In this section I will

¹Başbüyük-Maltepe neighborhood was subject to gentrification. The inhabitants organized in 2010, got their guns, and dig the graves of the municipal officials to threaten them and stop the destructions of the houses. They were successful for a while, but nobody could stand against the change. (This information is received through personal communication with the inhabitants).

try to draw a framework of the historical flow since the late 1980's; but I have to mention that this will not be an overall historical attempt, which will stress all the historical events. The history in Turkey is written and rewritten everyday, we live through daily crisis, in an overloaded agenda day by day, and to talk about everything would be impossible. Nevertheless, I can admit that throughout the whole study, though not in an exact chronology, a general picture will be able to be grasped.

1.3.1 Istanbul in late 1980s and in 1990s

I have been raised in a small city in the south of Turkey, in Adana, until I was ten, then my family moved to Istanbul in 1987. My first memories about Istanbul are about the crowds in the street (when Istanbul was relatively less inhabited compared to today), the sounds of the cars on the roads and my mother's concerns on how to adapt to the big city. The memory of our first encounters with Istanbul visited me several times, while thinking about the soundscapes of Istanbul and the characteristic sounds of the city. Through this meditation, I caught my basic sonic memories and the socially important sonic events that acted as turning points in the social life. In this section I will describe these instances and events in order to trace the background framework of the following chapters.

The coup d'état in 1980 has been a breaking point in the normal life of the country. My parents were university students in Istanbul in the 1970's, then moved to Adana, a city in the south Anatolia and raised their two children there. One of the first memories I have ever had is the curfew in the evenings, after the coup. I remember I was looking from the window and was seeing soldiers, and accepting this as the normal conditions of life.

When we moved to Istanbul in 1987, Turgut Özal-the person who led the process of integration to the neoliberal world- was the prime minister, the Kurdish question was accelerating, there were hunger strikes in the prisons full with political prisoners. Due to the neoliberal concerns, economic and cultural transformations were gradually revealing themselves: the second bridge linking Europe to Asia has been opened in 1988, first shopping mall in Ataköy was opened in 1988 and the sound of the fireworks- as a sign of luxury and power- gradually became an element of the everyday soundscapes.

My first sonic memory is about the opening celebrations of one of the first shopping malls in Istanbul in late 1980's: Pyramid. Our apartment was in Fenerbahçe, and the shopping mall was built on the Fenerbahçe coast. One evening, when all the family was at home, suddenly we heard some terrible sounds: they were like explosions. My mother thought they were gunshots and that there was happening some battle nearby. She led us to the only windowless room in our apartment in panic and we waited there until the sounds stopped. The next day we learned that fireworks used in the opening of Pyramid shopping mall caused the sounds². Then, my mother explained to me and to my sister that when she was a university student, people were killed every day and she was used to hear gunshots and bombs on the streets³. That is why the last night she was so afraid. It took a while for her to understand that this was a different Istanbul now, and that the dangers –though still existing- were not the same any more. The sound of fireworks was similar to those gunshots but there was just another parallelism: the fireworks were signs of the new power relationships in the country; it was yet another demonstration of power, based on the accumulation of the capital in specific hands. Now the sounds of fireworks is very familiar to even the youngest children, and the gunshots are mostly heard after “important” football games and when soldiers are send off: even the common meaning of the gunshots has changed. As the cities – and the world- change, so do the sounds and their meanings. As Istanbul becomes a more and more chaotic city, its sounds reflect –and also cause- its existence.

I was raised in a protective family, with parents who were politically active in their youth and were the witnesses of the three coup d'états⁴, grew up with traumas, and started their life as adults in the late 1970's. As did most of the parents from their generation, they tried their best to keep away their children from politics, avoided our questions and taught us to hide our identities (our religious or political thoughts) in the presence of others and at school, and never talked about their political past until we reached a suitable (17 or 18) age: an apparent minority reaction towards

² I listened to a similar story from one of my friends too. In that case the event took place near Beşiktaş, and fireworks were to celebrate the opening of the former Çırağan Palace as a hotel, in 1991.

³ The main argument of the coup d'état in 1980 was to stop this growing daily terror. People tell that it really served to stop it: all the people with specific political opinion, especially leftists were arrested, tortured and killed after the coup. It created a lost generation- of my parents- and a following a-political generation, namely the children of the former generation.

⁴ 1960, 1971 and 1980.

protection. The coup d'état in 1980 erased all the legacy of the past decade and repressed its prominent thoughts, and it was nearly impossible to be familiar with even the basic terminology of the left politics. I remember once I heard the term "dialectic" and started to look for its meaning. In the dictionaries and encyclopedias I could only find a unique Turkish word as a translation (which actually was not meaning anything to me), but could never find an explanation. I decided to ask my father about its definition, I was 15 and I knew it was a Marxist term; my father just answered, "I do not know", which in reality was meaning, "I don't want you to know these things". Until I got to the university, I was not really aware of what was going on politically around me, I had a basic standing but I became aware of possessing that stance after I met people like me in the university, in 1996. I became a member of one of the avant-garde feminist organizations of that time and of a larger performing arts ensemble, at first as a dancer and than as a percussionist. These organizations have always had a political standing towards the actual agenda of the country. So, from 1996 on, I found myself on the public sphere, protesting, marching, performing in the concerts, discussing -which was not a coincidence: that year was a turning point in many aspects in Turkey's politics.

The second half of the 1990's in Turkey has been an era of transformation and crisis. The violence in the Eastern Turkey has grew enormously; in 1993, 37 poets and writers were burnt in a hotel in Sivas – by islamist terrorists, in 1995 Gazi neighborhood in Istanbul has been the stage of a rebellion, after a coffee shop was cross fired by unidentified people, and several inhabitants were killed. At the same time the number of the losses under police custody was increasing day by day, and in 1995 Saturday Mothers⁵ started their sitting action just behind the door of my high school.

As my parents apparently wanted me to stay outside the politics, I grew up with the idea that crowds- especially political crowds- might be dangerous (which was true). My first encounter with such a crowd was when I was in high school, in 1994, in Taksim. These were politically tense times before the local elections, the majority's political preferences were switching towards the Islamic party of the time; and the

⁵ Mothers of lost activists and journalists first gathered in 1995 in Galatasaray, carrying the pictures of their lost children. They have become important political figures, having significant effects on the political agenda with their sitting action every Saturday in the same place.

government of the time organized a meeting in Taksim- a pro-secularism meeting. These were days where the tension between so-called secularists and Islamists was rising; which led the country to a postmodern coup d'état in 1997. I remember my parents warned me severely not to join the field –my school was very close to the square- but nevertheless, I went there just to see it, out of the unbearable curiosity of my age. There I understood why people attend such kind of events: the loss of the self in the crowd, the enthusiasm of being a part of a whole might be bigger than any self priority- especially if you are so young. That meeting in 1994, besides being yet another symbolic turning point in history was my first encounter with the mass politics. This was my first and the last participation in a political action until I became a university student, and had my own political standing. But before, my second encounter would be in 1996, on May Day, in Kadıköy. This encounter was based on the aural perception of the event from our apartment, which was very close to the main road where the procession was flowing.

I was with my friend in my room, when we heard the sound of the parade, walking screaming and chanting. I remember my mother's perturbation, she was concerned about possible fights in the street, and she was right. After a while, still hearing the sound from the road, we turned on the TV and started to watch the news. First we saw a young man killed during the procession, and during the rest of the day, all we could see on TV was the vandalism of the protesters, destructing the shops, and even the green grass and flowers. In 1996 during the May Day celebrations three people were killed and the celebrations turned to be a social explosion of discontent following the previous events, especially the Gazi upheaval. The way the killings and the reactions were portrayed in televisions that day, was reflecting how the mass opinion was being constructed through hypermedia.

Meanwhile in 1996 a revival was happening in student movement in the universities, for the first time after the coup d'état of 1980. Hundreds of university students occupied the Istanbul University for 30 hours, in order to protest the high tuition fees. The occupation was finished by the intervention of the police and 100 students were arrested. In these conditions news hit the agenda: in 1996 a car crashed with a truck in Susurluk, in the Marmara region, close to Istanbul. This incident revealed all the dirty relationships which encapsulated the state apparatus: in the crushed car found together a counter guerilla agent and mafia leader, searched internationally

with a red bulletin; a former high level police officer dead; and a depute from a rightist party- the head of a Kurdish tribe - severely injured. The public opinion strongly demanded an explanation for these relationships, but the first report prepared by the national intelligence agency was far from satisfying; which led to a turning point in the practices of protest in Turkey.

These days, an organization calling themselves “Sürekli Aydınlik için Yurttaş Girişimi” (The citizens’ initiative for permanent enlightenment) published a call for a mass protest. With the support of the media and other NGOs the protest turned out to be a real massive political action (Pulur, 1997). It started on February 1st, 1997, by turning off the lights at 21:00 for one minute. I remember that day we turned off the lights and went to the windows to see if there were other windows darkened. Yes, we were not alone, and the fifth day, approximately 30 million people were participating to the action all over the country (Aktan, 2004). Whereas at first we were only turning off the lights, in the course of the time we started to turn off an on, like eye clicking to others, then gradually, women added the noise factor to the action. Mothers and grandmothers took their casseroles and pots and started to beat them each evening for one minute in the light of blinking windows. Gradually some people get to the streets with their newly invented noisemakers, and the whistles entered the scene. The protest lasted approximately one month, the basic demands being the putting into trial of those responsible of the darkest profit relations within the state apparatus, and finished once the trial started. How people so oppressed after the coup of 1980, who never thought to go to a protest in the street so easily adopted this protest? The answer lies in the character of the protest: people did not have to leave their home, they felt secure behind the walls of their homes, but also found themselves as powerful to be heard. The introduction of the kitchen tools as noisemakers was a consequence of that spirit: women transformed the soundscape of the street without leaving their homes. Meanwhile, at the end of February, the postmodern coup d’état, namely *28 Şubat Muhtırası*, took place, the government disintegrated, as a consequence of the growing polarization around the secularism-islamism axis. In September the protests started again, but the political climate has been changed, and it did not catch the previous spirit. Nevertheless, the practice of that protest changed the way people make sound during their political actions: the noise as pure noise was introduced to the street politics, as a challenge to the

established social norms with its uncontrollable nature; which would in the years that follow be enriched with the use of more intensive sounds (drum teams, multiple noise makers).

The year 1997, also witnessed the first massive women's movement gathering in the march 8th celebrations. The growing women's movement since the middle of the 1980's had a climax with this celebration. This was the beginning of a tradition of 8th of March celebrations in mass gatherings and processions, and of the discussions in the movement between different groups on the basic problems. One of these questions was of a determinative characteristic for both the women's movement and the other progressive groups in general. The debate was about the language of the speeches that would be done from the stage constructed in the field of gathering. The recognition of Kurdish as a second language in today's May Day celebration is the outcome of feminist movement's sensibilities dating back to 1990's.

Meanwhile, in the late 1990's the violence around the Kurdish question accelerated and this decade has been marked with the struggle around this question. The Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia were under force majeure, and a climate of war was reigning all over the country, with the news of killed soldiers and guerillas, of lost activists and journalists everyday.

In the 2000's the political protest in the street became normalized, people gradually started to express their political concerns more and more in the public sphere, while facing up all the risks. Along with protest, as a sign of the opening/ new suppleness of the public sphere, the mass entertainment also has been brought to the street: new year celebrations in Taksim Square, the celebrations after football games on the roads and in the street (with gunshots, noisemakers, car horns and male voices chanting slogans), the sending off of the soldiers (with *davul-zurna*, gunshots, and male voices chanting slogans). Now, the meaning of the sound from the guns has shifted from conflict to celebration. But ironically the celebration always had the potential to turn into violence, it has never been immune from the rising conflicts in the society.

1.3.2 Traumatic sounds

Those days, the role of the sound in our lives was limited with the discussion on language rights, on growing Turkish popular music, and with new protest musics,

comprising musics of different ethnicities in their own languages. The earthquake of 1999 brought the discourse on the “sound” to the picture. The earthquake centered in Izmit crushed a whole city, and damaged neighborhoods in Istanbul⁶. People in Istanbul were narrating how they woke up from their sleep with a terrific sound emanating from under the crust of the earth. This initial sound, accompanied with the sounds of cracking buildings was inscribed into people’s minds as the sound of disaster. For days, in the television, in the newspapers one of the main topics was this sound.

Another traumatic sound would hit Istanbul in 2003, with the bombings of the English consulate and the central building of an international bank. The consulate was in Taksim and the bank in Levent. That morning I was in the neighborhood around the Boğaziçi University. We heard the first sound and look to each other, and then said: something happened. Ten minutes after came the second sound, while we were trying to understand what happened from the televisions. The bombs killed 27 people and injured more than 450. On the following days, I was walking in the İstiklal Caddesi, near the consulate, and I remember that the facial expression of the people in the street was drastically changed. Some people thought it was another earthquake, some others like us realized that it was the sound of bombs. But all were traumatized, with the consciousness of the fragility of our lives in this city. These two different sounds found their place in the collective consciousness along with the sounds of gunshots as the sounds of terror and fear, which can suddenly come back and find us in the flow of our daily life.

1.3.3 Sounds of the growing social polarization

“-Did you hear what happened?”

-No?, what?

-Hrant Dink was shot in Osmanbey”

I was in the university campus, 20 minutes of walk far away from Osmanbey, when a friend just saw me in the corridors and told me about the news. I called other friends, tried to learn more: he was murdered. Hrant Dink, was an Armenian journalist,

⁶ The Marmara earthquake known as the “earthquake of August 17th” was felt in a vast area comprising the entire Marmara region, and reaching to Ankara and Izmir. More than 17 000 people were dead, more than 24000 were injured. The earthquake devastated the entire city of Izmit.

advocate of peace and brotherhood of peoples living in Anatolia. He was killed by a young nationalist walking in the street, on the pavement, in the midst of the daily flow of people, in front of the journal Agos where he was working. That evening, thousands of people gathered in Taksim and walked to the journal, in silence, while after weeks, it was raining for the first time. The terror of gunshots returned, the sorrow could only be expressed by the silence: this was a point where no words could explain the feelings and thoughts (Figure 1.1, Figure 1.2).



Figure 1.1 : The funeral of Hrant Dink, January 23th, 2007, Osmanbey (Url-1).



Figure 1.2 : Rakel Dink and her children (Url-2).

The funeral ceremony in 23 January started in front of Agos journal, with the participation of 100000 people, which was unexpected for both the participants and for the rest of the world. There was a music shop in the ground floor of the building

where the Agos's office was situated. That day, this music shop broadcast two songs without stopping for one moment: "Sari Gyalin", a folk song in Armenian, which has also a Turkish version, and "Yiğidim Aslanım Burda Yatıyor", a song composed by Zülfü Livaneli and written by Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu, after the death of Nazım Hikmet, a poet who became a legendary romantic icon for the left politics in Turkey. People were silent, and the music was enveloping all, filling the space, transforming it, changing the meaning of that place forever. The silence is usually used as a sign of respect in our culture; but here along with the respect to his memory a deep feeling of sorrow has been expressed through this silence. In the funeral of an Armenian man, who was killed because of his identity, the broadcast of the Sari Gyalin was symbolic in asserting this very identity itself, inscribing it in the sonic memory of the city, of the people in that street, and to those watching the event on the television. Along with these two songs, from the truck, which was carrying Rakel Dink-his, wife- and her daughters, a *duduk* player was playing a lament like long air; all along the way the truck was passing. The sound of the *duduk* was impressive because of its timbre but also because of the layered symbolic meanings it was bearing. This instrument has become one of the symbols of Armenian identity worldwide, at the same time its timbre is thought to express "sadness", and its solo performance is an attribute of funerals in Armenia (Nercessian, 2001, pp. 53-60). In this case all three elements were seemingly overlapped, and the whole event, has been transformed to the assertion of the existence of Armenian identity through sound.

Besides the emphasis on making the Armenian identity visible, the broadcast of the second song pointed out to a relation of this assassination to the history of other assassinations in Turkey. This song has become the symbol of Uğur Mumcu, another journalist, who was killed by a bomb in 1993, in Ankara. Again thousands of people participated in the funeral and the song has been sang by the people. Since then, it was the symbol of Uğur Mumcu. With its broadcast in 2007, both the meanings of the song and the space has been shifted, linking two events to each other in time and space, through the use of sound. That day these 100000 people walked for about 8 kilometers on the roads until the cemetery, and the years that followed, the commemoration took its place in the cycle of annual important days.

The year 2007 also was the stage for a new social mobilization in the part of upper middle classes, where the polarization between the islamists and secularists was

intensified, due to the tensions over the elections of the President. The candidate for the Presidency was Abdullah Gül, a former prime minister from the AKP. The idea of having a president with an open Islamist identity mobilized the secularist elites of the society. The result was the organization of a series of *Cumhuriyet Mitingleri* (Republic Demonstrations) in several cities, with participation of thousands of people, against the “threat” of Islamist fundamentalism and anti-secularism. The first of these meetings took place in Ankara, in April 24th, 2007. According to newspapers, the number of participants was varying from 300,000 to a million; which resulted in the massive participation to the meetings in the other cities. The Istanbul meeting took place on April 29th: people walked to the Çağlayan field through several directions. This time the number of the participants was announced as almost 4 million by the organization committee (Url-3). The characteristics of the meeting was the high number of women from every age to the demonstration and the use of Turkish flags, coloring the streets with the color red (Figure 1.3).



Figure 1.3 : Two views from Çağlayan field on April 24th, 2007(Url-4).

The emphasis on these meetings was on the necessity of secularism, the army as its protector, and the Turkishness as a resource of pride. These were events where people from a wide range of social backgrounds found themselves connected, thought legitimate to participate to: these were openly the claims for the continuations of the existing social order, with all the established hierarchies, which were felt to be in a process of change. The sound aspect of these events will be a prototype for the pro-secularist events in the following years. In Istanbul demonstration, the group *Bulutsuzluk Özlemi* (a progressive-protest rock group from the 1980s), *Zülfü Livaneli* (a protest musician, novelist and film director) took on the

stage and performed. After the one minute of silence and the singing of the National anthem, the crowd sang the Tenth Year march altogether (Url-5). This pattern would be repeated in several occasions in the following 5 years, as a trademark of Turkish nationalism in the fields of political action.

The Cumhuriyet meetings continued with the meetings in Izmir, Çanakkale and Manisa. Not to forget that the meeting in Istanbul was followed by the May Day clashes in the following days: that year, 2007 was the 30th anniversary of the bloody May Day of 1977, and the workers unions confederations and several NGOs decided to enter the Taksim Square after 30 years of prohibition for the May Day celebrations.

This background in mind, the chapters that follow will illustrate the sounds and the social constitution of crowds in the streets, gathered for different occasions with different political agendas.

1.4 Theoretical Framework

This study can be situated at the intersection of soundscape studies, popular music/ethnomusicology studies, urban studies and music sociology; meanwhile focusing on a specific practice in specific locations of the city from an anthropological perspective. This study, while it strings along the sounds, at the same time tries to develop an anthropological perspective on the practices which create these sounds; it questions the role of these events in transforming the daily life of the city and tries to investigate what these practices say about the history, actual agenda and political culture of not only the city but also the whole country.

When I started to think about the framework of the study, I was planning to focus on different aspects of sounds in Istanbul, and to draw an overall picture of the soundscapes of the city. The first year, I recorded the sounds of the newly built giant shopping malls, the main road E-5 separating neighborhoods of different classes, some concerts, daily sounds like rain, birds, vehicles of transportation, and ceremonies and political actions in the street. Then after a while, I realized that to draw the overall picture is the subject of more than one project, for Istanbul with its multiple centers, the over-crowded daily life and multiple rhythms is difficult to grasp in a unique framework. Likewise the city, the outcome of the study should be

multi-dimensional. Meanwhile I was continuing to attend the events in the street and decided to focus on these events as salient aspects of the social life, constructed around the ideological claims and conflicts inherent not only to the city's life but to the country's overloaded agenda; and most importantly, having their meanings and messages constructed and communicated mainly through sound.

The literature is loaded with works on Istanbul. The fictions (Pamuk, 2006; Uzuner, 2007; Yaşar Kemal, 1998 [1978] and many others) are full of examples narrating lives in Istanbul, whereas giving significant clues about the city itself. The outstanding musical studies on Turkey inevitably touch the subjects about Istanbul: Martin Stokes' debate on Arabesk (1998), his recent work on three prominent figures in the popular music of Turkey (2010) and Thomas Solomon's work on the underground hip hop communities of Istanbul (2005) are significant studies. Also, there are works on social sciences and history having İstanbul as their subjects, which were helpful in constructing my background: Gülsüm Baydar and Berfin İvegen (2006), explore the issue of Saturday Mothers, as one of the dominant elements of the political agenda in the streets of Istanbul since the late 1990s, Amy Mills (2005) discusses the issues of gentrification and ethnic identities, focusing on two neighborhoods of Istanbul, with references to the recent history of Turkey, and Anna Secor (2004) analyses the links between the ethnic identities and spatial practices in Istanbul, through a field work focusing on the lives of Kurdish migrant women living in Istanbul. On the other hand, Meri Kytö's (2011) work on Beşiktaş football fans in Istanbul, the sounds they produce and through which they express themselves was inspiring both in terms of the methodology she used in the field, and by her approach in analyzing the sounds and the songs, relying on their historical and cultural backgrounds. Meanwhile, the sounds of Istanbul were becoming popular after Fatih Akin's film (2005) *Crossing the Bridge: The sounds of Istanbul*; and in 2009 and 2010 an organization called "İstanbul Audio Tour" permitted sound artists to perform their works related to the sounds of the city (Erek, 2009; Ögüt 2009; roomservices 2009; Tükel 2009; Bennett and Zentschnig 2010; Kurşun, 2010; Altay and Altay 2010). The year 2010 when Istanbul was declared to be European Capital of Culture, many publishers in Istanbul focused on publishing books on Istanbul, The Istanbul municipality's publishing house even started a book series on Istanbul (books with titles "The hundred of Istanbul").

In my attempts of analysis and interpretation I moved from specific core concepts as departing point; these are the production of space, the ritual practice, and acoustemology. The events analyzed in this study are performed in places, and the performance practice itself transforms the material places into spaces with meanings; all the events have specific action schemes, some being surprisingly common, duplicating basic structural characteristics of rituals; and most importantly they exist and declare their existence through sounds, they communicate through sounds. In the following section I will focus on these concepts, in order to offer the background theoretical information before starting my narrative from the field.

1.4.1 Perspectives from acoustic ecology

Acoustemology is a term, a perspective in the field of soundscape studies, introduced by Steven Feld (1990) in his study on the Kaluli people of Papua New Guinea. In order to understand the scope of an acoustemological approach, it would be better to start with the concept of “soundscape” itself.

In its original usage, the term soundscape means “sonic environment”. In this study, I use the word in a slightly expanded form, as “the sonic environment, which has a historical fluidity in the context of city and globalization, charged with cultural and cognitive codes”. In the political actions in Istanbul, sounds are used as central means of communicating the message of the group, to intervene the daily flow of the city life and to attract attention over the event. This being the reason, these political actions in the street can be investigated in terms of their sounds, in terms of “their sonic way of knowing and being in the world” (Feld, 1996). The sonic way of knowing and being in the world, as defined by Steven Feld, is named acoustemology, a term formed out of the integration of two familiar words: acoustic and epistemology.

Epistemology, namely the science of knowledge, is a term formed out of the integration of two distinct words: *episteme* (the knowledge) and *-logy* (the suffix for science). *Episteme*, as the knowledge, is replaced in acoustemology by the *acousteme*, the acoustic knowledge. Moreover, the term epistemology itself brings about a long history of debates on the relation between theory and practice, between *episteme* and

*techne*⁷ (Parry 2008). To what extent the episteme is pure theory and *techne* is pure practice is an evolved question in the history of philosophy. However in our case and from my own perspective, the boundaries of these two terms are blurred: the knowledge is practice, and practice is knowledge, in a very similar way Louis Althusser (2002) has cited in his work: "Pascal says more or less: 'Kneel down, move your lips in prayer, and you will believe'" (p.58). In the same line with Althusser conceptualizing ideology as a material practice, I conceptualize the knowledge as a bodily practice, and so the acoustic knowledge; for the two practices of producing and perceiving sounds are intertwined. The humanly sound is the practice, and the knowledge about it is received through practice.

The sounds of the streets in political action, from the point of acoustemology, reflect and construct the ways people understand the world, the contestation is done through sound, the physical intervention to the streets is strengthened through sounds, and most importantly, the meaning is created through the sounds. The acoustemological approach allows the researcher to focus on the sounds as the foreground elements of a given cultural event, as carrying all the necessary cultural luggage and historical connotations to understand and analyze the ideas and intentions behind the action itself.

The interpretation of politicized soundscapes in their cultural context requires, as part of the overall soundscape of the city, the observation of the ways these sounds are produced and experienced. (Vikman, 2009, p. 90). In this study the sounds of the political events were listened to, recorded and interpreted as sound narratives, as components of a larger cultural context. The sounds in the street political actions are experienced in four different categories (Smith, 1993; cited in Jarviluoma et. al., 2009): sounds as context, sounds as information, sound and memory, sound and feeling. Sounds are themselves contexts where the cultural codes are reproduced, historical links refund, and social boundaries-cooperation strengthened. Hence, the sounds can be taken as narratives, as texts revealing socio-cultural discourses.

The sounds produced by human beings in a specific environment are received by these people always as embedded with social-cultural codes-these are compositions of meaning. Barry Truax proposes the term acoustic communication as “an

⁷ The Greek word for “craft” or “art”. This is the root word for the term “technology”.

appropriate starting point for understanding the intricate system of meanings and relationships that sound creates in environmental contexts” (Truax, 2007, p. 7). These shared meanings are the product and a constituting part of what is called acoustic communities.

The sounds are informative in the way they always communicate a message to both the participants-the producers of the event and to the “others”. The crowd in a field protesting becomes an acoustic community (Truax, 1984) to the extent that the acoustic information created through action becomes a consistent whole, addressing the rest of the city; meanwhile defining the identities of the members of the community. With Barry Truax’s words:

Sound plays a significant role in defining the community spatially, temporally in terms of daily and seasonal cycles, as well as socially and culturally in terms of shared activities, rituals and dominant institutions. The community is linked and defined by its sounds. (p. 58)

Additionally, these sounds are linked with deep feelings of people, are expressions of them in the form of songs, slogans or silences and finally they evoke a past over which the present is constructed. Moreover, the link with the past carries mythologies or historical narratives with it, accompanied with the practical guidelines of how to act in the street, which in turn take the form of a ritual.

The way the sounds are organized is inherently linked to the way people are organized: “procedures as taking turns, leader-group interaction, rules of order, and so on, control patterns of soundmaking as much as they reflect social structure and restrict behavior” (Bruneau, 1973; Dauenhauer, 1973, cited in Truax, 1984, p. 38). The rules over the production of sounds reveal the rules of the social contract. The use of restricted sounds- it may be the use of a language, of a specific kind of music, of the sounds considered as “noise”, or even the collective silence- may have challenging effects to the way the social structure works. In the political actions in Istanbul, one can witness the use of sound in this direction frequently. The expression of structurally “dangerous” ideas loudly, the use of songs as carrier of multiple meanings during the protests, and the use of noisemakers of various kind have the effect to attract the attention of the rest of the city and the country (via television and other media), to make a difference in the daily flow of life, and to deploy to the “others” the ideas and stories that they would prefer not to know – and hear (here knowing is an inseparable part of hearing: they have to know, because they are exposed to hearing). Here we can say that in these political actions the

communicative potential of the sound is successfully used, based on Truax's classification. According to him, there are three systems of acoustic communication: speech, music and soundscape; each being examples of organized sound. In this study, music and speech function as part of the overall soundscape along with other meaningful- meaningful even if it lacks a specific meaning- sounds.

The music appears as a part of songscape or in the performances of percussion-drum groups in these events. In this study I focus on the meanings of the songscape, the multilayered cultural and historical references the songs implicate in specific contexts. As Allan Merriam (1964) puts it clearly, "songs lead as well as follow, and political and social movements often express through song because of the license it gives, shape and force the moulding of public opinion" (p. 208). The songs broadcast, or collectively performed during the events reflect the particular sensibilities of the community in the field, as well as carrying multiple narratives and meanings depending on the context. A song may be meaningful in very different cases, with different implications, although around the same theme. Also, the singer, composer, the writer of the text are important figures in the reception of the songs by the masses. Along with musical characteristics such as the instruments and the relation of the different parts of the songs to the context, these attributes provide a single song with deeper implications that only the community in that specific place, in that specific context communicate both to itself and to the "others". In the extraordinary context of the political action, the political and historical implications become visible; the music helps making sense of the situation (DeNora, 2000, p. 13). This reception of the song by the community in the field creates and strengthens the specific bonds the members of the crowd have with each other: these songs "speak" socially, turning personal experience into collective experience. As Regula Qureshi argues (2000), experiencing music collectively transforms the individual experience into collective, which in turn "endows musical sound with a social existence coded as identity ("our" music)" (Qureshi, 2000, p. 811).

The second aspect, the organized noise is used as a tool for apparent challenge. When it is speechless noise, the message is unable to be converted to speech, but it obviously has a meaning. It declares a bodily existence; it is an attempt to strengthen the physical intervention of the daily life. It is a revolt against the control over noise as a sign of dominance; therefore it symbolizes the anti-structure, a destructive

symbol of the uncontrolled masses (Attali, 1985). Jarviluoma et.al (2009), explain the socially constructed nature of “noise” as follows:

Mary Douglas defines dirt as a matter that is out of place or something we find inappropriate in a given context. By analogy, “noise” is a sound in a wrong place and/or at the wrong time ... Whenever or wherever the idea of dirt exists, there is also some kind of cultural or communal order. Cultures have their conceptions of dirt and the desirable order of things (Douglas 2000: 85-6, 236) Defining pleasant, unpleasant and even bearable sounds is not just about the individual preferences but also about community values and the dominant power relations. (p. 25)

The elements of noise in the political action are the sound of various noisemakers, handclapping, slogans and the volume of the music broadcast in the field. When it comes to the slogans, the message is clear: the slogans are compact phrases, communicating specific demands and ideas in a structured way, performed collectively, and depending on the use of human voice. To shout in public is a normally inappropriate behavior, and when people shout together it disturbs the “others” not solely because of the volume, but because it means there is a challenge to the social order, and to the accepted social norms. In this society under study, silence and reticence are considered as appropriate as signs of respect and politeness. To be polite is not to raise one’s voice too loud; to be respectful is to be quiet. Slogans have the potential to challenge these rules both in practice and in content. An example is a popular slogan in the women’s movement, “shout and make everybody hear it”, which advises the women to shout aloud, instead of hiding the sexual abuse or violence, to declare these to everyone, in order to challenge the power relations over women’s bodies. The overall noise making is parallel to this stance.

On the other hand, the moments of silences in the course of these sound-intensive political actions are yet another aspect of the challenge: these are “organized silences” by the participants, generally as a sign for respect or commemoration. These silences might be in the same line with the dominant ideologies or can be used to invert the subject of the respect, as it is the case in the moments of silence for the martyrs in the mass actions (every group has its own martyrs, who might be legitimate or not from the point of view of the dominant ideology): these are silent assertions of challenging beliefs and ideas.

The acoustemological approach, besides focusing on the sounds as the main information, also focuses on the places where these sounds are produced and received. The meanings of the sounds and also the performance through which the sounds are produced provide the places with new layers of social meanings, thus

turning the places into social spaces. The sounds create “a sense of place” and “the place’s acoustic qualities are shaped by the inhabitant’s activities and behavior” (Westerkamp, 1991, p. 2).

1.4.2 Perspectives on space

The studies on music or soundscape do not disregard the significance of place where the sounds are produced and received, as well as time. Kay Kaufman Shelemay (2001) defines the soundscape as the musical events taking place in a cultural setting, but adds that it also includes the time and places of the events (p. 8); Martin Stokes (1997) emphasizes the role of music in connecting places to identities and social boundaries (p. 3); John Blacking (1976) emphasizes the potential of music in constructing alternative perceptions of time and space, “taking people out of ordinary time” (p. 51); Sara Cohen (1995), in her discussion on the relations of music and space through the biographical investigation of a member of Jewish community in Liverpool, stresses the role of music in shaping and structuring the spaces that envelop people (p. 444); and Hildegard Westerkamp (1991) defines the soundscape as “the acoustic manifestation of place, and where the sounds give the inhabitants a ‘sense of place’ and the place’s acoustic quality is shaped by the inhabitants’ activities and behavior” (p. 2). In the course of political actions, the space is reconstructed both through the bodily intervention and the use of sound. As Martin Stokes states (1997), “the production of place through music is always a political and contested process and music has been shown to be implicated in the politics of place, the struggle for identity and belonging, power and prestige” (p. 3).

Hence, the places are contested through political action and in Istanbul, Taksim Square is a vivid example of this contestation. Being the milieu of a massacre in 1977 May Day celebrations, it has been transformed into a “space” having multiple meanings and functions from different perspectives: it is a crossroads, it is the gate to the most popular cultural center (İstiklal Caddesi), it is a place where people gather for instantaneous unplanned protests, and also it is a place fought for to conquer each May Day since 1977, until 2010. The municipality and the state have always plans about this square, e.g. constructing a big mosque near the square, and nowadays the application of a new urban planning to the area, which will probably avoid people to gather there. These entire factors together construct Taksim Square as a “space” out

of a material place. This situation is in harmony with the ideas of Michel de Certeau (1984):

A space exists when one takes into consideration vectors of direction, velocities, and time variables. Thus space is composed of intersections of mobile elements. It is in a sense actuated by the ensemble of movements deployed within it. Space occurs as the effect produced by the operations that orient it, situate it, temporalize it, and make it function in a polyvalent unity of conflictual programs or contractual proximities. On this view, in relation to place, space is like the word when it is spoken, that is, when it is caught in the ambiguity of an actualization, transformed into a term dependent upon many different conventions, situated as the act of a present (or of a time), and modified by the transformations caused by successive contexts. In contradistinction to the place, it has thus none of the univocity or stability of a "proper". (p. 117)

The political action as spatial practice, gives the place new meanings, and the use of music and sound are inseparable components of this transformation. A second layer of transformation can occur at the level of spaces: the transformation of a specific space into another; in other words the shift in the meanings a place already has. The conceptual triad of Henri Lefebvre on the production of space might be a useful tool to understand the way spaces are conceptualized and transformed through political action. Henry Lefebvre's conceptual triad consists of the spatial practice- the daily life; the representation of space (conceptions of space); and representational spaces (space as directly lived through it associated images and symbols) (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 34). The spaces are already constructed as space by the daily use of the places, they are constituted as spaces by the conceptualizations about them; but there are some places that are transformed through the representations they imply.

The public sphere in Istanbul is very dynamic, and there are specific places transformed that way. The Ergenekon avenue where Hrant Dink was murdered, is an example of this representational spaces: the murder associated with the flow of the masses to protest, the broadcast of specific songs and the silence of the crowd transformed that space, giving it new meanings and new symbolic associations. Likewise the Taksim square is a representational space with all its loaded history of conquest⁸.

These moments of transformation, the occupation of places, create a time lapse in the daily life of the city; these events are the between and betwixt phases in the urban normality. The liminal characteristic of these political actions as social dramas, along

⁸ The subject on Taksim Square will be investigated later in the second chapter.

with the specific structural attributes of these events as a whole, indicate that these actions can be treated as collective rituals.

1.4.3 Perspectives on ritual

Social dramas are ruptures in the social life, which can comprise different actions from violence to collective upheavals to challenge the existing structure of dominations. (Turner, 1982, p. 10). During these moments, the orders and rules are subverted, and the participants enter in a situation where alternative ways of relating to each other become possible. These moments are the points where a social threshold is passed; the in-betweenness, namely liminality, can lead to social change, through the specific experience of rupture in the whole. The feeling of togetherness on that moments of change is called *communitas*:

Liminal events that periodically emerge from the experience of social structure, hierarchically defined obligation, and hierarchically framed speaking to create a temporary experience of the communal whole, of equality of person and of feeling. (Basso, 1981, p. 290)

This may lead to the inversion of the Structure (as the way all the system is organized), or sometimes it may serve as a safety valve for the social tensions to be lightened off. What matters are identities and the sense of community- which sometimes tend to transform into a *communitas*, the community as it becomes to have the potential to invert the system, which gains anti-structural traits, where the hierarchical relations evaporate, alternatives start to reign:

Communitas breaks in through the interstices of structure, in liminality; at the edges of structure, in marginality; and from beneath structure, in inferiority. It is almost everywhere held to be sacre or holy, possibly because it transgresses or dissolves the norms that governs structures and institutionalized relationships and is accompanied by experiences of unprecedented potency... (Turner, 2009, p. 128)

In the political action in the street or during the cyclic celebrations and commemorations, the sense of *communitas* appears depending on the oppositional character of the crowd in the field. Most of the times an excited anger and a strong opposition to a targeted fact in the society is held as the main concern around which the community organizes itself. The effervescence is performed in different ways: dance, music, making noise, speeches, disguising, and violence. The acoustic community present in the field performs these practices, which in the process have the potential to transform into an acoustic *communitas*; the sounds produced are being discursive, political and challenging.

Whether it is a state organization, or an organization from below, an event having anti-structural concerns or a festive entertainment, there are specific rules of performance followed to some extent in all the events. The gathering, march, processions, an organizing institution and the stage, the sound system and songscape organized by it; speeches and concerts; visual symbols and placards; collective dance. Moreover, most of the events are of cyclic, annual character, repeated each year in similar ways. All has “a definitely limited time span, an audience, a beginning and an end, an organized program of activity, a set of performers and a places and occasion”: all are performances (Singer, 1959, cited in Carlson, 2004, p. 13) This structured performance context brings with it as a background, the overall social structure (Qureshi, 1987, cited in Seeger, 1992). In these conditions, the use of sound and music is crucial in reflecting the social organization of the culture (Lomax, 1978); in tracing the boundaries of the community in the field, in defining it spatially. “The community is linked and defined by its symbols”; and the inner rules of the community acting in the field are not independent from the rest of the society to which they belong (Truax, 1984, p. 37, p. 58). Even if the event has oppositional characteristics, it might repeat the ruling patterns of the Structure:

Orderly soundmaking reflects and implicit agreement of cooperation , or at least submission to authority. Those challenging the social order often do so by using sounds that are normally proscribed, or making them at an improper time. Just as there is a time for making sound in a group, there is time to be silent. Mutual silence, however, is one of the few acoustic forms in which everyone participates on an equal basis; hence communal moments of silence most effectively balance the need for both individual and group expression (Bruneau, 1973; Dauenhauer, 1973). (Truax, 1984. P. 38)

Ritualized sound making is the core of this study, whether in a carnivalesque atmosphere, in a protest reaching the limits of the liminality towards creating a *communitas*, or a commemoration organized by the dominant powers of the social order. In each case one could find a Bakhtinian carnivalesque, where “the laws, prohibitions and restrictions that determine the structure and order of ordinary, that is noncarnival, life is suspended” (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 4) mainly through the use of acoustic communication-music, speech and sound.

1.5 The Scope and Methodology

During the fieldwork process I was interested on protests, collective actions and official celebrations as ritual performances, happening in Istanbul mostly in annual cycles. Even focusing solely on the sounds of political actions and rituals in the

street, gives a lot of information, due to the fact that in Istanbul, everyday several political actions take place, and even the annual cyclic events are numerous. At the end of three years of fieldwork, I decided to select three events, as representatives of main social conflicts and claims, out of several events I have attended. I attempted to investigate ritual characteristics of these calendrical events, the differences they pass through each year, how they reflect and construct the social structures from which they were arising and the ways they reconstruct the spaces. Not last but most importantly, I tried to analyze the role of the sounds and musics in this mutual process of construction and reflection.

