ISTANBUL TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY ★ GRADUATE SCHOOL

LEFT-LEANING PROTEST MUSIC TRADITION IN TURKEY (1960s-1990s) AND THE CASE OF AHMET KAYA

Ph.D. THESIS

Diler ÖZER

Department of Music

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İSTANBUL TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ ★ LİSANSÜSTÜ EĞİTİM ENSTİTÜSÜ

TÜRKİYE'DE SOLA YASLANAN PROTEST MÜZİK GELENEĞİ (1960'lar-1990'lar) VE AHMET KAYA ÖRNEĞİ

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To my beloved aunts Emine Yazlalı and Şermin Yazlalı
who passed away untimely from this world…

FOREWORD

This thesis is an effort of a musician to understand through her eyes and ears, the adventure of the left-leaning protest music domain in Turkey in light of a protest musician, Ahmet KAYA, who has a distinctive place in this history.

As a PhD candidate in her 40s, I have to admit that this long and grueling thesis process was filled with many bitter and sweet stories for me. As witnesses of these stories, first of all, I am deeply indepted to my thesis advisor, Prof. Dr. Belma OĞUL, for being more than an advisor for me who listened to me day and night trying to find a solution to the endless questions and problems in my head with her endless patience. This thesis would have been impossible without her academic and moral support. I would like to express my deepest appreciation to Assoc. Prof. Dr. Robert REIGLE for being my teacher throughout all my academic years and being my co-advisor during the earlier stages of my thesis who taught me a lot and read and commented on every single word I wrote. I would also like to extend my deepest gratitude to my thesis committe member Assoc. Prof. Dr. E. Şirin ÖZGÜN TANIR and final defense jury member Assoc. Prof. Dr. Burcu YILDIZ ATAŞ for all their academic and moral supports, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Gönenç HONGUR for being in my final jury and for all his academic support. I would like to commemorate here dear Prof. Şehvar BEŞİROĞLU who passed away untimely and I am grateful to her for being a member of my former thesis committe. I would also like to thank to Prof. Dr. Fırat KUTLUK and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Fahriye DİNÇER for their feedback as members of my former thesis committee. I am also deeply grateful to ITU CASM faculty members and staff and to ITU Scientific Research Projects Unit *(İTÜ BAP Birimi*) for supporting my thesis.

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October 2022 Diler ÖZER
(Musician)

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ABBREVIATIONS

AP : Adalet Partisi
BOUN : Boğaziçi University
BÜFK : Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Folklor Kulübü
CHP : Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi
DİSK : Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu
DP : Demokrat Parti
KTP : Kardeş Türküler Project
MGD : Magazin Gazetecileri Derneği
TİP : Türkiye İşçi Partisi
TKP : Türkiye Komünist Partisi
TRT : Türkiye Radyo Televiyon

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LEFT-LEANING PROTEST MUSIC TRADITION IN TURKEY (1960s-1990s) AND THE CASE OF AHMET KAYA

SUMMARY

This thesis is a discussion of the left-leaning protest music tradition in Turkey discussed with regard to the key references, approaches and musical sources, and focuses on the case of a protest singer-song writer, Ahmet Kaya (1957-2000) as both a re-connection with and a rupture from that tradition.

The thesis is constructed around two axes: Within the scope of the first axis, the study focuses on describing and interpreting the tradition of musical protest in any way related with the leftist/socialist thought and movement in Turkey from the 1960s to the 1990s. As the second axis, the study focuses on examining the case of Ahmet Kaya as both a 're-connection with' and a 'rupture from' the left-leaning protest music tradition in Turkey as well as analyzing his musical accumulation in personal, socio-political and musical terms. Hence, by using Ahmet Kaya example as a key, the study aims to make a critical reading of the 'protest' character of the mentioned musical field in terms of what was included and excluded by the said tradition.

The theoretical framework of this thesis is based on the literature on 'music, protest and social movements.' Al final, the aim of this study is to contribute to the literature of protest music by extending its limits, in terms of both the object and the subject of study, towards the less/under-looked themes in the field. Methodologically, the thesis is based on the research and analysis of audio/visual documents and archives. During the research process, the information about Ahmet Kaya was obtained through the research of printed media of the period and my personal interviews with his wife Gülten Kaya as the primary source. Regarding the musical and cultural-political background of the period, in addition to written and audio-visual sources, my personal interviews with various researchers, authors and musicians were used as key data.

Ahmet Kaya is a singer-songwriter; he composed and performed his own songs. Nearly half of the songs are with his own lyrics and he also composed the poems of various poets from first generation socialists to the younger poets of his period. While producing his songs, he was influenced by the social-political conditions of the period and reflected these through his music. He made music not only to establish bonds with the oppressed victims of the society, to be their voice and give them morale and strength, but also to mark history and create documents. In this sense, Kaya's music has a truth-bearing and protest character. At the same time, music is for him a form of self-expression, a means of establishing his own identity and empowering himself. He also challenged the dominant music making styles of his time. For example, he incorporated *arabesk* and Turkish classical music elements to his music, which were considered inferior in the leftist culture then. That distinguishes him from many other protest musicians of the period. Because of all this, he was exposed to many criticisms throughout his life -from his music to his lifestyle- and even his music was called as *arabesk*. These criticisms also affected the way he defined and produced his own

music; sometimes it took the form of rejection, rebellion and defiance, and sometimes acceptance. On the other hand, Kaya produced and presented his music in the field of popular music and intertwined with market conditions. In addition to traditional styles from folk to Turkish classical music, he incorporated elements from local popular forms such as *arabesk* and global popular genres such as rock and pop. It is possible to see various musical influences in his music. This led to his mixed musical style which also helped his audience from various sections of the society to be connected with his music. On the other hand, due to the political conditions of the period and the fact that the market was so involved in his music making, he could not make radical exit as he wished; for example, he could not include a Kurdish song in his repertoire until his last album. This decision started the lynching campaign against him that led to his death in exile. Nevertheless, Ahmet Kaya became an icon in the eyes of the revolutionary youth of the period and especially Kurdish people together with the '90s.

Those who love Ahmet Kaya's music could develop a collective identity through concepts such as 'youth,' 'honesty,' 'revolutionism' that have turned into vague memories. Of course, one cannot speak of a collectivism that equates individuals with different backgrounds, i.e. different class, ethnic, cultural, religious, sexual orientations and so on. It can be said that he was accepted because he could express his discontent with the existing cultural hegemony and systemic ideology and clearly express this in an 'uncontaminated' and 'uncomtaminatable' value system and also express the same through a 'mixed' musical world which could address individuals with different musical tastes at the same time. He became the voice of the back streets of his time, or in his own words, '*arka mah[al]le*), the 'back neighborhood' or the 'other side of the tracks.' In addition to the mixed musical elements in Kaya's music, his status as the voice of brave young people of the back streets was an important part of his appeal to various listeners even with no connection to his ideological stance.

To put it in a nutshell, in this study, it was argued that due to the above-mentioned elements in personal, musical and political terms, Ahmet Kaya should be evaluated as a popular and distinctive figure and a divergent example of the mentioned left-leaning protest music tradition in Turkey.

TÜRKİYE'DE SOLA YASLANAN PROTEST MÜZİK GELENEĞİ (1960'lar-1990'lar) VE AHMET KAYA ÖRNEĞİ

ÖZET

Bu tez, temel olarak bir protest şarkıcı-şarkı yazarı olan Ahmet Kaya (1957-2000) örneğine odaklanmakta; diğer yandan, Ahmet Kaya örneği üzerinden, Türkiye'de sola yaslanan protest müzik geleneğini temel referanslar, yaklaşımlar ve müzik kaynakları açısından inceleyerek tartışmaya açmaktadır.

Tez iki eksen etrafında kurgulanmıştır: Birinci eksen kapsamında, 1960'lardan 1990'lara kadarki döneminde Türkiye'deki sol/sosyalist düşünce ve hareketle bağlantılı müzikal protesto geleneği ana hatlarıyla tarif edilmeye çalışılmaktadır. İkinci eksen kapsamında, Ahmet Kaya örneği, bahsi geçen protest gelenek ile hem bir 'yeniden bağlanma' hem de bir 'kopuş' olarak incelenir. Bu bağlamda, sol protest müzik geleneği içinde farklı bir örnek olarak Kaya'nın müzikal birikiminin kişisel, sosyo-politik ve müzikal açıdan analizi de hedeflenmektedir. Dolayısıyla çalışma, Ahmet Kaya örneğini anahtar olarak kullanarak, söz konusu protest müzik alanının 'protest' karakterinin neleri içerdiği ve neleri dışladığı üzerinden eleştirel bir okuma yapmayı da amaçlar.

Bu tezde, teorik çerçeve olarak 'müzik, protesto ve toplumsal hareketler' literatüründen yararlanılmış, diğer yandan protest müzik çalışmalarının inceleme alanını genişletmek suretiyle literatüre katkıda bulunulması hedeflenmiştir. Tez, yöntemsel olarak aslen görsel/işitsel belge, döküman ve arşiv araştırmasına dayanır. Ahmet Kaya'nın hayatıyla ilgili araştırmada dönemin gazete-dergi haberlerinden ve eşi Gülten Kaya ile yapılan kişisel görüşmelerden elde edilen bilgilerden yararlanılmıştır. Dönemin müzikal ve kültürel-politik arkaplanına dair araştırmada ise, yazılı ve işitsel kaynakların yanısıra, çeşitli araştırmacı-yazar-müzisyen isimle yapılan kişisel görüşmeler tamamlayıcı kaynak olarak kullanılmıştır.

Tez temel olarak şu argümanlara dayanmaktadır: Birinci olarak, sol eğilimli protest müzik geleneğinin oluşumunda bir inşâ süreci izlenmiş, söz konusu inşâ sürecinde halk müziği ve türkülerin toplumsal içeriği odağa alınırken, Türkçe dışındaki halk müziği geleneklerine yer verilmemiş; aynı zamanda müzikal temelde Batılı modernleşme anlayışı sürdürülerek, bu anlayışa uygun biçimde, yerel icralardan arabesk, alaturka gibi müzik türlerine kadar çeşitli unsurlar hakim protest geleneğin dışında bırakılmıştır. Bu anlamda tez, Türkiye'deki protest müzik geleneğinin oluşum döneminde dışlayıcı bir karaktere sahip olduğunu ve inşâ sürecinde müzikal soylulaştırma mekanizmalarının yürürlükte olduğunu iddia etmektedir. İkinci olarak, 1970'lerin toplumsal mücadelesi bağlamında 'bağlama, deyiş ve isyan' üzerine kurulu bir protest müzik anlayışının egemen olduğu; öte yandan, yine 70'lerde kentli pop/rock alanında verimli ve yaratıcı bir sürece girilmişken bu sürecin 1980 darbesiyle kesintiye uğradığı ifade edilmektedir. 1980'li yıllar, protest müzik alanındaki müzikal etkiler açısından önceki dönemlere göre çeşitlilik gösterse de, bu dönemde de arabesk gibi

türlerin ve en önemlisi etnik kimlik ve dilsel/kültürel çeşitliliğe dayalı söylemlerin yine kapı dışında bırakıldığını söylemek mümkündür. Bu bağlamda Ahmet Kaya, hem müzikal yaklaşımı hem de politik söylemi açısından farklı bir örnek teşkil etmektedir. 1980'lerin ortasında çıkışını hakim sol kültür içinden yapan Kaya, '90'lı yıllar boyunca giderek sol kültürden ayrışır. Tez kapsamında Ahmet Kaya'nın müzikal birikimi, 'dönemin sosyo-politik ve müzikal arkaplanı,' 'Kaya'nın bireysel yaşamı ve müzikal üretimleri' ve 'müziğinin karma karakteri' gibi parametreler üzerinden incelenir.

Ahmet Kaya'nın müziği, 'özgün müzik,' 'protest müzik,' 'toplumcu müzik,' 'devrimci-sol arabesk' gibi farklı isimlerle anılır. Bunlar genellikle Türkiye'de Sol ile ilişkilendirilen müzik kategorileri olsa da; bazı durumlarda, örneğin Ahmet Kaya'nın müziğine atfedilen 'sol/devrimci arabesk' ifadesinde olduğu gibi, olumsuz imâlarla da kullanılmış, veya, 1980'lerin protesto müziği alanında ortaya çıkan çeşitli müzik tarzlarını adlandırmak için bir şemsiye terim olarak kullanılan 'özgün müzik' teriminde olduğu gibi, müzisyenlerin kendileri tarafından pek de kabul görmemiştir. Öte yandan, Ahmet Kaya, röportajlarında da açıkça görüldüğü gibi kendi müziğine 'arayış müziği' demeyi tercih eder.

Ahmet Kaya bir şarkıcı-şarkı yazarıdır; kendi şarkılarını besteleyerek seslendirmiştir. Şarkılarının yarısına yakını kendi sözleri olup, birinci kuşak sosyalist şairlerden genç nesil şairlere dek çeşitli isimlerin şiirlerini de besteleyerek repertuarına katmıştır. Şarkılarını üretirken döneminin sosyal-politik koşullarından etkilenmiş ve bunları müziğine yansıtmıştır. Kaya, müziği sadece toplumun mazlum mağdurlarıyla bağ kurmak, onların sesi olmak, onlara moral ve güç vermek için değil, aynı zamanda tarihe not düşmek ve belge oluşturmak için de kullanır. Bu anlamda, Kaya'nın müziği hakikat taşıyıcı bir karaktere ve protestocu bir tavra sahiptir. Aynı zamanda müzik onun için bir kendini ifade etme biçimi, kendi kimliğini oluşturma ve kendini güçlendirme aracıdır. Ayrıca zamanının baskın müzik yapma biçimlerine de meydan okumuştur. Örneğin, o zamanlar sol kültürde 'aşağı/yoz' kabul edilen arabesk ve incesaz geleneği unsurlarını müziğine dahil eder. Onu dönemin çoğu protest müzisyeninden ayıran önemli faktörlerden biri de budur. Bütün bunlardan dolayı hayatı boyunca müziğinden yaşam tarzına kadar birçok eleştiriye maruz kalmıştır. Bu eleştiriler onun kendi müziğini tanımlama ve üretme biçimini de etkilemiştir. Bu etkilenme bazen reddetme, isyan ve meydan okuma, bazen de kabullenme şeklini alır. Diğer yandan Kaya, müziğini popüler kanallar içinden üretmiş, sunmuş ve piyasa koşullarıyla içli dışlı hale gelmiştir. Halk müziğinden Klasik Türk Müziğine uzanan geleneksel üsluplara ek olarak, arabesk gibi yerel popüler formlardan ve rock ve pop gibi popüler türlerden unsurları da bünyesine katan Kaya'nın müziğinde çok çeşitli müzikal etkileri yanyana/içiçe görmek mümkündür. Bu çeşitlilik onun 'karma' diyebileceğimiz müzik tarzına yol vermiş ve aynı zamanda toplumun çeşitli kesimlerinden dinleyicinin, onun müziğiyle bağ kurmasına yardımcı olmuştur. Öte yandan dönemin siyasi koşulları nedeniyle istediği gibi radikal çıkışlar yapamamış, örneğin repertuarına son albüme kadar bir Kürtçe şarkı ekleyememiştir. 1999 yılında Magazin Gazetecileri Derneği tarafından kendisine verilen 'en iyi yorumcu' ödülünü alırken yaptığı konuşmada, yeni albümünde Kürtçe bir şarkı söyleyeceğine dair yaptığı açıklama, onun sürgünde ölümüne yol açan linç kampanyasını başlatır.

Ahmet Kaya'nın müziği, çeşitli yerel, geleneksel ve Batı müzik tarzlarının bir karışımıdır. Dinleyiciler, Ahmet Kaya'nın kişiliği, yaşam hikayesi, ve şarkılarındaki metinsel-toplumsal içeriğin yanı sıra çeşitli ezgiler ve çalgılar aracılığıyla da onun müziğiyle empati kurabilmiştir. Bu sayede göçmenlerin, mağlup solcu bireylerin ve

yeni politize olmuş genç nesillerin yeni kültürel ifadelerinin ve sistemlerinin inşâ edildiği alternatif bir alan ortaya çıktığını söylemek mümkündür. Ahmet Kaya'nın müziğini sevenler, 1980'lerin siyasi atmosferinde silik hatıralara dönüşen 'delikanlılık,' 'dürüstlük' ve 'devrimcilik' gibi kavramlar üzerinden kolektif bir kimlik geliştirebildiler. Kaya, mevcut kültürel hegemonyadan ve sistem ideolojisinden hoşnutsuzluğunu dile getirebildiği ve bunu 'kirlenmemiş' bir değer sistemi içinde açıkça ifade edebildiği ve aynı zamanda bunu 'karma' veya 'melez' bir kültürel-müzikal dünya içinden ifade edebildiği için, onun bu denli farklı kesimlerce kabul edildiği söylenebilir. Kaya'nın müziğindeki sözlerin ve müzikal unsurlarının yanı sıra, mahallenin bir 'çocuğu' olarak arka sokakların sesi olması, politik duruşuyla hiçbir bağlantısı olmasa da, çeşitli kesimlerden dinleyiciye hitap edebilmesinin önemli bir sebebidir.

Hiç şüphesiz Ahmet Kaya, 90'larla birlikte dönemin devrimci gençliğinin ve özellikle Kürt halkının gözünde bir ikon haline geldi. Bu anlamda Kürt halkının özgürlük mücadelesinin Ahmet Kaya üzerinden sembolize edildiğini söylemek mümkündür. Tüm bu etkenler, onu, Türkiye'deki protest müzik tarihinde farklı bir figür yaparken bu tezin de ana konusunu oluşturmuştur.

1. INTRODUCTION

This thesis[1] is a discussion of the left-leaning protest music tradition in Turkey (1960s-1990s), discussed with regard to the key references, approaches and musical sources; on the other hand, it focuses on the case of a protest singer-song writer, Ahmet Kaya (1957-2000), as both a 're-connection with' and a 'rupture from' that tradition.

The thesis is constructed around two axes: Within the scope of the first axis, the study focuses on describing and interpreting the tradition of musical protest in any way related with the leftist/socialist thought and movement in Turkey until the 1990s. For the purposes of this thesis, the use of the adjective 'left-leaning' in the title instead of 'left-wing' or 'leftist/socialist' aims to imply a wide web of connections (either independent, organic, inorganic, sympathizer, activist, etc.) with the related movement, culture and thought[2]. Ahmet Kaya as both a re-connection with and a rupture from the mentioned protest music tradition constitutes the case of this thesis, hence the second axis. Within the scope of the second axis, the study also focuses on analyzing the musical accumulation of Ahmet Kaya in personal, socio-political and musical terms.

Regarding the first axis, firstly the historical process that gave way to the construction/formation of a musical tradition within a socialist perspective are discussed which took its roots from the socialist intellectuals' works on folklore out of a nationalistic approach in the 1940s and 1950s under the leadership of Pertev Naili Boratav (1907-1998). Here, I argue that there is a process of 'tradition invention' and the construction of the left's protest music tradition is largely based on the reinterpretation and adaptation of folk songs (as well as the political marches) in the pioneering of Ruhi Su (1912-1985) and especially *Alevi* religious music forms (*nefes* and *deyiş*) have been utilized. In line with the ideological views of these socialists in

[1] This thesis has been supported by the Scientific Research Projects Unit of Istanbul Technical University with the Project code 37250 within the scope of ITU's postgraduate theses support Project.
[2] However, in order not to cause any confusion, it should be noted here that all of these terms are in use within the thesis according to the context.

the period, the resistance-protesting content of *Alevi* music tradition with a long history was highlighted and this content was re-produced from a socialist-revolutionary perspective, leaving its religious character behind.

In the context of the political-social movements of the '60s and '70s, we can observe three basic musical lines carrying a protest or revolutionary character: First, we should mention the musical behavior characterized by Ruhi Su and his followers. Ruhi Su began his music career as an opera singer, and then he inclined towards folk music. He toured many parts of Anatolia, compiled folk songs and performed them in his own vocal style based on the techniques from his education of Western opera tradition accompanied by his naïve playing of *bağlama*[3]. In that, as Ruhi Su suggested, a new form of performance was introduced excluding the local ways of singing and emphasizing the social issues in folk songs. The approach of Ruhi Su, arguing that the traditional music should not be imitated but instead should be developed and enriched with universal musical techniques, was compatible with the modernization policies of Turkish nation-state which was also adopted by the leftists/socialists of the period. We can safely say that Ruhi Su became a reference figure for the left's protest music tradition in terms of his approaches both ideologically and musically.

Along the second musical line, we see *Alevi âşık*s[4] who began to be organized under various associations and most of them gathered under the roof of Türkiye İşçi Partisi (TİP) (Workers' Party of Turkey) -a legal socialist workers' political party founded in 1961 whose 15 parliaments were elected in 1965 elections. This period witnesses the transformation of *Alevi âşık* tradition in terms of both content and performance manners within the context created by both rural to urban migrations and political-social movements. In the 1970s, a role model called '*devrimci ozan*'[5] appeared within the context of revolutionary struggle with its musical, cultural and performative references. Hence, within the revolutionary struggle in this period, there became a reference based on *bağlama*, rebellion and *Alevi deyiş*s.

[3] *Bağlama*: A stringed musical instrument which belongs to the family of long-necked lutes.
[4] *Âşık* (pl. *âşık*s): A singer-poet and bard accompanying his/her song originally with *bağlama* in Turkic, Azerbaijani, Persian, Armenian, Georgian and Greek cultures as well as the wind instruments such as *balaban* and *qaval*. Traditionally *âşık*s are travelling folk singers and song-writers who combine their poetic, musical and performance abilites. For reference works on *âşık* tradition, see Artun (2015) and Başgöz (1986).
[5] Folk singer-song writers or bards with a revolutionary perspective who took this name by the 1970s.

As the third musical line, we see the interaction of popular music domain with the leftist-socialist movement, especially the musicians of Anatolian folk and pop/rock genres through the significant musical actors such as Cem Karaca, Selda Bağcan, Edip Akbayram, Timur Selçuk, Moğollar, et al. These musicians composed songs with socially sensitive lyrics; they sang anthems and marches and even composed in march-like form; they reinterpreted the compositions of *Alevi âşık*s such as Âşık Mahzuni Şerif (1939-2002) and Âşık İhsani (1932-2009); they composed the poems of the socialist poets and most often they referred to Nazım Hikmet (1902-1963), Ahmed Arif (1923-1991), Hasan Hüseyin Korkmazgil (1927-1984), Sabahattin Ali (1907-1948) et al. They also composed or adapted the poems of the historical figures such as Pir Sultan Abdal (16th century), Karacaoğlan (17th century) and Dadaloğlu (18th century). 'Independence,' 'inequality,' 'class struggle,' 'anti-imperialist struggle' were the main highlights in the lyrics. The search for a different and unique language in music as well as the radicalism in the lyrics was evident out in some works. Also the use of theatrical elements, alienation effects and dramatic structure marked the style of the urban musicians' protest-revolutionary songs of the period.

In the aftermath of the 1980 coup, musical accumulation-transfer was interrupted since most of the actors had to go abroad while continued their production in the diaspora countries such as Germany, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, England either individually or under the roofs of associations, federations and cultural centers. However, musicians of a younger generation appeared in Turkey by the 1980s who were politicized during the second half of the '70s. They gathered either in the university campuses, cultural centers or associations and most of them established music groups within time. Although the 1980 coup created a sort of interruption, when we look at the protest music field that emerged especially after the mid-80s, we see a kind of 're-connection' with the musical and cultural-political references established in the previous period often with a nostalgic and melancholic remembering of the '70s' socialist-revolutionary struggle. On the other hand, there are 'dis-connections' due to the differences in musical styles, influences and sources. We cannot say that the political music bands of the 1980s were influenced by the protest tradition of Anglo-Saxon cultures as musical sources as it was with the musicians of the '70s' Anatolian pop/rock origin. As regards the music of rebellion, they were mostly influenced by the revolutionary and communist traditions of Latin America and Mediterranean countries

such as France, Greece and Spain. Liberation struggles against imperialism, colonialism and military-dictatorial regimes in Latin America gained momentum since the 1950s. This younger generation of musicians established links with the revolutionary movements of the world by composing the poems of the socialist/communist poets such as Pablo Neruda (1904-1973), Paul Eluard (1895-1952), Louis Aragon (1897-1982) et al. whose revolutionary personalities are recognized worldwide.

Groups of the '80s also turned their faces to folk music but they basically adopted Western classical music techniques to create harmony. On the other hand, though less, there were also rock and jazz influences. As their second point of differentiation, unlike the previous period, in the post-1980 leftist musical universe, the modal influences and Ottoman/Turkish classical music instruments were now entering into the field of protest-revolutionary music. In addition to the central position of guitar (as influence of Latin American and Mediterranean countries) and *bağlama* (as re-connection with *âşık-ozan* tradiiton), the instruments used by groups such as Ezginin Günlüğü, Çağdaş Türkü, Yeni Türkü as sources of melodic inspiration widely ranged from the instruments such as piano, flute, oboe, trumpet, violin and clarinet to the Turkish Classical Music instruments such as *ud*, *tambur*, classical *kemençe*, *kanun*,[6] etc.

I consider the 1990s in the context of the emergence of 'new' protest-oppositional songs in relation to the ethnicity and identity-based struggles; yet the cultural and musical domain of the period is beyond the scope of this study. This is because of the fact that, in the 1990s, in the context of the post-1989 and especially after 1992-93, it was transitioned to a completely different political-cultural climate, which was no longer under the influence of the cultural hegemony of the left, and that the said period requires further study and thus constitutes another thesis topic with its political, economic, sociological and cultural extensions as well as the dizzying developments that resulted in the reorganization of the artistic field in general. Hence, in the political-cultural context of the '90s, the weakening of the left-leaning protest music tradition in terms of its losing its dominant position in the protest/oppositional music scene through the '90s is examined in relation with the existence of 'new' social movements based on ethnic/cultural identity struggles.

[6] All string instruments.

Regarding the second axis of the thesis, the study focuses on the case of Ahmet Kaya as both a re-connection with and a rupture from the left-leaning protest music tradition in Turkey. The music of Ahmet Kaya has been called with different names such as '*özgün müzik*' (lit. original music), '*protest müzik*' (lit. protest music), '*toplumcu müzik*' (lit. socialist music or music with a socialist perspective), '*devrimci arabesk*' (lit. revolutionary arabesque) or '*sol arabesk*' (lit. leftist arabesque). Although these are the musical categories usually used to call political musics associated with the left in Turkey, in some cases they might be used with negative implications as in the case of '*sol/devrimci arabesk*' attributed to the music of Ahmet Kaya or might not be accepted by the musicians themselves as in the case of '*özgün müzik*' used as an umbrella term to call the various musical styles that emerged in the protest music domain of the 1980s. On the other hand, Ahmet Kaya himself prefers to call his music as '*arayış müziği'* (lit. a music constantly in search) as was evident in his interviews.

Ahmet Kaya spent his first youth years in the social mobility period of the 1970s and participated in the organizational struggle like many young people. At that time, with his repertoire ranging from revolutionary marches to folk songs, as an amateur musician, he started to gain his first audience by playing and singing at various events with his *bağlama* in his hand following the *devrimci ozan* model of the '70s. Ahmet Kaya's emergence with albums coincides with the post-traumatic period caused by the 1980 military coup. So, in his first period, we see that the themes of the leftist/revolutionary struggle come to the fore. The themes of lyrics such as 'prison,' 'death,' 'defeat,' 'loneliness,' 'hope despite everything,' 'future is in socialism' motto are dominant and he majorly composed the poems of the socialist poets such as Ahmed Arif, Enver Gökçe, Hasan Hüseyin Korkmazgil, Sabahattin Ali et al. as well as the young poets of the period such as Nevzat Çelik. In the late 1980s, the themes of the lyrics were mainly 'those released from prison, their encounters with the new circumstances and the difficulties they face' and the themes such as 'organizational disintegration,' 'betrayal,' etc. The emotions accompanying these lyrics were mostly 'loneliness,' 'resentment' and 'disappointment.' Hence, we can safely say that, throughout the 1980s, Ahmet Kaya made his debut as a 're-connection' with the left-leaning protest music tradition established in the previous period and followed a course in interaction with the state of the leftist movement in Turkey in terms of its themes and rhetoric.

However, basically Ahmet Kaya became increasingly separated, or ruptured, from the leftist tradition at two points: First, as regards to maqam music and *arabesk* influences in his compositions. The '*devrimci/sol arabesk*' (a term that was invented after his first few albums and used to describe his music) debate provides key data as regards the attitude of the left towards *arabesk* and Ahmet Kaya. Hence, our case of Ahmet Kaya will function as a key in a critical reading of the 'protest' character of the left-leaning musical domain in the context of what was excluded not only musically but also politically and socially in and through the said tradition.

The second point where Ahmet Kaya diverges from the left is related to his ethnic-cultural identity. The challenges Ahmet Kaya faced in the big city as a member of a Turkish-Kurdish family that migrated from the countryside to the city had a profound impact on both his personality and musical identity. Ahmet Kaya, who was not indifferent to the Kurdish identity struggle with the escalating civil war in the 1990s, was placed on the target board of the rising nationalism, was put under pressure to an extent that made it impossible for him to live in the country, and thus he died of grief in a foreign country. Therefore, while analysing Ahmet Kaya as a 'case,' it is necessary to mention the accelerated ethnic-cultural identity struggles along with the Kurdish movement in the 1990s and its repercussions in the musical field. However, albeit an important parameter, the changing political-cultural climate of the 1990s and beyond will be addressed within the scope of the thesis only in the context of how Ahmet Kaya was associated with this background and how he differed from the leftist culture in general. One of the excluded themes in the leftist culture and the associated musical universe was the issue of ethnic-cultural belonging. With the 1990s, the left was gradually dissolved; therefore, it is not surprising to see that the prominent musicians and music groups of the 1980s either disappeared, moved abroad, or some of them were integrated into the musical market or shifted to different musical lines in time.

Within the scope of this study, neither the musical culture that has a certain relationship with Kurdish movement nor Kurdish musical tradition is covered. As mentioned above, Kaya was influenced by the popular culture of Turkish Left, when he made his debut. He adopted the references in this culture, but gradually diverged from Turkish Left with his musical traits and political discourse. However, we cannot say that he was included in the sphere of Kurdish popular music. Although his ethnic belonging and the musical culture of his homeland were influential in his musical style, Kurdish

music was not the dominant culture and he also did not follow a traditional repertoire in Kurdish. He mainly produced his own compositions and created his own performance and vocal style. In any case, the fact that he did not sing a Kurdish song until his last album is an indicator of the foregoing. However, Kurdish identity struggle was symbolized in the personality of Ahmet Kaya upon the lynching, exile, and tragic death after his death in the exile.

As regards the political-sociological base of his audience, the first group attracted to his music was the prisoners, their families, and the 'defeated' revolutionaries. Then, in his own words, his followers included the youth that had 'no political consciousness' from neighborhoods that received migrating families. Because Kaya was not affiliated with any particular political organization, he became a figure adopted by the listeners in various leftist fractions as well as the various segments of the society even without any connection with his political stance. Together with the Kurdish movement that gained momentum in the 1990s and at the same time his rupture from the leftist movement, Kaya's emphasis of fraternity of folks and the fraternity of Kurdish and Turkish peoples in particular took a central position in his political discourse. This stance became clearly palpable in his songs as well. More and more, Ahmet Kaya became a symbol in the eyes of Turkey's Kurds. It would be somewhat insufficient to say merely that he had a political stance when it came to the Kurdish struggle; Kaya also came out against other types of political and social oppression. For example, on the TV program *32. Gün*[7] (32nd Day) which he appeared in 1994, he mentioned the fraternity of *all* peoples with different ethnicities. He spoke out against the ban on headscarves after Turkey's 'post-modern coup' of February 28th in 1997 and insisted that nobody should experience oppression for their language, religion or belief. He sent a greeting to then mayor Tayyip Erdoğan who had been imprisoned for a poem he read. This attitude gained him sympathy within the Islamic public in particular.

To conclude, in this study, I argue that a combination of elements in personal, musical and political terms are what made Ahmet Kaya a popular and a distinctive figure as a protest musician and a divergent example of the mentioned left-leaning protest music tradition in Turkey. Hence, in relation with Ahmet Kaya case, the questions such as

[7] A well-known TV news-programme prepared and presented by Mehmet Ali Birand and his staff from 1985 to 2016.

‘what makes him a distinctive figure in the protest music tradition of Turkey,’ ‘the historical processes that paved the way to his remembrance as both a popular figure and a political icon’ and ‘the role of his music in these processes’ will mainly be discussed within the scope of the thesis.

1.1 Research Questions

As mentioned earlier, the main purpose of this thesis is to provide a discussion of the left-leaning protest music tradition in Turkey through focusing on the case of Ahmet Kaya as both a re-connection with and a rupture from that tradition. Hence, by using the case of Ahmet Kaya as a key, the study aims to make a critical reading of the ‘protest’ character of the mentioned musical field in terms of what was included and excluded by the said tradition.

On one side, I would like to contribute in the definition and description of the tradition of musical protest in Turkey; on the other, I aim to make a critical reading of the left-leaning protest music tradition in Turkey through the case of Ahmet Kaya. So, at the intersection point, the study pays special attention to understanding the processes of inclusion and exclusion such as the exclusion of the ‘other’ in terms of religious and ethnic identities, and the exclusion of *a la Turca* and *arabesk* in musical terms. Thus, in the final analysis, Ahmet Kaya and his music will be re-mapped in terms of its convergence and divergence with the protest music tradition of the left, that is to say, how Ahmet Kaya was associated with that tradition as well as how he diverged from it in personal, political and musical terms within the general paradigm.

Al final, the aim of this study is to contribute to the literature of ‘protest music’ by extending its limits, in terms of both the object and the subject of study, towards the less or under-looked areas in the field. As an under-looked figure in the academia, I aim to place a divergent protest musician such as Ahmet Kaya within the historical, political, sociological and musical context objectively.

Hence, my first research question is ‘how was Ahmet Kaya associated with the left-leaning protest music tradition as well as how he diverged from it in personal, political and musical terms within the general paradigm?’ For this, a mapping of the discussed musical field is needed. So, my second research question is ‘how could we describe and interpret the left-leaning protest music tradition in Turkey in terms of key musical

references, sources and approaches?' A similar mapping will be done for the Ahmet Kaya case. Hence, my third question is 'how can we analyse the musical accumulation of Ahmet Kaya in personal, socio-political and musical terms?'

My sub-questions that stand out most in the context of Ahmet Kaya's case can be outlined as follows: 'Why was Ahmet Kaya and/or his music embraced by masses regardless of diverse economic, social, cultural and political backgrounds?' 'What is distinctive about Ahmet Kaya's music considering that his performing style, musical, and social attitude was copied by those even with opposite political views?' 'What was the mixture of music, politics, and performativity that made him an icon/symbol?'

1.2 Personal Background and Connection with Ahmet Kaya

From another angle, this thesis is an effort of a musician to understand through her eyes and ears, the adventure of the protest/oppositional music domain in Turkey. However, I chose to do this by connecting with another protest musician, Ahmet Kaya, who I argue that has a distinctive place in this history. Therefore, mainly with an aim to clarify my position in this research, I would like to address the period from my perspective in order to explain how I connect with the case of Ahmet Kaya personally.

Having witnessed at least the last four decades of the musical life in Turkey, I have collected many songs and stories. I remember, when I was a kid, music was always present in our home. My parents used to listen to *hafif müzik*[8] and *Anadolu pop*[9] on 45 rpm records while my grandfather was usually listening to Turkish folk songs on TRT (Turkish Radio Television) radio performed by *Yurttan Sesler Korosu* (Voices from the Homeland Choir). When it was time to sing themselves, my grandfather and grandmother used to sing folk songs from Thrace and Balkans since they had migrated form Bulgaria during the 1950s, while my parents loved to sing pieces of Turkish Classical Music, especially the ones performed by Zeki Müren. My parents, my two aunts and my maternal uncle were teachers and as many others of the period, they were the members of *Türkiye Öğretmenler Birliği Derneği* (TÖBDER) (Union for Teachers of Turkey). My uncle and my younger aunt were also the members of *Türkiye Halk*

[8] Lit. light music. The term is used to refer to the Turkish pop music of the time.
[9] A musical genre popular in the '60s-'70s. For more information see Chapter 3.

Kurtuluş Ordusu (THKO) (People's Liberation Army of Turkey)[10]. I felt that my parents did not approve their involvement with that movement because it was illegal. After my younger aunt passed away because of an accident while she was trying to change her place in order not to be captured by the military forces, all that music stopped in our house for a very long time. It was 1979, a period when the the streets were full of gunshots from all quarters. Then came the military coup in 1980 on September 12th. My parents were no longer talking, laughing and even not telling us (my two brothers and me) stories at nights. They hid all of the 45rpm records and they were even not watching TV anymore. As a kid I was not aware of the process of martial law, I had always thought that it was all because we lost my aunt. The only musical sound at home was the opening and closing jingle of the news on radio.

A few years passed, things seemed to get better. Music again took its place in our home but this time in a different way. Radio was no more popular. We used to watch the music programs of Western pop music on TV channels of Greece by taking the advantage of living in Izmir, because Western pop music was banned on TRT. I was a teenager but my father did not let me go anywhere on my own, so my elder brother sometimes took me out with him. He was studying Medicine in Ege University and as many other students with a leftist view of the period, he joined a *Halk Dansları Derneği* (Folklore Association). One day, he took me to the concert of Grup Yorum…

Protest music examples were most often introduced to us as kids by an elder sister or brother. Most of us had sisters or brothers attending to the universities, and they were usually participating folk dances under an association or musical or theatrical courses of a cultural center which was a common practice among the students of the time. Grup Yorum's concert was my first experience as a spectacle of a live performance. During the concert, at some point, people stood up and started to shout out slogans. I did not understand what was happening but my brother and his friends seemed to have been emotionally affected. I heard a similar story from my friend, Alişan Akpınar, during an interview that I made with him for the purposes of this study. He described how he felt at a Grup Yorum concert at Harbiye Open Air Theatre in Istanbul, in 1987: "Out of the blue, I said, wow look at how crowded we are!" (Akpınar, personal interview

[10] An armed underground socialist movement started in 1970 by Hüseyin İnan, Yusuf Aslan, Sinan Cemgil, Deniz Gezmiş, Taylan Özgur and Cihan Alptekin who were killed or sentenced to death by the early '70s.

with A. Akpınar, 2020). Alişan described this concert as the first organization venue of the post-1980 political/revolutionary youth.

After that concert, like my brother I also began listening to the cassettes of Grup Yorum: *Sıyrılıp Gelen* (1987), *Berivan* (1988), *Türkülerle* (1989). Now, I was in lycee. Other than Grup Yorum, I began listening to the songs of the bands such as Çağdaş Türkü, Ezginin Günlüğü and Yeni Türkü of the genre then-called *özgün müzik*[11]. The music accompanied by the emotions of melancholy, sorrow, desperateness did not match with the moods of young people at the age of 16-17, yet when we came together as close friends and began talking about our unanswered loves or quarrels with our parents, we used to listen to the songs of *özgün müzik* which usually ended with cries. As college students, we never listened to *arabesk* and took a distant step to Ahmet Kaya's music except his song '*Şafak Türküsü*' (Ballad of Dawn) in the album *Şafak Türküsü* (1985) with the lyrics by Nevzat Çelik. Then I discovered Zülfü Livaneli after I listened to his album *Ada* (1983). Why not the former albums but *Ada* attracted me and my friends to Livaneli's music? Firstly, it was different than his previous albums in terms of both style and lyrical themes. I guess that it was also because the lyrics in this album were more direct and personal which was also apparent in the use of the personal pronouns 'I' and 'you' instead of 'he/she' or 'them.' Indeed, there was a collective identity filtered through individuality in the lyrics. Also, the emotions accompanying the songs were romantic, full of longing and yearning instead of intense pain and grief. During the same period, I discovered Bülent Ortaçgil and Fikret Kızılok and as an urban listener, I welcomed them the most. However, I never listened to Turkish folk songs or Ottoman/Turkish Classical Music. I did not have the least idea about the songs in 'other' languages in Turkey, of course, except Greek as a citizen of Izmir. Nevertheless, these were like the voices from a neighbor, since we never considered them as part of musics of this country. We didn't have Greek neighbors due to our district. As a matter of fact, Izmir was where the foundations of *rebetika* were laid, a recognition that I would have only years after, just like the other musics of various ethnic-cultural groups we had been living together for centuries on the same land without a notice.

[11] During the research I conducted on the occasion of this study, I understood better that this term is controversial among the musicians, but at that time we, as listeners, used it very clearly and widely. For more discussion, see Chapter 4.

I came to Istanbul in 1989 to study Mathematics in Boğaziçi University (BOUN) and my life was totally turned over. This was the period when I had to face many issues I heard for the first time in my life. As I began reading, searching and discussing, I also began questioning everything I used to know until then. As I got some answers, all those broken memories in my past began to be united. What is more interesting was that the folk songs of my elders' homeland and the folk songs from *Yurttan Sesler* which I found out of mode, emerged in another context this time -in their original forms and languages belonging to different ethnic cultures living in this geography. Hence the 1990s became for us, the youngsters, the period of 'back to the roots' and 'the discovery of tradition.'

As many young people of the period, I was also curious about my cultural roots. My mother's family had migrated from Bulgaria during the 1950s. I was very proud to hear that my mother's aunts were playing various frame drums in the weddings. When I learnt that women have been playing percussion as a tradition in these lands and that women use to play instruments such as *tef* (tambourine), *bendir* (frame drum), *darbuka* and *ramazan davulu* (a kind of hang drum traditionaly played during Ramadan) at events and rituals such as weddings and before-wedding ceremonies such as *kına gecesi*[12], I was surprised but also it gave me pride and courage. My elder aunt used to tell me how she played bottles with wires on top of the trees as a child. She even gave me a *darbuka* and encouraged me to play it. When I was 12 years old, I used to accompany the songs sung in family assemblies with my *darbuka*. As I grew older I left playing it and, of course, the *darbuka* was thrown into a corner. Years later, when I started to participate in music practices within the *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Folklor Kulübü* (BÜFK) (BOUN Folklore Club) I heard a speech one day: '*Teke Zortlatması*,' a 9/8 rhythm folk song would be handled with Anatolian pop style interpretation and there was a need for someone to play the *darbuka*, but there was no such person! I said, "I can play", after all, it was in my genes and tradition! That is how I started to play percussion. The work carried out within the Folklore Club took us to *Kardeş Türküler Project* (lit. fraternity of songs) in 1993.

The idea of the project *Kardeş Türküler* was introduced as early as 1992. While listening to Anatolian rock singers such as Cem Karaca and the rock groups such as

[12] A ritualistic event performed by women-only before the wedding.

Pink Floyd, Led Zeppelin et al. in the dormitories of BOUN and on the other hand singing songs from all around the world such as Latin America, Hungary, etc. at BÜFK, suddenly the piracy tapes of Şivan Perwer (a very popular Kurdish singer) entered our lives secretly in the dormitories. In a very short time, we began asking, questioning and searching about the musical traditions of various people living in these lands as well as our own cultural origins. Hence the idea of *Kardeş Türküler* came to life in the very environment of this period that provoked, questioned and encouraged research.

Kardeş Türküler was introduced as a concert project in the early 1990s, during a period when struggles around cultural identites started to rise in Turkey and throughout the neighborhood. Since its first appearance, KTP has defended the 'fraternity of the peoples' and 'living together while respecting differences.' It also tried to contribute to the documentation and sharing of the cultural/musical traditions that have been shaped in a common geography from outside the monotheistic and nationalist perspective. On the other hand, KTP emphasized the importance of not only uncovering this heritage and emphasizing its richness, but also reproducing it through new searches. However, it would not be correct to say that the cultural pluralist attitude of KTP is shaped only through ethnic and linguistic terms. Through KTP, which is still a part of a cultural and artistic community, we argue that everyone, without any discrimination, should have equal rights and freedom -both individually and as a collective identity- in terms of language, religion, belief, ethnicity, race, class, gender, sexual orientation, or so on.

1.2.1 Connection with Ahmet Kaya and his music

In my academic work, I have always been interested in making a research for understanding the shift in cultural-musical life in the 1990s, which as a musician I have been a part of, and find a way to connect it with the history of the left-leaning protest music tradition in Turkey. Since the mid-1990s, a cultural-political climate began to emerge where the left did not prevail. Along with this period, an oppositional music field began to emerge where the leftist culture and similarly the '80s' music groups were not dominant in cultural-political terms. At this point, Ahmet Kaya, who made his debut in the mid-'80s basically differed from the others on two axes: the *arabesk* music influences in his music and his relationship with the Kurdish movement. For all

these reasons, to be able to analyze the left-leaning musical culture in terms of what was included and excluded, I realized that Ahmet Kaya could actually function as a key figure. Of course, my personal connection with Ahmet Kaya and his music also played a decisive role in this choice.

My acquaintance with Ahmet Kaya and his music goes back to nearly 30 years. As I mentioned before, I was a loyal fan of *özgün müzik* back then. We used to meet with friends from high school in the evenings when our parents were not at home. Our conversational nights accompanied by the songs of Yeni Türkü, Çağdaş Türkü, Ezginin Günlüğü and Zülfü Livaneli would definitely end with *the* Ahmet Kaya song, namely '*Şafak Türküsü*,' although we kept a distance from his music in general. When I came to Istanbul from Izmir to study in BOUN in the early '90s, my interest in *özgün müzik* had come to an end, just like those little getaways we had with my high school friends. In the years from BÜFK to *Kardeş Türküler*, my musical habits changed as well as my political view.

I was not listening to Ahmet Kaya anymore but he had already become a phenomenon in this period. Every album he made used to sell hundreds of thousands whereas almost his each album was banned. Even he was not allowed to give concerts in many cities of Anatolia. The reason for not giving concert permission was shown as the events that took place in his concerts. I did not go to the concert he gave in Gülhane Park in 1990, but I heart that the concert was 'eventful' because of his passionate young audience. They put a yellow-red-green pouch[13] wrapped around his neck and he showed his sympathy with a victory sign. Immediately after the concert, he was detained on the grounds that he was making 'separatist' propaganda.

At that time, Gülhane Park was an area where free public concerts were held. It was an important opportunity for the poor who could not come to expensive concert venues to watch artists they admired. Right after this concert, Can Kozanoğlu gives very important clues about Ahmet Kaya's audience profile in an article titled '*Mahallede Devrim Var*' (There is a revolution in the neighborhood) published in *Nokta* (July 1990) magazine: "In the poor neighborhoods of the cities, a generation is holding on to its new identity, its revolutionary identity. This poor generation says 'we are revolutionaries,' loves the song '*Başkaldırıyorum*' (I revolt) very much, sees violence

[13] Colors of Kurdish flag.

as a mandatory direction and dreams of the post-revolutionary period." For these young people, some of whom came to Istanbul as children, but most of whom are second-generation Istanbulites, Ahmet Kaya was a way for them to make their voices to be heard. It was not on the agenda in the above-mentioned article, but as it can be guessed, the majority of these young people were *Alevi* and Kurdish who were newly politicized. In the formation of their political identities, among the most influential, they counted Ahmet Kaya's songs such as '*Şafak Türküsü*,' '*Hani Benim Gençliğim*' (Where is my youth), '*Başkaldırıyorum*' and, most important of all, '*Adı Bahtiyar*' (His name is Bahtiyar): "He was from Diyarbakır, his name was Bahtiyar/ His crime was playing *saz*, as I learned…" Bahtiyar was like the code name of these young people.

I started listening to Ahmet Kaya again with the album *Şarkılarım Dağlara* (My songs are to the mountains) released in 1994. The Kurdish movement, which accelerated throughout the 1990s brought with it a struggle around ethnicity and identity. During that period, Ahmet Kaya often referred to 'Turkey's Southeastern problem' and said that "Turks and Kurds are brothers and sisters." Very young people died, many of them went to the mountains and could not turn back. The songs in the album such as '*Mavi'nin Türküsü*' (Ballad for Mavi), '*Ağladıkça*' (As we cry) and '*Özgür Çağrı*' (Free call) were especially the products of this sensitivity. It was the album that allowed us, mainly the political generation of the 1980s, to reconnect with Ahmet Kaya and his music. It was also one of the most influential albums which left its mark on the music history of Turkey.

By 1999, many musicians and music groups -including us- were already singing in Kurdish. Some were banned, some were censored but "There are no Kurds!" thesis began to shake so irreversibly in Turkey. Upon his receiving the award of the 'singer of the year' at the night organized by the *Magazin Gazetecileri Derneği* (MGD) (Magazine Journalists Association), when Ahmet Kaya took the stage to give his speech, perhaps no one expected such an outburst from him: "On the next tape [*kaset*], since I am of Kurdish origin, I am making a song in Kurdish and shooting a video in Kurdish. And I know there are courageous people who will release this clip. If they do not broadcast, I know how they will have to settle accounts with the people of Turkey." The price for the response to this challenge was dire. There were many celebrities in the choir of nationalist-fascist delirium of that night; nevertheless, the actual process

that led Ahmet Kaya to death in exile was the lynching campaign carried out against him in the press and the isolation brought about by this environment.

I met Ahmet Kaya for the second time, but this time in real terms, at a festival held in Germany on September 1st, 2000. As *Kardeş Türküler*, we were also invited to the festival. He sent news calling us to his side. I can never forget how excitedly we lined up in his room. "You smell like Istanbul," he said with a smile and an expression of longing on his face. Then he added: "I'll definitely be back one day." This was the first and the last time we saw him.

We also contributed to the album *Dinle Sevgili Ülkem* (Listen my dear country) (2002), made in memory of Ahmet Kaya, with the re-arrangement of the song '*Mavi'nin Türküsü*.' We have been singing this song in our concerts ever since. Mavi, for whom Ahmet Kaya made a song, was a young man who died in the mountains. In 2002, when we sang this song with thousands of people at a concert in Diyarbakır, I cried for the first time on the stage. And that day, without a doubt, I realized that the struggle of the Kurdish people was symbolized in the persona of Ahmet Kaya.

While I was in the process of writing the thesis, the play *Hep Sonradan* (Always Afterwards), an exile story accompanied by Ahmet Kaya's songs met with the audience for the first time in January, 2019 and was performed many times[14]. I was also a part of the creative and performer staff. The main character of the play, Salih, is a Korsakoff patient. As it is known Wernicke Korsakoff disease is induced by prolonged hunger strikes and death fasts, resulting in progressive memory loss, in Turkey. The relationship of the play with Ahmet Kaya's songs was established within the framework of 'music and memory' relationship. Although there is no mention of a total memory loss in Korsakoff patients, the patients remember the fragmented moments in their minds out of context and sometimes put the pieces together in a different way from their real context to make the connection. In the play, Salih's fragmented memory -and perhaps our common social memory- is activated and integrated through Ahmet Kaya's songs. On the other hand, Salih tells us some (maybe real, maybe fictive) stories throughout the play.

[14] The play was written by A. Cüneyt Yalaz, Didem Kaplan and Funda Alp. It was directed by Metin Göksel and Ahmet Kaya songs were performed by *Kardeş Türküler*.

When we look at the audience reactions to the play (while leaving aside the artistic evaluations), it is possible to make the following deductions: Some of the audience were very pleased to listen to Ahmet Kaya's songs in such a period; some of them were also pleased to listen to Ahmet Kaya with the interpretation of *Kardeş Türküler*; some criticized the play for 'not containing enough Ahmet Kaya;' others criticized for 'misrepresenting or underrepresenting Ahmet Kaya.' So, who is Ahmet Kaya? As the slogan in the play, "Everyone has his/her own Ahmet Kaya!" This thesis will also try to focus on these various representations of Ahmet Kaya in the eyes of the audience.

1.3 Research Process

In this thesis, Ahmet Kaya is being addressed as a case study. However, unlike the general usage, I consider the case here as a deviant example rather than being representative. The deviations mentioned in the Ahmet Kaya example actually provide us a critical reading. In this sense, the Ahmet Kaya case does not function as a research method in this thesis, but as a research strategy.

Regarding the research process, as we know in Ethnomusicology, basically data of three sorts is gathered during the fieldwork: through (participant) observations, interviews, documents and (written, audio, visual) arte-facts. Although as a musician placed herself in the oppositional music domain in Turkey, my (participant) observations are also involved in the analysis, as data I basically benefited from the historical sources, documents, written and audiovisual archives, newspapers and magazines of the period and musical records. Also, through various interviews I expanded the database I obtained.

First of all, I researched the life story of Ahmet Kaya from various sources: what he told first-hand about his life in the interviews he gave in the printed media, the narratives from his own mouth in various TV programs and documentaries, and the book on Ahmet Kaya *Başım Belada* (2005), prepared by Ferzende Kaya and published by *Gam Publications*. In this thesis, biographical research has been done for the purpose of identifying the distinctive artistic, ideological, historical, and biographical milestones and periods in Ahmet Kaya's life.

The challenge here is the absence of the primary source, that is, the musical person under study. At first hand, I could apply to his wife and comrade Gülten Kaya as a

secondary source, but I did not want to interview her immediately. There were two reasons behind this decision: First, she said she could hardly tolerate interviews emotionally. Second, I wanted to take a more objective approach to the issue. During this period, I also received criticisms from my close friend circle that I could not keep a close eye on the subject. That is because the feeling of "the man was simply wasted" was dominant in me at the beginning, as in everyone else. In the meantime, on the occasion of archive scanning, I went to *Gam* Music's office frequently and our small conversations with Gülten Kaya started there, and thus a relationship of trust began to form between us. My conversations with her on the subject came to the agenda much later.

In biography research, I basically applied the documents and writings on Ahmet Kaya and his music, the interviews with him and the audio-visual archive. Then I completed (also confirmed) the data I obtained from here through the interviews I had with Gülten Kaya, and with the help of Ömer Ovacık from *Gam Müz*ik. During the writing process, ethically, I avoided using speculative comments that would disturb the family.

At the second level, biography writing has been expanded to include the socio-political background in order to understand the various periods and important critical points in Ahmet Kaya's life story. In parallel, analysis of Ahmet Kaya's albums has been done (excluding the collected works and post-mortem albums) in terms of lyrics in order to follow his thematic tracks and transformation, if any, as regards to his view of life and music. Based on the results I got here, I made a periodization attempt through the change in lyrical themes. I have seen that the change in lyrical themes in Ahmet Kaya's albums -though not completely- can be handled in parallel with the change in social-political processes. Thus, this research showed me that the socio-political change was reflected through and influenced the musical production of Ahmet Kaya on a thematic level. In the later phases of the study, I also supported this periodization with musical analysis. However, I also came out with some contradictions as well as overlaps. At this point, the historical and biographical work have actually been developed or deepened by musical analysis. Then I added further levels to the periodization. A conclusion from this effort is that when it comes to the field of music, it is inevitable to integrate historical research with the dimension of musical analysis. In other words, the data obtained from musical analysis actually constitutes a dimension of historiography that is unfortunately not so often taken into consideration.

As the next step, I researched the magazines and journals in the *Gam* archive and while doing this research, I focused primarily on the period which he lived, not his death and his aftermath. Many debates around him were about whether his music was *arabesk* or protest. At this point, I decided that my work should provide a critical view of the left-leaning or protest music field through the example of Ahmet Kaya. On the other hand, there was no clear description of this field. Beyond being historical or factual about it, analytical works were very limited. Hence, this subject has taken an important place in my thesis.

It was first necessary to determine the domain of study. In the first place, I defined the boundaries as 'the musical field related to the left either directly or indirectly, but somehow defined and/or influenced by the references of the leftist/socialist culture,' which was the dominant culture in the field of social opposition until the '90s. That is why I ended up with calling it as 'left-leaning' instead of 'left-wing' or 'leftist.' I also did not make any limitations on the musical genres or styles and did not classify the domain of my study over such categories. Then, I had to start this musical history from a point. In other words, it was necessary to look for a beginning. The first person to look after was of course Ruhi Su. First of all, I read Ruhi Su's own writings and interviews made with him, and I listened to his albums. The work, which started with the aim of placing a distinctive musician [Ahmet Kaya] in a historical context, brought me to the point of placing Ruhi Su as the reference person of the Left's musical culture.

As a group of music lovers that started their musical life in the '90s and tried to create a musical tradition for their own, we (as members of KT) started by questioning the traditions before ourselves. Looking retrospectively, I see that this process was occasionally based on some clichés: Ruhi Su was a valuable researcher for me at that time, yet, when it comes to his singing the folk songs like a Westerner with his 'operatic' voice, I felt that he had a cold and distant vocal attitude in this sense, and he was breaking the folk songs from their own context by not including local elements. Also since he shared the modernist paradigm of the Turkish Republic based on the exclusion of ethnic-cultural elements, he also shared this assimilation. Everyone would respect him, but no one would follow him as a school. On the occasion of this study, I actually had the chance to meet and recognize Ruhi Su again.

With the determination that Ruhi Su actually functioned as a pioneer at the point of formation of a tradition, I placed the name 'protest music tradition' as it is mentioned

in the title of the thesis. Beginning from the formation years, I named this process as 'invention of tradition.' I also named the '60s-'70s period as 'mobilization and transformation of tradition,' the '80s as a 're-connection' as well as a 'dis-connection' period and the '90s as the 'dissolution of tradition.' In this way, I aimed to explain this historical process by linking different periods with each other on their level of relation with the protest music tradition. I tried to explain the changes, transformations or leaps through the periods as well as the continuities within and between them, and tried to create a path that could follow all these processes. I would like to note here that, although I tried to describe each period in relation with the significant songs, musicians, musical practices, genres or styles, this study is not actually a periodical work. Rather, it aims to develop a holistic analytical view of the musical domain in scope from a historical perspective, dealing with this subject in its own continuity.

On another level, it was inevitable that my analysis had to be supported by interviews and conversations. For this reason, I supported the data I obtained (both in terms of sociological, political and musical results) by chatting and arguing with my musician friends from KTP as well as with my researcher-historian acquaintances such as Alişan Akpınar, Ömer F. Kurhan, Hakan Gürel, Altuğ Yılmaz et al. and researcher-authors such as Orhan Kahyaoğlu, Demir Küçükaydın, Sezai Sarıoğlu et al.

The analysis of Ahmet Kaya's musical accumulation was the most challenging stage for me. I listened to his albums and watched his music videos. I examined each album one by one in terms of content (lyrical themes and poems), song structure, musical elements (rhythmic, melodic and modal character) as well as the musical arrangements, orchestration and his vocal character. I compared the periodization I made beforehand. In places, I found conflicts as well as overlaps. Overlaps; it was an expected situation in terms of reflection of social-political context on musical production. On the other hand, the differentiation at the musical level from the one-to-one overlaps provided through lyrical themes revealed some contradictions. I tried to explain this situation through the dynamics associated with the music market in the 5th Chapter on the analysis of Ahmet Kaya's musical accumulation.

As last words, I would like to add that, if you are not in a systematized field, therefore, if there are no standards and specific literature regarding the subject, if you are after the 'other' in terms of your subject of study, if you find it difficult to adopt the existing approaches in order to explain the issue you problematized, you have to create your

own instruments by collecting them from various fields as I tried to do here for my study.

1.4 Theoretical Framework: Music, Protest and Social Movements

Although there are many examples where music is used as a political communication tool, the studies showing the role of music in establishing authority and social rules, as well as the role of music in creating criticism and resistance against these social norms, authority and forms of oppression are very limited. Especially the relationship between 'music and protest,' as a special form of the relationship between music and politics is not considered as a major subject in the social sciences. However, there are many songs and musical experiences expressing protest or discontent in different geographies of the world and in various periods. On the other hand, the examples covered in a small number of academic studies focus more on European and American experiences. Presenting important works on protest music, Sumangala Damodaran (2016) criticizes this approach in his article 'Music and Protest' and draws attention to the importance of focusing on non-Western experiences:

> [H]owever, in societies where most music is not written down or notated formally, the discussions on the distinct role that music can play as an art form, as a vehicle through which questions of artistic representation can be addressed and the specific questions that are addressed and responded to when music is used for political purposes, have been reflected in the music itself and not only in formal debates. It is only in using the music itself as text and a whole range of information around its creation, -often, largely anecdotal and highly context dependent-that such music can be understood. (p. 1)

As Damodaran clearly states, focusing on non-Western musical experiences will open up different analytical windows for understanding the relationship between music and protest. Since this study deals with the musical field associated with the leftist/socialist movement in Turkey, it focuses on social moments where art and politics converge. Because social movements violate the boundaries between fields, it seems reasonable to read the relationship between art and politics in general, and music and politics in particular, through social movements, which are the periods when the boundaries between these two fields become blurred and transitive. In this transition zone, a liberation area is formed where creativity is active or that provokes creativity. Hence the

'relation between music and social movements' will be one of basic theoretical lines in this study.

In their influential book *Music and Social Movements* (1998), Jameson and Eyerman claim that "the collective identity formation that takes place in social movements is a central catalyst of broader changes in values, ideas, and ways of life" (p.7). This book is an important work in terms of recognition of social movements as key agents of cultural transformation. In terms of discussing these transformation processes specifically in relation to music, it remains the comprehensive study in the field of music. The examples reviewed in the theoretical framework of this thesis are selected to answer some of the theoretical questions traced throughout the book: How do social movements contribute to cultural transformation in the context of the relationship with music? How does it contribute to the emergence of protest music? In turn, what do protest music samples add to the movement?

The examples that Jameson and Eyerman deal with in their book mainly focus on the period until the end of the 1960s, and the new social movements are considered to be 'not progressive' or, at best, 'culture-based' struggles. However, while it seems relevant for the social movements in the 19th century and in the first half of the 20th century, our understanding as regards the social movements radically changed after the 1968 events worldwide. There are important differences between the anti-capitalist and class-based character of the classical social movements that lasted until the 1960s in the 20th century and the multitudes of actions that made the movements 'new' since the 1960s such as ethnic and cultural rights-based movements, minority movements, eco-political movements, queer and women's movements, anti-war and anti-racism movements, etc. In the context of new social movements, we see the emergence of a series of 'identity movements' that form an axis of struggle by removing issues from private to the public sphere such as ethnicity, race, gender, sexual orientation, and personal experience.

We can say that in relation with the new movements, 'tradition' is widely used as an important resource. In this context, music is important as the 'carrier of truth' and it turns into a force of resistance. And beyond the lyrics, other musical elements such as melody and rhythm, even timbre and musical instruments gain importance. For example, the instrument *def* (a kind of frame drum with jingles) has become a symbol in representation of Kurdish identity since the 2000s within the context created by the

Kurdish movement in Turkey and Mesopotamia. This brings our perception of protest music -mostly shaped over the social movements until the late '60s- to an extended point.

Certain stereotypes about the definition of protest music have been produced: sloganist, agitative, containing direct political messages through lyrics, simple tunes and a strict tempo, basically based on collective singing. Mostly anthems are prominent, mainly aimed at mobilizing the masses. And because of all these features, protest music is regarded as 'not good enough' or 'non-aesthetic.' Thus, a duality (whether to call it a dilemma or polarization) is also created: unless political organizations and some activist musicians comply with these standards, they do not consider songs as protest in character, and musicians who are not activists but who have a certain social sensitivity also put protest music in a sloganist place. Usually, protest music is seen as decadent, wild, populist, and inferior compared to the standards of 'high' music. In fact, this approach also applies to popular music perception in general, an issue that has been questioned by writers such as Simon Frith (1989, 1991, 1992, 1996) et al. As Damodaran (2016) puts it "many forms of popular music, such as jazz, rock, rap and so on, which have contained within their history and practice strong elements of protest, have been dismissed as inferior music and often dangerous, using ostensibly objective criteria of style, skill and techniques" (p. 3).

Within the scope of this thesis, as the second basic theoretical line, protest music is evaluated depending on both the content and the context. Hence, as a culturally and historically diverse category, it is considered in a wider perspective. The above-mentioned stereotypes-based music making styles are considered as a subcomponent of this broader field.

1.4.1 Music and social movements

In their book *Music and Social Movements* (1998), Jameson and Eyerman interpret social movements as "central moments in reconstitution of culture" (p. 6) giving a place to social movements as the key agent in cultural transformation processes. According to the authors, within the context provided by the social movements "modes of cultural action are redefined and given new meanings as sources of collective identity" (p. 6). The activities that emerge within the scope of social movements, called

as ‘exemplary cultural actions’ by Jameson and Eyerman, as innovative or pioneering activities, generally affect the cultural field:

> By combining culture and politics, social movements serve to reconstitute both, providing a broader political and historical context for cultural expression, and offering, in turn, the resources of culture –traditions, music, artistic expression- to the action repertoires of political struggle. Cultural traditions are mobilized and reformulated in social movements, and this mobilization and reconstruction of tradition is central, we contend, to what social movements are, and to what they signify for social and cultural change. (p. 7)

So much so that even when the movements are *de facto* leaving the field of political struggle, the cultural effects of the movements continue (ibid., p. 6). Jameson and Eyerman examine how knowledge-producing activities, which they call as ‘cognitive praxis,’ in the context of social movements, affect the scientific, cultural and artistic fields. They also discuss the relationship between music and social movements through ‘collective learning processes’ and they consider the musical expression in social movements as a kind of ‘cognitive praxis’ (p. 7).

Social movements provide contexts for a new cognitive praxis in social, cultural, aesthetic, and scientific realms (Jameson and Eyerman, 1998). The new context paves the way for a new paradigm, a renewed set of values, and evaluation criteria (Kuhn, 1962). In return, actors involved in the social movements broaden the frontiers and the vision of the social movement, extending its influence to distinct realms of social life, from daily rituals to new social theories, from basic tools of resistance on the street to scientific innovations, and from deconstruction of established artistic merits to reconstitution of new aesthetic genres and principles (Marcuse, 1969).

Also evident historically, to the extent the artistic movements were engaged with the social movements, they had progressive and radical effects on the Art World. For example, the avant-garde artistic movements of the early 20th century changed the way art is performed, shared, and perceived radically. The destructive aesthetic of social movements is evident in a range of avant-garde artistic movements of the early 20th century. The manifestos by e.g. Futurists, Dada, Expressionists, and Surrealists indicate both a sort of political engagement, and a systematic rejection of established

artistic merits, principles, understanding, and practices. Notwithstanding the postmodern readings of the avant-garde, which focus on the artistic creation and exclude the social context, the political engagement with social movements, or the public discontent with regard to political system, warmongering, oppression, discrimination and poverty has been the point of departure for many artists that have been influential in the 'Art World' throughout the 20th century.

As far as the protest music and its social context are considered, the '60s in the U.S.A. constitute a good point of departure. Along with the protest music genre based on American folk and sounded by Pete Seeger, Joan Baez, and Bob Dylan, among others, rock & roll, rock, and jazz too played similar roles as a means to communicate protest against establishment with specific aesthetic forms challenging the artistic merits of their time. Again, for the range of musical practices, which have been remembered today in a rather nostalgic way, and praised for the innate innocence, as with such phrases as 'Oldies but Goldies,' etc., there was an aesthetic challenging, a concerted action against the social norms, which have been specifically targeted, or questioning of which have been made possible by the conduct of social movements. Not only the music itself, but the way the music groups dress in and act, the venues of the musical performance, the way the musical recordings were distributed, and the way the listeners related to music marked a resistance against the establishment together with all the other acts and scenes of resistance as evident in daily rituals from jeans to long hairs.

Social movements challenge the dominant categories of artistic merit and construct this challenge both discursively and through performance practices. Social movements create new contexts and open new artistic spaces for addressing the problems of the time and for communicating dissent. Social movements also offer an opportunity to test new ideas, where new aesthetic principles are experienced in the emerging creative field, and new collective rituals are created. In fact, these new non-commercial experiments, which were produced collectively as of their release here, are later translated into the professional/commercial world. On the other hand, social movements use artistic means of expression as a means of communication with the larger society. In this context, popular music is increasingly preferred, even mass-mediated popular music can be an arena of resistance. In turn, this association serves to (re) politicize popular culture and the entertainment world. Or at least it affects musical taste in the popular field. Especially in terms of music, art and literature, social

movements have periodically been a source of renewal and rejuvenation. At such times, they sow new ideas and reconstruct existing aesthetic genres and forms.

As mentioned earlier, the social movements are the products of specific historical conditions and shaped by specific cultural and sociological contexts. On the other hand we should also consider more deeper and long-term historical and cultural traditions (Jameson and Eyerman, 1998, p. 21). In this sense, it is necessary to consider social movements by going beyond the specific historical processes from which they emerged. Because "social movements are processes in formation" (ibid., p. 21), they should be considered as creative experimental areas where new forms of action and protest emerge from the existing context, by linking to a wider historical context, and give rise to new context formation.

Of course, all productions in the artistic field cannot be reduced to the relationship of artists with social movements. However, these artists would produce very different works if it were not for the context of social movements that is said here. In most cases, perhaps these artists had an impact beyond their own estimates in the context provided by social movements. "Their engagement [with the movement] was objectified in their art, and the movement thus came to be embodied in them" (ibid., p. 12). Thus, when the movement disappeared, the ideas and ideals of the movement continued to live in their art. In many cases they also served as an inspiration for new movements "by helping to keep the older movements alive in the collective memory" (ibid., p. 12). Through music, art and literature (as ritualized practices) the cultural influences of social movements continue to live in collective memory, even if the movement disappears as organizations as stated by Jamison and Eyerman (1998).

Cultural traditions are continuously in processes of formation and transformation. In the next section, these processes are discussed with regard to the concept of 'mobilizing traditions' as suggested by Jameson and Eyerman (1998) in the context provided by the social movements, which I argue that an important parameter in the formation and transformation of the protest music field.

1.4.1.1 Traditions, rituals and mobilizing traditions as key concepts

Tradition is used to denote beliefs and practices that are passed on from one generation to the next. Jameson and Eyerman echoe Edward Shils by saying that "tradition refers to the coexistence of past and present" (1998, p. 27): "Tradition is whatever is

persistent or recurrent through transmission" (Shils, 1981, p. 16; cited in Jameson and Eyerman, 1998, p. 27). The 'passing on' issue here can be via either 'collection' or 'invention.' 'Transmission' can also be through written text or oral forms, and ritualized practices. "The object and characteristic of 'traditions,' including invented ones, is invariance. The past, real or invented, to which they refer imposes fixed (normally formalized) practices, such as repetition" (Hobsbawm, 2012, p. 2). In this sense, it can interfere with custom or habit carrying a recurrence feature. Jameson and Eyerman (1998) emphasize that "it is the conscious articulation -the process of naming, defining, and making coherent- which distinguishes tradition from custom or habit" (p. 27). In other words, by calling it as 'conscious articulation,' they emphasize the cognitive dimension of tradition.

Musical traditions are usually defined according to time (classical, romantic, modern, etc), region (American, Indian, etc.) and genre (folk, classical, jazz, blues, rock etc.). The important thing here is to define the boundaries, contours or the features that make them different from the others. So actually being identified within a tradition sets you apart from others. By saying 'left-leaning' protest music tradition, firstly I aimed at drawing the boundaries of the protest music field associated with the leftist movement and culture in Turkey, since there have been various examples of musics with protest character today with no references to the left. Secondly, by avoiding the use of 'protest music' as an umbrella term and by arguing that there has been a kind of invention/construction process here, I aimed at describing the field as a whole in terms of songs, singers, musical practices as well as discussing the philosophy behind it in terms of key references, sources and approaches. At the same time, I am using the concept of 'tradition' here for both defining and questioning purposes. As mentioned earlier, due to its invented character, a tradition is both real and imaginary. It is in a state of continuous construction and formation and also a selective process works in the construction of the tradition. The questioning business is here that the tradition is such a double-edged concept. Since one of the main purposes of this thesis is to make a critical reading of the left-leaning protest music tradition, I have taken care both the real and imaginary sides of the tradition in question.

When it comes to music, traditions often involve collective rituals. According to Jameson and Eyerman (1998), traditions are more than texts which carry ideas: "[T]hey also involve practical activites, forms of ritualized practice in and through which

meaning and significance are embedded. Music, in particular, embodies tradition through the ritual of performance. It can empower, help create collective identity and a sense of movement in an emotional and almost physical sense" (p. 35). Singing songs with specific historical contexts such as 'We Shall Overcome,' 'Bella Ciao,' or 'May Day Anthem' is a ritual event. Ritual is "an action which dramatizes and re-enacts the shared mythology of a social group" (Small, 1987, p. 75). By linking to the long-standing tradition of struggle of protest, it reminds participants not only of their place in the movement but also brings current and past generations back together, albeit imaginatively. It connects to the past heritage, not a future utopia that has not yet been realized. On the other hand, by connecting to the past, you connect with an imagined community in the present through the past and build your collective identity through this symbolic bonding, which, in fact, contains an element of hope for the future, if not utopia.

Rituals are used to establish unity, solidarity, empowerment and courage. In this context, collective singing rituals give a sense of unity to the participants. Anthems, either national or not, has an important function here. Such ritualized acts have an important function in the formation of collective identity. Here, the act of singing together in unison creates a sense of collectivity itself. For Benedict Anderson, as stated in his book *Imagined Communities* (1983), imaging a national community is directly related to the act of singing. The act that produces the experience of collectivity that gives rise to the imagination to work is the very act of singing. National anthems he writes (ibid., p. 132) are "occasions for unisonality for the echoed physical realization of the imagined community."

Music and rituals, as stated by Small (1987) are the twin rituals of affirmation which create conflicting emotional moments: "It was musicking and dancing, those twin rituals of affirmation, of exploration and celebration of relationships, with their unique power to weld together into a higher unity the contradictory experiences of sorrow, pain, hope, and despair" (p. 87). Rituals can also be a form of resistance and rebellion as in the case of re-construction of *Newroz*[15] celebrations provided in the context created by the Kurdish Movement in Turkey through the 1990s. At the same time,

[15] Lit. meaning 'new day' in Kurdish. A spring festive event, celebrated on 21st of March and widespread among various cultures throughout Anatolia and Mesopotamia.

official organizations also mobilize rituals to reaffirm and legitimate their established power and authority, as in the case of Turkish State's presentation of *Nevruz* celebrations against *Newroz*, as a 'purely Turkic' ancient tradition. In fact, both represent spring festivals, symbolizing the transition from the old to the new which are common in various cultures.

As stated by Jameson and Eyerman (1998);

> For what is at work in periods of recombination or transformation is both more creative than revival and less creative than invention (Rosenberg, 1993). It is more like selective reworking of cultural resources, through which traditions get infused with new kinds of meaning. Musical traditions are thus made, and remade, in processes of mobilization; and, in the twentieth century, those processes have been closely linked to social and political movements. (pp. 38-39)

What is meant by selective process here? Williams (1977) stated that "from a whole possible area of past and present, in particular culture, certain meanings and practices are selected for emphasis and certain other meanings and practices are neglected or excluded" (cited in Jameson and Eyerman, 1998, p. 115). Jameson and Eyerman outline the process of tradition making in two steps (pp. 39-40): First, exploration is needed, a process called as 'mapping the terrain.' It changes according to your motivation, be it theoretical, political, commercial, or personal, etc. You choose the descriptive items accordingly. Second step is the systematization process. You have chosen material based on a set of criteria as above. Then you need to filter and classify this material according to another set of criteria. For example, if your classification criterion is 'classification based on ethnicity,' you can classify the set of songs you have collected under the categories as Kurdish, Turkish, Armenian, etc. If your criteria is to present the diverse musical genres according to their functions, you can classify the same set of songs under the categories such as 'work songs,' lullabies,' 'laments,' etc. We can safely say that the tradition is a selective process depending on your intention, motivation and/or ideology, hence it is accepted in this thesis as a double-edged process.

Art is an important component of mutual exchange that gives rise to political attitude. It "provides a reservoir of images which inform political impulses and inspire

politically motivated actions" (Jameson and Eyerman, 1998, p. 42). Most social movements are bringing back the old movements; they do this by remembering songs and some images, symbolic actions, and reproducing them around new meanings. Following the writers, I call this process as 'mobilizing traditions.' Songs are places where worldview, underlying beliefs and values are articulated. Especially songs can turn into an important resource and sometimes a weapon or tool as the bearer of a tradition. On the other hand, "they [singing and song] contribute to the 'structures of feeling' that Raymond Williams identified as central to cultural transformations" (ibid., p. 43).

The role of music in creating new meanings, rituals, aesthetics, and values, based on the context as provided by the social movements, is evident in the story of 'We Shall Overcome,' a gospel once sung by African slaves. After re-invented and used in a different context in the early 20th century by the Tobacco Workers Union, the song was subject to major changes. First, the individual 'wish' was translated into the 'will' and determination for a collective struggle, as the lyrics changed from 'I'll overcome some day,' to 'We will overcome,' which will then be corrected as 'We shall overcome.' It lost its sacred ritual aspect (as a gospel to be performed in a church), but retained its ritualistic character now in a secular context. The song was performed with the active participation of audience as the chorus, all hand in hand. The lyrics continued to change as it is involved in the social movement, and especially when new challenges emerge. 'We are not afraid,' was added by a student, following a police attack. The song soon spread throughout the world, has been translated into local languages, and become a heritage of anti-systemic social movements (Seeger, 1993).

Furthermore, the musical practices involved in the social movements, as illustrated above, frequently refer to, or remember the past musical genres, and reconstitute them in a totally new context (even by breaking out of the context of the first existence) provided by the movement. Especially when a previously censored, suppressed, or forgotten form or genre of music is revived in a new and obviously protest social context, as with *rebetiko,* the existing lyrics are not only *re*-interpreted, but also perceived as genuine examples of the new social context: 'A night without moon'

(Νύχτωσε χωρίς φεγγάρι)[16] is now interpreted and simultaneously understood in its new context as 'a prisoner imagining outside world through his narrow cell window opening to nowhere.' 'A cloudy Sunday'[17] (Συννεφιασμένη Κυριακή) becomes the perfect description of the military Junta years. Once demonized by oppressive Greek governments for its connection with the culture of hashish and drugs, and due to its musical and cultural roots in Anatolia (as with many lyrics still in Turkish), and excluded from the sphere of art by the radical and elitist modernism, *rebetiko* was reinvented during the relative democratization during the PASOK government in late seventies and eighties following the collapse of the Junta.

In the above example the music and lyrics remained the same, even the places where the musical performance takes place in such venues that remained sort of authentic. However mobilization can also be seen in the form of creating new lyrics, contents, or knowledge, without altering the traditional musical forms. Taking into consideration the American protest movement, the lyrics of the folk songs, which were mostly about the pastoral controversies and phantasies of rural farmers and villains, were transformed so as to address the 'contemporary' problems of social conformity, police brutality, racial discrimination, Vietnam War, justice system, and inhumanity and hypocrisy of humankind. For all of these examples in which traditions have been mobilized, as stated by Jameson and Eyerman (1998), it was the movement context that made this process possible.

Through these examples we also see that, with the mobilization of tradition, the mutual life of movement and tradition is prolonged. Even when the movement disappears, the movement continues to be remembered through the songs. And even by connecting generations, they inspire new movements. Tradition, on the other hand, continues to live with new meanings within the context created by the social movements. Besides the popular forms re-produced based on the tradition, the representatives of the

[16] English translation of the lyrics: "Night descended without moon/The darkness is deep/And yet a young man/Cannot fall sleep/What could he be waiting for/From dusk until dawn/By the narrow window/Which is lit by a candle/Opens and closes the door/With a heavy sigh/I wish I could guess/The sorrow in his heart" (URL-1).

[17] English translation of the lyrics: "Cloudy Sunday/You are just like my heart/which is cloudy all the time/O dear Jesus and Mother Mary/You are such a (cloudy) day that I've lost my joy/Cloudy Sunday, Sunday/You make my heart bleed/When I see you raining/I don't feel at peace for a single moment/You darken my life, my life/And I sigh in grief" (URL-2).

tradition or the names continuing the tradition can also come to the fore on this occasion. Even the old and new repertoires can move side by side, by influencing each other and sometimes by mixing with each other. For example, with the mobilization of the *Alevi-Kızılbaş* resistance repertoire through the left culture by reproducing it on the axis of class struggle within a socialist perspective, *Alevi âşık* music tradition has acquired a left identity and it has been transformed and re-produced by the left-leaning urban musicians as sources of rebellion. *Âşık* tradition and newly reproduced songs in this form continued to live along different musical lines side by side and influence each other.

In summary, mobilization of tradition works on two levels: First, there is an anthropological level that lies at the bottom, where there is experience and interpretation of reality. These live in collective memory. On this plane, tradition and ritual act as a bridge in connecting movements and generations. They create invisible links between waves. Second is the aesthetic level "by which cultural expression transforms traditions into living sources of collective identity" (Jameson and Eyerman, 1998, p. 47.)

1.4.2 What is protest music?

Regarding the definition of 'protest song,' mostly the songs that express discontent and in this sense contain political messages come to the fore. Sometimes this message is expressed directly in the words. Sometimes the message is not so obvious; rather, its meaning may be hidden in historical, cultural and political context. In other words, it can be a more metaphorical, symbolic, implied narrative. However, when evaluated in different geographies, cultures and historical periods, 'protest through music' gains various forms. For this reason, we do not have a certain set of principles to define protest music as a category. Existing definitions are also generally based on Euro-American experiences. However, this is not always the case for non-Western experiences. The study by Aadnani (2006) which is a survey of protest music in North Africa, discussed in the context of Rai music; various studies of Nueva Cancion in Latin America (Elliott, 2011; Gasparatto, 2011 et al.); on *rebetiko* in Greece (Tragaki, 2007); anti-apartheid movement (Ballantine, 1993; Olwage, 2008; Schumann, 2008 et al.) are the examples which have broadened the frontiers of our understanding of protest music (as cited in Damodaran, 2016). However, we are far from the studies that

will both encompass this aforementioned diversity and lay down certain basic principles of the definition of protest music.

The most eye-opening study on the definition of protest music was presented by Damodaran (2016). As he puts it, “in the broadest sense, protest music expresses discontent with perceived problems in society, covering a wide variety of issues and concerns ranging from personal and interpersonal to local and global matters” (ibid., p. 5) in various ways depending on the cultural, social and political aspects. Music is a way of expression for people’s interaction with their surroundings including their relations as well as their discontent. “This discontent has, in varied historical and geographical contexts, been expressed through words, without words, through appraisal, evaluation, and often rejection of certain canonical forms, and through creation of new forms” (ibid., p. 1). In the search of these basic principles, following Damodaran, let’s continue by asking some questions: How or in what ways does music do this as an expression of protest/resistance/discontent? Does this depend on the political function of the music, or does the musical structure, form, or style affect this? Is political expression through words, or can non-verbal music also be expressions of protest? Or can the protest be expressed through music that does not contain a direct political message, that is, in more ambiguous ways?

According to Damodaran (2016) “Within the larger genre of political music, protest music or the music of resistance is a distinct category, encompassing the use of music *in* politics and *as* politics.” However, it is important to note that the relation to politics does not necessarily denote an engagement with a specific political movement or institution, or a specific political subject or theme. Referring to the freedom songs, Bob Dylan, an important figure of protest music in the U.S.A., said in 1964, four years before 1968 or any resolution of the Vietnam conflict that “I’m not part of no movement” (Tillet, 2015). Furthermore, the ‘music as politics’ phrase needs further clarification that not all the types of protest music have been ‘utilised’ to substitute political action or ‘used’ as an artistic tool in the hands of politics.

Although the protest music definition was first used and associated with the distinct genre of U.S. folk and rock music back to the 1960s, every period of social upheaval gives birth to songs of discontent and at the same time, each period has its own musical sound as well as musical genres, forms and styles that are suitable or preferred to express this discontent. On the other hand, there is no specific style or genre of protest

music. In fact, it seems that the categorizations of protest music as to its content, form, style, genre, lyrics, and even its function may not help to reach a universal criteria for a definition and furthermore this is misleading.

For example, Denisoff (1968) aimed to study "the relationship of propaganda songs to social movements" in his article, namely 'Protest Movements/Class Consciousness and the Propaganda Song,' suggesting that there were two main types of protest songs in terms of functionality: (i) magnetic propaganda songs and (ii) rhetorical protest songs. The magnetic propaganda songs, he suggested, aimed to "persuade… both emotionally and intellectually, individuals into supporting or joining the movement or goals of the writer and of the organization for which the song is written." The second characteristics of the magnetic propaganda song is that "the ballad creates social cohesion or a feeling of solidarity among the membership or supporters of a given movement or ideological set" (ibid.). Whereas he defined the rhetoric protest song as "a protest song aiming to emphasize and describe a condition, but does not offer an ideological or organizational solution, such as explicitly affiliating with a social movement" (cited in Neumann, 2008).

In this functionalist approach, which is based on the assumption that deciding whether or not a song will be a protest song depends on its political function, the main role is given to the lyrics, that is, the content. Accordingly, in the magnetic songs category, especially simple and catchy melodies with repeating verses are preferred. Musical structure is plain and elaborations are not allowed so to prevent shadows to the content as in the case of using simple chords in a way that emphasizes the content, that is, the political message in the lyrics. According to Damodaran, in Denisoff's functional approach, in fact, it is the category of magnetic propaganda songs that creates the stereotypes of protest music mentioned above. Denisoff's rhetorical songs type, mainly "focuses attention on individual indignation and dissent, but offers no solution" (Damodaran, 2016, p. 43). In this type of songs, lyrics are again emphasized but they allow more space for musical sophistication and skill.

Denisoff's functional approach focuses on the use of music in the context of movements, on the other hand, songs can also maintain a movement and inspire new movements when movements are no longer visible even when formal structures of movement in terms of organizations, demonstrations, leaders etc. disappear as stated earlier by Jameson & Eyerman (1998). In this sense, a different approach is needed to

understand the role and place of music in relation to protest in which "tradition and ritual are understood as processes of identity and identification, as encoded and embodied forms of collective meaning and memory" (ibid., p. 44). Denisoff, in his approach, sees music as secondary to melody, but in most contexts, especially the simple and catchy melodies in the folk tradition are the most emotional ones. In fact, the strength of protest music that attracts the masses is that it contains a familiar folk repertoire that gives rise to remembering, a feeling kept alive in the memory.

Denisoff's functionalist approach has been criticized by other names. For example, according to Barker, this approach results in "an excessive focus on song text, a reductive assertion of a unidirectional causal relationship between intended political message and political function, a subordination of the form of protest music to its function and a prioritization of abstract categories over context" (as cited in Damodaran, 2016, p. 6). On the other hand, Hans Eisler, a German composer who composed music for Bertholt Brecht's theatre, has a functionalist approach but attaches importance to form: "He rejected purely orchestral music as not being suitable for a worker's music repertoire, and advocated the creation of simple, direct songs" (as cited in Damodaran, 2016, p. 6). Eisler here distinguishes between bourgeois aesthetics and the working class. According to him, pure orchestral music that does not contain text, suitable for bourgeois taste, cannot be suitable for working class music. He says, however, that all searches in form and technique in music must be in a way that express the axis of class struggle and should be suitable for singing together.

The Socialist Realist tradition from the 1930s, originated in the Soviet Socialist Union but was influential in the left-oriented cultural movements in various parts of the world, "emphasized a greater role for the texted genre as against purely symphonic music in representing revolutionary consciousness" (Damodaran, 2016, p. 7). These are generally anthem-like music, optimistic and heroic songs and music that aims to raise the revolutionary consciousness and represent the new socialist profile. Here there is an approach that emphasizes the didactic role, simplicity and lyrics of music, because the political message should not be overshadowed by musical ornaments and experiments in the favor of form or technique. In this approach, experimental music is criticized for blocking communication with the masses, as in the case of atonal music of mid 20th century.

On the other hand -beyond words and form- the issue of what determines the protest content in different parts of the world and in different periods takes different forms. For example, in anti-colonial movements, the reintroduction of traditional classical music that was suppressed and destroyed by the colonial powers as music representing the people becomes the main element that determines the protest content. This is especailly an interesting point for our case, since in the left-leaning protest music world in Turkey, Turkish Classical Music cannot be accepted as part of the protest music category since it is associated with the Ottoman elites and not belonging to common people as well as the popular forms of Turkish Art Music or *alaturka* are mostly labeled as 'degenerate market music or *gazino* music.'

An example of the situation where the context determines the political content can be given through the experience of *Kardeş Türküler Project* (KTP), which I am a part of. In the early '90s, at a time when it was officially said that there was no such thing as a Kurd and in a political atmosphere where peoples were polarized, singing Turkish and Kurdish folk songs or Azerbaijanian and Armenian folk songs together was a counter stance to oppose this polarization and to bring into life the belief of fraternity of peoples. In this context, the folk songs belonging to various cultures of our geography have been reproduced in a protest context. For example, in KTP repertoire, the folk song '*Sari Gyalin*' (Bride from the mountains) is sung in Armeanian, instead of its Turkish known version '*Sarı Gelin*' (Blonde Bride) in order to emphasize that peoples living together in these lands have produced a common culture and exchanged a lot from each other. As another example, '*Burçak Tarlası*' (Vetch field), a traditional work song sung by women (describing the rebellion of a bride who was forced to work at home, in the field, etc.), has become one of the iconic songs of women's events and feminist activism since the second half of the '90s. Particularly, the words of the song, '*Eğdirme fesini yar yar, kalkar giderim/ Evini başına yar yar, yıkar da giderim*' (I break up the slope, I get up and I go/I break your house, tear it down and I go) were reinterpreted in the context of the women's movement as expressing the rebellion of women, their dignified and courageous stance.

Herbert Marcuse emphasizes that "it was primarily in art and music that social movements "re-membered traditions of resistance and critique" (as cited in Jameson and Eyerman, 1998, p. 6). Throughout the history, whether involved in the protest, opposition movements or not, folk musicians, from *troubadours* to *âşık*s and *dengbej*s

(Kurdish epic folk singers or singing storytellers) both in the Western and Eastern traditions served as the 'bearer' of people's discontents as sounded in their songs. They were not merely the conveyors or archivists of the nonverbal culture, the consciousness and even history of people. Either by satire and vulgarization, or by references to a 'golden era' in which the people lived happily, they constantly challenged the system, and its corrupt, perverse, and misconducting actors, and in return they were often subject to criminal penalties together with other artists of secular, folk art genres, including poetry and theatre among others. Hence, as a dominant character of protest music, in most of the examples, the roots of protest music lie in the folk music tradition, with a range of elements of aesthetic resistance and criticism.

On the other hand, "by a selective reworking of traditional cultural materials, modern societies periodically reinvent themselves, and popular music is increasingly one of the most significant arenas for this mobilization" (ibid., p. 14). In the context of social movements, even mass-mediated popular music can have a truth-bearing character. The popular protest repertoire is linked to this folk tradition, which carries a truth-bearing character. And over time, it diversifies (according to current needs) by finding different expression and representation channels. Often times, as mentioned earlier, old and new forms live side by side. This is partly attributable to the fact that protest music has always been in a mode of transition, where the traditional forms and the modern social needs, and therefore musical forms provide a contradictory, yet paradoxically harmonious co-existence. The American protest music movement, for instance, which flourished as a spinoff from the traditional folk music, embraced the rock form in time, and "evolved from acoustic-oriented folk stylings to rock-based rhythms. Softer material -generally performed by commercial folk artists or singer-songwriters- continued to be released, but it now comprised a comparatively small portion of the total protest output. Nevertheless despite the shift in favor of rock, it was evident that the movement was 'represented' by both genres with a progressively deepening exchange among them" (Hoffman, F. and Birkline, R., 2003).

Music provides people a way of expressing and communicating under conditions of oppression, war, etc. Either in sacred or secular forms, these songs carry messages of hope and transendence through decades of struggle even after emancipation. But how can we explain the capacity of music to mobilize some emotions or carry a political message, directly or indirectly, even though the social movements context is still not

valid? And how do songs bring different 'strangers' together around a common purpose in making a band of sisters and brothers out of them by giving spirit, belief, resistance, courage, solidarity and hope? Although answering these questions go beyond the scope of this thesis, it is still useful to try to reflect on some points.

First of all, music is polysemic. When it comes to songs, the lyrics tell only part of the story. It's not just the sounds and words that have meaning; form, melody, rhythm, timbre, instruments and vocal character play a role in creating this meaning. Even, sometimes a musical genre or style can be perceived as the transmitter of a set of emotions as in the case of laments or a set of ideas as in the case of the attribution of classical music to the upper classes or the negative meanings attributed to the heavy metal audience. We saw a close example during the BOUN Resistance. With the Presidential decree at midnight on January 1, 2021, former Haliç University rector Prof. Dr. Melih Bulu was appointed, and with the objections to this decision, the BOUN campus witnessed an expanding resistance from students and faculty members to employees and graduates[18]. After the appointed rector stated in a TV program he attended that he also listened to metal and hard rock, the next day, the students continued to protest the irregular assignment by playing Metallica and dancing on campus. *Yeni Akit* newspaper (URL-3), from the pro-government media, implied that the students were 'threatening with death' by referring to the 'blood-chilling' [in their terms] lyrics of the song 'Master of Puppets' and the dance of the students (Dance of Death) as evident.

Some musical forms encourage more collectivity. With the rise of new social movements, especially in times of action where participants from various countries and cultures come together, rhythmic forms have become more and more popular. In this case, when there is no common spoken language, a composition of rhythm, sound, movement and dance becomes the common language. Especially, rhythm instruments have a rich scale suitable for playing together. While some require a more professional performance experience, they also allow the participants to participate in collective performance by simply making certain beats in a common rhythmic structure. In

[18] During the time this chapter was written, the framework of the ongoing resistance expanded, and in addition to the demand for academic and scientific freedom, it has been settled on a 'pursuit of rights and justice' against all forms of oppression. Although the trustee rector has been dismissed and a new rector Naci İnci has been assigned, the resistance is still going on in BOUN campus.

addition to conventional instruments, any object that makes a sound can become a rhythm instrument. The sense of unity given by singing marches or march-like songs together is provided by being a part of the rhythm group this time. However, while everyone sings the same melody in chorus with the same words in the marches; in rhythmic forms, you can be a part of the collective through different rhythmic layers that are interwoven around a common rhythmic axis. In other words, 'unity in diversity,' which is the emphasis of new social movements, is also possible through the rhythm element and a wide range of percussion family. Noise and loud noise also constitute an important tactic of such demonstrations, as can be seen in these new forms of protest. Noise, that is, unorganized sound, becomes a result and also an indicator of decentralized and non-hierarchical structuring. The loud voice functions as a way of doubling the protest effect, conveying criticism as well as anger, as well as determination in the struggle. In this sense, the use of whistles and the playing of pans and pots in protests (the playing of pans and pots in medieval carnivals was used as a punishment method) can even turn into a musical element that expresses protest.

The open-ended meanings, images and symbols of music is something that separates music from ideology. So the music is certain and not pre-determined. As if by calling music as the carrier of political messages and symbols, it can be thought that the music that emerges in the context of social movements is similar to ideology. But ideology expresses the meaning more directly. On the other hand, as stated by Damodaran (2016), "music suggests interpretation, ideology commands it. Ideology tells one what to think, how to interpret, and what to do; music is much more ambiguous and open-ended and like any art form contains a utopian element. Music, like art generally, opens experience to the potentialities of life, but it does not necessarily proscribe or even describe them" (p. 46).

There is a fine line here between music as protest and music as being a weapon or a propaganda tool. Jameson and Eyerman add a dimension called 'exemplary action' to action categories. In the context of the social movements, it is possible to see this as a kind of symbolic aspect, a pioneering, paradigm-forming action that explains the ideals of the movement. As long as the music goes beyond its use as a propaganda tool or commercial use, it may be possible to become an 'aesthetic-exemplary action.'

1.5 Literature on Left-leaning Protest Music in Turkey

Regarding the literature on protest music in Turkey, we see that there are mostly works (either as a book or part of a book) providing a historical perspective (biography, document, historical narratives of a genre of music or a band): Biographies (Coşkun, 1986; Aya, 1998; Öktem, 2000, et al.); reviews, period studies or thematic studies (Ünlü, 2004; Dilmener, 2003; Ok, 1994; Kutluk, 1996; Tireli, 2005, 2007; Meriç 2006; Canbazoğlu 2009; Gündoğar, 2005; Kahyaoğlu, 2003 and 2010, et al.), as well as the ones based on self-group experience and written upon historical/archival research and interviews (Akkaya and Çelik, 2006; Akkaya et al., 2008). To these, one should add the book with a broader historical perspective *Cumhuriyet'in Sesleri* (Voices of the Republic) (Paçacı, 1996) and a special series of four books (on 50s, 60s, 70s, and 80s of Turkey) prepared by Derya Bengi (2016, 2017, 2018, 2019) in the form of a glossary called *Sazlı Cazlı Sözlük* (Dictionary with *Saz* and Jazz) which provides readers with a quite colorful perspective tracing also the history of Turkey through the window of music.

I benefited from the aformentioned resources to write the musical background of the periods I dealt with. Among them, especially, I would count the names of Orhan Kahyaoğlu's book on the most important and long term example of political group music in Turkey, Group Yorum, namely *And Dağları'ndan Anadolu'ya Devrimci Müzik Geleneği ve 'Sıyrılıp Gelen' Grup Yorum* (2004) (*From Andes to Anatolia the revolutionary music tradition and 'Sıyrılıp Gelen' Group Yorum*); Murat Meriç's book on Turkey's popular music history, namely *Pop Dedik* (*We said pop*), ranging from *kanto*[19] to marches, from former *aranjman*s (arrangements) to *hafif müzik*, from tango to jazz, from Eurovision songs to covers, from Anatolian pop/rock examples to protest music, from soldiers' songs to peace songs, from workers' songs to wedding songs, from prison songs to road songs; and Naim Dilmener's book focusing on the historical development of *Hafif Türk Pop Tarihi* (History of Light Turkish Pop) named after a song known as one of the first pop music examples in Turkey '*Bak Bir Varmış Bir Yokmuş*' (Look, once upon a time).

[19] *Kanto* is a song form in *tuluat* (improvisation) theatre sung by a female artist and a dance accompanied by this song. The word *kanto* has passed into Turkish from the Italian word *cantare* (to sing).

I would like to mention the following two books more in detail in terms of their relevance. Firstly, the book written by Orhan Kahyaoğlu (2004) in which Grup Yorum is treated as a 'symbol' in the leftist tradition, beyond being a music group, starts with a historical perspective on protest music in the world and in Turkey. Grup Yorum is placed within this context as of the sources it is affected by. In addition to Grup Yorum's musical adventure, the political pressures they suffered and the stance developed against these pressures are explained in the book. Grup Yorum is regarded here as a group that "has not given up against repression, has insisted on an organized struggle, has not attached importance to monetary issues, has not allowed individuals within the group to come to the fore, disturbed the rulers and has been able to protect itself over the years." Grup Yorum, as an organized group, often (especially in later stages) turned the relationship between music and politics in favor of politics, turning music into a propaganda tool and in this context increasingly moving away from a research perspective and throwing musical concerns into the background. Of course, analysis of the group's course goes beyond the limits of this thesis. An important aspect of the book for this thesis is that it examines the sense of belonging that Yorum has created on the audience.

The second book to be mentioned is Sinan Gündoğar's book *Halk Şiirindeki Protesto Geleneğinden Günümüz Politik Şarkılarına: Muhalif Müzik* (2005) (Protest tradition in folk Poetry, today's political songs: Oppositional music). In his book, Gündoğar draws a broad historical perspective for the reader. It deals with the tradition of criticism, rebellion and protest in folk poetry from the Anatolian Seljuk State to the Turkish Republic. It looks at how this protest tradition, both in the field of music of *âşık*s and in the field of leftist/dissident music, is continued through the Republican era. The effects of the 1980 coup and its aftermath on music are explained and the musicians who continued to work in a political context are evaluated. Similarly, new oppositional names and music groups that emerged in the 1990s are also mentioned in their own specificity. While filling an important gap in terms of political and dissident music history in Turkey by making strong evaluations in the historical political and musical context, the fact that no source is cited as a reference to the aforementioned information and evaluations unfortunately prevents the book from being included as a reference in an academic study.

The pioneering role and reference value of Ruhi Su in the left's musical tradition is well-known, however his musical legacy has not been studied in detail either under the roof of or outside the academy. Hence, the most basic source about him happened to be his own writings and interviews in order to understand his ideas and approaches historically. Due to this absence, I consciously decided to give a wide space in my thesis on Ruhi Su, using the book *Ezgili Yürek* (Heart with melody) (2010) as the primary source, which included articles written by Ruhi Su in various periods and interviews with him on the themes such as 'appropriate performance of folk songs,' 'polyphony of folk songs' and 'music and revolution.'

Within the academy, we see that an important theme in sociological or culturally oriented academic studies on music in Turkey is *arabesk*. A study on *arabesk* music was not considered legitimate at one time, but entered the field after introduced by Meral Özbek and has become the popular and fruitful subject of the last two decades in the academy[20]. The book *Popüler Kültür ve Orhan Gencebay Arabeski* (1991) (Popular culture and the *arabesk* of Orhan Gencebay) was originally prepared by Meral Özbek in 1989 as a doctoral thesis in Political Sciences within Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Fakültesi (AÜSBF) (Ankara University Faculty of Social Sciences). In this context, the book presents a broad theoretical framework from the theory of modernization to approaches to popular culture. Besides social-historical processes, the music policies in Turkey are included in the context of the factors that paved the way for the emergence of *arabesk*. The book also adds an in-depth interview with Orhan Gencebay and the thematic analysis of the lyrics.

Another important theme that have come to the fore is the issue of ethnic-cultural identities and their music as a site of resistance. A major example is Nilüfer Taşkın's book *Bu Bir İsyan Şarkısı Değil! Lazlar, Kimlik, Müzik* (2016) (This is not a song of rebellion! Lazs, identity, music) which was also shaped as a master's thesis at BOUN Sociology Department in 2011. The book examines the connection of ethnicity to music through *Laz* identity by placing it within the social context. Studies on music and identity have increased in the academic field of Turkey, as in the world, especially since the mid-'90s. In this study, the concept of identity is considered not as a given and fixed process, but as a process in a state of constant change and reconstruction.

[20] For other valuable academic studies on *arabesk*, especially see Stokes (1998), Güngör (1990) et al.

How identity is constantly redefined through the Laz identity from the pre-nation state to the process of nationalization is discussed. The focus is on the role of music and anecdotes (*fıkra*) in the formation of the Laz identity as a sub-identity of the nation-state. On the other hand, examples of how to take a stand against these power relations are also discussed. In this context, it is shown how different choices are possible against the system through examples such as the musicians Kazım Koyuncu, Birol Toplaoğlu and Ayşenur Kolivar. One of the identities marginalized both in the nation-state process and in the dominant view of the left is the Laz identity. Perhaps there is no exclusion or neglection as in the Kurdish identity or non-Muslims, but there is a sub-identity, a cartoonish representation of Laz identity with *corrupt* (!) Turkish has been produced. On the musical level, for example, the Black Sea repertoire is included in the TRT repertoire but has been detached from its origins. For example, the use of *bağlama* instead of *kemençe* (a string instrument played with bow) and *tulum* (a wind instrument similar to gaida), which are the characteristic instruments of the tradition used in different regions, causes distortions in the musical structure (for a detailed discussion see Stokes, 1997). I can count this book as a sister work to mine, both in terms of the subject it deals with and the way it approaches to the subject. However, it also differs from this thesis in that it remains as a study within the limits of of music sociology and does not include a musical analysis dimension, which is also not the author's claim.

Our most related example with the case of this thesis which started as a doctoral thesis and later printed as a book is İlkay Kara's *Bir Politik Anlatı Olarak Ahmet Kaya Şarkıları/Açık Yaranın Sesi* (Ahmet Kaya's songs as a political narrative/The voice of open wound) (2019)[21]. Looking at the reflections of Ahmet Kaya's life onto his songs, Kara deals with the political attitudes in Ahmet Kaya's songs as a kind of resistance and 'the voice of unhealed wounds' (*kapanmayan yaraların sesi*). She also tries to reveal the meanings produced by the social opposition in Turkey over time, through Ahmet Kaya songs. The author tries to reveal Ahmet Kaya's perspectives on the past, present and future through his lyrics by tracing the following themes in his repertoire: Songs reminiscent of the struggle experience; mourning songs; songs with pain; songs

[21] For a book on Ahmet Kaya with biographical accounts, see Ferzende Kaya's *Başım Belada* (2005) published by GAM publications. There are also other books but I haven't taken them into account to avoid speculations since they were published without the permisson of Kaya family.

of denunciation, betrayal, and fear; songs of shopkeepers, factory girls, workers; songs of hunger and poverty; love songs; the songs sung to the mountains, the songs about the Kurdish question. These themes sit on a theoretical basis throughout the book. She speaks about the relations between politics and the emotional states that it attaches to, provokes, and resists, and the maps of collective identity and understanding built by the social struggle. As the author mentions in her introduction (p. 51), this book has been built through the lyrics of the songs and the musical evaluation has been excluded. However, there is an effort here from within the social sciences formation. This [my] thesis, on the other hand, begins where the valuable work of dear İlkay Kara left off.

When it comes to the dissertations (either masters or doctorate) unpublished on protest music in Turkey, I can count Ozan Eren's doctoral thesis called *Türkiye'de Protest Müzik Alt Alanı/Kardeş Türküler Örneği* (Protest music sub-field in Turkey/The case of *Kardeş Türküler*) (2017) as one of the most detailed and valuable studies in the field. There are also two focus points in this study as of mine: Firstly, it discusses and interrogates the roots of protest music as a sub-field in Turkey beginning from the 1960s. Then, based on a structural historical and a sociological research conducted on *Kardeş Türküler*, defined as "an avant-garde music group based on the principle of cultural pluralism" is presented. Theoretically, the thesis discusses what it means to construct sociology of music based on Bourdieusian sociological theory of art, "devoted to the analysis of structural history" (p. xi). Considering that the interactive fields such as political field and musical field influence and shape each other, Bourdieu's holistic approach is taken as a basis. In this respect, the historical development of sociology of music as well as the studies on sociology of music in Turkey, the general history of protest music worldwide and the roots of protest music sub-field in Turkey are examined throughout the thesis. This study -such as Nilüfer Taşkın's- is also a brother of mine. Although Eren's thesis gives more place to musical analysis, it is more accurate to define it still as a study within the borders of music sociology.

The study titled *Âşık Geleneğinden Protest Müziğe Ali Asker Örneği* (The case of Ali Asker from *âşık* tradition to protest music), prepared by Selçuk Duran in 2014 as a master thesis in Social Sciences Institute of Mimar Sinan Final Arts University is among a handful of studies on protest music tradition in Turkey. Duran deals with

protest music on the axis of the concepts of 'hegemony' and 'counter-hegemony' in this study and places the example of Ali Asker as the 'organic intellectual of the proletariat' in this context. In the study, which examines the tradition of *âşık*s as a field of struggle in its historical context, as in this thesis, the concept of tradition is approached in the context of 'invented traditions' (Hobsbawm, 1983). Duran also takes a look at the course of protest music in the world and in Turkey within the scope of his thesis. He examines the life of the artist, his works, the transition stages and changes in his music in the light of this background. In this sense, he tries to look at 'music and protest,' or 'musical resistance/rebellion tradition' in Turkey through Ali Asker's musical adventure. He defines Ali Asker's musical journey as a journey that begins within the *âşık* tradition and then evolves into protest music with the introduction of modern concepts and urban elements into his music. Musical analysis, behind lyrics, is not included since this work is also produced within the discipline of music sociology. I would like to state that I have placed this thesis, which is a very systematic and comprehensive study according to a master's thesis, in an important place.

When it comes to the studies inspired me, I would like to mention two in particular. As I mentioned earlier, for the purposes of this thesis, I refer to the field of study as the 'protest music tradition' in relation with the socialist/leftist movement and thought in Turkey. I think that a musical tradition of protest has been developed within the leftist culture in the pioneering of Ruhi Su which I call as the 'left-leaning protest music tradition'[22] and I take this process in the context of 'inventing/making of tradition.' The work that allowed me to explore this connection and to develop an understanding of the perspective of the left's tradition-building is an article by Murat Küçük, namely '*Türkiye'de Sol Düşünce ve Aleviler*' (Leftist thought and *Alevi*s in Turkey) in the book *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Sol* (*Political thought in modern Turkey: The left*) (2007)[23]. In this article Küçük suggests that the subject of *Alevism* entered into the agenda of socialist intellectuals through the folklore studies carried out in the Republican era (p. 901) and that from 1938, this accumulation has begun to be handled with the social aspects outside the national perspective with the

[22] I use the terms 'musical tradition of protest' and 'protest music tradition' interchangeably. Also I use the terms 'music of protest' and 'protest music' interchangeably where needed.
[23] The back cover of the book provides information about the target of the book series as "targeting an analytical assessment of certain currents of thought of the Republic of Turkey, on the basis of political stands and their effects."

works of Pertev Naili Boratav (p. 901) and that under the influence of Boratav, Ruhi Su turned to folk literature, hence towards the traditional *Alevi* poetry as an ideational resource and tool (p. 902) and that "Ruhi Su's works laid the foundations of a perspective through which *Alevism* was not considered a religion with an aim to ensure an ideological identity, but taken as a philosophy, a life style, or the ideology of the oppressed" (p. 904).

Another important work that inspired me was İlhan Başgöz's article '*Türk Halk Edebiyatında Protesto Geleneği'* (The tradition of protest in Turkish folk literature) (1986, pp. 181-191)[24], which was found in the compilation book *Folklore Writings* (1986) including the author's articles published in various journals between 1943 and 1981. In this article, Başgöz states that the traces of the tradition of protest in Turkish folk poetry in terms of 'criticism, condemnation, ridicule, satire' extend to the 13th century, and points out that in Turkish *âşık* poetry, protest first developed in *tekke*s (dervish lodges):

> Due to the difficulty of confronting the oppression and structure of family, relation, village and tribal communities and making discreteness, and the absence in medieval society of institutions that will protect the artist whose ideas are distinct, protest in our *âşık* poem first appeared and developed in *tekke*s. (1986, p.183)

According to Başgöz, since the Sunnî *tekke*s themselves were already discerning nests in the understanding of religion, the protesting *âşık* was avoiding being separated here and even moved to the position of *nefer*, the spokesperson of the opposition here, and the infrastructure of the ridicules of many *âşık*s from Yunus Emre to Pîr Sultan Abdal was set by the *tekke*s (1986, p.183). In the continuation of the article, Başgöz provides examples of how the tradition of protest in folk poetry had undergone transformations through various historical processes until the mid-1970s.

I borrowed the term 'tradition of protest' from Başgöz's article and it helped me with defining the musical-cultural space I work in as 'protest music tradition' or 'musical tradition of protest' with a reference to the tradition constructed here as outlined earlier, rather than the musical categories such as 'protest music,' 'revolutionary

[24] The first version of the article was published in the *Politika* newspaper-magazine in July 1976.

music,' 'music of resistance,' etc. which, according to me, have specific uses in specific contexts. On the other hand, I fundamentally diverge from Başgöz at a critical point -on the axis of approaching this accumulation formed over the centuries in Anatolia as 'Turkish folk poetry.' He originally put forward scientific and objective studies without being involved in the nationalist prevailing paradigm in the field of folklore; hence, he may have used this phrase through looking at the language. Considering the date of the article [1976], it might have been early to speak of such issues. Nevertheless, I have to provide my own critical approach on this issue.

In particular, the researches and audio-and-visual resources that have been put forward since the 1990s point to the cultural variety created by various peoples, such as Armenians, Greeks, Kurds, Assyrians, etc. who have been living on Anatolian soil before the arrival of Turks for centuries. There's a tradition of *âşık-ozan* in these communities, too. For example, the 'Tradition of *Aşuğ*' chapter of the book *Classical Ottoman Music and Armenians* (2010) prepared by Aram Kerovpyan and Altuğ Yılmaz suggests the name '*kusan*' as the oldest term used in Armenian for the tradition of *âşık-ozan* tradition met in the work of Historian Movses Khorenatsi, who is considered to have lived in the 5th century. He mentioned "folk poets (*kusan*) who wrote and composed poems about important events" (p. 38) in the book *Badmutyun Hoyots* (History of Armenians). In the continuation of the article, it is mentioned that the most important feature of Armenian *âşık*s is that they were multilingual and that many Armenian *âşık*s instilled *Alevism* over time, while some have entered the Bektashi order without converting (p. 38).

Together with migration to Anatolia, in the 13th century, different cultures met in Anatolia and probably influenced each other. Of course, for that period, we speak from the point of view of language groups, because nation is a much newer concept. It is obvious that the *âşık-ozan* tradition flourished in Anatolia was a product of that cultural plurality. Presumably, these interactions cover the content under an obscure heading of 'anonymous folk culture/literature.' On the other hand, revealing examples of this argument exceeds the limits of this thesis. Nevertheless, it is inevitable in terms of the cultural pluralist perspective that this thesis is based on, to point out the existence of different traditions that have developed in mutual exchange by interconnecting within the common cultural basin.

1.6 Outline of Chapters

The next chapter covers a historical and sociological insight into the time period, in which Ahmet Kaya and his music had come into prominence, and which had been influential for the musical and political journey of Ahmet Kaya, which will be covered in distinct periods and with regard to the relevant milestones. The 1980 military intervention and its socio-political aftermath, reactions against the coup and the new social movements, the rise and/or restructuring of the left, labour movements, Kurdish insurgency, and the new sociocultural channels of opposition will be the main topics of concern. The coup and the subsequent neoliberal restructuring of the country paved the way for a rapid and seemingly irreversible transformation in almost all quarters of the society. The general socio-political outlook of the country changed by the demonization of politics as replaced by apolitical pragmatism and by the massive demographic upheaval in the urban structure, due to domestic migration, rise of a new middle class, and consumption culture. The inevitable consequences thereof revealed the introduction and widespread adoption of new values and deepening cultural and political 'ruptures' and generation gaps. The new institutions backed and encouraged by the neoliberal government extended the area of dominance and surveillance of the state in arts and culture via so-called professional organizations such as *Müzik Eserleri Sahipleri Meslek Birliği* (MESAM) (Musical Work Owners' Society of Turkey) and *Sinema Eserleri Sahipleri Meslek Birliği* (SESAM) (Turkish Cinematographic Work Owners' Society).

The third chapter aims to present the substantive content of the left-leaning protest music tradition in Turkey until 1990s. On one hand, it focuses to characterize the values and central ideas that are articulated and the ways in which those articulations are mobilized by the left in relation with music, whereas on the other, it focuses attention on the musical sources and practices around the key references through which protest tradition is expressed in different periods.

In fourth chapter, the criticisms Ahmet Kaya had from musical and political circles in the 1980s, scoped through written press, in relation with the debates around the musical categories such as *arabesk*, *özgün müzik* and *devrimci-arabesk* will be presented.

The fifth chapter aims to analyse the musical accumulation of Ahmet Kaya in terms of content (lyrical themes) and the descriptive musical elements of his style and performance. Also certain examples of Ahmet Kaya's music will be further analysed in terms of content, time period, political or protest signs and symbols, performance, musical attitude, and any references to the then current socio-political context in Turkey with a special attention to finding the linguistic, musical, political, social hybridisms that marked his music and life.

The final chapter will sum up the findings of the study and provide as regards the distinctive elements of Ahmet Kaya's music; its social, cultural, and political aspects and effects, and the interrelation between Ahmet Kaya's music and the society in general, and the leftist music world in particular. Al final, the chapter will provide an account of Ahmet Kaya as an icon of the protest music in Turkey in the light of his biography, milestones and distinctive periods of his musical journey, and his political orientation.

2. HIS-STORY: THE SOCIO-POLITICAL BACKGROUND (1960s-1990s) in ACCORDANCE with AHMET KAYA'S STORY

After defining the objectives and the scope of my research in relation with some major theoretical approaches of the field in the Introduction Chapter, now it's time to describe the social-political context of the period in relation with the story of Ahmet Kaya[25].

Since the thesis has two focus points, this chapter needs to cover the socio-political background for both research areas. Hence we have here two levels of organizational scheme. At first level, my research is organized around the periods whose limits are defined in relation with the major socio-political changes. In order to be practical, I will first divide the period under scope as decades like 1960s, 1970s, 1980s and 1990s under each of which the social-political context of the period and the major treads in the related musical field are aimed to be defined. Although I am aware that none of the political/social developments or the evolution of musical styles can be analyzed within the certain limits of these decades, still there is some logic behind this periodization since some of the critical points in Turkey's social/political history meet with the beginnings of these decades whose repercussions could be followed in the realm of music as well. For example, the military coups in 1960, 1971, and 1980 all marked the dates of social/cultural change in some ways. Also the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s had witnessed many developments in Turkey as well as worldwide which had a direct or indirect impact on the rise of identity politics in Turkey. We can also follow the repercussions of these critical points in Kaya's musical life.

The 1980 military intervention and its sociopolitical aftermath, reactions against the coup and the new social movements, the rise and/or restructuring of the left, labor

[25] Regarding the historical data about the socio-political background included in this chapter, apart from the sources mentioned within the related the quotations, the book titled *1960'tan Günümüze Türkiye Tarihi* (Turkish History from 1960 to the Present) written by Suavi Aydın and Yüksel Taşkın (2014) and the data gathered during my personal communications with Alişan Akpınar -as an author and historian- were basically used.

movements, Kurdish insurgency and the new sociocultural channels of opposition will be the main topics of concern. The coup and the subsequent neoliberal restructuring of the country paved the way for a rapid and seemingly irreversible transformation in almost all quarters of the society. The general sociopolitical outlook of the country changed by the demonization of politics as replaced by apolitical pragmatism and by the massive demographic upheaval in the urban structure due to domestic migration, rise of a new middle class and consumption culture. The inevitable consequences thereof revealed the introduction and widespread adoption of new values and deepening cultural and political 'ruptures' and generation gaps. The new institutions backed and encouraged by the neoliberal government extended the area of dominance and surveillance of the state in arts and culture via so-called professional organizations.

At the second level of organization, the periods in relation with Ahmet Kaya's story will be given as the subdivisions such as 'childhood,' 'formation years,' 'breakthrough,' 'popularization,' 'further popularization,' 'the impact of Kurdish Movement,' 'exile, death and postmortem.' In order to provide parallelisms, if any, between Ahmet Kaya's music and its socio-political context, we need to first outline his musical life in distinct periods. Although his music will be further elaborated through the musical analysis in Chapter 5, here we can start to underscore the milestones in his life and musical journey. The title, socio-political context of Ahmet Kaya's musical journey may be misleading to an extent that it may imply that (i) there are consistent analogies with the socio-political context of both his music, and musical sphere in Turkey and that (ii) Ahmet Kaya's musical life can be divided into certain period characterised by certain socio-political contexts. In this chapter, the aim is to obtain a mere matrix of his works and their socio-political context in comparison with the socio-political context of the country.

Ahmet Kaya had no formal or traditional formation. He didn't attend to a formal musical school, nor he had experience in the 'traditional' musical genres such as *âşık*s or *ozan*s. He had been a dilettante during his childhood and youth. The unfruitful post-coup period, the desolation of art and especially the oppositional music fields combined with his courage and talent helped him with accomplishing a breakthrough. After a few recitals here and there, he came to a point to launch his own albums. A limited budget and solidarity of friends were more than enough to start a career in music. Therefore it was not only Ahmet Kaya's perfect mix of political content and

the mixed musical genre of folk-*arabesk*-pop/rock that allowed his breakthrough, but also the oppressed and therefore deserted and unproductive sphere of music.

Ahmet Kaya made his breakthrough with *Şafak Türküsü* (Ballad of dawn) (May 1986) album. The main theme of the songs in this period including '*Şafak Türküsü*' was associated with the mood of the leftist circles following the September 12th coup; the themes of defeat, death, and prison frequently occurred in his pieces. The inmates, their families, and certain leftist-democrat circles were the first to embrace Ahmet Kaya and help him to be known in this period.

After Ahmet Kaya made his breakthrough, his audition expanded beyond the leftist circles. In this period he became renowned, a popular figure and he was subjected to heavy criticisms both from musical critics and political opponents, although the debate on his music started in the previous period. The years 1987-1990 were marked with the famous *arabesk* and *devrimci-arabesk* debates around Ahmet Kaya and his music, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

Ahmet Kaya considered his music as 'a transitional music of a period of transition' (*geçiş döneminin geçiş müziği*). For him, in this transitional period, the only way to reach out large masses was to use *makam*s, to transmit the sounds that the people are accustomed to. He described his main goal in the next stage as raising the awareness of young people who lack political consciousness. Although he was criticized for "creating a degeneration in the field of revolutionary art and culture" due to his musical choices and singing style, he had supporters including Atilla İlhan, who considered Ahmet Kaya's music as "a sort of music of objection," and Cem Karaca, who emphasized that "Ahmet Kaya's music is right" (for a detailed discussion see Chapter 4).

Mostly due to the rising Kurdish movement in the 1990s, Ahmet Kaya started to reflect his Kurdish identity and Kurdish struggle in his music. 'Fraternity of peoples' and specifically the 'fraternity of Kurdish and Turkish people' became the central themes of his political discourse and songs. Ahmet Kaya increasingly became the symbol of the Kurds in the field of music. However, he also had a more comprehensive political stance during this late period and opposed to the other forms of oppression along with his ever-present leftist and recent Kurdish discourse.

After he had to leave the country after the MGD event (February 10th, 1999) and political lynch attempts at mass media, his exile years started. He started to be much more engaged in the Kurdish movement, attending to events organized by various instutions. Although his latest album *Hoşçakalın Gözüm* (Farewell my beloved) (2001) was work-in process during this period, it had to be released after his death. After Ahmet Kaya's death in November 16th, 2000, his music started to be quickly adopted by the musicians from different and even antagonist political tendencies. Naturally the content, i.e. the lyrics, were quite different, yet there were incredible similarities in the form and musical sound. Together with the so called 'peace process' in late 2000s he became 'legitimate' and rehabilitated by the government.

The distinctive periods of Ahmet Kaya's musical journey may help with a better understanding of his music and provide elements for a realistic criticism. There are many milestones that may be used for the basics of such periodization such as formal changes (in genre of music), contextual changes (in themes), political changes (in political climate of the country and/or in political inclination of Ahmet Kaya), changes in the way Ahmet Kaya made music, popularization, politicization etc. To do so, the chronological flow of Ahmet Kaya's musical life can be taken as a basis. However, it is important to note that such a periodization attempt is only suggestive and abstraction that would help with better mapping his musical life.

Such a periodization attempt should also take into account how Ahmet Kaya used to define himself as a musician and his music, how the critics and the general public defined him as a musician and his music, and finally how a retrospective reading of his works and musical life defines him and his music. For the purposes of this thesis, following the milestones in the socio-political context in accordance with Kaya's story is suggested as an approach in the periodization of Ahmet Kaya's musical life. Accordingly, his musical accumulation, relevant debates on his music, his artistic personality that may span more than one period will be included in detail in the Chapters 4 and 5.

2.1 1960s/Childhood

2.1.1 Ahmet, the *loş dudak*[26]

Ahmet Kaya was born on 28 October 1957, in Malatya, as the fourth child of a five-children family. His father was of Kurdish origin from Adıyaman and mother was of Turkish origin from Erzurum.

Ahmet Kaya opened his eyes to the world in the political atmosphere of the late 1950s. The 1950s were marked with a shift to the multi-party parliamentarian regimes throughout the world in the relatively peaceful atmosphere of the post-World War II years. Beginning with the 1950s, liberal democracies became popular together with an increased influence and the intervention of U.S.A. as the net winner of World War II.

In Turkey, Demokrat Parti (DP) (Democratic Party) was founded in 1946, a blow to the single-party regime of the Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (CHP) (Republican People's Party). DP held meetings against the single-party regime and used a libertarian discourse supported by the various intellectuals in the country. As a result, DP won the elections in 1950. DP government maintained a pro-Western policy in almost all the fields from an extensive liberalization of foreign trade, to sending troops to Korea. The latter paved the way for Turkey to be included in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). In line with its allies, Turkey did not extend support to independence movements in the Arab world against the British and French, and became one of the first countries in the world that recognized Israel. In domestic politics, DP adopted an increasingly suppressive attitude. As a result DP was removed from political power by the May 27th, 1960 military coup.

Subsequently, a Junta government was established, martial law was declared, and the DP was closed. A year later, the leading members of the DP were tried at Yassıada hearings; Prime Minister Adnan Menderes, Fatin Rüştü Zorlu and Hasan Polatkan were sentenced to death (and executed), where 11 DP members were sentenced to life imprisonment. The execution of Menderes and his compatriots turns out to be one of the bloody events of the political history of Turkey. In 1961, Adalet Partisi (AP) (Justice Party) was established as a new alternative to the right-wing along with

[26] Referring to those years, Mustafa Kaya, the elder brother says that Ahmet Kaya's nickname was then *loş dudak*, which meant 'big lips' in Kurdish (Kaya, 2005).

Türkiye İşçi Partisi (TİP) (Labor Party of Turkey), which would quickly bring socialists under its roof. The Constitution was adopted by the referendum on 9th of July in 1961 and a coalition government of the AP-CHP headed by İsmet İnönü was established upon the first general election after the coup. The new constitution recognized some rights and freedoms, albeit limited.

As for the political environment of Ahmet Kaya's place of birth, Malatya was a special place, where there was an intensive *Alevi-Sunni* conflict and Rightists- Leftists conflict (formerly CHP versus DP/AP tension). The fault line between the *Alevi*s and *Sunni*s was created by the policies of the so-called central rightist parties by means of relying upon religious motives, rise of conservatist values, manipulation of public, instigating the *Sunni* majority against other sects, and finally increased pressure on *Alevi*s. This religious tension was translated into a political divide, where *Alevi*s became more akin to support the 'leftist' party, i.e. CHP whereas *Alevi* youth approached to radical left. During the 1965 elections where AP called itself a rightist party, TİP declared it was leftist. İsmet İnönü, on the other hand, said "we are in the middle, but towards the left of the middle (*ortanın solu*)." Bülent Ecevit, adopting that discourse, would overthrow İnönü thereafter. The tension between the 'right' and the 'left' started at those periods. Malatya had been an intricate place in between the aforementioned two fault lines. It can be suggested that Ahmet Kaya must have felt such tensions deeply, although he was only a child then. It is safe to assume that, like the politicial atmosphere of the period, his family origins and cultural geography must have definitely had an important role in the emergence and shaping of his musical talent, as we will cover below.

2.1.2 Discovery of talent, passion and struggle

Generally in the Eastern societies, most of the musicians, who have attained a certain level with their own struggle without receiving any formal education, in time they have taken advantage of above and enjoyed the conditions that trigger a free creation process without having to be squeezed within certain patterns. Their musical talent emerges at a very young age and many have mischievous but touching stories that tell of their passion for music. In his various interviews Kaya mentions how he made his first instrument when he was only five years old. He attached wires from an electrical cable to a wooden board he founded in a construction site and gave a recital to the

chickens inside a coop! This talent, which is recognized at an early age, passes on from a close relative, usually an uncle or an aunt, or at least they have a big contribution in their story:

> Ahmet's passion for music flourished in Bıstıkan village of Adıyaman's Çelikhan town. His father Mahmut Kaya used to send entire family to their uncle residing at the village during the summer holidays. They used to stay there for three months at the house of their uncle Yusuf Kaya, who was renowned as Deli Yusuf (Yusuf the Mad) in the village. Deli Yusuf was a very talented *dengbej*. He used to climb up to the roof and sing *kilams* aloud during the long and hot summer nights. He also used to play tambour very good. (Kaya, 2002)

Ahmet's father was a worker at Sümerbank textiles factory. They used to organize workers' nights in the factory. There were not many places the workers could have entertained themselves then. At that time, the nights organized by the trade unions were the places for family entertainment. Workers' nights and civil servants' nights were held separately. In one of his narratives, Ahmet Kaya describes this distinction that he felt as a child:

> They used to organize workers' nights in the factory on Mondays, Tuesdays then. Those days we could not go near to the houses of the factory officers; it was not possible. There were children of the officers. Their houses, neighborhoods were different. We, the children of the workers could not attend to their entertainment nights. (Süreya, 1989)

Âşık culture was strong in the region. Folk poets used to wander from village to village and played in coffeehouses, tea gardens, casinos and workers' or civil servants' nights. Of course, they used to play *bağlama* during their performances. Ahmet's sympathy for *bağlama* also began during these nights. He was passionate about *bağlama* but he could not ask his father to buy him one, where they couldn't find bread to eat. Yet his father understood his passion, he did not delay it. He bought him a *bağlama*, when he was 6 years old:

> One day, when I came home, they told me, "we have a surprise for you; your father bought something for you." I saw a *cura* on the wall, with my portrait

> photo attached onto it. A small *cura*… I said, I don't want… I started to weep suddenly. I cried for hours for I had an instrument now. (Süreya, 1989)

In the same interview, Kaya tells how he learned to play it in 21 days! He learned to play *bağlama* by himself. Previously he used to play secretly his uncle's tambour in the village and his maternal uncle's *bağlama* in Malatya. After he had his own *bağlama*, he began to practice for 12 hours a day. Even that he used to skip class and work for hours at the field.

The talent recognized by the family would also undergo a period of 'recognition' by the immediate environment. In the second half of the 1960s, July 24th was celebrated as the Workers' Day and they used to participate in the celebrations. Ahmet's father's trade union was a part of Türkiye İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu (Türk-İş) (Turkish Confederation of Trade Unions), which was known for its reconciliatory approach towards the government. Ahmet was called to play in these celebrations and became famous in that respect. They used to go to Elazığ, Gaziantep on jeeps. He used to play *bağlama* and sing in various night events. In the meantime, his-story also begins to unfold.