The study has been carried out through a method similar to participant observation. The participant observation method is the one where the researcher enters the field and tries to act as a part of the field, to become an almost-member: she will never be a native, she would always be “the researcher”. Both for herself and for the people whose lives she is investigating she would try to have an in-between position, she would be from outside and inside at once. As an inhabitant of Istanbul, and particularly as a person who has actively been participating to the political action in the street for fifteen years, it was difficult for me to draw the lines between the insider and outsider identities. I was participating the event, I was observing it but I have been already a part of it long before I started the research. Accordingly I faced the difficulties and advantages of this situation: since distancing myself from the field and the people was difficult, I might have skipped some significant details an outsider would detect; but as an insider, I had the advantage of a deeper understanding of symbols and the background processes. In the case of personal communications, I should admit that it was almost impossible to conduct framed conversations or interviews, since people in the field, during the political action would not prefer to talk to someone with a recorder. And in cases where they responded the questions, the conversations should be as short as possible. The necessity of anonymity is another aspect of all these conversations: in the text I will not mention any names, as a matter of responsibility towards people I have talked to. As a matter of fact, I talked to people, in several occasions, in the field, in the neighborhood, with my friends and relatives. My chats with the friends around me, with people I do not know in the field, along with some general questionnaires I tried to apply on a classroom where I taught two years ago, formed my insight on people’s

view of the sounds of Istanbul in general and the sounds of the political actions in particular. I made recordings, both sound and video, and doing my analysis I leaned on them along with my field notes. Another source was the Internet, where people share their own recordings, accompanied with comments from the audience of the videos. The use of the Internet videos as historical and field resources provided me with the opportunity to multiply my perspective.

The intensive use of recordings along with the field notes, gives the researcher to step back from the event and offers a more “objective”⁹, outsider perspective. My experience of the May Day 1996 was a guide to me in this approach. That day I was surprised when I thought the events I heard in the real time and the one I was watching on TV were one and the same: this should be the deconstruction of reality, its reconstruction through media; and the inevitable alienation of the rest of the city/country was produced through the reproduction of images. I realized this more clearly when I actually started to participate to political actions and protests, and saw how different the perceptions of the event were from inside and outside. The overall sound and totality of the event can only be grasped when one withdraws one-self out of the crowd; and it becomes more and more fragmented when one enters towards the core. Nevertheless the withdrawal and the perception from outside is also fragmented: hearing/experiencing an event in real time (as I did in 1996 from my window) and to grasp it from the television are two totally different experiences. The television as a means of communication also offers a paradigm, a pseudo-absolute reality to those before the television in their home. In the television, we see from another person’s eyes and hear from another’s ears, for every perception is a selection. Through my recordings, I tried to double my own hearing and sight, which helped me cover many elements of the events which otherwise would be missed. In the chapters that follow I will illustrate these attempts for analysis through thick descriptions focusing on the sounds and symbols from the field, and in the light of background social and political contexts. Each chapter will cover a specific event, taking place in a specific time in the course of the year, with the analysis of the multireferential sounds and their meanings. The ultimate aim is to indicate the

⁹ I use the word “objective” here to imply an outsider position, not being an insider. I do not believe objectivity is possible in the field, for each researcher is the sum of her prejudices, ideologies and experiences.

relationship of social background of all the events to the sound produced in the course of them.

The next chapter, Chapter two, focuses on May Day celebrations that have a long contested history in Turkey. The chapter starts with an account of the massacre of May Day 1977, happened in Istanbul, Taksim Square; and focuses on the sound aspects of that specific May Day celebration, based on the videos found in YouTube. The chapter proceeds with the analysis of four years' (2009, 2010, 2011, 2012) May Day celebrations, the changes, the different facets of conflict, and the functions of the sounds in the construction of the events and meanings.

The Chapter three is built around the Newroz –a spring feast, vernal equinox considered as the first day of the new year in Iranian belief systems- and the way Kurdish movement and Kurdish people in Istanbul relate themselves to both the community/communitasthey form and to the way the society and the city are organized- namely “the Structure”, which becomes the “other” of the mass in the field. The celebrations proceed through sounds, songs and speech, which reveal the main ideological concerns and demands of people gathered in the field.

The focus of Chapter four is the Republic Day celebrations, which went through drastic changes in the last two years. The changes in the manners of celebrations created a reaction from the “secularist” parts of the society, who mostly get to the streets for political action in cases where they think the system, the *status quo* is in danger. In the Chapter I tried to illustrate the ways the state discourse and a militaristic stance is constructed through two seemingly different ritualistic manners of commemoration; always focusing on sound.

The conclusion will gather the inferences the analyses of these events can offer, the insights about the society within which they are produced; and most importantly it will question the importance of manners in constructing identities, and expressing ideologies.

2. MAY DAY CELEBRATIONS IN ISTANBUL: SOUNDS AS TRANSMITTERS OF POLITICAL TRADITION

In 2009, after a tiring day shooting and recording the May Day celebrations in Kadıköy Square, I was returning home, by train. I was so tired after hours of long walk that I was startled when I saw the young man who came and sit just in front of me. He was looking like a university student, but he was exhausted, his dresses were full of dirt and he was scattered. After a while his cell phone rang and he started to talk to someone. Step by step my attention was driven to his speech: he was telling how the fight happened in Osmanbey, how the police attacked the groups attempting to celebrate May Day in Taksim Square, and how people finally entered Taksim. Here we were: two people from the two sides of the May Day celebrations. I knew that each year leftist groups claim their right to celebrate May Day in Taksim, and fight for it. But I preferred the “official”, “permitted” one to make sound and visual recordings.

In Istanbul, for this kind of massive political actions, the organizers have to get permission from the local government; and a specific place is organized according to the celebration- traffic interrupted, police barricades prepared, a stage is constructed, and sound systems are installed. The government decides whether the demanded place is suitable or not according to its own criteria. From 1979 to 2010, Taksim Square was closed to May Day celebrations, and from 2007, Taksim and its circumference has been the setting of clashes. However, groups more reconciled with the system, were celebrating the event in places the local government decides as appropriate. What is the reason behind this struggle? What happened in Taksim, and why this place became a mythical reference point for the leftist movements¹⁰ in Turkey? For the answers we have to take a brief look at the recent history.

¹⁰The “left” is tremendously fragmented in Turkey, and the possibilities of collaborations have been very few until the 2000’s. The scope of the “left” today ranges from the so-called social democrats of CHP to former Maoists, Stalinists to finally Muslim anti-capitalists and anarchists. Not to mention that there are severe differences in terms of attitudes towards nationalism, sexism and democracy. Considering all this, I prefer to use “the movements” in plural.

May Day is celebrated in Turkey as the worker's day since The Ottoman times; but the first massive celebration took place in 1976, in Taksim. The 1970s in Turkey is a chaotic period- an inter-coup period¹¹- where the leftist movement grew rapidly, alongside its opposite: the reaction from the right wing movements and from the state. These years are narrated by the young generation of the time as where the sounds of gunshots were part of the ordinary life of a university student, where daily assassinations became the norm. Thus, in these conditions happened the massacre of 1977 May Day.

The celebrations of May Day 1977 were organized by DISK, the then "Revolutionary Workers Unions' Confederation" (which still exists today), and the participation to the celebrations was in a highest point: 500000 people gathered in the square. People were gathering in Taksim Square coming from different directions, walking in corteges from the early hours of the morning, chanting slogans. After all, about 19:30 p.m., the head of the unions' confederation was speaking on a stage-like platform. On a moment where the square was full, and while people were still coming from the sideways to the square, suddenly gunshots were heard. People got into panic, and the masses in the square were further terrorized by the ceaseless gunshots whose sources were undeterminable. That day 34 people were killed in the crush, by gunshots and by the panzers (Gürel, 2006; Yetkin, 2007).

That day is recorded in history as "the bloody May Day". This was the second and the last permitted May Day celebration in Taksim until 2010. After the massacre, the everyday violence grew up day by day, and came the coup d'état in September 12th, 1980. The country got through incredible oppressions on civil rights; people from both left and right were arrested, leftist and Kurdish activists were lost in prison, dead, or condemned to life long punishments after severe tortures. With the coup d'état, all the societal effervescence faded out, and it took 32 years for the actors of the coup to be put on trial¹². The cost was the loss of a revolutionary generation, the growth of a depoliticized new generation, of which I am a member. People in my

¹¹This is the period between the military coups in 1971 and 1980. In 1971, three young leaders of the rising left were hanged. In the years that followed, the mobilization grew rapidly, along with social conflict in daily life. All the mobilization was cut off with the coup in 1982.

¹²After the coup, a law, which prohibited the lawsuits to the actors of the coup, was put in the constitution. With a referendum in 2010 that law was abolished, and the way to lawsuits for the junta leaders opened. The result was putting them on trial in 2012.

generation grew up with stories about the times before the coup and about the dangers of having political interests. Meanwhile, Turkey opened up to free market economy, and a new cultural climate based on consumption took over step by step.

In the years following the coup, due to the prohibitions, the May Day celebrations were performed on closed halls, until 1987. In 1987, some union leaders, deputies, intellectuals and artists decided to put a wreath on the Taksim monument of Republic, in the memory of the martyrs of 1977, accompanied with a group of approximately 1000 people. But only the deputies were permitted to reach the square (Url-6). In 1988, thousands of people pushed to enter Taksim square again and hundreds were arrested. In 1990, the number of the people arrested is said to be nearly 5000. The first “permitted” May Day after the coup is celebrated in 1992, in Gaziosmanpaşa square. In 1993, the unions’ confederations decided to celebrate May Day separately: Türk-İş (known as the yellow union) was in Çağlayan Square, and DİSK in Pendik. The celebrations were in Çağlayan, again, in 1993; and in Kadıköy in 1995 and 1994. In 1995 there were 150 000 people in the field, and the dock square of Kadıköy has been the set up for an upheaval after the killing of three protestors. The following years, Kadıköy Square was closed to May Day parade; and until 2004, the celebrations were done in Şişli Abide-i Hürriyet Meydanı. In 2005 and 2006, Kadıköy has been reopened to mass celebrations and in 2007, in the 30th anniversary of the 1977 massacre, several institutions decided to reenter Taksim. The enterprise was successful at the end and people celebrated their victory by singing the May Day march in the square (Url-7).

During all those years, the purpose of the people organizing and participating to the May Day celebrations was to bring the celebration back to Taksim Square. The historical tragedy associated with the specific place turned that place into a mythical grail to be obtained, in order to prove to the oppressive sovereigns that still people has the power to resist, and get what they want. The history of May Days are now reproduced and narrated with the 1977 as the reference point for our memory, the history is written through a past tragedy-which in fact can happen again, any time. As Hobsbawm argued, “even revolutionary movements backed their innovations by reference to a “people’s past”; to traditions of revolution and to its own heroes and martyrs”; and the tragedy being the constitutive element of the narratives on the past,

is adopted as the “legitimator of action and cement of group cohesion” (Hobsbawm, 1992, p. 12, 13).

From the year 2007 to 2009 happened severe clashes to enter the square. In 2009, groups of protesters got to the square for the commemoration of the martyrs of 1977. That was a second turning point in May Day celebrations, and the next year, in 2010, the local government gave permission for Taksim to be the field of celebrations. In that train, returning home, I was learning from that young men telling his experience in that struggle, that groups entered Taksim, and something important has happened.

In this chapter I will first trace a picture of May Day 1977, departing from the documentary videos, broadcast in the Internet, and then I will construct a narrative about the recent years, using both my own observations and experiences and again videos shut in the clashes, broadcast in the Internet. I will try to examine how May Day celebrations changed historically and conjuncturally in terms of sounds produced. I will try to answer the questions as how the sounds serve to create the sense of solidarity, effervescence in the field; do the sounds of the political action change in the course of 35 years, and in which direction. I will take a picture of how the slogans change, the place of songs, *davul-zurna*¹³ and dances in these events.

2.1 May Day 1977

The 1977 May Day is an iconic date and a turning point in the history of Turkey. This is the day where the workers movement showed its strength and where it was suppressed by a massacre. According to the narratives (Gürel, 2006; Yetkin, 2007), days before the May Day, newspapers announced that there were an expectation of fight between Sovietist and Maoist groups in the field. That is why, the organizing committee decided not to allow Maoist groups to enter in the square. These were times where intra-left struggle was rising, besides the struggle between left and right groups. The videos I have found show sequences from the corteges, the entrance to the field; and give ideas on the slogans, the placards, the dances and the music, and

¹³*Davul* is a two-headed big frame drum, played with a mallet and a stick, hanging from the shoulder. *Zurna* is a double reed shawm. These two instruments are traditionally played together throughout Anatolia, though the variations in style might be significant. During the political gatherings (mainly in left and Kurdish politics) - meetings, feasts, strikes- the *davul-zurna* duos are always present to make people dance.

especially the spirit of the time. The slogans reflect the concerns of that era, and the symbols are convenient with the overall perception of the world. The emphasis on internationalism, the focus on actual politics of the time and the symbols are crucial keys in understanding the cultural and ideological climate of the time.

The slogans of the day emphasize the “proletariat internationalism”, the “independent Turkey”, an “advanced democratic rule”, the victory over the state security courts¹⁴. The symbols of the movement are in the same line with developmentalist-modernist paradigm of the constructive ideology of the Republic, and the icons and figures of reference are different from those of today. The developmentalism reveals itself in the presence of caterpillars in the field, as symbols of the power of the working class, ornated with placards written “societal progress”, “independence” and “piece”. On the other hand, the emphasis on the discipline of the corteges, and the spectacular entrance of each group to the field are yet other symbolic modernist reenactments of the same ideology. The parade structure, the disciplined cortege, the costumed members of the corteges representing different work forces (peasant¹⁵, worker with barrette, hammer) are manners borrowed from the nation state’s official ceremonies. Besides the blend of nation-state ideology and the belief in internationalism, a deep poetic stance is striking: poems are recited in call and response form between the crowd and the speakers; the speaker welcomes the groups with poems.

One of these poems is “DİSK’in Sesi” (The voice of DİSK) written by Fazıl Hüsni Dağlarca¹⁶ for DİSK, and the other is a poem by Nazım Hikmet Ran, a legendary figure- a poet- for the left in Turkey. The poem “DİSK’in Sesi” is narrated in a call-and-response form between the speaker in the stage and the mass in the field (Track 4); and the rhythmic line provided by the inherent rhythm of the verses strengthens the affect it creates. The table that follows is an excerpt from the poem (Table 2.1).

¹⁴These were a kind of special courts, dealing with mostly crimes of thought and activism. They were first established in 1973 and reorganized after the military coup in 1980; and abolished in 2004.

¹⁵A saying attributed to Ataturk is “the peasants are the masters of the people”. This saying reveals the emphasis put on the peasantry as the main productive force in the early years of the Republic. The peasant-as-worker in the May Day celebrations is a reproduction of the same discourse.

¹⁶Fazıl Hüsni Dağlarca (b. 1914, d. 2008) is a socialist poet, who continued writing for 76 years.

Table 2.1: Excerpt from the poem “DISK’in Sesi”(The voice of DISK).

He hey de hey grev mi yaptık	He hey de hey, we make a strike
He hey de hey hey dönmez kimse	He hey de hey hey, no one will give up
He hey de hey yazım benimdir	He hey de hey, my destiny is mine
He hey de hey hey yazmaz kimse	He hey de hey hey, no one will control it
He hey de hey güneş yolumdur	He hey de hey, the sun is my way
He hey de hey hey durmaz kimse	He hey de hey hey, no one will stop
He hey de hey vurdun yok ettin	He hey de hey, you destructed
He hey de hey hey bitmez kimse	He hey de hey hey, no one will perish

The sequence constructed departing from a simple word, “*hey*”, which is originally an exclamation for calling somebody, is the most striking and rhythmic part of the poem. The use of that specific word in a sequence created a sense of challenge for those the poem address. The poet cuts the word “*hey*” and create the semi-word “*he*” and pastes it to a full “*hey*”, which create a small rhythmic unit with the accent in the full word; and glued this first part to the second formed by two full “*hey*” words, by a “*de*” (a conjunction word). All together, this forms a confrontation phrase completed with the meaningful rest of each verse (anadolusanat, 2007a). This recitation is an example of the use of rhythmic patterns in political ritual. As it is the case with poems, all the slogans follow some rhythmic rules –which I will examine in details, later in this chapter. The rhythmic pattern created by this poem is as in Figure 2.1.

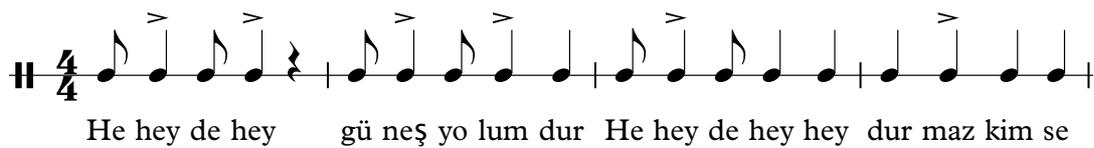


Figure 2.1:“Disk’in Sesi”, transcription of rhythmic recitation.

The second poem is from Nazım Hikmet¹⁷, “Nikbinlik” (Optimism) written in 1930, and recited by the speaker while a cortege of women with their children enters the field (Url-8):

¹⁷Nazım Hikmet Ran (also known as Nazım Hikmet), is a socialist poet, well-know with his romantic stance even in his revolutionary poetry. He spent his life in the prisons and exile, and turned to be a legendary icon for the leftists in Turkey.

Our women come to the square with children, with our children. And we tell them [He starts to recite the poem]:
We will see beautiful days, children; we will see sunny days,
We will sail our boats into blue seas children, into bright blue seas
We will go as fast as possible
Oh, children
How magnificent would be, in a speed of 160 km/hour ... [in the original poem, the sentence ends with “kissing” but the speaker does not finish it]
We have flower gardens on fridays, and sundays
Only on fridays
Only on sundays...
And we watch the stores in the lighted streets
As if we listen to fairy tales
And these stores of seventy seven stories high
We will see beautiful days, children; we will sail our boats in to blue seas”

This excerpt reveals important cultural features of the time: the way the speaker addresses the women as mothers- as “our women” implies - show that women are still the “others” , the guests of the political action. On the other hand, the speaker prefers to censor some words in the poem, while reciting it: “kissing” is thrown out from the verse, which is in a logical continuum with the manner he calls the women. The gender conservatism was still stronger than it is today, and women were “mothers” first, and kissing was not suitable both to be talked in public and to be spoken of in such a “serious” leftist gathering. On the other hand, the poetic spirit of the time- congruent with the poem’s title- reveals the rising hopes about the societal change with the raising workers movement, it originates from the belief in the strength of the people’s will over the system. But that spirit would be broken down with the massacre and following events leading to the coup d’état, which erased and exterminated most of the societal sensibilities about collectivity and hopes on change. The significance of Nazım Hikmet, on the other hand, is that his life spent in exiles and prisons because of his thoughts being an inspiration for a relatively young and passionate movement. This poem is so powerful that it has been composed as a song, and Edip Akbayram¹⁸ recorded it in his 1996 album (Akbayram, 1996). What is ironic, is the fact that this song is widely popularized, to the extent that it was performed before the general elections in the mass meeting of the CHP in 2011, a political party claiming to be social democrat, which is actually skidding between authoritarianism, elitism, and pseudo-libertarianism.

¹⁸Edip Akbayram (b. 1950) is a protest music singer and song-writer. Some of his well –known songs are “Aldırma Gönül”, “Eşkiya Dünyaya Hükümdar Olmaz” and “Hasretinle Yandı Gönüm”

A third poetic recitation will take us on the realm of the sound and music, and the awareness of their power:

More than half a century, without pulling down the flag of May Day, elevating it ever higher,
we celebrate May Day. We shout our old war songs again, with great excitement: May Day,
May Day, our first will Our iron wrist will make you live Let the dark days of the winter burn
out Let the spring with its red flowers wake up Unite, come, rise up Worker without union is
not a worker, Go to May Day! (URL-9)

This sample reveals some important concepts in the history of May Days in Turkey and the ideological construction of workers movement. First, there is a reference to the history, emphasizing that May Days are celebrated over 50 years. Here, the historical reference is the 1920's, where the mobilization began. As we will also see in the Newroz case, all movements need historical references to stand over, to construct their identities. These references may be legends, stories or real events; iconized people (the poets, the leading figures of Marxist thinking); or the length of history itself as a proof for the strength and maturity of the movement. In 1977, the reference point was the relatively long history of struggle-which would change after 1977. Second, there are symbolic references to workers and May Days: "strong as iron"- the iron wrist- symbolizes the strength of the male worker (as it was illustrated in the giant banner on the AKM- a workers chained up from his wrists, breaking the chains (Figure 2.2), a sovietist tendency towards exaggerated emphasis on the bodily power of the workers; the call for spring is the call for the workers' day, where all the workers will gather.



Figure 2.2 :The worker breaking the chains (Url-10).

Finally, in the announcement before this poem-like section, the speaker says, "we shout our old war songs", which is a call for struggle with the system, emphasizing the mobilizing power and the strength of the sound (shouting) and music in political actions. Following are two similar samples from 1977:

The workers from the Izmir region enter the field with their flags, *davuls* and *zurnas*, and with the picture of the immortal person, of our general secretary İbrahim Güzelce¹⁹. And they shout along with the roaring of the drums: this is the May Day square, let's change its name!

Our country is resounding from top to bottom with the shouts of “no way to fascism”. The flag of the anti-fascist struggle is raised all over the country. New flags are waved in the struggle of freedom against the fascism. It is not the day yet, do not roll up the flags. Listen! What you hear is the howling of the jackals. Tighten the ranks, children. This is the battle against fascism, the battle for freedom. Go on, go on to the struggle for freedom! Go on to May Day! (Url-11)

The first excerpt is a welcome to a group entering the field. In the videos from 1977 May Day, we can see that many groups have their embedded musicians-*davul-zurna*. Here, the group enters the field with the performance of *davul* and *zurna*, at the same time shouting their slogans. *Davul* and *zurna* symbolize “the traditional” along with the folk dances, besides their powerful sound effect. People like to dance to their sounds that evoke the “people” and the “origins”, though the loudness is conducive for the effervescence. In the second excerpt, on the other hand, the speaker uses the acoustic characteristics of the space the event takes place: a place surrounded with buildings, full of people. The sound system is not as developed as today's systems, but the loudspeakers amplify his voice. When he proclaims “listen!” his voice explodes and echoes over the crowd and using the effect this sound creates, he recalls another sound: the howling of the jackals. Howling is generally associated with the wolves, and the Turkish nationalist movement embraces the wolf and the howling as their symbol; again departing from a myth²⁰. On the other hand the adjective “jackal” is used for dishonest people in Turkish. The speaker uses the power of the echo to attract attention to this metaphoric accusation. Besides, after the proclamation, the tension of the speech accelerates, as do the volume levels, and he finishes by calling people for struggle for freedom.

In the videos I could find, there is little evidence on the use of music in the field and in the cortege. We can barely hear the sound of the May Day march, and the music pasted in the editing of the videos is sometimes mixed to the real sounds. Nevertheless, the narratives about the history of May Day march in Turkey, reveal that the march was sang by the “Dostlar Korosu” of that time, in the field (Tatlıpınar,

¹⁹ One of the founders of DİSK, a member of Turkey's Communist Party. He passed away one year after he was elected as the General Secretary of DİSK.

²⁰ Ergenekon legend: a small group of Turks, after a defeat of war, find shelter in a place surrounded by high mountains. Years after, they multiply in number and have to exit. They light a big fire to melt down the mountains, in order to open a door to the outside world. When they exit, a wolf becomes their guide and protector. Departing from this story, Turkish nationalists claim the wolf as the symbol of Turkishness.

2010; Meriç, 2010). The marches of the Turkish left are generally those of the international left, with Turkish words. This May Day march, on the other hand, is written and composed by a Turkish musician, Sarper Özsan, in 1974.

In 1973, a theater group named “Ankara Art Theatre” decided to put on stage “The Mother Courage”, a play by Bertolt Brecht, adopted from the novel “The Mother” of Maxim Gorky. They asked Sarper Özsan to compose the music for the play. As it is the case with Brecht’s other plays, this was a play with several pieces of music, and in the text, were lyrics for the pieces written by Brecht himself. Hence in this play there was a scene where the police killed hundreds of workers gathered in a square: this was “the Bloody Sunday” of Russia, in May Day 1905. Brecht had a note in the text, telling “workers enter the stage singing an anthem”, but did not include the lyrics. Sarper Özsan narrates the process of composing the anthem as follows:

For a while I searched for a convenient music for this scene, but at the end I did it myself. The lyrics include a revolutionary decisiveness and the belief on the future. On the other hand, the music is a mixture of the Kurdi scale with the G minor. The tune at the same time has a structure that reflects the revolutionary spirit and enthusiasm, which reaches its highest point in the refrain. Finally, for the lyrics to be well understood and can be sang easily by the people, the prosody and rhythm issues were considered carefully. (Dursun, 2011)

In 1977, Timur Selçuk²¹ recorded the march, and then in 1978 did Cem Karaca²². They were followed by Edip Akbayram, Selda Bağcan²³, and Grup Yorum²⁴. Today, the most popular versions are Cem Karaca’s (Track 5) and Grup Yorum’s versions (Track 6). The march became so symbolic that during the 2000s, where the struggle for celebrating May Day in Taksim was a core concern for the Turkish left, singing the march in the Taksim Square was considered a symbolic victory against the oppressive forces. The importance of the march, besides all its musical and contextual significance, illustrates the symbolic power of the sound (and music) in

²¹ Timur Selçuk (b.1946) is a well-known composer and the son of Munir Nurettin Selçuk, a well-known singer and composer of Turkish Classical Music. Timur Selçuk has composed several poems from different poets during the 1970’s, he lived in Paris for a while and when he returned to Turkey he started to compose songs with socialist tendencies. Some of his well-known songs are “İspanyol Meyhanesi”, “Ayrılanlar için”, “Pireli şarkı” and “Ekonomi tıklarında”.

²² Cem Karaca (b.1945- d. 2004) is a cult singer, one of the founders of Anatolian-Rock genre. His repertoire was ranging from the ballads to militant political songs; he was inspired by the folk song-folk poetry tradition of Anatolia. After the coup in 1982, he lived in exile, and after he returned home, his political standing was debated for a long time, and was accused for having left his leftist identity. Some of his well-known songs are “Tamirci Çırağı”, “Resimdeki Gözyaşları”, “Mutlaka Yavrum”, “Parka”, “Islak Islak” among many.

²³ Selda Bağcan (b. 1948) is a singer with an outstanding voice, mostly known as the singer and composer of protest songs. Some of her well-known songs are “Adaletin Bu mu Dünya”, “Gesi Bağları”, and “Uğurlar Olsun”, “Vurulduk Ey Halkım Unutma Bizi”.

²⁴ I will give information on Grup Yorum later in this chapter.

the field: shouting and singing in the political action means rebellion against oppression, and it is perceived as such from both sides of the political forces (state and the activists). Consequently, the breakpoint in the May Day 1977, which turned it to be a massacre, was also based on sound: it happened during the silence for the memory of progressive and patriotic socialists:“Today is May Day. I celebrate our feast for all. Now I invite you to one minute of silence for the unforgettable memory of all progressives, patriots and socialists....”

With the call for silence, the right fists rose in the air (Figure 2.3) and in the middle of silence a gun shot is heard. In a chain reaction, followed people’s crying, announcements to be calm, the sibilance of the bullets, sirens from the police panzers and sound bombs (Gürel, 2006, pp. 149-170). After 15 minutes of panic, the field was empty and was looking like a war zone; 34 people were killed, 126 were injured severely. An event, which started with enthusiasm, developed with dances and music and by the recitation of poems, was interrupted in the moment of silence by gun shots; and the flow of the history has changed (Figure 2.4).



Figure 2.3 :May Day 1977 field (Url-12).

The years that followed, May Day became a day of clashes, of conflicts among unions, between unions and the state, especially about the place of the gathering. In 2009 I participated to the May Day celebrations in Kadıköy, which was permitted by the local government, to make recordings and observations.



Figure 2.4 :People in Taksim Square after the attacks, May Day 1977 (Url-13).

2.2 May Day 2009: Kadıköy and Taksim

On May 1st, 2009, I met with my friend early in the morning and went to Kadıköy together. The gathering would take place nearby the docks. But the cortege would walk down from the hill, so we started to walk towards the starting point. Roads were closed to traffic and people were walking. An unusual peaceful atmosphere was dominating the milieu, which is one of the most crowded crossroads and center of the city: the sound of the cars was lacking. Meanwhile, the sound of the boats on the sea, the seagulls and the train (this is a place where the main train station is also located) were moved to the foreground as the keynote sounds.

Walking towards the starting point, we encountered a group walking the opposite way, carrying Turkish flags, and chanting the slogan “Ne ABD ne AB tam bağımsız Türkiye” (neither US nor EU, fully independent Turkey). A man on the edge of the road was selling Turkish flags- we would soon see that the majority of the participants were carrying the Turkish flag. We heard the sound of *davul* and *zurna*-s from far away, and gradually we immersed into the sound, merging with the cries of the *simitçi*-s²⁵, flag sellers, sirens, police transmitter signals. We found ourselves

²⁵Vendors of ring-shaped bagels (*simit*)

enveloped with a soundscape dominated by the *davul* and *zurna*-s, and ambulance sirens fading in and out.

We walked down with the cortege, recording and watching the dances. The music produced by the *davul* and *zurnas* were the keynote sounds of the entire event. The musicians were not embedded to groups; instead, they were playing in a group for a while and get paid, then were continuing their way towards other groups. The repertoire was varied: “Caney caney”, “Atabarı”, “Delilo”, “Lorke”, “Oy nenni koçari”²⁶... The dances were simple 4 step *halay*-s²⁷, no matter the tune (Track 7). The *zilgit*-s²⁸ were merging with the sounds of the whistles, slogans, sirens and helicopters; still multiple *davul* sounds were articulating to one another all along the parade.

On the square, before we entered through police control into the field that was framed with the barricades, we heard the first song broadcast from the loudspeakers: the May Day march- Grup Yorum’s version (1997). A man on top of a minibus was welcoming the incoming groups, speaking through a microphone, over the march. In the field, a stage was constructed, with a Turkish flag and an Atatürk poster on the background. While the broadcast song changed to another well-known song, “Merhaba” by Zülfü Livaneli (1977), a group carrying a giant Turkish flag entered the field, and passed close to us (Figure 2.5). All these going on, the sound of *davul* and *zurna* never stopped. People were dancing in small groups, ceaselessly. In the midst of the *davul -zurna* music, a speaker from the stage invited the crowd to one minute of silence for the memory of “our martyrs”. Suddenly the *davul* and *zurna*-s stopped, the silence spread over the field, which was then followed by the National Anthem, performed by all in the field. The symbolic sequence of the sounds was completed by the reentering of *davul-zurna* sound just after the anthem ended and people suddenly started to dance again.

²⁶ “Caney Caney”, “Delilo” and “Lorke” are Kurdish tunes for dance, “Atabarı” is a dance tune from the North-eastern Anatolia, and “Oy Nenni Koçari” is another dance tune from the Northern Anatolia.

²⁷ A circle dance, where the dancers move together, generally clockwise, with the same steps and bodily movements. It is considered as one of the signs for solidarity.

²⁸ A kind of ululation, performed in the moments of emotional climax as excitement or sorrow. The quick movements of the tongue and the throat produce it, and the result is a sharp linear sound. The *zilgit* is only performed by women.



Figure 2.5 :The Turkish Flag in May Day 2009, Kadıköy.

The sound sequence above is in fact, very significant and meaningful. The silence for “our martyrs” (the identity of the martyrs depends on the context and the identity of the actors of the commemoration) and the performance of the National Anthem in official/state events and ceremonies is a well-established common practice. What happened in the field of May Day was an extension of the same practice; nevertheless, creating a contradiction. On the one hand while chanting pro-libertarian and “socialist” slogans, on the other hand the symbols of the authoritarian-statist paradigm were being reproduced. The overemphasized use of the Turkish flag- a common symbolic practice of Turkish nationalist groups- was yet another aspect of this reproduction. In a different perspective, the ceaseless dances accompanied by the sound of *davul* and *zurna*, might be interpreted as the sign of a basic conservation of the “tradition” by the crowd in the field; though this “tradition” is inidentifiable, and inevitably “imaginary”. It is imaginary due to the fact that it is imagined, unrooted, and reproduced by the nationalist ideology, ignoring the “local” but always stressing the “general”, and meanwhile loosing the characteristics which stems from the traditions. In a context where localities lose their significance and where an overwhelming national perception becomes dominant, the meanings of the tradition itself become ambiguous. For instance, each tune performed by the *davul* and *zurna* has its own characteristic dance –according to each’s geographic and cultural origin- with different steps and bodily movements, while the common pattern is the formation of a circled line. Though in the field, the dance was a stereotyped, simplified four step dance; no matter the tune. The consecutive cultural products in

this process –as it is the case with the dances in the field- are new cultural constructions in the guise of tradition, differing in content and direction. Also, the ideological input (nationalism) and its cultural outcomes are consistent in that both neglect the cultural/ethnic differences, and in a way fueling the social conflicts. Certainly, this does not unnilate the cultural value of these dances as specific collective cultural practices; but what they represent is the difference-blinded nationalist/nation state ideology.

While these contradictory practices were taking place in Kadıköy, the clashes were dominating the centers in the European side of İstanbul. All the roads leading to Taksim square were occupied by the activists who were trying to reach the square, and by the police who was determined not to let them in.

This struggle for taking over Taksim had its starting point in 2007. 2007 was the 30th anniversary of the May Day 1977, and DİSK decided to celebrate May Day in Taksim. The government did not give the permission and thousands of people fought the whole day to enter the square. 2008 was similar to 2007, but in 2009 a group of 5000 (approximately) people entered the square. In 2009, the government declared that they would give permission for a small group to enter the square for commemorating the martyrs of 1977. So, a cortege was prepared on the main road (Şişli-Taksim). The fight happened on the side-ways, where people wanted to join the main group. Even if the permission was given for the “small” group, the measurements were striking (Figure 2.6).

In a video, we see a military troupe walking in the square; the silence in the absence of the car traffic and people is broken by the sound of the military vehicle engines and the sound of the military walk (Url-14). On the other hand the corteges were very vivid. In the main cortege was embedded a minibus equipped with a sound system. The broadcast of the May Day march echoing in the streets during the walk to the square and the speeches from the loudspeakers were important elements creating the soundscape, along with the chanting of the slogans. On the other hand, in the side roads, nearby the main group, the fight was going on. The screams were merging to the slogans and to the sound of gas bombs. People reacted to the police by the sound of whistles and hooting (Url-15) (Track8).



Figure 2.6: 2009 May Day Clashes in Taksim Square (Url-16).

On the opposite way towards the square (Tarlabaşı)- a neighborhood where mostly migrated Kurds and Gypsies live - the sounds of gaz bombs and slogans were merging to the sounds of exploding molotov cocktails, and thrown out stones (Url-17). In a video, shot from a side way to İstiklal Caddesi (Url-18), is seen a leftist group walking in quick time and chanting marches. The street is empty; step-by-step, the sound of a march fades in. Afterwards, we can see the group marching with red flags and singing the march: “Mehmet/Haklıyız Kazanacağız” by Grup Yorum (1989, 1997) (Track 9). This song is written in the memory of a young man killed in May Day 1989. It was first published as “Mehmet” in their 1989 album *Cemo*; and republished as “Haklıyız Kazanacağız” in 1997, in their album *Marşlarımız* (Track 10). In the first version, the song starts with a sound excerpt from a May Day protest; screams, gun shots and slogans are followed by the first verses of the song. It proceeds slowly, like a lament and in the final section the march-like tempo takes over. But in the second version, the song is rearranged as a march. The lyrics reveal again the important political symbols in Turkey (Table 2.2).

Table 2.2: “Haklıyız Kazanacağız” flow chart.

	Music	Lyrics Turkish	Lyrics English	Symbol
Introduction	In the first section the harmonic material, and in the second, the main melody played with a flute are introduced.	No text	No text	The flute sound evoking the bounds with the “Nueva Cancion”, with its resemblance to the sound of Andean flutes
First Quatrain	Single voice accompanied by a latent choir, giving the sense of depth and reverb to the total perception of the vocal sound. The steady pulse of the drums gives the sense of marching. The drum fills in following the word “büyüyor” to emphasize the tension brought by the repetition of the last two verses	Kuşandık genç öfkeni	We have worn your young anger	The youth and anger are associated as revolutionary characteristics. The deceased young man has become a role model, and his legacy –the fight– is adopted by the generations to come.
		Taşların kucaklarımızda	We embrace your stones	
		Bizlere öğrettiğin kavga kavgamız	The fight you taught us is ours	
		Büyüyor omuzlarımızda	And is growing on our shoulders	
		Büyüyor	It grows	
		Bizlere öğrettiğin kavga kavgamız	The fight you taught us is ours	
		Büyüyor omuzlarımızda	And is growing on our shoulders	
Second Quatrain	The same instrumental structure. A second layer to the vocals is added, a third higher than the main voice	Alnındaki kurşun yarası	The bullet scar on your forehead	The addition of the second voice enhances the dramatic progression of the song: the young man is dead with a bullet scar in his head.
		Sönmeyen bir ateş şimdi	It is an unquenchable fire now	
		Büyüyor inatçı kavgamızda büyüyor	It grows in our stubborn fight	
		Sarıyor halkın yüreğini	And it embraces the heart of the people	
		Sarıyor	It embraces	
		Büyüyor inatçı kavgamızda büyüyor	It grows in our stubborn fight	
		Sarıyor halkın yüreğini	And it embraces the heart of the people	

Table 2.2 (continued):“Haklıyız Kazanacağız” flow chart.

	Music	Lyrics Turkish	Lyrics English	Symbol
Third Quatrain	The same structure	Zapt ettiğimiz alanlara	We will bring your voice	The voice as the symbol of “existence” evoked by the first verse. The themes like the “conquest”, “writing the history” and “dying for the struggle” are the common themes in revolutionary discourses in Turkey.
		Sesini taşıyacağız	To the fields we will conquer	
		Kanımızla yazıyoruz tarihi	We write the history with our blood	
		Haklıyız kazanacağız	We are right and we will win	
		Haklıyız	We are right	
		Kanımızla yazıyoruz tarihi	We write the history with our blood	
		Haklıyız kazanacağız	We are right and we will win	

Death (to loose one’s life for the sake of struggle, freedom or the country), blood (as a sign of suffering and loosing life), running to the sun (the sun symbolizing the ideals, running to the sun implies believing in utopias), fight, the heart of the people (the belief in the good heartedness of the people), the fire (as the symbol of excitement and fight), the voice (as a symbol of rejection or of the claim for existence) are common symbolic expressions often found in narratives-songs or slogans in Turkish left. These themes have their roots in the tradition of folk rebels and in the poetry; for the folk rebels are figures of honorable resistance against the cruel rulers. Additionally, the power of the voice-the sound of the masses is recognized as a crucial weapon against the oppressors. In the video where the small marching group sings the song, the stress on bringing the sound-voice of Mehmet to the field they conquer is realized by the practice of singing itself, which fills the street along with the sound of the quick steps.

Back in the field, while the fight was enduring in the side ways, the main cortege entered the square, with the unexpected opening of the police barricade. This was the first time since 1978 that a crowd in such dimension was entering Taksim to celebrate May Day. The crowd was about 3000 people, and they repeated the tradition: the commemorative silence for the martyrs of May Day 1977, right fist raised in the air (as it was in 1977), and the singing of the May Day march. Then

people started to dance and sing around the Cumhuriyet monument in the center of the Square. The silence and the singing of the march were symbolic in that they meant the square was conquered, and that the fight since 2007 was over. Consequently, the following year, the Taksim square was legally open to May Day celebrations, and the May Day march would be sung again, with different implications.