2.1.3 Workers, peasants, and students

After the military coup in 27th of May, 1960, while on one hand all the parliaments of the government were judged by the military court, on the other hand, people of Turkey were beginning to meet with rights and freedoms (though limited) with the new constitution in 1961[27]. Surely all of these had an impact in the rising of awareness among the working classes (Baydar, 2006, p. 28). Meanwhile, the political spectrum started to change. On 27th of October in 1965, Süleyman Demirel's AP came to power and TİP secured 3% of the votes in the 1965 elections in 54 provinces and thus managed to have 15 seats in *Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi* (TBMM) (Grand National Assembly of Turkey). This was the first time in Turkey's history to have members from a socialist party within the Parliament. On 12-13th of February in 1967, Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu (DİSK) (Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions)

[27] On 28th of January 1962, the workers were given the right to strike; 147 faculty members, who were expelled from universities after the coup were returned to their duties; on 24th of July 1963, Trade Unions and Collective Bargaining, Strike and Lockout Laws came into force, etc. 24th of July, the day the said laws came into force, was considered to be celebrated as the workers' day instead of May 1, but it was not generally accepted by the public.

was founded. DİSK was born at a time when relatively broader rights and freedoms had been recognized by the Constitution of 1961, the trade Union acts of 1964 accepted the right of the workers to collective bargaining and strike, and revolutionary movements gained momentum on the political arena. The first general assembly meeting of DİSK took place in Istanbul on 15th of June in 1967. Some of the resolutions adopted at the congress were as the following: supporting to the campaign R22, War Against Hunger launched by the student organizations, establishing a solidarity fund with the assistance of larger Unions to help the weaker ones, research on occupational diseases and accidents, and converting the DİSK newspaper into a weekly that would be distributed free of charge. A period marked with the strengthening of workers' organizations started and for instance large workers' protests were to be held on 15-16th of June in 1970 in Istanbul. It can be suggested that the social movement was enabled to flourish in the second half of the 1960s and the opposition (both political and civilian) started to revive including the developments in publishing, literature, cinema, and music.

On the other hand, anti-imperialist and anti-American protests began to manifest among the youth and student groups. On 30th of July in 1968, a demonstration was held in Istanbul against the 6th Fleet. During the demonstrations, Vedat Demircioğlu and Atalay Savaş were killed. On 10th of November in 1968, Deniz Gezmiş and his friends organized the 'Mustafa Kemal March for Independence from Samsun to Ankara.' On 23rd of September, Istanbul University student Taylan Özgür was killed in Istanbul. These people are from to the so called '68-generation, who would mark the first half of the '70s.

2.2 1970s/Formation Years

2.2.1 March 12th memorandum and its political aftermath

On 12th of March in 1971, the Chief of the General Staff, Memduh Tağmaç, handed the prime minister a memorandum that served as an ultimatum, urging "the formation, within the context of democratic principles, of a strong and credible government, which will neutralise the current anarchical situation and which, inspired by Atatürk's views, will implement the reformist laws envisaged by the constitution," putting an end to the "anarchy, fratricidal strife, and social and economic unrest." If the demands

were not met, the army would “exercise its constitutional duty” and take over power itself (Zürcher, 2004; Ahmad, 1993).

Professor Nihat Erim -a suitable candidate for both AP and “the more conservative faction of CHP including İnönü, who embraced the generals once they picked his close associate, but the party's general secretary Bülent Ecevit was infuriated and resigned from his post” (Zürcher, 2004), established a technocrat-based cabinet from outside (outside the prominent political figures or politicians in general). The newly founded government, partly appointed by the military, partly picked up Erim was to accommodate the demands of the military towards the ‘stabilization’ of the country.

This period was marked with subsequent political trials covering first the associations, trade unions, and political parties such as DİSK, *Devrimci Gençlik Dernekleri Federasyonu* (DEV-GENÇ) (Revolutionary Youth Assocations Federation), *Devrimci Doğu Kültür Ocakları* (DDKO) (Revolutionary Eastern Culture Organization), *Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası* (TÖS) (Teachers Trade Union of Turkey), TİP, Milli *Nizam Partisi* (MNP) (National Order Party). The second wave of proceedings targeted guerilla organizations that weighed an armed struggle, including *Türkiye Halk Kurtuluş Partisi-Cephesi* (THKP-C) (People's Liberation Party-Front of Turkey), *Türkiye Halk Kurtuluş Ordusu* (THKO) (People’s Liberation Army of Turkey), *Türkiye İhtilalci İşçi Köylü Partisi* (TİİKP) (Revolutionary Workers and Peasents Party of Turkey), *Türkiye Komünist Partisi/Marksist-Leninist* (TKP-ML) (Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist). Furthermore, a number of teachers, authors, lawyers, and scientists among others were put in jail.

On 16th of March, THKO leader Deniz Gezmiş was captured in Gemerek district of Sivas. On 31st of May 1971, THKO members Sinan Cemgil, Kadir Manga, and Alpaslan Özdoğan were killed in the Nurhak Mountains. THKP-C leaders, Mahir Çayan and Hüseyin took refugee in a house, taking hostage the daughter of a major. On 2nd of June 1971, Hüseyin Cevahir was killed and Mahir Çayan was captured. On 16th of August, the trial of Deniz Gezmiş and his friends began. On November 30th, Mahir Çayan and his friends escaped from Maltepe prison. Meanwhile, the libertarian provisions of the 1961 Constitution were either abolished or amended. On 10th of January in 1972, the Military Court of Cassation approved the death penalty against Deniz Gezmiş, Yusuf Aslan, and Hüseyin İnan and they were executed on 6th of May in 1972 in Ankara Central Closed Prison. Ulaş Bardakçı was killed on 19th of February

during the operations against THKP-C. On 30th of March, Mahir Çayan and ten members of THKP-C and THKO were killed in Kızıldere village of Niksar. Meanwhile, İsmet İnönü resigned from the CHP chairmanship and Bülent Ecevit was elected as the new CHP leader. On 29th of May in 1973, İbrahim Kaypakkaya was arrested and tortured to death on May 16th.

2.2.2 *Sucular* (Su fans) and *devrimciler* (revolutionists)

In 1969, Ahmet Kaya started working in his leisure time at a records shop run by Armenians in Malatya. He had lots of opportunities to listen to music. Young people frequently visited the shop: "They were young people in bell bottoms, who took pains to speak Turkish beautifully and always listened to Ruhi Su" (Süreya, 1989). Ahmet Kaya calls such young people as '*Sucular*' meaning the fans of Ruhi Su. The young people called as *Sucular* by Ahmet Kaya were nothing but a reflection on Turkey of the generation known as the generation '68 throughout the world, who had sensitivity for social issues.

As with many young people of the period, Ahmet Kaya started to sympathize with the left after the execution of Deniz Gezmiş and his comrades. This sympathy even brought at least an attempt to understand the cult figure of the left, Ruhi Su:

> I was surprised. I didn't understand what his miracle was and honestly I didn't like his music at all. The man was shouting aloud and I was asking, "Why do people like him anyway?" After the 'Deniz Gezmiş incident,' I started to grow sympathy towards the left. I started to reconcile Ruhi Su. I started to listen to him and even sing his songs. (Süreya, 1989)

2.2.3 From Malatya to Istanbul: The issue of migration

After his father was retired, they decided to move to Kocamustafapaşa, Istanbul in 1973 hoping to find better job opportunities. He had heard about Istanbul from his father since his childhood. They would go to Istanbul to find a job with better conditions but one day they would certainly return back to where they were born:

> We used to listen to him for hours. He'd say, "sea at Istanbul is not something you'd possibly know." Sea and the Maiden's would cross my mind, when someone refers to Istanbul […] He used to go to work at 11 o'clock in the night and return back at 7 o'clock in the morning. I used to meet him at 7 o'clock. He

> used to come with bread and halva and tell us about Istanbul sleeplessly for two hours. He'd say, "We will go to Istanbul; all of you will attend school there, all of you will work there," and there was a song he'd always sing. I loved it: "*Dilo em bımrın, dilo heyran, Le ve behare mırın pır xweşe, dilo heyran, le milke bavu ü kalada*" (My heart, let's die/ How beautiful it is to die in the summer time/ My heart, the best death is the death at fathers'/ grandfather's land). My father used to say, "We are going to Istanbul, but one day we will definitely return here; our house, land, place will always be here. (Süreya, 1989)

Like most of those, who dreamed of going back, the Kaya family left their land with the hope that one day they would return back. Ahmet had already been enriched with *kilam*s[28], folk songs and *deyiş*s from his cultural geography, revolutionary songs of the period, *alaturka* tunes that he was familiar with thanks to the radio, and *arabesk* tunes his brother used to listen.

One should talk about immigration, an important parameter on economic and social transformation in Turkey, in order to analyze the sociological ground, on which Ahmet Kaya's music was built. Migration from village to city in Turkey happened very fast during two periods: firstly, during '50s and '60s, the migration movement had been among the most important social factors that gave rise to squatters and *arabesk* music. The second is the post-1980 immigration, mainly involving *Alevi*s and Kurds. It is possible to say that Ahmet Kaya's audience was then mainly composed of the young people, who came to the big cities with this latter migration process.

The massive migration from rural to urban areas and rapid change of demography in urban scene resulted in a number of contradictions and identity conflicts that became a part of daily life. Ahmet Kaya provides a vivid account of his first encounter with the city and how they were 'wellcomed' in the city in a documentary film *Aynalar* (1997) directed by Can Dündar:

> 7 people loaded our belongings to a truck in the night. We departed from Malatya for Istanbul. I have seen sea for the first time in my life ever in Izmit; I said then 'how big is this river'. We crossed from Sirkeci, Harem and arrived

[28] *Kilam* literally means 'word' and refers to a poetic form adopted for music in Kurdish oral tradition like '*türkü*' in Turkish.

> in Kocamustafapaşa, where we would live for years. The packages had Malatya tags on them and people started to say 'look a *kıro* [yokel] from Malatya.

Istanbul was not as it had been in his dreams. He was not able to adapt to people. In that period he suffered from the controversies of moving from a little settlement to and getting used to a metropolitan city. He emphasizes his distress in the documentary film as follows:

> I did not talk to them since I could not talk like them. They were dressed differently and spoke differently. I tried to speak like them. For example, I started to go to a tailor for bespoke trousers. I noticed that the tailor's trousers did not fit on me. It suited well to them, but not me. There was a girl in our school -everybody has a love, a childhood love- one day I went to her and said, "Let's talk for just five minutes, you always evade me..." And she said "rica ederim" (I beg your pardon). I felt so offended and said, "ben rica ederim" (I do beg your pardon). I didn't know its meaning; I thought she was swearing. (Dündar, 1997)

Ahmet Kaya's tragicomical experience as regards identity conflict and failure to adapt the urban life style would begin to reverse by his association with the organized revolutionary struggle of the period and thanks to his talent in music.

2.2.4 Politicization

A short while after he came to Istanbul, he went to Germany to his maternal uncle but he couldn't tolerate there much and returned back nine months later. After he returned to Turkey, he engaged in many jobs from making coin banks to casting, from salt transportation to ironsmith. He even tried street trading (*işportacılık*). He started street trading in the back street of Egyptian (Spice) Bazaar (bodice job). After a while he began bringing his *bağlama* with him, making him a focus of interest in the entire bazaar.

> The street traders were composed of three groups: Those who came from the East and Southeast were together, those who came from the Central Anatolia were together, and there was also a mixed group. These were the *Sucular* that Ahmet knew from the records shop in Malatya, the 'revolutionaries' in their own terms. […] When Ahmet plays his *bağlama* all three groups would come

> to listen. […] Ahmet's *bağlama* united these groups, which would never come together for any other occasion. (Kaya, 2005, p. 66-67)

One day, Ali Osman Özçam, a member of the revolutionary group, invited him to an association, where they engaged with folklore activities, the Folklore Association in Çarşamba, Fatih. The association was established in 1966 and conducted activities first under the title of Turkish Folk Dances Association and then changed the name into Folkore Association in 1972.

> He found this new circle quite interesting. He didn't meet such people before. Above all they had no complexes. They had a particular style of dressing. Many of them behaved the same as his friends in Malatya. Therefore suddenly here he felt the same as his circle of friends in Malatya. There was another striking issue about the association: There were both the university graduates and illiterates. There were engineers and doctors; there were also the street traders who referred him to the association. (Kaya, 2005, p. 68)

He then became a regular of the association. He performed in the association's night events together with the *devrimci-ozan*s of the period such as Abuzer Karakoç, Zinnur Yelderen, and Ali Çelik.

Between 1970 and 1973, the leading cadres of 68 revolutionary youth were killed and others were imprisoned. In 1973, something happened, Ecevit, aka Karaoğlan, came into political power. The socialist-democratic movement converged with the rest of the left during this period. One of Ecevit's first actions was to issue amnesty. Amnesty Law came into force as from 7th of February in 1974. Young people, who were released after the above law was enforced, began to establish associations and organize there. In this period, it can be said that a new generation that would take the name of '78-generation was starting to flourish. Generations '68 and '78 should be separated here. Intellectual tendencies of the '68s were stronger, while the '78-generation can be considered to have a kind of 'populist peasantist' inclination. Beginning from the second half of the 1960s, the *âşıks* became the dominant culture in the late 1970s. *Alevi* culture was gaining strength in the leftist circles and with the generation '78 there emerged an emphasis on *bağlam*a, rebellion, and *Alevi* music.

On the other hand, Ahmet Kaya, who did not follow a musical tradition was criticized by his friends in the association. Although his *bağlama* style and his singing were

being criticized, he thought that he was on the right track on the grounds that he was quite loved and supported by the audience.

As much as we have learned from his memories told by Gülten Kaya in the official website (URL-4), during that period he goes to a concert of Ruhi Su at Boğaziçi University. He finds a way to reach out 'the Master' after the concert. He wants to show Master Ruhi how he performs the Ruhi Su compositions. He plays '*Mahsus Mahal*,' one of the most renowned compositions of Ruhi Su. The Master interrupts him taking *bağlama* back from Ahmet and tells him angrily, "*bağlama* is not played like geeing up a horse; you don't fight with *bağlama* but you love each other." Ahmet leaves the place as disappointed but of course he would go on in his way. The words of the Master further sharpens Ahmet since he was always after something that hasn't been experimented yet. They tour around various places throughout Turkey for concerts and folk dance performances with his friends at the Folklore Association. On the one hand, Ahmet takes stage with the *aşık*s and artists of the period in the 'revolutionary nights' (*devrimci geceler*) organised by various associations and trade unions or student organisations, singing revolutionary marches and ballads by angrily laying his *bağlama* (!), and on the other hand he acts in solidarity with people in order to respond their concrete and vital demands (URL-4).

Although the leftists were released from prison, thanks to the Amnesty Law, there were no more the intellectual leading cadres and Turkey was different then. In the meantime, they were organized in prison, and many organizations were established during imprisonment. Such organizations as THKO, THKP-C survived, but their legal extensions were established in the form of associations. DİSK constituted the critical junction at that period. DİSK was very strong and organized and accommodated both the rightist and leftist workers. For example, a pro-AP worker could become a member of DİSK, for it was a better union, meaning it would protect his/her rights. Massive May 1st celebrations held by DİSK at Taksim Square was the best indicator of that. The strengthened leftist movement started to scare America, and Ecevit started to defy America. The left needed to be purged again, and the project of provoking nationalists (*ülkücüler*) against leftists came into play. 1st of May 1977 was the date, on which the coup was triggered in Turkey. 36 people lost their lives and the winds reversed as a result of the armed attack during the May Day of 1977 attended by 500 thousand people in Taksim.

When the opponents and angry crowds were in haste and preparation of creating a 'future' for them, Ahmet was graduated from high school as an external student and registered as a student in the Institute of Education. Again, as we have learnt from Gülten Kaya's own writings; meanwhile, Ahmet meets with a girl, Emine, at the Folklore Association. In a short while the two youngsters, who are drawn together and feel on the same ranks, decide to marry. They are engaged. In 1978, twenty-one-year-old Ahmet joins the army to complete his compulsory military service for eighteen months, leaving behind the incomplete music education and his fiancée (URL-4). He is assigned to Gelibolu. His commanders rapidly notice his interest and skills in music and want to see him in the officer's club orchestra. He spends entirety of his military service as a joker figure of the orchestra. He develops his ties to many musical instruments there. He adds Western motives via violin and cello to his music based on *bağlama*. (URL-4).

1st of May 1977, or 'Bloody May 1' as it would be remembered, was a milestone in the political history of Turkey. After that incident, the country would enter a very bloody period marked with successive assassinations, attacks, armed conflicts, and deaths. The grounds for the coup on September 12th 1980 were being laid. On May 29th 1977, an armed attack was launched against CHP leader Ecevit at Izmir's Çiğli Airport. Political instability increased; governments fell, governments were established and fell again. Orgeneral Kenan Evren became the Chief of General Staff during this period. Attacks and massacres increased (Aydın and Taşkın, 2014): A bomb was planted against the students in Beyazıt and seven students were killed (March 16th, 1978); Ankara Public Prosecutor Doğan Öz was killed (March 24th, 1978); Hacettepe University staff professor Assoc. Prof. Dr. Bedrettin Cömert was killed (July 11th, 1978); *Alevi* quarter of Sivas was raided, one person was killed and several people were injured (September 4th, 1978); seven young people from TİP were killed in their home in Bahçelievler (October 8th, 1978); Istanbul Technical University Dean of the Faculty of Electricity Dr. Bedri Karafakioğlu was killed (October 20th, 1978); 111 people were killed and more than 1000 people were injured as a result of the attacks, known as Maraş Incidents against the *Alevi*s; *Milliyet* newspaper's editor-in-chief Abdi İpekçi was killed (February 1st, 1979); et al. The footsteps of a new and more violent coup were heard. On January 2nd, the army issued a warning letter to the government. At that time, the Minority Government headed by Demirel was in office.

The economic measures package of Turgut Özal, to be called as January 24th Decisions was launched. DİSK declared a general strike on February 15th. On April 11th, the literary writer Ümit Kaftancıoğlu was killed. Gün Sazak, the Deputy Chairman of the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP), was killed on 27th of May. Between May 28th and June 2nd the massacres against the *Alevi*s, known as the 'Çorum Incidents' took place. On July 20th, former Prime Minister Nihat Erim was killed. On 22nd of July, President of DİSK Kemal Türkler and many others were killed. Finally, on September 12th in 1980, the army seized power, the government and the parliament were dissolved, and political party activities were interrupted. General Kenan Evren, the leader of the coup, became the Head of State.

2.3 1980s/Breakthrough and Popularization

2.3.1 The 1980 military intervention and its political & cultural aftermath

On September 12th, 1980, the Chief of the General Staff General Kenan Evren declared coup d'état on Turkish Radio and Television (TRT). The so-called National Security Committee, composed of Evren and four other service commanders, extended the existing martial law to the entire country, shut down Parliament and the civilian government, suspended the liberal 1960 Constitution, and banned all political parties, trade unions and associations. A period of oppression and human rights violations started subsequently. A long list of the atrocities inflicted by the military as summed up by the Parliamentary Investigation Commission for the Coups and the Memorandums of the Grand Assembly of Turkey gives an idea of how the politics and political actors, either directly engaged to legal or illegal political parties, political organizations, or politically active professional institutions, or thought to have political orientations were excluded from the society:

> 650 thousand (individuals) were detained, 1683 thousand were blacklisted, and 230 thousand were tried in 210 thousand lawsuits, with 517 sentenced to death, 50 of which were executed. 71 thousand were judged based on Articles 141, 142, and 163 of Turkish Penal Code. 98 thousand were judged on charges of being members of a leftist, a rightist, a nationalist, a conservative, etc. organization. 388 thousand not allowed having a passport. 30 thousand were fired from their institutions. 14 thousand lost citizenship. 30 thousand went abroad as a political refugee. 300 people died in a suspicious manner. 171 died

> due to torture. 937 films were banned. 23,677 associations had their activities stopped. 3,854 teachers, 120 lecturers and 47 judges were fired. 400 journalists were asked a total of 4000 years' imprisonment. 31 journalists went to jail. Newspapers were not published for 300 days. 303 cases were brought against 13 major newspapers. 39 tons of newspapers and magazines were destroyed. 299 people lost their lives in prison.

The Junta regime "tried to change the political attitude of people and to de-politicize the whole society in an attempt to prevent in future the political and ideological fragmentation and polarization which had characterized pre-coup Turkey" (Dagi, 1996). Not only hundreds of thousands of people were detained, tried, and sentenced to heavy penalties including death, but also millions were blacklisted, fired and deprived of basic human rights.

Despite the fact that the military seemed to have targeted all political factions that did not fit into the new political order, the leftist-progressive politics and political actors were the main victims. This was because of the fact that the main objective of the military intervention, despite its rhetoric, namely "to preserve the integrity of the country, to restore national union and togetherness, to avert a possible civil war, to re-establish the authority of the state and to eliminate all the factors that prevent the normal functioning of the democratic order" (as cited in Dagi, 1996), was to reinforce and made possible the implementation of the 'economic measures,' namely *24 Ocak Kararları* (January 24th Decisions), effected months before the intervention. The leftist political actors and especially the leftist workers union DİSK considered a major threat against the neoliberal economic turn. In the context thereof, the military intervention could be seen a part of "the neo-liberal counterrevolution that occurred between 1979 and 1982" (Arrighi, 2003).

Turgut Özal elected despite the military's discontent in the first free elections following the coup. He was not only a part of the previous technocratic government, but also the architect of the 24th of January Decisions (Çaha, 2001; Burak, 2011). "Özal was able to rule with a high degree of autonomy, in relation to both potential competitors and the discontented working classes that had to bear the social costs of the restructuring measures, in terms of rising unemployment and falling net wages" (Karadağ, 2010).

By the ‘80s the demographics of the country went under a rapid transformation. A rapid population increase and insufficient work opportunities pushed millions of young and unemployed people to the large cities. By the early 1980s, more than half of the population began to live in urban centres. Just 20 years before, the situation had been just the reverse. This rapid economic and demographic change brought about even deeper changes in the moral, cultural and religious values of society. The class structure, status, and cultural groups of the country were diversified and restructured in the 1980s.

2.3.2 Prison and music of grief

After the 1980 coup on September 12th, all the political parties, associations, and trade unions were shut down. During that period the Folklore Association was also closed. Ahmet Kaya tells imprisoned Tahir Çiçekçi (President of the Association) about his composition in a letter, ‘*İşte Bizim Hikayemiz*’ (Here is our story). The song is about his pre-September 12th dreams asking, when the sun will rise again, summarising his disappointment. Ahmet makes another composition in 1982 for his daughter Çiğdem (mother Emine; the couple was married in 1981 and separated a few years later), telling Çiğdem not to cry for the evil of the world she was born into, and hopes for future should be kept fresh: “*Ağlama bebeğim, ağlama sen de/umut sende, yarın sende/ Çok uzakta öyle bir yer var/ o yerlerde mutluluklar/ paylaşılmaya hazır bir hayat var*” meaning “don’t cry my baby, don’t cry, you have the hope, you have the future; there is happiness, a life to share.”

The compositions in Ahmet Kaya's earlier albums reflected the impact of the 1980 military coup on society and the left, both in terms of lyrical and melodic themes, and were the product of that sensitivity. As for politically charged musical life, the coup that put all left-wing movements in Turkey to rout at a single stroke on the one hand marked a dramatic change in Turkey’s protest music tradition on the other. Prison, which suddenly came into life of a significant part of the society became a major source of artistic creation. Themes such as defeat, disappointment, and captivity replaced the assertive, defiant, and dignified protest musical style of pre-coup period. Hence, the musical productions of this period were often referred to as ‘*hüznün müziği*’ (the music of grief).

2.3.3 Preparation process (1980-1985) and the first album: *Ağlama Bebeğim* (1985)

Between 1980 and 1985, Ahmet Kaya were composing songs and on the other hand the idea of making an album gradually started to develop over the 'tested' compositions which were performed in various friend circles. One of those friends was Hasan Hüseyin Demirel. An *Alevi* composer and producer, a well-known name of protest music, Hasan Hüseyin Demirel contributed to the album repertoire, preparation and recording process, and designed concerts as a pre-album test process (*Kayaların Ardında bir Nazlı Çiğdem*[29], in 1985 at Hodri Meydan Cultural Center, Zincirlikuyu; *Bağlama Böyle de Çalınır!*[30] in 1985 at Bilsak) and in the process of his first album, he was a supporter and a kind of a manager of Ahmet Kaya.

Hasan Hüseyin Demirel tells about the main themes and the emotional mood of the album as follows:

> There was a revolutionary melancholy in the album. For example he [Ahmet Kaya] composed '*Hasretinden Prangalar Eskittim*' (I used up shackles longing you). The song had a rather human melancholy and romanticism. As a matter of fact, the main theme of the *Ağlama Bebeğim* album is romanticism. Revolutionism would rise from romanticism, we believed. For that day it was the melancholy of the children of a romantic period. (as cited in Kaya, 2005, p. 98-99)

Demirel also summarizes the underlying idea and the album's preparation process:

> Most of those songs were matured by performing at friend circles in three to five-year processes followed by transformation into certain forms via a very stringent process. First of all, there was a great prison reality. The left of Turkey was kept in the dungeons of September 12th. There was a great migration flow to foreign countries; there was a great political destruction. Many things were degenerated. There was a tremendous ideological fight; people inside prisons were resisting. There were death fasts; there were struggles against cell type [*hücre tipi*][31] prisons. This album of ours must have been a response to all above. (cited in Kaya, 2005, p. 98-99)

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[29] Trans.: A coy crocus behindi the tracks. (Crocus/Çiğdem is his daughter's name.)
[30] Trans.: *Bağlama* is also played like this! (He refers to Ruhi Su here and indeed challenges him.)
[31] High security prisons.

It really was a response to the social-political conditions of the period by the young musicians. The album was confiscated after a short while. The confiscation verdict of 14th August in 1985 of the 2nd Criminal Court of Justice, Gaziantep, based on the claim that "it was found provocative against the public and the state" was objected by Istanbul Public Prosecution Office. The verdict was reviewed by the 2nd Criminal Court of First Instance and revoked upon its decision dated 18 October 1985 (*Tan Newspaper*, 28 October 1985). In the first hearing, the judge was obsessed with the lyrics of '*Ağlama Bebeğim*' song: "There is such a place afar; where happiness prevails." They asked Ahmet, if those beautiful places were impliying the longing for the possibility of socialism in future! The hearing lasted short and the album was released by decision of the Council of State.

2.3.4 Here is *özgün müzik*, here is Ahmet Kaya!

After the revoke of the confiscation decision, producer *Taç Plak* made a public advertisement in a newspaper announcing that the album was released upon decision of the Council of State. In a short period of time the album sales reached to 400 thousand. The same advertisement includes the following phrase regarding the album: '*İşte özgün müzik, işte Ağlama Bebeğim*' (Here is *özgün müzik*, here is *Ağlama Bebeğim*). The term *özgün müzik* as a musical category, used to define Ahmet Kaya's music that is not similar to other genres first appeared in this advertisement.

Ağlama Bebeğim was one of the first attempts to cut the 'Great Silence' of post-coup period. Parallel to the leitmotif of the period, the album features a decadent mood with frequent referrals to prison, dungeon, death, outside, longing, trouble, and separation etc. Maybe the only song, the lyrics of which have some sort of hope element, is '*Ağlama Bebeğim*:' "There is such a place far far away/ There is happiness/ Ready to be shared/ There is a life." Still 'such place' where one can find happiness is far away. The songs in this first album were all composed by Ahmet Kaya and arranged by Sezer Bağcan, featuring the lyrics by the cult socialist poets such as Sabahattin Ali, Ahmed Arif, Nazım Hikmet, Arif Damar and revolutionary folk poets such as Karacoğlan. The album also had two divergent songs: A traditional song, namely '*Kurtuluş Savaşı Destanı*' (Independence War saga), and '*Uğurlar Ola*' (Good riddance), the lyrics of which belonged to Mehmet Akif Ersoy. The narrator explains the inclusion of these

songs in *Aynalar* documentary (Dündar, 1997)[32] : "There was only one option left for totally broke Ahmet Kaya: the prison." Kaya thinks, "What is required to be imprisoned? To do something against the system! To make a cassette recording." But the prison should not last life long for him. So he added a surprising song at the end of the record, '*Uğurlar Ola*,' narrating the heorism of the Turkish Army during the War of Independence with lyrics by Mehmet Akif. "I was brave but I also had a coward stance. I wanted to be imprisoned but I also wanted to be released after some two years," confesses Kaya in the documentary (Dündar, 1997). Ahmet Kaya was not imprisoned, but instead he would succeed and become famous soon.

2.3.5 The Great Silence: Bans, exiles, and censors

It will not be wrong to consider Ahmet Kaya's debut as a 'first of its kind.' This was not accidental since a completely 'barren' period was experienced in the musical field and also in artistic and cultural domain as a whole until 1986-87, because most political musicians active before 1980 were either imprisoned or forced to flee abroad or banned. "There is a long list of musicians, filmmakers, authors, poets, intellectuals and political activists who were censored, imprisoned or exiled due to many reasons" (Özer Efe, 2013, p. 16) during this period.

The oppression did not only include musicians from the leftist circles, musicians with different sexual orientation or those who engaged in a specific genre of music, namely *arabesk*, were also subject to bans and even public defamation: "In 1981 the mayor of Istanbul banned 'effeminate male artists,' e.g. Bülent Ersoy, from TV and stage to protect the country's moral values" (Dilmener as cited in Berköz, 2012). The authorities found *arabesk* non-compliant with the modernist-Kemalist narrative of the Junta and even tried to introduce a sterilised version of it, namely *acısız arabesk* (or *arabesk* without pain as represented by Yıldırım Gürses and Hakkı Bulut). They tried to replace the 'monophonic, fatalist music of lower classes and migrants' [in their terms] with the so-called polyphonic and cheerful melodies via the help of extensive media coverage.

[32] A series of documentaries prepared and presented by Can Dündar on Show TV within the years 1996 and 1997.

The post-coup period had been further challenging for recording, releasing, and performing Kurdish songs as described by the founder of the *Ses* Recording Company, Ethem Güner:

> Kurdish albums would be listened [to] secretly in the year of 1988 when many people were subject to torture for listening to these albums. In that process, firstly arms and secondly Kurdish albums would be seized in case of a police search. Most of the people would bury or destroy the albums they had. I think these albums were considered as arms at those times! Most of the artists escaped abroad in that process, while others did nothing. (Reigle 2013)

Not only the musicians or producers, but also the listeners were at risk. "The legal system continued to provide a number of mechanisms to suppress spoken, written, and sung Kurdish language, and added new ones" (Reigle, 2013). For instance, Law No. 2932 on the Use of Languages Other than Turkish passed in 1983, effectively banned everyday use of Kurdish and use of Kurdish language in music (Özer Efe, 2013). The government would bring an action against any attempts of Kurdish recorders "for producing an album in an unknown language" (Gönençay, 2012, as cited in Reigle, 2013).

The new Constitution of 1982, on the one hand limited the civil rights, the freedom of expression, and the right to association and strike, and provided an 'appropriate' milieu for the business circles to adapt to the new course of economics and to organize in a new set of institutional structure without the 'threat' of workers. The period subsequent to the new constitution was marked with massive and systematic censorship against all means to protest the ongoing policies, including music. The censorship policy was strictly implemented by legal, administrative, and covert practices (Özer Efe, 2013).

The years following the coup witnessed an increased interest of the state in forming institutional channels to control the cultural sphere in addition to the conventional methods such as (formal) censoring. One of the main institutional instruments in the renewed state intervention in the culture had been the professional instutions, establishment of which were heavily supported and encouraged by Turgut Özal. By the mid-'80s, the 'professionals' of Arts came together under state sponsored meetings and many organizations flourished following the legal arrangements enforced by the Özal government: *Film Yapımcıları Derneği* (Fi-Yap) (Film Producers Association)

established in 1984, *Sinema Eseri Sahipleri Meslek Birliği* (SESAM) (Cinematographic Work Owners' Society of Turkey) in 1986, and *Müzik Eseri Sahipleri Meslek Birliği* (MESAM) (Musical Work Owners' Society of Turkey) in 1986 were among the first such organizations. These institutions were introduced as an internal control and discipline tool for the cultural sphere with respect to their relevant fields of operation especially regarding the copyright issues. Fundamentally the artistic works were subject to the Ministry of Culture audit. The legislation is set out in the Law on Intellectual and Artistic Works (LIAW) (*Fikir ve Sanat Eserleri Kanunu*), passed in 1951, LIAW stipulates as follows in the section on 'Scope:'

> This Law encompasses the material and moral rights of creators and owners of intellectual and artistic works or of those performing artists who perform or interpret such works, those producers who produce the first phonogram for sound recordings or producers who produce the first film record, or of radio-television organizations, with reference to said works, as well as the principles and practices set forth in connection with the rights of disposal of said rights, the procedures of legal action and the powers, duties and responsibilities of the Ministry of Culture [Article 1/A (Supplementary Article: 03/03/2001 - 4630/Art. 2)]. (Özer Efe, 2013, p. 18)

Music producers are required to obtain permission from the Ministry of Culture for each work that is to be published. Among the documents required for this permission are the following: the work itself that is to be published (as cassette, CD, etc.), data such as the composer and the owner of the lyrics and, if the work is in a language other than Turkish, the Turkish translation is needed as well (Özer Efe, 2013, p. 18).

The same goes with the radio and TV broadcasts:

> TRT Review Committees had been established in order to review the content. Songs could be rejected due to many reasons such as the content of the lyrics, the language, the instruments, melodic phrases, etc. For example; instruments such as bouzouki and balalaika, and musical patterns reminiscent of Greek tunes were previously banned by Committees (Yurdatapan, 2004). Similarly, the songs in *arabesk* genre had been banned on radio and TV for a very long time. The Committee due to many reasons had censored many musicians as well as the songs: A song by Sezen Aksu (the most popular singer-song-writer

> of Turkish pop music) '*Sarışınım*' (My blondie) was banned because its composer Ara Dinkjian was Armenian. A song by Zülfü Livaneli (a famous protest singer-song-writer) '*Şarkışla* Türküsü' (A song from Şarkışla) was banned because of its lyrics '*Olaydım olaydım/ Okur yazar olaydım/ Deniz mahkemeye düşmüş/Avukatı ben olaydım*' mentioning the case of Deniz Gezmiş [...] There were also strange cases such as the one faced by Atilla Özdemiroğlu (composer and arranger) in 1982. Sezen Aksu featured the song '*Firuze*' on an album. The Supervisory Board for Pop Music under the Committee refused to allow the song to be broadcast because it did not fit the norms of Light-Western music [the term used for Western pop music]. Then the song was sent to the Supervisory Board for Art Music, and they decided that the song did not fit the norms of Art music either.[33] (Özer Efe, 2013, p. 20)

Following the 1980 coup, the Junta used the censorship mechanisms and legal framework to control cultural and artistic life and media, and exclude from the public space the 'inconvenient' and 'objectionable' art works based on a range of excuses from 'protecting the children from obscenity' to 'saving the nation from communism and separatism,' from 'restoration of Turkishness' to 'banning artists with diverse sexual orientations.' A few examples may help with conceiving the status of art in those years: Erden Kıral's *Hakkari'de Bir Mevsim* (A season in Hakkari) was banned by the martial law in 1983, despite four awards had been given during the Berlin Film Festival (Şenliler, 2016). One of the most significant films ever shot in Turkey, *Yol* (The Road) by Şerif Gören could not have been screened in Turkey until 1999, despite many awards in Cannes Film Festival in 1982 (Tekin, 2012). "The crisis in Turkish cinema, which had started in the second half of the 1970s became more visible by the 1980s" (Yılmazok, 2012). The volume of spectators and movie theatres decreased from nearly 247 million and 2,424, respectively to 62.6 million and 941 in 1980. In 1990, the decline reached to another climax with only 19.3 million spectators and 354 movie theatres, the

[33] "After the beginning of private radio and TV broadcasts in 1990, the older Review Committees were replaced by a new Council which was established in 1994: Radio and Television Supreme Council (*Radyo Televizyon Üst Kurulu* or RTÜK). Although RTÜK does not have the authority of prior content review, it may ban any radio/TV program or even the channel depending on the audience responses. Also many radio/TV channels execute self-censorship in the name of self-policing practices. They prefer to avoid the broadcasts that might cause the intervention of the Council. The Council might give a penalty or either block out the channel" (Özer Efe, 2013, pp. 20-21).

information given by Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü (DİE) (State Instute of Statistics) (TSI 2010).

Apart from the bans over the publications directly affiliated with leftist orientation, the 'Law on the Protection of the Minors from Obscene Publications,' which was revived in 1986 with amendments by the Junta was "as a new way to control publications" (Sökmen, 2004). The majority of the Committee, which oversaw the publications pursuant to the above law, was comprised of non-professionals, i.e. people not related to publication sector, as assigned by the Junta. The committee found hundreds of publications as obscene; fortunately most of them were able to get acquittal at courts.

> In many cases, like the popular feminist best seller *Kadının Adı Yok* (Woman has no name) of Duygu Asena, the comics book *Pazar Sevişgenleri* (Sunday lovers) of Metin Üstündag, painter and politician Bedri Baykam's novel *Kemik* (Bone), Philip Roth's Portnoy's *Complaint*, acclaimed poet and literary critic Enis Batur's book *Elma* (Apple), acclaimed art critic Mehmet Ergüven's *Pusudaki Ten* (Flesh in ambush), Sade's *Juliette*, Jonathan Ames' *The Extra Man*, and acclaimed poet Küçük İskender's poetry *666*; the books were acquitted in the Criminal Court of First Instance, despite negative reports of this Committee. (Sökmen, 2004)

The Junta's suppression of the intellectuals and intellectual and artistic activity desolated the country for many years and combined with the so-called 'depoliticization,' it had adverse effects on the new generations.

Despite Junta and the atmosphere created by the coup, Ahmet Kaya was one of the artists, who insisted on a productive way. After the release of *Ağlama Bebeğim*, the second album *Acılara Tutunmak* (Holding on pains) was launched only eight months after the first. Arranged by Sezer Bağcan again, it follows the same tracks and features the same themes as with the first album. He met with Gülten Hayaloğlu during the preparations for his second album at *Değişim* studio. Gülten had been an employee of the studio. She had quitted Ankara Faculty of Political Sciences before she had ever started it. She was released from Metris prison (in Istanbul, Esenler province) after 4.5 years of prison. She is the daughter of a Kurdish-*Alevi* family originated in Dersim (Tunceli). They married in 1986.

2.3.6 Breakthrough album: *Şafak Türküsü* (1986)

Ahmet Kaya made his breakthrough with the third album *Şafak Türküsü* (The Ballad of dawn) (May 1986) with the arrangements by Oğuz Abadan. Poems of a young poet in prison, a death row inmate, namely Nevzat Çelik marks the album: '*Şafak Türküsü*,' '*Tutuşur Dizelerim*' (My verses burst into flames), '*Geleceğim*' (My future), 'Zeytin Karası' (Olive black).

The first albums of Ahmet Kaya gained in popularity basically because it effectively discharged collective feelings of the post-coup period during which the concept of imprisonment was centralized. Kaya can be accepted as the first musician to pluck up enough courage to criticize conditions created by the coup of 1980. Many left-wing protest music groups emerged in the late 1980s, accordingly, reflected resentful sentiments in their songs that recurrently dealt with concepts such as imprisonment, disheartenment and injustice. Kaya's first album entitled *Ağlama Bebeğim*, however, was the first outburst of objection to gain the agreement of a sizable proportion of the society after a long period of silence. With *Şafak Türküsü*, he made his breakthrough and reached to the imprisoned people, their families and the leftist circles either inside or outside the prison. Many describe Ahmet Kaya in this respect as the epitome of reaction against the military coup and the despotic regime it created after September 1980.

2.3.7 First cooperation with Osman İşmen: *An Gelir* (1986)

The fourth album, *An Gelir* (The moment comes), with similar lyrical themes, was launched in December 1986, featuring Osman İşmen as the arranger for the first time. He would work with Ahmet Kaya for a long time thereafter. İşmen narrates their first meeting as follows:

> Ahmet Kaya had released three cassettes until then, which I haven't listened to. I thought his voice was quite interesting. I realised that he would succeed thanks to his interesting voice that would impress people. He had a free and interesting understanding of improvisation and music making since he didn't receive an academic education. The poems he fed on provided his compositions with a different taste. Because he did not bother if his works would be approved by TRT for broadcasting, he didn't bother to comply with the TRT rules. Therefore he was not concerned about auto-censorship. This was the best aspect for me

since I wanted to do that exactly. When we started working I was relieved that we could create the free music in our minds without a fear for auditing. It was the time to try a brand new style. The most important aspect of that style was that it was close to an East-West synthesis. We presented musical works to various sections of the society that they have never listened to before. Although the urban people did not use to listen to *bağlama*, we had them listen to *bağlama*; and we had the people at ghettos and rural regions listen to symphony orchestra. (as cited in Kaya, 2005, pp. 129-130)

2.3.8 First cooperation with Yusuf Hayaloğlu: *Yorgun Demokrat* (1987)

After Ahmet Kaya made his breakthrough, his audience began to expand beyond the leftist circles. In a short time, he began to gain popularity and was subject to heavy criticisms both from musical critics and the political opponents. After Yusuf Hayaloğlu (brother of Gülten Kaya) made the graphic design of *An Gelir* album, he prepared a newspaper ad involving a sentence inked by him: "A rich, vivid and sensitive *ozan* (bard), witness of his era, gallant warrior of protest music: Ahmet Kaya." Discussions were inflamed by the 'protest music' phrase in that ad. Ahmet Kaya began to appear on daily newspapers and reviews through the aforementioned debate: "What is that protest music? Is Ahmet Kaya's music protest?" The debate would end with qualifying his music as 'revolutionary *arabesk*,' the theme which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

Yusuf Hayaloğlu was occupied with design, sculpture, and graphic work at his small workshop in Şişli. Considering his brother's poems and productivity Gülten Kaya thought that it would be great if those poems and Ahmet Kaya's music could meet and wanted to bring Hayaloğlu, who never thought of writing lyrics, and Kaya together in a cooperative production. One day, when they were dining at the hills of Tarabya, Yusuf, who had hitherto resisted in that respect, gave Ahmet Kaya his first lyrics: '*Hani Benim Gençliğim*' (Where is my youth?).

Gülten Kaya tells how Ahmet started crying when he read the lyrics, which would become phenomenal in the forthcoming years. "The lyrics, which tell a youth that was deprived of the entire beloved… He created a composition as soon as he returned back to home" (URL-4). Referring to Yusuf Hayaloğlu, Ahmet Kaya says no one was able

to tell the actual problems so strikingly via popular language, feeling the pulse of the people as he could do (Kaya, 2005, p. 138).

During this period one of the questions Ahmet Kaya looked for an answer was what happened to the 'old revolutionaries:'

> He had a 'tired democrat' image in his mind, but he could not shape it anyway. His purpose was to shake some progressive, democrat elements, which were intimidated with or without the sledge-hammer of September 12th, in order to mobilize them again and force them to stand up by getting rid of their inertia. A striking song was needed for it. (Kaya, 2005, pp. 139-140)

The song was covered in the *Yorgun Demokrat* (1987) album, which initiated a long-term process of debate which marks the beginning of a new period for Ahmet Kaya.

2.3.9 Popularization and debates around Ahmet Kaya's music

While music critics started to discuss the definitions of his music, intellectuals and sociologists started to analyse the fan base of Ahmet Kaya:

> Unhappy revolutionaries, ghetto people who were left to poverty in the suburbs of big cities, wounded leftists who lost hope for a revolution, youth who became alone in the 1980s after the struggle in the 1970s, and prisoners who were released after their youth consumed in the prisons. These were the audience of Ahmet Kaya. (Dündar, 1997)

In Can Kozanoğlu's terms,

> Ahmet Kaya was the red card voice of those who were not able to buy an ATM [bank] card. He discovered the music, which was already there with its lyrics, themes, and esthetic level and introduced it to the market with a new interpretation. The masses, who lost their direction after the conscious and organized struggle of the late 1960s was blown up started to redirect their target-less anger from left to right and then right to left. Therefore although Ahmet Kaya was criticized by both the leftists and rightists, he had audience from both sides. (Dündar, 1997)

A new generation, who rebelled, risen up, and wanted to bring someone to account, was growing with Ahmet Kaya:

> Those days, Ahmet Kaya's fan base extended, while the debates flamed up. The intellectuals were referring to migration from village to city and emphasized that Ahmet Kaya's fan base was comprised of the sections of the society who were left to poverty in the suburbs of big cities. Another approach insisted that Ahmet Kaya's true fan base was composed of the lumpenproletariat. For them, those were the crowds, who were engaged with revolutionism but now left behind their ex-radical discourse and tried to find a place for themselves in the material life. (Kaya, 2005, p. 141)

In this period, Ahmet Kaya ended his contract with *Taç Plak* and transfered to *Barış Plak*, which was newly established, yet accomplished a rapid rise. Established by Şehmuz Ilgın with Kurdish businessman Behçet Cantürk, cassette factory owner Aydın Oskay, and composer Burhan Bayar, the company transferred such celebrities as İbrahim Tatlıses, Küçük Emrah, Bülent Ersoy, and Mahsun Kırmızıgül in a short period of time. Ahmet Kaya's transfer to *Barış Plak* led to a serious sensation. The fact that his name started to be mentioned in the same lane with Kurdish *arabesk* musicians with this transfer must also have a share in the ascription of *devrimci-arabesk.* He explains this as he wanted to fake people with his first album from *Barış Plak*, the singers of which are engaged with *arabesk* music.

He prepared to make a debut with his composition on lyrics by Yusuf Hayaloğlu, '*Başkaldırıyorum*' (I revolt) with the same title of the album released in 1988. The album was referred to the State Security Court, which was tasked with 'crimes' against the Republic and associated with the internal and external security of the state. The prosecutor questions him, "Are you revolting against the state?" After the hearing, the reporters ask him: "Why do you revolt?" Ahmet Kaya replies: "*Başkaldırmayayım da kıç mı kaldırayım*? (What do you expect me to do I wouldn't revolt but dance?)" While citing this anectode, Ferzende Kaya (2005) adds that it was the first time Ahmet Kaya used such a slang style in the media (p. 150).

Ahmet Kaya's debut was related to the situation of the society and the left in particular after the coup and bore the sensitivity of that period. In fact, this applies to the first four albums. But things started to change between the years 1987 and 1989. This was the period in which Ahmet Kaya was gaining popularity and reactions to him were intensified. In order to understand Ahmet Kaya's case, that is to say the simultaneous rise of Ahmet Kaya and the controversies that accompanied him, and to understand the

sociological background of his audience, it is necessary to take a closer look at the social oppositional field that started to change since the second half of the 1980s.

2.3.10 New channels of opposition in the society and the situation of the left

Despite the oppressive character of the '80's, many segments of the society started to question and struggle against the government as from the mid-'80s. The most notable ones with a special reference to the leftist tradition were the student movement, labor protests, and the rise of Kurdish liberation movement. "However, since the mid-1980s, the most widespread movements have been Kurdish ethnic nationalism, Islamism, feminism, the Alewi cultural movement, environmentalism, and human rights activism," which according to Şimşek (2004) "had many dimensions and characteristics, which are exclusive to the anti-capitalist student protests and workers' movements in the 1960s."

Taking into consideration Ahmet Kaya's association with the left, it is necessary to provide further information as regards the left during the post-coup years. "When the Turkish armed forces general staff took power in September 1980, suspended all political and trade union activities and rounded up tens of thousands of political activists, it encountered no resistance from the masses who had been organized in their hundreds of thousands or even millions in the previous two decades" (Salah, 1984). The left, as Salah asserts, had previously been regarded as a serious political force by the masses mainly because of its proved influence on mass organizations and its leading role in mass struggles. To this one should also add the perceived dominance of the left in culture, social sciences, and arts, at least in discourse. After 'testing' the potential of resistance of the left within the first weeks of the coup, the Junta targeted the entire canon of left from workers to unions, from leftist individuals to any and all organization with leftist references. In a few months, subsequent to the coup, the left, with its press, activists, and organizations ceased to exist. Hundreds of thousands of people were put in jail to be set free after years of trials and imprisonment.

The Junta showed systematic and violent efforts to "put in place a systematic de-politicization effort in order to prevent young people from engaging in politics outside the state's defined ideological scope" (Alemdaroğlu, 2013). On the other hand, the trade unions were in turmoil after the new Constitution of 1982 brought many

restrictions on forming and becoming a member of trade unions, on trade union activities, and most notably on the right to strike.

Despite this, however, with more nostalgic and less self-critical or dogmatic ties to the pre-coup political organizations, and in the light of a rupture in generations (since thousands of the 'elder' political actors were still in jail), the students started to establish associations in universities beginning from the mid-'80s. In the early years, the ideological differences, which had marked the '70s, among the students were not divisive and dominant, and being "anti-fascist and anti-imperialist" was sufficient to come together. By 1986, student associations spread to Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir, and started to conduct activities in the universities (Yaman, 2013). These students had a romantic and brave image of the left, reinforced by the living memories of the past, and the heroism of the imprisoned political actors. Yet it was only in the late '80s the student organizations could have shifted from the field of academic struggle to purely political organizations, mainly with the claim as successors of the certain leftist organizations before the coup. However, the leftist organizations would never be able to reach the level of popularization and influence of those in the '60s and '70s. As Gürpınar (2012) states "the 1980s was (…) a decade of breakdown for the socialist left not only organizationally, due to the brutal suppression of the left by the military Junta, but also intellectually and ideologically" (p.150).

Especially following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the leftist political organizations rapidly dissolved, which also was a milestone for Ahmet Kaya's musical stance. During that period, the subject matters which dominated his first period (breakthrough) such as 'the sensitivity of the left,' 'the prison,' 'imprisoned people' were replaced by the new themes such as 'the situation of released inmates,' 'tired democrats,' and 'what happened to former revolutionaries.'

The coup years and the subsequent years had been one of the most oppressive periods in the Republican history. The coup not only severed the already deficient democracy in Turkey on behalf of neoliberal policies worldwide and effectively deprived the once comparatively highly fruitful cultural life of its reproduction abilities by suppressing the leftist artists, but also inflicted two distinct problems that would mark the forthcoming years: (i) rise of conservatism and eventually Islamism, and (ii) further aggravation of the Kurdish problem through the civil war in the 1990s.

2.4 1990s/Further popularization and the impact of Kurdish Movement

2.4.1 The transition album: '*Kod Adı: Bahtiyar*' (1989)[34]

Although released towards the end of 1989, I will count this album as a transition for Ahmet Kaya to the political-cultural climate of the 1990s. The opening song of the last album of the 1980s took its name from a poem again by Yusuf Hayaloğlu, namely, '*Kod Adı:Bahtiyar*:' '*Diyarbakırlıymış, adı Bahtiyar/ Suçu saz çalmakmış, öğrendiğim kadar/ Geçiyor önümden gül yüzlü Bahtiyar/ Yaralıyım, yerde kalan sazı kadar*' (He was from Diyarbakır, his name is Bahtiyar/ His guilt was playing *saz*, as I know it/ He passes before me Bahtiyar, the rose face/ I am wounded as much as his *saz* left on the ground). The following excerpt is on how Yusuf Hayaloğlu tells us about Bahtiyar:

> Bahtiyar is not a single person, but many. I met with hundreds of young people from different regions of Anatolia during my prison period. They were pure, clean, valiant, and heroic people. They migrated to Istanbul from various locations in Anatolia for almost the same reasons. They were looking for a means to survive and impressed by the leftist organisations. With this impression and the fire of revolt in their heart, they were involved in such acts as hanging posters, writing articles, and participating in illegal demonstrations that were considered a crime by the system. The September 12th regime picked all of them in a short while and imprisoned upon trials with the offence of membership to illegal organisations. They didn't have much theoretical knowledge; they were sympathisers and that they did not deserve the charges that they were against the state and they were after overturning the system but their fate was determined. They were deviants and thus they would absolutely be pruned off. It was a tragic situation and I feel I was going to write about it. It would be didactical had I write it this way, whereas, I was against didactics. I should have reduced those people into one, fit all the events into a story, and give my main message across the lines. So I did it that way. I used the Bahtiyar name since I liked it. And I have specifically preferred him as someone from Diyarbakır since it represented a certain section of the society. (cited in Kaya, 2005, p. 160)

[34] Due to the political conditions, the album was released with the name *İyimser Bir Gül*.

Although it was previously planned to release the album with the name '*Kod Adı: Bahtiyar*' (Code name: Bahtiyar), it was released under the title of '*İyimser Bir Gül*' (An optimist rose) (December 1989). The album is important in Ahmet Kaya's discography for it had a repertory that witnessed the lives of all sections of the society that experienced the September 12th and its aftermath and became victims of it. Kurdishness as an ethnic identity (if not in language, it had a counterpart through the Diyarbakır reference and the musical refernces by the free air -but without words- at the introductory party of the song also supports this) first appeared in Ahmet Kaya's songs with this composition. As a matter of fact, the Kurdish youth's identification with Bahtiyar led the way to the appearance of Ahmet Kaya in the media as a Kurdish figure.

In July 1990, a total of 70,000 ticketed people and an estimated total of 150,000 people attended to Gülhane Park concert of Ahmet Kaya, who, for the first time, had found the opportunity to participate in a concert in such a large venue in 1990. The concert was eventful; police fired into the air and many of the audition wounded. Kaya was tried once again based on the charges that the yellow-red-green colours that a spectator tied to his neck by throwing himself to the stage represented the Kurds. The media started to weigh a defamation campaign against Ahmet Kaya, based on his allegedly separatist deeds.

2.4.2 Introducing *delikanlı* Ahmet: *Başım Belada* (1991)

The 1990s were marked with political, economic, and social changes together with the general parole, the release of prisoners, and the return of the exiled. The relatively liberal environment created a lesser demand for the group music of the 1980s and *özgün*-protest music. Many of them were not able to adapt to the new agenda. Despite the mitigation of the effects of the September 12th coup, records and concerts of the oppositional musicians continued to be banned. For example, the Yozgat Provincial Governorate banned the sales of twelve records: Ahmet Kaya's *Resitaller* 1-2, *Yorgun Demokrat*, *İyimser Bir Gül*; Arif Sağ's *Muhabbet*; Selda Bağcan's *Özgürlük ve Demokrasi*; Rahmi Saltuk's *Hoy Nare* (*Hürriyet* newspaper, 3 February 1991). However Kaya was able to appear on private TVs such as via Rüstem Batum Show (*Bugün* newspaper, 16 October 1990).

According to Yusuf Hayaloğlu "prison and torture were no longer on the agenda and there was a sudden void. Ahmet Kaya and all the friends belonging to the revolutionary tradition somehow suddenly suspended. Nobody knew what to do and what to tell. There was a sudden decrease in the *özgün music* record sales (…) since they still focused on prison, torture, and freedom themes, or the good days to come and suns to rise in line with the socialist utopia" (as cited in Kaya, 2005, pp. 183-184). Ahmet Kaya managed to recover from this futile period; he bravely introduced his new identity: "Valiant, plain, rough, realist, feudal, sincere, fearless, and rebellious!" (ibid., p. 185).

The new period was marked with the album *Başım Belada* (I'm in deep trouble) released in August 1991. It became the bestseller from the very beginning. The success of the album was accompanied by criticisms, which blamed Ahmet Kaya for acting as lumpen proletariat. Yusuf Hayaloğlu insisted that they used such a new image and identity somehow consciously and for the purpose of increasing popularity (ibid., p. 187). They were happy with the attacks of the media and divergent acts helped with it. The cover of that album was also designed by Yusuf Hayaloğlu using the press clippings and a photograph of Ahmet Kaya with a long coat, a symbol of the *delikanlı* image.

Yusuf Hayaloğlu claimed that Ahmet Kaya started to embrace larger audiences and established his true fan base with that album from the rightists to the leftists, and Islamists. Another album in the tracks of *Başım Belada* was released in July 1992: *Dokunma Yanarsın* (Don't touch or you'll get burned). The album led to further debates due to its introductory cocktail at Hilton Hotel. He was criticized for being a billionaire leftist, paving the way for inflammation of the leftist *arabesk* debates, which he admitted in his press declarations.

The next album, *Tedirgin* (The perturbed) (April 1993) was released by *Raks Müzik* upon liquidation of *Barış Plak*. In that period Ahmet Kaya departed from Yusuf Hayaloğlu. This album did not generally attract the audience except for the songs '*Munzurlu*' and '*Mahur Beste*.'

2.4.3 The impact of Kurdish Movement and struggles around identity

The period from the late '80s to the early '90s was one of many different changes in Turkey and the world. First, we must mention the effects of the political developments throughout the world in the late 1980s, which permeated all areas: the collapse of the

regimes in Poland and South Africa, the release of Mandela, the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the collapse of the U.S.S.R. and the entire Eastern Block in 1989-91, the breakup of the former Yugoslavia and the following conflicts in the Balkans, and the first Gulf War following Iraq's occupation of Kuwait in 1990, and so on. All of these and some other developments served to turn international politics, which had developed over many years, on their head. At the same time, opposition movements and cultural field were also affected. For those who had remained on the left side of the bipolar world order with a nuclear threat in the center, the collapse of the U.S.S.R. was like the rug being pulled out from under them. Old styles of opposition and universalist discourse lost their ability to produce answers within the increasing diversity and plurality in society. Thus these older styles were replaced by identity-based oppositions.

The 1990s were marked with the rise of Kurdish movement, which had implications in almost all the fields, including but not limited to, politics, art, economics, social and cultural spheres. While the struggle rapidly evolved into a 'low-intensity war' between PKK and the security forces, including army, gendarmerie, police, and special forces, there emerged a sort of awakening in otherwise 'assimilated' citizens with Kurdish descent. More and more Kurdish originated people started to emphatize with the 'cause,' albeit through romantic bonds.

Without a doubt, the most important development, which accelerated the cultural identity-based opposition in Turkey in the 1990s is directly related to the experiences of the Kurdish people living within Turkey and the Middle East. By the early 1990s, as a result of internal and international pressures, the government had softened its stance on the recognition of the Kurdish presence, which up to then had been denied. For example, in 1991 the prohibition against Kurdish music was 'officially' (although continued its presence in practice) lifted (the Law, number 2932). Following this, Kurdish albums, which were previously reproduced illegally quickly began to be produced by music companies. However upon the beginning of the 1st Gulf War and the period to follow, they quickly hardened their stance. The answer to the Kurds' demands, which came as an 'intensive short-term anti-terror conflict,' became steadily more violent throughout the '90s.

The struggle towards achieving the recognition of Kurdish identity soon began to influence the discourse around other ethnic identities. Turkey is a country with linguistic and cultural diversity, which was shaped through a long time of history, but it was not

such easy to talk about diversity in those years. There happened a change (although limited) in Turkey within the 1990s, which became mostly visible through its cultural scene. Perhaps for the first time, identities had begun to be mentioned and discussed in the public sphere, by broad sections of the public. The struggles around ethnicity and identity in the 1990s expressed the belief in relief from the burden of the past, and brought the message that the assimilationist policies in practice for years in this country had gone bankrupt. In other words, the political atmosphere of the 1990s was dominated by the appearance of a reaction against the previous policies in various ways. Hence the musics, which accompanied the struggles around the expression of cultural identities took the form of opposition musics which will be mentioned in Chapter 3.

2.4.4 Voicing the identity of Kurdishness*: Şarkılarım Dağlara* (1994)

Şarkılarım Dağlara (My song are to the mountains) has the distinction of being the most influential album in Ahmet Kaya discography, in terms of touching the reality of the country and broadening the base of his audience. With this album, his audience including the revolutionary youth, who started to listen to Ahmet Kaya with *Şafak Türküsü*, but in a short time left listening to him due to the *arabesk* influences in his music, were able to re-connect to Ahmet Kaya's music. Secondly, although the album does not include Kurdish songs, it managed to address a serious Kurdish audience due to its themes and references to the war in the East and Southeast of the country.

The album was banned by many Provincial Governorates including Ordu, Yozgat, and Mardin (21 October 1994, *Oya* journal). In his various interviews, Ahmet Kaya says he had no problem with universalism but with the nationality and asks "what was the meaning of appearing in concerts in Greece or elsewhere, while I was not able to do so from Edirne to Ardahan?" most probably referring to the conduct of Zülfü Livaneli. He frequently draws attention to the South Eastern problem of Turkey: "Young people, soldiers, guerrillas die in the mountains" and explains that is why he named his album after *Şarkılarım Dağlara*. He refers to the Kurdish problem in many interviews in the same period by repeating that "Turks and Kurds are brothers." However, he could not include any Kurdish songs in his repertoire.

This period was also marked with the enlargement of media through new and private TV and radio channels, introduction of the art management system, press advisors, record promotion, etc. and the development of the video clips sector. The song '*Saza*

Niye Gelmedin?' (Why didn't you come to *saz*?) from this album was Kaya's first video clip directed by Sinan Çetin. His further popularization and increased media coverage helped him with increased concert opportunities. For example, he was previously going abroad for attending the night events of certain leftist circles, yet he started to participate in professional organisations. His *Şarkılarım Dağlara* album hit record sales of approximately 1.5 million and remained on the top of the bestsellers list for months.

In this period his music genre started to be named as *fantezi* (phantasy) by some circles. However, he adopted the terms 'alternative' and 'popular music' in explaining his music style. The interesting point is that, he added 'Turkish' before it as Turkish pop, possibly because he was singing in Turkish and using Turkish folk/classical music instruments: "My music is the alternative Turkish folk music; in other words Turkish pop music. It's a popular music beloved by people as performed by Turkish instruments. You cannot call the others as (Turkish) pop. The *makams*, instruments, and backgrounds have nothing to do with the Turkish music" (*Cumhuriyet*, 12 October 1994).

Immediately after the release of the album he entered into a contract with private Kanal D TV station. The program was co-prepared by Ahmet Kaya, Gülten Kaya, and Yusuf Hayaloğlu and named after *Ahmet Abi'nin Vapuru* (The ship of Brother Ahmet). He hosted artists in the program, sang songs and talked about the agenda of the country. He frequently used that opportunity to call for peace, fraternity, and democracy. He emphasised the richness of the multiculturalism of Turkey by inviting artists throughout Turkey. During the thirteen-week course of those programs he used video clips for poems written by Yusuf Hayaloğlu and directed and performed by himself.

2.4.5 The expansion of socio-politicial discourse

In this period, Turkey met with mothers who convened in Beyoğlu, Istanbul, before the gates of Galatasaray High School on Saturdays and declared that they were looking for their lost children. Ahmet Kaya stood aside the Saturday Mothers and composed the song *Beni Bul* (Find me) for them and released his album with the same title in 1995. With this album he began to collaborate with Yusuf Hayaloğlu again and also produced a video clip again directed by Sinan Çetin.

The album composed of songs using mostly the maqams featuring the Turkish instruments. In some magazines it was claimed that Ahmet Kaya changed. He explains

himself: "I have used a softer discourse and smoothed myself." Possibly this was because of the fact that he had a wider audience from different circles; while previously it was the revolutionary, democrat, or such people listened to him, now people who had yachts and villas started to listen to him as well.

His *Yıldızlar ve Yakamoz* (Stars and sea sparkles) album of 1996 as composed of the rearrangement of the selected songs from his first three albums and two new compositions became a bestseller again. The '*Yakamoz*' (Sea aparkle) song and its video clip would once again mark the period.

In 1997, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, then Istanbul mayor, now president was tried for reading a poem in a meeting and sentenced to nine months in jail. Upon the judgment the Islamists raised intensive protests yet the leftists remained silent. Ahmet Kaya said: "Democracy is for all of us. The freedom of thought must also be valid for Tayyip Bey as it is for me. No one should be jailed for reading a poem!" which sparked the reactions of the leftist circles. During that period he also supported the Islamist students who wanted to enter the universities wearing their headscarves but denied to do so: "If I am able to wear a suit, they should be free to wear headscarves." His attitude paved the way for a new debate regarding the democracy and liberty notions, upon which Ahmet Kaya says, "The rightists don't like me, the leftists don't like me, the Islamists don't like me… So who buys millions of my records, who are those tens of thousands people attending to my concert?" (URL-4).

Gülten Kaya and Ahmet Kaya decided to open a studio and a production company with the idea that they could more freely and comfortably work and provide the new talented musicians with the opportunity to make their own albums. They founded the musical company named after GAK (the initials of Gülten-Ahmet Kaya) and a studio under the same name. They also provided a group, Kent Ozanları (Urban *Ozans*), composed of Çetin Oraner (the assistant of Ahmet Kaya for years) and five conservatory students. Ahmet Kaya completed his *Dosta Düşmana Karşı* (Against friends and foe) album in March 1998. The album rapidly became a bestseller. The video clips shot for the '*Giderim*' (I'd rather leave) and '*Korkarım*' (I'm afraid) songs would become the most popular and broadcasted video clips for many years.

2.5 MGD night, exile and postmortem

Kaya's sympathy with the Kurdish liberation movement, and his late insistence on performing songs in Kurdish made him a 'legitimate' target. His exile started after he was bullied by a saloon-full of celebrities attending to a dinner by Magazine Reporters' Association on February 10th, 1999. Paradoxically he attended to the said dinner to receive the award of the Best Artist of the Year. The 'reaction' of the attendees came after his speech:

> I would like to thank to Human Rights Association, Saturday Mothers, all the press workers, and the peoples of Turkey. I want to add a statement. I will perform a song in Kurdish (…)

Immediately after the 'incidence,' the media launched a defamation campaign based on fake scenarios and records against Ahmet Kaya, which was followed by official cases brought against him. The accusation was quite familiar of that time: Aiding and abetting to the separatist PKK organization. Upon which he had to leave the country on June 16th, 1999, he was sentenced to jail in his absence and a year later died in exile. He died on 16 November 2000 as a result of a heart attack at his home in Paris, where he lived in exile. He was buried in the Pere Lachaise cemetery.

After Ahmet Kaya's death, the albums *Hoşçakalın Gözüm* (Farewell my dears) (2001), Biraz da Sen Ağla (This time you cry) (2003), *Kalsın Benim Davam* (Leave my case to council) (2005), *Gözlerim Bin Yaşında* (My eyes are thousand years old) (2006), *Ülkemde Son Turnem* (My last tour in my country) (2010), *Sen İnsansın* (You are human) (2016), (What is left to us) (2016) and the tribute albums *Dinle Sevgili Ülkem* (Hear, my dear country) (2002) and *Bir Eksiğiz* (We are one less) (2014) all produced by GAM music were released. Ahmet Kaya was back on the agenda with many debates in 2013 (from the award given to him, who attacked him at the MGD night, whether his grave should be moved or not, etc.). On Ahmet Kaya's birthday, it was announced that the Presidential Culture and Art Grand Prize would be given to Ahmet Kaya in the field of music with the announcement from the official website of Presidential that "it was deemed appropriate to be given to Ahmet Kaya in the field of music on the grounds that his music, interpretation and discourse brought together many people from different views."

Ahmet Kaya had been lynched because he had declared himself a Kurd and did not lose hope that the days when Kurds would not be forced to be turned into Turks in this country would come. When the government offered to bring back Kaya's body to Turkey, Gülten Kaya's responded:

> History is written in spite of us, this history is written like this. A country sent an artist into exile for the sake of singing in the mother language, and destroyed him in exile. We cannot change this history. No matter where, history has been noted. It is necessary not to change the history so that this is not done to anyone again, as long as this country faces its defects. I say this, Ahmet Kaya will remain in exile for now. (URL-4)

So, 'his-story,' for the purposes of this thesis, gives a break here…

3. LEFT-LEANING PROTEST MUSIC TRADITION IN TURKEY (1960s-1990s): THE KEY MUSICAL REFERENCES, SOURCES AND APPROACHES

The aim of this chapter is to present the substantive content of the left-leaning protest music tradition in Turkey beginning from the 1960s until the 1990s with regard to the key musical references, sources and approaches.

Tradition is a set of ideas as well as practices (Jameson and Eyerman, 1998, p. 42). So, we need to characterize both underlying philosophy and a set of performance principles in relation with a tradition. In this chapter, I would like to characterize the central ideas that are articulated and the ways in which those articulations are mobilized by the left in relation with music by focusing on the musical sources and practices through which protest tradition has been expressed in different periods.

As mentioned earlier in the Introduction Chapter, I argue that the Turkish Left invented its tradition of musical protest based on the re-construction of folk songs and especially *Alevi-Kızılbaş âşık* tradition within a socialist-leftist perspective (as well as adapting/writing political marches), a process taking its ideological roots from the socialist intellectuals' works dating back to the '40s and '50s. I also argue that in this process, Ruhi Su played the pioneering role and in the following periods, the mentioned protest tradition was re-constructed continuously through different musical genres or styles.

In the first two sections, I examine Turkish Left's invention of its tradition of musical protest and the incorporation of *Alevi* poetry and the *deyiş*s into the Left's culture as the basic musical source. I argue that there is a process of 'tradition invention' here which has parallelisms with Turkish nation-state's invention of its musical tradition with nationalist and modernist approaches. Ruhi Su himself would become a reference figure within the leftist culture in terms of his practices, views and approaches. Hence, I have devoted a full section to Ruhi Su and his role as a pioneer.

In the 1960s, many Alevi *âşık*s were mobilized in the leftist movement as well as the *Alevi* youth, especially under the roof of TİP. This period witnessed the beginning of transformation of *âşık* tradition in terms of both content and performance manners within the context created by both rural to urban migrations and social mobility. In '70s, a model called *devrimci âşık-ozan* appeared within the context of revolutionary struggle with its ideological, musical and performative references. In the next section, mobilization of *Alevi âşık*s by the socialist movement and transformation of *âşık* tradition through the '60s and '70s are examined. Also the basic references of the mentioned *devrimci ozan* model are discussed. Within the same period, the popular music field through urban popular styles was formed. In section 3.6, I basically discuss the transformation of folk-based pop/rock genres into an oppositional character, especially in the second half of the '70s. I have devoted the section 3.5 on *devrimci müzik* (revolutionary music) debate and the political marches as the other side of the political/revolutionary musical activism in the '70s.

In the aftermath of the 1980 coup, musical accumulation-transfer was interrupted, most of the actors had to go abroad while continued their production in the diaspora countries either individually or under the roofs of associations, federations, etc. However, musicians of a younger generation appeared in the '80s who were politicized during the second half of the '70s and usually connected with a political line. They gathered either in the university campuses, cultural centers or associations and most of them established music groups within time. Although the 1980 coup created a sort of dissolution-interruption, when we look at the political music field that emerged especially after the mid-'80s, we see a kind of re-connection with the earlier protest music tradition. On the other hand, there are disconnections due the differences in musical styles, sources and musical tastes. For this reason, I found it appropriate to examine the '80s in relation with re-connections with and dis-connections from the tradition. What created the main break in this line is, in my opinion, the breakthrough of Ahmet Kaya in 1985, but he will not be covered in this chapter since his musical accumulation and the debates around his music will be examined in the next two chapters.

As mentioned earlier, I consider the '90s in the context of the emergence of 'new' oppositional musics in relation with the identity-based struggles, but the cultural and musical climate of the '90s is beyond the scope of this study. This is because of the

fact that, in the context of the post-1989 and especially after 1992-93, it was transitioned to a completely different climate, which is no longer under the influence of the cultural hegemony of the left. Nevertheless, in order to follow the connections of the problematized musical domain, the '90s are also looked at from this angle to see how the aforementioned musical culture of the previous periods evolved.

3.1 Invention of Turkish Left's Tradition of Musical Protest

Hobsbawm suggested that nations and nationalism were the very products of social construction through the so-called invented traditions or "a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition which automatically implies continuity with the past" (Hobsbawm, 2012, p. 1). The invented traditions function as an agent to unify people by introducing an imagined connection with their historical past. In that respect, the invented traditions use only the meticulously selected aspects of a country's national history. Therefore, "national identity (…) can be reinvented and reinforced through the selective construction of invented traditions involving invented customs, myths, symbols, and rituals, which form the national culture and shape the national identity" (Vincent and Hill, 2011).

In an analogical move, Anderson (1991) suggested the 'imagined community' term; his theory was based on an understanding that nation itself was an imagined community, "because the members of even the smallest nations will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (Anderson, 1991, p. 6). Therefore, 'imagined community' approach is aligned with the concept of national identity based on re-invented traditions to an extent that it is considered a socially *re*-constructed image of the national citizens' respective nation.

The making of Republic of Turkey upon the aftermath of Ottoman Empire can be analyzed in the context of invented traditions and imagined communities. After losing most of its territories and cosmopolitan character (multi-cultural, multi-ethnic and multi-religious), the Republic of Turkey was established on an invented Turkishness and a Sunni interpretation of Islam. The World War I was a consecutive blow to the Empire. Its end also marked the fate of the Empire. Not only the major powers, namely France, Britain, and Italy, carved out the empire by inducing nationalisms and nation-

states within the Ottoman Empire, but also the Empire and later the Anatolian Government started to homogenize the country. Beginning from 19th century and especially in 1915, the Armenian 'problem' was resolved. The hitherto denied ethnic cleansing in disguise of forced migration resulted in the tragic death of hundreds of thousands of Armenian civilians and 'helped with' creating a Muslim stronghold made up of so-called Turks and Kurds. Further, by means of *Mübadele* (the Great Population Exchange) between Greece and Turkey, cleansing Pontiac Greeks, and finally Pogrom in 1955 and forced migration; Greeks followed Armenians in leaving out their homeland. Throughout the modern history of Turkey, there has been other forced migrations and population engineering acts, including the forced migration of Jews from Kırklareli (originally from Thessaloniki) to Istanbul, the cleansing of Assyrians and Ezidis, harsh suppression and cleansing of revolting *Alevi*s and Kurds, and finally displacement of Kurds. Hence the nation state, with an official ideology of Turk-Islam, founded and reinforced its survival strategy on creating a Turkish identity and Sunni Islam. Although the Turkish identity was claimed to be a non-ethnic one, that is all the citizens were considered Turks, in practice, there has been a massive discrimination and suppression on non-Turkish, non-Sunni minorities. On the cultural/ideological side of the nation-state-building, the so-called revolutions changed all the symbols and references of the daily life, with an absolute rupture from the Ottoman life, and 'helped with' creating/inventing a new nation-state. Not only hats and alphabet, but also scales, dates, holidays were radically changed to a new Westernized standard. Millions became 'illiterate' and there created a great divide in intellectual terms. Westernization was taken as a model for modernity and 'One language, one flag, one religion!' motto constituted the basis of the new nation-state, replacing the somehow cosmopolitan understanding of the Ottoman Empire.

Music, as an important part of the attempts to create cultural unity, was subjected to cleansing, homogenization and reconstruction as well. The period from 1923 to 1946 witnessed the attempts to construct the contemporary yet Turkish national music of the new Republic.

> It was in the early period of Turkish Republic that the national musical tradition, which held a significant place in the construction of a Turkish national identity and culture, was 'invented.' Two main routes were set forth in the invention of a national musical tradition: The first was to adopt a Western

> approach to music to achieve a modern level of civilization. The second was to use 'pure and untouched' traditional folk melodies as the construction materials for this project. The period from 1923 to 1950 in particular, was a time of radical institutionalization and activities in the area of music towards this end [Öztürk, 2007]. The members of the *Mızıka-yı Hümayun* were brought to Ankara to form *Riyaset'i Cumhur Orkestrası* (Orchestra of the Prime Ministry), *Musiki Muallim Mektebi* (Music Teachers' College) was founded, the group of musicologist-composers known as the Turkish Five was sent abroad for education [Öztürk, 2007]. For a period, radio broadcast of Ottoman Turkish music was prohibited because it was found out of mode and also it was necessary to cut the bonds with the Ottoman descents. The *Dar'ül-Elhan* was changed into the Istanbul Municipal Conservatory, and its Eastern Music section was closed, because it was off the agenda, and monophonic. After all, in order to sever the bond with the Ottoman Empire, it was necessary to sever the bond with the Ottoman musical tradition. On the other hand, during the ban, most people began listening to Egyptian radio channels. The popularity of Egyptian radio as well as of Egyptian films opened a new vein in the popular music arena in Turkey which paved the way for a different blend that later took the name *arabesk* and became popular during 1960s and 1970s. (Özer Efe, 2013, pp. 16-17)

As sources of 'contemporary national music,' folk songs began to be collected and harmonized in Western patterns. The folk songs being collected were notated according to the diatonic system; microtones were discarded and local styles were ignored (Hasgül, 1996). The songs were categorized under the heading of 'Turkish folk songs' and as 'anonymous.' These works, "which would be used for teaching purposes as well as a source of inspiration for modern composers in the works they would create, were performed by the *Yurttan Sesler Korosu* (Voices from the Homeland Chorus) at the chief broadcasting institution of the period, TRT Radio" (Özer Efe, 2013, p. 17) in the following periods. For those who grew up with the perception of folk songs shaped by the visual and auditory image of *Yurttan Sesler*, there is no doubt that it has deeply affected the way all of us think about our folk songs as well as our 'national' music. The traces of this cultural policy of homogenization, which began during the last years of the Ottoman Empire passed on to the Republican

regime and were continually reinvented throughout the history (Özer Efe, 2013). Turkish Left's cultural policy during its formative years was of no exception.

The formative years of the Left's invention of its musical protest tradition was also parallel to the nation-building efforts of the Kemalist revolution. Therefore, especially in the first period, it was heavily influenced by the modernization as adopted by the new nation-state, a great divide with the Ottoman set of traditions. Although the ferment here did not match, the idea put forward here, that is, the development and enrichment of the possibilities of 'genuine-pure' folk music with Western contemporary techniques, reaching the level of polyphony of the West, and thus creating 'noble' urban modern folk songs, has formed the backbone of the leftist musical tradition. While the state, with its ideology and institutions, based its activities on 'taming' and 'reconstruction,' and especially exclusion with an attempt to 'purify' the culture of the new state and 'liberate' it from non-Turkish and non-Sunni (both reconstructions) effects and traces, Left adopted through the modern intellectuals of TKP and later TİP a specific modernization ideology based on the reconstruction of 'pure,' 'innocent' yet 'inadequate' elements of folklore. Leftist culture, especially through its reference name Ruhi Su, reconnected to the folk traditions embracing the opposition inherent in the folk songs in the form of expressing pain, oppression, anger and revolt. In that, as Ruhi Su suggested, a new form of performance was introduced excluding the local ways of singing in the name of moving forward the tradition (*geleneğin ileri taşınması*). In modernist ideology, tradition is usually considered as something related with the past and needs to be either removed or developed in favour of progress. In time, not only a new, Westernized performance style was introduced but also the context and the lyrics as well as the venues of performance would be subject to change.

The formation of the tradition was based predominantly on the re-construction of folk poetry and songs, especially *Alevi âşık* music. The intellectual foundations were laid in the '40s and '50s through putting forward the resistance-protest content in *Alevi* poetry and combining this content with a socialist-revolutionary perspective. After Ruhi Su managed to establish a bridge between the urban leftist-socialist intellectuals and folk music, this music entered the agenda of the leftist urban culture. Ruhi Su accomplished this thanks to his trained voice, with his interpretation of folk songs not

like a local minstrel but as an urbanite modern. He adopted a 'modernization' process that would appeal to the urban tastes.

In such processes, emphasis is placed on the leading role of the researcher (who was educated with a Western understanding) in terms of competently knowing the musical language of the culture both transferred and to be transferred, and there is a presumption that if s/he uses both languages competently, her/his inferences should be regarded as 'scientific' and 'impartial.' Just like the role assigned assigned to the folk revivalists in various periods around the world, the same role was assigned to Ruhi Su as a pioneer in the sense of 'carrying the tradition forward.' Su's reputation in the field was above all due to his being a Western-educated person who knew Western music well and also knew folk music well.

I consider the process here as a 're-construction,' in the sense that folk songs are reproduced in a new context (urban, modern, secular and socialist perspective) by taking them outside their context (traditional, cultural and religious). For the purposes of this study, 'reconstruction' is considered a set of efforts to reconnect to existing tradition(s) or elements of tradition(s) and *re*-construct them in line with the general set of values, ideology, and paradigm of, say, the Turkish Left. This is generally a romantic approach towards the elements of such tradition and canonize and such elements are sublimated often through a reimagined fashion. The examples include the 'purity,' 'innocence,' 'hardworking,' 'patience,' and even 'pain' of peasants. Exclusion is another important step in the formation of a new tradition. In that undesired elements are stripped of from the existing tradition and only solicited elements are incorporated to the newly founded tradition.

We can summarize the basic approach in the early Republican period, either from a nationalist or socialist perspective, in two points: While turning to folk music as a source, firstly, a selective process was edging in the decision of what the 'true' or 'authentic' (although themselves controversial concepts) music of the people was, and various elements were excluded in this process on the ethnic, religious, cultural and musical basis. Secondly, the desire to create a new musical form, but necessarily with a 'contemporary' approach was dominant in the name of carrying the tradition (and nation) forward.

During the early stages of my thesis writing, I had used the term 'nobilitization', as an analogy to 'gentrification.' The term 'gentry' generally refers to upper or ruling class according to the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*. With the addition of the suffix '-fication' it began to be used to mean "a process in which a poor area (as of a city) experiences an influx of middle-class or wealthy people who renovate and rebuild homes and businesses and which often results in an increase in property values and the displacement of earlier, usually poorer residents"[35]. The concept of 'musical gentrification' proposed as a conceptual tool from a similar point in the book *Musical Gentrificiation, Popular Music, Distinction and Social Mobility* (2021), which is a recently published book, came to my rescue and opened a very important door in front of me by conceptualizing what I wanted to express with 'nobilitization' through the musical field[36].

The concept of 'musical gentrification' refers to the tendency of music to include or protect some people or bands while excluding some others; while on the one hand some music forms/genres are forbidden, how some others are joined to the repertoire through gentrification (Dyhndahl, 2013, p.173). In another article the concept is defined as:

> On these grounds, and in the given theoretical context, we refer to musical gentrification as complex processes with both inclusionary and exclusionary outcomes, by which musics, musical practices, and musical cultures of relatively lower status are made to be objects of acquisition by subjects who inhabit higher or more powerful positions. As with the examples borrowed from urban geography and described above, these processes strongly contribute to changing the characteristics of particular musical communities as well as the musics, practices, and cultures that are subjected to gentrification. (Dyndahl, Karlsen, Skårberg, & Nielsen, 2014, p. 54)

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[35] https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/gentrification

[36] Before the aforementioned book, this concept was for the first time in the literature suggested within the scope of the PhD course titled *Cultural Studies, Music and Music* Education conducted under the guidance of Petter Dyndahl, visiting Professor at Malmö Academy of Music in 2012-13 and the book *Intersection and Interplay: Contributions to the Cultural Study of Music in Performance, Education and Society* (Petter Dyndahl (ed.), 2013), which is a compilation of various articles written by the students on the subject. The 11th Chapter of the book titled as "Musical Gentrification, Sociocultural Diversities, and the Accountability of Academics" was written by Petter Dyndahl.

It is important to also note that 'reconstruction,' 'gentrification,' and 'exclusion' are merely abstractions and it may not be easy or sometimes possible to differentiate them in the process of making of tradition. A particular culture, may/does have contradictions with the tradition, either natural or unnatural, either 'genuine' or re-invented, which is the case with the Leftist culture. On the other hand, the said particular culture may/does claim keeping, performing, practicing, or transmitting the 'authentic tradition,' a tradition preserved from, say, the interference of the government. In the case of Turkish Left, frequent referrals to village music, *âşık-ozan* tradition, the innocence of villagers, such values as honesty, such experiences as being suppressed, are an indication of the Leftist culture's aim to link with an undegenerated tradition.

In this study, I argue that Turkish Left's making of its own protest music tradition is heavily based on the re-contruction of folk/*âşık* music tradition especially in the formation period. In this process, while some elements were included, some others were excluded based on the ideal of creating 'modern' (tuned for urban ears) and 'gentrified' (not peasent) folk songs of the Nation based on the 'pure' (undegenerated) folk material (presenting Turkish identity), in favor of carrying the tradition forward (towards Western contemporary culture). I also argue that these practices would be heavily repeated, though through different musical styles, in the following periods.

3.2 Inclusion of *Alevi* Poetry and *Deyiş*s in Leftist Culture

It would not be an exaggeration to say that the *Alevi-Bektaşi deyiş*s functioned as the main body of 'building blocks' in the process of the Left's forming its tradition of musical protest, just like the function of folk songs as the building blocks in the process of the construction of Contemporary National Music in the Republican Era.

The article by Murat Küçük, namely '*Türkiye'de Sol Düşünce ve Aleviler*' (Leftist thought and Alevis in Turkey)[37] introduces in a brilliant way the fact that the model based on *Alevi* poems and *deyiş*s was made a reference in leftist popular culture. Küçük suggests that the subject of *Alevism* entered into the agenda of socialist intellectuals through the folklore studies carried out in the Republican era by stating that "in this

[37] Published in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Sol, 8. Cilt* (Modern Political Thought in Turkey: Left, *volume* 8).

field, the collection was formed mainly by the Kemalist cadres' screening of Anatolia with a national perspective, and the tradition of bards during the frenetic compilation efforts was highly appreciated" (Küçük, 2007, p. 901). From 1938, this accumulation had begun to be handled with the social aspects outside the national perspective with the works of Pertev Naili Boratav (Küçük, 2007, p. 901). Boratav is known for his questioning the relationship between folklore and nationalism, and his effort to free folklore research from nationalism and take it 'in an objective approach of the Western scientific world.' In these works, *Alevism* took an important emphasis and even his efforts caused him to be charged with communism; he was accused of referring to the rebel history of *Alevi-Kızılbaş* poets (Küçük, 2007, p. 901).

Sabahattin Eyüboğlu and Ruhi Su -under the influence of Pertev Naili Boratav- were among the first socialist intellectuals, who turned to folk literature, hence towards the traditional *Alevi* poetry as an ideational 'resource' and tool, and that the primary reason for their interest in *Alevi* poetry and *deyiş*s was to capture and emphasize their 'socialist essence' (ibid., p. 902). Of course, one of the reference names chosen at this point is Pir Sultan Abdal and another name was Şeyh Bedreddin, a historical motif that the left recognized due to the famous poet Nazım Hikmet (ibid., p. 902). We can summarize the widespread trend as follows: to present them as a resistance man, a people of the people, without mentioning the world of faith they belong to; minimizing the religious content, if possible, by completely removing it.

In the '40s, the real opening that brought the leftist thought together with traditional *Alevi* poetry and *deyiş* was through Ruhi Su. He was making a program called '*Bas-Bariton Ruhi Su Türküler Söylüyor*' (Bass baritone Ruhi Su performs folk songs) on Ankara Radio. The program, which started in 1943, was ended in 1945 on the grounds that 'he was singing *Alevi* songs and was a communist.'

In his writings, Ruhi Su explains his tendency towards the *semahs* as: "While I was dealing with folk songs, I saw that *Alevî-Bektaşî* music also had non-religious qualities. *Semahs* in particular are folk songs that embrace life. With their content and music, they were separated from other folk songs and formed another integrity" (Su, 2010, p. 148). In line with the socialist intellectual attitude of the period, he emphasizes the socialist essence (although a controversial term) of Alevi *deyiş*s-*semah*s and emphasizes their non-religious features. He explains this by comparing it with another ritual form, *semâ*:

> As you know, *sema* [whirling] is the name of dance, which is made by Mevlevî, and whose rules are mostly determined after Mevlana. Its music is also composed. This is a music originating from Classical Turkish Music, composed in lodges and by some composers. The main distinction between *sema* and *semah* lies there because folk music is at the root of *semah* music. The dance is also a folk dance type. Then there is a sort self-ecstasy in Mevlevi called as *cezbe*. However, the *semah*s are oriented towards life. (Su, 2010, p. 147)

He exemplifies the worldliness of the *semah*s by saying that "*semahs* are performed by men and women together" while there are no women among the whirling dervish and continues to compare:

> Similarities are that they are both dances performed with religious enthusiasm. Only that *semahs* are not performed all the time, on each occasion. In general, it is held in the form of a festive season, such as the harvest season, at certain times of the year or at the end of the days when religious duties are performed. Like a peace feast, in the joy of peace. This is a festivity for life and joy for life. Its lyrics, say it is religious or non-religious, is always full of joy for life, are enthusiastic. (Su, 2010, pp. 147-148)

Ruhi Su described the *semah* as folk song to accompany these rituals at certain times of the year, rather than being a ritualistic form itself. He performed some of the *deyiş*s and *semah*s as they were whereas he changed the lyrics in some places in order to increase social emphasis and he sometimes wrote completely new lyrics with a content suitable for the revolutionary struggle. "Ruhi Su's works laid the foundations of a perspective through which *Alevism* was not considered a religion with an aim to ensure an ideological identity, but taken as a philosophy, a life style, or the ideology of the oppressed" (Küçük, 2007, p. 904). Subsequently, the *Alevi deyiş*s became the indispensable element of the leftist popular culture.

3.3 Ruhi Su as the Pioneer

Ruhi Su (1912-1985) opened many doors during the formation of Turkish Lef''s musical tradition. The value and love he gave to folk music took an important emphasis in his struggle. In this sense, he holds a pioneering position and has achieved the 'firsts'

in many fields: bringing up field work in music activity on the agenda by compiling on-site and carrying out a rigorous research process and sharing the results of these researches with the public space through plaques with linear notes; turning towards 'thematic' albums, which were rare for his time; inclusion of the resistance folk poets (such as Pir Sultan Abdal); inclusion of *Alevi deyiş*s in the leftist musical tradition; inclusion of socialist poets (for example Ruhi Su is the first to compose Nazım Hikmet); putting folk songs into the agenda of the urban population; the first collective alternative market effort (*Imece Plak*); folk recitals (with *bağlama*) he started in *Halkevleri*; transferring the resistance-protest content in folk songs to the socialist struggle by way of his political alliance (begun with TKP and then transferred to TİP), and so on.

His emphasis on content also determined his attitude of performance where *bağlama* was used simply and originally as an instrument to accompany voice and lyrics, hence he was not performance oriented. It is possible to say that Ruhi Su has become a reference name in terms of his vocal attitude whose basic characteristics can be summarized as the following: avoiding ornaments and larynx roosters to make the content understandable; occasionally resorting to recitative style and poem reading as well as adapting a narrator or story teller role in line with the emphasis on social content; the importance he attributed to proper diction and proper Turkish use as a modernist intellectual of the Republic; his bass-baritone voice type and *davudî* vocal timbre (used to refer the strong and deep vocal character for men's voice[38]). Zülfü Livaneli and among the names that follow Su, Sadık Gürbüz are other examples with similar singing style and bass-baritone voice type. Regarding the singing, the issue of 'avoiding ornamentation and laryngeal roots, and preference of lower tones' was dominant in the leftist tradition of musical protest before the 1980s and likewise manifests itself in the musical taste of the leftist/socialist groups of the period. It is interesting to also note that this preference -that is, the preference of lower root notes, the use of chest voice and *davudî* vocal character- is dominant among musicians (women as well as men), who perform the *Alev*i music repertoire. On the other hand,

[38] While this term is not common for female voices, for example, Sümeyra Çakır (1946-1990) (a member and lead vocal of Dostlar Choir) has mezzo-soprano voice type, and her use of a similar *davudism* draws the attention.

in the 1980s' bands, male voices were predominantly tenor, while women were often sopranos, and the use of head voices was common.

Ruhi Su is not an artist from the *âşık* tradition, however he moved himself to a point that was fed by tradition. Although he respected the *âşık*s who continued the tradition and had no problem with 'continuing the tradition,' he himself basically emphasized the issue of 'carrying the tradition forward.' He tried to do it through the search for polyphony at the vocal level, which he identified with modernity. The motives 'from local to universal' and 'from national to universal,' necessary to reach the level of civilization had always been at the central position in his views. In the '90s, the 'national' began to be questioned through the struggles around ethnicity and identity as well as the debates around globalization and localization. However, 'from local to the universal' motif still stands out though with different implications. As with the folk-based popular forms in Turkey, polyphony and synthesis efforts (either at the vocal level or in terms of orchestration and arrangement) have always remained at the key point on the road to the universal as an indicator of 'sophisticated' and 'rich' music.

Without a doubt, Ruhi Su has influenced almost every musician and group in Turkey seeking to build a musical style of their own based on a combination of folk music and popular and/or classical forms. Making the concrete reflections of these effects through detailed examples in a comparative way will deepen the studies on protest music in Turkey. Ruhi Su still preserves his almost indisputable cornerstone position in the left-leaning musical culture.

3.4 Mobilization of *Alevi-Âşık*s and Transformation of *Âşık* Tradition (*'*60s-'70s)

As mentioned earlier, an intellectual interest in *Alevi* culture and poetry started with the intellectual figures including Pertev Naili Boratav, Sabahattin Eyüboğlu et al. in the '40s and *Alevi deyiş*s were introduced to the socialist intellectual circles through Ruhi Su. In the political arena, throughout the '60s, the oppositional *Alevi* identity politicized itself with the left, while the left actually met this group as its 'people.' So actually there was a mutual politicization: The left thought that it found its own people, where the people thought that they found their own modern ideology and the *Alevi* identity began to politicize (Akpınar, personal interview with A. Akpınar, 2020).

When the Republic was established, an economy based on agriculture was maintained in the villages. The real demographic transformation started after 1950. DP started migration from village to city. Industrialization began and factories were established. People living in the villages until the '50s started to migrate to the big cities. With the first wave of immigration, there was a very massive migration from *Alevi* villages. This explains the existence of many *Alevis* in the early working class and unions in the '60s, as well as in student organizations. There has been historically pressure on *Alevi*s in a geography where Sunni interpretation of Islam has been dominated by the State; the Turkish Left offered *Alevi*s such an opening (Akpınar, personal interview with A. Akpınar 2019).

On the other hand, "communism was a perverse ideology for the average man in the provinces, which did not include the concepts of family and honor" (Küçük, 2007, p. 906). Thus, "*Allahsız komünistler"* (Godless communists) and "*sapkın Kızılbaşlar"* (perverted Redheads) came together under the roof of TİP and the negative meanings attributed to each were connected. With the increasing immigration to the city in the *Alevi* areas due to economic reasons, as well as the exclusion and isolation by the Sunnite community and the anti-communist movement turning towards the *Alevi*s, the 1960s witnessed a period in which student *Alevi* youth turned towards politics. Generally, the years of the 1960s were when the socialist opposition that developed with TİP gradually turned into a revolutionary movement.

The '60s could be considered a true milestone -a period when social transformation became more pronounced, a period of demographic and cultural change emerged with relative freedom, worker-union mobility and migrations. Most of the *âşık*s came to the big cities in this period. They encountered a new culture, new environments, and new audience; hence, the expectations of the listener and that of the performer were subject to change. For the *âşık*, who just arrived in the city, addressing the urban intellectual strata was not the same as addressing the rural population. On the one hand, a different form of transmission, or recording process began, paving the way for lingering products with an unseen popularization speed, which was unlikely in instant/live performance. Therefore, performance format and texts also began to change in terms of listeners, medium, communication medium, and recording techniques, etc. *Âşıks* became mostly literate. Thus, for example, the tradition of improvisation almost came to an end (Başgöz, 1986, p. 188) since the notated version began to take the place of

improvisatory character. Live performance venues/environments were also changing; for instance, *âşık*s started to perform at workers' nights and Union events. As the foregoing venues gradually politicized, they acted accordingly and adapted to the said political attitude in terms of both the content and performance style. In other words, a transformation process was underway as regards the *âşık* tradition with a view to performance, listening, and conventions.

The main factor that accelerated this transformation was TİP. Soon after its establishment, TİP started to mobilize *Alevi*s. Musicians such as Ruhi Su and Tülay German were also included in this climate. *Alevi* poetry, *nefes* and *deyiş* began to take an important place in the discourse used by TİP to reach the public (Küçük, 2007, p. 904). Reading poems from Pir Sultan in party squares, explaining the class causes of the problems by referring to the sources of folk literature to the public; stimulating feelings of rebellion against poverty and social injustice... *Alevi* poetry had been the most suitable source for this (Küçük, 2007, p. 905). As Murat Küçük pointed out "*Âşık*s gathered under TİP disseminated the tradition they took over voluntarily in accordance with the political understanding of a socialist mass party, by moving them out of the *Alevi*s with a new content they created" (2007, p. 906).

In a short time, most *âşık*s became TİP members such as Âşık Ali İzzet Özkan, Âşık İhsanî, Âşık Mahzunî, Âşık Nesimî, Kul Hasan, Kul Ahmet, Melulî, Halil Öztoprak et al. These *Alevi âşık*s were all involved within TİP and appeared in the meetings organized by TİP in many cities of Anatolia. There was a major difference in both the performance manners and the topics covered by these musicians before and during the 1960s. For example, while Âşık İhsanî was singing songs for divine justice and peace previously, by the 1960s he adopted a discourse grounded on socialist realism and began singing about (and against) inequalities, poverty, exploitation of labor, oppression, and injustices from the perspective of workers and peasents (Kahyaoğlu, 2003, p. 60). As another example, while Âşık Mahzunî was singing about the oppression of *Alevi*s, he then began singing that this was not only the problem of *Alevi*s but of all people from working classes and peasents (Kahyaoğlu, 2003, p. 61).

The themes of the new period adapted to the vast change. Poverty was already a theme in folk poetry, but now the rich-poor distinction was mentioned. A special focus was on the *ağa* (local big landowner*) and köylü/ırgat* (peasent/farm hand) conflict thanks to the influence of the peasantism trend. Besides the rural areas, workers and labourers

in cities and the boss-worker tension were brought to the agenda. 'Inviting the public to wake up,' and 'calling for a struggle' emerged as a different political attitude. Socialist utopia became one of the themes.

Words changed too, adding new motifs to tradition. The words such as "bourgeois, boss, comprador, imperialism, capitalism, strippor, profiteer, black marketer, commissioner, exploitative classes, constitution, human rights, bank loan, private car, corrupt order, whisky, tax smuggler, freedom of opinion, world peace, right-wing, leftist, left of the middle," etc. (Başgöz, 1986, pp.188-9) began to be widely used.

Parallel to the transformation in lyrical themes, performance patterns were also subject to change: "It was new for the *âşık* tradition that he [Âşık İhsani] sang protest folk songs in front of the Grand National Assembly, at the door of Tuslog, at public agencies, in front of the Hilton Hotel" (Başgöz, 1986, p. 188). So we're talking about a transformation in this period not only in terms of content, form and performance but also in terms of protest forms.

3.4.1 From *âşık* to *devrimci ozan*

The socio-cultural environment in which revolutionary ideas sprouted in the 1960s flourished among the children of urban civil servants and bureaucrats, students of rural origin, who came to cities with migrations and had the chance to study at universities. In guerrilla movements that developed after the Cuban revolution, the affiliation of these young people with their hometowns played an active role (Küçük, 2007, p. 909): "When the first revolutionary organizations of THKO (1969), THKP-C (1970) and TKP/ML (1972) headed to the countryside to take the first steps of the people's war, they determined the *Alevi*-populated areas as a launchpad for their activities" (Küçük, 2007, p. 909). As mentioned earlier in Chapter 2, the leading cadres were killed between 1970 and 1973 and others were imprisoned. We see that most of the laments after the slaughter of leading positions of revolutionary organizations were composed by *Alevi âşık*s. For example, '*Kızıldere*' lament seems to have belonged to Âşık Sinem Bacı, yet a reference to Âşık İhsanî has also been given. '*Şarkışla*' lament and '*Ulaş'a Ağıt*' (Lament for Ulaş) have also been suggested as anonymous, on the other hand, there are references to Mehmet Koç as well. Similarly, Âşık Mahzunî has been referred to when it comes to '*Nurhak*' lament.

This bond was also established at the album level. In these works, the laments for revolutionary youth were included side by side with Alevi *deyişs*. "Music supported the establishment of emotional connection with revolutionary leaders through an *Alevi* sensitivity" (Küçük, 2007, p. 910). For example, the repertoire of Zülfü Livaneli's 1973 album *Chants Révolutionnaires Turcs* (Turkish revolutionary songs), which was released in Belgium, was based entirely on this sensitivity. Although he is not an *Alevi âşık*, we can count him as a part of the same musical climate. '*Dede Sultan*' (in lyrics, Bedreddin was mentioned by this pseudonym), which depicted the uprising led by Sheikh Bedreddin in the 17th century, was followed by '*Ulaş*,' which was a lament for Ulaş Bardakçı, one of the revolutionary leaders killed in 1972 (composed by Zülfü Livaneli); '*Yavaşça*,' a resistance song belonging to Meslekî, an *âşık* who lived in the 19th century; '*Şarkışla,*' which has been said to be a lament that the women of Şarkışla devoted in 1972 to Deniz Gezmiş, Yusuf Aslan and Hüseyin İnan; '*Alay Alay Gelen*' from Pir Sultan Abdal; '*Unutma Bizi*' (lyrics and music by Livaneli); '*Nurhak*,' a lament devoted to Sinan Cemgil, Alparslan Özdoğan and Kadir Manga, who were killed in 1971 (composed by Zülfü Livaneli); '*Bize de Banaz'da*' and '*Yana Yana*' again from Pir Sultan Abdal; '*Ayvaz Ağıdı*,' a lament with Gülten Akın's lyrics; Enver Gökçe's poem '*Gel Günlerim*,' and lastly '*Selam Olsun'* which took its place to close the album with a hopeful tone despite all (Livaneli, 2001).

In 1973, Bülent Ecevit came into political power. After Ecevit's Amnesty Law came into force in 1974, young people were released and they started to establish associations and get organized. The music works carried out were mostly based on the axis of folk music and *Alevi-âşık* music. Alevi culture was gaining strength in the leftist tradition also through these associations. On the other hand, it is important to underline that the opposition was expanding and strengthening, because for the first time, along with Ecevit, the Socialist-Democratic movement converged with the rest of the left. It was mentioned earlier in Chapter 2 that DİSK was a powerful focus. The struggle was moved to the streets, squares, and universities; democratic struggles for rights and freedoms gained momentum. After 1 May 1977, or Bloody May 1 as a milestone in the political history of Turkey, the country would enter a very bloody period marked with successive assassinations, attacks, armed conflicts, and deaths as mentioned earlier.

In addition to the previous generation of *âşık*s, a new generation appeared on the scene during the 1970s. Along with the change in context and content, stripping off of religious content, and the emergence of the paradigm of struggle and revolution, this generation began using the name of '*ozan*' instead of '*âşık*.' Interestingly, it is historically meaningful to return to the Oghuz term '*ozan*' used for the folk poets singing epics accompanied by *kopuz* (a stringed instrument) instead of *âşık*, who used to connect with the mystic through an abstract and inaccessible lover type (Artun, 2015, p.36). Because, as of 15th and 16th century, when the *âşık* term was despised due to the changing values, the *Sufi* poets started to use the term *âşık* instead of *ozan* with an aim to distinguish themselves from other poets and show the sacredness of their inspiration (Artun, 2015, p.2). In other words, the new generation adopted the term *ozan* instead of *âşık*, the preferred term of *tekke* (dervish lodge) poets. Başgöz (1986) says that this new *ozan* generation now combined with the intelligent, socialist-realist [*toplumcu-gerçekçi*] poets (p. 190) and took the name of *devrimci ozan* (revolutionary bard or singer-songwriter) in a short time.

Mehmet Koç, Sadık Gürbüz and Rahmi Saltuk were the most important names among the new generation of *âşık-ozan* culture, who started to use the name of *ozan*, or alternatively referred to as the *devrimci ozan*. It should be said that these *ozan*s played a special role in the spread of the leftist oppositional identity of the period with their songs, comments, and attitudes. This was also the generation who would influence the *özgün müzik* line of the 1980s. Toward the end of the 1970s, urban musicians of the same sprout such as Ozan Emekçi, Ali Asker and Abuzer Karakoç came into the scene. Most of these musicans of *Alevi-âşık* tradition had to leave Turkey during late 1970s and early 1980s for political reasons. Many of them were settled in Germany, France and Switzerland. They released many albums there but their albums could be released in Turkey years after the military coup in 1980 but were received by the audience of Turkey by way of different channels.

Briefly speaking, we can say that after the mid-1960s and especially throughout the 1970s, tradition changed, not only in terms of the term (*ozan or devrimci ozan* instead of *âşık*) as preferred by the new generation of *âşık-ozan* culture, but also the content, lyrical themes, form and performance manners changed including the forms of dissemination, venues of performance and the ways of reception. In other words, there were disappeared, transformed, and brand new motifs and forms.

3.5 *Devrimci Müzik* (Revolutionary Music) as Protest Music of the 1970s

Within the context created by the social/revolutionary movements in Turkey and the world as well, we see that a debate around '*devrimci müzik*' started during the second half of the 1970s in Turkey. Hence protest music of the 1970s took the name of *devrimci müzik* (revolutionary music) with an implication, hope and expectation for the revolution to come. The questions that came to the fore in the debates and interviews conducted in various magazines reflecting different factions and trends revolved around the following themes: 'the place of art in general and music in particular within the context of revolutionary struggle,' 'the place of authentic folk music in the rising struggle of the people,' 'the definition of revolutionary music,' 'the extent to which revolutionary music should benefit from Western sources,' and 'the criteria of revolutionary music.'

For example, in an interview with Ruhi Su dated January 1, 1976, he was asked about the place of art and revolutionary music in the revolutionary struggle. Although Ruhi Su equates 'revolutionary music' and 'polyphonic music' for our country in his reply, he adds: "A society can make a revolution without being polyphonic. When the conditions in which the people live change completely, the changing conditions bring the appropriate art for itself" (Su, 2010, p. 122). Regarding the term 'revolutionary music,' he says that music should not be considered synonymous with its name. He mentions that it would have different meanings depending on the interpretation and context and we cannot understand whether the performer is revolutionary or not (ibid., p. 124). "Let's say that when religious words are placed on an old folk song, it becomes divine or becomes religious, and if you write revolutionary words, it becomes revolutionary. So if it is not lyrics, what determines the revolutionary character? Is it intervals, rhythm or dramatic improvement? So what is the criterion for being a revolutionary in music, in other words being progressive?" Such questions were raised by Ruhi Su during his interviews.

He defines 'revolutionary music' not as music in the revolutionary struggle, but as the music that awaits us when the revolution is won, or that we will or should reach and struggle for. Regarding the place of our music in the current revolutionary movement, he states: "From bread to love, this must be a music that will give the joy and courage of the things the people long for, whether they want to live or not, and that will increase

the joy of life. The lyrics should be so and also the instruments" (ibid., pp.127-8). He adds there is no separate 'genre' of music called revolutionary music. Folk poets are usually the creators of words, while melodies are often anonymous. Or there are variations of the melodies. He emphasizes that every person who contributed to the development of the people is revolutionary (ibid., p. 128).

Undoubtedly, the most important reason for the revolution and music discussions to come to the agenda in that period was the revolutionary wave that surrounded the whole world and the music accompanying them. When we say 'revolutionary music' in the world, we are not talking about a certain musical genre, style or form. Although leaning on different musical sources in different geographies and carrying different musical characteristics, it is possible to mention some common features with regard to musical practices: Primarily, although they appear in different geographies of the world in different forms or musical styles, revolutionary music emerged from a reaction, resistance and struggle against the regime and oppression all over the world. Secondly, the music that accompanies the revolutionary struggles is often based on folk music as sources all over the world. Thirdly, they are mostly written in the form of songs, folk songs and anthems. Another important feature of this music is the active effect of the lyrics in these songs. As another feature, although the singer-songwriters are predominant, the poems of national or international poets representing the 'revolutionary identity' are often composed or adapted.

Based on the above-mentioned characteristics, it is possible to summarize the characteristics of the *devrimci müzik* in Turkey in the 1970s as follows: It basically relied on folk music and in particular on *Alevi-Kızılbaş âşık* tradition. The sound of movement was represented through revolutionary marches as well as folk songs or folk-based songs in pop/rock genres and it also fed upon theater and film music fields. In terms of content, often the works of *âşık*s representing the resistance and revolutionary struggle were featured. Sometimes, new lyrics with socialist perspectives were written on the tune patterns. The poems of socialist poets were often composed. Especially the singer-songwriters of the young generation produced their own songs, generally adopting a theatrical, epic, lyrical style of expression. In terms of performance styles, although there were solo performances accompanied by either *bağlama* as in the case of *âşık-oza*n tradition or piano-accompanied performances such as Timur Selçuk's, performances based on orchestras and bands were dominant in the

period. In addition, choirs generally performing anthems and folk songs arranged in accordance with the Western polyphony principles as well as choral/orchestral performances featuring soloists also held an important place.

As mentioned before, the '60s were a period in which social mobilization gained momentum. We see the massive efforts of the social opposition in the second half of the '60s by means of the initiation of organizing activities in associations and unions and cultural and art debates, organizing around amateur folklore and theater activities and workshops. We mentioned that DİSK had a great impact on this struggle, and that the youth movement acted together with the workers' and peasants' movements. In this context, anthems come to mind first when it comes to revolutionary struggle and action. The revolutionary youth of the period needed marches to sing at protest meetings. In the conversation we had with Demir Küçükaydın, he revealed how they found the remedy: They used to write leftist lyrics to the old anthems. The first anthem they adopted was the 'Austrian Workers' Anthem.' They wrote in a similar way for the 'Eskişehir Anthem,' a military anthem. Another example is the most well-known one, 'Osman Paşa Anthem' (Küçükaydın, personal interview with D. Küçükaydın, 2012). Apart from the original works by a few composers such as Ahmet Yürür, Sarper Özsan, And Neyzen and Dr. Hikmet Kıvılcımlı, the majority of these marches was the adaptation of the previous marches (mainly military) or the marches produced under Soviet or other Socialist regimes or from Spanish and Greek Civil Wars.

As adaptations, we first see the Turkish translation of the international revolutionary anthems such as 'International,' 'Partisan,' 'Red Star,' 'Bandiera Rosa' (Red Flag), 'Venceremos,' etc. Secondly, the folk songs of different countries were introduced with revolutionary lyrics such as '*İşçinin Alınteri*,' written by ATTF (European Turkish Societies Federation) on a Russian melody; '*Devrim Marşı*,' which uses Emine Engin's lyrics on the music taken from Varshavyanka; '*Fabrikalardan Gelen Ses*,' which uses Bedir Aydemir's lyrics on an old German folk song. Thirdly, the songs written and composed by Bertolt Brecht and Hans Eisler for theatrical plays were also used as anthems with Turkish lyrics such as '*İşçi Birlik Cephesi'* and '*Dayanışma*.' As original works, '*1 Mayıs Marşı*' composed by Sarper Özsan on Bertolt Brecht's lyrics was the most popular and performed anthem. Other examples were drawn from the socialist-realist poetry such as Nazım Hikmet's '*Türkiye İşçi Sınıfına Selam*' (versions by Tahsin İncirci and Timur Selçuk) and '*Hürriyet Marşı*.'

We can add to these the anthems of the political movements such as TKP anthem, Dev-Genç anthem and Kurtuluş anthem (Gündoğar, 2005).

As Ruhi Su suggested, there were also the compositions in the form of a folk song that were not composed in march form but functioned as an anthem. Compositions in the form of folk songs with such marching functions are found especially in the 1980s' politicized music groups as well as Ahmet Kaya's songs, especially the ones influenced by Azerbaijanian musical tradition.

Choral experiences opened an important field in the polyphonic interpretation of folk songs and marches in this period. In the '70s, choirs came to life in many fields from student associations to labor unions. For example; Batı Berlin İşçi Korosu (West Berliner Workers' Choir) under Tahsin İncirci; Sarper Özsan's Aydınlık Korosu; Yeni Dünya Korosu (New World Choir) led by Şanar Yurdatapan and Atilla Özdemiroğlu; Dostlar Korosu, founded in 1975 within the Dostlar Tiyatrosu and run by Ruhi Su; Fatsa Çocuk Korosu (Fatsa Children's Choir), conducted by Ali Asker and Mehmet Gümüş (Gündoğar, 2005, p.165).

I would like to note here that it is necessary to mention the names such as Muammer Sun (1932-2021), Sarper Özsan (1944-2022), Yalçın Tura (d. 1934), Ahmet Yürür (db. 1941), And Neyzen, Hikmet Kıvılcımlı (1902-1971) et al. as key composers -both composers and choir conductors- each of whom deserves special focus in the formation of protest/revolutionary music tradition of the 1970s. Nevertheless, this effort would be beyond the scope of this thesis.

3.6 Formation of the Field of Popular Music and Its Interaction with the Left

With the popularization of the movement, the revolutionary struggle spread to the field of popular music. By the 1970s, we see that Anatolian pop and rock musicians intersected with the leftist movement and in this period produced songs from within the leftist sensibility; these were the songs that in turn influenced the revolutionary movement. On the one hand, there were musically new experiments and searches, but especially after the second half of the 1970s, these were not so much on the agenda, possibly because the period was very oppressive. Without a doubt, the emergence of a popular music field in this period allowed the musical protest to spread to the masses.

3.6.1 Formation of the field of popular music[39]

As regards the popular music of the '60s and '70s; jazz, pop, rock, and folk based genres that were exported from the West were either performed as they were or with Turkish lyrics, or sometimes new examples of these genres emerged as a result of the interaction of Western forms with local music. Here, the process worked in two ways: exporting genres/styles appropriating local music (or some local musical elements) or local music absorbing a variety of Western forms or elements.

As for the Western popular urban music, the first examples were dated back to the 1960s. *Kanto*, *operet*, and *tango* were the first popular genres originated in the Western genres. One of the reasons why these genres became so popular and liked was related with their ability to blend in local elements: "*Tango* -which was born in Argentina, reached Istanbul through Europe and took new shapes by making use of Andalusian and Italian folklore- is a type that has been able to benefit from the local music of its country" (Meriç, 2006, p. 28). The *tango* form was easily localized in Turkey. In the 1960s, as in the *tango* experience, performing Turkish songs in Western form came to the fore through the musical lines (or genres we could say) *aranjman/hafif müzik* (light popular music) and Anadolu pop/rock.

Aranjman actually comes from the word 'arrangement.' It was gradually settled as a genre name -an intermediate genre created by writing Turkish lyrics to foreign songs. *Aranjman* generally referred to the songs performed with Turkish lyrics based on the soft and melodic structures of the Mediterranean and Latin songs. These experiences ensured that Turkish listeners of this music adopted to it more easily (localization). Western (foreign) orchestras were common in the early 1960s; the idea was having the singers of these orchestras sing their own songs in Turkish[40]. Afterwards, original

[39] By the 'formation of popular music field' it is meant here the formation of a cultural, economic, and ideological space with the diversification and massification of the musical products and not only the popularization of some genres.

[40] Türkiye Radyo Televizyon Kurumu (Turkish Radio and Television Corporation - TRT) producers such as Fecri Ebcioğlu and Sezen Cumhur Önal prepared music programs for TRT; they began writing Turkish lyrics for these foreign songs. '*Her Yerde Kar Var*' performed by Salvatore Adamo and '*Bak Bir Varmış Bir Yokmuş*' (original: 'C'est ecrit dans le ciel' performed by Bob Azzam) with Turkish lyrics written by Fecri Ebcioğlu and performed by İlham Gencer (in 1961) were the first hit examples. Ajda Pekkan, the most popular performer of the kind should also be mentioned here.

compositions in this style began to be produced, which was gradually started to be called as '*Türkçe sözlü hafif müzik*' (Light popular music in Turkish lyrics). [41]

Anatolian pop/rock examples mostly included the folk arrangements performed in Western forms such as pop and rock by Western instruments or new compositions of this musical sound. In some examples, local instruments such as *bağlama, ıklığ, cura, kabak kemane, yaylı tambur, darbuka, askı davul* etc. were used. The arrangement of folk melodies within the rules of Western harmony, the use of synthesizers, the use of drums based on Anatolian rhythms, melodic bass and electric guitar were the features of this genre.

Although the experimentations with folk songs started in an earlier period[42] and all these experiences were important steps towards the birth of Anadolu pop, however, the general belief is that the movement started with the song '*Burçak Tarlası*[43]' (1964) as performed by Tülay German (b. 1935). It has been suggested that the previous folk orchestrations were closer to the Western sound, and even the folk songs might have lost their melodies, whereas in that orchestration the melodic structure was preserved (Meriç, 2006, p. 37). Tülay German is originally a jazz singer. Later, she started to perform folk songs on jazz standards upon suggestion of Erdem Buri (1925-1993)[44]. In 1962, German started taking lessons from Ruhi Su. Meanwhile, together they became the members of TİP, participated at TİP activities, and in political demonstrations. Even the song '*Yarının Şarkısı*' (Tomorrow's song), composed by Erdem Buri and sung by Tülay German, became the election song of TİP in the 1965 elections. The folk song '*Burçak Tarlası*' attracted great attention at the Balkan

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[41] The first popular composition that competed with the *aranjman* genre included '*Fabrika Kızı*' composed by Bora Ayanoğlu and performed by Alpay, Timur Selçuk's compositions '*Ayrılanlar İçin*, ''*Sen Neredesin*' and '*İspanyol Meyhanesi*' as well as the songs '*Samanyolu*' '*Kol Düğmeleri*' and '*Sensiz Saadet Neymiş*' by various artists (Akkaya and Çelik, 2006, p.10).

[42] For example, it is known that Erol Büyükburç performed such folk songs as '*Kızılcıklar Oldu mu,*' '*Köylü Kızı*,' and '*Zeynebim*' (with Kadri Ünalan's orchestration) in his concerts. It should be noted here that the first original work in terms of folk song orchestration was for the '*Kara Tren*' (Black Train) folk song in cha-cha rhythm by Şanar Yurdatapan and Doruk Onatkut, and it was the first popular folk song orchestration with a Western approach. The song was performed by Doruk Onatkut's Kentet Dogo Orchestra and sung by Alpay. With the 1960s, the trend towards domestic compositions and arrangements tended to increase.

[43] Credits, '*Burçak Tarlası*'/ arrangement: Dorak Onatkut&Şerif Yüzbaşıoğlu; Band: Selim Özer- piano, Yurdaer Doğulu- gitar, Erol Erginer- tenor sax and flute, Alper Feynam- contrabass, Vasfi Uçaroğlu- drums.

[44] Erdem Buri had been active as a translator, composer and a songwriter, and he ran a jazz program on radio for years.

Melodies Festival in 1964 and was published as a record on the return. With the increasing pressure and threats to the left, Erdem Buri and Tülay German went abroad in the mid '60s, so even though she was considered to be the first performer of Anadolu pop genre, she had to withdraw from the stage for a while.

In the first half of the 1960s, the important names of Anadolu pop/rock started to emerge (Meriç, 2006, p. 38). '*Altın Mikrofon*' (The Golden Microphone) competition carried out with the support of *Hürriyet* newspaper, which started in 1965 (and done annually until '68), was an important milestone not only on the road to Anadolu pop, but also to the formation of the infrastructure of the music world in Turkey. The aim of the contest was summarized as follows: "[The competition] was prepared to give a new direction to Turkish music by making use of the rich techniques and forms of Western music and playing with Western musical instruments as well" (Meriç, 2006, p. 38) which means creating 'national pop music,' as the popular version of our 'contemporary national music.' Names such as Erkin Koray, Cem Karaca, Moğollar, Batman Petroleum Orchestra, Rana Alagöz made their first debut at this competition. An important feature of this contest was that the winners had the opportunity of recording and an Anatolian tour. Taner Öngür, a member of the Moğollar group, which ranked the third at the Golden Microphone competition, who was the first to pronounce the name Anadolu Pop, mentioned that they collected Anatolian melodies on these tours and reaaranged them with some experimental folk orchestrations. In an interview in March 1970, he emphasized the following for Anadolu Pop's starting point: "What we want to prove is that our folk music has a polyphonic spirit. Also the closeness of pop music to our folklore... Our backward popular music is combining with advanced techniques and rich folklore to gain a personality... The aim of Anadolu pop is to combine advanced techniques with rich folklore elements" (as cited in Meriç, 2006, p. 41). It is clear that the aforementioned synthesis is nothing but the modernization policy of the Republic through music, reincarnated with the possibilities of Western pop music.

Undoubtedly, the orchestra/band structure was an important characteristic of the musical world of the period. A significant development was experienced in the 1960s. With the initiative of the Union of Musicians established after the 1960 coup, an application was made to the parliament in order to bring order to the working system of the orchestras. The parliament passed a law on it and obliged foreign orchestras to

work with one local orchestra. After that, many local orchestras were established (Meriç, 2006, p. 36). Considering the need for musicians caused by the spread of local orchestras, young people started to learn playing Western instruments. Instrument learning, which started with imitation at first, accelerated the musical development and gradually this process led to steps towards creating its own language and creating its own original content. "Orchestras founded under the leadership of names such as İsmet Sıral, Durul Gence, Şerif Yüzbaşıoğlu, Kadri Ünalan, Yurdaer Doğlu, İlhan Feyman, Müfit Kiper, and Faruk Akel, paved the way for advanced use of Western instruments from guitar to saxophone, trumpet to contrabass, from drum to piano; and these orchestras were supported by a polyphonic vocal approach, and served in many aspects as a school" (Akkaya and Çelik, 2006, p. 9). *Istanbul Gelişim Orkestrası*, established in 1970, had an important place among these. It served as an informal school for many musicians and arrangers. For example, musicians such as Garo Mafyan, Atilla Özdemiroğlu, Onno Tunç, and Atilla Şereftuğ, who were important arrangers/composers that would determine the pop music sound in the following years, actively worked in this orchestra. The orchestras worked with the leading singers of the period, and some evolved into bands.

On the other hand, Turkish folk music and Turkish art music continued through casinos. Another performer profile and orchestra structure was taking shape in the casinos, where the tradition of the *fasıl* continued. Experimentations around such folk music based musicians as A. Nail Bayşu, Burhan Bayar, Orhan Gencebay, Vedat Yıldırımbora, and Özer Senay evolved into a line called '*serbest çalışmalar*' (free works) (Akgül and Çoğulu, 2006, p. 85). Established under the leadership of Vedat Yıldırımbora and Burhan Tonguç, Grup Metronom appeared as another orchestra that provided an important opportunity for experience (ibid., p. 85). While this experience contributed to the formation of *arabesk*, it also laid the foundations for the development of studio musicianship (ibid., p. 86). As a result of the increasing demand for music production, many musicians and groups began to enter the studios for recording. This increasing demand for recording required a high-performance and continuous studio musician profile for the performers. In addition to individually working musicians, it paved the way for the establishment of studio orchestras. This process led to the formation of string bands, especially with the addition of Roman musicians -the dominant performer profile on the market today. Arrangers, who

complained of the difficulty of working with local musicians, who were not familiar with musical notation and more prone to playing as soloists, underlined that the studios also functioned as a school in that sense (ibid., p. 86).

In this period, a music media also began to form. Music magazines such as *Hey*, *Müzik Ekspres*, *Melodi* started publication. Music categories emerged, music hits were formed, stars and music producers made a mark on the period.

3.6.2 Interaction with the left (1970s)

Especially during the second half of the 1970s, the social conditions of the period led the musicians to take a more open attitude. Many folk-based musicians as well as the musicians of Anatolian pop/rock genre, almost everyone tended to a faction, whether organized or not, and took part in the revolutionary struggle of the period.

The music listened by the urban intellectuals was mainly composed of the urban popular genres. As explained earlier, Ruhi Su managed to establish a bridge between the urban listeners and folk music. We should also mention the opening created by Erdem Buri and Tülay German, similar to Ruhi Su, as an important transformative factor at this point. All three of them were part of the socialist/revolutionary struggle of the period and they tried to catch the clues of this struggle not only 'through' music but also through searches within the dynamics of music itself.

It is necessary to underline the role of the most influential and popular musicians of the period such as Cem Karaca (1945-2004), Timur Selçuk (1945-2020), Selda Bağcan (b. 1948) et al. both in terms of their political roles and their ability to create a unique and qualified musical language. Cem Karaca is undoubtedly one of the most influential musicians in our music history. He made classics such as '*Parka*,' '*İhtarname*,' '*Mutlaka Yavrum*,' '*Kavga*,' '*Tamirci Çırağı*' during the revolutionary struggle of the '70s, he not only influenced the masses with his music and political stance (although his political stance after the '80's became controversial), he became one of the most influential music figures of all time with his voice, interpretation and compositions. Timur Selçuk was the director of *Ankara Sanat Tiyatrosu* (AST) (Ankara Art Theatre) for about ten years since 1975. He also wrote soundtracks there; he composed songs with epic, ironic, and theatrical character and carried this style to his solo concerts. Some of his works that can be called urban classics of the leftist tradition are '*Dönek Türküsü*,' '*Nereye Payidar*,' '*Ekonomi Tıkırında*,' and '*Size Kötü Kadın Derler*.' Other

hit songs include Orhan Veli's poem '*Hürriyete Doğru*,' compositions for Nazım Hikmet's poems such as 'Memet' and '*Güneşin Sofrasında Söylenen Türkü.*' These were the songs that affected the revolutionary youth of the period. A part of the left identified this music with imperialism because of its Western elements in popular music and refused to listen to it or attempted to impose a ban on some musicians as in the case of Selda Bağcan. She started out by playing the guitar. Her first period was a kind of a protest singer, like Joan Baez. She then moved to *bağlama* in 1977. '*Tatlı Dillim*' and '*Katip Arzuhalim'* records are among the most important works of the period. With the interpretation of Selda Bağcan, the songs such as '*Kızıldere*,' '*Ey Halkım Unutma Beni*,' '*1 Mayış Marşı*,' '*Hapishanelere Güneş Doğmuyor'* turned into the songs that affected the revolutionary youth of the period.

Edip Akbayram (b. 1950), another important name in political events, stood out with his interpretation of especially Âşık Mahzunî's songs. On the other hand, artists such as Şenay (1947-2013) with 'H*ayat Bayram Olsa'* and Ali Rıza Binboğa (b. 1950) with '*Yarınlar Bizim'* would also be the voice of Bülent Ecevit and the political attitude which was then called as '*ortanın solu*' (left to the middle). Although they did not undersign the revolutionary songs of the period, names such as Fikret Kızılok (1946-2001), Esin Afşar (1936-2011), Hümeyra (b. 1947), Bülent Ortaçgil (b. 1950) who addressed a more urban sensibility, who created fine and pioneering works in a musical sense, and who influenced the musical repertoire of the youth of the period, should of course be mentioned here.

Şanar Yurdatapan (b. 1941) is one of the most known figures that combined musical production with political activism and tried to organize a struggle within the music sector in the period. Yurdatapan has been influential as a conductor, arranger, composer, producer and activist; he also joined TİP since 1965. Founded by Şanar Yurdatapan and Atilla Özdemiroğlu (1943-2016) in 1972, *ŞAT Yapım* was Turkey's first production company which was active until 1979 and claimed to create an alternative space. Composed by Şanar Yurdatapan and performed by Melike Demirağ (b. 1956), '*Arkadaş*,' a protest classic 'We Shall Overcome' performed by Esmeray with Turkish lyrics and TİP's many works related to music were published here in cassette form. At the same time, their struggle was effective in breaking the TRT control. *ŞAT Yapım* closed down in 1978, and then DEMAR (Democratic Society of Artists) was founded, again under the leadership of Yurdatapan. This was a kind of

secretarial-management agency. The material and moral rights of names such as Timur Selçuk, Selda Bağcan, Ruhi Su, Melike Demirağ, Edip Akbayram were followed there, everyone paid at their own disposal in return, and the agency took a piece from each artist every year and made an album of the said pieces each year (Kahyaoğlu, 2003, p. 95). Before September 12, Yurdatapan and Demirağ had to leave the country like many other artists.

3.7 Re-connection and Dis-connection with the Tradition: Left-Leaning Musical Field in the 1980s

The purpose of this section is to review the field of left-leaning urban musics emerged during the 1980s and called with different names such as '*özgün müzik*,' '*toplumcu müzik*' (music with social concerns), '*çağdaş halk müziği*' (contemporary folk music), '*yeni türkü/yeni şarkı*[45] (Tireli 2007; Kahyaoğlu 2003)' to imply the protest/revolutionary character of these musics under pressure conditions where even the use of terms such as protest and revolution is forbidden. A special attention will be paid to understanding at what points the relevant musicians and especially the new bands that emerged through the 1980s did or did not re-connect with the protest tradition that had been formed in the previous periods.

It is not possible for us to call the new musicians and music groups of the '80s as a direct continuation of the previous generation. This is because the interaction and transference between the generations was already interrupted in an environment of violence that accelerated towards the end of the '70s and finally ended up with the '80 Coup. There was no more physical presence of the previous musicians, and even no access to their records. However, we see that young musicans began to appear in a way with references to the previous period (albeit from different angles), and in this sense they re-established ties with the existing protest music tradition in terms of key musical references, sources and approaches.

[45] 'New song' or 'nueva trova' was originally developed on loan from the 'nueva canción,' or 'new song' school, coined by the Chilean ensemble Inti Illimani in the 1960s. The 'new song' and 'nueva trova' movements emerged in the context created by revolutionary struggles in Latin America and the Iberian Peninsula, taking their source from folk music and renewing folk music and spreading as advanced musical movements.

Firstly, they had to search for the basic source of musical material. As many protest musicians, for them too, the first place to turn to as a source was the folk music. Secondly, they were not concerned in performing music in a traditional way as a follower of the tradition, but to produce in their own way. Hence, by feeding on it, they mostly seeked the ways of renewing and transforming the folk music tradition and turning this into a style of their own. At this point, the approach of classical Western music offered important possibilities and techniques for many. Thirdly, composing the poems of socialist poets such as Nazım Hikmet, Enver Gökçe, Sebahattin Ali, Ahmed Arif, Hasan Hüseyin Korkmaz et al. as well as the poets whose oppositional character was well-established symbolically throughout the world. They also included the poems from younger generation such as Nevzat Çelik as in the case of Ahmet Kaya, Yaşar Turaç and Ahmet Telli as in the case of groups such as Çağdaş Türkü and Yeni Türkü. Composing the poems of the socialist poets took an important place for the purposes of both revealing these younger musicans' socialist attitudes and served as a springboard for them in searching for a new musical language specific to them. Of course, it is a bit of a risky business for beginner musicians to start by writing and singing their own lyrics. For this reason, it is also useful to feed on poets until they mature and a little bit 'accepted' in the field.

Most of the music groups that emerged in the 1980s were formed by revolutionary young people who were politicized in the second half of the 1970s. With or without organic ties to organized structures, they were bringing the organized artistic attitude to the agenda. There was no clear association with the leftist organizations and as a matter of fact there was already no visible leftist movement or organizational structure during that time. Rather, organization and mobilization within the universities or under the roofs of associations and cultural centers was the dominant trend and indeed the only way to come together under oppressive conditions.