2.3 May Day 2010, 2011, 2012 in Taksim

The May Day 2010 was a historical turning point, creating great enthusiasm. Consequently, the number of the participants to the celebrations was bigger than expected. On the other hand, the integration of all the groups for the one and only event created its own problems. The main problem was the tension between the nationalists and more libertarian groups. It revealed itself on the selection and performances of songs on the stage, on the absence of commemorative silence and the performance of National Anthem, and on the fight against the speech of the head of yellow union, during the event²⁹. The speeches were done by the heads of two other unions DİSK and KESK. The head of the KESK, Sami Evren in his speech saluted the deceased revolutionaries of the recent past, and recalled the speech done by Kemal Türkler in 1977:

Workers, laborers, indigents, those who struggle for justice, freedom and peace... Those who meet in this field after years, with patience and determination...I salute all of you in the name of KESK... It is our duty to remember those who are not here today, but who have granted their lives to the humanity. I salute with respect, the one who shielded with his body to the struggle of poor peasants, the one who gave his life but haven't gave his secrets: Ibrahim Kaypakkaya! I commeorate with respect those who went to the gallows three in their struggle against the American imperialism with a smile in their faces: Deniz, Yusuf and Hüseyin! Those who dedicated themselves to the liberation of peoples in Turkey: Hüseyin Cevahir, Ulaş, Mahir Çayan-the brave revolutioner of Turkey...Thousands of salutes to Mazlum Doğan from the Taksim square, who dedicated his life to the liberation struggle of Kurdish People! Workers, my sisters and brothers, salute to Kemal Türkler, the leader of the workers, who challenged the capitalism in this square in 1977. Salute to Fikri Sönmez, the brave mayor of the Black Sea region, who constructed the reign of people in Fatsa. Salute to whom we will never forget, who calls for rebellion in our minds, Ahmet Kaya, and Yılmaz Güney!... Against the fascism , you will live in our hearts Hrant! ... Dear friends, we are so numerous that we can not be counted nor destroyed. Salute to thousands of revolutioners who believed in the class struggle, in the fraternity of peoples, and in the possibility of another world, another Turkey; and who lost their lives for the sake of this belief... (excerpt from Sami Evren's May Day 2010 speech)(Url-19).

²⁹ The leader of Turk-İş wanted to speak from the stage and the members of other unions did not let him speak, for they accused him to collaborate with the capitalists and authorities, against the benefit of the workers.

Likewise the speech that embraced all the recent historical figures of different liberation movements, the organizing committee decided to emphasize the existence and togetherness of multiple ethnic groups in Turkey through the music from the stage. At the same time, there should be a reference to 1970's, to insist that the movement still has its roots from those years. For that purpose, Timur Selçuk was chosen to perform the May Day march on piano, on stage; accompanied by a multilingual choir. According to the news from yuksekovahaber.com (Url-20), and from the narratives of a friend from the organizing committee, Timur Selçuk was reluctant to accompany the march on other languages (Kurdish, Armenian and Laz) and insisted that the word “people” in the lyrics should stay in singular form instead of plural, contrary to the version of Grup Yorum. Ironically, the discussion over a single “s” letter reveals a luggage of historical contradictions taking place in the country. The “conventional” left of the 70's was later criticized by the succeeding different movements by being gender and ethnicity blinded; by being nationalist in the emphasis on the nation as a unit, discarding all the different cultural groups and the significance of their rights. The discussion on the “s” letter was an epitome of that history. At the final instance, the march was performed in four languages, but unfortunately, the weakly organized sound system did not permit the voice of the multilingual choir to be heard by the crowd in the square. Against all odds, this was a positive attempt challenging the nationalist biases of the Turkish left, and opening the way to a more democratic and polyculturalistic discourse, at least on the stage.

A second song performed by Timur Selçuk was a poem of Nazım Hikmet, composed by Timur Selçuk: Türkiye İşçi Sınıfına Selam (Table 2.3).

Table 2.3: Excerpt from the poem “Türkiye İşçi Sınıfına Selam”.

Excerpt from the Poem-Turkish	English Translation
Türkiye işçi sınıfına selâm! Meydanlarda hasretimizi haykıranlara, Toprağa, kitaba, işe hasretimizi, Hasretimizi, ayyıldızı esir bayrağımıza. Düşmanı yenecek işçi sınıfımıza selâm!	Salut to the worker class of Turkey To those who shout our longings in the fields Our longing for land, for book, for work Our longing for our flag, whose star and moon are captives Salut to our worker class who will beat the enemy

Besides the live performances of Timur Selçuk, the choir and Grup Yorum, there were broadcast songs, very symbolic, to rise the affection in the square. One of these

was “Marcha de la unidad popular”³⁰ of the Chilean group Inti Illimani, broadcast all the way along to the square from multiple loudspeakers, and in the square, with people participating to the refrain: El pueblo Unido Jamas Sera Vencido (People united will never be defeated). This is one of the world-famous songs, against the coup d’état in Chile in 1973; and the message is overtly in the refrain, which became a slogan for the struggle of freedom. The song is considered a part of the Nueva Cancion current in the 1970’s that dominated Latin American protest music scene against the oppressive governments; emphasizing the power of the people. The tunes and the instrumentations are generally based on the traditional folk songs; whence came its strength and popularity. The Inti Illimani version of the song starts with the slogan, and interestingly, from the first words of the song, a majority in the square assisted to the slogan. The Nueva Cancion genre had its effects on Turkey’s protest musics after the 1970’s, mostly because of the similarities between the coup d’etats of Chile and Turkey in 1970’s, erasing all the oppositional forces, and causing unequivocal cruelties. That is why, this song is still very popular among the progressive groups in Turkey, and it has also a Turkish version. Additionally, the liberation movements of Latin America, have always been received with great enthusiasm, and taken as models of struggle in Turkey. By consequence, the music and especially popular marches have their own audience in Turkey, both in their original language and in Turkish versions.

The other song broadcast from the stage and which created a fluctuation on the crowd was “Bekle Bizi Istanbul”, sang by Edip Akbayram (1994) (Track 11). This is originally a poem of Vedat Türkali³¹, composed by Onur Akın, performed and made famous by Edip Akbayram (Table 2.4).

³⁰This is the song, which became the symbol of the resistance against the junta of 1973 in Chile. Originally sang by group Quilapayun, and made worldwide known by the group Inti Illimani after the coup.

³¹ Vedat Türkali (b. 1919) is a novelist, scenarist, film director and poet. He has been imprisoned in the 1950’s because of his political activism. He is the writer of iconic novels, namely “Bir Gün Tek Başına” and “Güven”.

Table 2.4: “Bekle Bizi İstanbul” flow chart.

	Music	Lyrics Turkish	Lyrics English	Symbol
Introduction	<i>Bağlama</i> ³² melody introducing the main melodic material: <i>bağlama</i> plays the melody of the verses. And a synthetic sound from the keyboards answers (like call-and-response) in the rest of each phrase. Steady and simple rhythm with drumset.	No text	No text	<i>Bağlama</i> is only played in this introducing section, in order to create the feeling of belonging and tradition
First quatrain	The voice replaces the <i>bağlama</i> , and the flute replaces the keyboard sound.	Salkım salkım tan yelleri estiğinde	When dawn breezes blow in clusters	A brief description of the city with its characteristics
		Mavi patiskaları yırtan gemilerinle	With your ships that tear out the blue cambrics	
		Uzaktan seni düşünür düşünürüm İstanbul	I think of you, from afar İstanbul	
Second Quatrain	The keyboard sound (like an oboe) answers the voice in the end of each phrase. At the end the violin sound added to the answer.	Binbir direkli Haliç’inde akşamlar	The evenings at your Golden Horn with its thousands columns	Description continued. At the end, the saying “the city of our struggle” clarifies the identity of the singer/writer
		Adalarında bahar Süleymaniye’nde güneş	The spring in your islands, the sun in your Süleymaniye	
		Ey sen ne güzelsin ey kavgamızın şehri	How you are beautiful, the city of our struggle	
		İstanbul	İstanbul	

³²*Bağlama* is a long necked lute, with a pear-shaped bowl resonator. The frets on the neck are movable. This is a widely used folk instrument in Turkey.

Table 2.4 (continued): “Bekle Bizi İstanbul” flow chart.

	Music	Lyrics Turkish	Lyrics English	Symbol
Third Quatrain	Back vocals added. The keyboard sound (violin) continues to answer. At the end a four beats rhythmic bridge.	Boşuna çekilmedi bunca acılar	This much suffering was not nothing for	The sufferings of fight and struggle, combined with the saying “wait for us” clarifies the situation of being in exile
		Büyük ve sakin Süleymaniye'ne bekle	Wait with your great and calm Süleymaniye	
		Parklarınla, köprülerinle, meydanlarınla	With your parks, bridges and squares	
		Bekle bizi İstanbul	Wait for us, İstanbul	
Fourth Quatrain	The main voice alone with the drum set. The flute answers the voice.	Tophane'nin karanlık sokaklarında	In the dark streets of Tophane	The eulogy continues and in the third verse, the hope for returning and victory in this struggle is declared. Singing is a sign of power-rebellion and celebration.
		Koyun koyuna yatan çocuklarıyla bekle	Wait with your sleeping in each others arms	
		Bekle zafer şarkılarıyla geçişimizi	Wait for our procession singing songs of victory	
		İstanbul	İstanbul	
Fifth Quatrain	Back vocals added. The flute plays the main melody along with the voices. The keyboard (violin) answers them.	Haramilerin saltanatını yıkacağız	We will demolish the reign of the thieves	The main theme overtly explained
		Bekle o günler gelsin gelsin İstanbul	Wait for those days to come, İstanbul	
		Sen bize layıksın bizde sana İstanbul, İstanbul	You are worthy of us and we are worthy of you, İstanbul, İstanbul	
Instrumental section	A lyrical flute melody enhancing the feeling of longing.			This section raises the dramatic effect before linking to the final section

Table 2.4 (continued): “Bekle Bizi İstanbul” flow chart.

	Music	Lyrics Turkish	Lyrics English	Symbol
Sixth Quatrain	Back vocals added. The keyboard sound (violin) continues to answer. Ends with fade-out	Boşuna çekilmedi bunca acılar	This much suffering was not nothing for	The repetition of the third quatrain, emphasizes being in exile, the love for the city and the hope for returning
		Büyük ve sakin Süleymaniye'ne bekle	Wait with your great and calm Süleymaniye	
		Parklarınla, köprülerinle, meydanlarınla	With your parks, bridges and squares	
		Bekle bizi İstanbul	Wait for us, İstanbul	

“Bekle Bizi İstanbul” is a song that has become a symbol of the longing for Istanbul for those who were in exile after 1970’s, and especially after the military coup in 1980. In 2010, it gained a new meaning, got associated with the “conquest” of Taksim, and the crowd sang it as a single voice, waving the flags-of different colours and contents, fists and “V” signs raised in the air.

Besides the broadcast and performed songs from the stage, the procession was more colorful, multilingual, multiple identities were expressed, at the same time emphasizing the localities: the “traditional”, lost through the nationalist meta narrative, seemed to be refound and reconstructed at the level of the procession, in different directions and meanings: feminists, gay organisations, football fans, local sections of the trade unions, artists, leftist from the most radical to the more social democrats were in the parade. The corteges in 2011 and 2012 were as colorful as those in 2010 with all the references to 1977 again (Figure 2.7). Similar to the gathering in 1977, the number of people in the square in 2012 was nearly 500000 (Figure 2.8).



Figure 2.7: May Day 2010 in Taksim Square (Url-21).



Figure 2.8: May Day 2012 in Taksim Square (Url-22).

In the procession 2012, songs were articulating to one another, broadcast from the small minibuses belonging to each group's cortege or performed by the members of the groups themselves. The chart of the subsequent songs heard walking through the procession is as follows in Table 2.5.

Table 2.5: The succession of songs in May Day 2012 procession.

Departing point: Mecidiyeköy	Name of the song	Performed or broadcast	Language	Group
	Keçe Kurdan	Performed by the group, sang through a megaphone, davul accompanied. A small <i>halay</i>	Kurdish (Kurmanci)	Devrimci Hareket
	Le Hanım	Performed by the group, sang through a megaphone, davul accompanied. A small <i>halay</i>	Kurdish-Turkish	Devrimci Hareket
	May Day March	Grup Yorum's version broadcast	Turkish	EHP
	International	Played with accordeon and sang by the group	Turkish	DİP
	May Day March	Grup Yorum's version broadcast	Turkish	TKPİ
	Çav Bella	Sang by the group-only voices	Turkish	İMD
	Çatla Beton	Bandista plays in the group	Turkish	
	Haydi Barikata	Bandista plays in the group	Turkish	
	Keçe Kurdan	Aynur Doğan's version broadcast. Accompanied with handclappings and a <i>davul</i> in the center of a <i>halay</i>	Kurdish (Kurmanci)	Kaldıraç
	İsyen	Bandsista's song broadcast	Turkish	Kaldıraç
	Mayıs Mayıs Kanlı Mayıs	Grup Munzur broadcast	Turkish	Partizan
	Defol Amerika	Grup Yorum's song broadcast	Turkish	
	Çav bella	Sang by a female voice through the megaphone	Turkish	

Table 2.5 (continued): The succession of songs in May Day 2012 procession.

Departing point: Mecidiyeköy	Name of the song	Performed or broadcast	Language	Group
	Güzel Günler Göreceğiz	Sang by Fenerbahçe fans. Only male voices and noise makers	Turkish	Fenerbahçe fans
	Yuh yuh	Selda Bağcan's song broadcast	Turkish	
Ending point: Taksim	Ella Ella	Kazım Koyuncu's song broadcast from the stage	Laz	

The carnivalesque ambience was strengthened with the presence of football fans, chanting anti-fascist slogans and adding their own cheering rhythms to the conventional slogan rhythms, and inventing new songs based on their cheering songs on the football games (Figure 2.9, Figure 2.10).

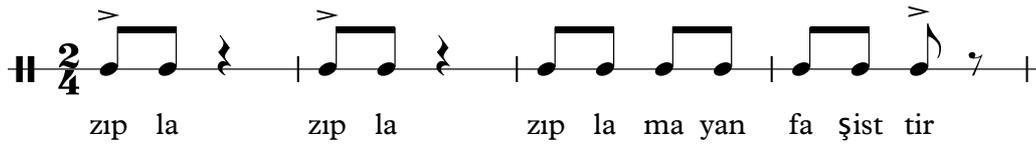


Figure 2.9: First rhythmic transcription of Fenerbahçe fans' cheering.

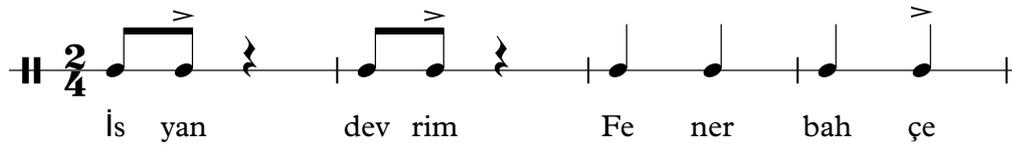


Figure 2.10: Second rhythmic transcription of Fenerbahçe fans' cheering.

The first cheering (Figure 2.9) is used by other football fan groups too. The translation is “jump, jump, those who do not jump are fascists!” The translation of the second (Figure 2.10) is “rebellion, revolution, Fenerbahçe”; a converted version of the original progressive slogan “rebellion, revolution, solidarity”. While the second is one of the distinctive slogans within the rhythmic repertoire of Turkish slogans, the first is drastically different both in rhythm and spirit. The problem with the slogans in Turkish is their lack of energy, maybe due to the rhythmic structure, or to the historical luggage that erased all the enthusiasm for shouting in the streets. In either case, this slogan brings the excited-effervescent spirit of the stadium to the

political action. Although the processions are brilliant and cheerful with songs, after passing the gates, this action fades out. This is because the cars with sound systems are left behind, entering the gates; and also, the square is so crowded that the entertainment disappears in the concerns of finding an appropriate place for the group.

In the field, as it is the case with all other mass political actions, there is always a moment of silence for the commemoration of the martyrs or for other purposes. In 2010 this moment was missing, but in 2011 the commemoration was quite powerful. The speaker on the stage read the names of all the martyrs from 1977 on, and after each name the crowd answered: here s/he is! When he finished the names he put the end point: “their memories will live in our struggle!”, meanwhile the crowd started to applaud and the large Kurdish group within which I was strolling started to shout: “Şehit na mırın” -martyrs never die in Kurdish, as they do in Newroz. Here the martyrs of the two separate movements were merging; the struggle and the targets were becoming collective. The slogans were followed by the call for singing from the stage: “the largest choir of Turkey, let’s sing the May Day march together!” The crowd started to sing, in a chaotic manner, and for the first time they acted as a whole, in that square. In 2012, on the other hand, another plan was in scene: the organizing committee of the May Day celebrations decided to divide the celebrations and institutions to different cities; and they planned to make the crowds shout the slogan “Faşizme karşı omuz omuza (shoulder to shoulder against fascism) when the clocks showed 14:00, in 101 different squares of the country simultaneously. The speaker in Taksim announced that after 15 seconds of silence we would start chanting the slogan and then he started to countdown. All the participants in the square assisted him counting, instead of staying silent. Then finally, the whole square shouted the slogan with all the power of their voice, several times in the length of a minute, right fists and “V” signs raised in the air. When the time was over, from within the applause faded in the vivid melody of the song “Haydi Barikata” (Turkish Version of “A Las Barricads”[To the barricads], Spanish Anarchist Anthem of the CNT-FAI) by the group Bandista (2009) (Figure 2.11) (Track 12), broadcast from the huge loudspeakers and all the people in the square started to applaud in tempo while some jumping, some others dancing. These moments of unity are difficult to reach in May Day celebrations, for there are many different

groups with many different agendas. Nevertheless, to reach the unity point strenghtens the bonds and create the energy which explodes during the concerts that follows. The real entertainment starts with the concerts: this is the point where the whole square dances and sings, assists to the songs and slogans. In both 2011 and 2012 Grup Yorum and Kardeş Türküler were on stage, in 2011 Agire Jiyan was also present. The songs of these three groups in 2011 are significant in terms of their symbolic latent and open meanings. In what follows, I will take a picture of the concert in 2011.



Figure 2.11: Bandista performing in the May Day 2012 procession.

2.4 May Day Concert in 2011

The concert in 2011 started with Grup Yorum. Grup Yorum is a protest music grup founded in 1985. During these 27 years, they have been arrested, been on trials and their members put on prison several times. The reason for these oppressions over the group was the political content of their music and their organic relationships with active oppositional politics. Therefore, the group became a symbol for resistance, for political expression through music (Kahyaoğlu, 2003). Their appearance on the stage during May Day celebrations (2010-2011-2012) created great excitement among the audience, and their songs served as a glue for the people in the crowd to hold each other, to dance and to shout slogans.

Grup Yorum's music is a mixture of different sensibilities, originally inspired from the Nueva Cancion tradition of Latin America, and especially from the music of Inti Illimani of Chile³³. To begin with, it should be mentioned that the vocal techniques and vocal arrangements, the approach to the arrangement of melodies, along with the structural inspirations from the Nueva Cancion song form merges with traditional Anatolian forms and instruments. But above all, the association of this inspiration with the ideological preferences on how to relate to local culture is significant: Grup Yorum, as did the Nueva Cancion musicians, attached priority to tightly hang on traditional musical forms and instruments of Anatolia, uniting them with revolutionary lyrics, whence their popularity in both socialist and non socialist audience.

The repertoire in the celebration was a well-chosen and agitative one, raising the level of excitement in the field. They started the performance with the May Day march, and continued with "Herne Peş", "Çav Bella" (Bella Ciao), "Cemo", "Dağlara Gel", "Haklıyız Kazanacağız" and "Keçe Kurdan". "Herne Peş", a song by Şivan Perwer and recognized as a national anthem by Kurds in Turkey, was received as a salutation to the Kurdish movement; as the other Kurdish song, "Keçe Kurdan". During these songs, the whole field was dancing in circles of various sizes. The people in the field sang the Turkish version of "Bella Ciao", "Cemo" and "Dağlara Gel" as a choir. As soon as the first melodic lines of "Cemo" was heard, the participants raised their fists; when the singer called them "your turn", the voice of the singing crowd filled the square. The same happened with "Dağlara Gel". These two songs were in the same line with the songs I will talk about in the next section: "Dağlara Doğru" by Ahmet Kaya and "Benim Meskenim Dağlardır" by Sezen Aksu. All have the concept of mountains in the center; while "Cemo" is overtly about guerilla, "Dağlara Gel" is more pop-sounded, danceable but full of latent meanings.

³³ Nueva Cancion is a musical genre that emerged in the 1960's, as a movement towards the "roots" of native people's musical expressions, blended with the political concerns of the time. In Turkey, the left in the 1970s was influenced by the international movements, especially by the liberation movements of Latin America. The popular musicians of the time directed their attention to the folksongs, and to their reinterpretation; which led to the birth of a genre called Anatolian Pop- or Anatolian Rock. The coup d'etat in 1980 erased all the revolutionary enthusiasm of 1970s, and created a new era where grups influenced by the Nueva Cancion movement emerged: Grup Yorum, Yeni Türkü, Ezginin Günlüğü... Among them especially Grup Yorum can be compared to their Latin American counterparts, in terms of their perspectives on instrumental arrangements, and their vocal parts.

The first song, “Cemo” (1989) (Track 13), is the name of a guerilla, fighting in Dersim (the local name of the region now officially recognized as Tunceli, it was once the Dersim Eyaleti, in Ottoman times)(Table 2.6).

Table 2.6: “Cemo” flow chart.

	Music	Lyrics Turkish	Lyrics English	Symbol
Introduction	<p>Introducing the harmonic material from the beginning. The <i>mey</i>³⁴ melody, accompanied with the rhythmic violins, bass and cymbals provide with the dramatic atmosphere.</p> <p>In the second section, the main <i>bağlama</i> pattern is introduced.</p> <p>At the end a four beats silence.</p>	No text	No text	<i>Mey</i> and <i>Bağlama</i> emphasize the “locality” of the sound.
First quatrain	<p>Single male voice. The bass and the drums are simple but impressive.</p> <p>Violins melodically fill in the ends of the phrases.</p>	Dağların yücesinde ate° yanar	A fire is lighted on the top of mountains	Introduces the story. On the mountains, lovers-guerillas set camp fires. And they fight against the enemy in the plains.
		Oturmuş başına sevdahılar	Lovers are sat around it	
	<p>Sang twice.</p> <p>The violins link the two phrases.</p> <p>The main <i>bağlama</i> pattern links the first turn to the second, and the second to the bridge section.</p>	Gün gelir kahpe savrulur	Days come, the betrayers will be hurled	
		Cemo ovaya inende	When Cemo goes down to the plain	

³⁴*Mey* is a double reed aerophone, with a cylindrical body. It can be classified as the members of the same family with *duduk*, for their timbre and physical traits are very similar.

Table 2.6 (continued): “Cemo” flow chart.

	Music	Lyrics Turkish	Lyrics English	Symbol
Bridge 1	<p>Main voice accompanied with a second in a third higher.</p> <p><i>Bağlama</i> plays a rhythmic arpege and along with the violins enhances the dramatic feeling.</p> <p>At the end a four beat rhythmic pattern emphasizes to link to the refrain.</p>	Yar, yar, yar, yar	Dear, dear, dear, dear	A feeling of longing and sorrow
Refrain	<p>In the first turn, only drums and voices.</p> <p>Main voice accompanied with a second in a third higher.</p> <p>In the second turn the <i>bağlama</i> adds another rhythmic layer.</p>	Alnında yıldızlı bere	The berret with the star on the forehead	<p>The berret with the star on the forehead is the symbol of a specific group. It is now open with the mention of the mauser riffle that Cemo is a guerilla.</p> <p>Singing in the mountains as a sign of rebellion and struggle.</p>
		Elinde mavzeriyle	The mauser riffle at hand	
		Çıkıp Dersim dağlarında	To climb to the mountains of Dersim	
		Türkü söylemek var ya	And to sing ...	
Bridge 2	<p>The choir sings “Oy Cemo” in single line, then the single male voice takes in.</p> <p>Main <i>bağlama</i> pattern followed by a four beats silence links the bridge to the second quatrain.</p>	Oy Cemo, Cemo can, Cemo can	Oy Cemo, Cemo dear, Cemo dear	A feeling of longing and sorrow

Table 2.6 (continued): “Cemo” flow chart.

	Music	Lyrics Turkish	Lyrics English	Symbol
Second Quatrain	Single male voice. The bass and the drums are simple but impressive. Violins melodically fill in the ends of the phrases.	Savrulup ovaya inen bulutlar	The clouds hurled and went down to the plain	The storm symbolizes the fight, clouds, the guerilla. Halay as a symbolic action of solidarity and rebellion is stressed.
		Muştusudur kopacak fırtınanın	Are the good signs of the forthcoming storm	
	Sang twice. The violins link the two phrases. The main <i>bağlama</i> pattern links the first turn to the second, and the second to the bridge section.	O büyük günün görkeminde	In the magnitude of that great day	
		Çocuklar halaya duracak	Children will dance in <i>halay</i> -s	
Bridge 1	Main voice accompanied with a second in a third higher. <i>Bağlama</i> plays a rhythmic arpege and along with the violins enhances the dramatic feeling. At the end a four beat rhythmic pattern emphasize to link to the refrain.	Yar, yar, yar, yar	Dear, dear, dear, dear	A feeling of longing and sorrow
Refrain	In the first turn, only drums and voices. Main voice accompanied with a second in a third higher. In the second turn the <i>bağlama</i> adds another rhythmic layer.	Alnında yıldızlı bere	The berret with the star on the forehead	The same with the first refrain
		Elinde mavzeriyle	The mauser riffle at hand	
		Çıkıp Dersim dağlarında	To climb to the mountains of Dersim	
		Türkü söylemek var ya...	And to sing ...	

Table 2.6 (continued):“Cemo” flow chart.

	Music	Lyrics Turkish	Lyrics English	Symbol
Bridge 2	The choir sings "Oy Cemo" in single line, then the single male voice takes in. At the end of the lyrics, it calms down.	Oy Cemo, Cemo can, Cemo can	Oy Cemo, Cemo dear, Cemo dear	A feeling of longing and sorrow
Lament	A reverberated male voice enters, using the high register with a powerful chest sound. The choir is added. When the pattern of the choir sets, another male voice, with a Kurdish timbre, enters with a lament-like improvisation, on the choir.	Uzun Hava.	A lament-like long air	The choir structure makes clear its links with the Nueva Cancion song style. The last male voice, on the other hand, emphasizes the locality, especially the Kurdish identity. Dersim is the name of an area populated mostly by Zazaki Kurds, and the lament for Cemo is sung in Kurdish style.

This is a lyrical song, with a lament-like ending. The emphasis on the mountains is overtly about the guerilla war, and Cemo is a guerilla (probably a woman), with her starred beret and mauser rifle. "Climbing Dersim Mountains and singing" symbolizes freedom, the love of freedom, and stresses the power of the songs in struggles; while at the same time overtly putting the Kurdish question in the center with the name of the mountains. Dersim is the name of a geographic/cultural area, mostly populated by Zazaki Kurds; and which has been the scene of an immense tragedy in 1938 in the name of repressing a revolt, by the state powers. The song, despite its apparent propaganda content, is very popular and well-known, because of its lyricism and powerful sensitivity. On the other hand, this is one of the songs that caused Grup Yorum to be put on trial several times. The other song, "Dağlara Gel" (1992) (Track 14), is in the contrary a vivid song with a more pop-like sound. The lyrics do not carry meanings as deep as those of "Cemo", but it suffices to mention "mountains" to stimulate the crowds (Table 2.7).

Table 2.7: “Dağlara Gel” flow chart.

	Music	Lyrics Turkish	Lyrics English	Symbol
Introduction	4 beat danceable <i>darbuka</i> ³⁵ opening followed by the vivid <i>bağlama</i> melody. In the second section, <i>bağlama</i> teases and <i>davul</i> and <i>zurna</i> take in the main melody, giving the feeling of <i>halay</i> .	No text	No text	The vivid rhythms and melody evoke the hope and joy for dance.
First Quatrain	A single female voice in the first turn. The male choir accompanies in the second. The vivid <i>darbuka</i> , bass and guitar patterns continue	Başına bir hal gelirse (canım)	If you find yourself in trouble (my dear)	The initial feelings still persists. Now it is strenghtened with the meaning of the text: the mountains as the protector of the mistreateds.
		Dağlara gel dağlara	Come to the mountains	
	The same as the first two verses	Seni saklar vermez ele (canım)	They will hide you and will not give you to strangers (my dear)	
	Seni saklar vermez ele	They will hide you and will not give you to strangers		
	Seni saklar vermez ele (canım)	They will hide you and will not give you to strangers (my dear)		
	Dağlara gel dağlara (repeated twice)	Come to the mountains (repeated twice)		
Melody	The opening melody with <i>bağlama</i>	No text	No text	The repetition of the opening <i>bağlama</i> melody permits to dance.

³⁵*darbuka* is a goblet shaped, one-headed drum, played with bare hands.

Table 2.7 (continued): “Dağlara Gel” flow chart.

	Music	Lyrics Turkish	Lyrics English	Symbol
Second Quatrain	The same as the first quatrain	Bu canım aşka düşeli (canım)	Since my heart has fallen in love	The love as the love for freedom or struggle, has a maturing characteristic. The latent meaning of guerilla fight is contrasted with the pastoral joy, mentioning the flowers, and dance feeling.
		Aşk odu ile pişeli	And has been matured with the fire of love	
		Yeşil dağlar menekşeli (canım)	The green mountains are full of flowers (my dear)	
		Yeşil dağlar menekşeli	The green mountains are full of flowers	
		Yeşil dağlar menekşeli (canım)	The green mountains are full of flowers (my dear)	
		Dağlara gel dağlara (repeated twice)	Come to the mountains (repeated twice)	
Melody	The opening melody with <i>bağlama</i>	No text	No text	Dance section
Third Quatrain	The same as the first quatrain	Gevheri düştüm dillere (canım)	Everybody talks about me	The exiles are reminded. There is a guaranty to the listener that she will be safe in the mountains. This is a call to mountains.
		Diyar-ı gurbet ellere	I came to foreign lands	
		Billahi vermem ellere (canım)	I swear I will not give to strangers (my dear)	
		Billahi vermem ellere	I swear I will not give to strangers	
		Billahi vermem ellere (canım)	I swear I will not give to strangers (my dear)	
		Dağlara gel dağlara (repeated three times)	Come to the mountains (repeated three times)	

The use of cheerful *bağlama* melodies and the fast tempo combined with the strong lyrics eventually create the action I have witnessed in the square: the whole square was singing the song, and continued singing even when the orchestra stopped in order to pass the word on the crowd. Especially in the melodic sections, when the *bağlama* was playing the energetic parts, the crowd applauded and shout, while at the

same time never stopping the dance. One thing to add about the meaning of the lyrics is the ubiquitous replacement of love with love of freedom.

While Grup Yorum represents mostly the political sensibilities of the oppositional forces of 80's and 90's; Kardeş Türküler, the other group in the concert is constructed around the concerns about the recognition of the existence of different ethnic identities in Turkey, the freedom of expression in people's own language and the demands for equal rights for all ethnic-cultural groups in Turkey. Formed in the early '90's as a university group, and continued their music career after graduation, they have been active in promoting the motto "the fraternity of peoples" and became very popular among various political circles (Akkaya et al, 2008). In the May Day 2011 concert, the songs performed were chosen with care of these core concerns, each having deeper connotations in the recent history of political movements.

They started the concert with a traditional Kurdish song, "Mirkut". This is a work song, first recorded in Şivan Perwer's *Roj u Heyv* album in 2000; a project done in collaboration with Kardeş Türküler. Kardeş Türküler recorded that song again in their Album *Hemavaz* (2002) (Track 15). The characteristic of the song is that it is about collective work, labor and the result of labor –wheat. Singing this song is a salutation to both the socialist concerns and the Kurdish movement at once. The following song was an Armenian song, Sari Gyalin (Track 16), which became iconic after the assassination of Hrant Dink. In the first hours after the assassination where hundreds of thousands of people were gathered in front of the Agos journal's building, this song was broadcast from the loudspeakers on a minibus, and from a music shop in the street, tearing down the silence of sorrow, echoing in the streets and changing the soundscapes of that area forever. Hence the soloist of the group was announcing the song as follows: "We commemorate with respect all our comrades and Hrant Dink who lost their lives for the fraternity of peoples".

This announcement was a cross-reference to the protests against the murder of Hrant Dink, emphasizing that the crowd in May Day was overlapping with those who were in front of Agos; and marked that song as symbol of a specific reaction, as a lament for the loss of a dear friend beyond its literal meaning as a love song. The third song was a salutation to women's movement: "Burçak Tarlası" (Track 17). This is a traditional Turkish song, from the mouth of a young bride, narrating the difficulties of working in the vetch fields from the twilight to the sunset. She complains about

the heavy works, about the attitudes of her mother in law and threatens her husband that she will leave him, if he does not behave right. The song has entered to the popular music scene in 1964 when Tülay German³⁶ performed it in her album *Burçak Tarlası*. Kardeş Türküler recorded their own version in their first album, in 1997, and since then performed it saluting the women's labor. The song became one of the iconic songs of the women's movement in Turkey after 1997, when the movement has accelerated with mass gatherings and parades, until today. In the same line of thinking, the last song, "Yuh Yuh", a song by Aşık Mahsuni Şerif³⁷, was a salutation to Turkish left. The song has become famous in the 70's with the version sang by Selda Bağcan (1977) (Track 18), and addresses those who exploit the people. Not to forget that, during all this performance the crowd in the field was participating the concert by singing the songs and, as a matter of course, dancing.

The concert continued with another group, Agire Jiyan (meaning "the fire of life" in Kurdish). This grup is formed by young Kurdish musicians, and performed iconic songs for the left in Kurdish: "Venceremos"³⁸ (with *bağlama*) (track 19), "Kızıl Flama"³⁹ (Bandiera Rossa) in Turkish and Kurdish (Track 20) and the Kurdish version of the May Day march (Track 21). Meanwhile, the square has become relatively empty but still a remarkable number of people were there, dancing along the songs. The group also sang a potpourri of Kurdish traditional *halay* songs and a song from Ahmet Kaya, again an iconic one from 1991: "Başım Belada". The soloists voice was so similar to that of Ahmet Kaya that one could believe he was present there.

The all three groups symbolize three different aspects of the relation of music and protest in Turkey: the conventional left, the new oppositional forces in touch with multiple other movements, and the Kurdish movement. This equation also tells us the inherent characteristic of the crowd in the square: people from the every side of the left. The power of music kept them together for hours in a square. But here is the place to ask: is this a site for real struggle? Do people create a real challenge to the

³⁶Tülay German (b. 1935) is one of the first pop music stars in Turkey. She sang folk songs, popular songs and jazz, along with French chansons.

³⁷Aşık Mahsuni Şerif (b. 1954-d.2002) was a folk musician, song writer and poet. Many of his protest songs are covered by other protest singers or groups.

³⁸ Venceremos, meaning, "we will win", is a song composed for the election campaign of Salvador Allende in Chile and made popular amongst progressives all over the World by Inti Illimani.

³⁹ An iconic song from the Italian labor movement, the title meaning the "red flag".

Structure by just “being there”, and most importantly do they feel as a total whole?

2.5 Continuities and Discontinuities

1970's were an era of social awakening in Turkey, which consequently created its own political institutions and ways of struggle. Henceforth, the May Day 1976 and 1977 were strong societal manifestations against the system, namely “the Structure”. To the extent that this social movement created an alternative for the existing functioning of things, it became a real threat for the system, was taken seriously by it, and was severely repressed. The consequence of this repression was the fragmentation of the social reactions: while some groups were content of being guided by the state apparatus, some others –more and more fragmented- continued to struggle departing from different concerns. The history of May Days reveals the evolution of the liminal character of the masses in political action. 1977 May Day is apparently a strong event, which had the power to challenge the system; therefore it was cut off. After years of prohibitions, the first May Days were a phase of reawakening for the social effervescence; which took its highest point in May Day 1996. The largeness of the crowd in the field was the result of several incidents in the past years: Sivas massacre, Gazi rebellion, the murder of Uğur Mumcu, the rising illusionary tension between secularists and islamists... The crowd reacted against the murder of three people during the procession in the field by devastating the stores and banks, and by fighting the police. In 2007, with the decision of DİSK and KESK to take over Taksim, the clashes became a current issue. In 2010, the state gave the permission for May Day Celebrations in Taksim and since then, the celebrations are done without severe tensions.

The 70's, 90's and 2000's have their own ways of conceptualizing the world, their own symbols and issues. There are discontinuities, as well as continuities. The 1970's are the years where the nation states were still in their strongest period, therefore the progressive/dissident movements were still bound with the primary concerns of a world wowed by the nation-states. The developmentalism and the independence from the imperial powers were the main concerns of the time. When came the 2010's, the dissident movement is much more fragmented, including anarchists, feminists, gays and lesbians, actor's union, workers of information technologies (computer engineers), high school students, football team fans,

traditional leftist groups of all kinds, Kurds, Armenians, Laz, Arab and Çerkes peoples, medical workers, white collars of every kind... Not forget to mention that in 2012, Alevi organizations and for the first time a group which calls themselves as “anti-capitalist Muslim Youth” were in the field. The trademark of 2000’s is the emphasis on identities, on the overarching rights in the individual and group level. The second level of discontinuities is in the realm of historical references. The massacre of 1977 May Day changed the flow of the history, diminished the significance of former past references and became itself a reference point for the future movements. Moreover, the dead leaders of the student movements and left institutions became icons for the following generations. While in 1977, the reference points were the 50 years of the celebrations, relatively recent political actions, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Nazım Hikmet, İbrahim Gülerce; for today’s opponent groups, the history starts with 1970s. Although Marx, Engels, Lenin and other important figures of that time are not forgotten, they are figures who lost their centrality. Nazım Hikmet, on the other hand is still a central figure, especially in 2012, where the actor’s union became more powerful, and dominated the speeches from the stages, reciting the poems of Nazım Hikmet. A final discontinuity on sound is the use of language from the stage and in the slogans and songs. While in 1977 the only language we can hear is Turkish and in the official celebration of May Day we can barely hear Kurdish slogans; from 2010 on, the speeches from the stage are bilingual. In 2012, as an attempt to represent all the ethnic groups living in Turkey, people from these groups were invited to the stage to shout the slogan “long live May Day” in their own languages: Laz, Hemşin, Armenian, Russian, Gürcü, Çerkes, Arab, Sefarad, Greek etc. On the other hand, the change in music was not that much comprehensive; nevertheless, the normalization of the broadcast and the performance of Kurdish songs along with Turkish songs and international anthems is a radical breakdown for the mass politics in Turkey. Thus, despite the fact that the number of people gathered in Taksim in 1977 and 2012 are close to each other, neither the symbols, nor the sound and the spirit are similar.

Another dimension on the discussion of continuity and discontinuity is in the realm of the slogans. What follows is a table showing selected different slogans from 1977 and 2000’s (Table 2.8).

Table 2.8: Dominant slogans.