3.7.1 Overview of the left-leaning musical field in the 1980s

The course of music with oppositional character in Turkey had to follow a distinctive track compared to the so-called protest music of Western traditions during the post-coup years. First, there was no trace of social movement that could freely, i.e. without the threat of being prosecuted or jailed, to express itself. Secondly, given that there was a tremendous oppression exerted upon the opponents of the coup, it was almost

impossible for any musician to identify one's music with any particular social movement. It was a criminal offence to make music or any other form of artistic activism in favor of any political orientation based on the so-called aiding and abetting articles provided for in the Turkish Criminal Law:

> "Although there has been no directly prohibitive legislation related to musical activity, many practices such as political lawsuits filed against musicians or forbidding, recalling or cancelling the broadcasting and publication of musical works (CD's, cassettes, as well as concerts), have been grounded on some articles of the law of Turkish Criminal Code (*Türk Ceza Kanunu - TCK*) such as "Coercion" (Article 106), "Defamation" (Article 125), "Inciting a crime" (Article 214), "Praising a crime or a criminal" (Article 215), "Inciting or debasing the public in order to encourage animosity and enmity" (Article 216), "Obscenity" (Article 226), and "Degrading Turkishness, the Republic, the organizations and organs of the State" (Article 301) as well as the articles such as "Propagandizing on behalf of a terrorist organization" (Article 7) in The Prevention of Terrorism Act (*Terörle Mücadele Kanunu, TMK*). (Özer Efe, 2013, pp. 17-18)

Political musicians of the previous period were either prisoned or ran abroad. There existed no affiliation with them, except for their records published abroad. There was no transfer of knowledge or experience from the previous period, because September 12th Coup blocked all kinds of transmission. Musicians were also unable to do their jobs professionally; concerts were banned, albums could not be released, and even the companies avoided approaching those, who were 'objectionable' anyway.

Following the coup, musicians like Cem Karaca and Selda Bağcan, performing in the genres of Anatolian rock and folk-pop, respectively, were subject to government oppression. Having been revoked of citizenship, Cem Karaca had to live in Germany becoming one of the prominent figures of diaspora artists, who had the flee from Turkey due to prosecution and imprisonment threats. Selda Bağcan was imprisoned in 1984 and similar to many other leftist personalities her passport was cancelled.

The artists, along with many political figures, who had to flee from Turkey upon the coup, continued their artistic activities in the diaspora, and mainly in Europe with

Germany, France, United Kingdom, and Switzerland being the main venues for asylum seekers.

> Turkish composer, lyricist, and human rights activist Şanar Yurdatapan, who was exiled from 1980 to 1992. His wife, Melike Demirağ, sang an album of his songs that the American company Folkways Records published in 1982, called *Songs of Freedom from Turkey*: Behind the Iron Bars. (…) Exiled Kurdish musicians produced major works in their adopted countries, which continued to impact listeners in Turkey via illegal cassettes and broadcasts. Şivan Perwer made eight albums during this period, including Ağırı from 1982. (Reigle, 2013)

Similarly, as mentioned before, most of the *Alevi âşık*s also had to go abroad and continued their musical activities and productions there. Ozan Emekçi, Ali Asker, Âşık Şahturna, Âşık Zamanî, Mehmet Koç were among the representatives of the *âşık-ozan* tradition, who went abroad just before or after September 12th coup. Most of them returned to Turkey in the 1990s.

Especially after the mid-'80s and in the lack of democratic rights of freedom of expression and right to association, the left had to find a new medium to organize, survive, and struggle. The cultural sphere was relatively immune to the government pressure. Therefore many cultural centers, some of them directly engaged to certain political organizations, were established[46]. Operating in a range of fields from cinema to theatre, with an intensive program of activities from panels to slide shows, and from courses in various topics, to cafes, which served as milieu for youngsters to meet and act these centers had been especially influential with musical activities. The youth, who met in the musical activities, which started first with the musical instrument courses, gradually tended to establish music groups and perform together. The foundations of many left-leaning musical groups focusing on political music were laid in those centers. Some of these groups survived until today. Grup Yorum with its significant entry by *Sıyrılıp Gelen* in 1987 is one of the major examples.

Still, if the historical context was set aside, and the said album were assessed solely based on its lyrics and musical qualities it would be almost impossible to associate the

[46] Ortaköy Cultural Center, Arya Cultural Center, Universal Cultural Center, Mesopotamian Cultural Center, BEKSAV, Tohum Cultural Center, Yüz Çiçek Açsın, Idil Cultural Center, etc.

same with a certain social movement. It was leftist for sure but no direct associations could be made. As an interesting zeitgeist of the era, this lack of direct association provided a reasonable and suitable milieu that boosted the inclusiveness of protest music during those years. This of course was first observed in the fact that the political factions set aside their ideological and practical differences and acted in unison from collective protests at universities to adopting the same tendency towards cultural activities.

One should include in the line of the 'politicized music groups,' Ankara-based Grup Ekin and Özgürlük Türküsü, Grup Çağrı and Grup Merhaba, which were in the same political family with Grup Yorum, which dated back to 1985, Grup Kızılırmak and and Grup Baran. Kurdish political music groups, Kurdish *Kom*s (*kom* in Kurdish means 'band') also began to emerge by the end of the 1980s in the context created by Kurdish Movement and took a significant role through the 1990s in the construction of Kurdish identity as well as the collective identity of the movement[47]. The political music groups of the period, especially Grup Yorum has a significant influence on *kom*s not only in terms of their group structure as organized musicians but also in terms of the musical approaches and practices. For example, the preference of singing style usually avoiding ornaments and local character in favour of creating "*modern* and *civilized* identities" (Sarıtaş, 2010, p. 3) is dominant in all of these groups. In the case of *kom*s, "through the political lyrics, the standard Kurdish, ascalled by 'Academic Kurdish' by some actors including the musicians, has been popularized. In the folk songs, the local accents were kept to a certain extent" (Sarıtaş, 2010, pp. 6-7). Only after the mid-'90s, the songs in Kurdish languages such as Zazakî, Soranî et al. would be embraced. In terms of content, the themes such as prison, organized struggle, especially armed struggle, mountains are common in both. As another point, Western harmony principles are commonly embraced in all of these groups in favor of creating polyphony through both vocal and instrumental lines. The instruments of pop/rock genres such as guitar, electric guitar, base guitar, drums alongside with the folk instruments compose the majority of the orchestras. As another common

[47] One point needs to be underlined here: It is not the first time that politically oriented Kurdish music appeared in Turkey in this period. There is a separation between the Kurdish left and the Turkish left in the late 1960s. It was the time when the discussions around identity first came into the agenda in Turkey. Şivan Perwer is a prominent example of Kurdish protest singers emerging in this period.

characteristics, the preference of high-pitches especially in the vocal register of women's vocals is striking. However the space of Kurdish *kom*s have broadened in time including the acoustic oriented groups whose earlier and prominent example is Koma Amed with their focus on performing traditional Kurdish songs with respecting their authenticity yet in a 'modernized' way, and the various rock-based groups with Kurdish folk repertoire as well as original compositions with political messages especially based on march rhythms. As a result of the dominant modernist approach, the mobilization of *dengbej* tradition seen as part of feudal values was not on the agenda of *kom*s until later periods. In line with this paradigm, 'degenerated music (*yoz müzik*)' especially embodied through *arabesk* was neglected by all of these political music groups. In the case of *kom*s, since most of *arabesk* singers have Kurdish origins such as İzzet Altınmeşe, İbrahim Tatlıses, et al. and that they took part in the Turkification of Kurdish music tradition, *arabesk* was seen also as a tool for assimilationist policies. As another common point, *kom*s were also established within cultural centers, which became active organizational spaces in the lack of legal organizations, though in the case of *kom*s these centers would appear by the 1990s. Most of them emerged under the roof or or later became a part of *Mezopotamya Kültür Merkezi* (MKM) (Mesopotamian Cultural Center - Navenda Çanda Mezopotamia), settled in various cities such as Istanbul, Izmir, Diyarbakır et al. On the other hand, there is an important dimension that creates the difference between Turkish singing and Kurdish singing politicial music groups: *Kom*s had emerged, developed and were mobilized in the context created by Kurdish Movement. Regarding the groups such as Grup Yorum, they were organized musicians, though in the lack of a movement context in terms of formal organizations.

Although Grup Yorum, et al. are generally mentioned under the category of *özgün müzik*, I preferred to call them as 'politicized music groups' since they advocate organized struggle and have organizational connections. The term *özgün müzik* that emerged in second half of the 1980s began to be used as the musical language equivalent to the protest music or revolutionary music of the time, though with different musical tastes. The most representative names were accepted as Zülfü Livaneli, Ezginin Günlüğü, Çağdaş Türkü, Yeni Türkü et al. Although it is known that this term first appeared with Ahmet Kaya and Hasan Hüseyin Demirel, Ahmet Kaya was taken from this space after a short time and placed in the arabesque category.

However, along with Ahmet Kaya, names such as Selda Bağcan, Hasan Hüseyin Demirel, Emre Saltık, Ferhat Tunç, Hüseyin Aydın, Sevinç Eratalay, Arif Kemal (Red Songs), Suavi, Onur Akın and İlkay Akkaya were generally included there. On the other hand, Orhan Kahyaoğlu (2004) preferres to define the *özgün müzik* line as inspired from *arabesk* motifs and he names Ahmet Kaya, Emre Saltık and Ferhat Tunç in this track. He states that those who adopted group music practice did not have traces of *arabesk* motifs, but mainly showed efforts to combine folk melodies with Western music forms and techniques (ibid.).

However, Zülfü Livaneli (b. 1946) as a singer-songwriter is the first name that comes to mind in relation with *özgün müzik*, i.e. the musician embodying the sound of *özgün müzik*. Although he released productions as early as the 1970s, he basically influenced the musical climate of the '80s. Especially his albums, which were released in the second half of the '70s had a significant impact on the generation of the 1980s, and these works became a reference for the young musicians of the period. Even in Ahmet Kaya's narratives, the album *Eşkiya Dünyaya Hükümdar Olmaz* (1975) was pointed out as an important breakthrough. Hakan Yılmaz from Ezginin Günlüğü also puts Livaneli in a separate place in terms of new musical searches. Especially the album *Atlının Türküsü* (1980) had a significant impact on them. "After a while what he did became the norm," says Hakan Yılmaz (1998).

His *Chants Revolutionnaires Turcs* (*Coodiff* - Belgium , 1973) album was followed by *Eşkıyaya Dünyaya Hükümdar Olmaz* (*Anatolia-Sweden*, *Yet*-Turkey, 1975). In this album, by including *cura* (a local string instrument which is small in size belonging to *bağlama* family) as a lead instrument in addition to *bağlama*, the frequency range of the *bağlama* family was expanded and the search for a kind of polyphony began in the samples in which the *bağlama* and *cura* played different parts simultaneously. In addition, *cura* was used as a means to support both localism and narrative character, especially in the passages such as '*Binboğalar Efsanesi*.' An important feature of the album was that a continuous flow throughout the album was aimed. Short instrumental passages called '*Boğaz Gaydası'* (performed by *bağlama* and *kaval*) were used as the opening and closing tracks of the album. Livaneli reads pieces from Yaşar Kemal's work '*Binboğalar Efsanesi*' on the instrumental structure provided by *cura*. These passages are placed at various transition places in the album and are named

'*Binboğalar Efsanesi*'[48] and these passages also establish the narrative ground on a literary-epic level, while also referring to the next work to come in the album repertoire. A similar usage style is also valid for the passages named '*Horasan'dan Bu Yana*,' which are instrumental structures placed between the '*Binboğalar*' sections. In this flow, there are *deyiş* performances such as '*Bozatlı Hızır*,' '*Geldi Geçti Ömrüm Benim*,' '*Turna Semahı*' and classical Livanean compositions such as '*Leylim Ley*' (lyrics by Sabahattin Ali) and '*Eşkıya Dünyaya Hükümdar Olmaz*.' The literary-narrative character of the album as well as the use of *bağlama-cura* both in the traditional order and via arpeggio technique in places, influenced many young musicians of the period at both musical and intellectual level. In the album *Merhaba* (1977), we hear '*Şeyh Bedreddin Destanı*' rearranged in an episodic character. '*Dede Sultan*' in the first album was performed here as the main musical structure, then a transition zone was created with the bonding theme. There is arpeggio accompaniment on the pedal tone, and by using tritone intervals, dissonance is created, which seems to be used as a musical technique to support narrative character. After the transition, passages from Şeyh Bedreddin's poem are read on the *bağlama*-contrabass structure, then the rhythmic pattern of the double bass enters (used for percussive purposes rather than melodic), and then a different vocal section is introduced, as if in a divine quality, and then it is connected to '*Dede Sultan*' again. This structure is repeated several times. For the first time in this album, we came across the use of double bass as a Western instrument together with *bağlama* with a simple but effective use.

The two albums that made the main impact in Livaneli's discography are *Nazım Türküsü* (1978) and *Atlının Türküsü* (1979). Without a doubt Atilla Özdemiroğlu's leading role in the arrangements was influential in this process. *Nazım Türküsü* was a concept album with compositions of Nazım Hikmet's poems. In songs such as '*Memetçik Memet'* and '*Arhavili İsmail*,' the pop infrastructure is prominent. A typical feature of these songs is the use of the drum machine since the use of drums or percussion was not common at that time. Drum machine supported by guitar, bass guitar and synthesizer structure consisted the infrastructure in these songs also supported by the strings and wind instruments. In the remaining part of the album, the use of *bağlama* is prominent, *bağlama-cura* are used as the lead instruments, strings

[48] Narratives about the arrival of Turks from Khorasan, migrations to Anatolia and the fusion of different cultures in Anatolia.

and wind instruments keep the harmonic line. The performance possibilities of the *bağlama* was expanded through some examples. As in Ruhi Su, a kind of polyphony was created by pressing the pedal note continuously. Mostly the polyphonic structure was based on modal harmony. Let's say, in a song carrying *uşak makam/dizi* character, since the note *si* is with comma, the chord on the fundamental note *sol* would be replaced by *sol-la-re* or *sol-do-re*. This understanding became more refined with the album *Atlının Türküsü*. However, these searches were interrupted by the period of conflict and 1980th Coup. The 1983 *Ada* album and the line after should be evaluated separately, since after that Zülfü Livaneli was inclined towards a more popular sound.

3.7.2 Re-connection and dis-connection with the tradition

We cannot say that the political music groups of the 1980s were influenced by the protest tradition of Anglo-Saxon cultures as musical sources as it was with the musicians of the '70s Anatolian pop/rock origin. The values like rock music, hippie culture, anti-war etc. that ravaged the '68 generation seemed to not exist in the '78 generation. By the end of the '70s for the urban population, rock was no longer riot music. As mentioned before, especially in the second half of the '70s, there was an emphasis on *bağlama*, *Alevi deyiş*s and rebellion in the leftist culture. Considering the intense sadness and pain in the first half of the '80s, it means that strong rock rhythms were not the answer to this sadness. On the other hand, the tendencies formed within the leftist political factions in the second half of the '70s, that is, the rejection of popular Western forms/genres labelled as capitalist and imperialist, also had an effect on the rejection of popular music based on the Anglo-Saxon culture. For example, Emin İgüs from the group Ezginin Günlüğü points to a tendency within the movement which gained higher acceptance in the second half of the '70s and he calls this as the 'ideology of instruments:'

> One of the problems is the ideology of the instruments. At that time, some instruments were the instruments of the working class, some were the instruments of the bourgeoisie, some were the instruments of imperialism. In this sense, I think pop music suffered an important interruption. Because the electric guitar, keyboard, etc. were not instruments adopted by oppositional circles. And then around 1976-77, the guitar started to emerge as an instrument accompanying them while playing anthems. For example, Nejat [Nejat

> Yavaşoğulları] and we were meeting at that time. We were playing 'Partizan,' 'Venceremos' etc. when we got together. But indeed, I remember very well, for example, playing *bağlama*, the situation of playing *bağlama* was a very privileged thing at that time. At that time, there was a charismatic image of playing *bağlama*. Don't get me wrong, I didn't take *bağlama* for this, but I had the piano in my other hand. (Interview with Emin İgüs in *Folklora Doğru*, 1998, p. 239)

Groups of the '80s turned their faces to folk music and Western classical music as musical sources. On the other hand, there were rock and jazz influences as in the case of such groups like Mozaik and Bulutsuzluk Özlemi, respectively. As regards the music of rebellion, it can be said that they were mostly influenced by the revolutionary and communist traditions of Latin America and Mediterranean countries such as France, Greece and Spain. Liberation struggles against imperialism, colonialism and military-dictatorial regimes in Latin America gained momentum since the 1950s. Especially with the 1959 Cuban revolution, these struggles gained the perspective of socialist revolution. The musical movements that emerged in the context created by these movements were also called the 'new song' (*nueva cancion*) and 'new ballad' (*nueva trova*) movements in the mid-1960s. While Chile, Argentina and Uruguay were the starting point of *nueva cancion*, this movement took the name *nueva trova* in Cuba. While the effect of such revolutionary movements on the revolutionary movement in Turkey was readily evident at that period ('60s and '70s), it cannot be said that a simultaneous effect was observed in the musical level. However, as a musical inspiration, it is possible to follow the traces of these musics on music groups of the 1980s.

As regards the second point of differentiation in terms of musical sources, unlike the previous period, in the post-1980, it was seen that modal/maqamic influences and the use of Turkish classical music instruments were now entering into the field of protest music. In addition to the central position of guitar and *bağlama*, the instruments used by the groups of the 1980s as sources of melodic inspiration showed a wide variety from Western instruments such as piano, flute, oboe, trumpet, to violin and clarinet which also belonged to *incesaz* family. Also *A la Turca* instruments such as the oud, classical *kemençe* and *kanun* began to be adopted. The use of drums and percussion was not in the foreground. The rhythmic element was provided by a drum machine for

a long time. By the end of the ‘80s, drums and percussion began to be included in the bands. Synthesizer was generally used, but it was mainly used for pedal notes and effects. The use of fretless bass guitar in Çağdaş Türkü was unique to this group. On the other hand, for example, keyboards or electro-guitar did not appear in these groups for a long time since there was no musical experience for guitarists to play and improvise on folk music motifs at that time.

This differentiation in the context of musical sources and instruments was also compatible with the change in lyrical themes and accompanying emotions. Through a nostalgic remembering of the revolutionary past in the shadow of the Coup, deaths and prisons, it is very understandable how such music based on sadness and pain could flourish. In my opinion, the essence of *özgün müzik* also lies here. As for politically charged musical life, the coup that put all left-wing movements in Turkey to rout at a single stroke on the one hand marked a dramatic change in Turkey’s protest music tradition on the other. Prison, which suddenly came into life of a significant part of the society, became a major source of artistic creation. Themes such as defeat, disappointment, and captivity replaced the assertive, defiant, and dignified protest musical style of pre-coup period. This was not only in the eyes of Ahmet Kaya, but it was the dominant feeling that completely absorbed music like all fields of art. In this sense, the arabesque effect, which was thought to have emerged from the combination of ‘sadness, pain, sorrow, death, etc.’ themes and musical motifs with modal elements, was actually present in many fields from poetry to music and it should be examined not only in the example of Ahmet Kaya but also in the example of the musicians such as Cem Karaca, and the music groups such as Ezginin Günlüğü, Yeni Türkü, et al. In this time, a romantic and nostalgic bond with the past was formed which appeared in the form of ‘holding on to images,’ ‘holding on to pain and memories.’

As another dis-connection point, while *Alevi âşık* music was the main musical source and *devrimci aşıks-ozans* were the main revolutionary musician profile within the leftist cultures through the ‘70s, they were not adopted among the urban political music groups of the ‘80s. For example, “Pir Sultans literature was consumed so much, we had to leave fallow,” says Hakan Yılmaz in the interview in *Folklora Doğru* (1998). It may be important in this divergence that the *âşık-ozans* became the dominant culture in the ‘70s, but they did not perform the traditional repertoire which was considered a kind of offence by organizations at a time and actually evolved into a slogan based-

agitative character. It is certain that this created a kind of disturbance among the higher educated youth circles. On the other hand, Ruhi Su was in a completely different place for them. They criticized the *âşık-ozan* culture, which they called as a 'sub-culture,' with reference to Ruhi Su. For example, again, Yılmaz mentions that they regarded Ali Asker as a "bad imitation of Ruhi Su" (ibid.). On the other hand, there was also the pressure on musicians that the agitative attitude was provoked by the political organizations of the period. For example, Emin İgüs from Ezginin Günlüğü explains this pressure very clearly in the same interview:

> In 1975 or 1976, there would be a night event at the Spor Sergi Hall, İhsanî would sing, for example, '*Hoşt Amerika, Puşt America*,' and the audience would turn into crazy. Afterwards, poor İskender Doğan, would take stage with his guitar, he would sing '*Kan ve Gül*,' and people would be groaning. Again, for example, in '76, I would sit down and try to sing a beautiful song with my *saz*, then someone else would come out behind and a *saz* in his hand would say: "These are the cannibals." After that, one of the organizers there would come and say, "Oh, you see! That's the thing!" You should quit this job. As the Cultural Association, we used to perform theatrical plays, put some little things on the stage. They were deemed 'rightist,' and they were not popular within these circles. (İgüs, 1998)

As a recurring pattern within the left-leaning protest tradition, polyphony efforts and explorations on folk music come to the fore. This is a manifestation of the continuing desire to 'carry the tradition forward' that has been ongoing since the *Tanzimat* period and became an official musical policy with the Turkish Republic. Hakan Yılmaz says with a self-critical attitude:

> Ruhi Su had a performance called 'qualified performance.' Back then this was good quality to us, why good quality? Because he was singing in an operatic form. Since we were familiar with Western culture and we saw it as a top culture with an orientalist attitude, what was performed within the discourse-method of that culture was, in our opinion, 'quality.' (ibid. p. 211)

As the young people who were interested in folk tradition, but felt that it was humiliated within the urban intellectual circles, they searched the ways of 'raising' this culture in the footseps of Ruhi Su. In this paradigm, in the relationship established with

the traditional field, dialects and local forms and performance styles have been mostly ignored. Again, as a recurring pattern, in accordance with the principles of Kemalist revolution, they had no cultural pluralist approach to folk tradition. Ethnic, linguistic and religious diversity was mostly ignored in the works of these musicians through the 1980s. On the other hand, it should be added that some of the political music groups of the '80s, and especially some musicians who broke with these groups, made significant musical contributions in the '90s that concern ethnic cultural diversity. With the cultural climate that started to emerge in the '90s, a rich musical heritage that was ignored before would begin to emerge.

It is possible to say that the most important feature that distinguishes the 1980s from previous periods is the rise of group music. We have said before that the '60s' orchestras evolved into groups in the '70s. These groups were originally integrated with a soloist or served as orchestras for different soloists, with the exception of groups such as Apaşlar, Dadaşlar, Moğollar, Modern Folk Üçlüsü, 3-Hüreller, et al. After the 1980 Coup, a group culture based on collectivity emerged, both with innovative artistic-musical initiatives in the political/oppositional front and with the ability to cover large segments. Yet, it could not evolve into long-lasting formations. Of course, we should consider this situation together with the social-political and economic conditions of the period as a whole. Despite companies such as *Ada* Music, which had important contributions in the newly emerged music groups' album productions, the lack of an economic infrastructure to cover the music in an oppositional domain during the '80s, the lack of an infrastructure especially in terms of concert organizations, the fact that concert-tour opportunities were closed to these groups for a long time, inspections-bans on TVs and absence of alternative channels were important factors and should be examined in more detail. These groups mostly took part in amateur events such as students' festive events, demonstrations or events organized by the cultural centers, etc. Even if they could have found a concert hall to hold their own private concerts, they had to take care of everything from printing tickets to sales. When it comes to selling tickets for these groups, however, the tickets were considered expensive by the audience. This is experienced by many oppositional groups in every period just like *Kardeş Türküler Project* which I am a part of. Maybe the same listener pays for another concert, but he/she doesn't give it to you. Because they think that you are one of them! Similarly, the cassettes were released, but the distribution would be

assumed by themselves, and they would try to sell them by hand. The critical point here is how much the leftist/oppositional circles and organizations could support the cultural-art space. In the leftist circles, the positioning of the cultural sphere subject to the 'main' struggle continued for a longer period of time, hence in most of the cases the musicians while appearing on organizational events, they had to earn their living by way of different channels. I would like to underline that this point, i.e. the lack of alternative models in the field of culture and art in oppositional circles, both in terms of economic and infrastructure, and in terms of innovative searches and experimentalism, is one of the most important factors driving groups to disintegrate.

As mentioned before, the ideological and organizational dissolution of the left together with the '90s was of course an important factor in the dissolution of the left-leaning protest music domain. By the '90s –either for political, social, economic, musical or personal reasons- most of the bands of the '80s were disbanded, some evolved into a different musical line, some continued with a completely different cast. After the disintegration or dissolution of the groups, there was rapid involvement in the market: some musicians singularly played or arranged for various singers as concert and studio musicians; some band members opened bars, studios or music shops; some joined the advertising sector by making jingle music; some chose to perform in bars; some with different professions continued to take part in groups; others returned to their professions where they could earn money and preferred to continue the music at an amateur level at least until they would economically become alright.

It will be very important to understand the disintegration processes as well as revealing the history of these groups, the resources they feed on, the problems they have experienced, the experiences they have acquired and how they evaluate their own practices; however, being able to make an assessment to include all these points exceeds the limits of this thesis. Yet, it is be possible to carry out a holistic analysis of the musical panorama of the 1980s in Turkey with complementary studies on the topic.

3.8 1990s/Dissolution of the Tradition and Appearance of 'New' Oppositional Musics

In 1991 the prohibition against Kurdish music was 'officially' (although continued its presence in practice) lifted and, following this, Kurdish albums which previously were

reproduced illegally, began to be listened by the oppositional circles and in a short time music companies made some efforts to release Kurdish albums.

A special point must be made here about the 'language prohibitions' that directly affected the musical field. While there had been some record companies that released Kurdish albums in the 1960s, "with the 1982 Constitution drawn up after the military coup in Turkey in 1980, Articles 26 (No language prohibited by law can be used to express or disseminate thoughts) and 28 (Broadcasting cannot be carried out in any language prohibited by law) were reinforced by Law No. 2932 on 'The Use of Languages other than Turkish,' enacted about one year later. Article 2 of this law stipulated, 'The disclosure, dissemination and publication of thoughts in any language other than the primary official languages of states recognized by the Turkish State are prohibited'" (Özer Efe, 2013, p 21). Law No. 2932 was repealed in 1991, while Articles 26 and 28 were removed from the Constitution in only in October 2001 (Özer Efe, 2013, p. 21)[49].

Emerging in the context of the Kurdish Movement, the emphasis on the Kurdish ethnic identity soon began to influence the discovery of other ethnicities. This process, in turn, gave rise to transformation of culture in the society, which became especially visible in the realm of music, in which *Kardeş Türküler Project* (KTP) also took part. Hence, I would like to begin this section by explaining the spirit of the period through the experience of KTP in which my musical practice and political stance were shaped.

As of its debut, KTP was based on some basic criticisms of past musical background. When we started to listen to the music of different peoples living in these lands in their own languages, we were able to evaluate the music we were familiar with until then from another perspective. Singing the folk songs from around the world and talking about the fraternity of the peoples of the world was of course an important contribution to world peace, but how realistic was it to talk about fraternity while not listening to the different voices of the geography we live in? Mediterranean lyricism, which was

[49] Other laws and regulations also provided an excuse for the language prohibition such as the "Article 222 of the Turkish Criminal Code stipulates that those who act in violation of the prohibitions or responsibilities set down by the 1925 Hat and 1928 Turkish Alphabet Law are to be imprisoned for a term of from 2 to 6 months. Article 2 of the Turkish Alphabet Law prohibits the use of any letter not included in the Turkish alphabet in any official or private communication such as X, Q and W the letters found in Kurdish language" (Özer Efe, 2013: p. 21).

taken as a basis by Zülfü Livaneli and the music groups such as Yeni Türkü, appealed to the sensitivities of Western urban segments. Ethnic, linguistic and religious diversity was mostly ignored in the works considered within the line of *özgün müzik*. Works under the name of 'Contemporary Folk Music,' with an aim to make folk songs polyphonic and modern, could not get beyond the paradigm of the Republican period. In this paradigm, in the relationship established with the traditional field, dialects and local forms and performance styles have been mostly ignored. On the other hand, it should be added that some of the political music groups of the '80s, and especially some musicians who broke with these groups, made some important contributions in the '90s that concern ethnic cultural diversity. With the cultural climate that started to emerge in the '90s, a rich musical heritage that was ignored as well as all these suppressed and excluded identities began to emerge. It is possible to call this process as the 'rediscovery of tradition.'

We started our journey of discovery by asking some questions. The first question was 'where is the rich musical heritage of this geography?' Of course, we were not the only ones asking these questions at that time. Many young musicians or researchers like us turned to their hometown, elders, and returned with various compilations and stories, primarily to uncover and document their cultural heritage. With the establishment of production companies such as *Kalan* Music, these works were published as archive series, old records were found and re-released, living traditional performers (such as Neşet Ertaş, Aşık Mahzuni Şerif) were re-recorded in studio environments. It should be said that a similar dynamism was evident especially in the field of literature, publishing and dance. However, it is possible to say that the cultural diversity of our the geography was mostly revealed in the field of music.

The second question we asked along with the discovery process was 'based on traditional material what kind of musical production will we have?' Some argued that the tradition should be practiced as it is, that is, intact, while preserving its 'authentic' state. In general, studies carried out under the roof of institutions, associations or cultural centers were examples of this attitude. Of course, there are understandable aspects to this: we are talking about a musical heritage that has been exploited for a long time. On the other hand, it is a problematic approach, because no repetition can be in its original form or the same as before. At this point, the important thing is to preserve the main characteristics of the tradition in order not to break the connection

with the cultural belonging of that tradition. The extreme edge of this attitude turns into an obstacle to reproduction.

In the 1990s we can mention the efforts of musicians and bands to create a musical language of their own based on tradition. At this point, there is a differentiation in terms of musical styles. A segment including us (KTP, Koma Amed, Birol Topaloğlu, Knar, etc.) tried to adopt a musical attitude by performing the music of different cultures with their own cultural characteristics, in other words, by adhering to the linguistic, cultural and regional characteristics, primarily with acoustic instruments. In the other group, the understanding of group music was widespread, based on rock background, where traditional one or two instruments representing that culture were used mostly as melody instruments. Black Sea rock bands such as Zuğaşi Berepe and Kurdish *Koms* are examples of this group. However, the common feature of all these groups was that they always adhered to linguistic, regional or local characteristics at the vocal level. There were efforts to keep language and culture alive through music. Unlike all these groups, KTP has not leant to a single or regional ethnic culture, but actually touched another point by addressing the music and dances of various cultures together: the effort to keep the belief that peoples can live together.

It is safe to say that the '90s witnessed a significant change of culture within the society: A large number of cultural centers (such as *Mezopotamya Kültür Merkezi*) opened; publishing houses (such as *Aras Yayınevi*, *Belge-Mare Nostrum Yayınları*) began to include publications dealing with ethnic and cultural diversity, and magazines and newspapers (such as *Agos*) began to be published in different languages; a variety of television channels and radio stations began broadcast both on a local and national scale; celebrations and festivals which brought various sections of society together began to be held, new music companies (such as *Kalan*) were founded and new musicians/groups began to perform; and songs began to be sung in languages which had theretofore been prohibited.

On the other hand, the end of the cold war and the breakup of the Soviet Block clearly had a deep effect on the leftist opposition in Turkey as it did in the rest of the world. It must be said that the opposition had a difficult time responding to the ethnic-cultural diversity and pluralism in society. One can see a clear reflection of this in the field of music. For example, within the line of political music, groups such as Grup Yorum, Kızılırmak, Grup Baran and folk-based groups such as Çağdaş Türkü, Ezginin

Günlüğü, Yeni Türkü et al. did not center their focus on assimilation politics. Even though such groups, especially Grup Yorum and Kızılırmak, did include songs in Kurdish and other languages in their repertoires, they generally did not give a central place to ethnic/cultural diversity within their struggle. In classical Marxist theory, because culture is seen as belonging to the superstructure, it is excluded from the field of stuggle; even it is seen as a factor that divides the struggle, as also in the case of women's struggle declaring for their rights. By the '90s most of the political music bands of the '80s disintegrated. A few groups such as Grup Yorum, Kızılırmak, Grup Ekin, etc. are exceptional. Groups such as Yeni Türkü, Mozaik and Ezginin Günlüğü evolved in different directions. Bulutsuzluk Özlemi, on the other hand, continued to produce protest music more consistently on the rock line. In the case of *kom*s, they also had a different path in line with the Kurdish movement as mentioned in the previous section.

The prominent names of the '70s such as Cem Karaca, Selda Bağcan, Rahmi Saltuk, Sadık Gürbüz, Aşık Şahturna, Mehmet Koç, Ozan Emekçi, Ali Asker, Abuzer Karakoç, who had to go abroad with the '80 coups, returned to Turkey and continued their musical activities. Similarly, significant names of *hafif müzik* line such as Timur Selçuk, Fikret Kızılok and Bülent Ortaçgil took their place in the 1990s' musical scene. A return to Anatolian rock began with Haluk Levent and during this period, the group Moğollar also reappeared in 1993. In the mid-1990s, the establishment of the Özgürlük ve Demokrasi Partisi (ÖDP) (Freedom and Democracy Party) came to the fore as an attempt to bring the left back together and gather it under one roof. Especially the establishment of ÖDP started the 'festive opposition' period on the left. Groups such as Moğollar, Ezginin Günlüğü, Yeni Türkü, Bulutsuzluk Özlemi, influential musicians of the '70s such as Edip Akbayram and Selda Bağcan, similarly important names of the political music line such as Fuat Saka, Ferhat Tunç, Suavi, Onur Akın, İlkay Akkaya, Gülbahar, Ayşegül, Metin-Kemal Kahraman -most of them are the names who left political groups of the 80s- frequently appeared in these scenes.

According to Tanıl Bora, one of the authors of *Birikim* magazine, "an institutional and ethical questioning about the compatibility of old, established forms of protest with leftist / socialist goals and contents has caused a change in the modes of action. This change has entered the agenda of those who see the need for an intellectual and practical renewal since the late 1980s under the name of 'festive opposition'" (as cited

in Çolak Berkay, 2014; Bora, 2010). With this new form of opposition, the action repertoire of the left began to change. In the same period, within the context created by the Kurdish movement, the *Newroz* celebrations also came to the fore as another form of opposition with a festive character. From another channel, women, especially women from the old generations who pioneered the struggle for independent organization by breaking away from the left movement together with the new generation started the tradition of festive demonstrations and marches in women's movement, which was first brought to the agenda within the framework of March 8th, International Women's Day, and which has diversified over the years.

Another important aspect of this festive character of the '90s for musicians is that we were able to come together with the masses by taking part in these spaces. Concert opportunities were very limited at that time. For example, KTP was not able to give independent professional concerts until 2000. In the 1990s, apart from BOUN concerts, KTP took the stage around some commemorations and celebrations, in student festivals of various universities, in local events organized by some associations and cultural centers, in large-scale nights or festivals organized under the umbrella of *İnsan Hakları Derneği* (İHD) (Human Rights Association), ÖDP and Halkların Demokrasi Partisi (HADEP) (People's Democracy Party).

Without a doubt, an important opening of the '90s is related to the *Alevi* awakening, whose reprecussions in the realm of music is especially significant. It is mentioned that the *âşık* tradition was interrupted in Turkey due to the fact that most of the important actors of the 1980s had to go abroad because of the political prohibitions, but during this time, *Alevi* musicians living abroad continued to produce music and most of these names returned to Turkey in the 1990s. Along with the '90's, *Alevis* living abroad became organized under associations and federations. At the same time, with the initiative made by *Alevi* musicians such as Arif Sağ, Musa Eroğlu, Yavuz Top, Sebahat Akkiraz, et al. in Turkey, and as a result of the innovative searches of young *Alevi* musicians such as Erdal Erzincan and Hasret Gültekin, *Alevi* music repertoire as well as the techniques and usage possibilities of *bağlama* have expanded. We can say that the tradition was reconstructed by combining it with its ritual character as a result of the work of *Alevi* musicians together with the identity debates of the '90s. All of these should be considered as the musical component of the *Alevi* awakening. In this context, it should be added that *Alevi* music turned back as a resource in the

music sector. On the other hand, with the opening of the *Alevi türkü bar*s in the late ‘80’s, a significant portion of the former leftists who came out of prison during this period were channeled into this culture. In fact, the first to open these bars were former revolutionaries just out of prison. We can say that the *devrimci-ozan* model of the ‘70s has been re-produced in the axis of *Alevi* folk songs by reuniting the tradition with the sadness culture of the ‘80s.

All of the aforementioned issues are worth examining separately. Nevertheless there are limited studies on these issues in the academic field, especiallty the studies that examine the musical environment of the musical eras such as the 1908s, 1990s or 2000s. However, such an effort is beyond the scope of this thesis and my aim was here just to highlight some important issues in orde to expand further research possibilities.

4. *ÖZGÜN MÜZİK* AND *DEVRİMCİ-ARABESK* DEBATES[50] (1980s)

It is possible to say that the counterpart of revolutionary/protest music in the 1980s was *özgün müzik* in Turkey. We can understand why such a term emerged in the 1980s, when it was not easy to use the terms 'revolutionary' or 'protest.' However, nobody agreed on its definition and scope, and most musicians did not accept it as a category or genre. *Özgün müzik*, although it was a label that was initially used in the market to call the music of Ahmet Kaya as well as other musics with protest character and was not referred to as a musical genre, gradually evoked a political attitude and a sound associated with it from the second half of the 1980s. As it will presented soon, there has been a lot of debate in the press regarding this nomenclature. Although not well accepted by the musicians, listeners liked and used this name for the period. On the other hand, Ahmet Kaya's music, due to its eclectic structure, irregularity, modal and rhythmic character, his singing style, and largely because he dealt with themes such as 'pain, grief, death, defeat, betrayal' in his songs, soon began to be criticized; even names such as *sol-arabesk* (leftist-arabesque) and *devrimci-arabesk* (revolutionary-arabesque) were attached to his music.

There are two words in the word sets *sol-arabesk* and *devrimci-arabesk*: *arabesk* and revolutionary or *arabesk* and left. Usually the meanings of both words are loaded in the word set. Here, along with the meanings attributed to *arabesk*, it is a matter of drawing attention to the 'incompatibility' of these with 'revolutionary and leftist-socialist values. In fact, there is an underlying criticism that Kaya exploited revolutionary values by putting *arabesk* to work both musically and commercially. An important point here is that while there are references to a 'certain culture' associated with *arabesk* (from musicians to listeners, from musical influences to socio-political conditions) in evaluations about *arabesk* music in general, there is a reference to the musician himself here, because this idiom was established consciously to describe Ahmet Kaya's music. With references to the representation of the *arabesk* singers with

[50] The title is inspired by the book *The Arabesk Debate: Music and Musicians in Modern Turkey* written by Martin Stokes (1992).

Kurdish origins, Ahmet Kaya was mainly criticized over an 'Eastern' identity knitted with ethnic and class allusions, especially upon his speech and his pronunciation of Turkish language. On the other side of the coin, these word preferences actually tell us about the ideological and political stances of the people who use them, which constitute one of the main points of criticism on which this thesis rests.

The main purpose of this chapter is to summarize the prevailing views and debates on *özgün müzik* and *devrimci-arabesk* in the 1980s. The chapter has been originally prepared based on the articles in the printed media, that is the newspapers and the magazines of the period. On the other hand, it is not only a compilation, but also includes some comments on the discussions especially around the music of Ahmet Kaya. However, in order to understand the basis of these criticisms, it will be useful to first look at the debates on *arabesk* in the written media before the emergence of Ahmet Kaya in the music market, in order to understand the prevailing perception of *arabesk* in this period, that is the connotations of the musical field in which the music of Ahmet Kaya has also been embedded or associated with.

4.1 *Arabesk* Debate (1979-1985)

Arabesk music, which has been also defined with the expressions such as '*minibüs-dolmuş müziği*' (music played in minibus), '*gecekondu müziği*' (slum music), '*gariban müziği*' (music of the poor) etc. refers to a socio-cultural phenomenon woven with class attributions. If we make a definition based on these nomenclatures and the words used a lot in *arabesk* songs, *arabesk* music expresses the revolt/rebellion of the poor (*gariban*) against pain (*acı*), trouble (*dert*) and grief (*keder*), which is the product of fate and fortune (*kader* and *felek*). According to some people who approve of *arabesk*, the spread of this music is due to the fact that everyone finds something of themselves in it. According to those who negate *arabesk* by calling it 'degenerate music,' the spread of *arabesk* depends on its effective use of mass media. On the other hand, according to the common view on *arabesk* music, it emerged with the personal success of Orhan Gencebay, and this success prompted other artists to make similar music (Eğribel, 1984, p. 8).

Arabesk, like all music genres, is a vague definition. We can say that it includes an adaptation of 20th century Egyptian popular music orchestral form and playing style to Turkish music; however, the various musics called as *arabesk* have many different

features (Şener, personal communication with S. Şener, 2019). It is a fact that Turkish elites use this term as a means of marginalizing the maqamic performances, which contain oriental elements, by throwing them into a sack called as '*arabesk*.' (Şener, 2019). Since the socio-cultural and musical examination of *arabesk* goes beyond the limits of this thesis, I will continue by narrowing the issue to allow us an understanding the perception of the period (1980s) regarding *arabesk* in relation to Ahmet Kaya.

We can talk about two main attitudes in the intellectual circles of the period in relation with the approach to *arabesk*: Some people criticize *arabesk* as the background expression of abandoning the race and withdrawing from human relations. According to this view, *arabesk* is characterized as 'an oriental and Islamist reactionary music genre.' On the other hand, according to the opposing view, *arabesk* is considered as 'self-defense of the people.' The proponents of this view criticize the anti-*arabesk* hostility as a typical reflection of the elite attitude of the intelligentsia, who sneers at anything that attracts the masses.

Ertan Eğribel (1984) in his pocket book, *Niçin Arabesk Değil?* (Why not arabesque?) seeks for an answer to this question in relation to music. He states that although *arabesk* began to appear widely in 1968, it took ten years before it began to be discussed in music/art magazines. He points to Engin Ergönültaş and his circle as the focus that determines the direction of these discussions (1984, p. 9). The first to publish an interview with Orhan Gencebay in 1979 was *Mikrop*, a humor magazine directed by Engin Ergönültaş (in *Mikrop*, March 1979, issue: 53). In this period, a review article was published in the journal *Devrimci Savaşımda Sanat Emeği* (Art Labor in Revolutionary War) (May 1979/15) to which Ergönültaş contributed. In 1980, we see Oğuz Demiralp's article '*Ezgi Karmaşamız Üzerine Başlangıç Notu*' (Starting note on our confusion about melody) (in *Doğu-Batı Journal*, July 1980/2); Önder Şenyapılı's article '*Yığın Toplumu, Yığın Kültürü ve Arabesk Müzik*' (The mass society, mass culture and arabesque music) (in *Türkiye Yazıları*, September 1989/42); Tansı Şenyapılı's article titled '*Gecekondu Yaşamı ve Arabesk Müzik*' (Slum life and arabesque music) on *arabesk* music.

Eğribel says that the main effect in constituting the perception of *arabesk* music is accomplished by the *Milliyet Sanat* magazine. In the magazine dated October 1st, 1980 (New Series, number: 9, sequence: 359), there is a file called '*Arabesk Olayı*' (The arabesque incident) prepared by Engin Ergönültaş and Onat Kutlar, who represent two

opposing views. “The next way to discuss the subject is within the framework drawn by *Milliyet Sanat* magazine and the view represented by Onat Kutlar today has gained weight [as of 1984],” Ergönültaş says (1984, p. 10). Therefore, it will be useful for our framework to summarize the comments in the dossier. There are two articles written by Ergönültaş and Kutlar separately, representing two opposing views on *arabesk*. Apart from the articles, interviews with representatives of *arabesk* music such as Orhan Gencebay, Gülden Karaböcek, Ferdi Tayfur, as well as the opinions of important names in the art world such as Ruhi Su, Cemal Reşit Rey, İlhan Usmanbaş, Selim İleri, Nevzat Atlığ, Atilla İlhan, Türkan Şoray and Can Yücel were included.

In his article Ergönültaş (1980), who criticizes the explanation of *arabesk* through mass culture, points out the difference of the concept of ‘mass culture’ in the context of *arabesk*: “In the West, the dominant powers mobilized all their powers over the mass media, using various brainwashing and conditioning methods. The phenomenon of ‘mass culture,’ which is used to describe a production they forcefully impose on the masses via mass media, cannot be used to explain the *arabesk* phenomenon here,” he argues (pp. 16-17). He points out a contradiction that *arabesk* is banned here in the widespread mass media of the dominant system by emphasizing the role of TRT in the formation of the market, and drawing attention to the ban of *arabesk* on TRT. On the other hand, he considers the phenomenon of *arabesk* as “the last extensions of the Orientalist-Islamist reaction against the Westernization movements imposed by imperialism” (1984, pp. 16-17). He says that the Orientalist-Islamic reaction against imperialism developed largely as a reaction to the impoverishment brought by imperialism to the brutal conditions in which the people who came to the city lived, to the capitalist order (ibid.). He states that protecting the religious and the traditional also emerged as a form of defense and played a role in the spread of *arabesk* (ibid.). As a matter of fact, religious motifs have an important place in Gencebay’s music. Ergönültaş evaluates *arabesk* as a result of the capitalistization process, migration from rural to urban, and encounters and contradictions faced by the people during these processes (ibid.). He mentions that this confusion also manifests itself in music since *arabesk* music has a structure composed of various musical elements, from folk music to classical Turkish/Ottoman music, from religious motifs to Western advanced instruments (ibid.). He mentions that as the social expectations of the people of the *gecekondu* increase, Gencebay’s songs are also in the process of being closely related

to social problems and the progressive identity of his music is increasing (for example, '*Dertlerimiz Bitecek'* (Our troubles will end) record released in 1978) (ibid.). He adds that Ferdi Tayfur's line, which emerged in the confusion, pessimism and hopelessness of the late '70s period, points to a regression compared to Gencebay since there is more pain, sorrow, blood, tears and surrender in Tayfur (ibid.). In this sense, he has determined his side in the 'Orhan [Gencebay] followers' versus 'Ferdi [Tayfur] followers' conflict.

As a result, Ergönültaş thinks that *arabesk* should be considered as a phenomenon that attracts the attention of the masses and is capable of massing rapidly, and its dynamics should be analyzed so that an alternative to *arabesk* can be created. I quote his last paragraph exactly containing a suggestion and a solution for progressive artists: "Can't a progressive artist who wants to spread rapidly and convey his/her message to the masses consciously use the motifs that 'this form of music' contains, which can easily warm the masses to him/herself?" (1980, p. 17). As we will see in the next section, Ahmet Kaya himself makes this claim in relation to the *arabesk* influences in his music.

On the other hand, Onat Kutlar (1980), who has the opposite view, opens his article by including the 'expert' view (pp. 18-19), which defines *arabesk* as "a primitive melody type with Eastern motifs created by degenerating Arab, Iranian, Indian and Turkish origin melodies" and thus points to his negative attitude from the very beginning. Without failing to respect the folk and classical music traditions of these countries, he says that *arabesk* is influenced by these genres, but has nothing else in common (Kutlar, 1980, 18-19). He says that since *arabesk* is not musically consistent, its only consistent musical feature is "the use of oriental melodies to express undeveloped reactions and emotions such as complaining, groaning, and suffering" (ibid.). On the other hand, he also underlines that there is a consistency in the lyrics: "It almost always reflects a fatalistic worldview, invocation to God, agonies of love, poverty, desolation, the desire of a section close to the lumpenproletariat to ground their disharmony, to challenge this disharmony, and to seek help from alcohol and similar remedies" (ibid.).

Kutlar explains this confusion in the field of music due to social changes. Like Ergönültaş, he talks about 'incompatibility' (*uyumsuzluk*) of people with city due to factors such as imperialism, Westernization, migrations and urbanization (Kutlar,

1980, pp. 18-19). He states that *arabesk* fills this gap in an environment where there is no music appealing to this segment that has just arrived in the city (ibid.). He draws attention to the trend of Indian films of the period as the factor that prepared *arabesk* (ibid.). As a factor in the spread of *arabesk*, he draws attention to its unifying side for those who listen to this music, as it does not have a specific (single) regional or cultural character (ibid.). He talks about two more factors in the spread of *arabes*k: First, the impact of technology (records, small car pilaf and cassette technique), and tape industry but especially pirate cassette production; secondly, he mentions the impact of mass culture (ibid.). As a defense to this approach, which Ergönültaş criticized in the first article, Kutlar includes examples that show that the ban on *arabesk* in TRT is gradually being broken (for example, the songs in State's Theatre play *Hormuz with Seven Husbands*, the song '*Petrol*' in Eurovizyon Song Competition and Gencebay's first appearance on TV on New Year's Eve in 1980) (ibid.). He opposes the argument that "*arabesk* is the music of rebellion" defended by the opposing camp, represented by Ergönültaş. On the contrary, he considers *arabesk* as corrupt music. He also states that he does not agree with the findings that the bourgeois disdains *arabesk* because there are people who listen to *arabesk* among the bourgeoisie, and he says that the bourgeoisie takes the productions of mass culture in this way, exploits them; hence it is useful for bourgeoisie, so, why should they belittle it (ibid.)? He says that the only lesson to be learned from the *arabesk* phenomenon is the 'unifying' aspect of *arabesk*; however, he underlines that progressive segments should seek their own way in a different musical universe (ibid.).

When we look at the debates around Ahmet Kaya, we see that the line represented by Kutlar gained weight as of the period when Kaya's first album was released. Intellectuals who hold this view, as Eğribel describes in his book as 'genuine official view' (*soy-resmî görüş*) evaluate *arabesk* in terms such as 'degenerate,' 'primitive,' 'made-up,' etc. (1984, p. 11). On the other hand, intellectuals with a genuine official view attribute the reason "why the music imposed by the official opinion is not adopted by the society," to the lack of listening habits or inadequacies in education, and they expect the solution from the state (Eğribel, 1984, pp. 10-11). It is also noteworthy that most of the genuine official viewers have worked in official music institutions (for examples, see the views of Nevzat Atlığ, Cemal Reşit Rey and Vedat Nedim Tör on *arabesk* in *Milliyet Sanat* magazine on page 22).

Again, according to what Eğribel calls 'revolutionaries of official opinion' (*resmi görüş devrimcileri*), the "incompatibility of the music imposed by the state and the masses has revealed popular/mass culture and *arabes*k music" (1984, p. 12). In that sense, this view follows the similar tracks with the genuine official view. However, they will attribute the cause of the conflict to the changes in the social structure (migration from rural to urban) and will depart from the official view at this point. According to Eğribel (1984), this inconsistency (explanation of *arabesk* based on both music and social events) stems from "the effort to include the overflows in the system" (p. 12). In this line of view, the fact that the official music policy does not allow changes in music despite the changes in the social structure (migration) is criticized. For this reason, 'inconsistency' (*uyuşmazlık*) and 'prevalence' (*yaygınlık*) in *arabes*k music are brought to the fore (Eğribel, 1984, p.12). They want the elements opposing the genuine official view to be erased and joined to the official view, and the sovereignty to be freed from freezing and democratized, but since democratization will lead to popular-mass culture, they will contradict themselves (ibid.). Therefore, while *arabesk* music is negated at the artistic level (self-synthesis), it is affirmed at the political level (necessity of new synthesis) (ibid.). This contradictory attitude stems from the effort to reproduce the official opinion: "Since the aim is to eliminate the inconsistency of these masses with the official opinion, in other words, to integrate them with the West [from national to universal], the problem will be too important to be left to spontaneity" (Eğribel, 1984, p. 13). To achieve this, the culture is fragmented into 'subcultures.' The national culture, which is the 'upper culture,' will be formed from the combination of these parts. This will be articulated as a process towards achieving the Western culture, which is the 'highest culture.' It will be called civilization or modern civilization. Interestingly, Gencebay, who is considered to be the founder of *arabesk*, also has these views (see his interview at *Milliyet Sana*t, 1980, on pp. 20-21).

There are variations within this view, depending on the interpretation of the defenders. According to the positive interpretation, *arabesk* is advanced and affirmed as the rebellion of the people (the line represented by Ergönültaş), and according to the negative interpretation, *arabesk* is despised as the music of oriental fatalism and submission (the line represented by Kutlar). The views discussed so far, although

diverging in terms of political attitudes towards *arabesk*, coincide with the genuine official view and its related music policies as briefly outlined in Chapter 3.1.

4.2 *Özgün Müzik* Debate (1985-1991)

For the music of İbrahim Tatlıses and Orhan Gencebay, we are comfortable with the category *arabesk,* for that of Zeki Müren, *Türk Sanat Müziği*, and for Nilüfer and Nükhet Duru, *Türk Hafif Müziği* or pop music. But how do we define the music of Ahmet Kaya, Zülfü Livaneli or Selda Bağcan? These artists became immensely popular in the late 1980s and sold millions of albums and the word coined at *İstanbul Manifaturacılar Çarşısı* (İMÇ) (Istanbul Manufacturers' Market, a market in the Unkapanı neighborhood which was home to the central offices of most of Turkey's major recording companies) was *özgün müzik*, literally 'original music.' But there was no consensus on just what defined it, and while some musicians embraced the term, others rejected it. The situation for music magazines and music columns in newspapers is even more complicated. Those who divided music into 'domestic and foreign' lists avoided the issue somewhat. Some sought to clear things up by dividing musicians into 'female singer,' 'male singer' and 'music group' categories, but the confusion continued. For example, the list lumped together artists like Selda Bağcan and Nükhet Duru, Ferdi Tayfur and Ahmet Kaya or Erol Evgin.

As we look through issues of *Hey* magazine, which was launched in the 1970s and remained important until 1987, as well as the weekend music listings in various newspapers, we encounter the following scenario: Some of the listings categorize musicians like Ahmet Kaya, Zülfü Livaneli and Selda Bağcan as '*Türk Müziği*/Turkish Music,' and others as '*Yerli Pop*/Domestic Pop,' while yet others created a mixed category of 'Turkish Music, Folk Music and *Arabesk*.' These categories would eventually be divided into '*Arabesk*,' '*Türk Müziği*,' '*Halk Müziği,*' '*Taverna*' and 'Yerli Pop,' and as a new category, '*Protest / Özgün*' would be added. In any case, '*Yerli Pop*/Local Pop*'* continued as the main category in some lists for many years.

In the article '*Özgün Müziği Özgün Yapan Ne?*' (What makes *özgün müzik* original?) by Emre Aköz, (*Tempo*, date?) we come up with different views from various musicians in that period on the issue of *özgün müzik*: According to Selda Bağcan, *özgün müzik* and protest music are synonymous. Hasan Hüseyin Demirel defines *özgün müzik* as "politically opposing, and from a musical standpoint, an attempt to be

different from traditional music." Producer Sıtkı Avaz considers the music of groups like Yeni Türkü, Mozaik, Ezginin Günlüğü and Çağdaş Türkü as *özgün müzik*. On the other hand, in the opinion of Selda Bağcan, there are only three *özgün* musicians: Herself, Zülfü Livaneli and Ahmet Kaya. Emre Saltık sneers at the word *özgün*. Rahmi Saltuk also opposes the term. Prolific lyricist and brother-in-law of Ahmet Kaya, poet Yusuf Hayaloğlu is angered by this term, and in place of it, prefers the word *toplumcu* (socialist). Cem Karaca says that *özgün müzik* is a term dreamed up at İMÇ after 1980 when the term revolutionary music could no longer be used (*Müzik Magazin*, December 18, 1989). Although Zülfü Livaneli is against the term, he considers its development as a musical trend a positive thing. He says "adapting our traditional music in contemporary ways requires good research and effort, but has not happened in recent work." Regarding the musicians associated with *özgün müzik*, he offers this sharp criticism: "They adapt it in a primitive way and write leftist lyrics. They're copying what I did" (Aköz).

If we summarize the prominent themes in these expressions, *özgün müzik* is used to imply an opposition to the politically existing order, protest, socialist attitude and a socialist outlook. Musically, it implies a search for a contemporary music that is connected to the folk music tradition but differs from it in an aesthetic level. The essence of this diverse quest, of course, lies in bringing our music to the level of contemporary Western civilization, that is, the dream of the Republic. So where did this *özgün müzik* name come from? Let's continue to search for its imprint in the media debates and music charts of the time. The newspaper/magazine articles provided within this part serve as very important documentation not only of the musical controversies of the time but also of the differences in cultural/political attitudes.

It would not be inaccurate to say that the musical debates in the press in the second half of 1980s focused heavily on Ahmet Kaya and *özgün müzik* and *arabesk* debates. Ahmet Kaya's first release, *Ağlama Bebeğim* (*Taç*, 1985) propelled him immediately to the top of the lists. On July 13, 1985, Ahmet Kaya's song '*Bizim Hikayemiz*' came in 4th line in *Hey* magazine's Turkish Music category. Erol Evgin had come in first on the same list with '*Bir İlkbahar Sabahı,*' with Rahmi Saltuk in 3rd place with '*Terketmedi Sevdan Beni*' and İbrahim Tatlıses in 9th place with '*Mavi Mavi*.' In other words, a very broad array of musical genres, from Turkish art music to pop, *arabesk* and protest music, were all categorized under the national attribution of Turkish Music.

Hey magazine's (July 29th, 1985) issue presented a new category 'Turkish Music, Folk Music, Arabesk,' with Ahmet Kaya's '*Maviye Çalar Gözlerin*' in 7th place, and İbrahim Tatlıses' '*Mavi Mavi*' in 1st. There was still no such title as '*Özgün Müzik*.'

Not long after its release, Ahmet Kaya's album *Ağlama Bebeğim* was pulled from the shelves. The decision for its recall, which came from the 2nd Gaziantep Court of Sessions on August 14, 1985 on the grounds that it was "found provocative to the people, state and government," was appealed by the Istanbul Republic Attorney General's Office. The decision was examined by the 2nd Istanbul Regional Criminal Court and, on October 18, 1985, the decision was made to remove the ban on the album (*Tan* newspaper, October 28, 1985). Following the removal of the ban, the *Taç Plak* announced in a newspaper ad that the album could circulate freely. The ad contained with this description of the album was "Here is *Özgün Müzik*, Here is *Ağlama Bebeğim*." This is the first time we find the term *özgün müzik* used as a musical category. From this point on, newspapers began to use the term to denote a musical category. In a short time, the use of the term *özgün müzik* has become widespread for music that consists of a combination of folk and pop musics (in some examples, 'enriched' with the techniques and instruments of Western classical music genre) and the lyrics containing a political and social criticism. However, the term did not last for long and almost disappeared by the 1990s in the media.

The file titled '*Özgün Müzik*' (pp. 17-33) in the December '91 issue of the *Evrensel Kültür* magazine (number: 1) offers us an important framework for the perception of *özgün müzik*. From the introduction letter, we understand that the term is not in widespread use as of this date because no one wants to put their music in this category, which is originally associated with *arabesk* influences. In the letter it is stated that the ö*zgün müzik* phenomenon largely coincides with the formation and spread of socialist thought in Turkey; references are made to Ruhi Su, Aşık İhsani and Rahmi Saltuk as the predecessors/ancestors of *özgün müzik* (ibid.). As the lines that intersect with the category, names such as Tülay German, Cem Karaca, Moğollar, Barış Manço from the pop/rock line that include *bağlama* in their arrangements are mentioned, as well as names such as Fikret Kızılok and Esin Afşar, who represent the tradition of singing folk songs with guitar accompaniment (ibid.). Zülfü Livaneli is pointed out as the personality that combines all these influences, that is, the personality in which *özgün müzik* is embodied (ibid.). On the other hand, while most of the names interviewed

within the scope of the file do not mention Zülfü Livaneli (also they do not explicitly refer to any name) they seem to point exactly to Ahmet Kaya and a group of similar musicians. In the continuation of the file, interviews with Filiz Ali, Haluk Özkan, Timur Selçuk, Abuzer Karakoç, (music critic and writer) Orhan Kahyaoğlu, (founder of Ada Publishing and Music) Cumhur Erdin, Hasan Hüseyin Demirel, (founder of Gün Plak) Hasan Güner, Muammer Sun, Grup Yorum, Bülent Ortaçgil, Grup Ekin, and Mozaik are included, written in order of appearance.

Within the scope of the file, it is possible to evaluate the approaches to *özgün müzik* in parallel with the framework summarized above in the context of *arabesk* approach. For example, Filiz Ali (1991) considers *özgün müzik* as temporary and consumption-oriented music, and she emphasizes education, culture and polyphony in order to achieve permanence and quality in music (p. 19). We can interpret Ali's views as representative of the genuine official view. Except for Hasan Hüseyin Demirel, who defines himself as the name who created this genre of music together with Ahmet Kaya, it is possible to consider the other names as official opinion revolutionaries/commentators (positive or negative depending on the interpretation). Although these views differ in the political approach to *özgün müzik*, the common feature of all of them is that, like all popular music genres, they see *özgün müzik* as a mass culture for consumption. They explain the changes in music through factors such as imperialism, capitalism and social changes and they explain the prevalance of *özgün müzik* like *arabesk* by associating it with consumption culture (ibid.). For example, Kahyaoğlu uses the term 'industrial music' to explain *özgün müzik*. In addition, in terms of the general understanding of art, they place the polyphonic music understanding of the West (either explicitly or implicitly), which is the level of contemporary civilization, in an important place.

Some folk-based musicians use different denominations to describe their music. For example, while Haluk Özkan (1991, p. 19) considers *özgün müzik* as commercial music and consumption culture, he prefers to call his own music as '*Çağdaş Halk Müziği*' (Contemporary Turkish Music), which he describes as "the polyphonic interpretation of Turkish music motifs." Grup Yorum and Grup Ekin, which are organized political music groups, also define their own productions as *Çağdaş Halk Müziği* (ÇHM). In Grup Yorum's terms:

> Although the concept of contemporary folk music expresses the point of addressing the developing aspects of folk music with a revolutionary sensitivity; the concept is somewhat broader. In our opinion, contemporary folk music is a voluntary concept in the goal that organized artists set before them, in the goal of developing folk music and creating new music. In this sense, the concept of contemporary folk music is a concept that only organized artists can use. (1991, p. 30)

According to Grup Yorum, *özgün müzik* is "a concept created by people to appear left in the market, who make *arabesk* music by taking the negative aspects of the masses and trying to create them in their art" (1991, p. 30). They state that *özgün müzik* is *arabesk* both in form and content. They say there is surrender in it, there is fatalism, there is rasping of reaction (ibid.). They describe *özgün müzik* as a category that emerged during the depoliticization process in the post-September 12 vacuum and reached a place by catching up with apolitical segments, by adding that "progressive revolutionary sentiments are exploited and treated according to the market values" by such musicians (ibid.).

As an interesting point, as seen above in Grup Yorum case, the harshest criticisms come from those who produce music with social content, and whose names are mentioned in line with *özgün müzik,* even though they reject it. For example, Abuzer Karakoç (1991), who is one of the names of the *devrimci-ozan* generation, said that "all kinds of themes from folk music to *arabesk*, from classical music to polyphonic music, from soft music to pop and classical music can be seen in *özgün müzik*" (p. 22). He calls it a 'soup' that contains the remnants of protest music like everything else (ibid.).

As another interesting example, Cumhur Erdin (1991) from *Ada* Music, who incorporated many bands that were known with *özgün müzik* at that time, such as Çağdaş Türkü and Ezginin Günlüğü, he considers *özgün müzik* as a distorted extension of the *âşık-ozan* tradition after September 12 (p. 23). He defines *özgün müzik* as the post-September 12 version of *âşık-ozan* tradition with added themes from *arabesk* and evaluates it as a for-profit market category (ibid.). *Özgün müzik*, according to him, is an identityless music represnting the Turkish people's lack of identity as neither Eastern nor Western (ibid.). Since it does not contain a universal theme, it, like *arabesk*, is temporary and doomed to disappear, he says (ibid.).

As can be seen from all these approaches, most musicians and various influential names in the music industry of the period evaluate *özgün müzik* as *arabesk*-influenced and market-oriented category and mainly identify it with Ahmet Kaya and similar musicians.

4.3 *Devrimci-Arabesk* Debate (1987-1990)

Espeially in the period between 1987-1990, we see that *arabesk* debates gained weight around Ahmet Kaya and short after his breakthrough, his music began to be labeled as *devrimci-arabesk* or *sol-arabesk*.

Ahmet Kaya released his second album, *Acılara Tutunmak* (*Taç*, 1985) and in 1986, he released two more albums: *An Gelir* and *Şafak Türküsü*. The album *Şafak Türküsü* is a turning point for him. Ahmet Kaya's rise coincides with the post-traumatic period created by the 1980 military coup. In this sense, the first group that resonates is the 'defeated' revolutionaries with those in prison and their families. With the military coup of 1980, society in general and the left in particular were destroyed. Ahmet Kaya's first albums are also the product of this sensitivity. Life in prison and the resistance there, but on the other hand, the culture of cry and sadness, and partly representing an outlet for the renewal of hopes consisted the major themes in Ahmet Kaya's debut, especially the album *Şafak Türküsü*. However, after a short while, Ahmet Kaya and his music began to be criticized by the leftist/revolutionary circles. Although the content of his songs contains a social criticism, Ahmet Kaya's music began to be described as *arabesk* because of his singing style, the modal/maqamic structure of his songs, the instruments he uses, and because he deals with themes such as 'pain, grief, death, defeat, betrayal' in his songs. After a while, in some circles, the names of *sol-arabesk* or *devrimci-arabesk* began to be used for his music. In his article mentioned above, Emre Aköz explains his feelings about Ahmet Kaya:

> First met with great enthusiasm, Kaya's music is raising more and more questions. The poets who write the lyrics for his songs are as leftist as they can be, but there's something odd going on in his voice and music. It's starting to 'smell arabesk' to some, and in some circles it's become known as *sol/devrimci arabesk.*

In the second half of the 1980s, former leftists, who were released from prison with amnesty, started to organize around cultural centers and associations in a similar way. In this period, social opposition began to revive. In this period, 'revolutionaries, tired democrats who came out of the prison but tired, who did not know what to do, dispersed,' entered into Ahmet Kaya's songs. And together with the album *Yorgun Demokrat* (1987) we begin to see Yusuf Hayaloğlu as an important figure of this period. *Arabesk* debates are also intensifying in this period. Upon the criticism of *Yorgun Demokrat* album, *Başkaldırıyorum* (1988) comes out with a title that gives an impact of challenging these intense *arabesk* criticisms.

In the rest of the episode, I will continue to present the debates around *devrimci arabesk* and the music of Ahmet Kaya in the printed media throughout the 1980s on a thematic level.

4.3.1 Who are those revolutionaries listening to *arabesk*?

Ertuğrul Kürkçü mentioned about the effect of *arabesk*, which had begun to influence revolutionary youth as well after September 12, 1980:

> We did not really have the chance to watch everything happening outside, but we had felt that things had begun to change. For example, once when I was a fugitive, I remember hearing Selda [Bağcan] at the houses we stayed in. But the newcomers were murmuring about other things. These were neighborhood revolutionary youth. They would come in for small infractions, and get out before long. They all knew 'May 1' by heart, but some were fans of Orhan [Gencebay], some of Ferdi [Tayfur]. They would practically come to blows over which one of them was better. (Aköz)

In the above quote, Kürkçü underlines the transformation of the typology of the revolutionary youth of the period. Ahmet Kaya, in an interview with made by Kadri Gürsel (published in *Yeni Gündem* Newspaper in January 1, 1987), gives the profile of his listeners as "those in a political atmosphere, families of prisoners and those with no political consciousness." Kaya attributed this to the "*arabesk* listeners finding something in his music that they could not find in *arabesk* music." His music, for him, offered a solution, "a tangible diagnosis of tangible conditions (*somut koşulların somut tahlili*)." His songs neither drove to drink and bemoan problems, nor to dance around;

in his opinion, his was "music of transition, in a transitional period (*geçiş döneminin geçiş müziği*)." He explained this transition as in the following excerpt:

> Kaya: Tomorrow, when those conditions change, I'll change as well; but we're not living in that time now. We are in a bizarre crisis.
>
> Gürsel: In other words, defeated revolutionaries are big fans of yours?
>
> Kaya: That really is true. One day, I said jokingly, 'Instead of listening to *arabesk* in secret, look, here are some things that speak about you!'

4.3.2 How much *arabesk* is Ahmet Kaya's music?

In the same article (by Gürsel), Kaya responded to the criticisms that he was performing *arabesk*:

> I use *makam*; and as a result, it's been said that certain *arabesk* themes have appeared, and I defend those themes and sounds. Today, 60% of the Turkish public listens to *arabesk*. The reason that they listen to it is not because they know it's *arabesk*, but because of what they find in it. (Gürsel, 1987)

According to a quote from Kaya in the same article, he had not adopted *arabesk*; for example, he was against the fatalism and resignation of *arabesk*, but had nothing to say about its polyphonic character. In another article, Kaya speaks of his music as an alternative to *arabesk*:

> People were united in an intense *arabesk* culture. There was no alternative to folk music appearing. Neither was there an alternative to *arabesk*, truly a music without any real identity, which anesthetized people and pushed them over into hopelessness. There was no Cem Karaca. Zülfü [Livaneli] was headed in another direction. At the time, he had released *Ada*, but he had changed his course. My timing was excellent. (*TV 7 Gong Magazine*, October 12, 1987)

In an interview for *Alınteri* magazine (date?) Kaya gave this response to a question about the *arabesk* influences in his music:

> In the beginning, rather than jump right into militant songs and influence a particular group of people, I aimed to reach a broader public, and the way to that was *makam* music. Today, some folk musicians, folk minstrels, haven't done anything outside of the *makam*s such as *hüseyni* and *uşşak*, because as

soon as they used the others, they'd have to go into themes classified as *arabesk*. Any time they'd try a *makam* like *muhayyer*, *şataraban* or *suzinak*, it sounded off. It's just not possible to play those on *bağlama*; different instruments are necessary to play them. I did that and many people unaware of what class they belonged to, liked it. In short, I think the only way to reach a large public is to use *makams,* to use sounds familiar to their ears.

4.3.3 Various views on *devrimci arabesk* and Ahmet Kaya's music

Other musicians of the time also entered the *devrimci-arabesk* debate. For example, the article provided in *Nokta* magazine (February 8, 1987) included a criticism of Ahmet Kaya by Sadık Gürbüz, who said that, "Ahmet Kaya could be the beginning of the degeneration coming to a head in revolutionary art and culture." According to Gürbüz, "you can't justify setting revolutionary lyrics to decadent music." Saying that Kaya was following the road of Orhan Gencebay and Hakkı Bulut, Gürbüz thus hopped on the bandwagon of those criticizing Kaya for performing "decadent" music. Ömer Özgeç who was part of the "new folk music quartet" mentioned above, was one of those who classified Kaya's music as *arabesk* and decadent. Said Özgeç, "I think Ahmet Kaya's music is a continuation of *arabesk*. Anyone with an ear for classical music or qualified pop music can't tolerate this music. The only difference between this music and a*rabesk* is the words" (*Nokta*, February 8, 1987).

Timur Selçuk's approach was quite interesting "[It's not] as *arabesk* as I'd imagined," he said. "I believe that the democratic aspect of all these works should be celebrated," and "at least five years must pass before making a conclusive judgment." On the other hand, he believed that "cheap styles in polyphonic arrangements and orchestrations should be avoided; otherwise the result will be crude music rather than socialist or democratic works" (Aköz).

In the same article in *Nokta* magazine (February 8, 1987), Attilla İlhan, many of whose poems were set to music by Ahmet Kaya, said, "It's a sort of opposition music." "This music came from the left; it began with Ruhi [Su]." According to İlhan, "Ahmet Kaya's music is not *arabesk*; there are similar melodies in the music of Ergüder Yoldaş, Barış Manço and Zülfü Livaneli." In saying this, İlhan was drawing attention to the various *arabesk* influences in the pop music world of the period.

Yet another positive response came from Cem Karaca: “In Germany, I had the opportunity to listen to several of his songs on the radio. He has great lyrics. He really does base his music too much on the *bağlama*, in other words, like the music of Gülden Karaböcek. It has a good direction to it, and brings up some truths that must not be forgotten. I find his effort and style positive. Yes of course you must tell the people about the past, about jail, bullets, torture, oppression, fighting. At least the people making this music have gotten out of the “Down with America” style. So I can say that I think Ahmet Kaya is making the right sort of music”

4.3.4 *Arabesk* or protest?

An article title ‘*Arabesk mi Protest mi*?’ (*Arabesk* or Protest?) in the February 8, 1987 issue of *Nokta* magazine stated that the increasing popularity of Ahmet Kaya among young incarcerated people, especially with his cassette *Şafak Türküsü*, had created much debate on the subject of *devrimci-arabesk*. Examining the question of “What is arabesk, what is protest?” the article contained this statement:

> The first arguments about *arabesk* began around five or six years ago, and just as in every argument, we divided ourselves into two camps, each finding the others view entirely wrong. Some of us considered *arabesk* the subtext for abandoning the struggle, withdrawing from human relationships, and freeing oneself from fears of failure; others, recalling the way that the intelligentsia turn up their nose at anything widely popular with the masses, said that enmity toward *arabesk* was nothing other than ‘a typical reflection of the elitist attitude.

Further ahead in the article was a 1985 quote from an interview with Orhan Gencebay, which highlighted the ability of *arabesk* to adopt elements of different musical genres: “*Arabesk* music has not yet reached its goal. It’s a bridge; it’s a vehicle for research; and its existence has challenged certain obsessions.” The writer noted, “Before we’ve even understood what *arabesk* is, it appears to have become a type of protest music,” and pointed to an advertisement for Ahmet Kaya’s album: “*Taç Müzik* proudly presents the brave protest singer Ahmet Kaya.” Noting that although protest was a new concept for us, it was quite familiar in the West, he pointed out examples like Woody Guthrie, Joan Baez and Bob Dylan, and defined western protest music as a

combination of folk and pop music; its most important characteristic being the powerful political and social criticism in its lyrics.

In the article, Ahmet Kaya had this to day to those who claimed he performed *arabesk*, not revolutionary music: "If my music is *arabesk* as they say, then they should explain why some people take its notes, chords and harmonies and use them as protest music." To criticisms that "his music is mostly about themes like sadness, grief and death, and these are typical arabesk themes," he responded with these lines by Neruda: "And you will ask, why doesn't his poetry speak of dreams and leaves and the great volcanoes of his native land? Come and see the blood in the streets..."

According to information in the February 8, 1987 issue of *Nokta* magazine, Ahmet Kaya said he was against *arabesk*, and defined his own genre in this way: "I'm a protester, I'm against the present social system. I oppose this order." Thus far, we see that Kaya rejected the characterizations of his music as *özgün müzik* or *devrimci-arabesk* preferring to call his music 'transitional music for a period of transition' and himself a 'protester.'

In an August 29, 1987 interview of Kaya by Alp Buğdaycı for the newspaper *Gölge Adam*, we see that Kaya continued to use the term 'protester:'

> Alp Buğdaycı: When we look at the protest music tradition, we see that all the messages have their source in folk music. In Africa, Latin America, Greece…what is the starting point for your music?
>
> Ahmet Kaya: In a time where democratic rights and freedoms are being trodden underfoot in Turkey, I resist with my music. I oppose the attitude behind our country's economic, political and cultural policies, and the way that state is reflected in today's objective conditions. I try to make this tangible with my music. I'm a protester, and I use my music to voice my opposition to the present social system.

The conversation eventually found its way back to *arabesk*:

> Alp Buğdaycı: They say you take advantage of past pain; fans of Zülfü even divide the Ahmet fans into two groups and argue about which group is more revolutionary… One of the things they call you is '*Arabesk* Ahmet'.

> Kaya: I have to start from my own culture on my way from nationality to universality. But every true artist must have his or her own style and language. I work in *makam*. I use *makams* like *rast, nihavent* and *şadaraban*. I really want to use the truly progressive, emotional aspects of *arabesk* music. For example, they call it Arab music. Well, don't people in Turkey ever consider that there are people struggling for freedom and democracy in Arab countries as well? These people have their own music, according to their own cultures. And those are beautiful in their own ways. Isn't one way of opening the door to universality for people of the world to join hands with their music? For example, I'd like to write a song that someone in Adıyaman could listen to, and someone in Africa. And the way to do that not to exclude Arab tunes from music. Nobody says anything when I use a rock motif in my rhythms, so why does all hell break loose any time I go from *nihavent* to *şadaraban*? I sing *bozlak.* Why do they get so upset?

4.3.5 The recurring theme of the genuine official view: destination from national to universal

The mention of 'the road from nationality to universality' appears frequently in the words of other musicians of the time as well, if with different emphases. For example *Dostlar Korosu* member Hüseyin Başaran defines his music in an interview (*Yeni Gündem*, February 15, 1987):

> I would call my music – as far as I am able – a stone in the bridge from tradition to the future, to modernity. To use the possibilities by the voice training I've taken and continue to take, to sing our folk sogs in a meaningful voice, simply and sensitively.

But he loses no time in setting himself apart from 'other' musicians:

> Alongside the breathy singing styles, of which we witness hundreds of examples every day (here he is referring to a vocal style commonly used in *arabesk* and which Ahmet Kaya used as well), to sing in a more coherent, conscious way – in other words, to reclaim our folk songs.

A critique by Ertuğrul Kayserilioğlu in the March 1987 issue of *Çağdaş Yol* magazine holds an important place for the information it provides on the 'leftist' and 'enlightened' style of the period. Characterizing Ahmet Kaya as "arabesk, and the

reflection of decadence in the realm of music," he had much more positive things to say about certain musical groups. Mentioning the groups Ezginin Günlüğü, Yeni Türkü and Çağdaş Türkü in particular, he said that they "based their music on the melodies of Anatolia and on an attitude of political protest." He listed their common points:

> All three groups' main goal is to remove folk music from its present state, adapt it to appeal to today's sensitivities, and to display a political opposition in the music. Of course this also entails refusing to bow to the commercial rules of the music industry and do good things in line with the responsibility that comes with being an artist.

He said that for this reason the aforementioned groups should be supported, but added criticisms as well:

> In all three groups, the emphasis is on the lyrics; the music is imprisoned within the poetic form. It's impossible to produce music freely with such a stringent approach. For this reason, I first compose without being bound to words or syllables, then I read poetry. One shouldn't forget that poetry is poetry, and music is music. Music is not a poetry reading, it's music! Each of the groups have found their own paths, but what makes me uncomfortable is that these paths are too straight. I notice that the entire cassette has the same feel; the tunes all resemble each other. None of the three groups have managed to present alternative music in the radicalism we hope for. We don't find any unknown, brand new, amazing melodies, either in the folk songs they sing or in their own compositions. Rather, you can guess where the melody is going, the melodies are never unfamiliar. They don't push the boundaries. We don't want instant, ready-to-eat soup that we've had no part of; we want something of our own in that soup as well. This can only happen by thinking and trying to understand; that is, to recreate and resurrect the music in the imagery of the listener. And then there is the essence of the music. None of the groups show the liveliness, excitement, movement, emotional intensity, or freedom from weariness to the level that we wish. No to the exoticism of the east! Yes to the sensitivities of the present! None of the groups have succeeded in taking polyphony from a technical level up to an artistic level.

On the other hand, the writer speaks positively of other musicians on a path similar to Ahmet Kaya's, like Ferhat Livaneli an Adil Arslan; he writes that he likes Ferhat Liveneli's album *Kökler ve Dallar*, and finds the music an important part of the struggle to modernize music. Also very fond of Adil Arslan's cassette *Doğu Batı Divanı*, he calls the album a perfect arrangement of Eastern Anatolian *semah*s for chamber orchestra, and believes that he has achieved artistic rather than merely technical polyphonization.

It is safe to say that the abovementioned thoughts have existed since the founding of the Turkish Republic, and have constituted the dominant attitude of the 'enlightened' class: The advancement of folk music is only possible by following the path from localism to universality. In other words, the first job at hand is to polyphonize folk melodies within modern, universal norms, employing the techniques of Western music, but this must be done with an artistic, not a merely technical approach, and this is possible by feeling the essence of the music.

To provide yet another example (from an unknown newspaper, date and writer), a critique on Selda Bağcan's album *Dost Merhaba*, composed chiefly of her own compositions, reads as follows:

> Of the many interesting syntheses being sought in contemporary Turkish music, perhaps the most positive approach is that of Selda Bağcan. But she has done it without departing from its essence; without distorting the melodies from the heart of Anatolia… Congratulations, sister… At least we finally have folk songs we can play to a European or an American without embarrassment.

In the opinion of writer Ertuğrul Kayserilioğlu, Ahmet Kaya had reduced music to merely social content. Not only that, but his music was decadent and retrograde. The writer compared him to *Alevi âşık*s like Aşık İhsani and Mahzuni. Although he said their common feature was that they based everything on the lyrics, he also said it would be wrong to consider Ahmet Kaya and the *âşık*s the same. While the aforementioned *âşık*s answered the demand for revolutionary fervor at the time, Ahmet Kaya "answers the demands of people who have gotten out of jail and returned to their shanty towns and their loneliness; he appeals to their sensitivities." According to him, Ahmet Kaya was taking advantage of the lingering pain of the 1980 coup: "He perceives reality in terms of tragedy rather than determinism, and in so doing, he tearfully buries people

in the darkness of the Middle Ages." He believes Ahmet Kaya's music is based on *Alevi* sensitivities and adds:

> Today however, the Turkish left needs a modern revolutionary sentiment, not an Alevi one, because underneath the Alevi sentiment lie the understandably pessimistic psyches of destitute villagers who have been exploited, oppressed and held back for centuries. But Ahmet Kaya, living in a developed city of capitalist Turkey in the in the late 20th century, has no right to such a psyche…

Criticizing Kaya for singing *arabesk*, he also says that Kaya is not even comparable with Orhan Gencebay or Ferdi Tayfur; he has blended certain clichés of *arabesk* with Eastern motifs and in this sense, he is no different from İbrahim Tatlıses. According to him, the two have different styles but share the same essence.

Some of the claims above can actually be seen as a summary of the criticisms of Kaya from the left: Exploiting the pain left by the 1980 coup, posing as a spokesman for revolutionaries and exploiting the revolutionary sentiment.

4.3.6 Criticisms of Ahmet Kaya's music on an aesthetic level

Another criticism of Ahmet Kaya's music came from another front, from Orhan Kahyaoğlu (newspaper and date unknown). In his article titled '*Biraz Sanatsal Anlatım Ahmet Kaya*' (And a Little Artistic Talk), he judges Kaya's music to be bereft of any aesthetic depth, and says he uses the music as a backdrop for the verbal narrative:

> Instead of displaying all the inner aspects of oppression and spurring the listener to thought, Kaya, in all his songs, immediately displayed all his dreams and hopes, hidden and open, for tomorrow and a happy future. How healthy a source this superficial display of the current and real is for the future, it's impossible to know. I don't think we should expect any contribution from such idealization, because these are not narratives open to questioning; perhaps they are a sort of romanticism.

Kahyaoğlu continues about how protest music and revolutionary art should be approached:

> Protest music finds itself by enriching the musical realm and opening the channels of verbal questioning. With a single instrument as the symbol of the future and an emotional outpouring composed on it, how much real

> responsibility can Ahmet Kaya take? Revolutionary artists are people who change the dimensions of conventional narrative.

We find a similar criticism on the part of Anuş Bakış in the *Müzik '87* newspaper supplement. The article, written after Ahmet Kaya's concert at the *Emek* Cinema, says:

> The emphasis was on the words. At the most crucial points in the lyrics, he stopped playing his *saz*, practically swallowed the mike and yelled out the words at a tempo which threatened to make them incomprehensible. He generally used his *saz* as a vehicle to increase the tension, leaving a sterile music behind. In other words, Ahmet Kaya's tongue was long, but his music was short.

Criticisms that his music had no aesthetic dimension, that the music was merely a background for his music, or that he made slogan music, came from various musicians of the period. For example, in another interview with Hüseyin Başaran (*Yeni Gündem*, February 15, 1987) he said of Ahmet Kaya: "I don't think you'll get anywhere with slogans alone when you are dealing with social issues. We might like hearing these words because of the conditions we're living in. Even saying this, it must be said within the rules of art." And he immediately adds what must be done: "To do this, one needs good musical education and a constantly renewed effort. If a musician doesn't have at least a basic knowledge of the rules of music and those of his own language, he will contribute to the degeneration of music."

Some musicians even took their criticisms so far as to claim that Ahmet Kaya and others like him were making music for purely commercial goals. Fikret Kızılok and Bülent Ortaçgil said in an interview (Orhan Kahyaoğlu, *2000'e Doğru*, July 19, 1987) that:

> This, with its meager signals, is a slightly more refined form of *arabesk* music. Today there is one person who is making enormous sales with this route. Lower the bar a little and someone else will appear. This is really just music based on capital; it's made for marketing. I don't think it's from the heart.

I think that Ahmet Kaya's link with *arabesk* connected him to the sociological basis of *arabesk*; in addition, leftists were connected to *arabesk* through Ahmet Kaya's music, although they themselves mostly deny and reject it. It is a fact that for that period, Ahmet Kaya's music formed a bridge between *arabesk* and the Turkish left. Even more interesting, today, it is possible to talk about a trend, claiming that Ahmet Kaya's music is actually *devrimci-arabesk*, with an effort to embrace Ahmet Kaya and his

music. However, there is no discussion here within the musical framework. Regarding the discussion of "how much arabesk Ahmet Kaya's music is," we can say that Ahmet Kaya has incorporated different elements from folk music to *alaturka*, from *arabesk* to various popular music forms, but we cannot say that his music as a genre is *arabesk* as will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

We can talk about whether the music placed in a category constitutes a genre or not, only when we are able to talk about some common characteristic features of those music, that is, when certain standards or cliches of the genre are formed. However, we now live in a hybrid musical world where such definitions are becoming insignificant, the boundaries between genres are blurred, and the ears of both the music makers and the listeners are open to many musical influences.

5. THE MUSICAL ACCUMULATION OF AHMET KAYA: A METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

This chapter should be regarded as an introductory study to establish a conceptual and methodical approach to understanding a protest singer-song writer such as Ahmet Kaya in musical, cultural and personal terms.

Before beginning, a discussion is needed regarding the suggestion of the term 'musical accumulation' rather than the accepted term 'musical style' in the academia, especially in the case of a protest singer-song writer such as Ahmet Kaya with no formal musical education. 'Musical style' is defined as "a particular manner or technique by which something is done, created, or performed" in Merriam-Webster Dictionary (2007). In *freemusicdictionary*, style in music[51] is defined as:

> Characteristic manner of presentation of musical elements (melody, rhythm, harmony, dynamics, form, etc.) A distinctive compositional manner of an era, country, or particular artist that makes that particular music unique. A distinctive performance practice that differentiates music performed by a specific ensemble or artist from that same music performed by any other ensemble or individual.

In the above and various other definitions, we see that musical style is generally defined as the distinctive characteristics of music belonging to historical periods (as in Classical style), composers (such as Mozart), performers (such as the ballad style of Miles Davis), culture (such as the fiddle playing of Gypsy musicians), genre (as in rock style, arabesk style, etc.), etc. In other words, there must be identifiable, consistent, continuing, common musical elements. On the other hand, the analysis process has objective aspects as well as subjective and therefore ambiguous aspects, since any element in music that communicates something to the listener can be regarded as an aspect of style. For example, musical mood or emotions are also associated with style. The feeling that a piece of music evokes in the listener can be

[51] https://www.freemusicdictionary.com/definition/style/

related to a word, a melody, rhythmic element, an instrument, or any aspect of music that creates emotional associations. It is possible that two different analyzes of the same song can be made by two different analysts, since the interpretation changes according to what it means to whom.

I would like to present here two terms that are often used interchangeably with the term 'style.' Firstly, 'style' in music can also refer to aspects of musical 'texture,' a challenging concept for musicians and analysts, as explained by Roger B. Dannenberg (2010):

> Basically, musical texture is a composite of many aspects of music that one would hear within a second or so. On longer time scales, melodic, rhythmic, and harmonic progressions stand out, but at shorter time scales, we hear timbre (violins? electric guitars? saxophones?), very short repeated patterns, many or few different pitches, loudness, and brightness, all of which give a subjective impression we call texture. While composers usually consider 'texture' to be something different from style, texture is at least a closely related concept. 'Texture' usually refers to sound and the activity of making sound, while 'style' is most often used to describe the general impression or intention provided by a texture. We speak of a 'tonal style,' a 'heavy style,' or a 'big band style,' all of which refer to texture-induced impressions. In these examples, the style is not so much the melody, rhythm, or harmony, but the *sound color* in which these elements are embedded. (p. 3)

On the other hand, style is often used to mean 'genre,' yet another challenging term that is difficult to define: "A genre is a category of music characterized by a particular style, but a genre can also be influenced by social conventions, marketing, association with a particular artist, and other external influences. Still, it is common to refer to something as 'rock style,' or 'bebop style'" (Dannenberg, 2010, p. 3).

The common idea under all these definitions is based on characteristics perceived as common in a certain collection of music (Dannenberg, 2010, p. 4). Thus, a set of rules emerges. However, there may be outliers, which we can call exceptions. On the other hand, in popular music, composer, arranger, performer, cultural and geographical region, structure and mechanisms of the market, marketing and presentation of music have an important influence on how music is categorized and perceived by the audience.

In popular music, some elements of music seem to be more important in relation with the style. Let us call these as the 'descriptive elements.' Rhythm is an important descriptive element, especially in popular music. There are rhythmic patterns associated with different styles of music. When you look at any drum method, it is possible to find a stereotypical rhythmic pattern of each genre. For example, rock is characterized by strong beats in groups of four, with accents on 2 and 4 such as one-Two-three-Four. In addition, rhythm has a feature that points to the cultural context. The use of traditional or regional rhythm patterns is an important indicator of geographical and cultural identity. For example, the use of *usûl*[52] refers to Turkish classical music or religious music, while the terms such as *halay*[53] or *bar*[54] indicate dance musics with a folkloric character in Turkey. As another example, the use of *aksak* rhythms (such as 5/8, 7/8, 9/8 rhythms) generaly indicates an Oriental character for a Westerner. Not only the percussion structure, but also the rhythmic character of the melody can be an important indicator of the local form and culture.

Similarly, tempo is an important element in popular music. For example, as in Latin dance music, the dance form may change depending on whether the same rhythmic pattern is performed faster or slower. In addition, tempo can be an element that determines the emotion. Generally, romantic soft ballads are slower, dance music and enterining songs are faster.

Vocal quality also tells us something important about the style. Speech-like singing, spoken words, screaming, falsetto singing, glissando and vibrato could all be described as vocal techniques, and all tell us something about the style of music. As stated in Chapter 3, a singing style was suggested by Ruhi Su that will highlight the content of the words, without ornaments, etc. The fact that Ahmet Kaya is a different figure coming from the left culture and departing from there is heavily due to his vocal quality and his singing style based on his local and traditional culture as well as the dialect

[52] *Usûl*: In Turkish music, *usûl*s are stereotyped measures according to a certain order (Sözer, 2005, p. 716). For example, *düyek usul* is an eight-beat rhythmic pattern.
[53] *Halay*: It is the common name of folk dances that are performed collectively in various regions of Anatolia, usually accompanied by drums and *zurna*. Local instruments may also accompany it (Sözer, 2005, p. 322).
[54] *Bar*: The general name of the folk dances specific to Erzurum, Erzincan, Bingöl, Tunceli, Muş, Van, Ağrı, Kars, Gümüşhane, and Artvin provinces of Eastern Anatolia (Sözer, 2005, p. 81)

and his pronounciation which was indifferent to the norms of protest music at that period.

One of the significant descriptive elements in music is the use of musical instruments. For example, a musical structure based on guitar, bass and drums may refer to rock, while the saxophone and trumpet may evoke a blues band, or the use of a distorted electric guitar is associated with heavy metal. As another example, for *arabesk*, which is itself a mixture of different musical styles, the use of electro-*bağlama*, string orchestra, and the percussion family of Egyptian music has come to define *arabesk*. Similarly, the use of a certain set of percussion family (for example, Latin percussion family including clave, bongo, congas, maracas, guiro, etc.) tells us about the style, genre, and geography of that music. On the other hand, today, most instruments have simultaneously taken their place in different musical genres. Styles are gradually mixing, sometimes hybridizing. Accordingly, we can find listeners from very different segments based on class, ideology, culture, ethnicity, gender etc. while liking and listening to the same type of music.

If we turn back to our example of Ahmet Kaya, it is possible to say that Kaya has created a mixed musical universe of his own in which he has incorporated different musical elements. This also helps to explain why and how the listeners from very different segments of the society receive and embrace Ahmet Kaya's music in similar ways. To put it very simply, apart from the lyrical themes, musically everyone can find something of themselves in his songs. Here I argue that, due to its mixed character, Ahmet Kaya's music is 'differentiating' to the extent that everyone can find something of their own, but also 'unifying' to the extent that it appeals to different segments of the society at the same time.

It is possible to make this determination not only through the diversity of the listeners of Ahmet Kaya's music, but also from the diversity of the musicians who follow him or adapted his music in some way. We can talk about a 'sound' that became widespread with Ahmet Kaya and *özgün müzik* musicians as outlined in Chapter 4. Although its origin was from the left, this sound began to be mobilized by the musicians from the right-wing and Islamist segments over time (eg. Fatih Kısaparmak, Uğur Işılak, et al.). It is possible to say that two points are effective in this: First, the musical genres became close to each other through mutual exchange of elements, and even many mixing styles emerged. I argue that such mixed-styles, like *arabesk*, have a 'unifying'

side, since, due to its mixed character and not having a dominant musical or cultural element, it has the capacity to be ‘everyone's’ music. Secondly, the young people of the conservative sections, who were suppressed by the 1980 coup, although not as violently and heavily as the left, sought a reaction/rebellion music for themselves. However, since there was no musical accumulation in the popular music domain in these social sections, it is quite understandable that they adapted what was in front of them as a ready-made structure, which was *özgün müzik* then. *Arabesk*, another musical genre they could apply to, would be extremely expensive for young and amateur music groups, due to the musical infrastructure it required and often use of a large orchestra. It also became possible to establish a connection with *özgün müzik* via the folk, *alaturka* and *arabesk* elements in Ahmet Kaya’s music for various social groups. Within the examples of this genre in Turkish-Islamic groups, most elements are similar -down to the musical structure and singing style- except for the lyrics.

So, how can ve define Kaya’s music? It doesn't seem easy to define Kaya’s music in terms of style due to its mixed character. This is closely related with his incorporating different musical elements from various traditional, local, popular genres or styles into his music. One of the important reasons behind the difficulty to analyze Ahmet Kaya's music is related with the arrangement of songs. The arrangements made mostly by Osman İşmen do not have a unity either on a period basis, or even the style can change from song to song in the same album. İşmen himself is aware of this and stated that he delibarately made some experiments in each album in order to see how much Ahmet Kaya could expand the limits of his musical production and performance capacity, and to test what would hold more appeal to the audience (İşmen, 2014).

During the conversations I made with various music people, I saw that there is a tendency of ‘what matters is the lyrics in his songs, his political attitude or his vocal character, so there is no need for musical analysis.’ In the *arabesk* example, it can be said that this tendency has been overcome by valuable studies in the field. However, if there is a protest or oppositional musician, as in the case of Ahmet Kaya, the protest character in his music is firstly questioned -because it does not comply with the accepted norms, and an approach is taken as if it were a contradiction or a deviation. However, as stated before, the definition of protest music is not given within the framework of certain clichés; it may differ and diversify according to content and

context. In this sense, I think that the case of Ahmet Kaya is an example that expands the definition of protest music.

This discussion brings us to the point of searching for an alternative approach in the analysis of Ahmet Kaya's music. It is obvious that Ahmet Kaya, who did not have a formal music education, produced music on what he had 'accumulated,' a term which is closely related with the social, cultural and personal context. The term 'accumulation' can be defined as what an individual, a particular group, or section of society keeps, practices, performs, and reproduces in relation to relevant cultures and traditions. In that respect, accumulation is not a passive act of collection. Accumulation is a collection of traditional and cultural elements through a personal or collective lens, in that respect accumulation may differ from or even contradict with the reference tradition and culture. Any given tradition or culture is not adopted as it is but rather combined with elements from other cultures and traditions. Therefore accumulation is a mixed/hybrid collection of several different cultures and traditions. This is of course affiliated with such concepts as identification and sense of belonging. In other words, accumulation helps building one's identification and reinforces the sense of belonging with a reinvented, reimagined relation to the reference culture and tradition. Hence, 'musical accumulation' is suggested in this thesis as an alternative conceptual tool and an approach.

Regarding the analysis of a music person or a group, one should take into account the following parameters:

i) setting the socio-cultural and personal context: description of the social and political situations as well as the personal experiences in which music is produced and that produce music;

ii) setting the cultural-musical context: description of the related musical domain in terms of the key musical sources, approaches, figures and the cultural-musical practices, including the effect of market mechanisms and the technology on music making practices;

iii) content analysis: interpretation of themes as presented in the lyrics and any correspondence with the socio-political and personal background;

iv) musical analysis on the basis of defining the key musical sources and influences, characteristic properties or descriptive musical elements such as form, rhythm, melody, harmony, *makam*, instrumentation, arrangement, etc.;

v) vocal analysis: describing the singing style in terms of voice type, techniques, prozodi, dialect, local influences, any correspondence with lyrical themes, etc.;

vi) performance analysis: describing the body language and expression, dress code, discourse, stage communication and general image (intended perception);

vii) audience analysis: how does the audience perceive and associate themselves with the related music and the musician/music group?

It is possible to make many different readings on this data. If it is a matter of which points will be highlighted or which questions will be answered in the final analysis, it depends on what the analyst is looking for. For the purposes of this thesis, the analyzed songs were chosen to exemplify Ahmet Kaya's mixed style and his incorporating various elements into his music which I think is closely related to the *devrimci arabesk* discussions as well as Kaya's reception as a distinctive figure in the history of protest music in Turkey and his popularity within various segments of the society. For the purposes of this chapter, in section 5.3 you will find a brief analysis of the basic elements of Kaya's musical accumulation. Since it is not possible to give all song analyses here, I have gathered the basic results I found as an excell table giving information on the basic musical elements such as rhythm, *makam* (*dizi*), etc. besides the main lyrical themes (see Appendix B). I have created a matrix table here to serve as data for analysis which also helps us to make some comparisons in graphic form (see section 5.3).

5.1 Review of Ahmet Kaya's Albums and Periods

This section outlines the basic musical features of Ahmet Kaya's lifetime albums by overviewing them in the chronological order and focusing on some significant albums in detail. By doing this work, it was aimed to provide data in defining the descriptive properties of Kaya's musical accumulation.

While reviewing the albums, a special attention has been paid on determining the musical characteristics of the relevant periods following the periodization presented in Chapter 2, as well as determining any conflicting examples. My aim here is both to determine the characteristic features of the relevant periods and to follow the processes

such as continuity, rupture or any changes between the periods depending on socio-political, personal and musical context.

Periods		Album	Year	Main Themes
1. Breakthrough (1985-1986): September 12 Coup, jail life and inmates	1	*Ağlama Bebeğim* (Don't Cry My Baby)	1985	• Unending jail life • Hope (Future is socialist) • Hopelessness (We were defeated in the struggle) • Patriotism (nationalism) • Ex-, Unfaithful Lover
	2	*Acılara Tutunmak* (Holding On Pains)	1985	• Unending jail life • Hope (Future is socialist) • Hopelessness (We were defeated in the struggle) • Patriotism (nationalism) • Ex-Lover
	3	*Şafak Türküsü* (Ballad of Dawn)	1986	• Unending jail life • Hope (Future is socialist) • Hopelessness (We were defeated in the struggle) • Patriotism (nationalism) • Ex-Lover
	4	*An Gelir* (The Moment Comes)	1986	• Unending jail life • Hope (Future is socialist) • Hopelessness (We were defeated in the struggle) • Patriotism (nationalism) • Longing (for children, lover)

Figure 5.1: Main Lyrical Themes of Ahmet Kaya's Albums.

2. Popularization (1987-1991): Life after prison, disappearing youth, inmates being tested outside, tired democrats and portraits.	5	*Yorgun Demokrat* (Tired Democrat)	1987	• Defeat • Life after coup • Love, separation, longing
	6	*Başkaldırıyorum* (I Revolt)	1988	• Unfaithfulness • Contradiction between a prisoner's expectations and outside Life • Manifestos
	7	*İyimser Bir Gül* (An Optimistic Rose)	1989	• Longing for ex-lover • Contradiction between a prisoner's expectations and outside Life • Civil war, Struggle, Fear • Love, Separation
	8	*Sevgi Duvarı* (The Wall of Love)	1990	• Love • Longing • Separation • Struggle, Despair
	9	*Başım Belada* (I'm in Trouble)	1991	• Life conditions after the coup • Criticism for 'pseudo-intellectuals' • Meeting a revolutionary at childhood
3. Further popularization and impact of Kurdish movement (1992-1998): Struggle, guerilla, revolutionaries and disadvantaged sections of the society such as workers, mothers, et al.	10	*Dokunma Yanarsın* (Don't Touch or You'll Burn)	1992	• Struggle (guerilla, eşkıya, child worker, agricultural worker) • Hope • Unrecognized, betrayed revolutionary
	11	*Tedirgin* (Uneasy)	1993	• Struggle (guerilla, eşkıya) • Unfaithfulness • Destiny of slumps
	12	*Şarkılarım Dağlara* (My Songs are for the Mountains)	1994	• We will defeat imperialism despite its cost. • Ex-Lover
	13	*Yıldızlar ve Yakamoz* (Stars and Sea Sparkles)	1995	• Struggle • Loneliness • Boredom
	14	*Beni Bul* (Find Me)	1995	• Struggle • Death • Unfaithfulness and unrecognition
	15	*Dosta Düşmana Karşı* (Against Friends and Foe)	1998	• Unfortunate destiny of revolutionary • Unfaithfulness of people • Struggle (eşkıya, guerilla)
4. Exile (1999-2000)	16	*Hoşçakalın Gözüm* (Farewell My Dear)	2001	• Exile • Reproaching unfaithfulness

Figure 5.1 (continued): Main Lyrical Themes of Ahmet Kaya's Albums.

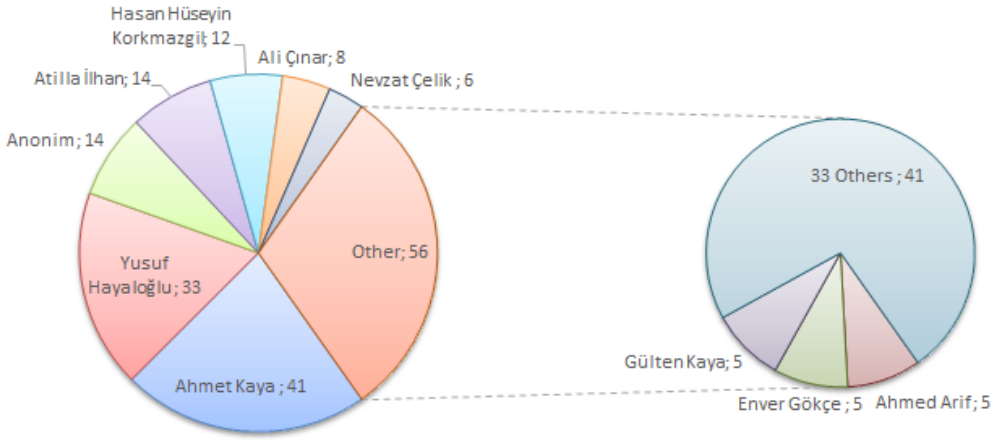

Figure 5.2: Distribution of lyricists and poets.

5.1.1 Breakthrough (1985-1986): September 12 Coup, prisonary and inmates

The albums that mark the 'breakthrough' period of Ahmet Kaya's musical journey include *Ağlama Bebeğim* (Don't Cry My Baby) (April 1985*), Acılara Tutunmak* (Holding on Grieves) (1985), *Şafak Türküsü* (Ballad of Dawn) (May 1986), and *An Gelir* (The Moment) (1986) albums. The main themes of the songs are associated with the mood of the leftists following the September 12th coup. The themes of defeat, death and prison frequently occur in his pieces of this period (see Figure 5.1 for main themes and Appendix B for lyrical themes of the songs separately). The accompanying moods are mostly 'pessimism, sadness, despair, pain, inability to see the future, separation and even a little hope for the future.' Ahmet Kaya became accepted and known in this period first by inmates, their families, and certain leftist-democrat circles. The lyrics of his songs were mostly from the first generation of socialist poets as well as the younger generation poets such as Nevzat Çelik who himself was a prisoner during the time.

Gülten Kaya summarizes the political attitude of the period as follows:

> In this period [July 17, 1987], İHD [İnsan Hakları Derneği-Human Rights Association] was established. Recitals were held in movie theaters. Most of those who came to these recitals were İHD advocates, mothers of captives, families, university youth; that's the victim segment. Ahmet Kaya was meeting with them during this period. In order to be hopeful for them, to be morale, at the same time to feel that it will be good for himself and to raise their spirit together. (Kaya, personal communication with G. Kaya, 2018)

Giving recitals (solo with *bağlama*) was common in this period and Ahmet Kaya also took his place there. The covers of the first two albums and the iconography of a *bağlama* in hand (in drawing) suggest an attempt to relate with the *âşık-ozan* tradition. Yet such an association is much more characterized by the referred image but not entirely by musical engagement. He played and sang almost entirely his own compositions in his own style.

For the purposes of this thesis, it is critical to understand the musical features of his first period, besides the lyrical themes, in relation with Ahmet Kaya's emergence after September 12th Coup and his connection with the left culture. His musical behavior here offers clues for future discussions on his music and musical personality.

5.1.1.1 *Ağlama Bebeğim* (Don't Cry My Baby) (1985)

The songs in this first album, namely *Ağlama Bebeğim,* were all composed by Ahmet Kaya as arranged by Sezer Bağcan, featuring the poems by the cult socialist poets and revolutionary folk poets such as Sabahattin Ali, Ahmed Arif, Nazım Hikmet, Arif Damar and Karacaoğlan.The lyrics of three songs of the album, which could be considered to have kept trace of the foregoing musical style, belonged to Ahmet Kaya: '*Ağlama Bebeğim*' (Don't Cry My Baby), '*Hikayemiz*' (Our Story), and '*Karanlıkta*' (In the Dark). The album also had two divergent songs: A traditional song, namely '*Kurtuluş Savaşı Destanı*' (Independence War Saga), and '*Uğurlar Ola'* (Good Riddance), the lyrics of which belonged to Mehmet Akif Ersoy, also the poet of Turkish national anthem. The last two songs, which are apparently discordant with the others due to praises for the Independence War and having the mood of heroic sagas, might have been included in the album for two reasons: (i) as a safeguard against the oppressive policies of the post-coup period by adopting a Kemalist discourse similar to that advocated by the plotters of the September 12th coup or (ii) as an embodiment of the Kemalist ideology on the ranks of the Turkish left traditions. Either case, the songs were distinct from the rest of the album.

Parallel to the leitmotif of this period, the album features a decadent mood with frequent referrals to prison, dungeon, death, outside, longing, trouble, and separation etc. Maybe the only song, the lyrics of which have some sort of hope element, is '*Ağlama Bebeğim*:' "There is such a place far away/ There are happiness/ Ready to be shared/ There is a life." Still, 'such place' where one can find happiness is far away.

The poems are written in syllabic meter, but the number of syllables in the lines changes in accordance with the free verse form of the socialist poetry movement. There is a song structure in verse-chorus form (for song structure see Figures 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3). A traditional character in the melodies can be felt and in particular, the musical influences of his homeland region and neighbourhood (Malatya, Harput-Eğin-Elazığ, Urfa, Diyarbakır) are visible. The use of *mey* and *zurna* (both wind instruments with local character) also reinforces this connection; '*Geçmiyor Günler*' (The Days Don't Pass), *'Kız Kaçıran*' (Abductor), *Hikayemiz*' are the examples. Also there is the influence of Azerbaijanian music such as '*Uğurlar Ola*,' which is evident in its melodic and 6/8 rhytmic character. Also the use of *tar* (traditional plucked string instrument characteristic of Azerbaijanian music) reinforces this connection. The effect of these two musical cultures can always be followed in Kaya's songs. In free airs, he adapts the musical character of Central Anatolian free forms such as *bozlak* and *barak*, whose example is '*Şahin Gibi*' (Like a falcon) from Karacoğlan.

The infrastructure is built entirely on a drum machine and synthesizer. I think this structure provokes *tavern* music[55] discussions about his music[56]. Over this structure, generally the lead instrument is chosen among the local instruments such as *bağlama*, bouzouki, *mey*, *zurna* or *tar*; however, sometimes synthesizer improvizes freely or imitates guitar or flute, etc. The lead plays the intermediate tune which is mostly the chorus melody, then the vocal enters, the lead instrument responds to the vocal and the call comes back; there is a repeating structure in this way. Often, 4/4 or 2/4 rhythms are used. Even though the drum machine usually plays the classical pop-rock rhythm, it sometimes imitates the *düyek usül* (for example, hear the song '*Ağlama Bebeğim*'). Sometimes, due to the melodic character, a rhythmic feel of *düyek* is usually created, which, in my opinion, was one of the most important factors that created the perception of *arabesk* at that period. There is the use of different rhythmic episodes within the same song. For example, a transition from 4/4 to 6/8 is provided in '*Hasretinden*

[55] Tavern (*taverna*) is a place where people gather to drink alchol and eat as well such as pub, bar, inn, etc.; hence tavern music is simply the music performed in taverns. While tavern music in Turkey has been performed by Greek musicians since the 1970s, with the 1980s a kind of arabesque music based on the use of keyboard and drum machine begins to be identified with tavern music, whose significant example is Ümit Besen. For oral history studies on Greek tavern music in Turkey, visit Münir Tireli's website (https://munirtireli.wordpress.com/author/munimonde/).

[56] For a typical example, hear '*Aynı Daldaydık*' (We were on the Same Page) in this albüm.

Prangalar Eskittim' (Fetters Worn out by Longing) which gives an epic/heroic character to the song.

His vocal usage varies from song to song. His vocal character, his emphasizing the letters, the resonators he uses, etc. changes. For instance, whereas in march-like songs there is the use of closed mouth, in regional songs he often shifts to the use of of open mouth (for further discussion see 5.3). In this album, he was criticized for his pronounciation of the letter 'a' in the word '*m**a**vi*' (blue) in the song '*Maviye Çalar Gözlerin*,' because he pronounces it shorter then it was expected. He was even invited to "learn to speak Turkish properly."

5.1.1.2 *Acılara Tutunmak* (Holding on Pains) (1985)

Acılara Tutunmak, the second album, was launched only eight months after the first. Arranged by Sezer Bağcan again and all composed by Ahmet Kaya, it follows the same tracks and features the same themes with the first album. The poems belong to the first generation of the leftist poets such as Hasan Hüseyin Korkmazgil (with six of his peoms) and Enver Gökçe (with two poems); Orhan Veli from the Second New Poetry School and Ataol Behramoğlu. The album included a military marching song (anonymous) '*Sivastopol Marşı'* (Sevastopol March) and one song with his own lyrics '*Neden?*' (Why?).

In this album, we again see free verse form of the socialist poetry movement. The song structure in verse-chorus form has been preserved; however, intros that create a theatrical effect have been added to songs such as '*Amenna*' and '*Yusuf Yusuf*.' Although traditional folk music influences continue in the melodic character, more lyrical and emotional songs like 'ballads' started to gain weight in this album such as '*Acılara Tutunmak*,' '*Güzel Günler*' (Good days) and there appear songs with marching character such as '*Kadınlar*' (The women) with 6/8 rhythm.

In this album, the instrumentation possibilities have been expanded; flute, oboe, bass guitar, guitar, string ensemble, timpani and drums were added to the infra-structure centered on synthesizer, drum machine and *bağlama*. Selda Bağcan (we heart her voice only in one song in the first album) stands out as backing vocals. While the *bağlama* as a lead instrument still exists, the flute and oboe also function as lead instruments in this album. While strings generally create the harmonic line, they sometimes fold the main melodic line. For example, this type of usage, in which strings are added to the

melody, does not exist in Zülfü Livaneli's previously mentioned *Nazım Türküsü* and *Atlının Türküsü* albums.

Similar to Livaneli's mentioned albums, in the album *Acılara Tutunmak,* we see poetry reading over the song for the first time as in 'A*cılara Tutunmak,*' which will be an ongoing behaviour in Kaya's discography and also a typical behaviour in *özgün müzik* line unlike the 70s' Anatolian pop/rock genres. We see the earlier examples of poetry reading in Ruhi Su's albums such '*Üç Selvi*' (Three cypresses) and '*Şeyh Bedreddin Destanı*' in *Şiirler-Türk*üler (1974), '*Onlar*' (They) in *El Kapıları* (1976) –all poems from Nazım Hikmet. In *Köroğlu* (1975), a thematic album in his discography, Ruhi Su adapts a story-teller role (similar to local *ozan-âşık*s) throughout the album.

5.1.1.3 *Şafak Türküsü* (Ballad of Dawn) (1986)

Ahmet Kaya made his *real* breakthrough with the third album, *Şafak Türküsü* (May 1986) with arrangements by Oğuz Abadan this time. Poems of a young poet in prison, a death row inmate, namely Nevzat Çelik marks the album: '*Şafak Türküsü,*' '*Tutuşur Dizelerim'* (My verses burst into flames), '*Geleceğim*' (I'll come/My future), and '*Zeytin Karası*' (Olive black). The album also includes lyrics by Enver Gökçe and Hasan H. Korkmazgil as before. The lyrics and compositions of '*Kimdi Bunlar*?' (Who were they), '*Sel Dağ*' (Flood mountain), and '*Haydi Gül*' (Come on smile) belong to Ahmet Kaya himself. For the first time, this album also includes a popular song, '*Fabrika Kızı'* (Factory girl) by Bora Ayanoğlu.

The most notable feature of the album *Şafak Türküsü* is summarized by Gülten Kaya (2018) as "writing notes to that period with a song and documenting the moment." The album is dominated by poems written by a youg prisoner, Nevzat Çelik. The poem *Şafak Türküsü* which also gives its name to the song and the album, enters after each 'verse-refrain' structure, and the poem is recited at length and then the same structure is repeated.

Including *bağlama*, flute, guitar, bass guitar, synthesizer; the instrument setup is the same as the previous album. In the arrangements, it was returned to the model where the *bağlam*a and the flute are the lead (they play alternating or unison), possibly in order to emphasize the lyrics. For insantance, the use of the string band from the previous album is absent here. The transition to different rhythmic episodes (for example, the transition from 4/4 to 7/8 in '*Kimdi Bunlar?*') is still in use, which adds

a narrative character to the song. This technique (transition to different rhythmic episodes) can also be observed in Zülfü Livaneli's works and other *özgün müzik* groups' albums as well. In '*Geleceğim*,' pop infrastructure is dominant. It stands out as a more dynamic and hopeful song than the others, especially with the phrase 'I will come.' '*Haramiler*' (Thieves) is again a composition with an Azerbejianian character. In these two songs, some parts of the lyrics are also read like poetry. '*Sel Dağ'* starts out like a *bozlak,* and then we see the standard structure with *bağlama* and *flute* as the melody instruments. '*Kore Dağları*' (Korean Mountains) starts close to the traditional free airs of Central Anatolia. The continuation is in tempo, but this time vocal performs like free air; however a rhythmic feeling is established in the *bağlama* line. '*Zeytin Karası*' is also in Azerbaijanian music character. It has a section which is very similar to '*Kiziroğlu*,' composed by Murat Çobanoğlu belonging to *âşık* tradition; there is clearly a borrowing here but no mention. '*Haydi Git*' (Off you go) and '*Haydi Gül*' (Come on smile) are more pop-like, again based on synthesizer infrastructure and *bağlama* as the lead instrument. In '*Fabrika Kızı*' (a popular song composed by Bora Ayanoğlu and originally sung by Alpay), Kaya combines the song with a section he added himself, which seemed irrelevant with the original structure of the composition.

5.1.1.4 *An Gelir* (The Moment Comes) (1986)

The fourth album, *An Gelir* was launched in December 1986, featuring Osman İşmen as the arranger. He would work with Ahmet Kaya for a long time thereafter. The lyrics belonged to the poets such as Atilla İlhan, Ülkü Tamer, Nazım Hikmet, Nevzat Çelik and Hasan Hüseyin Korkmazgil. The album also included songs with lyrics and compositions belonging to Kaya himself as in '*Büyüdün Bebeğim'* (You've grown up my baby), '*Çiğdem Çiçek*' (Crocus flower)," and '*Metrisin Önünde*' (In front of Metris). '*Tezkere*' (Military draft) is an anonymous folk song collected by Ruhi Su and covered in his *Şiirler-Türküler* (1974) record under the title '*Yürüdü Tren*' (Walked the train). *An Gelir* album had similar lyrical themes with the previous ones.

The most striking aspect of the album is the accompanying orchestra: İsmail Soyberk (bass guitar), Cezmi Başeğmez (drums), Erdem Sökmen (guitar), Ercan Irmak (ney), Çetin Akdeniz (*bağlama*) and Celal Kara (flute) -the most significant musicians of popular music of the period. Although the arrangements are similar, the tradition of 'irrelevant intro' passages (which has little to do with the continuation of the

arrangement) begins with Osman İşmen in this album. The best example of this is a string arrangement reminiscent of the Baroque period, which is included in the intro of the ballad-like composition '*Büyüdün Bebeğim*.'

One of the noteworthy tracks of the album with a leftist sensitivity is '*Metrisin Önünde*:' "*Metris'in önünde durdum, hasretim yerlere vurdum/ Ben dağlarda uçan kuştum, kanatlarımdan vuruldum/ Yıllar var ki yorgunum ben, gökyüzüne vurgunum ben/ Mahpuslarda durgunum ben, durgunum ben*' ('I stood in front of Metris, I hit the ground with my longing/ I was a bird flying in the mountains, I was shot on my wings/ I have been tired for years, I am in love with the sky/ I am stagnant in prisons, I'm still.' Çiğdem Çiçek' and 'Neyleyim' (What would I do?) take their places in the repertoire as compositions with Azerbejianian music character. '*Halay Havası*' (*Halay* mood) is also close to traditional folk music and can also be considered as a march-like song in 6/8 rhythm.

'*Sheikh Bedreddin'* and '*Tezkere*' are similar to Zülfü's '*Şeyh Bedreddin Destanı'* (as mentioned earlier) in terms of arrangement: There is poetry reading functioning like a narrater; there are musical passages between the poems; there is a transition to *bağlama* at the end of each poetic passage poem, and the instrumental passage is tied to free air with vocal. Gülten Kaya (2018) mentioned that the lines in '*Tezkere*,' '*Tezkeremden evvel vurdular beni/ Gözüm göre göre vurdular beni*' (They shot me before my resolution/ They shot me with my eyes open) had a great impact on him. She attributes this to the influence of Ruhi Su, since he decided to include the song after he listened to Ruhi Su's album. Gülten Kaya mentioned that although she herself used to listen Ruhi Su lot at home, Ahmet Kaya was a little distant before since he did not adopt Ruhi Su's musical attitude in general: "They shot me with my eyes open, it says in the song. However, in all shootings, they are blindfolded. Something like this was supposed to hit him -an emotion, a reality, an image… This is how he caught Ruhi Su" (Kaya, personal interview with G. Kaya, 2018).

His breakthrough provoked a debate on the quality and genre of his music. On the promotional side Ahmet Kaya was polished as the 'gallant warrior of protest music' and his music was first referred to as *özgün müzik*. Certain critics on media, on the other hand, began to referr to it as *arabesk, devrimci-arabesk,* or *sol-arabesk,* some of which would be subsequently adopted by Ahmet Kaya himself- themes which were covered in detail in Chapter 4.

5.1.2 Popularization (1987-1991): Life after prison, disappearing youth, inmates being tested outside and tired democrats

After Ahmet Kaya made his breakthrough during the first period above, his audience expanded. This period, he became a popular figure and he was subjected to heavy criticisms both from musical critics and political opponents. The years 1987-1989 were marked with the infamous *sol/devrimci arabesk* debate. After his Gülhane concert in 1990, he also became a target in the mass media labeling him a Kurdish separatist.

During this period Ahmet Kaya launches *Yorgun Demokrat* (Tired democrat) (November 1987), *Başkaldırıyorum* (I revolt) (1988), *Resitaller 1* (Recitals I) (April 1989), *İyimser Bir Gül* (An optimistic rose) (November 1989), *Resitaller 2* (Recitals II) (May 1990), *Sevgi Duvarı* (The wall of love) (October 1990), *Başım Belada* (I'm in trouble) (August 1991).

Unlike the first period, in which Ahmet Kaya used the lyrics by mainly socialist poets (either from the first generation or the new generation), he started to collaborate with Yusuf Hayaloğlu in co-writing the lyrics. The main themes can be outlined as 'life conditions after prison, the contradictions between the expectations and the circumstances they find themselves in' (see Appendix B). As the main mood, similarly with the previous albums, we see sadness, pain and mourning. However, this time, the emotions of resentment and anger (mostly against old friends, those who sold the struggle, and ex-lovers or spouses) are dominant. "The idea is not defeated, maybe the organized struggle is defeated," says Gülten Kaya and expresses the dominant feeling of this period as "a feeling of fragility, disintegration, broken friendships expressed through the loss of a generation" (Kaya, personal interview with G. Kaya, 2018). Hence, the frequent patterns in this period are 'mourning for friends,' 'mourning for lost youth,' 'defeat in struggle' and 'tired revolutionaries.'

The arrangements of all albums of this period, except for the *Sevgi Duvarı* (arranged by Ahmet Koç), belong to Osman İşmen. In this period, quite different musical orientations within the same album and inconsistencies from album to album predominate as mentioned earlier. While there are certain searches in terms of arrangements in *Yorgun Demokrat*, *Başkaldırıyorum* seems to be a repetitive and market-oriented work. With this album, *arabesk* and *alaturka* music elements in melody and instrumentation that we have not heard until now appear. In the period

starting with *Resitaller*, in terms of musical sources and influences, it can be said that there is a tendency to return to traditional motifs. By the critics, he was considered to employ less *arabesk* motifs beginning from *İyimser Bir Gül* and especially with *Sevgi Duvarı* albums with the latter was more akin to pop music. In his interviews, Ahmet Kaya considered his new inclination as passing through the second phase in his musical journey and he attributed this to a better level of financial infrastructure.

5.1.2.1 *Yorgun Demokrat* (Tired Democrat) (1987)

Co-operation with Yusuf Hayaloğlu starts for the first time in the album *Yorgun Demokrat*. The album covers the compositions of the poems by Yusuf Hayaloğlu, Atilla İlhan, Arkadaş Z. Özger and Enver Gökçe, followed by '*Yaşamadın Sen*' (You have not lived) with Kaya's own lyrics. The album also includes a poem reading over an instrumental structure of Halim Şefik Güzelson's '*Kılıçbalığının Öyküsü*' (The story of swordfish). This time, a popular anonymous Azerbeijanian song '*Bu Gala Daşlı Gala'* is included and after that moment this has become a repeating behavior in many of his albums. There is an instrumental piece called as '*Unutulmayanlara*' (To the unforgotten) as a salute to the lost -one of the first instrumentals in his albums.

This album features a team of extremely good studio musicians who will make their mark on the market in various genres from pop to folk and *arabesk*: İsmail Soyberk (bass guitar), Erdem Sökmen (guitar), Ercan Irmak (*ney*), Çetin Akdeniz (*bağlama*), Güray Lighttaş (*bağlama*), Zafer Dalgıç (*bağlama*), İsmail Berker (*bağlama*), İlyas Tetik (violin), Mehmet Akatay (percussion), Deniz Selman (*mey*), Erdinç Şenyaylar, Murat Aslan (*darbuka*), Istanbul State Symphony Orchestra (IDSO), most of whom will continue to participate in the following albums.

With the album *Yorgun Demokrat* a standard or typical instrumentation and arrangement approach (which also characterizes *özgün müzik*) begins to crystallize. As an example, let's take a closer look at the song '*Hani Benim Gençliğim*' (Where is my youth?): In the introduction, the melody (chorus melody) is played with *cura* first and *bağlama* in its repetition. There is guitar accompaniment; it plays arpeggio and chords. Vocal enters freely over a pedal tone (verse part), then the bass guitar enters with the chorus. The oboe also enters with a counter melody. Back vocals are added as unison in the repetition of the chorus. The drum machine was again used. In the interlude, the chorus melody is played with the oboe this time, and the *bağlama* responds. The use of

strings keeps the harmonic line. The standard arrangement and instrumentation is also followed in the song '*Alnında Dağ Ateşi*' (Mountain fire on your forehead). In this song there is the use of effects to create atmosphere in relation to the lyrics. With the lyrics that caused a lot of controversy and also gave the album its name, in the song '*Yorgun Demokrat*' we see many changes in rhythmic and melodic character as well as emotional mood, hence we are faced with a rather mixed style here.

In '*Haçan Ölesim Gelir*' (I'd like to die), the tune is played first with the *cura*, then with various instruments, such as oboe, *bağlama* and strings. As the name suggests, it is a composition with a Black Sea association. It's a folk-like song, close to traditional in terms of both melodic and rhythmic character. In the instrumental song '*Unutulmayanlara*,' the percussion we hear for the first time in this song plays *düyek* usûl in a slow tempo and without any doublings or flams. We can say that this song has a *Sufi* character due to its rhythmic and melodic character as well as the *ney* performance. In the song '*Tut ki Gecedir*' (Say, it is night), rock infrastructure is quite obvious and decisive. There are plenty of effects in the song; it is as if the story told in the lyrics was tried to be revived. In this song, Ahmet Kaya tried to approach the rock singing style, unlike his other vocal performances. We can distinguish a dirty vocal quality here with screaming techniques. Appropriate for his role as the storyteller in the song, it can be said that he also tried a speak-like way of singing. In the song '*Yüreğim Kanıyor*' (My heart is bleeding), *bağlama* plays the intermediate melody. Afterwards, *kaval* and oboe take over the melody. Then the vocals come in, *bağlama* answers. In the song, the use of string ensemble is typical: the strings hold the harmonic line, then join the answer. There is also the use of a drum machine playing the *düyek* rhythm. The song '*Yaşamadın Sen'* follows the similar tracks in terms of arrangements. '*Katlime Ferman'* (My death sentence) is in 6/8 rhythm with a march-like type. In this song, *bağlama* is used to fulfill the function of bouzuki. '*Vay anam vay vay, bu belalı başınan ben nere gidem? Vay anam vay vay bu belalı başınan kime ne diyem? Ya derdime derman, ya derdime derman, ya derdime derman, ya katlima ferman!*' The song is engraved in the memories with these lyrics and and is one of Kaya's most cult songs. The events mentioned in the lyrics is known as 28-29 April (1960) Incidents[57].

[57] The 28-29 April Incidents were carried out by university students on April 28, 1960, in Istanbul and on April 29, 1960, in Ankara, in order to protest the Investigation Commission prepared by the Democrat Party (DP) and accepted by the Parliament on April 27, 1960. Demonstrations were also supported by

In the song '*Bir Veda Havası'* (A farewell air), Western popular music influences are quite dominant based on the instruments such as guitar, cello, oboe, bass guitar., strings and drum machine. Speech-like singing or narrator style is adopted in the singing style.

Nearly all the songs in this album became hits in Ahmet Kaya' discography. It can be said that it is an album where typical 'Ahmet Kaya songs' have emerged.

5.1.2.2 *Başkaldırıyorum* (I Revolt) (1988)

The next album *Başkaldırıyorum* (1988) is seen as a manifesto (either individual or social) in response to the criticisms gained weight after *Yorgun Demokrat*. As Gülten Kaya points:

> A confrontation begins with the album *Başkaldırıyorum*. Tiredness created by the previous period, intimidation, disharmony, despair experienced by those who came out, but still a hopeful ending with '*Denizin Ardı Özgürlük*. '*Beni Tarihle Yargıla*' is as impressive as '*Şafak Türküsü*,' but there is also a reckoning here. The naivety in '*Uçun Kuşlar'* is just as impressive. People who have come from different parts of the country, separated from their own environment, are trying to change something; then they lose their hopes and spend their lives inside the prisons. He says, "*Uçun kuşlar doğduğum yere*" (Fly to the place where I was born, birds), there is that feeling here, a hope mixed with longing. On the one hand, despite everything, the album also contains a rebellion and hope. Ahmet was called a tired democrat, whereas there was a criticism to those who were tired there. *Başkaldırıyorum* was also called a manifesto, but it's not a personal manifesto for me either. There is always a state of not being able to define Ahmet in the media. (Kaya, personal interview with G. Kaya, 2018).

Although the instruments used and arrangement approach is similar to the previous album performed by the same orchestra, the sound with drum machine and synthesizer is very dominant here. There are very strong compositions such as '*Beni Tarihle Yargıla*' (Judge Me with History) with Ersin Ergün's poem, but I must say that we

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academics working as lecturers at universities. With the intervention of the police, 2 students lost their lives after the police fire, around 100 students were injured, and academics, were assaulted by the police. https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/28-29_Nisan_Olayları accessed at 27 Haziran 2022.

cannot hear any musical pursuit, refinement in this album due to the arrangements. There are unnecessary effects and there is a messy structure with plenty of synthesizer sounds. The overall mood of the album is dark and gloomy, even if it contains a few songs such as '*Denizin Ardı Özgürlük*' (Freedom beyond the sea) carrying a symptom of hope, though still in the futıre.