Turkish	English
1977⁴⁰	
DGM'yi yendik yaşasın DİSK	We have won against DGM, vive DISK!
Faşizme geçit yok	No way to fascism
İleri demokratik bir düzen	An advanced democratic rule
Bağımsız Türkiye	Independent Turkey
Barış dostluk dayanışma	Peace, friendship, solidarity
2010s	
Faşizme karşı omuz omuza	Shoulder to shoulder against fascism
Kurtuluş yok tekbaşına ya hep beraber ya hiçbirimiz	No liberation alone, either all together, or none of us
Yaşasın 1 Mayıs	Vive May Day
Biji yek gulan (Kurdish)	Vive May Day
İşte Taksim işte 1 Mayıs	Here is Taksim, here is May Day
Yaşasın halkların mücadele birliği	Vive peoples' solidarity in struggle
2010s uncommon/group specific slogans	
Kentsel dönüşüm başka bir sürgün	Urban transformation, just another exile
Yaşasın Taksim Direnişimiz	Vive our Taksim resistance
Her yer Tekel, her yer direniş(2010)	Everywhere is Tekel, everywhere is the resistance
Toprak, ekme, özgürlük	Land, bread, freedom
Mahir, Hüseyin, Ulaş kurtuluşa kadar savaş	Mahir, Hüseyin, Ulaş, fight until the liberation
Kadın olmadan devrim olmaz devrim olmadan kadın kurtulmaz	No revolution without women, no women can be liberated without revolution
Tayyibin fişini Fenerbahçe çekecek	Fenerbahçe will pull Tayyip's plug
Devrimci tutsaklar onurumuzdur	Revolutionary prisoners are our honour
Zindanlar yıkılsın tutsaklara özgürlük	Let the prisons be destroyed, freedom to the prisoners
Çözüm devrimde kurtuluş sosyalizmde	The solution is the revolution, the liberation is in socialism
Titre oligarşi Particephe geliyor	Tremble oligarchy, the Particephe (the name of the group) is coming

Despite the fact that the content of the slogans are different, the sound stays the same: the same rhythmic line, with the same accents. In Turkey there is a slogan pattern followed by all who shout their concerns, be football fans, islamist activist, secularists, feminists, Kurdish youngsters in Newroz or leftists in May Day: an 8 beat phrase with the accents on 2nd, 4th and 7th (or 8th, depending on the number of the

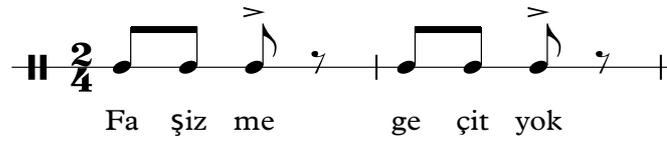
⁴⁰Other slogans officially declared by DİSK were as follows: İşçiyiz, güçlüyüz, devrimlerde öncüyüz (we are workers, strong and leaders in the revolutions), Genel grev hakkımız söke söke alırız (general strike is our right, we will take it by force), İşçiler birleşin (workers, unite!), Hak verilmez alınır (rights are no given, but taken) (Gürel, 2006, p. 44).

syllables in the sentence) beats. An alternative version is formed by sequential 4 beat small phrases, with the accent in each 4th beat (Figure 2.12).

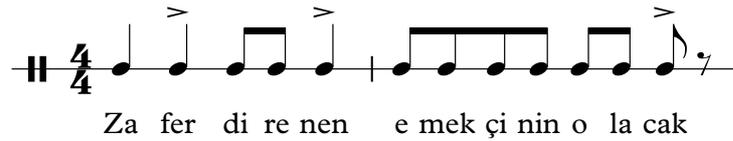
DGM'yi yendik, Yaşasın DİSK-1977 (We have beaten DGM, long live DISK)



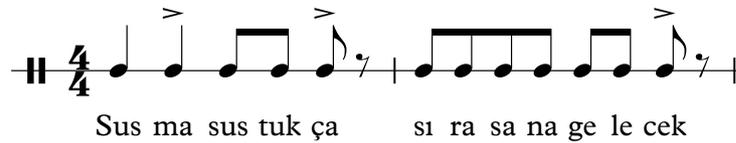
Faşizme geçit yok-1977 (No way to fascism)



Zafer direnen emekçinin olacak-2009 (victory will belong to the resisting worker)



Susma sustukça sıra sana gelecek -1990's, 2000's (Do not be quiet. If you stay quiet, it will be your turn next)



Faşizme karşı omuz omuza- 1990's, 2000's (Shoulder to shoulder against fascism)
(track 32)

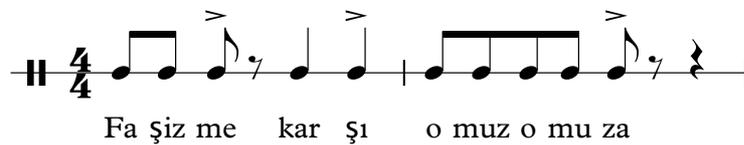


Figure 2.12:Rhythmic transcriptions of selected slogans.

The sentence structure also is constructed along with the rhythmic requirements. In this structure, each two beats should correspond to one word. And these two beats are divided according to the number of syllables in the word. For example, if the word has two syllables, each would correspond to one beat. In cases where there are

more than two syllables, some additional rules operate. Let us divide the 8 beat sentence into 4 sections (Table 2.9).

Table 2.9: Structural Analysis of the 8-beat Slogans.

SENTENCE								
Sections	I		II		III		IV	
Beats	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

Generally, (1) the first, second and fourth sections include one word each, and the third one might have one or two words. (2) If there are two syllables in first, second or fourth sections, the word is divided to full beats corresponding to each of the syllables. On the other hand, (3) in the case of three syllables, the first two syllables correspond to two half beats and the third to a full beat. (4) In cases the accent is on the 7th, instead of the 8th beat, no matter the third section is formed by a single word or two words, the last syllable of the sentence corresponds to the 7th beat, and a silence is placed on the 8th. Also, an additional rule operates for the third section: (5) the beats are divided evenly, each corresponding to one syllable. Even if there are some alterations to these rules, the ultimate aim is to complete the accent structure; and the sentences are always formed in order to fulfill this structure. For the Kurdish slogans, we cannot talk about the strict application of the above rhythmic rules, for the sentence structure is different from that of Turkish. But still, in some slogans, we can detect an altered version of the same rules (Figure 2.13).

Biji Biratiya Gelan (vive the fraternity of peoples-in Kurdish)

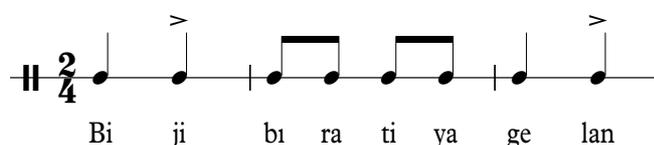


Figure 2.13 : Rhythmic transcription of a Kurdish slogan.

Here, even it is a 6 beat sentence, the rule is adopted: the accent in the second still exists, but the rules of the third and fourth sections are applied to the second and third sections respectively. This is a 6 beat version of the same structure described above. Still, most Kurdish slogans wouldn't fit to the rules.

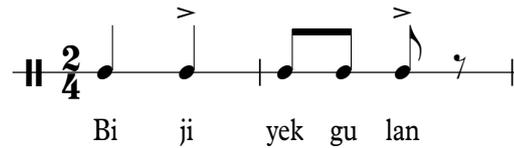
Another aspect of the rhythmic rules of the slogans is the 4 beats sentences. These sentences can be considered as rhythmic patterns in 2/4 meter, with the accent in the second beats (Table 2.10).

Table 2.10: Structural Analysis of the 4-beat Slogans.

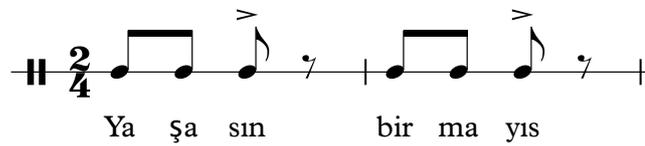
Sentence				
Sections	I		II	
Beats	1	2	1	2

In this structure, as it is in the 8 beats structure, the center is the number of syllables. As the accent is always on the second beats, the word in the first section is divided as to have two syllables in the first beat and one in the second (Figure 2.14).

Biji Yek Gulan (“vive May Day”, in Kurdish)



Yaşasın 1 Mayıs (“Vive May Day”, Turkish)



Bağımsız Türkiye (Independent Turkey)

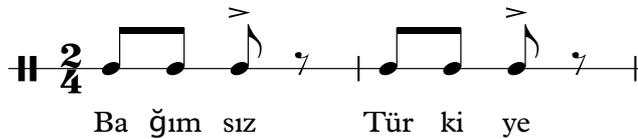


Figure 2.14 : Rhythmic transcriptions of selected 4-beat slogans.

Rhythmically, the two syllables in the first beat are two equal half beats, and the second beat is generally formed by a half beat followed by a silence of half beat long. The second section is similarly constructed: the first beat should be consisted of two half beats, each corresponding to one syllable, and the second beat with the accent includes one half beat –the last syllable of the slogan – and one half-beat-long silence. By all means, there are different ways of forming a slogan rhythmic

structure, but these are the most common patterns. What is significant for my research is that this pattern did not change over the course of the 35 years since 1977. Nevertheless, it is worth to mention that the new movements and political groups contribute to the field of the sounds of the protest not only by their music and “noise” but also with their alternative rhythmic constructions, depending on the alternative ways of using the language and perceiving the world.

Another realm for the continuity of the sound is the use of *davul* and *zurna*. The music of *davul-zurna* and accompanying dances are now “traditional” components of a political action of this size, reflecting popular sensibilities about the origins and the perception of the “tradition”. On the other hand, besides the emphasis on the importance of the marches, especially the May Day march, the music varies seriously. This is as a matter of course, due to the changing world, the increasing power of music in the mobilization of masses, in mass communication and in the communication of messages. Nevertheless, one can tell that the power of sound is still at the center of the events, and has gained more and more importance with the years passing. People now are aware of the power of the noise, drummer groups take their place in the procession. People use all the possible instruments producing disturbing sounds (whistles, several noise makers, saucepans and spoons). This discovery has radically changed the character of the events: more carnivalesque, more entertainment-based, more cheerful.

In terms of functions and structure, the mass May Day celebrations are political rituals. They fulfill specific social needs, as gathering people from similar backgrounds and with similar concerns. Moreover they serve not only as safety valves but also serve masses to make a difference, to express their demands. The clashes on the other hand, are real conflicts between activists and the state’s apparatuses (here in this case, the police). While in the mass gatherings of May Day it is difficult to detect the existence of a *communitas*, due to the wide range of concerns and large number of different small groups, the clashes are caused by the sense of rebellion. The 2009 Taksim clashes and their resolution by the opening of the police barricades is a clear example of the construction of liminality and *communitas* through collective action, and the use of sound in that resolution is crucial: people celebrate their victory; reinforce their being in the square as a group, and fought the “structure” by staying silent for the memory of their martyrs and by

singing the May Day march. The liminality and the sense of *communitas* shows itself in the cases of actual conflict, as it was the case with May Day clashes. Here, contrary to Newroz celebrations, the conflict does not endure. In Newroz celebrations, the crowd in the field is already a *communitas* against the Structure, before coming to the field of the feast. Consequently, the event turns to be a ritual of rebellion, where the already existing boundaries with the rest of the society are strengthened. The conflict is everlasting. Whereas in mass May Day celebrations since 2010, the conflict is relatively resolved, and people express their “demands” from the system: the goal is not to change it, it is to find one’s deserved place in it. In these conditions, it is not possible to reach a liminal point; but we can label these events as liminoid, where the entertainment and carnivalesque becomes the spirit of the event, where the sense of a totality can only be reached through entertainment (Figure 2.15). This is a new era, where the middle classes get larger and larger, and where people have more than their chains to loose.



Figure 2.15 : Taksim Square, May Day 2012.

The chapter that follows would illustrate how the actual conflict with the structure defines the content and manners of the action in the field: Newroz. The Newroz is celebrated each year on March 21st, in the vernal equinox. Besides the debates on the ownership of that feast (whether it is Turkish or Kurdish), the Kurdish movement transformed it during the course of the 20th century into a feast of rebellion, openly challenging the structure by the very existence of the crowds in a field and their actions.

3. NEWROZ: SOUNDS FOR CLAIMING IDENTITIES

Newroz, originating from the Babilonian, Sumerian and Assyrian festivals, celebrated on a vast geography, including Indian Peninsula, Iran- influenced areas and Mesopotamia, is essentially the Kurdish name of a vernal equinox celebration; the celebration of the beginning of spring, the welcoming festival of the new year. According to Unesco, “Novruz, Nowrouz, Nooruz, Navruz, Nauroz or Nevruz marks the New Year and the beginning of spring across a vast geographical area covering, inter alia, Azerbaijan, India, Iran, Kyrgyzstan, Pakistan, Turkey and Uzbekistan. It is celebrated on 21st March every year, a date originally determined by astronomical calculations. Novruz is associated with various local traditions, such as the evocation of Jamshid, a mythological king of Iran, and numerous tales and legends”(Url-23). In Turkey’s case, where a long lasting Kurdish question exists, the seasonal celebration has become a symbol for the Kurdish expression of cultural identity and tradition. It had gained multiple meanings in the course of the 20th century, and is transformed to a claim for identity and liberation for Kurds living in Turkey. These multiple meanings are constructed around cultural demands and identity claims, along with some major symbols, legends and stories. Today, the discursive aspect of the Newroz as the celebration of the defeat of the cruel emperor is so well constructed; it fits so exactly to current political demands that a historical examination is needed in order to understand the function and power of the story and its symbols. Because the process of invention of tradition- the transformation of the tradition- is so successful, today it is hard to talk about it, without being concerned of being politically correct, and without attracting reactions from both sides of the question. Additionally, as we can see, the Kurdish term Newroz is not included in Unesco’s list, which makes one ask if a nation state is required for Unesco to recognize a people’s traditions, since the Kurds have no nation-state. The dispute on the name, on the ownership of the

tradition is also one of the hallmarks in the course of the invention process in Turkey.⁴¹

Since the early 1990s, the vernal equinox is celebrated massively each year in the whole country by the Kurds as Newroz, with its additional meanings as being the symbol of rebellion, of the victory over the cruel rulers, of the unity and solidarity among Kurds. Its historical luggage is so heavy and its potential is so powerful that each year, by the time of its celebration many people living in big cities are alerted for possible interruptions in the daily life-including violent interruptions.

In this chapter, I will examine Newroz celebrations in Istanbul, 2010 and 2011, as rituals of rebellion, where a liminal point is reached through collective action, characterized by intensive use of sound: slogans, speeches and songs accompanied with dances. The various ways of using the sound is one of the main characteristics in street protest and collective actions in Turkey. These are milieus where the boundaries between music, speech and noise are blurred, and where the total sound becomes a political discourse, addressed to both the “insiders and outsiders”: with all their sound aspects, these rituals communicate the core concerns of the Kurdish movement with the “rest of the city and the country”, enhancing at the same time the sense of belonging and reconstructing the identities. The analysis of the sound narratives from these events reveal socio-cultural characteristics of the community performing in the street, tells us about the bigger picture, the relationship between the people attending these events and the total social structure.

3.1 Invention of Tradition

The core element of the Newroz as a political action/ritual is the rebellion and national solidarity, constructed around one specific myth: the story of Kawa the Blacksmith. The historical examination of this myth, its origins and its relations to the Newroz feast faces us with a successful process of invention of tradition.

⁴¹ The “Nevruz” was recognized as a common feast of all the Turkic lands, by the Turkish Republic since the 1990’s as an attempt to degrade the overemphasized ethnic character of the Newroz, which serves as a catalyzer of rebellion. Since then, every year, an alternative, Turkish “Nevruz” is celebrated officially; the official television channel TRT broadcasts the celebrations from the other Turkic countries. A second aspect is the sight for strengthening the relations with the new Turkic Republics from the former USSR, where Turkishness and common tradition were a perfect ground to construct a future. To sum up, in the official Turkish side, the identities are also produced and reproduced according to geopolitics and inner conflicts.

The vernal equinox is historically celebrated as the beginning of the New Year or the beginning of the spring, with different names and in different regions. Delal Aydın (2005) summarizes this historical legacy as follows:

Price (2005a) states that Newroz has been renowned in one form or another by all the major cultures of ancient Mesopotamia. Yarshater (1959) emphasizes that Newroz owes its origin to the fertility cult, which was so common among the ancient Near and Middle Eastern societies. Babylonians, which were one of the most important cultures in Mesopotamia, celebrated the New Year festival, Akitu, at the first New Moon after the Spring Equinox. The inner logic of New Year celebrations comes from ancient myths and Akitu festival was related to Babylonia Creation Mithos (Hooke, 2002: 51). S.A.Pallis says that Akitu Festival is the celebration of victory of spring sun (Marduk) over the winter sun (Nabu) or victory of spring over the waters (Tiamat) which threatens the world with flood disaster (quoted from Aksoy, 1991: 68). ... Hittites too, celebrate Purulliyas, which is both the New Year and a celebration related to killing of snake Illuyanka by the god of storm, on 21st of March (Aksoy, 1991: 94-5). (p. 45, 46).

For Kurds of Turkey, Newroz has become more than an archaic agricultural feast at the end of a course of 100 years. Delal Aydın, who analyses and narrates this history in detail in her master thesis (2005), states that this process of invention of tradition starts in the early 1900s by the efforts of Kurdish intellectuals to create a basis for a Kurdish nationality, departing from a descent myth. While Newroz is originally a spring feast, the Kawa legend is not related to the feast in the few written resources that we have on the history of Kurdish peoples. Two attributes of Kurdish culture—spring feast and rebellious Kawa—are glued to each other by the Kurdish intellectuals of 19th and early 20th century, trying to be the leading force of a cultural-political revival for Kurds in Turkey:

In this sense, the efforts of *Jin* [a Kurdish journal] writers regarding the Kawa legend can be seen as a fairly classical example of the construction of myths to be utilized as a tool during the process of nation building. In this example, as Hobsbawm (1983: 12-3) indicates, ancient materials are used to construct invented traditions of a novel type for novel purposes. (Aydın, 2005, p. 64)

Yücel Demirer (2012) also discusses the significance of these Kurdish journals in the 1930's and stresses the fact that the Kurdish intellectual nationalists of that time were seeking to create "a positive image about the Kurds" (p.68). According to Demirer, from the 1950's to 1960's, the general opinion from the side of the Turkish state was that the immigrations from the villages to the cities, would provide with a social integration for the center and the periphery, and the Kurdish claims of identity would be eroded in the course of this transformation (p.69).

The history of Turkish Republic is divided into periods of coup d'états. The first in this series has taken place in March 27, 1960. One of the results of the coup was the growing emphasis on Turkish identity, starting from the constitution; and the

growing denial of Kurdish identity. The champagne “Citizen, speak Turkish”, which was forcing every citizen not to speak other languages than Turkish, and the changes made on the Kurdish and Armenian names of the villages and other places were the apparent applications of this politics (Firat, 2008). But surprisingly the new constitution after the coup was the most democratic one ever written in the history of Turkish Republic, which led the way to the growing revolutionary currents during 1960’s and 1970’s (Demirer 2012, p.70). The Kurdish movement as it is today had its roots in the leftist organizations of the time and from the mid 1970’s a separate movement has been shaped.

The third coup d’état in 1980 was a turning point for all the oppositional organizations and groups including the Kurds. The result of the coup was the loss of people under arrestment, tortures, and the wiping out of a generation of revolutionaries. The oppressions, caused the Kurdish movement grow more rapidly than ever. According to Delal Aydın (2005), the Kurdish progressives of the 1970s were an integrated part of the leftist organizations, and the Kurdish identity was conceptualized in terms of class structures and struggles. But with the drastic turn in 1980, the emphasis shifted to the ethnicity from class:

It can be stated that the Kurdish movements of the post 1970 period, constructed Newroz and the Kawa legend, perceiving it as a suitable tradition for creating counter-hegemony. These movements placed emphasis on the class character of Kawa rather than his Kurdish origins. They constructed him as the leader of the people who, raising his smock as a flag, initiated resistance against the cruels. However, this process of construction was interrupted by the military coup in 1980; this version of Newroz did not have enough time to enjoy popular endorsement. In the aftermath of the military coup, the policy of the strict denial of Kurdishness and the intensive violence exerted on the Kurdish nationalists accelerated the process of Kurdish identity construction. In such conditions, Newroz, inherited from the pre-1980 period, was situated by PKK into the heart of its discourse. On the other hand, again as a consequence of the changing conditions, the characteristics of this myth underwent change as well. Kawa the Smith was reconstructed as the Contemporary Kawa. The Contemporary Kawa was also poor; however, rather than a “proletarian vanguard”, he was more a self sacrificing hero in order “to revive the Kurdishness, which was attempted to be destroyed .(Aydın, 2005, p. 82)

In these conditions, the suicidal action of Mazlum Doğan on March 21st, 1980, in Diyarbakır prison; and Zekiye Alkan who burned herself in 1990 have become the martyr-symbols of both the struggle and of the fire of Newroz. These martyrs along with many others would be constructive elements of a symbolic discourse, based on the story of rebellious Kawa. According to Eric Hobsbawm, invented tradition seeks to connect itself to a suitable past, at the same time creating its own rules, symbols and ritualized actions (Hobsbawm, 1992, p. 4). In the case of Newroz, three

historical resources are used as past references: Şahname, Şerefname and Mem-u Zin.

3.1.1 Şahname, Şerefname and Mem-u Zin

Şahname, the anthology of Iranian epic history, compiled by Firdevsi and finished at 1010 AD, is modeled on the writing structures of Avesta, The Old Testament and Kur'an; and based on ancient religious and literary texts written around 3000 BC. From the various stories, the one with a cruel king and its encounter with Kawa the Blacksmith are where Firdevsi talks about the origins of the Kurds.

Dahhak is the son of an Arab king living in the deserts. Originally he had a good heart, he was brave but he was ignorant. One day Satan came to him, gained his confidence with his knowledge and made him swear to perform his recommendations. Then, he wanted him to kill his own father in order to get to the throne. First, Dahhak rejected but was convinced soon. Later Satan entrapped the king and killed him, and Dahhak became the new king of the Arabs. After a while, Satan disguised as a cook and asked Dahhak to be hired in the court. At that time there was a scarcity of food, people could find meat very rarely and didn't have the habit of eating everything from the soil. They were eating mostly the green vegetables. In such conditions, Satan enchanted Dahhak with meals of meat; he nourished him with blood. As a return for these, Dahhak wanted to do a favor for this talented cook. He told him "make a wish and I will do it". Satan wanted to kiss Dahhak's shoulders and disappeared as soon as he kissed the king. Suddenly two dark snakes appeared on each of Dahhak's shoulders, and they continued to grow up like two branches of a tree even after Dahhak cut them off several times. Healers got together and tried to cure the king, but no one could find a solution. Then Satan disguised as a healer this time and said: "This is an incurable disease. You can't vanish the snakes; you can only calm them down. The way is to feed them with human brain. You have to kill two men everyday and behead them in order to get the brains". His aim was to clean the world from human beings. By and by Dahhak took over Iran and then the whole world, while continuing to feed the snakes with human brains.

It lasted exactly 1000 years. One day two kind men, named Ermayil the Faithful and Kermayil the Visionary, decided to save the men from Dahhak's cruel hunger. They

entered the court as cooks in the kitchen. Each time when to men would be killed; they saved one of them and told him, “You are free now, but leave the city. From now on your places will be the mountains and plains”. Thus, in that way they saved 30 men per month. The men went to the mountains and formed the people named the Kurds.

One day, a man demanding justice came to the court to talk to Dahhak. His name was Kawa the Blacksmith. He said that the snakes ate his 17 sons, and that he wanted to save the 18th. With furor, he accused Dahhak of being cruel. But Dahhak accepted his demand with one condition: he would have to sign a contract where it was written that Dahhak was a just and good ruler. Kawa rejected it, left the palace with furor and on the street called people to join him, shouting for justice: “let’s get rid of the oppression of Dahhak, take the side of Feridun⁴²; Dahhak is an Ehrimen⁴³.” He took of his leather apron and made a flag out of it, and declared, “This piece of leather will distinguish the enemy from the friend, follow it”. He started to walk to the place where Feridun lived and the crowd following him grew ceaselessly. They have ornamented the piece of leather with fabric of colors red, yellow and purple. And this became the flag of Feridun who would finally defeat Dahhak and reign over Iran for 500 years. The Story in *Şahname* ends at this point and continues with Feridun’s own story.

In *Şerefname*, a kind of historical anthology of Kurdish families, a nearly identical story is narrated, but in this book the story ends at the point where the Kurdish nation is formed on the mountains. In the third source, *Mem u Zin* of Ahmede Xane, no legend is mentioned but an atmosphere of feast called Newroz, people going to wilderness and the meeting of young lovers are described. This third description is very close to the actual celebrations of spring feasts, of for example, Hıdırellez (another spring feast celebrated at may 5th to 6th by many peoples in Anatolia and its circumference). What is striking, neither in *Şahname* nor *Şerefname*, Newroz is related to the stories told above. Only in *Şahname*, Newroz is described in a separate part, as the celebration of the day Cemşid-the grandfather of Feridun- gets to the throne, which has no relation with Dahhak or Kawa.

⁴²A legendary ruler of ancient Iran.

⁴³ The dark power, the contrary of Ahrmazda as the supreme goodness.

3.1.2 The rewriting of history

What happened in the course of 20th century, is the construction of a history, “as a legitimator and cement of group cohesion” (Hobsbawm, 1992, p.12), in the course of which this history- in our case the legend- becomes “the actual symbol of struggle” (Hobsbawm, 1992, p.13) having its own heroes and martyrs; creating and celebrating its new/future heroes and martyrs departing from the same legend. One of the main elements of nation building, the creation of a national anthem is also accomplished during this process. *Ey Reqip* (listen, enemy), written by A Kurdish activist, Yunus Rauf (known as Dildar) is composed as an anthem in 1938. The anthem was first adopted as the national anthem of Mahabad Republic in Iran in 1946. Although the life of this republic was limited to 13 months, the anthem remained as the national anthem for Kurds in different countries. It is nowadays adopted as the official national anthem for the Iraqi Kurdistan and it is also recognized by the Kurds in Turkey. As a national anthem, it possesses all the necessary characteristics: addressing to patriotic feelings, a rhythmical structure evoking all other militaristic marches around the world. Similarly the lyrics of the anthem possess in a compact pocket all the symbols a rising nationalism requires and the forthcoming movement would have (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1: The text of the march “Ey Reqip” (Oh, Enemy).

Kurdish (Kurmanci)	English
Ey reqîb her, maye qewmê Kurd ziman	Oh, enemy, Kurdish people live on!
Nasikê û danayê bi topê zeman	It has not been crushed by weapons of any time
Kes nebê Kurd dimirin, Kurd jîn dibin	the Kurdish youth rise bravely.
Jîn dibin qet nakevê ala Kurdan	With their blood they colored the crown of life.
Em xortên rengê sor û şoreşin	Let no one say Kurds are dead! They are living,
Seyr bike xwîna dîyan me da rijand	they live and never shall we lower our flags
Kes nebê Kurd dimirin, Kurd jîn dibin	We are the descendants of the Medes and
Jîn dibin qet nakevê ala Kurdan	King Cyaxares (Kurdish: <i>Keyxusrew</i>)
Lawê Kurd rabûye ser pê wek şêran	Kurdistan is our religion, our credo.
Ta bi xwîn nexshîn bike tacê jîyan	We are descendants of the red banner of the
Kes nebê Kurd dimirin, Kurd jîn dibin	revolution,
	look at our past, how bloody it is.

Table 3.2: “Herne Peş” flow chart.

	Music (Grup Yorum’s version)	Lyrics Kurdish (Kurmanji)	Lyrics English	Symbol
Opening melody	A rhythmic melody with <i>bağlama</i> , accompanied with guitar in the background. Only one percussion in the first turn, filling in the phrase ends; in the second turn a snare drum is added	No text	No text	<i>Bağlama</i> ⁴⁷ sound implies “the traditional”, while the rhythmic structure evokes a more military feeling.
First quatrain	<i>Bağlama</i> , guitar and one percussion accompanying women’s choir in the first turn. In the second turn a second layer of women’s voice added and the snare drum filling in at the ends of each verse.	birayên delal hûn werin kurdino	Come, beautiful Kurdish brothers	The call of the young girls for the victory is significant, for the liberation of Kurdish women has been one of the core topics both in the tensions between the Turkish Republic and the Kurdish people (as in the case of honor killings that, though widespread all over the country, are usually seen as a characteristic of Kurdish culture in the dominant ideological discourse), and within the movement itself
		behişta welat em herin merdino	Let’s go to our beautiful country, brave brothers	
		eger hûn nayên van e keç em meşin	If you don’t come, we the girls will suffice	
		bes e koletî serfiraz her bijîn	There is an end of slavery, long live the victory	
Refrain	Men’s and Women’s voice together. <i>Bağlama</i> and guitar, accompanied with one percussion The snare emphasizing the ends of each word	herne pêş herne pêş dewr û dem ya me ye	Go ahead, go ahead! This is our epoch	The togetherness of men’s and women’s voice symbolize the togetherness in the struggle, while the snare emphasizing the military nature of that struggle, along with the stress on the tradition with the use of <i>bağlama</i> .
		welat çav li rê bendewarê me ye	The country is waiting for us to come	

⁴⁷*Bağlama*, even if is not the one traditional instrument used in every part of Anatolia, has become the sign of “the traditional” in music in many parts of the country. This is the result of nation-building process after the establishment of the republic, which sought to construct a new “national” music, adapting traditional tunes to *bağlama* playing.

Table 3.2 (continued): “Herne Peş” flow chart.

	Music (Grup Yorum’s version)	Lyrics Kurdish (Kurmanji)	Lyrics English	Symbol
Second Quatrain	<i>Bağlama</i> , guitar and one percussion accompanying men’s choir in the first turn. In the second turn a second layer of men’s voice added and the snare drum filling in at the ends of each verse	keçên nûciwan em dixwazin xebat	Our young girls put their hearts on this struggle	The emphasis on the sacrifice of young lives (and martyrdom) is one of the main patriotic themes in Anatolia. The mention of the red flag in the last verse implies the communist identity of the poet; and also it is consistent with the movement’s starting ideology, which was overtly socialist.
		me canê ciwan danî rêka welat	Let be sacrificed my young life for the country	
		dilê me ji pola gurçik bûne	In this struggle our heart is strong like steel	
		bo ala rengîn hûn werin em besin	Come for the red flag, we will suffice	
Refrain	Men’s and Women’s voice together. <i>Bağlama</i> and guitar, accompanied with one percussion The snare emphasizing the ends of each word	herne pêş herne pêş dewr û dem ya me ye	Go ahead, go ahead! This is our époque	The same as the first refrain
		welat çav li rê bendewarê me ye	The country is waiting for us to come	
Coda	The rhythmic emphasis with the repetition of “herne peş” three times. At the and the instruments repeat the pattern one more time , without the lyrics	herne pêş, herne pêş, herne pêş.	Go ahead, go ahead, go ahead.	The repetition of “herne peş” three times, followed by the textless rhythmic pattern implies a military action towards the goal.

This song has become one of the hallmarks of the movement, an unofficial national anthem. The Grup Yorum version also contributed to its popularity by addressing the left wing audience. As I will shortly mention later, Grup Yorum was one of the groups on the stage for the Newroz 2008, and the words of the singer were of crucial importance in terms of symbolic commonalities between Kurdish movement and Turkish left⁴⁸. Also, the same group performed the song during the May 1st celebrations in 2011, as a sign of solidarity between Kurds and Turks, on the way to revolution.

⁴⁸ The melody of the song with new words, and with the new title “the Legacy” was adopted as the cheering march of a football club, Buca Spor, from Izmir in 2011. It has been sung for almost a year in the terraces, and then the fans of the Buca Spor realized the origins of their march. At the end of 2011, it was announced that the song would never be sang again in the terraces for Buca Spor club.

While the alternative construction of the history is done in multiple channels, it is -on the other hand- selective. The reason behind that is the aim to adjust the story to the actual conditions. In the contemporary myth of Kawa, there is no mention of either Cemşid or Feridun; only the power of people, the power of one hero within the community is emphasized; which is consistent with the originally socialist ideology of the Kurdish movement. This selective construction of the past through myth might be called “a cognitive mapping of the past, present and future” (Cohen, 1985, p. 99). While cognitively mapping the past, the departing point is the present and its demands; the main purpose being to reconstruct-map the present. Once the past is mapped this way, the present is also mapped and then the future might be determined from that cognitive point. The construction of past through the legend of Kawa is so successful that it is not remembered anymore that this is the result of a construction process, it is normalized in people’s minds. One example is the narration of Kawa’s story in *A Fire in My Heart. Kurdish Tales* (Edgecomb, 2008). Edgecomb collected stories from different parts of South Eastern and Eastern Anatolia. On the first page of Kawa’s story she explains the case as follows:

One of the most important Kurdish holidays is Newroz (nehw-ruh), an Indo-European New Year’s festival occurring on March 21, the time of Vernal Equinox. It is celebrated in Kurdistan, Iran, Afghanistan, India, and various countries of Central Asia. For the Kurds, the celebration of Newroz has taken on special, even political significance in recent years. Associated with the legend of Kawa the blacksmith, Newroz is seen as a time to unite and celebrate victory over oppression. A young woman heard the following story when she was a child. It was told to her by her father, and after telling the story to the children, he then lit the Newroz fire. There are many versions of the Kawa legend; this one has a lovely simplicity in it. (p. 95)

For every myth needs rituals to propose its way of dealing with the world to the listeners, the place for Kawa myth to be ritualized is the Newroz field, where bonfires are lit, people dance side by side and sing songs whose meaning are sometimes beyond their literal meanings, chant slogans and communicate their claims both to themselves and to the rest of the country. As Catherine Bell (1997) puts it, “the ritual is dependent on the myth” (p. 11) and doing the ritual as it is done today is a claim for the potential of being rebellious heroes, who were one of the members of that same community, albeit in a fictitious past; and changing the world. “Telling the sacred story requires ritual and intrinsic to the ritual reenactment of the events in the story is the recitation of the myth itself” (Bell, 1997, p. 11). In Newroz celebration, one of the constants is the reference to Kawa and to Dahhak; to the martyrs and heroes who gave their life for the sake of their people. In what follows, I

will give examples from the speeches done in different years, during Newroz celebrations in Istanbul.

In 2008:

We thank to our martyrs who gave their lives for us, by getting their body into fire and who gave us the fire of freedom to possess deep in our hearts, we bend behind them with respect. (Emine Ayna)-[translation mine].

Again in 2008:

The imperialists who are today's Dehhaks, ... you turned the Middle East into a lake of blood. ... Do you think Kawa the blacksmiths in these lands are wasted away? [She recites the names of the martyrs]. To the love of the heroes whose names we possess deep in our heart, ... with love of those who say 'either victory or death', with our belief on the days where we will form *halay-s* of victory, happy Newroz! (Grup Yorum singer) [Translation mine].

In 2010:

Newroz is the common liberation day chromed of victory after a magnificent rebellion for all the peoples in the Middle East, leading by Kurds and by Kawa the revolutionist against the cruel Dehhak. Newroz is also a rebellion where peoples and workers will from *halay-s*, will sing songs of victory, it is a hope to win. [Translation mine].

In 2011:

Today is Newroz,. Today is the day when all the Kawas light fires of freedom against all the cruel Dahhaks ... We celebrate the freedom feast of Kurdish people. We bend with respect before the memory of our martyrs, who created this holiday with their bloods and lives. [people shout 'şehit namırın'- martyrs don't die]. We salute all who are not with us, who put their lives into risk in the cities and on the mountains, to keep the fire of freedom alive. [Translation mine].

These excerpts from the speeches reveal some basic points: the significance of Kawa and Dehhak as symbols for the existing power relationships, the fire as a main symbol of rebellion-very closely connected to the Zoroastrian beliefs of Mesopotamian peoples⁴⁹, the significance of martyrdom, which can be detected in the discourses of both leftist movements, and Turkish nationalism; and the symbolic power of dance and songs to express freedom, revolt and solidarity. In every Newroz celebration, while all these speeches are done, people in the field respond with slogans, whistles and applause. But the field is multi layered and in the course of the speeches many groups perform dances with the music of *davul* and *zurna-s*⁵⁰ present

⁴⁹ Fire in Zoroastrian beliefs is the symbol of Ahura Mazda (the divine god of Zoroastrianism), and the divine power, which gives order to all life, strengthens it and which serves the soul to be purified. On the Newroz day, fires are lighted. This is the consecration of fire, light and its reflection in the identity of Ahura Mazda; which is the cause of everything's existence. Jumping over the fires symbolizes a shower of light, purification from the sins (Korkmaz, 2004).

⁵⁰ Davul is a two-headed big frame drum, played with a mallet and a stick, hanging from the shoulder. Zurna is a double reed shawm. These two instruments are traditionally played together throughout

in the field. The *halay*- a community dance form widespread in and around Anatolia in different forms and under different names- signifies the solidarity, and these groups performing these dances communicate both to themselves and to the others their sense of togetherness, power and identity. On the other hand, the sounds of the event-the songs, speeches, and the slogans-the voice of the people- are the main media to express all the symbols and claims for identity. In the next section I will describe and analyze selected sound narratives from the field, in order to illustrate the ways people express the rebellion by sound.

3.2 Symbolic Practices in the Field

In 2010, it was my first time in a Newroz celebration. I have been familiar with the Kurdish masses in different political gatherings, especially with women, but I have never been in a Newroz celebration before. Each year in Istanbul, Newroz is celebrated in Kazlıçeşme field, situated nearby the sea, in *the* district of Zeytinburnu. Before, in my narrow ideological perception of the city, Kazlıçeşme was a remote area, on the margins of the city. I have always lived in core districts, and it has been one year that I have been moved to one of the first suburban complex of buildings, Ataköy, nearby the airport. Still I was having difficulties in finding my way, and conceptualize my coordinates in the city. That day, while trying to go to the event, I confronted with my own divided city in my mind. Contrary to my perception, Kazlıçeşme is located in Zeytinburnu, which is a highly populated district, in the middle of several public transport lines. One of the ways to find one's way in Istanbul is to ask people in the street; so did I. After I had a train trip of ten minutes, I asked people where to find minibuses going to Kazlıçeşme. The station was just in front of the train station, there were men shouting "Kazlıçeşme, Kazlıçeşme!!" to direct people towards the minibuses. The street was not crowded but there was an incredible energy, speed of flowing people. In the minibus nobody was pronouncing the word, but everybody –children, mothers and fathers, young people- in the minibus was going to the celebrations. Thinking about the energy and the enthusiasm in the air, suddenly I heard a song from the CD player. I couldn't recognize which

Anatolia, though the variations in style might be significant. During the political gatherings (mainly in left and Kurdish politics) - meetings, feast, strikes- *the davul-zurna* duos are always present to make people dance.

song it was, but it was Kurdish for sure and the driver was looking delighted. This was the first key to enter in the alternative path of the ritual; this was the point where the spirit of the celebration has interfered with the everyday flow of the city. Why? Since Kurdish songs are not prohibited, why that song was so symbolic? The answer is not complex: in the normal flow of the everyday, music in Kurdish is not played so loud in public, even if it is not prohibited. We might say that there is a caution about free cultural expression and the playing of that Kurdish song was an important sign, telling to the audience that this is a different day, today we have the right to shout in Kurdish and everybody will listen to us.

A similar intervention was operating in the suburban train, which was transporting people to the field from Eminönü, one of the main crossroads of Istanbul. After I got to Kazlıçeşme, I went to the train station to meet my friends. While the train was arriving, the sounds of the cheering people faded in and while people get out the train these sounds enveloped all of us. People were shouting slogans, doing *zilgit*⁵¹, talking, cheering in a daring joy. As I learned from my friends, the whole train was traversing several districts shouting and chanting, in a way interfering with the everyday soundscape of these places. In that final station, the flow of the people as if they were breaking the chains of everyday ordinary oppressions was clearly expressed by sounds.

Walking in the road leading to the square and passing from the police gates... These gates are where the police controls people –in every mass political demonstration- to detect if they possess any weapons, and these gates are always chaotic, where people are crowded, and where disputes might happen; these are places of tension on the highest level. And just passing through the gate, on the other side women start to dance to the music of *davul* and *zurna*; this is the point where the festival starts.

According to newspapers in 2010 (Url-24), there were more than 500 000 people in that square, all shouting and dancing (Figure 3.1). There were people with flags of particular political organizations (from the left too), people with the posters and pictures of Abdullah Öcalan, people carrying flags of yellow, red and green. And there were women, children, young people who were there just to celebrate Newroz,

⁵¹ A kind of ululation, performed in the moments of emotional climax as excitement or sorrow. It is produced by the quick movements of the tongue and the throat, and the result is a sharp linear sound. The *zilgit* is only performed by women.

not belonging to any specific organization, who were there just because they were Kurdish; wearing traditional costumes, with shining spangles, bright colors and accessories ornamented with the well known three colors (yellow, red and green-the symbol colors of Kurdish identity); old women wearing white head scarves, ornamented with three colored lace stars (this star being that of the PKK's flag); babies and girls wearing traditional clothes of all colors (Figure 3.2). All signs were telling that this was an important day, and all symbols referring to emotions of solidarity, to the sense of community reinforced by being in the field for the celebration of Newroz.