One of the most significant songs in this album is '*Sorgucular*' (Examiners) with its 9/8 rhythm which was extraordiary according to the protest music standards until that period. Also we hear violin free improvisation (with *arabesk* character) in the introduction of '*Koru Kendini*' (Protect yourself) for the first time. This must also have fueled the *arabesk* debates. There are folk-like songs such as '*Acı Ninni*' (Bitter lullaby), '*Herkes Kendi İşine*' (Mind your own business), '*Uçun Kuşlar Uçun*' (Fly birds fly) carrying the traditional character of Harput-Elazığ region.

5.1.2.3 *Resitaller 1* (Recitals 1) (1989), *İyimser Bir Gül* (An Optimistic Rose) (1989)

The album *Resitaller 1* (April 1989), features only *bağlama* and vocal and it is like back to folk roots and *devrimci-ozan* model. The album's repertoire includes *bağlama* & vocal interpretations of some songs from previous albums, as well as some anonymous folk songs that are not in the albums such as the well-known folk songs '*Odam Kireçtir Benim*,' '*Kara Yılan*,' '*Dersim Dört Dağ İçinde*,' '*Bacalar/Kara Toprak (Mamoş)*.' After the criticisms directed at Ahmet Kaya after the album *Yorgun Demokrat* and the musical turmoil in the album *Başkaldıryorum*, I consider the *Resitaller* album as an effort to return to traditional roots and take a breathe for him.

I describe the album *İyimser Bir Gül* (November 1989) which came after *Resitaller 1* as a product of Kaya's musical search and transition to his later stage. Despite very good song compositions, the arrangements are quite messy and lack stylistic quality. Many things that can be used as musical material have been tried, almost with the logic of "what if". On the other hand, one of the most important features of this album is that the portraits (stories of various personalites in the society) have started as in the songs '*Adı Bahtiyar*' (His name is Bahtiyar), '*Çek Mustafa Çek*' (Drink Mustafa drink), etc. The album is important in Ahmet Kaya's discography for me for its functioning as a transitional album (from '80s to '90s): It has a repertory that witness the lives of various sections of the society that experienced the September 12th and its aftermath, and became the victims of it. Kurdishness as a political discourse and an

ethnic identity[58] first appeared in Ahmet Kaya's songs with the composition '*Adı Bahtiyar*.' As a matter of fact, the Kurdish youth's identification with Bahtiyar led the way to the appearance of Ahmet Kaya in the media as a Kurdish figure. Let's listen to the story of Bahtiyar and the rest of the album from Gülten Kaya's mouth:

> Bahtiyar is a reference to Diyarbakır prison. Towards the end of the 80's, people came out with the change in the execution law. That's why we said, "Let an optimistic rose bloom on our cheeks." We learn what has been done in Diyarbakır; Bahtiyar somewhat symbolizes it. While Mamak and Metris prisons have been symbols until now, Diyarbakır is added to them.
>
> While the song '*Kaçak ve Anne'* is about that generation talking to their mother over the image of a benevolent child, '*Kardelenler* Açınca' takes its place in the album as a more hopeful song. '*Kaçakçı Kurban*' is again a determination about that geography, where '*Çek Mustafa*' is an example from the West. At that period, when we were talking about the elections, the transition to a more legal politics after the coup, etc., suddenly, bars started to open. Those who were released from prison began to gather in these bars and they could almost spend their lives there. Those who came out didn't know what to do, they got a little angry, they felt lonely. These were the things Ahmet had seen with his own eyes -the things not fictionalized, but witnessed and influenced by. In all of them, there is a little of himself, a little of his close environment, a little of his hometown, and some of his observations as well as a little bit of the cultures of this geography. Towards the end of the '80s, something started in the Kurdish geography. As a musician he also started to try things and accumulate, but it didn't happen immediately at that period and had to take a little more time. There was both a war and an explosion of pop culture at the period. Hence, I agree that *İyimser Bir Gül* is almost like a transitional album. (Kaya, personal interview with G. Kaya, 2018)

[58] If not in language, it had a counterpart through the Diyarbakır reference in the song '*Adı Bahtiyar'* and also the free air with electo-*bağlama* accompaniment in the intro supports this bond.

5.1.2.4 *Resitaller 2* (Recitals 2) (1990), *Sevgi Duvarı* (The Wall of Love) (1990), *Başım Belada* (I'm in Trouble) (1991)

The album *Resitaller 2* (May 1990) follows the similar tracks with the previous one, yet with some significant differences: He performes '*Mahsus Mahal*' of Ruhi Su and includes a *deyiş* for the first time, namely '*Turna semahı*' from Âşık Daimi.

In the album *Sevgi Duvarı* (October 1990), we see Ahmet Koç as the arranger instead of Osman İşmen- the previous one being more oriented with pop music. Also Yusuf Hayaloğlu is missing in this album. In '*Sevgi Duvarı*,' he composed the poem of Can Yücel for the first time. '*Gaş Sabah*' (How many mornings) is again a composition with Azerbaijainian music character. '*Karar Vermek Zor*' (It's hard to decide) is a folk-like song with influences from the musical culture of Malatya (Kaya's homeland). The most striking song in the album (in fact as a deviation within his whole repertoire) appears to be '*Şiddet*' (Violence) with its purely Arabic (although I am aware that it is a homogenizing term) musical character.

In the album *Başım Bela*da (August 1991) both Osman İşmen and Yusuf Hayaloğlu turn back. This album follows the similar tracks with *Yorgun Demokra* in terms of lyrical themes, melodic lines and arrangements. '*Başım Belada*' song is significant with its rock infrastructure. The lyrics containing slang words "*Tabancamı unutmuşum helada*" (I've forgetten my gun in the toilette) caused quite controversy at that period. '*Tezgahtar Nebahat*' (Nebahat, the sales Clerk) is a song about the disadvantaged sections of the society through the portrait of a sales clerk, Nebahat, yet still entertaining with its *alaturka* infrastructure. '*Kalan Kalır*' (The one remains, remains) begins like rock music, then however it turns into a structure dominated by *zurna* – another example of Osman İşmen's quite mixed arrangement style. '*Bir Acayip Adam*' (A weird man) is also a portrait of a strange man called Suphi: '*Bir cebinde Das Kapital, bir cebinde kenevir tohumu*' (Das kapital in one pocket, cannabis seeds in the other). '*Entel Maganda*' is a satirical song, also a portrait and a critic of pseudo-intellectuals: '*Herkesi yargılmaktan kimse kalmamış yanında*' (There is no one left by his side since he judges everyone). It can be said that Yusuf Hayaloğlu left his mark on this album in terms of the lyrical themes.

> Yusuf Hayaloğlu comes again with this album and they work together almost from top to bottom. Despite the country's conditions, this album seems like an

effort to normalize. There was a break with Hayaloğlu in the previous album, at that time he [Hayaloğlu] also had accumulated things, hence his perceptions came to the fore rather than Ahmet this time. In that sense, this is the way they both turned to themselves. The themes were the same but perhaps the ways of expression were changing. People were trying to get out of the shocking effects of September 12 and try to exist outside. For example, Suphi is such a character; he goes and takes refuge in a town. It was very common in those years; some were drawn to the Aegean towns, some were slumped in intellectual bars. In the meantime, of course, there were also themes such as love and separation. The one who forgets his gun in the toilet is actually a political portrait, but also presents the human conditions. There are a lot of such stories, these were normal street news for those times. (Kaya, personal interview with G. Kaya, 2018).

5.1.3 Further popularization and the impact of Kurdish struggle (1992-1998): Struggle, guerilla, *eşkiya*, workers and Saturday Mothers

The albums that marked this period include *Dokunma Yanarsın* (Don't touch or you'll burn) (July 1992), *Tedirgin* (Anxious) (April 1993), *Şarkılarım Dağlara* (My songs are for the mountains) (May 1994), *Beni Bul* (Find me) (November 1995), *Yıldızlar ve Yakamoz* (Stars and sea sparkle) (December 1996), and *Dosta Düşmana Karşı* (Against friends and foes) (March 1998).

Mostly due to the rising of Kurdish awareness by the 1990s, Ahmet Kaya started to reflect his Kurdish identity and Kurdish national struggle in his music. Fraternity of peoples and specifically the fraternity of Kurdish and Turkish people became the central themes of his political discourse and songs. Ahmet Kaya increasingly became the symbol of the Kurds in the field of music.

However, he also had a more comprehensive political stance during this late period along with his ever-present leftist and recent Kurdish discourse and opposed to the other forms of oppression, either politically or socially. For example, he mentioned the fraternity of peoples in 1994 during a TV show, namely 32. Gün, opposed against the ban on hijab after February 28th and advocated that no one should be opposed for one's language, religion, and beliefs, and saluted Recep Tayyip Erdoğan then Istanbul

Mayor, who was prisoned for reading a poem. It can be said that the foregoing attitude led to a sympathy in especially the Islamist segments of the society towards him.

Regarding the lyrical themes in this period, struggle of various sections of the society such as guerillas, child workers, agricultural workers, et al. come to the fore. There are still the themes of love, death, betrayal, unfaithfullness and unfortunate destiny of the revolutionaries; however in this period we feel a bit more hopeful vision despite the war and pain.

5.1.3.1 *Dokunma Yanarsın* (Don't Touch or You'll Burn) (1992), *Tedirgin* (Uneasy) (1993)

In the album *Dokunma Yanarsın*, the songs '*Dokunma Yanarsın*,' '*Bir Anka Kuşu*' (Phoneix) and '*Biz Üç Kişiydik*' (We were three), all have different stories that describe the various lives of their generation as Gülten Kaya tells:

> At that time, there were young people going to the mountains. You can also see these themes when you look back. The heroes of the period, their way of looking at themselves and to the world, what they want to present to the world, their utopias, etc., these are the stories of a generation. In '*Bir Anka Kuşu*,' s/he has to create herself/himself from her/his ashes. These people were captured in the '80's, prisoned for ten years, or became a refugee abroad or otherwise lived underground. This is the story of such a generation. You can see it when you look at the lyrics of '*Dokunma Yanarsın*.' He talks about desertion, he also talks about decorating the streets with posters, etc. It is very one-to-one description of the period. Maybe because I went through that period, I can see the exact parallels, but for someone from the new generation, they need to go back and look at the background of that period to understand what fits where. For example, the song '*Kenar Mahalleli*' by Süha Tuğtepe, he's actually a kid from Nişantaşı, but he's a looser. If we exclude poets of the generation before Ahmet, such as Atilla İlhan and Hasan Hüseyin Korkmazgil, here are his contemporaries and their words. There can be an interaction there as well. If there is something that can coincide with or overlap with the feeling of his period, Ahmet chooses it. It is not a dry love story. Even among Sebahattin Ali's poems he chose '*Geçmiyor Günler*' because the emotion described here is related to prison. (Kaya, personal interview with G. Kaya, 2018)

This album stands out with its different musical experiments -in terms of arrangements and vocal use. '*İçimde Ölen Biri*' comes to the fore with its rock infrastructure and rock-style vocals of Kaya, especially apparent in the lyrics 'Vay vay vay...' He uses screaming techniques here. In '*Dokunma Yanarsın*,' we see poetry reading again and he has a speech-like singing here. '*Tıka Basa Pastırma*' is a satirical song again with a speech-like singing and we hear the use of slang here. '*Böyle Bir Aşk*' is a latin pop song. '*Rinna rinna nay*' is again in the rock infrastructure. '*Merhaba*' comes across as a naive song. '*Kenar Mahalleli*' is in country music style. On the other hand, '*Nevroz Ateşi*' is a Sovietic march-like song. One of the most striking songs of the album, '*Biz Üç Kişiydik*' is remembered with its story: '*Biz üç kişiydik; Bedirhan, Nazlıcan ve ben/ Üç ağız, üç yürek, üç yeminli fişek...*' (We were three people; Bedirhan, Nazlıcan and I/ Three mouths, three hearts, three sworn cartridges...)

In the album *Tedirgin*, Ahmet Kaya looks at social issues from a much broader perspective in line with the current conditions. '*Munzurlu*,' which is the most prominent song of the album and whose music video[59] was also made, is a free song in the form of a lament, with lyrics by Ahmet Kaya. He wrote this song, influenced by Gülten Kaya's cultural roots from Dersim and what she told him through photographs from her childhood (Kaya, personal communication with G. Kaya, 2018). Munzur, after whom the song is named, is a mountain in the Southeast Turkey, predominantly populated today by the *Alevi* Kurds. The mountain is considered almost a sacred place. It has been a symbol of resistance, pride, patriotism, and grief marked by many rebellions and subsequent atrocities in the past. Together with the '90s, PKK reportedly took strongholds and launched operations from the mountain. It's the story of someone who broke up with his *kirve* because his *kirve* preferred to go to the mountain but he stayed himself.

Another significant song is '*Mahur Beste*,' composed lyrics written on Deniz Gezmiş and his friends by Atilla İlhan. '*Grev*' is a song about strike and lockout rights. As with the '*Sorgucular*' before, this one also takes its place in Turkey's music history as an example of a 9/8 protest song. '*Ah*,' is the story of a tortured girl who was interrogated in the political branch. '*Electroshock*,' on the other hand, emerged as an experimental

[59] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fr4OJ7po3T4 (Retrieved on February 23, 2016)

work on the musical search that went through his mind and heart (Kaya, 2018). '*Yazamadım*' is another naive song in Kaya's repertoire with Greek music character.

5.1.3.2 *Şarkılarım Dağlara* (My Songs are to the Mountains) (1994), *Beni Bul* (Find Me) (1995), *Dosta Düşmana Karşı* (Against Friends and Foe) (1998)

Şarkılarım Dağlara has the distinction of being the most influential album in Ahmet Kaya's discography as mentioned in Chapter 2. Let's listen to the background of the album repertory from Gülten Kaya:

> '*Mavinin Türküsü*' and '*Özgür Çağrı*' are two special songs. The person to whom these two songs are dedicated is my niece, Yılmaz Özgür. He left school in the 3rd grade of School of Law and went to the mountains. We could not hear from him any more. '*Yalan da Olsa*,' is a bit like the sum of everything. '*Saza Niye Gelmedin*' made a surprise debut, though I didn't approve its inclusion in the album. The clip was also shot, so this song came to the fore. '*Kum Gibi*' follows the similar tracks. There is a musician named Erdal Kızılçay who suggested us the song *Ağladıkça* (instrumental piece) but it was not clear whose song it was then. I felt like it was a Kurdish tune, so I wrote lyrics upon it. It was recorded as anonymous then since we could not find the composer. We later corrected the information about the composer as Ara Dinkjian.

Musical pursuits continue for this album as well: '*Kum Gibi*' with its *alaturka* style, '*Cinayet Saati*' with its documentary narrative style, '*Ölüm Dörtlüğü*' with its *sufi* character, '*Yalan da Olsa*' with its rock infrastructure, '*Yeter*' with its tango style, etc.

In the album, *Beni Bul*, we can clearly see the stance of speaking out and opposing the socio-political issues of the period:

> Even the song '*Arka Mahalle*' has the theme of 'resisting a police interrogation for whatever reason.' These years are a period of intense Kurdish migration. '*Demedim mi Haydar*' tells this situation a little bit. '*Beni Vur*' is a very interesting song: 'You shoot me, but don't give me to them, because that's a worse death,' he says here. '*Sen Yanma*' is a tribute to Sivas in memory of our poets who died in Sivas massacre (1992). '*Süryani*' is a love song, but it also includes a tribute to the existence of these peoples [Assyrians]. '*Beni Bul Anne*' is for Saturday mothers [who have been on watch waiting for their lost children

> for weeks in front of Galatasaray Lycee on every Saturday]. While receiving the award at the MGD night, Ahmet said that he dedicated this award to them. In general, the subject of 'mother' is a dominant theme in his songs, both in terms of mother sensitivity and politically.

Among the prominent songs of the album, '*Arka Mahalle*' and '*Beni Vur*' are perhaps the closest examples to *arabesk* in terms of both its melodic and rhythmic character, its instrumentation (especially the use of violin), and Kaya's vocal style.

In the album *Dosta Düşmana Karşı*, in parallel with the reflection of the cultural-political climate of the 1990s on the musical field, we see more examples in interaction with local forms and folk traditions: '*Adı Yılmaz*' and '*Yazmalı Gelin*' are songs in *sıra gecesi* form; '*Dost*' is in *deyiş* form; '*Bize Kalan*' carries *sufî* music character; '*Dosta Düşmana Karşı*' is in *halay* form; '*Ay Gidiyor*' begins like a free air instrumentally and then goes on in 6/8 rhythm similar to Azerbaijanian music. '*Korkarım*' seems to be more influenced by *alaturka.*

As a continuation of the tradition of portrait songs, in this album, we see '*Fosso Nejdat*,' a more local example carrying the musical character of Harput-Elazığ region:

> '*Fosso Nejdat*' is a typical Elazığ *lumpen*. We grew up in Elazığ and '*fosso*' is an idiom that belongs here [meaning empty, null] and Elazığ is one hour away from Malatya [Ahmet Kaya's homeland]. Elazığ and Malatya are cultures very close to each other. So when my brother [Yusuf Hayaloğlu] wrote this lyrics, Ahmet has already known this typology very well.

The most prominent songs in the album are '*Giderim*' and '*Nerden Bileceksiniz*,' the songs perceived as the precursor of Kaya's period of forced exile although composed and recorded before that.

5.1.4 *Hoşçakalın Gözüm* (Farewell My Dear) (2001)

After he had to leave the country after the Magazine Reporters Association event and political lynch attempts at mass media, his exile years started. He started to be much more engaged in the Kurdish movement, attending to Kurdish nights and referring to Abdullah Öcalan, the leader of Kurdistan Worker's Party. He included a song in Kurdish, *Karwan*, first time in his albums. His *Hoşçakalın Gözüm* album whose preparations began during his exile could only be released after his death.

The main themes of this album are, as expected, 'exile,' 'longing for homeland,' 'reproaching the exile and those who led to exile' and 'desire to return' which is evident in many of his songs such as '*Siz Yanmayın*' (You do not Bburn), '*Memleket Hasreti*' (Longing for homeland), '*Al Öfkemi*' (Take my fury), '*Karwan*' (Caravan), '*Diyarbakır Hasreti*' (Longing for Diyarbakır) and '*Hoşçakalın Gözüm*' (Farewell my dear). He included his only song in Kurdish, *Karwan* in this album which he mentioned during MGD night and caused the reactions against him. Unfortunately, he could not see the releaase of his album.

> After 1980, Newroz celebrations could not be held. While Ahmet was writing his songs, he would set up big cinematographic frames in his head, gigantic fires and such... Then huge fires wouldn't be lit in Newroz.. There was no such thing before 1980; political meanings were loaded later. "I saw the dead people at *halay*" is a phrase that impressed me a lot. Hundreds of dead who stood up and danced in white clothes… While writing '*Sürgün Acısı*' he used to say (not for immigrants, but for exiles) "what would happen if they all gathered and marched to the border?" He used to set up such scenes. When he was exiled, he would sit and talk about it with those who were like him.
>
> These themes are always about the world, the country, the state of having a problem with the system. Dominant behavior was always a state of determination, attention and reckoning. Attention, especially through portraits. (Kaya, personal interview with G. Kaya, 2018)

Although the dominant theme of this period was exile, this theme was also evident in earlier periods:

> He composed the songs '*Sürgün Acısı*' and '*İçimde Ölen Biri*' during his European tour, because those who came to the concerts or contacted us on that tour were exiled people (from the '70s or post-'80s). "I couldn't do it [in exile]," he told them. There is an interesting gait in Ahmet's songs. When you know very well whom you are, yo also know very well what you can go through. It's not a prophecy, it's more like a prediction. He knew very well what he might react to and how they might return to him after those reactions. Many people have told me: "He had made songs of exile before, and then he himself lived in exile!" He sang songs such as '*Kafama Sıkar Giderim*' and '*Nereden*

Bileceksiniz?' as if he knew he was going to leave. "How do I live this life and what does this life offer me?" It's related with what we care about in life! (Kaya, personal interview with G. Kaya, 2018)

5.2 Basic Elements of Ahmet Kaya's Musical Accumulation

This section aims to provide a summary of Ahmet Kaya's musical accumulation in terms of his vocal style and his mixing musical elements from local, traditional, popular music genres or styles which gives rise to his mixed-style. For the background, various parameters such as Ahmet Kaya's cultural background, his upbringing, musical world presented to him, the musics he met, etc. should be taken into account as stated previously. The following excerpt from Gülten Kaya is a kind of summary of the many geographic/cultural influences in his music:

> In Ahmet's childhood there were folk songs, there was *alaturka*. At that time, he was not acquainted with Western music, born from a Kurdish mother and Turkish father. They were in Malatya. There were gardens (*çay bahçesi*), concerts were held here; [the singer] Şükran Ay used to come, for example. This is the rural area thing. We had some 45 rpm records; we were listening to Cem Karaca, for example. The main thing that fed us was the radio. Both our fathers used to listen to Yerevan radio because it was the only station playing Kurdish there. Both families had a passion for Turkish classical music. Ahmet's uncles were always playing the *ud-cümbüş*. Anonymous folk songs existed in both our lives. Western music entered my life earlier through my brother; he was a young Westerner. Ahmet did not have this yet. He was working in an Armenian record store. We were teenagers during the '70s. We were affected by the March 12th Memorandum, the trial of Deniz Gezmiş and his friends. There was no *arabesk* as music in our life, but Orhan [Gencebay] was being played in our ears somehow. Ahmet heart arabesk on the occasion of his brother, but there was no *arabesk* in our building blocks. Our building blocks were developing more socially, we were turning to an option that favored rebellion, not surrender. We were young people who studied dialectical and historical materialism when we finished high school, we did not understand those, but we did study. There emerged a conflict after this point since Ahmet's own musical search began. There was a folk music practice characterized by *Yurttan Sesler* Choir: singing

> and playing in unison. He had a reaction to it: "It can be developed, the *bağlama* can be played like that, our music doesn't have to be monophonic; that's not enough," he said. Then he put the strings into his music, the harp and the piano as well. There was no surrender or fatalism in the lyrics. The critics criticized him upon his use of rhythms, strings and the accompanying emotions. The modal/maqamic character of his music was also a factor. There was also the fact about his singing style, how we call it as '*seslerin ezilmesi, basarak/ezerek söylemek*' as in *arabesk*. There was a strong influence of Kurdish traditional music in his singing style. The fact that he could not speak a 'proper' Turkish was also a factor. This was also a provincial Turkish; there was an accent, there was a dialect. He did not speak Kurdish, but he had it in his ears, so it was reflected in his Turkish. He used to say "it's like a foreign language, I miss a lot of things while trying to correct the language." Culturally, he was not close to the culture called *arabesk* as a way of life, but at the same time, he did not reject it. Of course he said he was influenced as a musician, but that was not his style. Is it possible to say that there is a synthesis in *arabesk*? Ahmet found it appropriate to define his own work as *arayış müziği* (a music constantly in search). When I started this business, music lists were made in magazines such as *arabesk*, *fantazi, Türk sanat müziği, halk müziği,* pop etc. including the bestsellers. But, which list would they put this guy on? They categorized him under various labels, then something called *özgün müzik* was invented. Ahmet did not accept this as a musical category. Because everyone is unique! (Kaya, personal interview with G. Kaya, 2018)

Regarding his *bağlama* playing, if we look at his first period, we see that his *bağlama* playing follows the *devrimci-ozan* model of the 1970s in terms of performance manners, but he plays without rules because he does not follow a tradition and is a self-learned person. He uses the *bağlama* more for self-accompaniment and it seems that it has a function of highlighting emotions rather than words, as contrary to Ruhi Su, for instance. However, after a period of time, he no longer plays the *bağlama* on his albums and concerts. Hence, Ahmet Kaya's *bağlama* performance will not be considered in the analysis, as his *bağlama* playing is not a central part of his musical identity.

5.2.1 Vocal style

In Ahmet Kaya example, vocal analysis is of central importance; hence information on various aspects related to his voice and singing style such as vocal type, singing techniques, prozodi and dialect, influence of local styles in his singing, etc. should be provided here. Despite the importance of the subject, vocal analysis could not be dealt with in depth research in this thesis due to my technical and theoretical deficiencies as a researcher on the issue; so only basic information will be given here accompanied by some discussions opened for further research.

Kaya has a bass-baritone voice type. He uses the low register very well and he has a soft voice. He also has a pretty good intonation. Earlier, we talked about Ruhi Su's vocal style emphasizing the content, i.e. the lyrics. We can call it a 'content-oriented' vocal style. Another similar example is Zülfü Livaneli. His singing style is generally simple with no (or less) vibratos, glissandos, etc. As another example, an *Alevi* musician Hasret Gültekin (1971-1993) who died at a very young age in Sivas Massacre on 2nd of July in 1993, has also a bass-baritone voice type and he has a very strong and soft voice. We can call his as an 'accompaniment-oriented' vocal style since he mainly focuses on his *bağlama* playing as a virtuoso himself. The common points in such examples is that they do not place their vocal quality or style in the center of their performances. For Ahmet Kaya, on the other hand, his singing style as a way of expression is of central importance in his performance besides the lyrics.

We can summarize the basic features that make up the vocal character of Ahmet Kaya in terms of vocalization, resonance and articulation: He mostly uses a closed mouth (he doesn't open his mouth very much, rather uses it narrowly); he emphasizes the words; he uses his voice at the front (especially in low pitches). In the treble pitches, the same usage feature continues in terms of the emphasis and the interpretation of the words, but this time he uses his voice brightly. He resonates his lows and highs beautifully, revealing the characteristics of his voice.

His singing style also seems to have a mix of influences and it is strongly connected with traditional folk music, especially of his own cultural region. In relation to language and culture, he pronounces some letters differently than standard Istanbul Turkish. For example, he uses a short "a" as in the words '*m**a**vi*' or '*bel**a***.' He pronıunces the vowel "e" sometimes more closed and sometimes more crisply as in

'*öyle bir y**e**rd**e**yim ki.'* Sometimes depending on the context, he uses different pronounciations for the same word. For example, when saying '*dağlar*' (moıuntains) in the context of 'going up to the mountains for struggle,' he pronounces the letter "a" like almost an "o," however, in other cases, he pronounces the letter "a" like "ea" or "ıa." He sometimes pronıunces "v" like "w" as in Kurdish; and sometimes he uses "x" instead of "k" as in local musics of Urfa, Elazığ, Malatya, etc. He mostly applies to speech-like singing techniques in relation with the narrator (or story-teller) role in the songs such as '*Tut ki Gecedir*' and in some songs he applies to rock-style vocal techniques like screaming or using wheezing sounds as in '*Yalan da Olsa*' or '*İçimde Ölen Biri*.' etc. He often resonates the consonants and sometimes makes vibrations on these letters as an infleunce of local styles and Arabic language possibly which is also a significant feature of *arabesk* music in Turkey (for a rather detailed analysis, see the vocal analysis for '*Giderim*' in 5.4).

One of the most important factors that affects many people from their hearts and attracts them to his music is undoubtedly Kaya's voice color, its softness and the feeling that it gives to the people about 'belonging to this land' or being 'the voice of this land' (*bu toprağın sesi*). Hence his vocal quality needs further study but such an effort is beyond the capacity of this thesis.

5.2.2 Musical sources and influences in relation with song types

First of all, I call the compositions of Ahmet Kaya, other than free airs and instrumental pieces as 'songs,' since they typically follow the song structure in verse-chorus form with sometimes added intros, solos and outros. For an example of the song form see the score of '*Büyüdün Bebeğim*' (Figure 1). The form of the song is *A–B(a, a')–A* with a period form (Figure 2) and basic rhythmic idea (see Figure 3).

Figure 5.3: '*Büyüdün Bebeğim*' – score

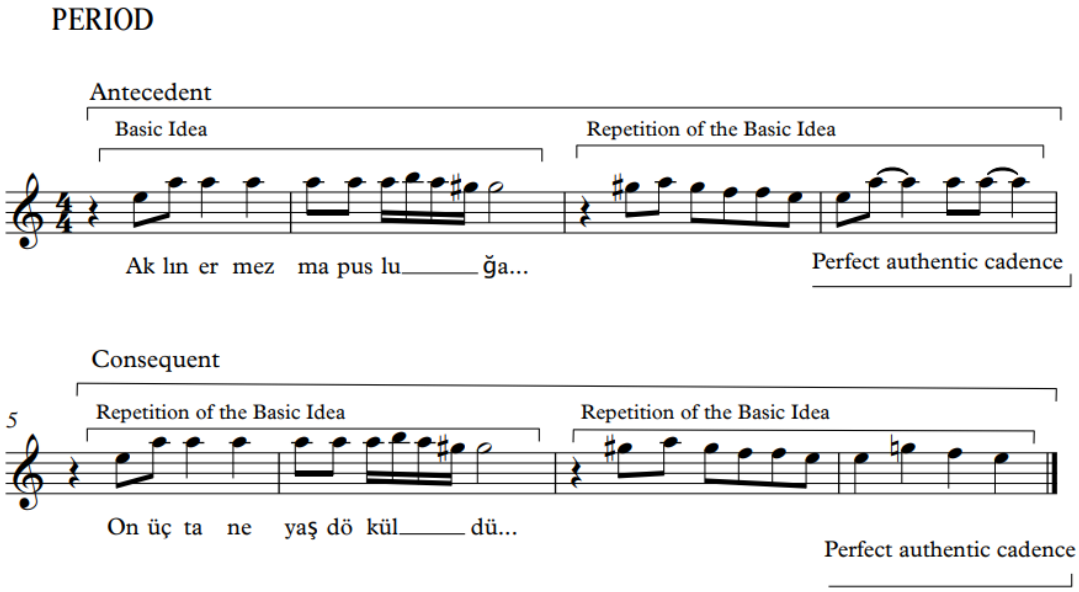

Figure 5.4: '*Büyüdün Bebeğim*' – period form.

Figure 5.5: '*Büyüdün Bebeğim*' – rhythmic idea.

It is possible to classify songs through three different systems: i) according to their subjects (lyrical, satirical, epic songs), ii) according to their functions (such as work songs, wedding songs, funeral songs, etc.), iii) via genre or style. Generally, popular music is classified by genre/style such as pop, rock, jazz, hip-hop, etc. which themselves also have sub-categories (for a list check the link[60]). As we have discussed in the introductory part of this chapter, Ahmet Kaya's songs are not all produced within a certain genre. Nevertheless, it is possible to talk about some 'song types' in Kaya's repertoire whose stereotypes have emerged over time. These song types, that do not fully correspond to the defined musical genres but seem 'like' them can basically be determined according to the melodic, maqamic and rhythmic character as well as instrumentation and arrangement as in folk-like songs, ballad-like songs or sometimes according to its function as in march-like songs. However, some of his songs are too mixed to fit in any of these categories, mainly due to the role of arrangers. Considering all these different aspects, I think that Ahmet Kaya has made a very accurate

[60] https://www.musicgenreslist.com/

description of his music, 'a music constantly in search,' which is also an indicator of its mixed character.

Many of Kaya's compositions have folk music character or close to the folk song form which I would like to call as folk-like or *türkü*-like songs where needed. For folk songs in Turkish, we use the term 't*ürkü*.' Generally, the term '*türkü*' is used for all kinds of tunes with lyrics in folk music. Although this term was coined to refer to Turkish folk music, I use it here outside of any ethnic or linguistic associations. "*Türkü* is poetry written in syllabic meter and composed with folk melodies" (Sözer, 2005, p. 716). In other words, *türkü* is a form of verse that is sung with a specific melody, written in syllabic meter and mostly becomes anonymous over time. *Türkü*s consist of main stanzas and the following refrains.

According to their rhythmic structure, *türkü*s are divided into two categories: free airs (*uzunhava*) and rhythmic songs (*kırıkhav*a). In free airs, local forms such as *bozlak* (common in Middle Anatolia), *barak* (mostly found in Southern regions) *hoyrat* (in Eastern regions), lament, etc. are seen. In rhythmic ones, it is possible to see local forms such as *halay, deyiş, ilahi*[61]*, bar, zeybek*[62]*, karşılama*[63].

Ahmet Kaya is a composer with strong ties to traditional folk music especially from Malatya and Harput-Elazığ region, where he was born and raised -a cosmopolitan region presenting mixed/hybrid musical cultures. The music of this region, which is called as *ince saz* differs from other folk songs especially in terms of modal structures (such as *uşşak, hüseyni*) and instruments used (instruments such as clarinet, oud, violin instead of *bağlama*); hence it can be counted as a genre between regional folk music and Turkish classical music. It also owns its hybrid/mixed character to this state of being between these two traditions. For example, the folk songs '*Mamoş*,' '*Telgrafçı Akif*' and '*Saza Niye Gelmedin*' which took place in Kaya's repertoire are of this type. Kaya's own composition '*Hadi Bize Gidelim*' (in *Hoşçakalın Gözüm*) is a typical example which shows the characteristics of *ince saz*. Besides, he was very influenced

[61] Works composed for religious purposes in Turkish mysticism and mosque music, sung by one person or collectively, and sung without instrumental accompaniment. It is composed of poems about divine thoughts expressing the superiority of God, prophet and religious nations as in 'hymnes' (Sözer, 2005, p. 361).
[62] The general name of the dances specific to the Aegean region. They are mostly in 9/4 rhythm. Known as *zeibekiko* in Greek.
[63] It is a folk dance performed in two series against each other, mostly performed in Balkans, Thrace and Marmara region in Turkey.

by Azerbaijani music tradition and he used to include one or two traditional Azerbaijanian folk songs as covers or his own compositions of this type in many of his albums (see details in the album reviews above). Depending its strong ties with traditional/folk music, we can safely say that Kaya's music prsents a maqamic character of this geography although many of his compositions do not show all the characteristic properties of the related maqam.

When it comes to the issue, I would like to make clear what should be understood when the modal/maqamic structure of Ahmet Kaya's songs is mentioned. I prefer using *dizi* (sequence) as the tool of analysis. In Turkish music, octets formed by adding a quartet in front of a quintet, or vice versa, are called *diz*is (sequences). The Turkish *dizi* covers 24 unequal intervals, as opposed to the Western 12 equal pitch tampere scales (Sözer, 2005, p. 715). The following *dizi*s are apparent in Ahmet Kaya's songs (see Appendix B for info on the song basis) as far as I could identify:

Buselik *dizi*: La-si-do-re-mi-fa-sol (or sol sharp)-la
(used in Harmonic minor, Natural minor, Buselik and Nihavend *makam*s)

Uşşak *dizi*: La-si koma bemol-do-re-mi-fa (or fa koma sharp)-sol-la
(used in Uşşak and Hüseynî *makam*s)

Hicaz *dizi*: La-si bemol-do sharp-re-mi-fa (or fa sharp)-sol-la
(used in Hicaz *makam*)

Kürdî *dizi*: La-si bemol-do-re-mi-fa-sol-la
(used in Kürdî makam)

Çargah *dizi*: Do-re-mi-fa-sol-la-si-do
(used in Major, Çargah, Rast *makam*s)

Sabâ *dizi*: La-si koma bemol-do-re koma bemol-mi-fa-sol-la
(used in Sabâ *makam*)

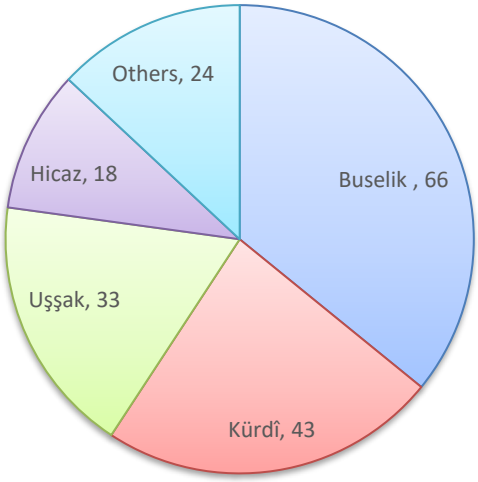

Figure 5.6: The frequency of maqamic sequences (*dizi*s) in Kaya's songs.

Some of Kaya's compositions are similar to march form. These songs follow the rhythmic structure of march form but usually are not accompanied by march harmony. March in music is "a musical composition that is usually in duple or quadruple time with a strongly accentuated beat and that is designed or suitable to accompany marching"[64]. Marches can be written in any time signature, but the most common time signatures are 4/4 or 6/8. However some modern marches are being written in 2/4 or 2/2 time. Let's also listen to Ruhi Su's definition:

> Anthems, as the name suggests, are music that 'walks' and make people walk. It is an action music. It is extremely effective in passing and spreading a thought, a joy to others. It easily affects, excites and unites crowds. It is distinguished from folk songs both because it is such a massive music and because it is performed with double and quarter beats, which is the most suitable rhythm form for togetherness and walking. Because folk songs are a type of music that is sung in all kinds of rhythms. Even if they have a social content, they are individual in origin, but they are also beautiful when sung together. (Su, 2010, pp. 135-6)

[64] Merriam-Webster. (n.d.). March. In *Merriam-Webster.com dictionary*, (entry 4 of 5). Retrieved January 11, 2021, from https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/march

Hence, we should more consider Kaya's such compositions as 'march-like' songs according to their functions in the sense used by Ruhi Su. Significant examples are '*Katlime Ferman*,' '*Kadınlar*,' etc. Most of these songs are also in folk character as Ruhi Su describes above, hence presents a mixed style, as in march-like songs in 6/8 rhythm in Azerbaijanian musical character.

There are also songs which we can describe as 'ballad-like' songs as in the examples '*Acılara Tutunmak*,' '*Büyüdün Bebeğim*,' etc. The term ballad is used mostly for soft, slow and emotional songs in popular music composed to lyrical lyrics. Lyrical poems are the poems that make people emotional by expressing emotions such as sorrow, pain, joy and hope intensely. I think that it is the most important aspect of lyricism that it brings these contradictory emotions (such as pain and joy) to life at the same time and it is abundant in Ahmet Kaya songs.

Not all of the songs fall into any of these categories of course and there are examples that I call 'mixed-up'-type (not suggested as a musical term) because of the inconsistent or overloaded arrangements as in '*Yorgun Demokrat*.'

5.2.3 Working process

While writing about a musician's life, it is very important to understand the processes of musical production. Unfortunately, since I did not have the chance to make one-to-one observations and learn from himself personally, I could have some idea about these processs through our chats with Gülten Kaya. I asked her questions about how Ahmet Kaya produced music in his professional period, what he was influenced by, which factors mobilized him for his composing songs and how his working processes were. That's why this episode was originally based on what she told me. So let's listen to her:

> Sometimes he wouldn't pick up an instrument at home, and sometimes he would play like crazy. He used to catch tunes in search; sometimes on the keyboard, piano, guitar, bağlama, but always with an instrument. Sometimes he would catch something while tuning up his voice. Sometimes, without such a thing, for example, while reading or watching something, he would suddenly break off and start working. Most of all, he did not want to miss these moments when there was something that corresponded to his feelings. We caught such moments while talking about the events, stories, memories, when we had a deep conversation, red poems alone, got emotional and affected. It would be

> more comfortable for him to take advantage of those deepening states. He was very affected by the outside world. When we went from there towards the bottom, the states of being affected were starting for him. For example, we could talk until morning over the phrase 'a blind boatman saw the murder' in the poem '*Cinayet Saati*.' What does 'I saw, my ears saw' mean? What did it mean for someone's ears to see? We could talk for hours on this sentence. In '*Korkarım*' the opposite happened; first the melody was found and then the lyrics was written on it. Ahmet had a lot of tunes, but maybe because he didn't record them, most of them were forgotten. Whatever he had accumulated during his search, he set out from there. He was more lyrics-oriented; he would work by starting from an image, the story and by transforming these into an emotion. An emotion that would catch him! That was his starting point and what mobilized him mostly. (Kaya, personal intervew with G. Kaya, 2018)

As we again learned from Gülten Kaya (2018) about the process of working with Osman İşmen, the person with whom he worked most closely, their system went like this: After Ahmet Kaya made the composition, he recorded it on tape and sent it to Osman İşmen. They did not work together in their processes of composing and arrangement. They always worked independently with İşmen during the arrangement process.

> For example, when he made '*Munzurlu,*' he woke me up at night, he was very excited. We worked together. Then, after recording this, Ahmet would make another recording. "Look, Osman," it would begin. He would describe what he wanted, sometimes he would do it with his mouth and send it to Osman. Then, in the period when the arrangement took place, there was no contact with Osman. He was free too. This was how it went until the infrastructures, after the studio phase started, things would not be reshaped there. Of course there would be some changes, but there would be no composition or arrangement process in the studio. Osman İşmen used to say himself "what moves an arranger is the material, the composition." Indeed, Osman loved Ahmet's compositions very much. He used to say that those who imitated him came to him, but he couldn't feel the same as with Ahmet. Osman İşmen and Ahmet Kaya meeting was a special one.

In his co-work with Yusuf Hayaloğlu, for example, even if they were together spatially, they would work separately. Ahmet Kaya did not interfere with him much.

He put some ofhis writings aside; “it did not affect me” he said. Some of them, he reserved to look back at later. But their songs were mostly shaped by conversations together. Mainly, a piece of Hayaloğlu and Ahmet Kaya emerged as a result of these collaborations, based on the country’s issues as well as their own experiences and the experiences of those around them. In an interview with a European TV, Hayaloğlu was asked whether the stories he wriote were his own stories, since these were very real things. Hayaloğlu answers:

> Of course, I also have my own stories involved, but I have never made myself a direct subject in my poems. For example, while I was writing the lyrics of ‘*Giderim*,’ I was thinking, of course, where can I capture Ahmet’s feelings. I have never had a dog or a bird, Ahmet on the other hand, he loved very much and always had dogs and birds. That is why I put the lines ‘*köpeklerimden, kuşumdan...*’ into the song lyrics” (see lyrics of *Giderim* in 5.4). (Kaya, personal communication with G. Kaya, 2018).

Gülten Kaya associates this collaboration and common language between Hayaloğlu and Ahmet Kaya with their sharing a common culture: “They were the children of the common culture who used to cry and laugh at the same things and affected by the same” (Kaya, personal interview with G. Kaya, 2018). In an interview, Yusuf Hayaloğlu said something similar: “We didn't have a problem to belong to an intellectual world and to isolate ourselves from the street. On the other hand, we did not have a problem to make ourselves accepted in those worlds. So we were very free” (Kaya, personal communication with G. Kaya, 2018).

5.3 A Sample Complete Song Analysis: ‘*Giderim*’ (*Dosta Düşmana Karşı,* 1998)

A sample complete song analysis is provided here for the song ‘*Giderim*’ (I’d rather leave) in the album *Dosta Düşmana Karşı* (1998). The analytical framework will first provide a lyrical analysis section including a translation of the lyrics followed by the story of the song, form analysis on the poem and the content analysis on the lyrics with as much information as possible as to how, when, and where the song was performed and under which context it was listened to, identified with, or rejected. This will be followed by a structural analysis of the song, providing how the musical elements were brought together, and the section will be finalized with the vocal analysis (see the full score in Appendix C).

5.3.1 Content analysis

'*Giderim*' or more popularly known as '*Kafama Sıkar Giderim*' (I'd rather leave, shooting myself in the head) is one of the most popular Ahmet Kaya songs. It is one of the last examples of the fruitful collaborative work between Ahmet Kaya and Yusuf Hayaloğlu.

This is a farewell story or a threat to leave, to deprive the addressee of his/her existence. It is impossible for the narrator to continue as it used to be. Both the narrator and the addressee seem to have complained about their relationship, which is beyond repair. The narrator assures the addressee that he would take the risk to lose everything. He would burn the bridges, hopefully ending the mess. He would leave behind everything that mattered to him, even his child, and return anything that was taken from the addressee. The narrator would prefer death rather than bowing to the addressee.

5.3.1.1 Form analysis

We can safely say that the poem is influenced by the folk poetry tradition as a form. The general name of the lyrical poems sung with 8-syllable meter in our folk poetry is '*semai*.' It would not be wrong to call this poem a contemporary *semai*; its only shortcoming is that it has not been used with a pseudonym. The basic verse unit of the poetry tradition of classical folk poetry is composed of quatrains. Again, if we go to folk poetry, the reason for the measure and rhyme density is that it is a product of oral tradition and therefore to make it easier to remember. Hayaloğlu also remained loyal to meter in poetry (8 syllable meter); rhymes are mostly seen as full and half rhymes. What we can deduce from this is that the poem was written for the purpose of being composed directly.

There are two verse forms that deal with lyrical themes in folk poetry: one of them is '*koşma*,' which is the most used, sung in 11 syllables; the other one is '*semai*' which is sung with 8 syllables. We can call this poem as a contemporary *semai* in terms of rhyme squences. We see that there are half or full rhymes in all of the quatrains. However, the word "*giderim*" (I'd rather leave) which gives us the main theme, reflects the theme of the poem even stronger by repeating it in *redif* form in every stanza. It also makes the rhythm more visible for composing.

Giderim	**I'd rather leave***
Artık seninle duramam.	I can no longer stay with you.
Bu akşam çıkar giderim.	I'd rather leave this evening.
Hesabım kalsın mahşere.	Let's settle up on the judgment day.
Elimi yıkar giderim.	I'd rather wash my hands and leave.
Sen zahmet etme yerinden.	Don't bother.
Gürültü yapmam derinden.	I wouldn't make a deep noise.
Parmaklarım üzerinden,	I'd rather flow like water,
Su gibi akar giderim.	Over my tiptoes.
Artık sürersin bir sefa.	Now you can enjoy yourself.
Ne cismim kaldı ne cefa.	I'm no more, so disappears the suffering.
Şikayet etmem bu defa.	I wouldn't complain this time.
Dişimi sıkar giderim.	I'd rather leave, biting a bullet.
Bozar mı sandın acılar?	Did you think grieves would break me?
Belaya atlar giderim.	I'd rather leave, facing the troubles.
Kurşun gibi, mavzer gibi,	Like a bullet, like a mauser gun,
Dağ gibi patlar giderim.	I'd rather leave, erupting like a mountain.
Kaybetsem bile herşeyi,	Even if I'd lose everything,
Bu aşkı yırtar giderim.	I'd rather leave, tearing apart this love.
Sinsice olmaz gidişim.	I wouldn't leave sneakily.
Kapıyı çarpar giderim.	I'd rather leave, slamming the door.
Sana yazdığım şarkıyı,	I'd rather leave, ripping the song,
Sazımdan söker giderim.	I wrote for you off my instrument.
Ben ağlayamam bilirsin.	I can't cry and you know that.
Yüzümü döker giderim.	I'd rather leave, pulling a long face.
Köpeklerimden kuşumdan,	I'd rather leave, giving up
Yavrumdan cayar giderim.	My dogs, bird, my child.
Senden aldığım ne varsa.	I'd rather leave, returning
Yerine koyar giderim.	Anything I took from you.
Ezdirmem sana kendimi.	I wouldn't let you overwhelm me.
Gövdemi yakar giderim.	I'd rather leave, burning my body.
Beddua etmem üzülme.	I won't curse you, don't worry.
Kafama sıkar giderim.	I'd rather leave, shooting myself in the head.

*Rhymes do not reflect the Turkish original.

Not only does the poet make *redif*s and rhymes for vocal harmony, we see alliteration (repetition of the same consonant sounds) and assonance (repetition of the same vowel sounds) in most stanzas. In particular, we see that the "r" sound is repeated frequently in all quatrains. In this way, the "r" sound in the word '*gide**r**im*' is also evoked, making the theme to be felt even stronger.

5.3.1.2 Lyrical analysis

The main theme of the lyrics is reproach, accompanied by the themes of resentment, disappointment, suffering, and challenge.

In the first stanza, the lover appears to be in intense reproach and resentment. We can understand how much the love in his heart makes him tired by saying 'I can't stay with you anymore.' In the last two lines, it feels like he has nothing left to do. In particular, the line 'I will wash my hands and go' makes us think of two things: Firstly, he gives up on his love completely, his desire to get rid of it; secondly, the thought that his love is harming him and his desire to get rid of it. Considering the continuation of the poem, the second one outweighs: Fatigue, boredom, and escape even though he loves.

When we look at the second stanza, we see that the main purpose of the poet is to make his reproach stronger: With the sentence 'don't bother,' it is felt that he has a reproach regarding the careless attitude of his beloved. In fact, he means 'I'll walk away so you don't even feel it.'

In the third stanza, the feeling of reproach has reached its peak. There is a feeling of anger and resentment beyond my reproach. The line 'now you can have a good time' is a clear indication of the poet's anger towards his beloved and his disloyalty. With the line 'I won't complain this time,' it shows that he has not tried to leave. He has tried this escape before, but he could not do it because his love prevailed.

In the fourth stanza and the last stanza used as a chorus, it is felt that the poet (or the singer in our case) has experienced a serious break in his feelings. These quatrains are the strongest parts of the poem. The predominant emotion in both is reproach: 'I don't care after you, I'll get into trouble, I risk everything,' he says. The words 'lead,' 'mauser' and 'volcano,' on the other hand, are an indication of how strong the love and storm inside the poet is, which is the reason why he says 'I'll shoot myself in the head and go' in the last stanza. It's a sign of not being able to go or actually not

wanting to go. In the fourth stanza, we felt a little that the poet's real desire was not to leave, and the poet knows this.

In fifth stanza he is trying to cover up this feeling. He says, 'even if I lose everything, I don't care, I forget this love and bury it.' As a matter of fact, he still does not want to run away, an effort to inflict this fear on his loved one, an effort to hurt her is being felt here. There is the threat of 'I'll give up on everything, say stop to me, say don't go.'

The two intense emotions that we mentioned earlier are intertwined in the sixth stanza. He sings the first two lines by saying 'I risk everything and go away.' Besides, he tries to make his love feel that this departure will destroy him, and he wants to say, 'look, I can't cry, you know. Don't look at me if I'm not crying, I'll spill my face to say this departure will make me sad more than you. Understand how I feel.'

The effort to show himself to his lover in spite of everything is strong in the previous stanza, and the effort to cover his desperation continues in the seventh stanza. He says he can give up everything, including his children, but in the last stanza he will make it very clear that this is not the case.

In the last satanza, there is an effort to show that he is still strong despite everything by saying 'I will not make you crush myself.' However, when we look at the poem in general, on the contrary, it is not indifference but inability to give up on love. He wants to say 'despite everything, I will not say anything that will upset you, instead of hurting you, I will kill myself and get rid of this pain of love in this way.'

As we said from the very beginning, the dominant theme in the poem is 'reproach.' The poet/singer says that he cannot break up, that he cannot give up his love despite everything. From the beginning, he does not say '*gideceğim*' (I will leave), most importantly, he says '*giderim*' (I'd rather leave). He doesn't want to leave but he is offended. He expects a step from his love, reproaches her for this, threatens her even if he does not believe him. He says, 'I will not give up on your love, I will not hurt you on this road, if necessary, I will die.' He hits the intense storm he lives in, his love, his love as a reproach.

The word '*giderim*,' which is repeated throughout and is also the title of the poem, gives us the theme very clearly. The poet's ultimate wish, his desire, is not actually to go but to express his resentment and reproach, as we can understand from the phrase

'*Şikayet etmem bu defa*' (I will not complain this time) in a quatrain. Inded he asks his lover not to let this happen. He probably feels that if he goes, he will disappear.

5.3.1.3 Implied associations with the socio-political and personal context

Although the lyrics suggest that it is a farewell to the beloved one, it may well be related with something that the narrator deeply engaged with, i.e. homeland, an organization, a social circle, professional life, field of art, or a political orientation, etc. In the lyrics, we see that there is no direct association with any specific social movement or event related to Kaya's life. However, the song is a sound precursor of the growing discontent, weariness, and disappointment of Ahmet Kaya as regards the political climate of the country, the war, and the lynch campaigns weighed against him by the mass media. The narrator's stance, i.e. being forced to leave the beloved due to the disappointment with the same is a rather large theme that can accommodate many reasons for the rift. It is all about the growing discontent, weariness, and disappointment, which eventually leads to an involuntary yet decisive act of leaving behind everything and taking the risk of one's own life.

Late 1990s was marked with the social traumas of the ongoing civil war (or the low-intensity conflict according to the state) between the security forces and PKK with tens of thousands of casualties on both sides and a massive rise in human rights violations. There were thousands of villages evacuated and razed to the ground forcing thousands to immigration, thousands of murders by unknown assailants, and a fierce media war against Kurds and human rights activists. There was an ever-aggravating hysteria throughout the country, which resulted in a rise in racism and nationalism. Furthermore, following the postmodern coup of February 28th, 1997, an aggressive Kemalist political climate began to govern the country, which combined with the already in-place restrictions against the leftist, democrat, libertarian circles, Kurds, and LGBTIQ+ groups, exerted further limitations to the fields of liberty (e.g. hijab ban).

Given that background, Ahmet Kaya, as one of the most popular figures that was directly targeted by the state and media, was forced to leave the country, 'sentencing' himself to an involuntary self-exile. The Magazine Reporters Association event was the final straw, but his decision was made in a process, in which he expressed disappointment in many occasions including this song.

5.3.2 Song structure and arrangement

This song features the typical song form of intro-verse-chorus. In the introduction, there is a line consisting of b*ağlama*, string ensemble and tympani. It's as if the intro was made with a classical music understanding, where the *bağlama* is the lead. There is structure in question & answer form where *bağlama* asks and the strings (counter melody) and tympanis answer. In this structure, the oboe joins during the second turn. This type of arrangement is in accordance with the stereotypical *özgün müzik* sound as outlined earlier. After the intro, comes the verse. Strings hold the harmonic line. The same question & answer form continues but this time between vocals and orchestra playing the counter melodies. When the melodic line goes up the high register in the chorus part, percussions and drums come in. There is a musically rising graphic from the intro until chorus part. The rise of emotions in the lyrics in the chorus is supported by the enrichment of both the vocals and the orchestra. Intermediate melody is again in the question and answer form with *bağlama*, this time the electric guitar is activated in the answer. Similar structure continues in the second verse and chorus part (see details in full score, Appendix D).

5.3.3 Vocal analysis

This song, among other reasons, was chosen because it provides a good example where we can talk about Ahmet Kaya's many vocal features in terms of his voice type, vocalization, resonance, articulation and singing style.

We hear Ahmet Kaya's typical bass-baritone voice character in this song as well; the lows are soft and the highs are very loud. He has a special bass-baritone voice, he does the octave ups and downs (which he uses often) very well. It is very easy for him to switch between chest voice and head voice[65]. He uses natural voice[66] resonators in lows, and raises his voice without opening his mouth too much, articulating words clearly. He gives the hiccups using a falsetto voice. He also uses the nose/nasal area and it seems like he is using a mix, not a full chest sound.

[65] For the human voice, two basic registers are defined, namely chest voice and head voice or falsetto, in which different resonant mechanisms are active. Although the head voice is generally used for the female vocal and falsetto for the male vocal, it is accepted that the two expressions are the same (Léothaud, Lortat-Jacob, Zemp 1996, p.118).

[66] Since the spoken voice is associated with cultural differences in relation to language, the meaning of the concept of natural voice is also relative (Léothaud, Lortat-Jacob, Zemp 1996, p.180).

Regarding the vowels; as in the letter "u" of the word '*duramam*' and the letter "a" of the word '*çıkar*,' some letters/vowels (the sound produced due to oral use) are narrow and he pronounces the letter "a" like "ıa" in Turkish.

He resonates consonants and sometimes makes vibrations on these letters (consonants given by CAPITALS). There is also a situation that is strictly related to the features of the language in Arabic music where the consonants are resonated. It maybe the effect of *arabesk* on Kaya's utterance. He sings the word '*hesabım*' as '*hessabım*' with two "s" which is again non-proper in standard Turkish, but there is plenty in Arabic. Here, too, he uses the feaure of two consonants sounding (diftong).

He plays with the rhythm of syllables such as in '*çıkar*' and '*hesabım*' (syllables *italicized*). He makes prosody games. He uses dialect while speaking, similarly when he sings; this is reflected in his vocal character. This is clearly related with his homeland, his familial/cultural identity, and the local/traditional music he has heard from his region. He has been criticized many times in this respect. For example, due to his using the short "a" when saying the word '*mavi*' or '*bela*.' He also spells the letter "e" as in the word '*black*' which is again non-proper for standard Turkish (letters with a hat, '^'). He says '*mawzer*,' not '*mavzer*;' he uses the Kurdish letter "w" instead of "v" though it is not a Kurdish word. He also uses "x" instead of "k" in many places.

He uses vocalizations (areas underlined) that reflects the intensity of emotion more in the chorus. He uses hiccups and breath sounds to express the emotion of grief and pain, similar to the use of voice in laments. In parallel, the pitch goes towards the treble. In relation to the conditions of the period and the lyrical theme, the musical arrangement was also made to reflect the intensity of emotion.

Artık seniNle duramaM
Bu akşam ***çıka*R** gideriM
Hessabım kalsıN mahşere
Elimi **yıkar** gideriM

Sen zahmet etme yeriNdeN
Gürültü yapmaM deriNdeN
ParmaklarıN üzeriNdeN
Su gibi **akaR** gideriM

Artık sürersiN bir *sefa*
Ne cismiM kaldı ne cefa
Şikâyet etmeM bu *defa*
Dişimi **sıkaR** gideriM

*Boza*R mı sandıN **acılaR**?
Belaya **atlaR** gidêriM
KurşuN gibi, *mav(w)zeR* gibi
DaĞ gibi **patlaR** gidêriM

KaybetseM bile her şeyi
Bu aşkı **yırtaR** gideriM
Sinsice olmaz gidişiM
Kapıyı **çaRpaR** gidêriM

Sana yazdığıM şarkıyı
Sazımdan **sökeR** gidêriM
Ben ağlayamaM, bilirsiN
Yüzümü **dökeR** gidêriM

KöpeklerimdeN, kuşuMdaN
Yavrumdan **cayaR** gidêriM
Senden aldığıM ne varsa
Yerine **koyaR** gidêriM

EzdirmeM sana kendimi
Gövdemi y**akaR** gidêriM
Beddua etmeM, üzülme
Kafama **sıkaR** gidêriM

6. CONCLUSION

In this thesis, we re-visited the left-leaning political/protest music history in Turkey, and recalled the invaluable struggles and the magnificent songs accompanying these struggles. On the other hand, we saw that there are elements that are excluded as well as those included in this history. Since Ahmet Kaya provided us with the best example of this, he created the case for this thesis.

Within the scope of the thesis, it was mentioned that a construction process was followed in the formation of the left-leaning protest music tradition; while this construction was based on the social content of folk music and folk songs, it was argued that basically Western understanding of modernization was maintained, and within this understanding, various elements from local performances to musical genres such as *arabesk* and *alaturka* were excluded. Secondly, in the context of the social struggle of the 1970s, it was underlined that a protest music understanding based on '*bağlama*, *deyiş*s and rebellion' became dominant. In this sense, I argued that the protest tradition in Turkey has an exclusionary character and that musical gentrification mechanisms were in effect during the formtion processes as discussed in Chapter 3. With the expansion of the political struggle and the emergence of highly developed creative examples in the Anatolian pop/rock field, this exclusionaryism was broken to some extent, but unfortunately this process was interrupted by the 1980 coup. Although the 1980s diversified compared to previous periods in terms of musical influences, it was a period in which still genres such as *arabesk/alaturka* and most importantly, discourses based on ethnic identity and linguistic/cultural diversity were left behind. In this context, Ahmet Kaya sets a different example in terms of both his musical approach and his political discourse. In this thesis, it was claimed that Kaya's music was more inclusive despite the more exclusionary tendencies of the left. The arguments on which this claim rests are based on the data gathered around the three axes: i) the socio-political context of the period, ii) Kaya's individual life, and iii) his musical background and the mixed character of his music, which is the result of his accumulation.

Ahmet Kaya's music is a mixture of a variety of local, traditional, and Western music styles. It is the said mixture, which at least musically speaking, enabled to pull attention of the masses to something familiar yet something different. The listeners were able to emphatize with the music through the traditional tunes and melodies, and instruments as well as the textual content; yet coexistence of the traditional tunes from Greek rebetiko to Turkish folk music, from Alevi *deyiş*s to Kurdish *halay*, from *arabesk* to rock and different use of instruments (not revolutionary or radically different as for example seen in Hans Eisler) helped with the fact that through a combination of his personality and his music, there was created an alternative space of enunciation, a medium, where the new cultural statements and systems of the late migrants, defeated leftist individuals and newly politicized younger generations are constructed.

Those who love Ahmet Kaya's music from various sections of the society could develop a collective identity through concepts such as 'youth,' 'honesty,' 'revolutionism' that have turned into vague memories in the political atmosphere of the 1980s. It can be said that he was accepted because he could express his discontent with the existing cultural hegemony and systemic ideology and clearly express this in an 'uncontaminated' and 'uncomtaminatable' value system and also express the same through a 'mixed' or 'hybrid' musical world which could address individuals with different musical tastes. Also, unlike many other leftist and revolutionary musicians of the period, his vocal style was closer to that of traditional forms. In the conversations I had, it was stated by many people that Ahmet Kaya's voice and way of singing were more 'sincere' and 'authentic,' (for example, when compared to Ruhi Su's voice) and that he could address everyone directly for this very reason. Besides being 'authentic,' his voice was 'as revolutionary as possible.' I think the bass-baritone character and soft tone in his voice are also effective in this perception (in relation with the perception of *devrimci müzik* due to the influence of Ruhi Su, possibly). In addition to the lyrics and musical elements in Kaya's music, his status as the voice of brave young *men* of the back streets -as a 'kid' of the neighborhood- was an important part of his appeal to various listeners even with no connection to his ideological stance.

Ahmet Kaya's unique way of incorporating different genres, sociopolitical and cultural contents, and performing style led to the fact that his followers found a way to identify themselves with at least one or more elements presented in his music, especially in the

eyes of the othernized masses, i.e. the Alevis, Kurds, leftists, et al. His music, and more precisely how his music was interpreted, perceived, and formed a basis for identification for the masses should be analyzed in relation with the impact in the daily practices of his followers. In other words, Kaya's music, which was embraced by many distinct actors of the society on the basis of identity elements embodied in his unique style, was not merely a manifestation of the grievances of the othernized sects of the society, but it was also formed into a collective act of performance and consumption thereby.

The identity elements embodied in his music and his life paved the way for a new collective identity. As with the Gezi Resistance in Turkey in 2013, when the people from different class, cultural, sectorial, gender, economic, social, psychological etc. backgrounds adopted the *çapulcu* (marauder) as the definition of a new collective identity, despite the fact that the same term was used by the Prime Minister to demonize them, Ahmet Kaya's music contributed in the formation of a new collective identity, which opposed to the unilateral, coherent, and unified identity paradigm of the past. His music brought people together in a way to include the plurality of contents, protest reasons, and emotional attitudes.

For Ahmet Kaya's music, we can say that it is a music with a high inclusionary capacity, since it does not belong to a single culture or a specific social segment (such as *Alevis* or Kurds etc.) and has a flexible structure that can appeal to various segments due to its mixed character which is also a product of his musical accumulation as outlined in Chapter 5. Hence in this thesis, I have argued that Ahmet Kaya's music is socially inclusive and that is what made him a descriptive figure in protest music tradition in Turkey.

Ahmet Kaya had no direct association with any particular social movement as with the other musical initiatives taken during the post-coup years. His music was 'socially inclusive' from the very beginning. This social inclusiveness was supported by certain elements of his music: (i) traditional forms as rehearsed with a somehow modern approach, (ii) polysemous signs involved in the lyrics that evoked opposition to the coup and post-coup administration, or the system as a whole in a metaphorical style; and (iii) an understanding of individual grief. Nevertheless, his music also had followers in the ranks of 'apolitical' masses, without any evident objection against the political order. The main themes of his music, the content and the form in which and

by which it was performed fostered the quality of its social inclusiveness. In other words the apparent difficulty in drawing direct links between his music and any particular social movement paradoxically extended the impact of his music from members of the latent social movements, or the true target mass of his music, to the middle class as well.

During the 1980s, Turkey underwent a major transformation. The country rapidly adopted the neoliberal values and discarded the mainstays of the societal bonds. An aggressive individualism replaced collectivism and solidarity. Rapid urbanization not only effectively destroyed the rural ethos, but also prevented to establish a new ethos with such elements as respect, compassion, and solidarity with others. The individuals were basically alone. The political climate cursed any collective action, not only the political ones. Not only joy, but also grief became to be seen as a purely individual experience that should be celebrated or tolerated. The solution for all individual grievances was to mobilize upwards in class hierarchy. Providing many –but not as many as propagandized- opportunities for those adopted the 'entrepreneurial mindset,' the post-coup years radically altered the so-called class consciousness replacing the same with individual awareness; and accordingly some sort of narcissist understanding of life not only paved the way for mobilizing upwards, but also placed a certain individual pragmatism that blurred the social contexts.

The inclusivity is in fact a desired function of systemic music, e.g. the pop music. Still, in the aftermath of the coup, the constructive ambiguity that made such inclusivity possible in Ahmet Kaya's music, helped with integration of masses under a not well-defined set of values marked by nostalgia and a better life. Nostalgia or the longing for the values, people, and social setting of the past was a representation per se, of discontent with the new neoliberal values. Yet it did not offer any solution to overcome it. The quest for a better life could be understood in the contexts of both the individual liberation and collective salvation. The relative independence, the obscurity, from class, ethnicity, and religious etc. references provided a suitable milieu for his music could be embraced by great masses.