Figure 3.1: Kazlıçeşme Newroz field, 2010 (Url-25).



Figure 3.2: A baby, on his father’s shoulders and women wearing traditional clothes.

3.2.1 The Kazlıçeşme field

In the field, a stage was constructed (Figure 3.3). There were huge loudspeakers with one big screen where images of fire, of martyrs, the stage and the crowd in the field were shown. The field was framed with police barricades, and as time passed by, it became more and more difficult to walk through the crowd. There were bonfires, people gathered around them, mostly young men, shouting aloud the well-known slogans of that day. In 2010, where the political and seasonal climate was still more moderate- despite people have started to loose their hopes for a democratic solution-, there were groups of women and children sitting on coverts on the soil, as if they were in a picnic gathering. From the loudspeakers music was broadcasted, people were forming small dancing groups and were dancing to that music, sometimes adding their own rhythm to it, sometimes totally ignoring it and dancing to the music of *davul* and *zurna*. The *davul* and *zurna* duos were either accompanying some

specific groups or were freelance musicians who came to earn money from the dancing groups. They were scrolling through the field, playing and inviting people to dance: usually they play and at the end of each group's dance, they demand money for their performance. After the broadcasting of songs from the loudspeakers, "the program" began. Invitees spoke from the stage -deputies, important personalities for the movement-, people listened and reacted to their speech with whistles, slogans and applause, while *davul- zurna* duos were still hanging around playing and groups dancing. And lastly, there took place mini concerts by well-known artists or groups during which the tension, the excitement came to a highest point. This was where the event turned to be a real dancing event. The songs performed were received by dances and slogans when it was convenient. During all this flow, there was a peak point where the field contained most people, and after that point people started to leave the field. At the end, there were still people but less than the peak point. On the other hand, the barricaded field was not the only place for the celebration. The green grasses around the field- the parks, the coastline- was filled with people if the weather is convenient: the celebration of the spring and politics were merged in all aspects of the event.



Figure 3.3: The stage in Kazlıçeşme Newroz field (Url-26).

3.2.2 Being in the threshold

My first encounter with the spirit of the celebration was in the minibus, when I heard the Kurdish song on the road to the field, with its clear political standing as a symbolic action, and the second was the entrance process from the train through the police gates; both reflecting the total spirit of the collective action. In both 2010 and 2011 I witnessed to the events on the Kazlıçeşme train station. This station is used as a gateway to another world, a gateway forced by the loudness of the sound made by the passengers. The train was full of people: everybody was going to the field. Sometimes songs were accompanying the slogans. The train passed through several stations and in each station the crowd in the train grew. Kazlıçeşme station is the last stop for the participants of the event. In this last stop suddenly the crowd flows out of the train with chants, shouting. Their sound was mixing with the voice of vendors crying out familiar patterns of street vendors to my ears, but in Kurdish this time. It was interesting for me that the rhythmic qualities of these cries were so familiar whereas the language was not Turkish.

The crowd flows towards the stairs going down to a short subway. In the subway the loudness of the slogans increases, the walls are used as an amplifier, which multiplies the power of the amount of sound made by the crowd. Then people exit to the road leading to the field. Here the sound of slogans turns to be a noise made out of thousands of people speaking, mixed with the voices of the vendors: ring-shaped bagels (*simit*), cotton candy, three-colored hats and scarves; food vendors, crying out in Turkish alongside the road (fish, *döner*⁵² and rice). While walking people wear their three colored accessories: suddenly it turns to be a festival. With all the colors, the redressing with the three colored accessories and with all these foods accompanying, people cheerfully chat and walk towards the field. Yes, this is the spring feast, I say to my self; here I can see it is a carnival. Then the crowd begins to agglomerate; which means that we reached the police barricade. An old man warns us –“ladies in the right side”. The gates of men and women are separate, for only women police control women’s bodies and bags. When we redirect ourselves according to the old men’s warning, we hear a voice from a loudspeaker: “women friends from the right side!” He is on a minibus, so close that we also can hear his

⁵² A kind of fast food in Turkey, made out of thin slices of meat, served with bread and green vegetables.

own voice without the loudspeakers. . He holds a microphone and hanging from the window, warns women in Turkish to pass to the right side. Nobody says “men from the left side”, only women are warned. There are only two or three gates for women and we horde. Meanwhile, there is not any problem in men’s side, they come and pass without stopping. While waiting for our turn, a group of young men pass chanting in Kurdish, the well known guerilla anthem Çerxa Şoreşe, very excited, with a joyful aggressiveness, with the courage of feeling secure and powerful to struggle with possible interventions. The women waiting in the crowd respond them by *zılgits*.

Finally we pass to the other side, where just after passing the gate a group of women with traditional dresses starts to dance to the music of a pair of *davul-zurna* in the middle of the road, under the admiring guise of people walking towards the field. This is what symbolic action is; they mean: we are here, look at us, we dance to our tune. Dancing *halay* is always a sign for solidarity, and in case of the Kurdish movement it is a sign for protecting their identity as Kurds.

This is a ritual in many aspects. First, structurally it follows common patterns with other political rituals in Istanbul; second, the event is a means for expression of problems with The Structure-the system; and third, its function is to communicate some specific message to both the insiders and outsiders.

In Newroz celebrations the structure of the event is similar to other manifestations in Istanbul, except the procession and parade section. The celebration starts outside the field, on the road, but not in an organized cortege fashion. Instead people from everywhere flow to the field and start to celebrate it wherever they are (on the buses, on the train, while walking towards the field from different directions in an unorganized manner): in that sense, they lack the “hierarchically” organized structure of the other mass gatherings in the street, where the parade is well organized as a spectacle to the rest of the city. This characteristic of the Newroz celebrations is one of the signs of their inwardness, the ultimate result being strengthening the boundaries between those in the field and the rest of the country. Structurally the “official” celebration has the following characteristics: a specific beginning and end, the walks to the square, police control, dances and chants-multivocality and

polyrhythmia (Lefebvre, 2004) everywhere-, reference to traditions with the dances and *davul-zurna*, sense of solidarity, the broadcasting of representative songs⁵³ from huge loudspeakers. Also, on the stage a well known pattern is followed: the speeches, both in Turkish and Kurdish, the mini concerts by representative artists for the specific occasion. The spirit of solidarity is reinforced by the participation to the dances and to the slogans. While on the one hand, this is controlled both by the state apparatuses (police and the local government) and by the leaders of that specific community (leaders of the party and of the movement), it is also flexible and open ended with all its potential for change, with the strength of the demands pronounced in and via this event.

“The movement” here is explicitly against the “Structure” and it aims the creation of an anti-structure, using Victor Turner’s terms (Turner, 2009 [1969]). The Structure is what can simply be defined as the established order of the things. On the other hand, the anti-structure is aimed to be reached through the formation of *communitas* in the course of the collective action and through a gap in the process of social time, a sense of in-betweenness, called liminality (the moment caught between the “just before” and “just after”, which can be lost suddenly, but which also have great potential because of the blurring of the boundaries-that’s why the “*communitas* is of the now”). Where the liminal may be called the eclipse of the oppressive rules of the Structure to some extent, the *communitas* is “a society as unstructured or rudimentarily structured and relatively undifferentiated *communitas*, community, or even communion of equal individuals who submit together to the general authority of the ritual elders”(Turner, 2009 [1969], p.96). Additionally, according to Turner, *communitas* also emerges in inferiority and marginality, along with liminality. Therefore, while it is of the now, within liminality, it has roots in the everyday practices of the Structure, as is the case with the Kurdish *communitas*.

The crowd on the field as a *communitas*, is already a group of anti-structure outside the field; but becomes visible and gain a challenging potential through the spatial unity. They interfere with the existing order of the everyday, but within the limits of the permissive authority of the Structure-the State. These official boundaries are perforated through the action on the roads, an action mostly characterized by the use

⁵³ This will be discussed later

of sound. In other words, the field is officially determined, The Structure permits anti-structural behavior under its control-as a safety valve- but the masses start the action outside the boundaries, in the public, in the everyday, through transforming the space with the use of their sounds and bodies. The signs of *communitas* are the rebellious energy of young people shouting slogans otherwise prohibited to pronounce, to sing songs popular for those involved with the movement or Kurdish culture, to reconstruct and reinforce some cultural values such as martyrdom- to die while fighting or to burn one's self, symbols such as fire and the three colors of the flag, and their identity through the active involvement with the political agenda and creation of a common past, a common myth- Newroz as a rebellious claim of identity other than simply being a spring feast; and common heroes- Kawa as the model for Kurds in the struggle, Abdullah Öcalan as the absolute leader.

The function of all these symbols is to communicate an essential message, as it is the case with all ritual events. The messages communicates through the multiple symbols; the rituals are always multi-referential and multi vocal (Turner, 2009 [1969]). While the Kurdish identity stands as a core element in the message, other references to the Turkey's historical past are maintained. For instance, from the stage some heroes of the leftist movement of 1970s are saluted (İbrahim Kaypakkaya, Deniz Gezmiş)⁵⁴; also the field is filled by the members of some anarchist and leftist groups, by members of worker's unions along with Kurds. The emphasis on the multiculturalism in the year 2010 with the presence of singers such as Birol Topaloğlu (as a Laz, singing in his own language), Yasemin Göksu as a leftist singer, and group Çar Newa, a Kurdish group. Additionally, these patterns of activities and the dominant symbols communicate some specific meaning to both the "outside" and to the participants themselves. This political ritual is a means for the Kurdish movement to declare its potential, it is a very strong way to enhance the feelings of solidarity and it is a challenge to the "others" through the spatial unity of people gathered on that place. The message is similar to that of all similar gatherings: our voice is so strong that we can transform the whole system as we transform this space. In this sense, we can call this ritual as a ritual of rebellion, which is "a protest against

⁵⁴ İbrahim Kaypakkaya (b. 1949- d.1973) was a Maoist revolutionary leader, dead under torture in 1973. Deniz Gezmiş (b. 1947- d. 1972) was a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary leader, inflicted to death sentence with two of his comrades, after the military coup of 1971. Both became legendary revolutionary icons for the revolutionary generations that followed.

the established authority” (Cohen, 1985, p. 58). At that point it might be argued that the power of the community in the field lies on its potential to create an alternative to the Structure. These kinds of ritualized mass collective actions reflect the power of some movements in the civil domain and the support they have from below.

3.3 Sound Narratives-Songscaes: Communicating the Message

The speech-music-noise triad is one of the primary distinguishing features in collective mass actions in Turkey. While walking in the street, one can realize something is happening hearing the sound far away. The sound is used as the primary transformative agent in the political events: it interferes with the normal flow of life on the street, it disturbs people comfortable in their routine, and it alerts people outside the event that a physical conflict may occur. On one hand the sound transforms the everyday flow; on the other hand, it does so through cognitive references to a definite past, and by directly transforming the space with its power to collect all political, historical and actual reactions-reflections of people together.

The flow of the Newroz celebration in Kazlıçeşme is provided with a sequence of songs- a songscape, which determines the tension, the level of enthusiasm and the strength of reaction of the people in the field. These songs are also the main elements constructing the sound narratives in the field, along with the call and response of the speeches and slogans-as it is the case with all other political collective actions in the street. “Songscaes acoustically mark out the space in which rituals are carried out, and they create an acoustic environment” (Norton, 2002, p. 79). In Newroz celebrations, the songscape both transforms the place into a place where specific meanings are acted out and also gives a structure to the celebration.

In this section I will try to “frame” and interpret some sound narratives in terms of meaning and message and of their relationship with the rest of the city; to group some sounds, to take excerpts from my experience in the field. The aim is to illustrate the symbolic actions through sound, to show how socio-cultural orders are challenged or reconstructed-reproduced through the use of sound-music. For this purpose I will mainly focus on the field in 2010, also discuss the features of the songscae in the field in 2011 and conclude with the soundscape in 2012, where the celebrations were banned and the streets of Istanbul turned out to be fields for struggle.

3.3.1 The political climate

The year 2010 was marked with a resistance to the changing political atmosphere, emphasizing the solidarity of peoples, the multicultural solidarity. The Newroz was announced as “the Newroz of democratic solution for Kurdish question” by the BDP. In 2009 the Turkey’s Prime Minister R. Tayyip Erdoğan announced that the state and the government would take positive steps toward the resolution of the problem, calling the process “the Kurdish opening out”. This declaration created both a sense of optimism and doubts in every section of the society, from different points of view. As a result, a group of guerilla entered Turkey from Habur gate in June 2009; they were received with celebrations and were not arrested at first. The reaction of nationalists to this event was strong and repulsive, which cut off the process at the very beginning and resulted by the arresting of many Kurdish politicians and activists on the following days. The operation that began those days grew up in circles and included people from different circles, ranging from civil right activists to academics, from university students to journalists, until today. In those circumstances, where the tension was still growing, the Newroz in Istanbul was marked with a stress on solidarity of peoples, of the resistance of workers, along with the good weather conditions: the picnic aspect of the spring feast was merging with the positive and determined political attitude. In this atmosphere, the music was a reflection of the enveloping ideology: Birol Topaloğlu, a Laz musician, Yasemin Göksu, a leftist singer, Koma Çar Newa, a Kurdish group, were on the field to perform short concerts. Both Topaloğlu and Göksu sang one Kurdish song, along with their own Laz and Turkish songs, as a symbolic political message, expressing their support to the demands of the people in the field. On the other hand, in 2011, the political climate became more and more rigid, the upcoming elections turned the mainstream political discourses more and more nationalistic and exclusionist, the stress on military methods to deal with the Kurdish question was rising. All this developments created a parallel reaction within the Kurdish people and strengthened the sense of fight. It could be detected in the population of the Newroz celebrations 2011: less women and children in the field, more aggressive young men, and the field more stressed and less cheerful-a kind of hopeless anger was dominant. The music accompanying this atmosphere was that of Seyda Perinçek, not a well known singer, except for his songs about or addressing the guerilla. In 2011, contrary to the

“fraternity of the peoples of Anatolia” atmosphere of 2010, the songs in the concerts were about the celebrations of the coming of the guerilla; about the guerilla life and were expressing the support to Abdullah Öcalan. Although the artists and their music on the stage was symbolic in terms of the actual preferences related to the agenda of the country, the songscape, broadcast from the loudspeakers, and the succession organized in advance by the organizers of the event was significant in observing and analyzing the inner rhythms and feeling of the crowd in the field

3.3.2 Songscape in the field

The Newroz is a cyclic event, happening once a year. It has an inherent rhythm over time. On the other hand, the specific event itself is full of other rhythms: the rhythms of the event with all of its organization from the start to the end, the music broadcast, the rhythms of the small dancing groups, sometimes adjusting to the loudspeaker, sometimes creating their own, people walking around the field ceaselessly, singing songs apart from the ones broadcast, and sometimes joining the main music all together. In this section, I will report my observations related to the songs from the field in 2010, and interpret the situations according to the use of songs and people’s reaction to them.

In the entrance, the field was not crowded yet. People were wondering around, some groups formed circles to dance, the sounds of *davul* and *zurna* merging with the sound of the song from the loudspeakers. In terms of music, a focused ear could detect the multiple layers, and multiple cultural references the songs and tunes in the field might possess: there were traditional dance tunes played by the *davulzurna* teams, well known tunes and songs both in Turkish and Kurdish broadcast from the stage.

In the field in 2010, the first song that created a mass reaction is “Diren Diyarbekir Diren”, sang by Roj. This song was performed in the field of Newroz 2010, and created great enthusiasm, made people get into a state of effervescence: dancing, singing, shouting, jumping, laughing.... The whole field accompanied the song in various ways (Track 24).

The song is in Turkish, and has all the attributes of a typical protest song in Turkey: the use of *bağlama*, *kaval*⁵⁵, along with guitars, keyboards and drum sets. This is a legacy from the 70's where the Anadolu-rock/Anadolu-pop current used traditional instruments, tunes and genres as the departing point, and merged them with the instruments and playing styles used in mainstream western rock and roll. The result of the enthusiastic sound associated with the prop lyrics is a field full of people dancing in joy and excitement.

When the song started, broadcast from the huge loudspeakers on the two sides of the stage in the field, as it would be the case with other songs, I was still walking towards the stage, into the densest places of the field. The song starts with an instrumental section, and then the lyrics come out. While walking, I could realize the song's effect on people, the joy and energy it suddenly created. The moment the refrain began, the excitement got to the highest point. I turned my camera up over the field and saw: groups dancing, everybody in the field jumping with signs of victory and peace, young men lifting each other up, doing peace and victory signs with their hands, and jumping; flags of different colors were swaying under the bright sunlight. People in the field were moving and waving just a huge organism on the rhythm of the song. My camera caught up one specific group just in front of me: a group of approximately 20 young girls and boys dancing inwardly in a circle. Suddenly in the instrumental part they altered the rhythm of the dance, started to repeat a chant-like pattern. What was striking was their modification of the rhythm, altering their inner sense of rhythm during the instrumental section, and adding a second rhythmic layer to the former one. Doing this they formed two reciprocal lines, bending towards each other according to the rhythm of their chant: "be serok jiyan nabe"⁵⁶

They were out of the pulse of the rhythm of the song, and suddenly, towards the end of the instrumental section, one of them gave the sign with his hand and they returned back to the main rhythm, singing the song along. What was interesting was that they repeated the same dance pattern with the same slogan once again, in the refrain section: "Diren ha Diyarbekir Diren", this time within the rhythmic structure of the song.

⁵⁵ An end-blown aerophone of various lengths, used widely in and Around Anatolia under different names.

⁵⁶ No life without the leader

This polyrhythmia in Lefebvre’s (2004) terms and multivocality can be detected more than once during the whole event. Nevertheless, although the event itself has anti-structural characteristics with its conflicting stance with the state, it has its own structure and power relationships. The event is organized by BDP (the last one in the succession of several parties related to the Kurdish movement, opened and closed in thr past 20 years), and “the program” is conducted from the stage. During the whole event, there is a tension between the stage and the crowd, sometimes conflicting and sometimes acting together as it would be in the call and responses of agitating slogans. Often, the songs broadcast from the loudspeakers were muted to leave way to the voice of the speaker on the stage, warning young men on front of the crowd not to push the stage, to calm down, and to respect others. Also, as people came to the field with their children, in such a big crowd, those children might be lost. There were often announcements from the stage about found children, calling their families to get them from the tent for lost children behind the stage.

This tension between the crowd whose enthusiasm can not be controlled and the stage is expressed in several ways. My observation of this alternation of the rhythm might be interpreted as one of these attempts of the people in the field to be in charge of their action. The following table might explain the scene better (Table 3.3).

Table 3.3: “Diren Diyarbekir Diren” flow chart.

	Music	Lyrics Turkish	Lyrics English	Field
First quatrain	Drumset, electric guitar (rhythm)	Görmedi bu gözlerim seni, sanki yarsın özlerim seni Özgürlüğün adı sen oldun sonsuza dek beklerim seni,	I haven’t seen you for a while, and I miss you as if you are a lover to me You became the name of freedom, and I will wait you for ever	People forming dancing groups, warming up
Refrain	Drumset, Electric guitar (distorted, call and response with the singer) Bağlama (call and response with the singer) Sang two times	Diren ha diyarbekir diren, direnmektir sana can veren Dur ve dinle bu şarkım sana, dağlarının aşkına güven, dağlarının aşkına güven	Resist Diyarbekir, resist, Resistance would give you life Stop and listen, my song is for you Trust in the love of your mountains	The excitement explodes, People jumping, dancing, singing

Table 3.3 (continued): “Diren Diyarbekir Diren” flow chart.

	Music	Lyrics Turkish	Lyrics English	Field
Melody 2	Keyboard melody with long notes (80's sound) Electric guitar (rhythm) Drumset	No text	No text	<i>Zilgits</i> over the melody
Melody 1	Drumset, Electric guitar, Bağlama and Kaval.	No text	No text	The field moves as one organism The group alters the rhythm with a second dance pattern: the chant and the second rhythmic layer to the song
Second Quatrain	Drumset, electric guitar (rhythm)	Yarınlar seninle can bana, güneşi yar yar ettin bana Yüreğinde sevgiler büyür, taşları aliver koynuna	Tomorrows will be full of life with you You made the sun a lover to me Loves grove deep in your heart Let the stones make love to you	All the field dancing The group turns back to the songs's rhythm, with a common halay pattern
Refrain	Drumset, Electric guitar (distorted, call and response with the singer) Bağlama (call and response with the singer)	Diren ha diyarbekir diren, direnmdir sana can veren Dur ve dinle bu şarkım sana, dağlarının aşkına güven, dağlarının aşkına güven	(Refrain) Resist Diyarbekir, resist, Resistance would give you life Stop and listen, my song is for you Trust in the love of your mountains	The field moves like the waves in the sea The group returns to the second dance pattern, this time within the song's rhythmic structure

The song follows some unwritten rules to hook up the listeners. First of all, the lyrics, addressing to Diyarbakır as a lover, the city considered as the center of Kurdish identity, as a capital touches the deep patriotic feelings in the crowd. Second, it implies exile; calls Diyarbakır (and the people) for resistance and freedom. Third, the use of instruments is crucial in creating that spirit. In the refrain section, *bağlama* supports the feeling of locality, as a return to the roots, while the singer shouts “resist Diyarbekir, resist!” This formula – the sum of call for resistance with

the use of *bağlama* puts fire into the excitement in the field. This excitement is also due to the latent meaning of the lyrics “trust in the love of your mountains”. The mountain is the symbol/center of Kurdish struggle. “Climbing the mountain,” means joining the movement as a warrior. Thus, the call for trust in the love of the mountains refers to the trust in guerilla. The feeling is so tense that the passage to the keyboard melody and the smoothness it creates doesn’t suffice the crowd and people make *zılgıt* to fill the vacuum. With the second part of the instrumental section, the feeling of locality/tradition is once more emphasized with the *kaval* sound over the *bağlama*, which cause the waves in the field.

While the tension in the field is in a highest point, another song about Diyarbakır started: “Le Amede”⁵⁷ by Koma Berxwedan (Track 25). Koma Berxwedan is a guerilla music group that composed and performed many anthems for the movement. Also “Ey Raqip” is one of the anthems known as performed by them. The song “Amede” sounds like a cheerful *halay* song. The song is performed by two choirs singing alternately: men sing the main parts, and in the refrain female voice interfere in a cheerful way which gives energy to the *halays* in the field. The succession of these two songs also tells us something about the mentality behind the organization: the aim is to keep the effervescence in the field on a highest level, and the music is purposefully organized accordingly. This suggestion is verified with the song that follows: “Dağlara Doğru” by Ahmet Kaya (Track 26).

Dağlara Doğru, sang by Ahmet Kaya, is composed by Ahmet Kaya departing from the Poem of Hasan Hüseyin⁵⁸, and published in 1985 in his second album *Acılara Tutunmak*. By the time its first verses are heard, a wave of effervescence arises in the field- although people were already in a state of effervescence. This is a well known popular –protest song, but the crowd in the field attach importance the the words and to their implications, in addition to the identity of the singer. “Dağlara Doğru” means “towards the mountains”, which is the key word for the enthusiasm. One of my friends from the field explained this as follows:

⁵⁷ Amed is the Kurdish name of Diyarbakır city

⁵⁸ A well-known socialist poet in Turkey, born in 1927, and passed away in 1984.

We love this song because he says “mountains”. Mountains means struggle for us. That is why we love Grup Yorum’s songs like “Dağlara Gel” (come to the mountains) and Cemo⁵⁹. Poets who use these words are always popular among the Kurds.

During our conversation, after he mentioned Grup Yorum’s songs on mountains, I remembered Sezen Aksu’s⁶⁰ song “Benim Meskenim Dağlardır” (a poem written by Sabahattin Ali⁶¹, composed by Ali Kocatepe) and asked him his feelings about this song. His answer was that this song is very popular but not in Sezen Aksu’s version (Track 27). A video of a deceased guerilla (named Delila) singing this song (Track 28) and the version of Grup Munzur are popular. He added that many popular Kurdish singers performed this song in their concerts. The key is the “mountains”.

Another keyword is “women”. This song is received as a call for women to go to the mountains; which has parallels with the movement’s political standing: “the leadership says: the revolution will be done by women, not by men”, my friend told in a conversation. The song is about women marching to the mountains of Anatolia, full of pain and longing, surrounded with the unknown enemy. The poet is Hasan Hüseyin whose many poems are used in songs by both Ahmet Kaya and Grup Yorum. This song along with some others is one of the most popular poems by him. The lyrics are modified but still have the spirit (Table 3.4).

Table 3.4: “Dağlara Doğru” flow chart.

		Music	Lyrics Turkish	Lyrics English	Symbol- Field
Opening	First melody	First melody with electric guitar A snare evoking the military marches	No text	No text	The crowd gets excited and start to applause and jump
	Second melody	The electric guitar takes in with the main melody, the drum set with the overemphasized cross strokes in the first beats			

⁵⁹ Discussed in the chapter on May Day

⁶⁰ The “diva” of Turkish popular music, who in a sense determined it after 1980’s. She is an ambiguous figure in while on the one hand being in the midst of the mainstream popular culture; and on the other hand surprisingly having strict political attitudes towards the fraternity and democracy in the country.

⁶¹ A progressive writer and poet, born in 1907, had been imprisoned because of his thoughts, and murdered in 1948, while trying to leave the country. The themes in his works are resistance and struggle, a longing for the land.

Table 3.4 (continued): “Dağlara Doğru” flow chart.

		Music	Lyrics Turkish	Lyrics English	Symbol- Field
First quatrain		Electric guitar active. The drum is played in a triple meter, while the first beats are emphasized	Üç etekli, ak puşulu, türkü bakışlı	Worn, <i>üç etek</i> ⁶² , white head scarf, with the looks made of folk songs,	The traditional clothes and the stress on longing and pain implies the remote villages of Anatolia, while contrasting with the colors of nature.
			Kadınlar yürüyor dağlara doğru	Women walk towards the mountain	
			Leylak moru gül kurusu dağlara doğru	The purple of lilacs, the dusty rose, towards the mountains	
			Özlemlerle acılarla bir Anadolu	Anatolia filled with longings and pains	
Refrain	1 st section	A sudden calm down. Only the first beats are stroke: cross and cymbal, cymbal dominant Keyboard drone The drum fills in at the end	Sivashlı mı Urfalı mı bilemem gayrı	Is she from Sivas or Urfa, I can't know	Sivas and Urfa are cities in the east of Anatolia. This strengthens the implication of “remoteness”. Walking towards the mountains means rebellion, start of the struggle.
		Distorted electric guitar follows the tonal movement in the the low notes, triple meter rhythm, without the cross	Kadınlar kadınlar dağlara doğru	Women walk towards the mountains	
		Distorted electric guitar follows the tonal movement in the high notes, triple meter rhythm without the cross	Kadınlar kadınlar dağlara doğru	Women walk towards the mountains	

⁶² A traditional Anatolian type of skirt

Table 3.4 (continued): “Dağlara Doğru” flow chart.

		Music	Lyrics Turkish	Lyrics English	Symbol- Field
Refrain	2 nd section	A choir is added Distorted electric guitar makes a solo in the high tones. The rhythm is tense with hi-hats. At the end the drum set fills in	Dağlara Dağlara Dağlara doğru	Mountains, towards the mountains	The addition of the choir empowers the latent meaning of going to struggle. The sunflowers are the women, going away like the armies.
			Çalı çırpı sıla gurbet dağlara doğru	Sticks and twigs, home, longing, towards the mountains	
		The choir and the drum set together. No melodic instruments. At the end a silence of four beats	Sarı sıcak ak cibinlik dağlara dogru	The yellow warm, white mosquito net, towards the mountain	
			Ordu ordu çekip gider ay çiçekleri	The sunflowers go away like armies	
		The choir and the drum set together. No melodic instruments	Bakma Turaç bakma bana bakma el gibi	Don't look dear francolin, don't look at me like a stranger	While emphasizing the warrior identity, also stress the fragility of women with the allegory of francolin
		Bakma Turaç bakma bana bakma el gibi	Don't look dear francolin, don't look at me like a stranger		
Instrumental		The same as the opening	Scream: Eee		
Second Quatrain		Electric guitar actively ornate. The drum is played in a triple meter, while the first beats are emphasized	Bilemezler avcının kim olduğunu	They do not know who is the hunter	implies that women are surrounded with enemy, and their lives are full of longings and pains.
			Sezmişler düşmanın kokusunu	They felt the smell of the enemy	
			Kadınlar kadınlar dağlara dogru	Women walk towards the mountains	
			Özlemlerle acılarla bir Anadolu	Anatolia, filled with longings and pains	

Table 3.4 (continued): “Dağlara Doğru” flow chart.

		Music	Lyrics Turkish	Lyrics English	Symbol- Field
Refrain	1 st section	A sudden calm down. Only the first beats are stroke: cross and cymbal, cymbal dominant Keyboard drone The drum fills in at the end	Bu sıtmalı gecelere bu beşikleri	These cradles in these nights of malaria	Stresses the motherhood in bad and difficult conditions
		Distorted electric guitar sound follows the tonal movement in the low notes, triple meter rhythm, without the cross	Bakma Turaç bakma bana bakma el gibi	Don't look dear francolin, don't look at me like a stranger	
		Distorted electric guitar sound follows the tonal movement in the high notes, triple meter rhythm without the cross	Bakma Turaç bakma bana bakma el gibi	Don't look dear francolin, don't look at me like a stranger	
	2 nd section	A choir is added Distorted electric guitar makes a solo in the high tones. The rhythm is tense with hi-hats. At the end the drum set fills in	Dağlara Dağlara Dağlara doğru	Mountains, towards the mountains	Implies women's endless work in the midst of longings.
			Çalı çırpı sıla gurbet dağlara doğru	Sticks and twigs, home, longing, towards the mountains	
		The choir and the drum set together. No melodic instruments. At the end a silence of four beats	Sarı sıcak ak cibinlik dağlara dogru	The yellow warm, white mosquito net, towards the mountain	
			Ordu ordu çekip gider ay çiçekleri	The sunflowers go away like armies	
The electric guitar fills in. the drum set Fades in repeating the words The choir fades out, Ahmet Kaya's voice in the foreground	Bakma Turaç bakma bana bakma el gibi Bakma Turaç bakma bana bakma el gibi	Don't look dear francolin, don't look at me like a stranger Don't look dear francolin, don't look at me like a stranger			

The message communicated by these two songs in Turkish is common: a tribute to the guerilla struggle on the mountains, and loyalty to the political standing of the movement's leadership. The equation is simple: the more apparent the message, stronger is the reaction. Furthermore, although the group performing the first song has earned reputation with the success of their song "Diren Diyarbekir Diren"; for the second song, the identity of the singer is crucial: Ahmet Kaya became one of the icons of resistance, threatened roughly by the mainstream popular culture and its actors. In 1999, the association for magazine journalists organized a night where the association would offer awards to popular names in Turkey. The best artist of the year prize awarded Ahmet Kaya. After taking the prize, in his speech he thanked to human Rights Association, to Saturday Mothers, to the press laborers and to the people of Turkey. This thank speech was an alternative one, for in circles of popular culture the tendency is to ignore these realities of the country. Then he announced that he would soon compose a song in Kurdish, and would make a video for it. He added he believes that there were brave broadcasters among the audience who would broadcast this video on the televisions. And he finished saying he doesn't know how these broadcasters will give account for their actions to the people of Turkey, if they wouldn't broadcast that video. Suddenly these words created a furor among the audience- popular singers, actors and journalists-, people insulted him, throw forks and several other things over him. He continued his speech by saying that he would make accept the existence of Kurdish people to all who reject it. Meanwhile, a well-known pop group (Ayna) tried to get him off the stage, despite the fact that few artists tried to protect him physically. After he left, one of then popular- still popular- pop singers, Serdar Ortaç- went to the stage and started to sing the "10th year march"⁶³, which was at that time was gaining its popularity as a nationalist icon-anthem. The audience joined him standing, and applauded him frantically. Then all the "artists" in the hall get to the stage and sang together the famous song "Memleketim"⁶⁴.

⁶³ A march composed for the tenth anniversary of the young Turkish Republic, and repopularized in the 1990's due to the rising of a normalized-mainstream severe nationalism due to the tensions in the society (polarization between secularists, İslamists and Kurds). This will be discussed in the chapter on the Republic Day celebrations.

⁶⁴ Another symbol of the mainstream nationalism in Turkey. The song will be discussed in the chapter on Republic Day celebrations.

Soon after that incident, one of the mainstream newspapers (Hürriyet) published fake news about his participation to a PKK based concert organization in Germany, and claimed that he insulted Turks and Turkish Republic. As follows, the legal investigations started and finally he had to leave the country. Consequently he became a nearly legendary revolutionary figure for the Kurdish people, and this feeling was solidified when he passed away in exile, in Paris; preparing the Kurdish song he had announced that night. He has always been a singer opposed to the mainstream popular music; his political attitude was openly leftist and his support for the “struggle” was well-known. But this incident put him beside the legendary figures like Yılmaz Güney⁶⁵, as a friend told me: We know Ahmet Kaya even better than Yılmaz Güney. This is maybe because we all witnessed what he has gone through in his last years (R.A., personal communication, 2012).

Considering the fact that Ahmet Kaya has become an icon, and the power of his songs, the reason for the reaction in the field gets clarified. The songscape is formed by succession of songs in a well designed order: “Biji Biji Apeme” (meaning “long live my Apo”), “Diren Diyarbekir Diren”, “Amede”, “Kadınlar Dağlara Doğru”, “Biji biji Apeme” (again), “Newroza Ari” (Track 29), Destane Zape”. Before this last song, the speaker on the stage announced, “our program is about to start”, which meant the invited speakers will get in to the stage and then the mini concerts will be performed. During the broadcast of these songs, what one can hear is first, the music (as the only element heard by everybody in the field). People react to songs both by dancing, but as significant as dancing are chanting slogans and doing *zılgits*. The common slogan is the one who says “viva the commander Apo”. But never, the whole body of participants chants it in the event. That specific instant happened after the song “Destane Zape”... It is also critical to mention that this succession of songs prepare the feelings of the people for that specific instant: the one-minute silence for martyrs (Track 30). The cheering the name of their leader, the emphasis on Diyarbakır, mountains and resistance, the remembrance that this is a Newroz gathering by the song “Newroza Ari” and finally the narration of a war legend via the song “Destane Zape” leads the crowd to the point where the feelings are at their most

⁶⁵ A Kurdish actor, scenarist and film director, imprisoned because of his thoughts and dead in exile in 1984. He became a legendary figure for both the left and Kurdish movement, with his openly political and realistic films. His and Ahmet Kaya’s tombs are in the Pere Lachaise Cemetery in Paris.

intense level. The phonotonic effect⁶⁶ (Augoyard and Torgue, 2009, p. 86). is so successful that it raises the already existent sense of *communitas* to highest levels, carries the event into a treshold. The way the belief in martyrdom and the respect for the deceased guerillas is performed marks this limen, where the feeling of integration with the whole arises and the crowd acts as an organism. Although the moment of respect for the martyrs is a common practice in many different political groups in Turkey, for the Kurds, the practice is not related to silence:

The moment for respect to martyrs is introduced by the party. Also, that moment is never silenced among us. We either chant the slogan “Şehit Namırın” [martyrs never die], or sing the anthem “Çerxa 3ore9e. If there are many people participating it is noisy (R.A, personal communication, 2012)

In 2010, that moment was announced from the stage after mentioning the names of well known martyrs from the movement, those of 1970’s leftist movement, as well as the name of Hrant Dink. This announcement attracted the attention of the crowd who wasn’t so much into the speeches on the stage. Suddenly all the hands in the field raised doing the V sign (when done by both hands up, it symbolizes the Kurdish movement), and after an instant of hesitation that caused some kind of silence, the slogan “Şehit Namırın” started, and continued in a chain reaction⁶⁷ (Augoyard and Torgue, 2009, p. 27), and every single person in the field participated it (Figure 3.4). This was the only moment where this multi voiced and multi centered field turned to be one united organism. The action finished by applause and by the announcement from the stage: “their memory will live in our struggle!

The emphasis on martyrdom is a common cultural trait in Turkey. It has its origins in both Islam and in a history made of endless wars. That’s why in every official event, in May Day celebrations and in Newroz celebrations the silence for the martyrs is performed. It is so deeply accepted that even in the annual meetings of the building block where I live, before starting to discuss our problems in the block and financial decisions, the silence for the martyrs is performed. This is the case in university events, football games, and primary school performance shows. I will not discuss this

⁶⁶ “Phonotonic, phonotonic effect characterizes of euphoria provoked by a sound perception. Sometimes it induces a behavior directly, such as a renewed activity, a collective movement... Musical listening often plays this functional role in individual or collective work”.

⁶⁷ “Chain reaction: one sound event provokes a sonic response. These successive inductions, whether or not they are enacted consciously, can result in a phenomenon of sound escalation. Crowd situations are favorable to the appearance of this effect. The applause that follows a show, for instance, may be started by a small group of people and progressively lead the whole audience up to a manifestation whose intensity greatly exceeds the sum of individual contributions.”

issue in every details here in this chapter, for I will discuss it after I will describe all the silences I have witnessed during my fieldwork, interpreting under the light of a recent discussion the prime minister has introduced about expanding the definition of martyrdom. Henceforth, I can detect here that the relationship of the people with its deaths of war is a mirror to its relationship with war: a never ending, trauma which continues to determine our minds and feelings. Its expression is generally silence, but in case of Kurds, it is expressed by chants and anthems. Respect in this culture generally means not to revolt, to obey. The silence is a symbolic action showing the obeidance. But chants and anthems is also a rebellion to that culture, which promotes silence as respect. Kurds want to shout instead of silence, and to say their own words.



Figure 3.4: Newroz, moment of silence.

After the moment for respect to the martyrs, the “program” continued with the speeches from the stage. I will briefly talk about these speeches here, for I think they have the potential to explain the symbolism behind the martyrdom-fire-Newroz triad. The song that followed the moment for respect was “Hele Newroz”; the speeches were done over that song, using it as a background, sometimes- during the pauses of the speech- letting it dominate the field. First, came the definitions for Newroz in both Kurdish and Turkish:Newroz is the hope, newroz is the existence, Newroz is the rebellion, Newroz is resistance,, Newroz is life, Newroz is Kurdistan

The song continued and the slogans “viva leader Apo” were shouted. And the speech continued:

No power can extinguish the fire of the struggle for freedom, peace and fraternity of peoples, led by Mahsun Doğan, Zekiye Alkan [two martyrs of the movement] and others from the time of Deniz Gezmiş and his comrades. This fire will live forever. In your scream, in our struggle we can see the signs for it.

The song takes in and people dance, shouts in joy. Then the speech continues:

We will fight together, we will win together. Vive the revolutionary solidarity, vive the association of struggle of Turkish and Kurdish workers! ... “Newroz is the common liberation day chromed of victory after a magnificent rebellion for all the peoples in the Middle East, led by Kurds and by Kawa the revolutionist against the cruel Dehhak. Newroz is also a rebellion where peoples and workers will from *halay*-s, will sing songs of victory, it is a hope to win.

During that speech the speaker also referred to significant events in the history of leftist struggle in Turkey, and added, Newroz was to Kurds, as May day was to Turkish workers movement, March 8th is to women’s movement. Meanwhile people continued to dance to their own music.

This speech closed the circle: fire at the center, as the symbol for struggle, lighted in Newroz celebrations, and in the suicidal actions of some guerilla who burned themselves in the name of struggle, whose names are mentioned in the speech. Fire, both as the symbol of life and the power of nature according to Zoroastrian beliefs, receives additional meanings through ritual (Figure 3.5) .



Figure 3.5: The fire of Newroz.

The sounds in general, and the music specifically plays the role of catalyzer in creating the ritual, the sense of solidarity and the feeling of power to change the things as they are. However, this is a well controlled event from both sides: both the state and the party/movement are in charge in the control over the masses. The state

gives the necessary permissions for it to be performed. It gives people the field, it traces its physical and psychological borders (Figure 3.6) and it holds the power in its hands. On the other hand the party/movement frames the action within the borders determined by the state. The result is a multiple resistance from below: a resistance to state expressed by the mere participation to the event, but more importantly, we can detect a tension between the organizers of the event and the crowd. The program is well established, the speeches and the music set. But people in the field create their own second and third rhythmic layers by the sounds of *davul* and *zurna*, of their own voice, and by their dances. They push the stage, and often warned by those from the stage to be clam and respectful. There is structure within structure, and people resist both, albeit in a determined framework. But what if the state doesn't give the permission for expression? How the expression takes place? We have experienced this in 2012, where the Newroz celebrations were banned: the streets leading to the field turned to a war field. Fights and gas bombs dominated the soundscape and the whole life in some trajectories in the city.



Figure 3.6: Police barricades framing the field (Url- 27).

The decision of the government to solve the Kurdish question by military means affected the movement and its supporters. The Arab Spring was a new hope for Middle Eastern peoples, including Kurds in Turkey, who planned to design the Newroz celebrations with massive participation everywhere, in order to threaten the government. The government on the other hand, was conscious that a gathering of this dimension would give the impression that the military operations were failing.

Until 2010, every year the Newroz celebrations were being done not on the exact day, but on the closest Sunday to March 21st. BDP asked for permission from the local governments to celebrate the Newroz 2010 on Sunday, March 18th, but this time the answer was “the feast should be celebrated in its exact date, you might celebrate it not on Sunday but on Wednesday”. This was a prohibition in practice, albeit not in discourse: the Newroz is not an official holiday, so people would have to go to their work and wouldn't be able to fill the fields, and the plans of the moments wouldn't be realized. This practical ban created the relevant reaction: on March 18th, main roads in Istanbul were closed, people who wanted to reach Kazlıçeşme field fought with the police. I didn't go out that day, knowing that there would be violence, but I found videos from the streets.

The main sounds during the fights were sirens, the men's voice shouting- few women in the streets-, car horns- but few cars, the roads were closed to traffic-, police transmitter sounds, and gun sounds (Url- 28). During the hot instances of the fight, the human voices were merging to the whistles, and to the sounds of guns. Groups from different roads tried to reach the field. People ran and applauded, chanted slogans in both Turkish and Kurdish. In a video shot from the backside of the police groups, one can hear the order of the police head to fire; the gun shots and the chiming sound of the empty shell case, produced when it falls on the asphalt, contrasts with all the violence as it implies musical effects created by small bells. The streets were empty, no car, no ordinary people walking; which resulted in a greater echoing of all the sounds. A person, who didn't know the streets in their ordinary flow, would believe this was a war zone... This entire scene was not totally purged from music. As the songs and *halay* are used as means of expression for resistance, groups of people were singing the particular song, an anthem: Çerxa Şoreşe (Url-29) (Track 31). This anthem was sung in call and response form, which I think strengthens the sense of togetherness, of acting together, of being a community- a *communitas* becoming real in times of struggle...

3.4 Evaluations

According to Catherine Bell, there are two groups of calendrical rites. First are seasonal celebrations, based on agricultural cycles (Bell, 1997, p.103), and second are commemorative rites aimed at remembrance, and stress on historical events-

persons (Bell, 1997, p. 104). In the case of Newroz, we can conclude that it is a mixture of these two kinds, both a spring feast and a commemorative event in the name of the political struggle. Here the claim for historical legacy, the attempt to reconstruct the history is of crucial importance. When the past is mapped cognitively, the point of departure is always the present; the words on the past are basically the words on today. Consequently, when the present is reconstructed discursively, the future becomes to be determined. This mapping and construction operates on the basis of multiple symbols.

In Newroz celebrations performance- of sounds, music and dances- serves as a site for expression, a border which determines the identities. This collective action communicates through multiple symbols, they are multi-referential and multi-vocal. The symbols they refer to are multiple: the icons of leftists movements, the martyrs of their own movement and Hrant Dink are saluted from the same stage. Especially the emphasis on polyculturality in 2010 strengthens this multi-vocal aspect: songs in Turkish, Kurdish and Laz are performed within the same framework.

Here we can understand the ideological framework through the soundscape-the songscape and the way people act within it/create it. First, the songscape is designed by the organizers of the event as to create the sense of *communitas*, to reach a threshold point. It has a direction: the themes, the dynamics are well calculated, leading to a threshold point for the effervescence. Second, people in the field add their second and third layers to that songscape: the slogans, the mere human voice, the sounds of *davul* and *zurna*, the *zulgits* and cheering complete the sound picture, and all together create a sense of envelopment⁶⁸ (Augoyard and Torgue, 2009, p. 47). Third, people bodily react to the sounds: they dance ceaselessly. As one of my friends in the field reported, the dance is the crucial part in the claim for identity:

There is no need of music for *halay*. My friends dance in a *halay*, when for example they score a goal in a football game. We show ourselves by dance. We love to act together. If somebody can't dance people say "you might not be a Kurd". They say "Kurds can dance", that's all. (R.A, personal communication 2012)

Henceforth, it is crucial to mention the emphasis on the expression of identity while dancing. The dances on the specific songs and sounds, accompanied with all the

⁶⁸ "Envelopment: the feeling of being surrounded by a body of sound that has the capacity to create an autonomous whole, that predominates over other circumstantial features of the moment."

slogans and *zîlgits* are perceived as the sign of Kurdishness, resistance and solidarity. In the course of dance, the tradition is reproduced along with the paradigm on the Kurdishness. They communicate the message to both themselves and the others while the unity is strengthened; the boundaries with the “others” are clarified.

On the other side of the boundaries are situated a whole bunch of different political attitudes, but mainly nationalist Turks. Nationalism in Turkey has many facets; it ranges from the quasi-racist nationalism to mainstream- latent nationalism of the middle classes. While the first one might go to the margins of rejecting the existence of the “other”, the second recognizes the “other” but always from a hierarchical gaze: “they” are the backward people, who need education-which always means assimilation in practice. The reactions of this elitist middle classes are against all the changes in the status quo, that functioned in their benefits so far. The *Cumhuriyet* gatherings that I have discussed before and the recent reactions against the changes in the official celebrations of important dates are illustrating examples of this attitude. In the next chapter, I will discuss the ways the state and this section of the society celebrate the official days.

4.REPUBLIC DAY: THE SOUNDS OF THE STATE CEREMONIES MERGING WITH THOSE OF THE STREET

Turkey, a nation state founded in 1923, as a part of the reorganization of the Middle East, after the First World War and the liberation war against Western powers, has on the one hand strong historical references to the past imperial ages; but on the other had has created its own mythologies and rituals. These rituals are performed daily and in annual routines, in the commemorations and celebrations, in very official organization. In this chapter, I will discuss the changing celebration practices fro the Republic Day since 2010, and the discussion around the subject. Two examples from my life would be illustrating.

The official culture in Turkey is so strong and is so deeply permeated in the everyday that, it is one of the primary processes of socialization a child goes through, and everybody learns these basic codes from the earliest ages. When I was a child, the age for starting the primary school was 7; however my sister wanted to go to school when she was only 5 years old. My parents get an appointment with the director of the primary school of it I was a pupil too. The decisive process developed as follows: after a short talk with my parents the director decided to test my sister's mental abilities. And the first and only question he asked was "who is this ?": he was showing the big picture on the wall behind his desk- as it is the case in all the state's offices. For my sister's answer was "off course, this is Atatürk, everyone knows it", the director decided she was mature enough to start the primary school with children 2 years older than her. The second example is a recent experience I had with my daughter of age 4: this year she started to go to the nursery school. One day, a few days after the Republic Day, she was singing a song at home. The lyrics were as follows: "there was no Atatürk, there were a lot of enemies. Then came Atatürk and has beaten the enemies." To hear this little song made me remember my sister's case and all the ceremonies we have been through during our school life. These ceremonies are the main indoctrination mechanisms for the republican ideology, while being severely disciplined on the one hand, on the other generally remembered by many (of course not all) Turkish people with nostalgia, as times of cheerful

entertainment and togetherness. These ceremonies vary from the vow we had recited every morning during the primary school and the performance of the National Anthem twice a week- on Monday morning and on Friday afternoon during all the primary school and high school- to the official holidays and their celebrations in various ways. These official feast/days are few but originally taken seriously and regulated with rigor. In order of appearance during the year, these days are the following, in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 : Annual Calender of National Days and Holidays.

Date	Name	Ceremonies
April 23th	National Sovereignty Day and children's feast. Anniversary of the establishment of the Republic of Turkey's parliament in April 23th, 1920.	Children's festival with the participation of foreign children, in Ankara. Street parades (in 2012 musicians and children's parade was in İstiklal caddesi) Official ceremonies: putting a wreath on the Independence monument in Taksim
May 19 th	Commemoration of Atatürk, feast of youth and sports. Anniversary of Atatürk's landing to Samsun in 1919, considered as the starting point of the liberation war leading to the construction of the Republic of Turkey after the First World War.	Official parade in Vatan Caddesi. Students spectacle in stadiums. Putting a wreath on the Independence monument in Taksim.
August 30th	Victory Day Anniversary of the victory ending the liberation war, in August 30 th , 1922.	Official parade in Vatan Caddesi. Putting a wreath on the Independence monument in Taksim
October 29th	Republic Day Anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey, in 1923.	Official parade in Vatan Caddesi. Putting a wreath on the Independence monument in Taksim. People's parade in different parts of the city.
November 10th	Remembrance Day for Atatürk. The anniversary of Atatürk's passing away on November 10 th , 1938.	Official ceremony of the local government. The sounding of the sirens all over the country at 9:05 for two minutes; people getting off their cars, standing up and waiting with respect in silence.

The days above are days every child in the country finds herself in, learns the behavioral codes, and is introduced to the crucial discursive elements of the republican ideology. In this chapter I will examine the practices of commemoration

and the use of sound in October 29th. The Republic Day is a characteristic example of how military sound is used in state's ceremonies. Moreover, the Republic Day has gained additional meanings and new ceremonial practices were created in recent years. I will examine these practices in terms of sound and discourse.

4.1 Republic Day, 2010

The Republic Day, celebrated on October 29th each year, is one of the most important feasts where the republican ideology is strengthened through ceremonies. At schools, the events are generally spread throughout the week, where special activities are organized and the themes around the importance and history of the foundation of the Republic are examined (even my 4 years old daughter celebrated the Republic Day, at school: she brought balloons and flags to school to ornate their class, and she suddenly developed a love for the Turkish flag). Additionally, the educational activities are not limited to in-class, or in-school activities. There is another level of celebration, which also determines the daily life in Istanbul during the celebrations; and which became a matter of debate in 2011. This is the official parade mostly performed in Vatan Caddesi: a ceremony and parade organized by the local government, participated by the local governor, the mayor, the highest level military officials, along with the procession of the students from selected schools, military troops, military students and some civil organizations.

The Republic Day 2010 ceremonies were to be performed on the exact day, October 29th on Friday. However the ceremonies were postponed to Sunday because of the bad weather conditions. As a matter of fact, Istanbul has a seemingly unsolvable huge traffic problem, which becomes harder in the days of ceremonies or parades: many roads are blocked without concern for the presence of alternative roads. That Sunday, in such conditions I arrived at Vatan Caddesi. This is a location where I am not so familiar and I had to walk a little while to reach the avenue. In these cases, the best way to find one's way is to watch other people walking and to follow the crowd; so did I. Vatan Caddesi, one of the largest avenues in Istanbul was cleared from any traffic, and the police barricades were set in order to avoid people's passing on the road. There were people waiting on the coast of the road behind the barriers when I arrived there. The pavements were full with people but that crowd was very modest compared to the civil mass political events. The procession has not started yet but the

preparations were done: a military band was lined up (Figure 4.1). Suddenly a voice issuing a command was heard from the loud speakers, echoing in the avenue (Track 32):

Order arms!
Port arms!
Present arms!
Attention!
Look right!

Then the voice announced: “Our esteemed Governor, the Commander of the First Army and the Istanbul garrison and the esteemed Mayor of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality will greet Istanbul’s Republic Day.”

Following the announcement, the band started to perform the first march, not moving from the point they were standing. Meanwhile we saw the military car, escorted by two police motorcycles ahead and two behind, passing through the avenue (Figure 4.2). This was the car where the commander, the governor and the mayor were standing in and saluting the audience.



Figure 4.1: The military band in the Republic Day parade (Url- 30).



Figure 4.2: The governors saluting the audience (Url- 31).

This salutation endured a while and the band played without a single silence: they were attaching one march to another. This way they performed three marches. When the third march came to an end and the band silenced, another announcement was heard: “Dear youngsters, beloved Istanbulites, have a happy Republic Day”; and then the band started marching while playing another march. From the point I was standing I could hear them even when they were out of my sight playing in front of the protocol-reviewing stand. Then the band stopped again and returned to their initial place. In the meantime, the male voice announced the program and issued the commands once again:

Order Arms! Get into ceremony order! (The band lines up properly).
The voice continues:
Order Arms! Port arms! (the brass players raise their instruments as riffles).
Pass in review!

As soon as the last word was heard the band has given a 6 measures signal (Figure 4.3). When the signal was finished, the voice ordered one more time: March time! (*Yerinde Say!*). Quickstep, March! (*Uygun adım, marş!*) Then the band started walking and performing, the audience was clapping the hands. The older veteran soldiers followed the band, and then came students holding big flags, policemen, nurses wearing white uniforms, sports students, high schools students with their school uniforms, and the workers of the municipality, including the municipality band. All the procession has been done in a strict discipline, in a well-formed line, with synchronized steps according to the march performed by the band. Meanwhile,

the voice has recited poems, people applauded; the sound of the steps merged to that of the applause and the sound of the military band (Track 33). What was striking was the walking style of the high school students. Each school was divided as girls and boys. Girls were walking in cat steps, as if they were not touching the ground; contrarily the boys were making the highest level of sound possible with their steps, imitating the quick step of the soldiers: the message clearly was “they are men and they are the future soldiers of the country”.



Figure 4.3: 6-measure signal.

The audience was not numbered but still enthusiastic. They were parents of the students in the procession, people who thought they were showing their protest to the government by just being there⁶⁹, families attending the event just to teach their children how to respect the official culture and its values. The event in that sense had multiple meanings from the point of view of the audience. First, this was a duty fulfilled from the side of the students and their families. On the other hand, the boundary making was under process. One man from the audience was telling “they will grow in number until they outnumber the participants here”. He was meaning that being there was a sign of their preferred side in the tension between the government and the military forces, and a message to the government. The third and related aspect was the socialization aspect: families were there to teach their children

⁶⁹ That time, there was a tension between the Turkish military forces and the government, based on the concerns on secularism and Islamic references in politics. That is why; being there has become a symbolic reaction to the government.

the official ways to celebrate, to teach them the enthusiasm towards the army as the symbol of the republic. The children among the audience were ceaselessly asking their parents when would the procession of the soldiers begin, when would the military vehicles would come and pass. Especially the jets flying over the avenue, were a source for great joy in the part of children (Track 34). The sympathy/love for the soldiers is a feeling learned from the very early ages, both in family and in school. After all, the emphasis on the centrality of the army, and the military power-influence over the actual politics is one of the trademarks of Turkish nationalist patriotism. The tension between the government and the army was seemingly a challenge to the conventional ways of how power relationships operate in the regime; which created its projection on the society; whence the Cumhuriyet Meetings had their source.

While the audience was loosing their patience waiting the soldiers, the representatives of post-Soviet Turkic Republics passed, wearing their “traditional” clothes; the rotary clubs and scout troops followed them. The representation of the Turkic Republics in the ceremony reveals the emphasis on Turkishness as the central element of the Turkish nationalism, and the claim for the unity with the “other” Turkic nations is another aspect of this emphasis. This emphasis is strengthened with the militaristic ways of perceiving the world, permeated in every corner of the social life. One of the manifestations of this militaristic attitude was the cheering of the scouts while walking, as if they were a military troop (Figure 4.4) .

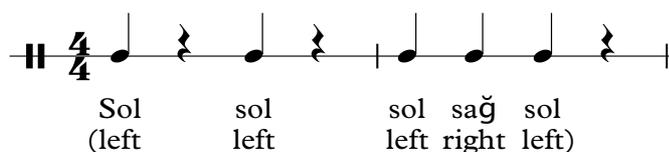


Figure 4.4: The rhythmic walk of the boyscouts.

A similar attitude was also obvious in young student’s procession, as I mentioned before. The rhythm, besides its effect on drawing the limits for physical behavior, also traces the boundaries of the mentality; especially the military rhythms, loaded with all the meanings they have about society, evoke the memory of the costs for the foundations of the society, the importance of martyrdom for one’s country and the sense of belonging to a community, as to forget one’s individuality.

As the different groups of scouts were passing by (walking, on bicycles, mountain climbers), the impatience of the children was raised to its limit and suddenly cut off with the sound of the jets approaching, interfering in and suppressing the militaristic cheering of the scouts. This was the beginning of the show of the military strength, emphasizing advanced technologies. Here in this show, the sound of the jets has a central affectivity, with the loudness and all-encompassing volume of their sounds; with their power to dominate the whole soundscape in the city. The sound suddenly faded in and teared the sky, as everybody was looking at the jets with admiration. Eventually the soldiers with flags came in, with the strong sound of their steps and with their unequivocal lockstep (Figure 4.5). The student navy band was leading the troops and after they passed the point I was standing, they articulated to the sound of the first band, still playing marches in front of the reviewing stand. The only sound I could hear was a bunch of male voices sounding like singing. When I snapped the attention I recognized the march: “Harbiye March” (Track 35). This is the trademark of the military schools, whence comes its name. All young soldiers, singing aloud the marches, cheering rhythmic lines, and stepping in a disciplined alignment, formed the rest of the procession.



Figure 4.5:The procession of the soldiers (Url-32).

The “Harbiye March”, besides being the symbol of the military schools has historical meanings too. When I was a child, TRT (Turkey Radio and Television Institution) was the only television channel, and the broadcast was beginning early in the

morning and ending at midnight. The opening and ending of the broadcast was a ceremony: there were the visuals of a military National Anthem ceremony. The issuing of the military ceremonial orders as “order arms” and “port arms were inscribed in our minds by watching these scenes. Then the flag was put in the flagpole and finally the National Anthem was starting. In the morning of September 12th, 1980, after the National Anthem, without any announcement, the Harbiye march was broadcast; and following the march, Kenan Evren, the leader of the junta made his speech announcing the coup d’état. The overnight change in the regime, and the grasping of the authority by the army was symbolized with the “Harbiye march”, which is still popular in these official parades (Ertem, 2011) .

Along with the singing of the marches, the slogan-like cheering of the soldiers was an important sound-event determining the soundscape in the avenue. This slogan-like cheering seemingly has three functions: enhancing the rhythmic feeling and thus the marching discipline; enhancing the group solidarity, evoking the oneness of the group; and the function of indoctrination, through discourse. As it was the case with the slogans of civil groups, these cheerings follow some rhythmic rules. First, the rhythm is always connected to the marching rhythm, as if the rhythm of the steps was a metronome for the cheering. The basic meter unit is the four beats formed by the steps: left, right, left, right. Second, the number of meters is fixed for each cheering, no matter the words. Following would illustrate the case better (Figure 4.6).

Figure 4.6: Rhythmic Transcription of military cheering.

In the figure above, the first lines are the rhythmic steps and the second are the rhythmic cheering. In addition to the rules about the number of beats, a similar rule with those of the civil slogans about the syllables operates here too. When the word is a one-syllable word, it is fit into the first half of the full beat. A two-syllable word

would be fit to the beat by dividing it in two equal beats each corresponding to one syllable. A three-syllable word would fit to one beat as follows: two quarter beats for the first two syllables and a half beat for the last. These rules can be applied in many different cheerings in the parade. A second level of rules is about the number of measures: the sentence is formed always of four words, each corresponding to the first beat of each four-beat measure at first. The sentence is repeated two times in this manner. After the repetition, the sentence is repeated again two times as to fit each word to the left steps, shifting the meter from 4/4 to 2/4. After the cheering finishes, the soldiers count ten steps and at the 11th step, which is a left, they restart cheering another sentence: *Her şey vatan için* (Everything is for the country) Another alternative phrase is *Vatan sana canım feda* (Country, my life is a sacrifice for you). All these phrases are performed by the troops and also participated by the youngsters from the audience, as a sign of support and coveting.

Besides the rhythmic character of these cheerings, the content is also significant. The first phrase, *Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyene* (happiness to the one who say I am Turkish), is a saying of Atatürk, first pronounced at the end of his speech for the 10th anniversary of the Republic. Since then, the phrase became one of the most popular mottos of Turkish Republic, put into the vow the children recite every morning, as an ending sentence after the coup d'état in 1980. The power of the phrase comes from being the words of Atatürk and from the overtly Turkish nationalist content, which is one of the constructive ideologies of the Republic. On the other hand, the two other phrases, *Her şey vatan için* (Everything is for the country) and *Vatan sana canım feda* (Country, my life is a sacrifice to you), are the phrases that served as a legitimizing effect for the losses of the soldiers in various battles during too many years. These are yet another aspect of the nationalist ideology which prefers land to individual and death for land to the life of the individuals. Eventually, we can tell, the content is in harmony with the structure: the strict rhythmic structure serves to annihilate individuality and stresses the mere existence of the person as a part of the troop, erasing individuality, as does the discourse.

The rhythmic aspect of the parade is certainly not limited to the cheerings: the bands are the main rhythmic elements in the whole procession. The soldiers at times join the leading bands singing the marches. Other while, the leading bands of the each soldier troop takes on, and performs a rhythmic show, creating great excitement

among the audience: children blow the noise makers, cheer and applause; adults applaud and wave hands. The rhythm bands are formed by first snare leading, cymbals in the second rank, the second snares in the third rank and the big drums in the last rank. A typical organization of a rhythmic phrase is illustrated in Figure 4.7.

The figure consists of two musical staves, each with five staves of instruments. The top staff is marked with a '3' above a brace, indicating a 3/4 time signature. The instruments are Percussion, Cym. (Cymbals), S. D. (Side Drum), S. D. (Snare Drum), and S. D. (Snare Drum). The bottom staff is marked with a 4/4 time signature and includes Percussion, Cymbals, Side Drum, Snare Drum, and Snare Drum. The notation shows various rhythmic patterns, including quarter notes, eighth notes, and sixteenth notes, with some instruments playing in a more complex, syncopated rhythm than others.

Figure 4.7: Transcription of the rhythmic phrase.

The troops perform the rhythmic shows while at the same time walking, and using the steps as their metronome. As the audience has little chance to move along the pavement, the sound of the band fades in, dominates the soundscape for a while and then fades out when the band walks away. But the sound never perishes, since the sound of another band fades in while the sound of the other gradually becomes inaudible.

The main aspect of all the procession and performance is the address: there is an audience on the pavements but the real audience that the groups in the procession salute is the reviewing stand. The reviewing stand is the center of the whole event during this kind of official ceremonies. The protocol salutes the people, yes, but it is the highest place in the social hierarchy and all the event is a spectacle performed for their participation, observation and approval. Richard Schechner (1995) briefly illuminates the situation as follows:

Official culture likes its street displays to be orderly, arranged in longitudinal rectangles moving in one direction, and proceeding from a known end in time as well as space. Soldiers, big weapons, citizens and nubile cheerleaders all moving to band music and passing below a reviewing stand is the perfect example of this celebration of official culture. Countless parades around the world confirm to this type. (p.82)

As Schechner clearly puts it, the time and space, along with the sound and the life in the rest of the city are organized according to the requirement for enhancing the official culture. However, in this case an unexpected happening seemingly disrupted the plan.

Towards the end of the procession, suddenly the police mobilized, started to run and form a second barrier between the audience behind the already –set metal barricades and the procession. The audience could not understand what was happening, but then the military vehicles showed up. Helicopters, anti aircraft tanks, tanks of different sizes and forms and trucks... The sound of the helicopters blending with those of the tank flippers, and the truck engines... To see all those vehicles passing by under their very eyes, the audience got more and more excited, the children showed each other different parts of the vehicles, people applauded and cheered. The police vehicles were welcomed with hand clapping: police troops in motorcycles, panzers, and police buses... The last group to pass by was the civil defense vehicles and suddenly all was done. There was a strange rush on the side of the police; people were trying to understand what was happening. I strolled around for a while to understand what was the problem, while from the huge loud speakers the Kenan Doğulu version of the 10th year march) was broadcast. It was so loud that nobody could even hear the person nearby. I asked somebody what happened, she told me “there is something in Taksim, that is why they finished it earlier. They quit the avenue in a rush”. The “they” here were the protocol, and the sudden ending of the event meant something serious happened somewhere. I started to walk through the parallel avenue to find out what was happening, then decided to call a friend and asked if she watched TVs

and saw anything extraordinary. Her answer was striking: a bomb was exploded in Taksim square, just at the time the procession in Vatan avenue started (Figure 4.8). There were several people injured and one person- probably the suicide bomber- dead. She told me “not even think to go there, return home!”; I obeyed her and I returned home with the first taxi I could find in that chaos.



Figure 4.8: Taksim after the explosion (Url-33).

When I arrived home, I was very thrilled, remembered the sounds of the devastating bombs in 2003, and started to think about the overall soundscape of the city that day. On a general level, the routine of a Sunday morning was operating but with exceptions: some roads closed, a big procession happening in one of the largest avenues of the city, with all its sounds; and a bomb exploding in the heart of the city at the same time with the procession. I thought to myself, from a bird’s view, the sound of the jets and the tanks, the military bands and cheerings merged to the sound of the bomb. This was an epitome of the overall structure within which we were living: celebration and conflict, based on the ideological constructions of the society dominate our lives. Besides being the physical manifestations of the conflict in two radically different manners, the sounds became the symbolic expression of the inner conflicts in the Structure.

This was my first time in an official parade in Istanbul, and it would be the last. In 2012, the government decided to change the militaristic ways of celebrating the national days. But before, in 2011, there happened a rehearsal for this radical change.

4.2 Republic Day, 2011

When I was a child, in the small city where I was born, there have to happen torchlight processions on official holidays. People and the soldiers were walking with torchlights, in the darkness of the night. Although I have never been a part of such a procession, I remember I watched them from the window, with joy and curiosity. We have moved to Istanbul when I was ten, and since then I didn't see any torchlight procession. However, during the last few years a similar practice has reborn in Istanbul, especially for the celebration of the Republic Day. People get out in the evening in Bağdat Caddesi, the local municipality (from CHP) organizes a truck, which carry the sound system all along the avenue. This is not the same practice with the torchlight ceremony, though we can call it a revival. In 2011 this parade, behind its significance as a Republic Day celebration, has gained additional meanings, due to the events happened those days.

In October 24th 2011, news has hit all the TV channels: There happened a big earthquake in Van, a city in Eastern Turkey. Many buildings were destructed, there were several deaths and injured people. The whole country mobilized to help the earthquake victims- despite some racist discussions that were soon marginalized⁷⁰. The importance of that devastating earthquake was that it reminded to the rest of the country that the Istanbul earthquake will come sooner or later; the relatively forgotten fear of the earthquake and the sorrows of the earthquake of 1999 were remembered. In these conditions came the Republic Day. The government announced that the official celebrations would be canceled in order to share the sorrows of earthquake victims. This announcement had immediately attracted reactions, for the official celebrations are the trademarks of the Republican manners. These reactions turned the night parade in Bağdat Caddesi to a Cumhuriyet meeting, a public demonstration, a show of strength of “republican” masses to the government and the political attitude they represent (neo-conservative-liberals, accused by their

⁷⁰ Some journalists and TV programmers anticipated the attempts of helping Van, by saying ‘they were fighting against us, now they want us to help them’. This attitude immediately attracted reactions and has been marginalized.

rivals in the line of CHP and other Kemalists⁷¹ to be anti-secularists who have the hidden agenda of changing the republican system) (Figure 4.9).



Figure 4.9: Bağdat Caddesi procession, 2011 (Url- 34).

The CHP municipalities of Kadıköy, Şişli and Bakırköy announced that there would be night gatherings and celebrations in Bağdat Caddesi, Nişantaşı and Bakırköy Square, respectively. All three gatherings were crowded, the municipalities were well

⁷¹Kemalism is a fluid ideology, constructed after the views of Atatürk, though the main emphasis is on secularism and nationalism.

organized, but the celebrations in Bağdat Caddesi outnumbered the others in terms of participants.

The parade would start at 19:00, and people started to gather from 17.00 on. At 19:00, the parade started with the motorcycles, passing through the crowd, people applauding and cheering. The parade of the motorcycles was a repercussion of the parade of the military vehicles in an official parade; revealing the machine fetishism, which considers machine as sign for physical- and thereby ideological- power. This fetishism was enhanced by the symbolic sounds: one of the drivers was sounding the engine in a rhythmic pattern. The rhythmic sounding of the engines (Figure 4.10) was evoking the snare drums in a military band; thus giving the message that the official parade was reproduced there, in that avenue, in a symbolic way with the participation of thousands of people.



Figure 4.10: Engine rhythm.

The whole event was guided by the sound from the big truck, leading the parade: a sound system and a playlist; and a big screen on one side. The playlist was composed of popular and well-known marches and some popular songs contributing to the sensitivities of the day; strengthened by the visuals on the screen where there were visuals of Atatürk and excerpts from his sayings.

People were walking with flags and placards and the pictures of Atatürk in their hands. The general discourse can be detected from these placards: “we will be shields against the hands which threaten you”, “if the subject is the country, the rest is details”; “we don’t want fascist separatist constitution”; “our ancestor, we follow your way”, etc. From these placards, the actual agenda of the country and the reactions of a specific section of the society can be read: the government and its ideology is seen as a threat to the constitutive principles of the republic; while emphasizing the unitarian nation state, also revealing the belief on the martyrdom for the country; and seeing possible democratic changes as separatism. The ideology they are against and theirs seem like two sides of the same coin: both are conservatisms, both have their own heroes (sometimes common heroes too), both

willing to articulate themselves to the needs of the changing neoliberal world; whereas trying to hold on their roots. Finally, both are aggressive in protecting what they are conservative for. The neoliberal islamist discourse occasionally tries to use a multiculturalist language, stressing the togetherness of different ethnicities under the same common culture but and most often meaning the same “religion”. The Prime Minister, in the course of a recent speech, clearly emphasized this attitude.

We will answer ever more violently all the attacks to our land and flag. And we will never compromise from the laws. The extensions of the terrorists often accuse us of advocating the use of “one language”. I say we have four red lines: one citizenry, one flag, one religion, and one state. (Url-35)

This statement created unexpected reactions, and the Prime minister had to announce that he was misunderstood, and it was a tongue slip. Nevertheless, it revealed a basic approach, as Özgür Mumcu (2012) put it:

As a matter of fact, the disappearance of the “one religion” from the discourse of the prime minister does not prevent the discourse “one citizenry, one state, one flag” from evoking Nazi Germany’s infamous slogan “Ein Volk, Ein Reich, Ein Fuhrer”.

The ambiguity in the islamist discourse of the government and the prime minister, on the one hand having multiculturalist implications as to recognizing the right for everyone to speak her own language (which is a huge step forward from the 1990’s and before), and on the other strenghtening the suspicions of having a hidden islamist agenda through these kind of tongue slips are generally responded with a more nationalist reaction from the antagonists. An excerpt from a short speech from the truck in the Bağdat caddesi may illustrate this nationalist discourse:

“Being Turkish, is being proud of having a heroic history. Being Turkish, is being free. Because you have the freedom in your veins. We have born free, and so will die. In three value we believe: The Flag, The Land, and the Freedom. Vive the Turkish nation!”⁷²

The overemphasis on the Turkishness and the neglect of the “other” possible identities is one of the trademarks of every kind of Turkish nationalism. On the other hand, the sequences of significant symbols in the speech are very useful for summarizing the whole discourse: while the speaker uses the trilogy to stress the importance of the flag, the country and the freedom on the construction of identity; he was in the same line of ideological thinking with the prime minister: these two so-called antagonistic political currents are both fed from the same ideological

⁷² “Türk olmak, gurur duymaktır şanlı bir tarihe sahip olduğun için. Türk olmak özgür olmaktır. Hürriyeti damarlarında taşıdığı için. Hür doğduk anamızdan, yine hür öleceğiz. Yine inandığımızı üç şey var: Bayrak, Vatan, Hürriyet. Yaşasın Türk milleti!”

background of exclusionism and authoritarianism. Besides speeches and symbolic use of specific sounds like that of motorcycle engines, this nationalist and militarist discourse is apparently reproduced through the other aspects of acoustic communication in the field: the music and the slogans.

4.2.1 The music in the parade

The dominant musical sound in the nationalist events is the 10th year march, which is used in every official and nationalist occasion since 1997. In the gathering of Bağdat Caddesi too, it was played several times. It is so internalized by the masses that, although it is played several times, people do not get bored of singing it. For instance, in one turn people started to sing the march and then the broadcasting of the march followed them: they really want to sing it. The popularity of this march comes from its revival in 1997, the year of the so-called post-modern coup d'état.

1990's in Turkey are an era of great conflicts and social polarizations. Several political assassinations followed the death of Turgut Özal in 1993 (8th president of the Turkish Republic). In 1995, for the first time an islamist party won the general elections. This development determined the agenda of the forthcoming years. With the foundation of the government after turmoil finally in 1996, a general fear of Islamic retrogradation began to dominate the social consciousness. Some key incidents provoked that fear: a sex scandal about an Islamic tariqah, the official dinner thrown by the prime minister in his residence to the leaders of several tariqahs (who were the others of the system so far, considered as dangerous for the sake of the republican rule) and finally an event called "Jerusalem night" which took place in one of the municipalities of Ankara (January 31th, 1997), organized by the RP mayor of that municipality were the main turning points of that time. After the Jerusalem night, one morning (February 4th, 1997), the residents of the same municipalities opened their eyes to the new day with the sound of the tanks, passing through the streets; as a challenge to the RP government. After that incident, one high-level military commander declared that this was an act to show that the democracy has its limits. Finally in February 28th, 1997, after the longest meeting of the military officials with the government representatives, the Army gave a list of 18 clauses to the prime minister, named the plan for the struggle against retrogradation. The process continued by the resignation of the prime minister in June 18th, and by

the foundation of a new government, excluding the Islamic party ministers. Finally in January 16th, 1998 the RP was closed by the court order.

These days the nationalist spirit against the so-called Islamic threat was raising and the 10th year march became one of the trademarks of that spirit. In October 29th, 1997, Kenan Doğulu, a pop star, rearranged the march and released it in a single album. In his website the process is narrated with proud, as a main emphasis of his biography:

Our 10th year march, as one of the symbols of our Republic, was rearranged by Kenan Doğulu and offered to the appreciation of the contemporary Turkey. The maxi-single album named *Kenan Doğulu 3.5* was released in 1997, including our 10th year march. The artist has greatly contributed to the march to become a current issue, to become mediatic, and to find a place in children's and youth's minds. In the context of the 75th year celebrations of our Republic, Kenan Doğulu has successfully performed in a tour, namely "Cumhuriyet tour" which started from Bursa, covering Antalya, İstanbul, İskenderun, Samsun, Selçuk and finalized in İzmir in 1998. (Url-36)

In 1998, for the 75th anniversary of the foundation of the republic, the ministry of culture announced a contest for a new march. There were 199 applications, but none were chosen. Finally, one was chosen but it has received severe criticism in terms of content and musical qualification. The columnists of the time were very engaged on this subject and one of them, Doğan Hızlan (1998) suggested the 10th year march to be the Republican March, which would extinguish the need for a new march. Many other columnists supported this idea (Ataklı, 1998; Çölaşan, 1998), and finally the ministry of culture decided the 10th year march to be the Republican March. After that decision, Kenan Doğulu made a "Republican tour", strengthening his career, and popularizing the new version of the march through his audience among the youth. From that time on, the popularity of the march has been raised. The march, let alone its literal significance as the tenth year celebration of the republic, has obtained new layers of meanings: it is now a useful tool for the construction and consolidation of a specific kind of identity, hence it became a challenge for its "others" during the time of Cumhuriyet meetings in 2007. It became the symbol of these meetings, along with thousands of Turkish flags. In a nutshell, the march became a boundary maker, defining who is from us, and who is not.

Two prominent poets of the time, Behçet Kemal Çağlar and Faruk Nafiz Çamlıbel have written the lyrics of the march. The composer on the other hand is Cemal Reşit Rey, one of the well-known composers of the early Republican period. In the original version the march comprises four stanzas. Whereas Kenan Doğulu used only the first

stanza of the poem, which made his version easier to memorize, along with the synthesized rhythmic melodies he added in the opening of the march (Table 4.2) (Track 36).

Table 4.2 : “10th Year March” flow chart.

		Music	Lyrics Turkish	Lyrics English	Symbol
Repeated two times	Introduction	A trance-techno atmosphere. The melodic pattern formed by I-iv-I progression is repeated ten times. In the third repetition the snare rhythm pattern fades in and in the seventh the techno rhythmic patterns become dominant	No text	No text	The techno/trance rhythmic patterns are the clues to attract the youth of 1990’s. The endless repetition captures the attention. The progression I-iv-I evokes those of the National Anthem, which make it more attractive and familiar.
	Bridge	The melodic pattern stops. Four measures of techno rhythmic pattern			The feeling of dance enhanced
	Main text	The choir takes in over the techno rhythms.	Çıktık açık alınlara on yılda her savaştan	In ten years, we have succeeded in every struggle	The text narrates the activities done in the first ten years of the Republic. Five million young people is important for a country that lost its population in wars. The emphasis on Atatürk as the leader, and the railroads as sign of development are significant.
			On yılda on beş milyon genç yarattık her yaştan	In ten years we created five million young people from any ages	
Başta bütün dünyanın saydığı baş kumandan			Led by the commander respected by the whole world		
Demir ağlarla ördük anayurdu dört baştan			We constructed railroads all over the mother land		

Table 4.2 (continued):“10th Year March” flow chart.

		Music	Lyrics Turkish	Lyrics English	Symbol
Repeated two times-continued	Refrain	A melodic sound is added, which creates a relatively lyrical sound. Repeated two times.	Türküz, cumhuriyetin göğsümüz tunç siperi	We are Turks, our chest is the iron shield for the Republic	The emphasis on Turkishness, as one of the constructive ideologies of the republic
			Türke durmak yaraşmaz, Türk önde Türk ileri	To stop does not fit to Turks, Turk is behind, Turk is advanced	
Only once	End	The melodic trance pattern repeated four times, followed by 4 measures of military rhythmic pattern	No text	No text	The militaristic sound strengtens the nationalist discourse in the refrain, while augmenting the trance and dance effect by the intensive rhythmic structure.

The synthesized sounds in the opening of the march, serve as a hook for the generation the rearrangement addresses. The harmonic progression I-iv-I evokes that of the National Anthem, which serves as another hook for the audience. The lyrics apparently are about the achievements of the young Republic, constituted with hardship and in conditions of privations. Though, the refrain is suitable for any period, with its overemphasis on Turkishness, as a source of strength and resistance. This emphasis in the refrain is seemingly the main reason why the march still has thus much power to mobilize the masses. The same spirit reveals itself also in the performance of the other marches. The “youth march” is an example for this situation. Kenan Doğulu, after his success with the 10th year march, has rearranged the Youth March, which is adopted from a Swedish song (Tre Trallande Jantör) in the early years of the Republic, and released it in his 1999 album (Table 4.3) (Track 37).

Table 4.3 : “Youth March”.

Gençlik Marşı	Youth March
Dağ başını duman almış, gümüş dere durmaz akar Güneş ufuktan şimdi doğar, yürüelim arkadaşlar	Smoke fell down on the top of the mountains, the silver spring keeps flowing The sun will just rise from the horizon, keep walking friends.
Sesimizi yer, gök, su dinlesin Sert adımlarla her yer inlesin	Let the land, sky and water listen to our voice Let up hill and down dale resounds with our tough steps
Bu gök deniz nerede var, nerede bu dağlar taşlar Bu ağaçlar güzel kuşlar, yürüelim arkadaşlar	Where else are these sky and sea, where else these mountains and rocks These trees and beautiful birds, keep walking friends
Sesimizi yer, gök, su dinlesin Sert adımlarla her yer inlesin	Let the land, sky and water listen to our voice Let up hill and down dale resounds with our tough steps

Contrary to the apparent nationalist discourse of the 10th year march, the lyrics of the youth march are praising the pastoral beauties of the land, emphasizing the strength and the decisiveness of the youth. A latent militarist discourse reveals itself in the verses “let the land, sky and water listen to our voice, and let up hill and down dale resounds with our tough steps”, with the stress on the word “resound”, repeated two times at the end of the sentence, and generally stressed by shouting. This youth march, is so powerful that it is performed in every occasions. In the Bağdat Caddesi celebrations in 2011, it was performed several times, and once, when the people shouted the last word of the march, a voice recording was heard from the loudspeakers calling “Yurttaşlarım!”. This was the voice of Atatürk, the compellation in the beginning of his 10th year speech, meaning “my citizens”. The voice was received with great enthusiasm, people shouting, whistling and applauding, using noise makers...They reacted as if they have received a reaction to the march they have just performed; a virtual/illusory anachronic dialogue was created through the use of sounds.

Besides the marches, there are three songs that gained deeper meanings than their contents in the course of history. These are “Ankara Türküsü”, “Memleketim” and “Yiğidim Aslanım Burda Yatıyor”. In the beginning of the Bağdat Caddesi procession in 2011, one of the first songs to be played from the loudspeakers was Ankara Türküsü (Track 38). This is a song full of sorrow, both melodically and in

terms of its lyrics. In the course of its broadcast, people were relatively quiet, marching slowly, waving the flags in their hands. I couldn't find information on the composer and the writer of the lyrics; It is probably an anonymous song, written in the days of the war. The song is a call for help, mourning for the losses, and a reproach to the way the world is. Although the lyrics vary from one performance to another, the following are the version broadcast during the procession (Table 4.4).

Table 4.4 : “Ankara Türküsü”.

Ankara Türküsü	Song of Ankara
Ankara'nın taştır yolu, sağı solu asker dolu	The paths of Ankara are made of stone, everywhere is filled with soldiers
Yetiş Kemal Paşa nolur, kan ağlıyor Anadolu, pek gamlıyız	Come quick Kemal Paşa, Anatolia sheds tears of blood, we are sorrowfull
Ankara'da şanlı ordu her tarafa çadır kurdu	The glorious army in Ankara, set up their tents
Biz düşmanı esir ettik şu feleğin işine bak pek şanlıyız	We enslaved the enemy, look what the destiny brings to us, we are glorious

During the procession, this song has started just after the 10th Year March has finished, while people were singing energetically. Suddenly, people calmed down, and continued to walk in dignity, listening to the song.

The sorrowful character of the song would also be emphasized with another incident, which would multiply the possible meanings it possesses. In 2011, on November, Hrant Dink Vakfı organized a Workshop on Social and Economic History of Diyarbakır and Region. Rakel Dink, Hrant Dink's wife did the closing speech for the workshop:

This is a farewell hymn from the mouth of someone who is about to pass away nearby his beloved ones, in his bed. But I felt the memory of the ones murdered with cruelties, tortures while walking in the streets. I dedicate this lament to their memory. Note that it is Kurdish.... (Url-37)

The lament she sang was in Kurdish, but the melody was the same with Ankara Türküsü, as we know it. One is a person's lament in Kurdish, to his/her beloved ones in his/her bed while dying; and the other is a lament of a people in war, calling for help, at the same time repeating to themselves that they are still strong. In this case, I don't prefer to raise the questions of authenticity, for both now have their own history and cultural meanings. Moreover, another layer of meaning for the Turkish version was added in 1993. In January 24th, 1993, a bomb put in his car, in Ankara, assassinated the journalist Uğur Mumcu. This was a terrorist attack, seemingly

against his Kemalist and secularist attitude and thousands of people showed their reaction by participating to the funeral, walking in the streets of Ankara singing “Ankara Türküsü” (Url-38). Since then, the song had gained the attribute of being a real lament.

The second song is “Memleketim” (My Land) (Track 39), originally a Yiddish song, made popular by an Israeli singer, Ilanit, in 1960’s. The song also has a French version, “L’Aveugle”, sang by Mireille Mathieu. In early 1970’s it was rearranged with Turkish lyrics but didn’t get much attention, until 1974. (Dilmener, cited in Hür, 2008). The Turkish lyrics have a pastoral content, expressing the love for one’s country, without mentioning any nationalist or militarist concept. The turning point for the song is the 1974 Cyprus Campaign, during which the TRT (Turkish Radio and Television Institution) broadcast that song several times. Because at that time, TRT was the only channel for both radio and television, the broadcasting of the song easily created an association of the song with the campaign (Url-39). Since then, this is a song evoking patriotic feelings, performed in all kinds of patriotic-Turkish nationalist occasions.

The last song is composed by Zülfü Livaneli and written by Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu. Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu is a painter and poet, a friend of Nazım Hikmet. After the death of Nazım Hikmet, he has written a poem, named “Zindanı Taştan Oyarlar”, and dedicated it to his friend. Zülfü Livaneli composed an excerpt from the poem in 1980 (Track 40). After 1993, the song also was sung for the memory of Uğur Mumcu. In 1997, during the climate of February 28th, Zülfü Livaneli performed a concert in Ankara for the celebrations of May 19th (the day of commemoration of Atatürk and the feast of the youth and sports). The raising secularist-Kemalist spirit of the time gathered thousands of people in the concert field, and this song was sung by the people in the field, showing Anıtkabir, the monumental tomb of Atatürk, placed on the top of a hill in Ankara. In the October 29th, 2011 celebrations, one of the main themes were martyrs, for in October 19th, 26 soldiers were killed in a battle in Southeasten Anatolia, which created an enormous rage and agitation in the Turkish population. That is why, during the procession, singing this song, people were meaning these young martyrs, along with Atatürk and Uğur Mumcu.

The third element of the sounds in the event, the slogans are as varied as the songs. They both reflect the political discourse inscribed in the words, and the political sound inherent in the rhythmic constructions.

4.2.2 The slogans in the procession

In Bağdat Caddesi procession, 2011, from the start to the end of the procession, people did not stop to chant slogans. Accompanied to the songs, the slogans are a very expressive way of communicating the message. This aspect is very similar to other political actions in the street, no matter their ideological framework and message. For instance, as it is the common practice in all kinds of mass political events, a commemoration of the martyrs has been performed: the speaker on the truck read the names of each martyr, and then the crowd responded “here he is!” (all the martyrs were men, for they were soldiers). The last name to be read was Mustafa Kemal, and the answer was stronger than ever. While the speaker closed the commemoration saying, “All will live deep in our hearts”, the crowd started chanting the slogan: “martyrs do not die; the country can not be divided” (Figure. 4.11).

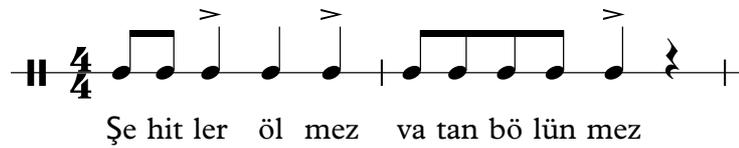


Figure 4.11: Rhythmic transcription of the slogan “martyrs do not die”.

The discursive content of this slogan is the summary of the mainstream everyday-nationalist ideology, in a nutshell. On the one hand, the martyrdom is at the center, as it is the case in the previously discussed parts of the society. What is also striking, the first part of the slogan is the exact Turkish version of the Kurdish slogan “sehit na mırın”, chanted in Newroz and May Day by the Kurds. Though the discourse is the same, the signified subjects (martyrs) are not: in the first, the martyrs are the soldiers and in the second the dead members of the movement. The second part of the slogan explains the existence of that difference: the country can’t be divided. For those who chant the slogan, the “others” (and the martyrs of the others) are the ones who try to divide the country, who are the threat against the unity and peace in the nation. The unitary structure of the nation state is a must for the people chanting that slogan, and the core concept is the “nation”, an ambiguous term, which in reality

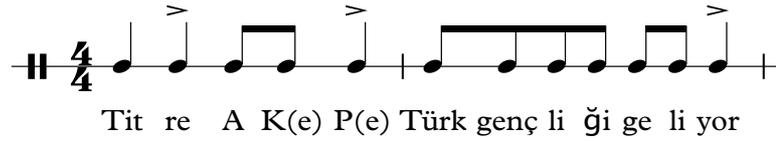


Figure 4.13: Rhythmic transcription of the slogan “Titre AKP Türk Gençliği Geliyor”.

The fact that nationalism and the overemphasized secularist discourse are the two sides of the same in this whole worldview is obvious in this slogan. This slogan is a threat with several implications; but what is more important is that Turkishness is positioned against AKP. This is due to the fact that AKP, from the beginning of their coming in the power, as a part of their neoliberal integration politics, used a somehow-multiculturalist discourse: sometimes they emphasized the islam as an umbrella for the people in Turkey, excluding non-muslim population, and sometimes emphasized Turkish nation. It is difficult to classify their exact position, for there are ambiguities in their overall discourse. Besides the anti-AKP character of the slogan, what is important is the normalized aggressive nationalist attitude that has found a place in the discourse of the people in the field. In this case, the de-politicization itself becomes a political attitude; the “normal” is what is extremely ideologically determined.

Militarism is yet another recurrent and strong ideology evident in the slogans, besides nationalist discourse. The belief on the military as the protector of the regime against all threats (insider or outsider) is so powerful that, it finds a discursive place in the political reactions of specific sections of the society. The total reaction itself against the cancellation of the official/military parade in 2011, the imitation of the military procession with the procession of the motorcycles, blended with the militarist discourse in the slogans demonstrate this attitude more than everything (figure 4.14).



Figure 4.14: Selected Slogans from the Republic Day 2011 field.

The first two slogans (first meaning “let be broken the hands against the soldiers”, and the second “PKK is in the parliament, commanders are in the prison”) above are about the continuing lawsuits, under the name of Ergenekon case. In these lawsuits, it is argued that a group in the military has formed an illegal organization, aiming to control both the civil and military powers. In that case, several military officers and journalists were arrested since 2007. These slogans reveal that the mass in the street does not believe that the lawsuit will be done in justice, and all that happens is a conspiracy against the republican powers, in order to get the country backwards through islamist agendas. This discourse is completed with the second slogan, accusing BDP deputies in the parliament to be the members of PKK, and implying that they have no right to be there. On the other hand, they reject the military commanders’ situation in the prison: they think the regime is in danger. The third slogan completes the picture: “we are the soldiers of Mustafa Kemal”, and we will fight against the enemies of the regime, whether they are islamists or separatists.

The rhythmic characteristics of the slogans above are the same with the slogans analyzed in the May Day chapter, which illustrates how a generalization could be made about the rhythmic aspect of the civil slogans in the street. This is due to the fact that the organization and conceptualization of street political actions follow the same cultural frameworks, along with the same lines of political thinking; albeit in different paths. Be nationalist, islamist, both, leftist, or progressives of any kind; the

slogans follow the same structural rules (as far as the language permits- it is difficult to stay in that framework with other languages than Turkish), sometimes sharing the same discursive elements for advocating different ideologies. However, there is a line where the civil discourse merges to that of the military, which reveals itself in the total sounds of a different kind of slogans.

In the course of the Republic Day 2011 parade in Bağdat Caddesi, the adoption of the cheering of military troops as slogans was striking. Young men and women were shouting “ne mutlu Türküm diyene” (happiness to the one who say I am Turkish) followed by “Her Türk asker doğar” (every Turk is born as a soldier) after singing altogether the 10th Year march. These slogans are those used in the military processions, and in the real army conditions by the troops; but now they are adopted by the masses as a sign for their loyalty to the Republic. This strengthens the apparent militarist characteristic of the event, despite its civil aspect. The ideology deploys itself in the use of the sound: the marches as primary means of expression, the adoption of military cheering along with the common rhythmic pattern also reveal the relationship of the mass in the field to the total structure.

This group in the field protesting the changes in the country is the product of the changes in Turkey since 1990’s. All the discussions on secularism have a latent dimension of class structure: since the coming into the power of AKP, an Anatolian conservative small bourgeoisie is rising and is getting the power to govern. What is happening is a power struggle between two different kinds of conservatisms. People in Bağdat Caddesi parade are not in conflict with the Structure in terms of its basic ways of working. In that sense, they are a more privileged section of the society, hence trying to keep their positions in a conservative way. Nevertheless, we can detect a spirit of *communitas* in their political action, where everybody finds himself/herself as an equal part of a whole: as it is the case in the events in previous chapters, the main concept is the sense of belonging, which makes people mobilize and be more courageous and daring than ever, and constructing and strengthening the boundaries with “the others” of the group. Reconciled with the Structure, there is no question of liminality in their action; but the liminoid feeling is reached through the unisonance, the feeling of being united against the same enemy.

4.3 2012 and Beyond

After the crisis of 29th October 2011, in 2012, the government announced that the celebrations of the official days will change, and there will be no official parades anymore. Instead, the commemorations were spread over one week, with several alternative celebrations. This decision created a reaction from different sections of the society, and it was even brought to the court. People perceived this change as an attempt against the foundational principles of the Republic, and yet another step of the “hidden agenda” of the government. 19 May 2012 was a turning point in this decision, and that day, for the first time, the official ceremonies with the parade of the military troops did not took place. Instead, CHP municipalities organized alternative feasts, which turned out to be political actions and parades against the government; communicating the message that “we are so numerous that you can’t fight us”. The Şişli municipality organized a procession under the title “take your flag and come”, and invited all the people to a walk through Osmanbey to Mecidiyeköy. The number of participants was more than expected; the streets were full of people with Turkish flags (Figure 4.15). The procession ended in Mecidiyeköy where Kenan Doğulu performed a concert. He started the concert by one of his hits, and he continued by singing the 10th Year march followed by the Youth march, accompanied by the people filling the field.



Figure 4.15: May 19th, Şişli Procession (Url-40).

After the celebrations, the prime minister made a speech, showing that he was pleased from the alternative celebrations:

May 19th is the day of commemoration fo Atatürk, of youth and sports. Look, nowthere is commemoration,youth and sports. Look, no tanks on the sreets, no vehicles of the municipality process in the streets anymore. There is a feast now, there are sportive activities. We turned this day to a real feast. It is how a feast looks like, the other manners were those of the iron curtain countries. May 19th became the date of a transformation in Turkey (Url-41).

This was really a turning point in Turkey's history; and the October 29th, 2010 parade in Vatan Caddesi that I have analyzed in this chapter, was probably the last military celebration of that day.

In the next chapter-conclusion- I will put in an order to my deductions from all the fieldwork process. I will explain how I interpret my findings and observations, and try to answer my initial questions.

5. CONCLUSIONS

In this concluding chapter I will try to close the circle by comparing the three events I have analyzed in the previous chapters. During my fieldwork process, I have attended numerous events of these kind, and in the writing process, I realized that three among them are significant in tracing a general framework of how people act politically in the street and what is the function of the sound in these events, in Istanbul. Nevertheless, without the background of the whole fieldwork process, it would be impossible to develop a perspective for neither of them. Some of the other events, among many, are 8th of March parades (women's day), the commemorations of Hrant Dink, the World Peace day celebrated in September 1st, the election meetings, Hidrellez celebrations, Easters celebrations, Baklahorani carnival, the protests against the Israeli attack on the Turkish ship Mavi Marmara, the evening celebrations of Ramazan Holidays etc...

In the introduction, I have stated that Istanbul is a divided and contested city. These two attributes of the city are due to the inner conflicts in the city life in particular, and in Turkey in general. The conflict as a fuel for political action and social effervescence dominates the daily life of the city. This conflict reveals itself in various forms, ranging from symbolic reversals to physical conflict. Here, I would like to mention two other observations from the field, in order to complete the picture I have drawn so far.

Besides the "pure" political actions in the street, there are more carnivalesque gatherings and rituals happening in the streets of Istanbul. The Hidrellez, celebrated every year on 6th of May, is a spring feast celebrated in many parts of Turkey. Nevertheless, in the popular perception, the feast is identified with the gypsy community. The celebrations in Istanbul were founded in this misconception, which brought its own inconveniences to the festival field itself. The history of mass-organized celebrations does not go further in the history, and I witnessed both to the climate of the participation and its fading out in two years. The celebration in 2010 was done in the European coast of Marmara, on the green grass, where people living

nearby spend the sunny Sundays with their families. Stages were constructed, food sellers organized. Several musician groups- all gypsy- were strolling around to make people dance. Towards the late evening, the field was so crowded that it became impossible to even walk. People- especially women- were dancing, forgetting the shame of being watched: the social limits on the expression of sexuality were seen to be suspended to some extent (Track 41). The carnivalesque ambience has also being strengthened by the consumption of alcohol. But the question is “who were those people entertaining themselves”, and “who were absent in the field”?

The festival started in a small gypsy neighborhood, Ahırkapı, in 2002. After a while, with the increasing popularity, it has been moved to the Marmara coast. The gypsies in this festival were musicians only: it was not possible to see gypsy women dancing, just for fun. The divided city has been brought to the festival: the people with whom the festival was identified were absent in the field; and the gypsy identity was becoming something emulated, its joyfulness exalted and only conceived through this joyfulness, turned to a medium for entertainment, and in a sense invaded. This was an apparent example of polarization in the society. In 2011, the organizers - none of them were gypsy- decided to sell tickets for the entrance to the field, which attracted severe reactions. The organizers at the end cancelled all the programs, and people were organized in the social media to meet in Sultanahmet, on the door of St Sophia church/mosque and walk to the Ahırkapı neighborhood, where everything started years ago. The procession started with a relatively small group, singing and dancing through the way to the neighborhood. The neighborhood was only a small street, buildings lined up on the two sides. In these buildings were living the gypsies of Ahırkapı. That evening, as it was the previous year, none of the inhabitants was dancing in that street, only the musicians were playing, and some food sellers were cooking *kebab* and selling beers. The invasion in the name of the feast let the gypsies of Ahırkapı earn money, but in the ideological realm it strengthened the boundaries: this was not an entertainment emphasizing togetherness, this was an appropriation and cultural invasion. In 2012, the organizers decided to move the festival to a popular venue, where the middle classes are used to go for concerts; which put an end to the celebration in Ahırkapı.

This is an example of how the “otherness” continues even in the home of people, in their own cultural framework, when everything becomes commodified. The

boundaries are kept still, but the discourse is different: people were thinking that they were going there to celebrate a gypsy festival, and would be as “sorrowless”, and “joyful” as gypsies. But one thing they would not bear: to see those gypsies close to them, entertaining as their equals. Contrary to the latent conflict and invisible boundaries in Hidrellez celebrations, there were cases where the conflict was more open and symbolic at once: the Easter in 2010.

It was Sunday, and I was on my way to the church on the İstiklal Caddesi. My plan was to record the bells of Easter, from the window of a building nearby the church. İstiklal caddesi is always crowded, and there is always some kind of demonstration. But this time it was different: the celebration was that of police week, which would actually start the next day. Coincidentally, the local government decided to celebrate the anniversary of the birth of police institution, one day before the start of a whole week dedicated to these celebrations; and coincidentally, it was Easter. The street was full of young police officers, worn their sports costumes, girls and boys, carrying a giant Turkish flag, as long as the street. At the meantime, there was a huge volume of music enveloping the entire street, and making the sound environment unbearable with its loudness: the 10th year march was being broadcast. While walking through the street where my target building was situated, I also heard the song “Memleketim” broadcast the same way. After a struggle to pass through the procession, I finally got to the window where I was planning to make my recording. Normally, on Sunday, from that window the sound of the ritual is heard very well, ornated with the sounds of the doves living on the highest walls of the church. But that Sunday, it was impossible to hear anything but the sound of the marches and helicopters flying over us. Nevertheless, I started to record, waiting for the church bells, leaning out up to my waist. After a while, the sound of the march started to fade out (the procession was going further in the street) and the helicopter made its last tour over us. Just at that moment where all the invasive sounds faded out, the bells of the church started to ring, as if saying, “ we are still here” (Track 42).

For a long time I hesitated on how to interpret this incident: was that an open violation of the ritual, were the celebrations organized before their real starting time on purpose, and etc. If that was the case, we should talk about the hatred against one religious group in the society. Honestly, we cannot deny the existence of such hatreds in the society, but my opinion for this case is different. The Christians in

Turkey are marginalized to the extent that they are not seen, nor heard: after long years of sweeping out the non-muslim population, people in Turkey have forgotten that the Christian communities are one of the original components of that society, and they are seen as strangers. This alienation brings along the lack of respect, and especially the lack of knowledge about the “other”. I am pretty sure that the local government was not aware that there would be ritual at that hour in that church, and consequently nobody did even think of any respect. This alienation brought with it the cultural invasion: people were in the streets, and their sounds were dominating the environment. But at the end, the response was as symbolic as theirs: the bells waited for a relative silence in order to ring, searching for a space to be heard against all odds. Here the sounds have become a sphere of symbolic contestation, reflecting a whole bunch of various conflicts inherent to the society. From my perspective, these two additional examples from the field are very expressive in terms of how sounds and symbols operate as realms of contestation, and how the established order is reproduced through their use.

Istanbul is the scene of several such gatherings within a single day, and it would be impossible to attend all. But in general mass political actions in the street have a specific structure, which repeats itself in different forms. Specific symbols and discourses seem to characterize specific events; specific songs and slogans are perceived as distinguishing attributes of these events. Though the conflict is always in charge. Here the conflict is not necessarily a physical one with violence; most of the time it deploys itself in the “otherness” of some groups, in the practice of pushing one another, even in a symbolic way, while living together. In this concluding chapter I will discuss the common traits of these events: the structure, symbols and discourses, sound, rhythm and dance. All these concepts deserve to be interpreted in depth, but I will focus on the constituting elements of each that I have witnessed during my field observations.

5.1 Structure

In terms of structure, the demonstrations in the street have some common characteristics. But of course, the presence of these characteristics in a specific event depends on the purpose and the scope of the event: it could be a gathering in a big square, including a parade (or not); it could be a more spontaneous political

action, the aim being to attract the public attention in an unexpected time (the place for these kinds of events is almost always Taksim and around). The events I have discussed in the previous chapter-May Day, Newroz and Republic Day- have seven common structural traits. To begin with, (1) they are all organized in advance: there are a group of organizers, who decide on how the procession will be done, the content of the speeches and who will do the speeches, the songscape broadcast both from the stage and during the procession; the starting and ending times. Also, they fit to the three characteristics of demonstration Charles Tilly states (2003), which are the second, third and fourth common traits: (2) the gathering in a place -especially having a symbolic implication in the memory of the society- and the parade to that place; (3) the communication of the message produced out of the togetherness in that space; and (4) the demonstration of a collective whole in the space, using mediums such as sound (music, speech, slogans, noise) and symbols (p. 204). In these demonstrations, (5) the repetitive use of objects (flags of different colors), a specific kind of dance-*halay*- and discourses- thorough speeches, slogans and songs- turn them into symbols (Sennett, 2012, p. 115). On the other hand, (6) the cyclic character of these events, and (7) the repetition itself imply that these are rituals. In these rituals the boundaries between the individual and collective are blurred, and a feeling of integration, melting in the collectivity gives the power to the crowd. That is why these events can be labeled as “public displays of commitment and solidarity”, and the ritual practices as the repetition of collective voicing are the catalyzers of this melting down (Eyerman, 2006, p. 196).

The parade of May Day and alternative Republic Day celebrations are those where all the symbols are displayed in order to communicate the main message. The difference is, in May Day, the crowd is more heterogenic, involving those from the “bottoms” of the society, struggling for their primary rights, to civil servants-school teachers, academicians, to artists and finally to those called as white-collars, some working on international corporate jobs. Despite the mixed class composition of the May Day celebration, the strength of the crowd comes from its symbols as its foundations: the heroes of the recent past, the songs, the merging sensibilities of people from different political backgrounds, associated around the symbolic meaning of gathering in Taksim for May Day celebration. The spirit of the conquest after 35 years still reigns and determines the joy of being in that square. The crowd being so

heterogenic, it is difficult to define one common message, communicated to the rest of the city (and country). Instead, the messages are multiple, and people act like a total whole only at moments dominated by the presence of common symbols: the martyrs, specific songs, and specific slogans- as it was the case in 2012, when people in the different cities of the Turkey shouted at the same time the slogan “shoulder to shoulder against fascism”. That day, it is said that the decibel record was broken in Taksim-which means 700000 people shouted the same slogan at the same time: the unity was reached through sound.

The Republic Day protests, on the other hand are the display of collectivity of a more homogenous crowd: the discourse is common, the social backgrounds are common, and the place is symbolic in that it is the famous street where the upper middle classes inhabit. These are the demonstrations where the once-privileged secularist middle and upper middle classes show their discontent through the parade. Here, the parade and the gathering merges, people walk and the stage rides ahead of them, guiding with speeches and songs.

The case in Newroz field is similar to that of Republic Day protests in that people can identify themselves easily with the collectivity: as I mentioned in the relevant chapter, the crowd is already a *communitas*, before even coming to the field. The discourse is collective, the message is collective, and clear. What differs the crowd in Newroz field is its capacity of rebellion, being at the threshold of deconstructing the frames the governments put around them.

Whence we come to the concept of liminality, where a social threshold is passed, and the feeling of *communitas* permits to create anti-structure, the possibility of alternate orders (Turner, 2009, p. 22). Newroz, May Day and Republic Day protests represent different aspects of collective masses in terms of *communitas* and liminality. As I mentioned before, the crowd in the field of Newroz is already a *communitas*, where the social boundaries are eliminated and everybody becomes the equal of the other. Nevertheless, this potential of *communitas*-like group towards liminality never turns into practice: even if the people in the field have the potential to create the anti-structure, they are well controlled-first by the state, and second by those leading and organizing the event. These two kinds of control, however stand for different purposes: while the former is towards repressing the reactions and making the masses “undangerous” for the structure, the latter is aimed towards not losing all the

possibilities of negotiation with the structure itself, still acting towards finding solutions. On the other events, though, the sense of collectivity is not as strong, and the relations of the crowds with the “structure” are more ambiguous: they want to change some aspects, but they are not destructive advocates of the anti-structure, they still benefit from the way things are. This is obvious especially in the Republic Day protests, which are mainly organized against “changes in the Structure”: the crowd demands the continuity of the *status quo*. Thus, the May Day crowd, with its joy fits to the definition “liminoid” (liminal-like or metaphorical) instead of liminality (Turner, 2009); and the Republic Day, for the sake of the moments where the collective feeling of sorrow for the losses and and anger for the enemies might also be categorised as liminoid actions. The shared feelings in liminoid moments are more limited and individual-centered, where the boundaries between individuals are still strong. Whether liminal or liminoid, in these three events people in the field feel themselves attached to each other thorough a common belief (or beliefs), and the concept of collective effervescence defined by Emile Durkheim (2001 [1912]) can be applied to these events. I would even state that the collective effervescence is everywhere in the street as a potential in societies like ours: a society of crisis, where people wake up to the journey wondering what kind of staggering event will happen during the day. This expectation, along with the inner conflicts in the numerous spheres of society, makes it ready to explode, fuels its potential of effervescence. Given that characteristic of the society, to give permission to these kinds of events means- from the side of the “Structure” – to control them, to frame them. In the cases where the crowds are not controlled, as in spontaneous celebrations after football games, and as in the clashes to enter the Taksim Square for May Day celebration, or to the Newroz field, the potential of resistance and feeling of *communitas* is strengthened.

The long and the short of all this is that May Day, Newroz and Republic Day protests all have common structural traits: parade, framed fields, stately permission, control of organizers, stage , the use of sound and speech... But all these structural elements are hold together through symbols, which transform an ordinary gathering into a ritual. The gatherings in the streets of Istanbul, mostly for political purposes and also for entertainment, can be interpreted as “symbolic collective texts” (Connerton, 1999, p. 80).

5.2 Symbols

During the Newroz celebrations, the speaker invites people for one minute of silence for the martyrs who gave their lives for the sake of their people; the crowd in the field raise their hands with "V" signs and shout: "şehit namırım" (martyrs don't die). In the field of May Day 2009, the speaker invites the crowd for one minute of silence for "our martyrs"; people stay silent for one minute and then, accompanied with the broadcast version, everybody sings the national anthem. In May Day 2011 celebrations, the names of the martyrs of the left and Kurdish movement are recited one by one, and replied by the crowd who shouts "here s/he is"; which is followed by one minute of silence, fists raised up in the air. And in Republic Day protests, the names of the young soldiers as martyrs followed by the name of Atatürk at the end are recited and the crowd replies "here he is" for each one, and afterwards chants the slogan "martyrs don't die, and the country can not be divided". Albeit the similarity in practice, the content and ideological implications are different. The martyrs of the Newroz and those in the Republic Day, are actually two sides of the same coin, fighting each other. On the other hand, in the May Day field, the boundaries blur, depending on the ideological preferences of the organizers: in 2009, the martyrs were those dead during the independence war after the first World War, and those dead since 1980's in defence of the country. On the other hand, in 2011 May Day field the martyrs were the martyrs of both the lefts and Kurdish movement. What is constant, though is the respect to those sacrificing their lives for their country, expressed through silence, since the death for one's country is considered a moral virtue (Anderson, 1991, p. 144). Moreover, the apotheosis of martyrdom -besides its close connection with different kinds of nationalisms (Connerton 1999, p. 69)- is a call for taking those martyrs as ideal role models:

Memorialization of martyrs is not just remembrance. The memory of the martyr does not just appear in consciousness as many memories do. It is an active retrieving of an ideal model for action from the past into the present and future. Moreover, memorialization is not only retrospective, it is also prospective. It serves to create strong martial self-images inspired by martyrs... (Schalk, 2010, p. 66)

In the last instance, all the memorialisation is a call for hanging on a specific identity, be it the Turkish identity, leftist identity, Kurdish identity, or a mixture of all. Hence the construction of identity constitutes the core of all these events. The common trait of all three gatherings in the previous chapters, is the assertion of a continuity with a specific -constructed- past, through particular symbols.

The use of tanks, planes and other war technologies in the procession is one of the common demonstrations of nationalism, as it is in France, or as it was in Germany, Italy and Russia, in the first half of the 20th century, along with “semi liturgical chanting and intercessions between speaker and audience” (Cannadine, 1992, p.148). While the use of tanks and other war technologies in Republic Day parade is apparently the deployment of the nation’s strength, its reproduction through the use of motorcycles and their sound is the reproduction of a nationalist ideology, through the exaggerated enthusiasm towards the possibility of war and death in the war. In the line of this thinking, the war becomes, “as it was mentioned in a Nazi children’s book, a “sweet dream”, “a miracle of winning”; and to die in the war was dying as a hero, which was the real purpose of life” (Mosse, cited in Guibernau, 1997, p. 152). The collective life of the society is considered as superior to individual’s life; and through the symbols and rituals, these individuals feel themselves as a part of an overencompassing whole, which is what happens in all three cases in this study. Whether it is nationalism or another collective ideology, the ultimate purpose is to reach an unusual density of feelings, which would permit them to continue the traditional through their future actions.

The silences and speeches are yet one part of the sonic symbolism. The songs and the slogans are the major components of the event, carrying all the historical and ideological luggages, with references to different constructions of history. In the case of songs, we can detect songs meaningful for more than one event: the Herne Peş in Newroz and May Day; Sari Gyalin in May Day; Yiğidim Aslanım Burda Yatıyor in Republic Day and in a leftist organization may refer to different incidents and different contexts. In the last instance, these multireferential songs create the symbolic atmosphere of meanings, and set the frameworks of collective action.

Along with the silence and call-and-response speeches in the field, the colors, the flags and the songs are yet other important symbols for setting out the boundaries with others. It might be the Turkish flag, the flag with three colours of Newroz or the specific flag of a specific leftist organization: all are meant to tell the others and the carriers of them who they are and who they are not.

Although the symbols of the three cases are mostly common in form and function, one is strictly case specific: the fire of Newroz. The fire as a symbol of resistance and a call for action also became one of the signifiers of the Kurdish identity, with all its

connotations of a mythic past and ancient beliefs. In this terms, it might be a parallelism between the Newroz fire and the maypole of the traditional English and French festivities, which also were considered as a challenge to the ordinary functioning of things (Ehrenreich, 2009, p.135). The fire, on the other hand is also one of the components of Hıdırellez celebrations, but in the ones organized in the Marmara coast and Ahırkapı neighborhood, there was no sign of any fires around. The symbolism of fire as rebirth and renewal of life together with the coming of the spring-or the new year, combined with the spirit of rebellion made it indispensable for the Newroz celebrations. Furthermore, it has become a sign for challenge outside the celebration field, in the neighborhoods, where children lit bonfires and jump over them, fighting with the police.

The frames of these events are traced through the symbols but also there are physical frames, drawn both by the organizers and the state. These frames indicate the boundaries of a place, communicating to the whole city the message that there is an unusual event happening within the frames; which bring us to the next step: the place.

5.3 The Place Transformed to Space

The specific places the all three events happen are symbols of a specific history or way of life: from that perspective, they are contested and reproduced as spaces through these events, for they- as rituals- also “mark and modulate transformations of time, space and consciousness” (Schechner 2005 [1987], p. 7047). As Gustavson and Cytrinbaum (2003) argue, “space is the way in which place is used, or more specifically, the meaning that is made out of place”, and “for a place to be a space, people must be involved in the place for particular reasons over time” (p. 256).

In this study it was shown that the spaces of action are constructed through the physical conflict itself (Taksim Square for May Day); through the repetition of the event at the same place (Taksim Square, Kazlıçeşme Field and Bağdat Avenue). Moreover the means of communicating the specific messages add multiple layers of meanings to the places, and henceforth transforming them into spaces: the memorialization of martyrs, the use of specific sounds, and dances.

The memorialization of martyrs, along with its function as creating and proposing role models for people in the field, also perceptually synchronizes the individuals in the field and the martyrs: the reciting of the names and the answer as “here s/he is” is an illustrative example of how suspension of the “distance of time and place between the civil mourner and the martyr/hero” (Schalk, 2010, p. 67) occurs. The moment in the Republic Day protests in 2011, where the sound of the march was followed by the voice of Atatürk, calling “yurttaşlarım!”, creating enthusiasm among the participants was yet another example of this synchronization: the distance between the Hero and the people was perceptually eliminated-as if there was a real dialogue between them- transforming that place into a space constructed upon the imagined/constructed memories of the crowd. The role of sounds in this transformation is crucial: as they envelop the place and the people in that place, at the same time communicating meanings; they have the power to imply alternative perceptions, resulting to a feeling of integration with the rest of the crowd and the assumed history.

In case of May Day celebrations the singing of the May Day march has a similar function: it links the present to the past-to 1977- through the place. Henceforth, the place- Taksim square- is transformed to a space, to the space of May Day celebrations with the specific sound of the march. On the other hand, the sounds have the power to link spaces over distances: in May Day 2012 celebrations, the chanting of the slogan “shoulder to shoulder against fascism” by people in different cities of Turkey at the same time, created a virtual space, where the challenge to the “Structure” was executed through sound, again. At that moments:

A collective story emerges, linking places and events together, and a metaphor, the movement is applied. “We are here now, we were there then and we will be together in the future. We are a movement”. (Eyerman, 2006, p.196)

Though the role of sound is not limited to the expression of identities and transforming places. The sound, in the form of slogans, speech and music also reveal the latent cognitive and ideological stances of the people producing it.

5.4 The Sound

In the field of celebration the acoustic communication is crucial in the expression of the feelings and purposes of the crowd both to themselves and to the rest of the city. The sounds in these events, do not “simply provide a marker in a prestructured

social space, but the means by which this social space can be transformed” (Stokes 1997, p. 4). The sounds of these events include the speeches, the slogans, the songs and the ‘noise’ produced by the participants before, during and after the event.

The speeches in these events are the most apparent way of expressing the dominant discourses: they are done from the stage, by the ones chosen by the organizers, and they explicitly put the main concerns, the perspectives of the organizers and the general public in the field. In the Newroz stage the history of Newroz and the myth of Kawa are recited, the demands from the governments are juxtaposed, the martyrs are saluted, slogans are shouted; in the May Day stage poems reflecting actual sensibilities are recited, again the criticisms on the government are juxtaposed, the history of the May Day celebrations in Taksim is recited and the martyrs are saluted, slogans are shouted; in the Republic Day protests, the speaker recites the vow and people repeat his words, the martyrs are saluted and slogans are shouted. Seemingly the function of speeches are similar: to coordinate the feelings of the people in the field, to emphasize sensibilities and enhance the feeling of togetherness.

The slogans are one of the main characteristics in terms of sound in a political action in the street: they are the signals of a political gathering wherever they are heard. The association of voices in shouting a one-phrase pattern rhythmically means politics, whatever its content. Besides, the slogans in Turkey- in Turkish mostly- follow a set of common rhythmic rules, independent of their contents. In a nutshell, the first category of the slogans are either 8 beat, or repeated 4 beat phrases. In case they are 8 beat phrases, the accents are placed on the 2nd, 4th and 7th/8th (depends on the number of syllables in the phrase); in cases they are 4 beat phrases, the accents are on the 2nd and 4th beats. In the case of Kurdish slogans, similar rules can be observed as long as the language permits. The second category of slogans includes those converted from military rhythmic patterns into slogans chanted in the streets, and have their own rules: 8 beat phrases, involving 4 words. With their rhythmic character and uniting character, they evoke the sense of unity, which seems as a justification of Emile Durkheim’s argument: individuals feel they are united by screaming the same slogan, by pronouncing the same word, or doing the same gesture (Durkheim, 2001 [1912], p. 230).

The sense of unity is also reached through songs and dances. The songs and marches broadcast during the processions and in the field are multireferential, and have

interwoven histories; whence their different implications in different occasions. Consequently it would be appropriate to argue that these songs and marches are organized sounds, which also include embedded historical, cultural and political narratives. The songs in the Newroz field communicate the critical themes in the process of an almost 30 years of fight, the songs in the May Day celebrations evoke the history of leftist movement and its concerns; the marches in the field of official parade of Republic Day and alternative Republic Day processions communicate the message on being the Turkish nation and a hegemonic power, on being reluctant to share the resources with the “others” of the nation, and possessing the history of the nation with references to the strong connection between nationalism and militarism. All these songs, along with mobilizing the masses in the field, create “their own time, space and motion, taking people out of ordinary time” (Blacking, 1976, p. 51), whence the effervescence is rooted. The feeling of synchronicity with the past heroes, and with the totality of the imagined community is provided through these effervescent songs:

... There is a special kind of contemporaneous community which language alone suggests—above all in the form of poetry and songs. Take national anthems, for example, sung on national holidays. No matter how banal the words and mediocre the tunes, there is in this singing an experience of simultaneity. At precisely such moments, people wholly unknown to each other utter the same verses to the same melody. The image: unisonance. Singing the Marseillaise, Waltzing Mathilda, and Indonesia Raya provide occasions for unisonality, for the echoed physical realization of the imagined community. ... How selfless this unisonance feels! If we are aware that others are singing these songs precisely when and as we are, we have no idea who they may be, out of earshot, they are singing. Nothing connects us all but imagined sound. (Anderson, 1991, p. 145)

The sense of unity, solidarity and sometimes rebellion is also expressed through the dances in the field, namely by “*halay*”. *Halay* is a circle dance performed throughout Anatolia under different names and forms. But the main idea is constant: this is a dance done holding one another, in an inward circle, and mostly to the music of *davul* and *zurna*. *Davul* and *zurna* in the field of Newroz and May day celebrations are the musical signs of the connection with the “local”, the “traditional”, the “roots”. As Barbara Ehrenreich argues (2009), the bodily surrender to the music by the means of dance is uniting in a deeper way than the shared myth or the common tradition could do (p 33). The dances accompanied to these sounds are also conceptualized in the same line. The turning circle, the rhythmic sound of *davul* and *zurna*, and the bodily connection—as it is declared in the slogan “shoulder to shoulder against fascism”—creates the sense of being the part of a united whole, which eliminates the boundaries between individuals (Comoroff, 1985, s 233).

The core element in all the discussion above, in the final instance is rhythm. There is a constant rhythmic character in all these events: The slogans, the speeches, the songs, the dances, the parade and the occurrence of the events have the rhythm as a core building characteristic. The rhythmic recitation unites people, as rhythmic bodily movements do. The quick steps as a sign of discipline symbolize the power of the state while performed in the official ceremony of the Republic Day; and it symbolizes the strength of organization and the level of determination while performed by leftists groups in the May Day parade- at the same time revealing the latent nationalist ideology of that specific group. the steady pulse of the marches facilitate for the masses to memorize and to accompany them; but the main characteristic of the marches is that they are always strongly connected to militarism in their origins. The alternative movements of the new century –the anarchists, feminists, ecologists, queer advocates and others- are very aware of the power of rhythm as a uniting factor. The level of sound produced by a rhythm ensemble might be so powerful that it can both attract attention and disturb, also fueling the sense of unity under the same pulse. Although in form, these rhythm ensembles- samba groups or alternative bands- are similar to those in military, in approach and function it might be the reverse. In the military, the aim is to line up, to discipline; while for the others it is to emphasize differences, at the same time proposing the multivocality, chaos, and “noise”. With the inclusion of this kind of groups in the parades and gatherings, the slogans with alternate rhythms are also introduced to the political action. Otherwise, Kemalists, leftists, islamists, and Kurds chant the same rhythmic phrase, with different contents. Besides the multiple inner rhythms of the events, the events themselves are part of the rhythmic cycle of events happening in the course of the year in the city. Their rhythmicity is yet another aspect of their being symbolically loaded, which also determines the agenda of the city, or even the country: this huge symbolic load makes them energetic and, sometimes dangerous, for the way everything works.

This overall rhythmic aspect closes the short summary of commonalities and differences in the three cases, and leads me to the epilogue, where I will try to put together my last words on the subject.

5.5 Epilogue

This study spread over three years, is an attempt to understand the relations of sound structures and social structures, focusing on the political action in the street, in a chaotic city-Istanbul. The existence and the frequency of political actions in the streets of Istanbul are yet another aspect of the numerous struggles occurring within the society, and the mirror of the fluid political environment. The observation of and participation to several events in the course of three years brought me to a saturation point, where I felt I finally grasped the essence of the use of sound in these events – which has always been a question for me even before having the idea of starting this research. This understanding in the writing phase lead me to select three events out of the whole: May Day celebrations, Newroz celebrations and Republic Day celebrations, respectively. In the relevant chapters I analyzed the structures of celebrations, the sounds and the characteristics of the communities performing these ceremonies from the perspective of thick description, focusing mainly on sounds – sounds loaded with historical meanings and messages.

The discussions on the three events were also fueled during the writing process, by the vivid actual political agenda, and the endless discussions on these specific events. In this light, it would be appropriate to state that, the analysis and arguments in this study belong to a specific time-span, for in this fluid political environment the transformation and change are inevitable. Besides the events participated during the fieldwork process, the social mobilizations that occurred outside the scope of my interests in the last year are additional proofs of how the political mobilization covers every part of the society: the protests of football fans against the lawsuits on their football clubs, the meetings for the commemoration of the "martyrs", the growing reactions from the progressive groups of the society against oppressive lawsuits have become the dominant themes in the newspapers. The implication of all these developments is the presence of an effervescent society, where the political and social polarization deepens day by day, and the inner conflict rises. In these circumstances, my approach to the soundscape is to focus more on the social and political structures than the acoustic characteristics, "the majority of the soundscape being a consequence of our current political structures and decision-making capacities" (Wagstaf, 2002, p. 122).

The political action in the street is constructed around salient symbols, as storages of meaning. One of the symbolic elements of this storage is sound: songs have specific social and historical implications, slogans are the products of a historical accumulation, marches, rhythms, the belief in martyrs and the use of silences and noises- all are the mirrors of social structures and the history, and put the specific political action in its own place in the whole picture, at the same time communicating identities and meanings to the participants. In these cases, the symbols are not sacred nor holy; they are mundane symbols but all the stories and reference points- martyrs, flags and marches- have mythical auras. The common feeling in every case is the unity, integration, being different from others and feeling powerful-as to change the system, to become a *communitas*.

Whether it is May Day celebration, Newroz celebration, official Republic Day celebrations or Republic Day protests, they all generate from the same socio-cultural source, they communicate in the same political frame, they use similar cultural codes. The frequent use of marches, the structure of the slogans, the belief in martyrdom for one's country, the conceptualization of tradition from the developmentalist perspective are all the outcomes of the same authoritarian and militarist nation-state system. To create breakpoints in this flow necessitates critical confrontations with the system one is born within, and it is a difficult task. The practices of the crowd in the funeral of Hrant Dink was an example of this kind of break, using the silence in an alternative way: keeping it as a sign of respect and sorrow, but at the same time using it as a way to "make visible" the grandeur of the crowd. On the other hand, Newroz celebrations are events where the tensions between the state power and the alternative powers over the people are made visible: the people is excited to the limits, but both powers endlessly attempt to frame and control them.

Nevertheless, these events alter the soundscape of the city, transform the daily life, and interfere to the public opinion by making visible/sounding certain claims. Though this visibility/hearability is provided through multiple channels; through television newspapers and the Internet multiple realities are constructed. Though the carnivalesque spirit is not always present in this constructed realities, in the street the effervescence fuels that feeling. These events, with their sounds as the main carrier and communicator of the meaning and the message, are indispensable traits of social

life: they might be safety valves for the tensions in the society, but they always bear the possibilities for change, for another world. Under all circumstances, the density of political actions in the street implies the existence of a transformative collectivity. Seemingly the social bonds thought to be disappearing still exist in a transformed way, and new generations attempt to produce new means of expression upon the legacy of the past movements. The dynamism of ritual, society and sounds will hopefully continue, and In the future the chimes of the gas bombs will hopefully be replaced by the chimes of freedom (Dylan, 1964) (Track 43):

Flashing for the warriors whose strength is not to fight
Flashing for the refugees on the unarmed road of flight
An' for each an' ev'ry underdog soldier in the night
An' we gazed upon the chimes of freedom flashing.

In the city's melted furnace, unexpectedly we watched
With faces hidden as the walls were tightening
As the echo of the wedding bells before the blowin' rain
Dissolved into the bells of the lightning
Tolling for the rebel, tolling for the rake
Tolling for the luckless, the abandoned an' forsaked
Tolling for the outcast, burnin' constantly at stake
An' we gazed upon the chimes of freedom flashing.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: MAPS

APPENDIX B: CHRONOLOGY

APPENDIX C: ANNUAL TIMELINE

APPENDIX D: SONGS

APPENDIX E: TRACK LIST

APPENDIX F: GLOSSARY

APPENDIX G: (IN CD-ROM)

APPENDIX A: MAPS



Figure A.1 : Map of Turkey.



Figure A.2 : Map of Istanbul.

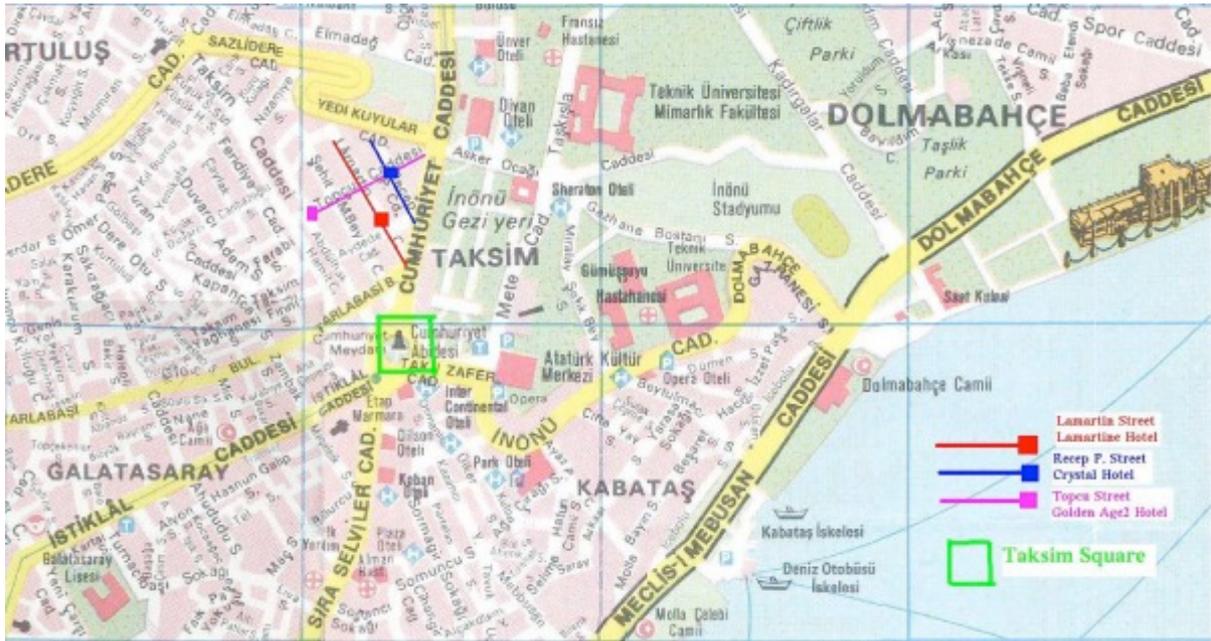


Figure A.3 : Taksim Square Map.



Figure A.4 : Kadıköy Map.

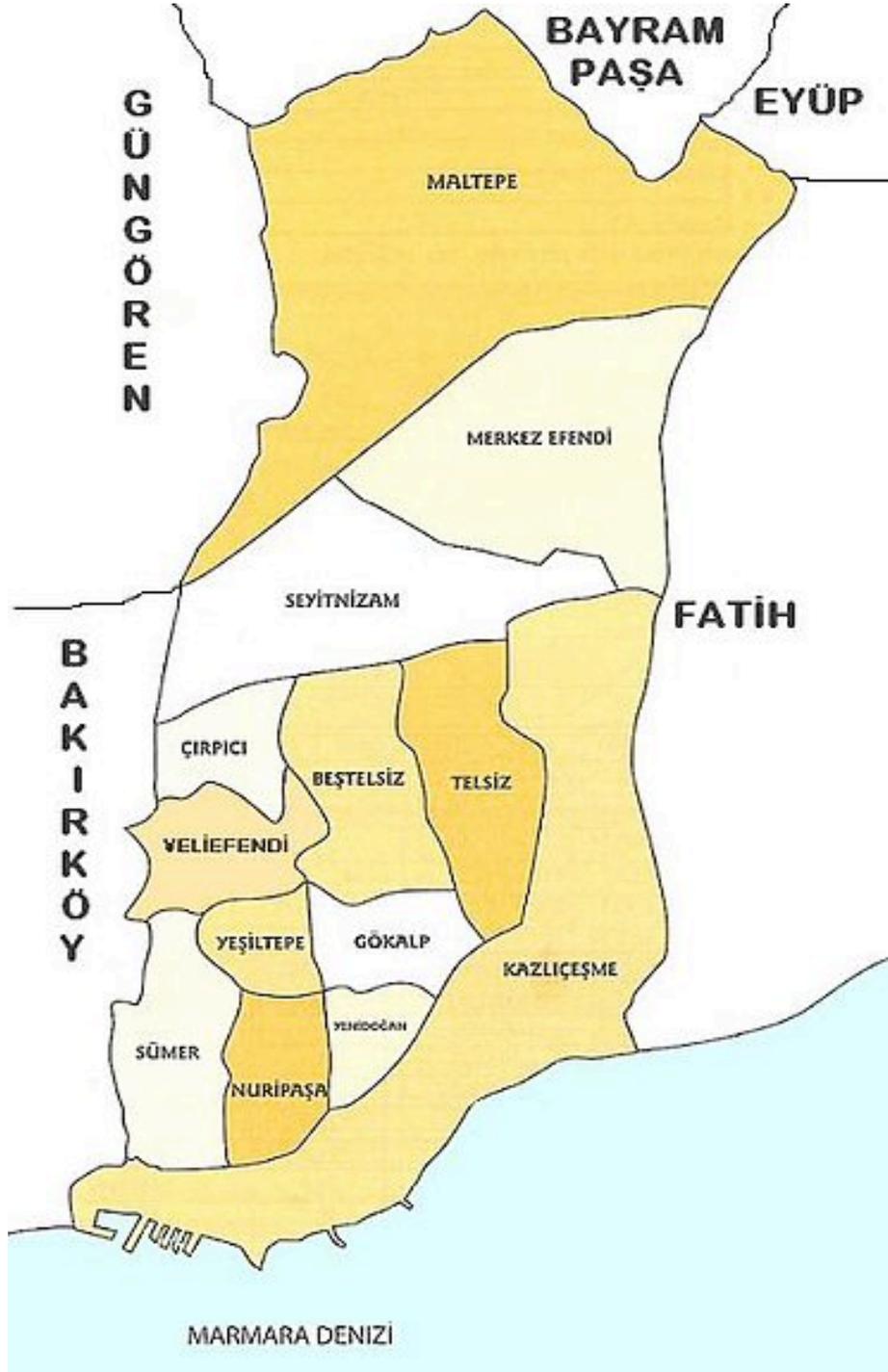


Figure A.5 : Zeytinburnu Map.

APPENDIX B: CHRONOLOGY

Table B.1: Chronology of some important events in the history of Republic of Turkey.

19.05.1919	Mustafa Kemal arrives in Samsun and the national struggle begins.
11.10.1922	The signature of Mudanya armistice.
24.07.1923	Lozan convention
09.09.1923	Establishment of the people's party
23.04.1920	Establishment of the Turkish grand national assembly
06.03.1921	The Kocgiri uprising which was held by Kurdish tribes against the establishment of the Turkish grand national assembly. And which also was one of the first Kurdish uprisings in the 1900's.
29.10.1923	Declaration of the formation of the Republic of Turkey.
07.08 – 26.09.1924	The Nasturi uprising (the Assyrians demanded their independence).
17.11.1924	Establishment of the Progressive Republican Party (Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası).
February – April 1925	The uprising of Sheikh Said.
29.06.1925	The execution of Sheikh Said.
14.06.1926	An assassination attempt to Mustafa Kemal in Izmir.
05.06.1925	The confinement of the Progressive Republican Party.
1934	The declaration of the first five-year development plan.
20.03.1937 – December 1938	Dersim uprising.
03.05.1944	The Ankara demonstrations which were held by the supporters of Nihal Atsız (a right wing extremist political leader of his time) who was on trial at that time. The government took serious actions against the demonstrations and hundreds were taken into custody. The complaint that led to the trial was made by Sabahattin Ali, a communist writer of his time famous for his novel "Kürk Mantolu Madonna".
18.06.1941	Nonaggression treaty is signed with Germany.
23.02.1945	The Turkish Republic declared war to Germany.
02.04.1948	The assassination of Sabahattin Ali, a communist writer.
1948 – 1951	The first Marshall plan was accepted by the Turkish government; which was the first American aid in the Turkish history.

Table B.1 (continued): Chronology of some important events in the history of Republic of Turkey.

1950 – 1953	Korean war.
14.05.1950	The first general election in which the Democratic Party won the elections. The significance of these elections is that the voting process was held publicly whereas the counting of the votes was held privately.
18.02.1952	Turkish republic joined NATO.
06 – 07.09.1955	Heavy plunders were held against the Greek and other non-muslim population, in Istanbul. Many of them left the country afterwards.
28.04.1960	A young university student, Turan Emeksiz who was only 20 years at the time was killed during the demonstrations against the Menderes government. The day is also remembered as the bloody Thursday.
05.05.1960, 17:00	A demonstration also known as “555 K” (because it was held on the fifth day of the fifth month at five o’clock at Kızılay, Ankara) occurred. This incident also happens to be the first civilian unobedience act in Turkish Republic
27.05.1960	The first military coup.
27.05.1960 – 15.10.1960	The governance of the national unity committee (the governance of the military junta).
14.10.1960 – 15.09.1960	The Yassıada trials (prime minister Adnan Menderes, ministers Fatin Rüştü Zorlu, Hasan Polatkan and many others members of the Menderes government were put on trial)
19.09.1960	The confinement of the Democratic Party.
13.02.1961	The establishment of the Turkish Workers Party (Türkiye İşçi Partisi)
16.09.1961	Fatin Rüştü Zorlu, Hasan Polatkan were executed.
17.09.1961	The former prime minister of the country, Adnan Menderes was executed.
1965	15 members of The Turkish Workers Party elected to the Turkish National Assembly.
12.03.1971	A military warning was sent to the government.
30.03.1972	Kızıldere massacre (Mahir Çayan and many others were killed by the Turkish armed forces during a hostage crisis. Their goal was to prevent the execution of Deniz Gezmiş, Yusuf Aslan And Hüseyin Inan.) The only survivor of the incident, Ertuğrul Kürkçü is currently a member or the Turkish National Assembly.
06.05.1972	Deniz Gezmiş, Yusuf Aslan And Hüseyin Inan. (young leaders of the left movement of their time) were executed as a result of the actions taken after the military warning in 1971).
20.07.1974	Cyprus Campagne

Table B.1 (continued): Chronology of some important events in the history of Republic of Turkey.

31.03.1975	Establishment of the first Nationalist Front Government.
21.07.1977	Establishment of the second Nationalist Front Government.
01.05.1977	During the workers day demonstrations, as a result of open fire to the crowd, 34 people were killed while 136 were injured. The day is also remembered as the “Bloody May Day”.
16.03.1977	7 students were killed and 41 were injured by the explosion of a parcel bomb put in front of the Pharmacy Faculty of Istanbul.
24.03.1978	Doğan Öz (Public prosecutor who wrote a report for Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit accusing clandestine groups of creating chaos in order to lay the ground for a military takeover) was assassinated.
21.11.1978	Establishment of PKK.
21.12.1978	The Maraş massacre (150 Alevi people were killed by the haters.). This incident has been argued to be one of the causes for the military coup in 1980.
01.02.1979	Journalist Abdi İpekçi was assassinated by Mehmet Ali Ağca, who later attempted to assassinate Pope Jean Paul II.
24.01.1980	Government orders of the 24 th of January (these orders constituted the opening of the Turkish market to foreign capital, unilaterally).
22.07.1980	The assassination of Kemal Türkler, the leader of DISK (Confederation for the Revolutionary Workers Unions).
06.09.1980	The Meeting for Jerusalem (The meeting was led by Necmettin Erbakan against the declaration of the Israeli government that Jarusalem was and forever would be their capital. The crowd opened green Islamic flags and sat down during the Turkish National Anthem. The meeting later construed as one of the leading events to the 1980 military coup)
12.09.1980	Military coup.
10.11.1980	The Turkish Consulate in Strasbourg France was bombed by ASALA and PKK.
07.08.1982	ASALA carried out an armed attack in Esenboğa Airport, Ankara. Civilians were injured during the attack.
07.11.1982	The military junta held a referendum in order to vote the new constitution.
17.08.1984	The first armed attack to a gendarme station was carried out by PKK.
25.10.1984	A capital punishment was executed for the last time.
06.09.1984	A bombed attack was carried out against the Neve Şalom Synagogue in Istanbul. 21 people were killed during the attack and 4 people were injured.

Table B.1 (continued): Chronology of some important events in the history of Republic of Turkey.

17.05.1987	Women's demonstrations with the campaign "Say no to fustigation". These demonstrations were the major public gatherings after the 1982 military coup.
06.01.1990	The assassination of Bahriye Üçok, a female Turkish academic of theology, left-wing politician, writer, columnist and women's rights activist. Remains unresolved.
31.01.1990	The assassination of Muammer Aksoy, a law scholar and politician. Remains unresolved.
07.03.1990	The assassination of Çetin Emeç, a journalist and columnist. Remains unresolved.
04.06.1990	The assassination of Turan Dursun, Turkish Islamic scholar and a writer.
25.01.1991	Law numbered 2932 which forbid speaking and singing in another language than Turkish was annulled.
20.09.1992	The assassination of Musa Anter, Kurdish-Turkish writer and activist. It has been alleged that JITEM was responsible from the assassination but this was never proven. The Turkish Republic construed to be responsible from his murder by the European Court of Human Rights and awarded to pay the damages.
24.01.1993	The assassination of Ugur Mumcu, writer and journalist. Remains unresolved.
02.07.1993	The Sivas massacre which resulted in the deaths of 37 people, mostly Alevi intellectuals, and two hotel employees. Two people from the mob also died. The victims, who had gathered for a cultural festival in Sivas, Turkey, were killed when a mob of radical Islamists set fire to the hotel where the group had assembled.
02.03.1994	The parliamentary immunity of 6 parliament members were annulled by a parliamentary decision on the grounds (allegedly) that they were aiding PKK. Two of them, Hatip Dicle and Orhan Doğan were taken into custody immediately after leaving the parliament building whereas the other four of them refused to leave the building in order to avoid the custody.
11.01.1995	The assassination of Onat Kutlar, writer and poet, founder of the Turkish Sinematek and one of the founders of the Istanbul International Film Festival.
20.03.1995	Turkish armed forces entered Iraq with 35.000 soldiers for a PKK operation. The official announcement after the operation stated that 2245 PKK members were killed during the incident.
08.01.1996	The murder of Metin Göktepe, a leftist journalist.

Table B.1 (continued): Chronology of some important events in the history of Republic of Turkey.

09.01.1996	The assassination of Özdemir Sabancı, a businessman and a second generation member of the Sabancı family (which is one of the richest families in Turkey) along with his assistant Nilgün Hasefe. It later turned out that DHKP-C was responsible for the assassination.
15.01.1996	The massacre of Güçlükonak where 11 villagers were first gunshot then torched in a van. The Turkish Armed Forces stated that the massacre was held by PKK whereas many nongovernmental organizations opposed to this declaration. After 13 years from the incident, Adnan Ekren, a minister of the time of the incident, stated that the massacre was an act of JITEM.
30.06.1996	A suicide bomb attack occurred in Tunceli. The bomber was Zeynep Kınacı who was the first female suicide bomber in Turkey. 7 people were killed and 29 people were injured as a result of the attack.
03.11.1996	Susurluk Car Crash
01.02.1997- 28.01.1997	The demonstration period, named “one minute of darkness for permanent enlightenment”
28.02.1997	A military warning was sent to the government: the post-modern military coup.
17.08.1999	The Marmara Earthquake
12.11.1997	After a trial, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan was sentenced for prison time.
16.01.1998	Welfare Party (Refah Partisi), led by Necmettin Erbakan was confined.
15.02.1998	Abdullah Öcalan, the leader of PKK was captured in Kenya, Nairobi.
21.10.1999	The assassination of Ahmet Taner Kışlalı, writer and scholar.
20.01.2000	A police operation was held against Hizbullah organization in Turkey. It turned out that the organization was using their safe house in Çengelköy, Istanbul as a slaughter house where the police found several bodies buried under the house. It seemed that the victims were buried after being heavily tortured.
19.12.2000	An operation carried out in numerous prisons in order to end the death fasts by the political prisoners. As a result 122 prisoners were killed during the operations (most of them were torched).
14.08.2001	The establishment of Justice and Development Party (Adalet Ve Kalkınma Partisi- AKP)
18.12.2002	The assassination of Necip Hablemitoğlu, writer and historian.
03.11.2002	AKP came first in the general elections.
13.03.2003	The confinement of HADEP.

Table B.1 (continued): Chronology of some important events in the history of Republic of Turkey.

15.11.2003	Bombed attacks against Neve Şalom and Beth Israel synagogues where 27 people were killed and over 300 people were injured.
20.11.2003	Bombed attacks against the headquarter of HSBC Bank and General Consulate of United Kingdom in İstanbul where 33 people were killed and 450 people were injured.
09.11.2005	Umut Book Store in Şemdinli province of Hakkari was bombed. The public stated that the bombers were members of military and large demonstrations and riots occurred.
05.02.2006	Catholic priest Father Andrea Santoro was assassinated.
17.05.2006	A gunman named Alparslan Arslan (an attorney) made his way into the Turkish Council of State building and subsequently shot dead one judge (Mustafa Yücel Özbilgin) and injured four others. One of the wounded judges had been criticized for ruling against teachers wearing Muslim head scarves.
19.01.2007	The assassination of Hrant Dink, Armenian journalist and writer.
14 – 15.04.2007	Republican demonstrations (Cumhuriyet Mitingleri) held by ADD.
18.04.2007	The assassination of three Christian missionaries (Necati Aydın, Uğur Yüksel and Tilman Geske).
12.06.2007	Trabzon Gendarmerie Headquarters' tip-off line received an anonymous call on 12 June 2007 saying that grenades and C-4 explosives were to be found at Güngör Sokak No. 2, Çakmak Mahallesi, Ümraniye which revealed the organization named Ergenekon.
14.03.2008	The public prosecutor demanded the confinement of the AKP
09.07.2008	An armed attack against the General Consulate of the United States of America, in İstanbul.
27.07.2008	A bombed attack occurred in Güngören, İstanbul. 17 people were killed and 154 people were injured. Remains unresolved.
12.09.2010	A referendum to amend the constitution was held.
01.10.2010	A suicidal bomb in Taksim Square
31.05.2011	The civilian ship carrying humanitarian aids to Gazze were attacked by the Israeli armed forces in international waters.
23.10.2011	Van Earthquake
28.12.2011	Turkish Armed Forces carried out an operation in Uludere. It then turned out that despite the presumption of the Armed Forces, the attacked people were not members of PKK but only villagers smuggling goods from Iraq border. 34 villagers were killed during the attack.

APPENDIX C: ANNUAL TIMELINE

Table C.1: Annual timeline of mass participated and important cyclic events, in Istanbul.

January 19	Hrant Dink memorial day
March 8 th	Women's Day
March 18 th	Victory of Çanakkale day
March 21 st	Newroz/Nevruz
April 4 th	Easter (for 2010)
April 23 rd	National Sovereignty Day and children's feast
May 1 st	May Day
May 5 th to 6 th	Hidrellez
May 6 th	Remembrance Day for Deniz Gezmiş, Hüseyin Aslan and Yusuf Inan
May 19 th	Commemoration of Atatürk, feast of youth and sports
Last week of June	LGBT Pride week
July 2 nd	Commemoration of Sivas Massacre victims
August 11 st	Ramadan begins (for 2010)
August 30 th	National Victory Day
September 1 st	World Peace Day
October 29 th	Republic Day
November 10 th	Remembrance Day for Atatürk

APPENDIX D: SONGS

Table D.1: Information about songs.

Title of the song	Year	Performer	Composer, writer	The Event	Chapter	Description
Güzel Günler Göreceğiz	1996	Edip Akbayram	Alp Murat Alper from the poem of Nazım Hikmet	May Day	Chapter 2	This song has become one of the symbols of socialist hopes for the future, has been recited as a poem in May Day 1977 field and later has been composed as a song and popularized among many different circles- from socialists to social democrats to football fans.
May Day March	1977 1997	Cem Karaca Grup Yorum	Written and composed by Sarper Özsan in 1974	May Day	Chapter 2	This song was written and composed for the staging of the play “The Mother Courage”, a play written by Bertolt Brecht.
Haklıyız kazanacağız	1997	Grup Yorum	Grup Yorum	May Day	Chapter 2	The song is written in the memory of a young socialist dead during the May Day clashes in 1989.
Marcha de la Unidad Popular	1973	Inti Illimani, Quilapayun	Composed by Sergio Ortega, Written by Quilapayun	May Day	Chapter 2	This song first being the anthem of the Salvador Allende’s government , has become one of the symbols of the resistance against the military coup in Chile in 1973

Table D.1 (continued): Information about songs

Title of the song	Year	Performer	Composer, writer	The Event	Chapter	Description
Bekle Bizi İstanbul	1994	Edip Akbayram	Onur Akın, from the poem of Vedat Türkali, written in 1944	May Day	Chapter 2	This is a song that has become a symbol of the longing for İstanbul for those who were in exile after 1970's, and especially after the military coup in 1980. In 2010, it gained a new meaning, got associated with the "conquest" of Taksim.
Haydi Barikata	2009	Bandista	Turkish text written by Bandista	May Day	Chapter 2	Turkish version of "A Las Barricads"[To the barricads], Spanish Anarchist Anthem of the CNT-FAI)
Cemo	1989	Grup Yorum	Grup Yorum	May Day	Chapter 2	This is a song about a woman guerilla, named Cemo, who has been dead in fight.
Dağlara Gel	1992	Grup Yorum	Grup Yorum	May Day	Chapter 2	This is a call to mountains: the symbols of revolt and guerilla fight.
Mirkut	2002	Kardeş Türküler	A Kurdish folk song	May Day	Chapter 2	it is about collective work, labor and the result of labor – wheat. Singing this song is a salutation to both the socialist concerns and the Kurdish movement at once
Sari Gyalin	1997	Kardeş Türküler	An Armenian folk song	May Day	Chapter 2	This song has become iconic after the assassination of Hrant Dink. It has been broadcast on the streets aloud, all along the way to the cemetery in his funeral.

Table D.1 (continued): Information about songs

Title of the song	Year	Performer	Composer, writer	The Event	Chapter	Description
Burçak Tarlası	1997	Kardeş Türküler	A Turkish folk song	May Day	Chapter 2	This is a song, from the mouth of a young bride, narrating the difficulties of working in the vetch fields from the twilight to the sunset. The song became one of the iconic songs of the women's movement in Turkey after 1997.
Yuh Yuh	1977	Selda Bağcan	Aşık Mahsuni Şerif	May Day	Chapter 2	A song by Aşık Mahsuni Şerif, which addresses those who exploit the people. It has become popular in 1970s by the version sang by Selda Bağcan. In May Day 2011, it was performed by Kardeş Türküler.
Venceremos	1970	Quilapayun	Written by Victor Jara, composed by Sergio Ortega	May Day	Chapter 2	Venceremos, meaning, "we will win", is a song composed for the election campaign of Salvador Allende in Chile and made popular amongst progressives all over the World by Inti Illimani. In May Day 2011, the Kurdish version was sang in the field.
Başım Belada	1991	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	May Day	Chapter 2	Sang by Agire Jiyan in the May Day field, 2011.
Ey Reqip	1946	Şiwan Perwer	A song composed departing the poem of Dildar in 1938, and composed as a march in 1946, at the time of Mahabad Republic		Chapter 3	(Kurmaci, meaning "Oh, enemy"). considered as the National anthem of Iraq Kurdistan, and accepted as one of the national anthems by all Kurds.

Table D.1 (continued): Information about songs

Title of the song	Year	Performer	Composer, writer	The Event	Chapter	Description
Herne peş	1977	Şiwan Perwer 1977, Grup Yorum 1995	Composed by Şiwan Perwer departing from the poem of Cigerxwin, a Kurdish communist poet.	Newroz, May Day	Chapter 3	This songs is considered as a natiola anthem by the Kurds.
Çerxa Şoreşe	-	Koma Berxwedan	Anonymous	Newroz	Chapter 3	This song is considered as the guerilla anthem. The group is formed by guerilla musicians.
Diren Diyarbakir diren	-	Roj	Roj	Newroz	Chapter 3	This is a well known song and very popular because it addresses Diyarbakır, the biggest city in the southeastern Anatolia. The grop/singer is oly known for this song.
Le Amede	-	Koma Berxwedan	Anonymous	Newroz	Chapter 3	This song is about Diyarbakır, whereby comes its popularity.
Kadınlar Dağlara Doğru	1985	Ahmet Kaya	Composed by Ahmet Kaya, departing from the poem of Hasan Hüseyin, a socialist poet.	Newroz	Chapter 3	The song is symbolically significant and popular, because of its emphasis on the mountains as the symbol of uprising. Women walking tot the mountains symbolizes the participation of women to the uprising.
Benim Meskenim Dağlardır	1985	Sezen Aksu	Composed by Ali Kocatepe, departing from the poem of a communist poet, Sabahattin Ali	-	Chapter 3	The mountains symbolize the guerilla struggle and uprising. That is why the song has become popular in various parts of the society.

Table D.1 (continued): Information about songs

Title of the song	Year	Performer	Composer, writer	The Event	Chapter	Description
Biji biji Apeme	-	Koma Zerdeste Kal	Anonymous	Newroz	Chapter 3	This song is about Abdullah Öcalan, meaning “long live my Apo”. Apo is the short version of the name Abdullah.
Newroza Ari	-	Awaze Çiya	Anonymous	Newroz	Chapter 3	The guerilla music group is popular for their songs on the life of guerilla
Destane Zape	-	Awaze Çiya	Anonymous	Newroz	Chapter 3	The song is about a fight in Zap region.
Hele Newroz	-	Kawa	Anonymous	Newroz	Chapter 3	This is one among many, being about the Newroz
10. Yıl Marşı	1997	Kenan Doğulu	Behçet Kemal Çağlar and composed by Cemal Reşit Rey in 1933	Republic Day	Chapter 4	Originally composed for the tenth year celebrations of the Turkish Republic, it has been repopularized , broadcast and performed in every occasion related to the state and Turkishness since 1997.
Youth March (Gençlik Marşı)	1999	Kenan Doğulu	Adapted from a Swedih folk song	Republic Day	Chapter 4	A march from the early years of the republic, rearranged and popularized by Kenan Doğulu
Yığıdim Aslanım Burda Yatıyor	1980	Züfû Livaneli	Written by Behçet Kemal Çağlar, composed by Zülfû Livaneli	Republic Day	Chapter 4	This song has been idenitified with Uğur Mumcu, after his assassination in 1993. Since then it has become a symbol for the lost heroes of the nations, martyrs, and Atatürk.

APPENDIX E: TRACK LIST

- Track 1: Istanbul European Cultural Capital advertisement video
Track 2: İstanbul Municipality's video
Track 3: Ministry of Culture's video
Track 4: DİSK'in sesi
Track 5: Cem Karaca, "1 mayıs"
Track 6: Grup Yorum, "1 mayıs"
Track 7: May Day 2009, a *halay* video
Track 8: Entering Taksim Square after 32 years
Track 9: A group of protestors singing "Haklıyız Kazanacağız", video
Track 10: Grup Yorum, 1997, "Haklıyız Kazanacağız"
Track 11: Edip Akbayram, 1994, "Bekle bizi İstanbul"
Track 12: "Keçe Kurdan", video from the May Day procession, 2012
Track 13: "Le hanım", video from the May Day procession, 2012
Track 14: "International", video from the May Day procession, 2012
Track 15: "Çav bella", video from the May Day procession, 2012
Track 16: "Çatla Beton", Bandista, video from the May Day procession, 2012
Track 17: "Haydi Barikata", Bandista, video from the May Day procession, 2012
Track 18: "İsyân", Bandsista, video from the May Day procession, 2012
Track 19: "Mayıs mayıs kanlı mayıs", video from the May Day procession, 2012
Track 20: "Defol Amerika", video from the May Day procession, 2012
Track 21: "Güzel günler göreceğiz", video from the May Day procession, 2012
Track 22: "Yuh yuh", video from the May Day procession, 2012
Track 23: "Ella ella", video from the May Day procession, 2012
Track 24: "Cemo", Grup Yorum, 1989.
Track 25: "Dağlara gel", Grup Yorum, 1991
Track 26: "Mirkut", Kardeş Türküler, 2002.
Track 27: "Sari Gyalin", Kardeş Türküler, 1997
Track 28: "Burçak Tarlası", Kardeş Türküler, 1997
Track 29: "Venceremos", Agire Jiyan, video from May Day 2011
Track 30: "Bandierra Rossa", Agire Jiyan, video from May Day 2011
Track 31: "May day march" (Kurdish), Agire Jiyan, video from May Day 2011
Track 32: "Faşizme karşı omuz omuza", video from 2012 May Day
Track 33: "Herne Peş", Grup Yorum, 1995.
Track 34: "Diren diyarbakir", video from the field of Newroz, 2010.
Track 35: "Le Amede", from Newroz 2010
Track 36: "Dağlara doğru", Ahmet Kaya, 1985.
Track 37: "Benim meskenim dağlardır", Sezen Aksu, 1994.
Track 38: "Benim meskenim dağlardır", sang by Delila
Track 39: "Newroza ari", video from Newroz, 2010
Track 40: Silence for the martyrs
Track 41: "Tüfek Omuza!", recording from the Republic day ceremonies, 2010.
Track 42: The sound of the soldiers' steps

- Track 43: The sound of the jets
Track 44: Harbiye march, sang by the soldiers
Track 45: “10th Year March”, Kenan Doğulu, 1997.
Track 46: “Youth March”, Kenan Doğulu, 1999.
Track 47: “Ankara türküsü”, sang by Ruhi Su
Track 48: “Memleketim”, Ayten Alpman, 1972
Track 49: “Yiğidim Aslanım Burda Yatıyor”, Zülfü Livaneli, 1977.
Track 50: Video from hıdrellez celebrations, 2010
Track 51: Easter bells from the St Antoine Church, 2010
Track 52: “Chimes of freedom”, Bob Dylan, 1964

APPENDIX F : GLOSSARY

Acoustemology: The sonic way of knowing the world.

Acoustic ecology: The discipline which studies the relationships of the acoustic environment and the creatures living in that environment.

Acoustic community: The acoustic community may be defined as any soundscape in which acoustic information plays a pervasive role in the lives of the inhabitants. [...] Therefore, the boundary of the community is arbitrary and may be as small as a room of people, a home or a building, or as large as an urban community, a broadcast area, or any other system of electroacoustic communication. In short, it is any system within which acoustic information is exchanged (Truax, 1984, p. 66).

Bağlama: A long necked lute, with a pear-shaped bowl resonator. The frets on the neck are movable.

Carnavalesque: The entertainment, celebration leading to suspending and challenging social hierarchies, having a socially destructive and fun character.

Chain reaction: One sound event provokes a sonic response. These successive inductions, whether or not they are enacted consciously, can result in a phenomenon of sound escalation. Crowd situations are favorable to the appearance of this effect. The applause that follows a show, for instance, may be started by a small group of people and progressively lead the whole audience up to a manifestation whose intensity greatly exceeds the sum of individual contributions.

Communitas: A feeling of solidarity, erasing all the hierarchical differences, in times of liminality, against the Structure.

Darbuka: A single headed, goblet-shaped drum, played with bare hands.

Davul: A two-headed big frame drum, played with a mallet and a stick, hanging from the shoulder.

Envelopment: The feeling of being surrounded by a body of sound that has the capacity to create an autonomous whole, that predominates over other circumstantial features of the moment.

Hyperghetto: A racially or socioeconomically segregated section of the inner city characterized by the “depacification” of everyday life, “decertification” of organizations and institutions, social “dedifferentiation”, and “informalization” of the economy.

Halay: A circle dance, where the dancers move together, generally clockwise, with the same steps and bodily movements. It is considered as one of the signs for solidarity.

Kaval: Wooden aerophone, a rim-blown flute of various lengths. Its timbre is mostly associated with the pastoral life and shepherds.

Liminality: Moments of in betweenness. These are potentially challenging to the existing order of the things, for people in these moments feel emancipated from their social bonds, and take risks.

Liminal: Something belonging to an in-between, a treshold moment.

Mey: A double reed instrument.

Phonotonic, phonotonic effect. Characterizes the euphoria provoked by a sound perception. Sometimes it induces a behavior directiky, such as a renewed activiy, a collective movement... Musical listening often plays this functional role in individual or collective work.

Songscape: A sequence of songs. Songscaapes acoustically mark out the space in which rituals are carried out, and they create an acoustic environment.

Soundscape: The acoustic environment.

Unisonance: Becoming a unique whole thorough sound, as it is the case in the singing of national anthems, or chanting slogans.

Zilgit: A kind of ululation, performed in the moments of emotional climax as excitement or sorrow. It is produced by the quick movements of the tongue and the throat, and the result is a sharp linear sound. The *zilgit* is only performed by women.

Zurna:A double reed shawm.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Name Surname: Emine Şirin Özgün

Place and Date of Birth: Adana, 1977

E-Mail: sirinozgun@gmail.com

BA: Boğaziçi University, Sociology Department

MA: Istanbul Technical University, MIAM (Center for Advanced Studies in Music)