The aforementioned ambiguity on the one hand helped with remembering the past, forgotten values through a nostalgic representation of the past, i.e. years before 1980, the coup, not only in terms of politics, and on the other hand, such representation, or simulation of the past values served as a perfect replacement for performance of the

said values in true life. This is where Ahmet Kaya's music could have found a stronghold. His music embraced the masses with the respected values of the past for those, who did not have any political or social affiliations other than what was pragmatically suited to their means. Besides, his music also provided the opponents of the system with the individual sufferings that could easily be considered or understood collective grief and discontent of a certain generation: The past generation that sacrificed their lives, bodies, and freedoms for greater good. When he said "I" or "me" it was understood as "We" or "Us."

The social inclusivity of Ahmet Kaya's music suddenly ended at the moment it was established a direct link, no matter it was true or fabricated, between his music and a particular social movement. The inclusivity in the beginning provided him with the popularity, making him a celebrity. His exclusion on the other hand from the established, systemic music realm, deepened his ties with a particular social movement and reconstructed his past works through a new set of meanings and imagination. The collective interpretation of lyrics in a new context translated the discourse of individual suffering to collective resistance. The ambiguity of the context in his lyrics and the way the inclusive aesthetic and performative forms that incorporated the shared traditional elements into the modern, the new social set of values, disappeared as the context was shifted.

As suggested in the Introduction Chapter, the social movements are the products of specific historical conditions and shaped by specific cultural and sociological contexts. So is the protest music. Ahmet Kaya's music was shaped by the oppressive days of the post-coup years. The content of his music, i.e. the lyrics, and its performative character transformed radically in the eye of his followers as its context radically altered. Sadly, after his exile, he could not survive more than a year to build upon the new context to provide us with more opportunities to observe and understand the linkage between his music and the Kurdish liberation movement. I have stated before that the oppositional character of musical practices may disappear, or even incorporated into the world of systemic music in time. One of the most important factors that played a major part in this mechanism was the social inclusivity of Ahmet Kaya's music. That's why his music could have been copied, reproduced, and imitated in radically different contexts by people with radically different political affiliations.

6.1 Mapping Ahmet Kaya's Music Based on its Artistic and Political Merits

The protest music with its various temporal forms from Rap and Hip-Hop to Punk Rock, *inter alia*, may not be considered 'proper' musical performances or practices by certain circles of the Art World, as it was the case with Ahmet Kaya, whose music and vocal/*bağlama* performance was severely criticized. Ahmet Kaya's music cannot be considered belonging to well-established musical genres, namely *arabesk* or folk music or revolutionary music, etc. and whose personality as an artist was so complicated for he could have been categorized in any well-established prototypes of an intellectual, a performer, a revolutionary etc.

However, and to the dismay of his critics, Kaya and his music was greatly embraced by the masses of different social, economic, ethnic, political, cultural etc. backgrounds. He became an icon of protest, while his followers found their own excuses of protest in his music. For some it was the political content, for others the cry, or regret, or anguish of the individual. His music was crafted in the plurality of sociopolitical factors. He was a leftist, a 'half-blood' Kurdish, and a migrant performer. His cultural references not only involved the revolutionary music genres, say those of Latin America, but also the traditional forms, such as the *âşık* tradition, the popular forms as *arabesk*, folk music, and even rock. He presented a mixture of these. That's why his music was labelled domestic pop, Turkish music, *özgün müzik*, protest music, *arabesk*, and *devrimci-arabesk* at the same time by different members of the popular culture.

The main criticism against Ahmet Kaya was the claim that his music contained forms of *arabesk* music, which was popular in those years. This actually is the basic reaction against the new protest forms not only by the systemic critics, but also by those considered opponents to the established system. The typical reaction as seen in Ahmet Kaya case was to mark his music as an inferior form like the other popular, low-level musical practices, compared to the polyphonic Western music, or to 'authentic,' interpretations of 'traditional' like that of Ruhi Su. It can be said that this stance, since the founding of the Turkish Republic, have constituted the dominant attitude of people, who adopted a radical modernist perspective, mostly influenced by the Kemalist discourse based on enlightenment and Western orientation, with a range of forms and rituals of being and looking modern and contemporary. To them the advancement of folk music was only possible by following the path from localism to universality. In

other words, the first job at hand is to polyphonize folk melodies in modern, universal norms, employing the techniques of the Western music.

Ertuğrul Kayserilioğlu, for instance, who claimed that Ahmet Kaya reduced music to merely social content with a *decadent* and *retrograde* stance, stated "Kaya answers the demands of people who have gotten out of jail and returned to their shanty towns and their loneliness; he appeals to their sensitivities." According to him, Ahmet Kaya was taking advantage of the lingering pain of the 1980 coup: "He perceives reality in terms of tragedy rather than determinism, and in so doing, he tearfully buries people in the darkness of the middle ages." He believed that Ahmet Kaya's music was based on *Alevi* sensitivities: "Today however, the Turkish left needs a modern revolutionary sentiment, not an *Alevi* one, because underneath the *Alevi* sentiment lie the understandably pessimistic psyches of destitute villagers who have been exploited, oppressed and held back for centuries. But Ahmet Kaya, living in a developed city of capitalist Turkey in the in the late 20th century, has no right to such a psyche…" That interprettaion is very interesting because Kaya did not include an *Alevi* deyiş in his album repertoire at that period, except his concert performences. This inded is a good example of how protest/revolutionary music perception in Turkey is intertwined with *Alevi* sensitivity.

Ertuğrul Kürkçü, on the other hand underlined the fact that Ahmet Kaya's music was a break from peasantry. The mood in his music was a direct reflection of the mood of the period. The pessimism that Kayserilioğlu underlined as inherent in Kaya's music was the zeitgeist of 80s.

> This music appealed to everyone who was a victim of the September 12th coup. My rough estimate is that from 1978 to 1988, a million people went through the jails. When you add these people's relatives, you get 5 million people. So he does appeal and sell to these people. Its words are as important as its style. He uses the poetry of urban minstrels and leftist poets. It's definitely a move toward a more refined culture. But they're faced with the facts that the social opposition is freeing themselves from the feeling of defeat, and the music, as a genre, is beginning to wear thin. They're clearly aware of this, otherwise they would not make a headline out of the word '*Başkaldırıyorum*' (I am rebelling). However it's not clear whether they will find a genre appropriate to this new mood. I'm not sure I have enough experience to do this.

Both critics failed to refer the millions of people recently migrated to metropolitan cities from the rural places of the country. The migrants, including Ahmet Kaya himself, who frequently had adaptation problems and still 'fresh' connections with their rural past and culture, have found in Kaya's music a mixture of both 'worlds,' the rural and the urban.

Responding to such criticisms, Kaya did not deny the shared elements. However he was against the fatalism and submissiveness of *arabesk*. According to Kaya, his listeners were "those in a political atmosphere, families of prisoners and those with no political consciousness." He thought he offered a solution (contrary to *arabesk*), a concrete analysis of concrete situations. His songs were not to evoke drinking alcohol and bemoaning about personal problems (Gürsel, 1987).

Despite the fact that many listeners of Ahmet Kaya, which he described as those without political consciousness, were also into the *arabes*k music, and that there were many shared elements with *arabesk* both musically and in the 'mood' of the lyrics as presented in Chapter 5, there were significant differences. First of all the lyrics of his music, which were crafted by famous leftist poets, such as Attilâ İlhan, Can Yücel, Nevzat Çelik, Hasan Hüseyin Korkmazgil, Enver Gökçe, and Ahmed Arif, emphasized not only the agony of the oppressed masses, but also the importance of struggle against the origins of their suffering. The poets were not only leftists, but also the cornerstones of poetry in Turkey, sympathized by masses with or without leftist political engagement. The lyrics, therefore, were not only completely different from that of popular, *arabesk*, or *makam* music, but also served as a catch-all basis to embrace masses of great diversity.

The second significant difference that was negated by the mainstream criticism was the way his music was listened, conveyed, and performed. He was seen as a leftist person. Despite, or may be because of, the fact that he was not a member to any specific political group his music has become a 'cultural heritage' that must be protected and owned during the years under the coup conditions. His recordings were spread, reproduced, and listened by workers.

Third, the fact that his musical references were based on the then three most popular forms in the country, namely traditional folk music, *makam* music, and the *arabesk*, helped with the popularity of his musical practice. In his opinion, his was music of

transition, in a transitional period: “Tomorrow, when these conditions change, I’ll change as well; but we’re not living in that time now. We are in a bizarre crisis.”

The transitional character of protest music as Eyerman (1998) emphasized in Chapter 1 was evident. Ahmet Kaya was well aware of the roots of his music, and his deliberate intervention in the context thereof. Despite the criticisms that Ahmet Kaya’s music did not introduce a new interpretation of past traditions, but simply changed the lyrics, the ‘We Shall Overcome’ example is a proof of the contrary. In times of transition, when the contexts change, the familiarity of forms helps people to identify themselves with and adds to the inclusiveness of the musical genre. Those times the lyrics, which contribute in the context-making efforts of the artist, surpass the musical qualities.

The fact that Ahmet Kaya’s music was embraced by diverse masses is also attributable to the transitional character of the time he became popular. Considering the shift or replacement in the meaning of the words, e.g. democrat for revolutionary (in Kaya) or beauty for socialism (in Livaneli), one can conclude that people with different origins created their own set of meanings and attributed the same to a different set of values. For a revolutionary, the ‘*delikanlı*’ (literally lad) word might refer to a revolutionary, where the same would mean “a man of his word,” “a courageous man,” and “a reckless man” etc. for others.

When the social transition that was triggered by the coup in 1980 slowed down, and that the left simply disappeared and the main contradiction in the society appeared to be the stances towards the war during the years of war with PKK in 90s and after, but not the class origins, the plurality of contexts ceased to exist. Actually the masses, who embraced Kaya’s music, including many leftist fractions simply kept silent against his exile. His final identification with the Kurdish issue, whether manufactured by the media or not, dramatically decreased his popularity for almost ten years until a peace process between the PKK and the government was initiated (though broke up within a few years). In 2013, Ahmet Kaya was granted the Presidential Grand Art and Culture Award on the grounds that he brought many people of different political engagements together.

6.2 Concluding Remarks

As the field of research, this thesis places itself in the field of protest music studies. Protest music, beyond the cliché definitions, should be understood in relation with both content and context. Based on the experiences in Turkey, this study aims to open an alternative space for a non-Western perspective, to expand and diversify the boundaries of protest music, and to contribute to this literature. For further research, comparative studies can be made with similar examples from around the world similar to Ahmet Kaya case. I believe that mutual exchange and looking each other through the lens of the other's experience are very stimulating works in the academia.

There are only a few comprehensive studies on protest music in Turkey most of whom are conducted mainly within the field of sociology of music and often missing musical analyses. This thesis deals with the protest music tradition in Turkey in its own continuity by making a reading through key musical references, sources and approaches trends and reference points. In this way, it questions certain mentalities through which inclusion and exclusion processes work by focusing on the case of Ahmet Kaya as an underlooked figure in the academia, though a very popular musician. This study can be expanded and enriched through the studies on different examples (female singer-songwriters, rap musicians etc.) in Turkey. The point here is that especially when protest music is mentioned, socio-political context and the lyrical themes are generally considered. However, many other aspects such as the musical material itself, vocal quality, performance manners as well as the musical practices, market conditions, related musical genres and traditions, etc. should be taken into consideration as a whole, as proposed as an approach in this thesis.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Ahmet Kaya's Lifetime Discography.

APPENDIX B: Basic Musical Elements in Ahmet Kaya's Songs (Lifetime Albums).

APPENDIX C: Full Score '*Giderim'*.

APPENDIX D: Glossary.

APPENDIX A: Ahmet Kaya's Lifetime Discography**.**

TITLE	**AĞLAMA BEBEĞİM (DON'T CRY MY BABY)**
RELEASE DATE	April, 1985
PRODUCING COMPANY	TAÇ PLAK (1985 - 2007) - GAM MÜZİK (2007 - ...)
FORMS	Cassette (1985) - CD (1993) - LP (2017)
CONTRIBUTORS	Sezer Bağcan (Arranger) Yılmaz Karayalım (Tonmaister) Ahmet Kaya (Bağlama)
STUDIO	Değişim

No	SONG NAME and the FIRST LINE of LYRICS	LYRICS BY	MUSIC BY
1	**AĞLAMA BEBEĞİM (DON'T CRY MY BABY)** Ağlama bebeğim ağlama sen de	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
2	**KARA YAZI (BAD LUCK)** Geçmedi yare sözümüz	Sabahattin Ali	Ahmet Kaya
3	**SUSKUN (SILENT)** Rüya bütün çektiğimiz	Ahmed Arif	Ahmet Kaya
4	**GEÇMİYOR GÜNLER (THE DAYS DON'T PASS)** Burda çiçekler açmıyor	Sabahattin Ali	Ahmet Kaya
5	**HASRETİNDEN PRANGALAR ESKİTTİM (FETTERS WORN OUT BY LONGING)** Arda arda bilmem kaç zemheri	Ahmed Arif	Ahmet Kaya
6	**KIZ KAÇIRAN (ABDUCTER)** Dağlar dik çeşmeler ulu	Sabahattin Ali	Ahmet Kaya
7	**ŞAHİN GİBİ (LIKE A FALCON)** Sabahtan uğradım ben bir güzele	Karacaoğlan	Ahmet Kaya
8	**AYNI DALDAYDIK (WE WERE ON THE SAME PAGE)** Saat yirmibiri vuranda	Nazım Hikmet Ran	Ahmet Kaya
9	**MAVİYE ÇALAR GÖZLERİN (YOUR BLUISH EYES)** İtten aç yılandan çıplak	Ahmed Arif	Ahmet Kaya
10	**BIRAK BENİ (LET ME GO)** Bırak beni gayrı uçam	Atilla Damar	Ahmet Kaya
11	**BİZİM HİKAYEMİZ (OUR STORY)** Bir güneşti gördüğüm dağlar ardında	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
12	**KARANLIKTA (IN THE DARK)** Akşam olur karanlıklar çökende	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
13	**KURTULUŞ SAVAŞI DESTANI (INDEPENDENCE WAR SAGA)** Kolumu salladım toplar oynadı	Anonim	Anonim
14	**UĞURLAR OLA (GOOD RIDDANCE)** Ey sürüden arkada kalmış yiğit	M. Akif Ersoy	Ahmet Kaya

Figure A.1: *Ağlama Bebeğim* album credits.

TITLE	**ACILARA TUTUNMAK (HOLDING ON PAINS)**
RELEASE DATE	December, 1985
PRODUCING COMPANY	TAÇ PLAK (1985 - 2007) - GAM MÜZİK (2007 - …)
FORMS	Cassette (1985) - LP (1987) - CD (1993) - LP (2017)
CONTRIBUTORS	Sezer Bağcan (Arranger) Yılmaz Karayalım (Tonmaister) Ali Sürer (Drums) Ahmet Kaya (Bağlama) Çınar Apay (Flute) Ekrem Bektaş (Bass guitar) Celal Akatlar (Obua) Orhan Topçuoğlu (Timpani) İstanbul Devlet Senfoni Orkestrası (Strings)
STUDIO	Değişim

No	SONG NAME and the FIRST LINE of LYRICS	LYRICS BY	MUSIC BY
1	**AMENNA (AGREED)** Yaşayanlar bir gün ölür	H. Hüseyin Korkmazgil	Ahmet Kaya
2	**ÖYLE BİR YERDEYİM Kİ (I'M IN SUCH A PLACE THAT)** Öyle bir yerdeyim ki	H. Hüseyin Korkmazgil	Ahmet Kaya
3	**ACILARA TUTUNMAK (HOLDING ON PAINS)** Acı çekmek özgürlükse	H. Hüseyin Korkmazgil	Ahmet Kaya
4	**YUSUF YUSUF** Anamın karnında bir sancı var	Enver Gökçe	Ahmet Kaya
5	**GAYRİ GİDER OLDUM (I'M ABOUT TO GO)** Gayri gider oldum kardaşlar	Enver Gökçe	Ahmet Kaya
6	**KADINLAR (WOMEN)** Üç etekli, ak poşulu, türkü bakışlı	H. Hüseyin Korkmazgil	Ahmet Kaya
7	**MACERA (ADEENTURE)** Küçücüktüm oltayı attım denize	Orhan Veli	Ahmet Kaya
8	**NEDEN (WHY*)** Bir adım, bir adım, üç adımda biter	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
9	**BU DERT BENİ ADAM EDER (THIS TROUBLE WOULD MAKE ME A MAN)** Eğri büğrü bakar oldum	Ataol Behramoğlu	Ahmet Kaya
10	**GÜZEL GÜNLER (GOOD DAYS)** Dalgındım dağlar gibi	H. Hüseyin Korkmazgil	Ahmet Kaya
11	**SİVASTOPOL MARŞI (SEVASTPOL ANTHEM)** Sivastopol önünde yatan gemiler	Anonim	Anonim
12	**ORTADOĞU (MIDDLE EAST)** Yarın yine yapraklar canım oy	H. Hüseyin Korkmazgil	Anonim

Figure A.2: *Acılara Tutunmak* album credits.

TITLE	**ŞAFAK TÜRKÜSÜ (BALLAD OF DAWN)**
PRODUCTION DATE	May, 1986
PRODUCING COMPANY	TAÇ PLAK (1986 - 2007) - GAM MÜZİK (2007 - ...)
FORMS	Cassette (1986) - CD (1993) - LP (2017)
CONTRIBUTORS	Oğuz Abadan (Arrangement, guitar, bass guitar)) Kerem Görsev (Keys) Erdem Gigin (Percussion) Ahmet Kaya (Bağlama) Celal Kara (Flute)
STUDIO	Pitaş

No	SONG NAME and the FIRST LINE of LYRICS	LYRICS BY	MUSIC BY
1	**ŞAFAK TÜRKÜSÜ (BALLAD OF DAWN)** Beni burada arama anne	Nevzat Çelik	Ahmet Kaya
2	**KİMDİ BUNLAR (WHO WERE THEY?)** Ne çıramız ne lambamız	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
3	**TUTUŞUR DİZELERİM (MY LINES ON FIRE)** Yiğidim yiğt olmasına ya	Nevzat Çelik	Ahmet Kaya
4	**GELECEĞİM (I'LL COME)** Geçici ayrılık benimkisi	Nevzat Çelik	Ahmet Kaya
5	**HARAMİLER(THIEVES)** Yel eser yücelerden	H. Hüseyin Korkmazgil	Ahmet Kaya
6	**SEL DAĞ (FLOOD MOUNTAIN)** Bu hasretlik kalır gitmez tenimde	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
7	**KORE DAĞLARI (KOREAN MOUNTAINS)** Yol parası veremedim diye	Enver Gökçe	Ahmet Kaya
8	**ZEYTİN KARASI (OLIVE BLACK)** Gül diyorum, yoksul acıların gölgesinde	Nevzat Çelik	Ahmet Kaya
9	**HAYDİ GİT (OFF YOU GO)** Haydi git güle güle sana	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
10	**POTPORİ (MEDLEY-FACTORY GIRL)** Bir mavi otobüs gelirdi	B.Ayanoğlu/A.Kaya	B.Ayanoğlu/A.Kaya
11	**HAYDİ GÜL (COME ON SMILE)** Gel gör beni gör içerden bak ne haldeyim	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya

Figure A.3: *Şafak Türküsü* album credits.

TITLE	**AN GELİR (THE MOMENT COMES)**
PRODUCTION DATE	December, 1986
PRODUCING COMPANY	TAÇ PLAK (1986 - 2007) - GAM MÜZİK (2007 - ...)
FOMRS	Cassette (1986) - CD (1993) - LP (2017)
CONTRIBUTORS	Osman İşmen (Arrangement) Cezmi Başeğmez (Drums) İsmail Soyberk (Bass guitar) Erdem Sökmen (Guitar) Ercan Irmak (Ney) Çetin Akdeniz (Bağlama) Celal Kara (Flute)
STUDIO	Türküola

No	SONG NAME and the FIRST LINE OF LYRICS	LYRICS BY	MUSIC BY
1	**AN GELİR (THE MOMENT COMES)** An gelir paldır küldür yıkılır bulutlar	Attila İlhan	Ahmet Kaya
2	**BÜYÜDÜN BEBEĞİM (YOU'VE GROWN UP MY BABY)** Aklın ermez mahpusluğa	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
3	**LİLİ MARLEN TÜRKÜSÜ (BALLAD FOR LİLİ MARLEN)** Akşam olur mektuplar hasretlik söyler	Attila İlhan	Ahmet Kaya
4	**ÇİĞDEM ÇİÇEK (CROCUS FLOWER)** Aylar oldu yıllar oldu	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
5	**TEZKERE (MILITARY DRAFT)** Ayın altında kağıtlar gidiyordu	Nazım Hikmet Ran	Ruhi Su
6	**METRİSİN ÖNÜNDE (IN FRONT OF METRİS)** Metrisin önünde durdum	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
7	**ÜŞÜR ÖLÜM BİLE (EVEN THE DEATH FEELS COLD)** Bir ormanda tutup onu bağladılar ağaca	Ülkü Tamer	Ahmet Kaya
8	**SEN İNSANSIN (YOU'RE HUMAN)** Yangınlar alevinden geçip de gelen dost	Attila İlhan	Ahmet Kaya
9	**ŞEYH BEDRETTİN (SHEIKH BEDREDDIN)** Yağmur çiseliyor Serezin esnaf çarşısında	Nazım Hikmet Ran	Ruhi Su
10	**NEYLEYİM (WHAT WOULD I DO?)** Canım benim güzel annem	Nevzat Çelik	Ahmet Kaya
11	**HALAY HAVASI (HALAY MOOD)** Gökte bulut yerde ay	H. Hüseyin Korkmazgil	Ahmet Kaya

Figure A.4: *An Gelir* album credits.

TITLE	**YORGUN DEMOKRAT (TIRED DEMOCRAT)**
RELEASE DATE	Kasım 1987
PRODUCING COMPANY	TAÇ PLAK (1987 - 2007) - GAM MÜZİK (2007 - ..
FORMS	Cassette/LP (1987) - CD (1993) - LP (2018)
CONTRIBUTORS	Osman İşmen (Arranger) Cüneyt Sarvazlar (Tonmaister) İsmail Soyberk (Bass g.) Erdem Sökmen (Guitar) Ercan Irmak (Ney) Çetin Akdeniz (Bağlama) Zafer Dalgıç (Bağlama) Güray Hafiftaş (Bağlama) İsmail Berker (Bağlama) Murat Aslan (Darbuka) İlyas Tetik (Violin) Erdinç Şenyaylar (Percussion) Mehmet Akatay (Percussion) Deniz Selman (Mey) İstanbul Devlet Senfoni Orkestrası (Strings)
STUDIO	Türküola

No	SONG NAME and the FIRST LINE OF LYRICS	LYRICS BY	MUSIC BY
1	**HANİ BENİM GENÇLİĞİM (WHERE IS MY YOUTH?)** Hani benim sevincim nerde	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya
2	**(MOUNTAIN FIRE ON YOUR FOREHEAD)** Alnını dağ ateşiyle ısıtan dostum	Arkadaş Z.Özger	Ahmet Kaya
3	**YORGUN DEMOKRAT (TIRED DEMOCRAT)** Karanlık yollardan geçtik	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya
4	**KILIÇ BALIĞININ ÖYKÜSÜ (STORY OF THE SWORDFISH** Bu bir kılıç balığının öyküsü	Halim Şefik Güzelson	Ruhi Su
5	**HAÇAN ÖLESİM GELİR (I'D LIKE TO DIE)** Haçan demir dökende ateş yiyesim gelir	Attila İlhan	Ahmet Kaya
6	**TUT Kİ GECEDİR (SAY, IT'S NIGHT)** Tut ki gecedir, karanlık sıvaşır ellerine	Attila İlhan	Ahmet Kaya
7	**YÜREĞİM KANIYOR (MY HEART IS BLEEDING)** Sakin göllerin kuğusuyduk	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya
8	**KATLİME FERMAN (MY DEATH SENTENCE)** Bir yürüyüş eylediler sabahtan	Enver Gökçe	Ahmet Kaya
9	**YAŞAMADIN SEN (YOU DID'T LIVE)** Sensiz geçmiyor bu günler biliyor musun	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
10	**BİR VEDA HAVASI (A FAREWELL AIR)** Vakit tamam seni terk ediyorum	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya
11	**BU GALA DAŞLI GALA (STONE CASTLE)** Dağlar acem düşende	Anonim	Anonim

Figure A.5: *Yorgun Demokrat* album credits.

TITLE	**BAŞKALDIRIYORUM (I REVOLT)**
RELEASE DATE	August,1988
PRODUCTION COMPANY	BARIŞ MÜZİK (1988 - 2013) - GAM MÜZİK (20013 - ..
FORMS	Kaset (1988) - CD (1994) - LP (2018)
CONTRIBUTORS	Osman İşmen (Arrangement) Sıtkı Acim (Tonmaister) İsmail Soyberk (Bass guitar) Erdem Sökmen (Guitar) Ercan Irmak (Ney) Çetin Akdeniz (Bağlama) Zafer Dalgıç (Bağlama) Güray Hafiftaş (Bağlama) İsmail Berker (Bağlama) Murat Aslan (Darbuka) İlyas Tetik (Violin) Erdinç Şenyaylar (Percussion) Mehmet Akatay (Percussion) Deniz Selman (Mey) İstanbul Devlet Senfoni Orkestrası (Strings)
STUDIO	Türküola

No	SONG NAME and the FIRST LINE OF LYRICS	LYRICS BY	MUSIC BY
1	**BENİ TARİHLE YARGILA (JUDGE ME WITH HISTORY)** Titrek bir mum alevinin havaya bıraktığı	Ersin Ergün Keleş	Ahmet Kaya
2	**BAŞKALDIRIYORUM (I REVOLT)** Cevap veriyorum, eli böğrunde analardan	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya
3	**ACI NİNNİ (BITTER LULLABY)** Uyusun ay büyüsün	Attila İlhan	Ahmet Kaya
4	**İÇERDEN ÇIKAN ADAM (THE MAN WHO CAME FROM PRISON)** İçerden çıkacak birazdan adam	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya
5	**HERKES KENDİ İŞİNE (MIND YOUR OWN BUSINESS)** Dağlar bize düz olur mu	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
6	**GÜL DİKENİ (ROSE THORN)** Uçakları ne edeyim, gökkuşağı gönder	Ülkü Tamer	Ahmet Kaya
7	**SORGUCULAR (EXAMINERS)** Kimileri hep suçluyor, kimileri sorguluyor	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
8	**KORU KENDİNİ (PROTECT YOURSELF)** Kaldırınca tabancasını nişan almak için	A.Kadir	Ahmet Kaya
9	**UÇUN KUŞLAR UÇUN (FLY BIRDS, FLY)** Uçun kuşlar uçun doğduğum yere	Rıza T. Bölükbaşı	Ahmet Kaya
10	**DENİZİN ARDI ÖZGÜRLÜK (FREEDOM BEYOND THE SEA)** Ne demeli şimdi bir çiğdemin	Nihat Behram	Ahmet Kaya

Figure A.6: *Başkaldırıyorum* album credits.

TITLE	**AHMET KAYA RESİTALLERİ - 1 (RECITALS 1)**
RELEASE DATE	
PRODUCING COMPANY	TAÇ PLAK (1989 - 2007) - GAM MÜZİK (2007 - ...)
FORMS	Cassette (1989) - CD (1993)
CONTRIBUTORS	Ahmet Kaya (Bağlama)

No	SONG NAME and the FIRST LINE OF LYRICS	LYRICS BY	MUSIC BY
1	**ÖNCE DİŞLERİMİZ DÖKÜLDÜ-LİLİ MARLEN TÜRKÜSÜ** Önce dişlerimiz döküldü	Anonim / Attila İlhan	Ahmet Kaya
2	**ODAM KİREÇTİR BENİM** Odam kireçtir benim	Anonim	Anonim
3	**AĞLAMA BEBEĞİM** Ağlama bebek ağlama sen de	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
4	**KARA YILAN** Kara yılan der ki harbe oturak	Anonim	Anonim
5	**AMENNA** Yaşayanlar bir gün ölür	H. Hüseyin Korkmazgil	Ahmet Kaya
6	**HANİ BENİM GENÇLİĞİM** Hani benim sevincim nerde	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya
7	**GEÇMİYOR GÜNLER** Burda çiçekler açmıyor	Sabahattin Ali	Ahmet Kaya
8	**KATLİME FERMAN** Bir yürüyüş eylediler sabahtan	Enver Gökçe	Ahmet Kaya
9	**ŞAFAK TÜRKÜSÜ** Beni burada arama anne	Nevzat Çelik	Ahmet Kaya
10	**DERSİM DÖRT DAĞ İÇİNDE** Dersim dört dağ içinde	Anonim	Anonim
11	**YÜREĞİM KANIYOR** Sakin göllerin kuğusuyduk	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya
12	**METRİSİN ÖNÜNDE** Metrisin önünde durdum	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
13	**ACILARA TUTUNMAK** Acı çekmek özgürlükse	H. Hüseyin Korkmazgil	Ahmet Kaya
14	**BACALAR / KARA TOPRAK (MAMOŞ)** Bizim evin bacaları aman aman	Anonim	Anonim
15	**KADINLAR** Üç etekli, ak poşulu, türkü bakışlı	H. Hüseyin Korkmazgil	Ahmet Kaya

Figure A.7: *Ahmet Kaya Resitalleri-1* album credits.

TITLE	**İYİMSER BİR GÜL (AN OPTIMISTIC ROSE)**
RELEASE DATE	November, 1989
PRODUCING COMPANY	BARIŞ MÜZİK
FORMS	Kaset (1989) - CD (1994) LP (2016)
CONTRIBUTORS	Osman İşmen (Arranger)
STUDIO	Arı Yapım

No	SONG NAME and the FIRST LINE OF LYRICS	LYRICS BY	MUSIC BY
1	**ADI BAHTİYAR (HIS NAME IS BAHTİYAR)** Geçiyor önümden sirenler içinde	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya
2	**İYİMSER BİR GÜL (AN OPTIMISTIC ROSE)** Uyandım seni düşündüm	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya
3	**BİRAZDAN KUDURUR DENİZ (SEA WILL GO MAD SOON)** Birazdan kudurur deniz	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya
4	**BU YALNIZLIK BENİM (THIS LONELINESS IS MINE)** Sana birgün bu mektubum ulaşır	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya
5	**ÇEK MUSTAFA ÇEK (DRINK MUSTAFA, DRINK)** Genç kadınları kültürümüzle etkiledikten	P.Shimose/A.Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
6	**EVLERİN ÖNÜ (IN FRONT OF THIER HOUSE)** Evlerin önü mersin	Anonim	Anonim
7	**DOĞUM GÜNÜ (BIRTHDAY)** İnsanların yüzlerini göremiyorum	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
8	**KAÇAK VE ANNE (FUGITIVE AND MOTHER)** Uçtum ateş üstüne dağlansın diye sızım	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya
9	**KARDELENLER AÇINCA (WHEN SNOWDROPS BLOSSOM)** Bayrakları göndere çeken çocuklar	O.Kotan/Y.Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya
10	**KAÇAKÇI KURBAN (SMUGLLER VICTOM)** Lele kurban ben olayım	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya
11	**YOLLARINA BAKA BAKA (LOOKING FOR YOUR WAYS)** Beni attın ay kız ataşa	Anonim	Anonim
12	**AMANIN MİNNOŞ (OH, MY MİNNOŞ (SWEETIE))** Dağda keklik avlarım	Fethi Perillioğlu	Fethi Perillioğlu

Figure A.8: *İyimser Bir Gül* album credits.

TITLE	**AHMET KAYA RESİTALLERİ - 2 (RECITALS 2)**
RELEASE DATE	May, 1990
PRODUCING COMPANY	TAÇ PLAK (1990 - 2007) - GAM MÜZİK (2007 - ...)
FORMS	Cassette / CD (1990)
CONTRIBUTORS	Ahmet Kaya (Bağlama) Kemal Cankaya (Tonmaister)

No	SONG NAME and the FIRST LINE OF LYRICS	LYRICS BY	MUSIC BY
1	**ÖLÜREM KARDAŞ** Mahsus mahal dedikleri zindanda	Ruhi Su	Ruhi Su
2	**DAĞLARDA KAR OLSAYDIM** Şu dağlarda kar olsaydım, olsaydım	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Yusuf Hayaloğlu
3	**ADI BAHTİYAR** Geçiyor önümden sirenler içinde	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya
4	**YEMEN TÜRKÜSÜ** Havada bulut yok, bu ne dumandır	Anonim	Anonim
5	**TURNA SEMAHI** Sen nazlı ceylana benzersin turnam	Aşık Daimi	Aşık Daimi
6	**DOĞUM GÜNÜ** İnsanların yüzlerini göremiyorum	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
7	**DİYARBAKIR TÜRKÜSÜ** Diyarbakır etrafında tanklar var	Ahmet Kaya	Celal Güzelses
8	**HEY GÖKLERE** Ey göklere duman vurmuş dağlar hey	F.Hüsnü Dağlarca	Tahsin İncirci
9	**DEĞİRMEN BAŞINDA** Değirmen başında vurdular beni	Anonim	Anonim
10	**DUMAN ÇÖKMÜŞ MUNZURA** Dersimliler mavzerleri türkü söyler	Abuzer Karakoç	Abuzer Karakoç
11	**NE YANDASIN** Sürüler içinde sürmeli koyun	Anonim	Anonim
12	**BAŞKALDIRIYORUM** Cevap veriyorum, eli böğrunde analardan	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya
13	**HERKES KENDİ İŞİNE** Dağlar bize düz olur mu	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
14	**ÜŞÜR ÖLÜM BİLE** Bir ormanda tutup onu bağladılar ağaca	Ülkü Tamer	Ahmet Kaya
15	**HALAY HAVASI** Gökte bulut yerde ay	H.Hüseyin Korkmazgil	Ahmet Kaya
16	**GAYRİ GİDER OLDUM** Gayri gider oldum kardaşlar	Enver Gökçe	Ahmet Kaya

Figure A.9: *Ahmet Kaya Resitalleri-2* album credits.

TITLE	**SEVGİ DUVARI (THE WALL OF LOVE)**
RELEASE DATE	October, 1990
PRODUCING COMPANY	BARIŞ MÜZİK
FORMS	Cassette (1990) - CD (1994) - LP (2016)
CONTRIBUTORS	Ahmet Koç (Music director) Ahmet Kaya (Arranger) İhsan Apça (Tonmaister)
STUDIO	Melki

No	SONG NAME and the FIRST LINE OF LYRICS	LYRICS BY	MUSIC BY
1	**DARDAYIM (I'M IN DIRE STRAITS)** Dardayım yalanım yok	A.Kaya / A.Erhan	Ahmet Kaya
2	**EYLÜL'E İSYAN GİBİ (AS A REBELLION AGAINST SEPTEMBER)** Sen betonlar içinde ben senin özleminde	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
3	**SEVGİ DUVARI (THE WALL OF LOVE)** Sen miydin o yalnızlığım mıydı yoksa	Can Yücel	Ahmet Kaya
4	**KENDİNE İYİ BAK (TAKE CARE OF YOURSELF)** Ne sen Leylasın ne de ben Mecnun	Ali Çınar	Ahmet Kaya
5	**GAŞ GABAH (HOW MANY MORNINGS?)** Gaş gabaran yerde gedur	Anonim	Anonim
6	**KARAR VERMEK ZOR (IT'S HARD TO DECIDE)** Malatya'dan çıktım yola, yollar yanıyor	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
7	**ŞİDDET (VIOLENCE)** Ya dinle, ya dinle ya dinle ya da git	H. Hüseyin Korkmazgil	M.Halef / A. Kaya
8	**HEP SONRADAN (ALWAYS AFTERWARDS)** Yan yana geçen geceler	Ali Çınar	Ahmet Kaya
9	**ŞİİRE GAZELE (TO THE POEM AND GAZEL)** Senin eşkin meni düşürdü dile	Anonim	Anonim
10	**DORUKLARA SEVDALANDIM (I'M IN LOVE WITH THE PEAKS)** Filiz filiz harelendim dağlara uymak için	Nihat Behram	Ahmet Kaya

Figure A.10: *Sevgi Duvarı* album credits.

TITLE	**BAŞIM BELADA (I'M IN TROUBLE)**
RELEASE DATE	August, 1991
PRODUCING COMPANY	BARIŞ MÜZİK
FORMS	Cassette (1990) - CD (1994) - LP (2016)
CONTRIBUTORS	Osman İşmen (Arranger) Sıtkı Acim (Tonmaister)
STUDIO	Arı Yapım

No	SONG NAME and the FIRST LINE OF LYRICS	LYRICS BY	MUSIC BY
1	**BAŞIM BELADA (I'M IN TROUBLE)** Bugün düşünemeyeceğin kadar	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya
2	**TEZGAHTAR NEBAHAT (NEBAHAT, THE SALES CLERK)** Tezgahtar bir kızdı o	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya
3	**HİÇBİR ŞEYİMSİN (YOU'RE MY NOTHING)** Sen benim hiçbir şeyimsin	Attila İlhan	Ahmet Kaya
4	**KALAN KALIR (THE ONE WHO STAYS, STAYS)** Vur sırtına dostun olan, vur sırtına	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya
5	**BİR ACAYİP ADAM (A WEIRD MAN)** Suphi, Bir acayip adam	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya
6	**ENTEL MAGANDA (HIGHBROW LOUT)** Piposu ağız kenarında	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya
7	**AYRILIĞIN HEDİYESİ (GIFT FOR SEPARATION)** Şimdi saat sensizliğin ertesi	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya
8	**YANGIN GECESİ (NIGHT OF FIRE)** Yangın gecesinde giyinmiştim	Attila İlhan	Ahmet Kaya
9	**O VAHŞİ AT (THAT WILD HORSE)** Bizi güllerin iklimi tüketti	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya
10	**GEL HAYDİ GEL (COME ON)** Güller solmadan önce gel	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
11	**HASRETİNDEN PRANGALAR ESKİTTİM** Arda arda bilmem kaç zemheri	Ahmed Arif	Ahmet Kaya
12	**OY HAVAR** Yangınlar, kahpe fakları	Ahmed Arif	Ahmet Kaya

Figure A.11: *Başım Belada* album credits.

TITLE	**DOKUNMA YANARSIN (DON'T TOUCH OR YOU'LL BURN))**
RELEASE DATE	July, 1992
PRODUCTION COMPANY	TEMPA/FONEKS (1992 - 2002) - BARIŞ MÜZİK (2002 - 2013) GAM MÜZİK (2013 - ...)
FORMS	Cassette/CD
CONTRIBUTORS	Osman İşmen (Arranger) Sıtkı Acim, Kemal Cankaya (Tonmaister) Çetin Akdeniz (Bağlama) Yolcu Bilginç (Bağlama) Birol Yaylı (Tambur) Ercan Irmak (Ney, Zurna)
STUDIO	Arı Yapım

No	SONG NAME and the FIRST LINE OF LYRICS	LYRICS BY	MUSIC BY
1	**İÇİMDE ÖLEN BİRİ (SOMEONE WHO DIES ON MY SIDE)** Bana bir şeyler anlat	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
2	**DOKUNMA YANARSIN(DON'T TOUCH OR YOU'LL BURN)** Çocukluğum çıraklıkta geçti	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya
3	**TIKA BASA PASTIRMA 8CCHOKE-FULL PASTRAMI)** Yokluğunun nedeni alfasilindir	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
4	**BÖYLE BİR SEVMEK (LOVING LIKE THIS)** Ne kadınlar sevdim zaten yoktular	Attila İlhan	Ahmet Kaya
5	**BİR ANKA KUŞU (A PHONIX)** Yüzlerce soğuk namlu	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya
6	**RİNNA RİNNAN NAY** Melengecin dalında çifte sığırcık	Attila İlhan	Ahmet Kaya
7	**BİZ ÜÇ KİŞİYDİK (WE WERE THREE PEOPLE)** Biz üç kişiydik	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya
8	**SÜRGÜN ACISI (PAIN OF EXILE)** Tarifi imkansız acılar içindeyim	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
9	**MERHABA (HELLO)** Yağmur yağsın isterdim bu sabah	A.Hülya Özzümrüt	Ahmet Kaya
10	**KENAR MAHALLELEİ (GHETTO GUY)** Bir kenar mahalleliyim	Süha Tuğtepe	Ahmet Kaya
11	**NEVROZ ATEŞİ (NEVROZ FIRE)** Bir acemi düşte gördüm	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
12	**BİR MİNİK KIZ ÇOCUĞU (A LITTLE GIRL)** Ona her gün rastlardım	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya

Figure A.12: *Dokunma Yanarsın* album credits.

TITLE	**TEDİRGİN (UNEASY)**
RELEASE DATE	April, 1993
PRODUCING COMPANY	RAKS MÜZİK (1993 - 2009) - GAM MÜZİK (2009 - ...)
FORMS	Cassette/CD
CONTRIBUTORS	Osman İşmen (Arranger) Sıtkı Acim (Tonmaister) Çetin Akdeniz (Bağlama) İsmail Derker (Bağlama) Güray Hafiftaş (Bağlama) Ercan Irmak (Ney, Zurna) İsmail Soyberk (Bass g.) Ercan Irmak (Ney, Zurna) Murat Aslan (Darbuka) İlyas Tetik (Oud, Violin) Erdinç Şenyaylar (Guitar, Bouzuki) Birol Yayla (Tambur)
STRUDIO	Arı Yapım

No	SONG NAME and the FIRST LINE OF LYRICS	LYRICS BY	MUSIC BY
1	**MUNZURLU (MAN FROM MUNZUR)** Munzurdan bir kuşun teki	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
2	**TEDİRGİN** Sarı sıcak yazlar uzak	Ali Çınar	Ahmet Kaya
3	**MAHUR BESTE (A COMPOSTION IN MAHUR MAKAM)** Şenlik dağıldı bir acı yel kaldı bahçede	Attila İlhan	Ahmet Kaya
4	**LAYLA** Saçların savrulur türkülerime	Ali Çınar	Ahmet Kaya
5	**GREV (DİLEKÇE) (STRIKE)** Oy bilesin ki ben ha	Attila İlhan	Ahmet Kaya
6	**DERİN BİR AH ÇEKTİM (I HEAVED A DEEP SIGH)** Derin bir ah çektin içim yandı	A.Kaya / A.Çınar	Ahmet Kaya
7	**YAZAMADIM (I COULD'NT WRITE)** Uzak geçen baharları	Ali Çınar	Ahmet Kaya
8	**YALANCI AYRILIK (A FALSE SEPARATION)** Yoksun umurumda bile değil	Seda Akay	Ahmet Kaya
9	**SEVEMEZSİN(YOU CANNOT LOVE)** Deli dolu bir akşam vakit ayrılık	Ali Çınar	Ahmet Kaya
10	**AH!..** Yüzünün yarısı göz kadife yansımalı	Attila İlhan	Ahmet Kaya
11	**ELEKTRO ŞOK (ELECTROSHOCK)** Çocuksu korkuları senle bastırdım	Ali Çınar	Ahmet Kaya

Figure A.13: *Tedirgin* album credits.

TITLE	**ŞARKILARIM DAĞLARA (MY SONGS ARE FOR THE MOUNTAINS)**
RELEASE DATE	May, 1994
PRODUCING COMPANY	RAKS MÜZİK (1994 - 2009) - GAM MÜZİK (2009 - ...)
FORMS	Cassette/CD
CONTRIBUTORS	Osman İşmen (Arranger) Sıtkı Acim (Tonmaister) Çetin Akdeniz (Bağlama) İsmail Derker (Bağlama) Güray Hafiftaş (Bağlama) Ercan Irmak (Ney, Zurna) İsmail Soyberk (Bass g.) Ercan Irmak (Ney, Zurna) Murat Aslan (Darbuka) İlyas Tetik (Oud, Violin) Erdinç Şenyaylar (Guitar, Bouzuki) Birol Yayla (Tambur)
STUDIO	Arı Yapım

No	SONG NAME and the FIRST LINE OF LYRICS	LYRICS BY	MUSIC BY
1	**KUM GİBİ (LIKE SAND)** Martılar ağlardı çöplüklerde	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
2	**CİNAYET SAATİ (TIME OF MURDER)** Haliçte bir vapuru vurdular dört kişi	Attila İlhan	Ahmet Kaya
3	**GURURLA BAKIYORUM DÜNYA'YA (I LOOK TO THE WORLD WITH PRIDE)** Birer birer, biner biner ölürüz	Orhan Kotan	Ahmet Kaya
4	**AĞLADIKÇA (AS I CRY)** Dağlarda öfkeli başım	Gülten Kaya	Anonim
5	**MAVİ'NİN TÜRKÜSÜ (THE BALLAD OF MAVİ)** Şu dağdaki gezene bak	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
6	**ÖLÜM DÖRTLÜĞÜ (DEATH VERSE)** Ölüm her aklına geldiğinde	Anonim	----
7	**ÖZGÜR ÇAĞRI (FREE CALL)** Sana yalan söyleyemem darılırsın	O.Kotan/A.Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
8	**SABIR KALMADI (OUT OF PATIENCE)** Her şarkının içinde ben seni görürüm	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
9	**YALAN DA OLSA (EVEN IF IT'S A LIE)** Sokak ortasında bir kadın bar-bağırıyor	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
10	**YETER (ENOUGH)** Bilmediğim bir şey söyle bana	Zeynep Talu	Ahmet Kaya
11	**BİZE NE OLDU (WHAT HAPPENED TO US?)** Gece düştüm sokaklara	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
12	**SAZA NİYE GELMEDİN (WHY DIDN'T YOU COME TO SAZ?)** Saza niye gelmedin, söze niye gelmedin	Anonim	Anonim

Figure A.14: *Şarkılarım Dağlara* album credits.

TITLE	**BENİ BUL(FIND ME)**
RELEASE DATE	November, 1995
PRODUCING COMPANY	RAKS MÜZİK (1995 - 2009) - GAM MÜZİK (2009 - ...)
FORMS	Cassette/CD
CONTRIBUTORS	Osman İşmen (Arranger) Sıtkı Acim (Tonmaister) Çetin Akdeniz (Bağlama) Ercan Irmak (Ney, Zurna) Deniz Selman (Ney, Zurna) Halil Karaduman (Kanun) İlyas Tetik (Oud, Violin, Cümbüş)
STUDIO	M.P.S. (Arı Yapım)

No	SONG NAME and the FIRST LINE OF LYRICS	LYRICS BY	MUSIC BY
1	**ARKA MAHALLE (REAR NEIGHBORHOOD)** Ağladım gözyaşlarım döndü denize	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
2	**DEMEDİM Mİ HAYDAR (DIDN' I TELL YOU HAYDAR?)** Biz dağlarda keklik idik	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya
3	**TELGRAFÇI AKİF (AKİF, THE TELGRAPHER)** Hüseynik' ten çıktım şeher yoluna	Anonim	Anonim
4	**BENİ BUL ANNE (FIND ME MOTHER)** Dün gece gördüm düşümde	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
5	**YETİŞ NERDESİN (HELP, WHERE ARE YOU?)** Ne dağlar yıkılır ne de duvarlar	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya
6	**CAN YOLDAŞIM (MY HEARTFELT FRIEND)** Yağmur yağar sel olurum	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
7	**BENİ VUR (SHOOT ME)** Bir ince pusudayım, yolumun üstü engerek	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya
8	**DİYARBAKIR TÜRKÜSÜ (BALLAD OF DİYARBAKIR)** Diyarbakır ortasında vurulmuş uzanırım	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya
9	**SEN YANMA DİYE (İLAHİ) (FOR YOU DO NOT BURN) (HYMN)** Ben çürümüş bir asayım	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya
10	**SENİN DERDİNDEYİM (I'M WORRIED ABOUT YOU)** Kapıyı vurdun ardımdan	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
11	**KARLI DAĞLAR (SNOWY MOUNTAINS)** Ilgaz dağlarında çocuk doğurdun sen	Salih Güngör	Ahmet Kaya
12	**SÜRYANİ (ASSYRIAN)** Bir alav çıktı kavından	Anonim	Anonim

Figure A.15: *Beni Bul* album credits.

TITLE	**YILDIZLAR VE YAKAMOZ (STARS AND SEA SPARKLES)**
RELEASE DATE	December, 1996
PRODUCING COMPANY	RAKS MÜZİK (1996 - 2009) - GAM MÜZİK (2009 - ...)
FORMS	Cassette/CD
CONTRIBUTORS	Osman İşmen (Arranger) Sıtkı Acim (Tonmaister) Çetin Akdeniz (Bağlama) Ercan Irmak (Ney, Zurna) Mehmet Akatay (Darbuka, Bendir) Halil Karaduman (Kanun) İlyas Tetik (Oud, Violin, Cümbüş) Cezmi Başeğmez (Pecussion) Hasan Cihat Örter (Electic/Acoustic Guitar)
STUDIO	M.P.S. (Arı Yapım)

No	SONG NAME and the FIRST LINE OF LYRICS	LYRICS BY	MUSIC BY
1	**YAKAMOZ (SEA SPARKLES)** Yağmur yağar ıslanırsın var aman	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
2	**GAYRİ GİDER OLDUM (I'M ABOUT TO GO)** Gayri gider oldum kardaşlar	Enver Gökçe	Ahmet Kaya
3	**KADINLAR (WOMEN)** Üç etekli, ak poşulu, türkü bakışlı	H. Hüseyin Korkmazgil	Ahmet Kaya
4	**ACILARA TUTUNMAK (HOLDING ON PAINS)** Acı çekmek özgürlükse	H. Hüseyin Korkmazgil	Ahmet Kaya
5	**ÖYLE BİR YERDEYİM Kİ (I'M IN SUCH A PLACE THAT)** Öyle bir yerdeyim ki	H. Hüseyin Korkmazgil	Ahmet Kaya
6	**AĞLAMA BEBEĞİM (DON'T CRY MY BABY)** Ağlama bebek ağlama sen de	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
7	**TURUNCU GEMİ (ORANGE SHIP)** Gülüm, gülüm, akşam oldu bugün yine	Gülten Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
8	**SUSKUN (THE SILENT)** Rüya bütün çektiğimiz	Ahmed Arif	Ahmet Kaya
9	**BEN BENİ (ME, MYSELF AND I)** Seyyah oldum Pazar Pazar dolaştım	Mahzuni Şerif	Mahzuni Şerif
10	**KARANLIKTA (IN THE DARK)** Akşam olur karanlıklar çökende	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
11	**KARA YAZI (BLACK DESTINY)** Geçmedi yare sözümüz	Sabahattin Ali	Ahmet Kaya
12	**ŞAFAK TÜRKÜSÜ (BALLAD OF DAWN)** Beni burada arama anne	Nevzat Çelik	Ahmet Kaya

Figure A.16: *Yıldızlar ve Yakamoz* album credits.

TITLE	**DOSTA DÜŞMANA KARŞI (AGAINST FRIEND AND FOE)**
RELEASE DATE	Mach, 1998
PRODUCING COMPANY	RAKS MÜZİK (1998 - 2009) - GAM MÜZİK (2009 - ...)
FORMS	Cassette/CD
CONTRIBUTORS	Osman İşmen, İlker Yurtcan (Arrangers) Hakan Gürdöl, Murat Küçük (Tonmaister) Çetin Akdeniz (Bağlama) Ercan Irmak, Deniz Selman (Ney, Zurna) Mehmet Akatay (Darbuka, Bendir) Halil Karaduman (Kanun) İlyas Tetik (Oud, Violin, Cümbüş) Hasan Cihat Örter (Electric/Acoustic Guitar)
STUDIO	GAK

No	SONG NAME and the FIRST LINE OF LYRICS	LYRICS BY	MUSIC BY
1	**GİDERİM (I'D LEAVE)** Artık seninle duramamam	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya
2	**ADI YILMAZ (HIS NAME IS YILMAZ)** Dalyan gibi bir çocuktu	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya
3	**NEREDEN BİLECEKSİNİZ (HOW WOULD YOU KONOW?)** Üstüm başım toz içinde	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya
4	**DOST (FRIEND)** Benim sevdalarım yeni filizlenir	Hüseyin Karakuş	Hüseyin Karakuş
5	**BİZE KALAN (WHAT REMAINED TO US)** Bize kalan İnsanlığa bırakmak istediğimiz	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya
6	**FOSSO NEJDAT (NEJDAT, THE FOSSO)** Elinde bir buzdağ şişe	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya
7	**DOSTA DÜŞMANA KARŞI (AGAINST FRIEND AND FOE)** Zindanlardan taşa taşa kar beni	Orhan Kotan	Ahmet Kaya
8	**KORKARIM (I'M IN FEAR)** Gençliğimi kimse bilmez	Gülten Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
9	**SÖYLE (SAY)** Söyle yağmur çamur değmedi yüreğime	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
10	**AY GİDİYOR (THERE S/HE LIVES)** Canım ey evimi başıma yıkıp giden ey	Gülten Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
11	**MİCAN** Martinimin fuları gece geçtim yolları	Anonim	Anonim
12	**YAZMALI GELİN (BRIDE WITH SCARF)** Yazmam yazmalı gelin	Anonim	Abdurrahman Kızılay

Figure A.17: *Dosta Düşmana Karşı* album credits.

TITLE	**HOŞÇAKALIN GÖZÜM (FAREWELL MY DEAR)**
RELEASE DATE	July, 2001
PRODUCING COMPANY	GAM MÜZİK
FORMS	Cassettet/CD
CONTRIBUTORS	Osman İşmen (Arranger) Hakan Gürdöl, Murat Küçük (Tonmaister) Erdem Sökmen (Electric/Acoustik Guitar) Zafer Dalgıç (Bağlama) Ercan Irmak, Deniz Selman (Mey, Ney, Zurna) İstanbul Devlet Senfoni Orkestrası (Strings) Halil Karaduman (Kanun) İlyas Tetik (Oud, Violin, Cümbüş) Hasan Cihat Örter (Fretless Gitar)
STUDIO	GAK

No	SONG NAME and the FIRST LINE OF LYRICS	LYRICS BY	MUSIC BY
1	**SİZ YANMAYIN (SÜRGÜN) (YOU DO NOT BURN) (EXILE)** Ağlama bugünler gelir de geçer babam	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
2	**MEMLEKET HASRETİ (LONGING FOR HOMELAND)** Giderim buralardan, giderim bir gece vakti	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
3	**AL ÖFKEMİ (TAKE MY FURY)** Her sürgünün gözlerine bu sebepten	Gülten Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
4	**TELGRAFIN TELLERİ (TELEGRAPGH WIRES)** Telgrafın tellerine kuşlar mı konar	Anonim	Anonim
5	**YAKARIM GECELERİ (I'LL BURN THE NIGHTS)** Bu aşkın nüshası rüzgarlarda	Yılmaz Odabaşı	Ahmet Kaya
6	**KARWAN (KERVAN) (CARAVAN)** Kani diherikin (Çeşmeler akıyor)	Xoşnav Tilli	Xoşnav Tilli
7	**ADA SAHİLLERİ (COASTLINE OF ISLAND)** Ada sahillerinde bekliyorum	Anonim	Anonim
8	**DİYARBAKIR HASRETİ (LONGING FOR DİYARBAKIR)** Ne Diyarbakır anladı ne de sen	Yılmaz Odabaşı	Ahmet Kaya
9	**HADİ BİZE GİDELİM (LET'S GO TO OUR PLACE)** Yapma bana bu nazı, kırarım şimdi sazı	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya
10	**HOŞÇAKALIN GÖZÜM (FAREWELL MY DEAR)** Nedir bu başımdaki felaket	A.Kaya / G.Kaya	Ahmet Kaya

Figure A.18: *Hoşçakalın Gözüm* album credits.

APPENDIX B: Basic Musical Elements in Ahmet Kaya's Songs (Lifetime Albums).

Song ID	Song name	Lyrics	Music	Arrangement	Lyrical Themes	Time Signature	Key Tone (*Karar*)	Maqamic Sequence *(Dizi)*
Album: Ağlama Bebeğim (1985)								
1	Ağlama Bebeğim	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Sezer Bağcan	Hope, tomorrow, future is socialist	4/4	A sharp	Buselik
2	Kara Yazı	Sebahattin Ali	Ahmet Kaya	Sezer Bağcan	Wicked lover	2/4	A sharp	Kürdî
3	Suskun	Ahmed Arif	Ahmet Kaya	Sezer Bağcan	Longing, jail	2/4	C	Hicaz
4	Geçmiyor Günler	Sebahattin Ali	Ahmet Kaya	Sezer Bağcan	Unending prisonary life	4/4	C	Uşşak
5	Hasretinden Prangalar Eskittim	Ahmed Arif	Ahmet Kaya	Sezer Bağcan	Unending prisonary life, longing for ex-lover, longing for home	4/4-6/8	A sharp	Buselik
6	Kız Kaçıran	Sebahattin Ali	Ahmet Kaya	Sezer Bağcan	Abduction, customs, morals	4/4	C	Uşşak
7	Şahin Gibi	Karacaoğlan	Ahmet Kaya	Sezer Bağcan	Love	free	B	Uşşak
8	Aynı Daldaydık	Nazım Hikmet Ran ("Hasret" şiiri)	Ahmet Kaya	Sezer Bağcan	Unending prisonary life, longing for ex-lover, reproach	4/4	A sharp	Buselik
9	Maviye Çalar Gözlerin	Ahmed Arif	Ahmet Kaya	Sezer Bağcan	Love, breaking up	4/4	A sharp	Kürdî
10	Bırak Beni	(Atilla) A. Damar	Ahmet Kaya	Sezer Bağcan	Desire for freedom, desire to go	4/4	A sharp	Buselik
11	Hikayemiz (Bizim)	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Sezer Bağcan	Nostalgia for the past struggle, hopelessness, defeat	4/4	C	Uşşak
12	Karanlıkta	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Sezer Bağcan	Dark times, pain, yet still hope	4/4	C	Kürdî
13	Kurtuluş Savaşı Destanı	Anonim	Anonim	Sezer Bağcan	Patriotism, fight against invasion	2/4	C	Hicaz
14	Uğurlar Ola	Mehmet Akif Ersoy	Ahmet Kaya	Sezer Bağcan	National struggle	6/8	A sharp	Kürdî
Album: Acılara Tutunmak (1985)								
15	Amenna	Hasan Hüseyin Korkmazgil	Ahmet Kaya	Sezer Bağcan	Hope despite defeat, resistance, future is in socialism	2/4	C	Kürdî
16	Öyle Bir Yerdeyim ki	Hasan Hüseyin Korkmazgil	Ahmet Kaya	Sezer Bağcan	Pain on one side, hope on the other	4/4	C	Kürdî
17	Acılara Tutunmak	Hasan Hüseyin Korkmazgil	Ahmet Kaya	Sezer Bağcan	Unending prisonary life, longing for ex-lover, separation	4/4	C	Buselik
18	Yusuf Yusuf	Enver Gökçe	Ahmet Kaya	Sezer Bağcan	Unending prisonary life	6/8-2/4	C	Buselik
19	Gayri Gider Oldum	Enver Gökçe	Ahmet Kaya	Sezer Bağcan	Forced migration	2/4	??	Kürdî
20	Kadınlar	Hasan Hüseyin Korkmazgil	Ahmet Kaya	Sezer Bağcan	Women in struggle, going up to the mounatins	6/8	C	Kürdî
21	Macera	Orhan Veli	Ahmet Kaya	Sezer Bağcan	Adulthood versus the purity of childhood, life is hopeless	6/8	B	Buselik
22	Neden	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Sezer Bağcan	Being abondened	2/4	C	Buselik
23	Bu Dert Beni Adam Eder	Ataol Behramoğlu	Ahmet Kaya	Sezer Bağcan	Wasted youth, despair	6/8	B flat	Buselik
24	Güzel Günler	Hasan Hüseyin Korkmazgil	Ahmet Kaya	Sezer Bağcan	Looking for good days despite the pain in the past	2/4	C	Buselik
25	Sivastopol Marşı	Anonim	Anonim	Sezer Bağcan	Patriotism	2/4	E flat	Çargâh
26	Ortadoğu	Hasan Hüseyin Korkmazgil	Ahmet Kaya	Sezer Bağcan	There is still hope but we are tired of waiting			

Figure B.1: Basic Musical Elements in Ahmet Kaya's Songs (Lifetime Albums).

Album: Şafak Türküsü (1986)								
27	Şafak Türküsü	Nevzat Çelik	Ahmet Kaya	Oğuz Abadan	A death row inmate's letter to his mother; prison, death, farewell	4/4	B flat	Kürdî
28	Kimdi Bunlar	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Oğuz Abadan	Those who lived honorably but sentenced to death, revolutionaries	2/4 & 7/8	G-C	Buselik-Kürdî (7/8)
29	Tutuşur Dizelerim	Nevzat Çelik	Ahmet Kaya	Oğuz Abadan	Prisonary, death, farewell to mother	2/4	A	Uşşak
30	Geleceğim	Nevzat Çelik	Ahmet Kaya	Oğuz Abadan	Prisonary, death, call for struggle and hope, honorable resistance	2/4	C	Nihavend
31	Haramiler	Hasan Hüseyin Korkmazgil	Ahmet Kaya	Oğuz Abadan	Lament for jailed son	6/8	A	Uşşak
32	Sel Dağ	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Oğuz Abadan	Longing	2/4	C	Kürdî
33	Kore Dağları	Enver Gökçe	Ahmet Kaya	Oğuz Abadan	The story of the oppressed	Free	B flat or A	Hicaz
34	Zeytin Karası	Nevzat Çelik	Ahmet Kaya	Oğuz Abadan	Bitter love, ex-lover	6/8	C	Buselik
35	Haydi Git	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Oğuz Abadan	Prison, longing	2/4	C	Buselik
36	Potpuri (Fabrika Kızı, Cama Çıkma, Fabrika Önü)	B.Ayanoğlu / A.Kaya	B.Ayanoğlu / A.Kaya	Oğuz Abadan	Factory workers, love	4/4-8/8	G-C	Sol Kürdî-Do Buselik
37	Haydi Gül	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Oğuz Abadan	Prisonary, longing	2/4	G-C	Do Buselik
Album: An Gelir (1986)								
38	An Gelir	Atilla İlhan	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Flow of time, everyone will die some day	12/8	A	Buselik
39	Büyüdün Bebeğim	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Prisonary, longing for children, hope to meet again	4/4	A	Buselik
40	Lili Marlen Türküsü	Atilla İlhan	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Fight for freedom, patriotism	4/4	C	Buselik
41	Çiğdem Çiçek	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Longimng for children	6/8	B flat	Hicaz
42	Tezkere	anonim	-	Osman İşmen	National independence war, patriotism	Free	A	Uşşak
43	Metrisin Önünde	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Unending prisonary life	2/4	A	Kürdî
44	Üşür Ölüm Bile	Ülkü Tamer	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Assassination	4/4	C	Kürdî
45	Sen İnsansın	Atilla İlhan	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Human values	4/4	C	Uşşak
46	Şeyh Bedrettin	Şiir : Nazım Hikmet	-	Osman İşmen	Execution of Şeyh Bedrettin	Free	A	Uşşak
47	Neyleyim	Nevzat Çelik	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Cost of struggle, death, mother	6/8	B flat	Buselik
48	Halay Havası	Hasan Hüseyin Korkmazgil	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	A militant captured	6/8	A	Uşşak
Album: Yorgun Demokrat (1987)								
49	Hani Benim Gençliğim	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Jail, lost youth, childood: sharing, struggle, innocence.	4/4	A	Kürdî
50	Alnında Dağ Ateşi	Arkadaş Z.Özger	Ahmet Kaya		Lament for a deceased guerilla	4/4	A	Kürdî
51	Yorgun Demokrat	Yusuf Hayaloğlu - Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Defeatism	12/8	A	Buselik
52	Kılıç Balığının Öyküsü	Şiir : Halim Şefik Güzelson	-	Osman İşmen	Love (a love which is imagery, hopeless, wounded but strong enough to fight for)	Free	A	Buselik
53	Haçan Ölesim Gelir	Atilla İlhan	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Valor, challenge, fight, rebellion	5/8	A	Buselik
54	Unutulmayanlara	Derleme: Ahmet Kaya (Enstr)	-	Osman İşmen	Instrumental	4/4	A	Uşşak
55	Tut ki Gecedir	Atilla İlhan	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Post-coup life, violence, dark streets, betrayal	12/8	A	Buselik
56	Yüreğim Kanıyor	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Defeatism	4/4	A	Kürdî
57	Katlime Ferman	Enver Gökçe	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Lamnet for militants (28-29 April Incidents)	12/8	D	Buselik
58	Yaşamadın Sen	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Prisonary, desperate love	4/4	A	Kürdî

Figure B.1 (continued): Basic Musical Elements in Ahmet Kaya's Songs (Lifetime Albums).

59	Bir Veda Havası	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Separation	4/4	A	Buselik
60	Bu Gala Daşlı Gala	Derleme: Şenel Önaldı	Anonim	Osman İşmen	Longing for lover	6/8	B flat	Buselik
Album: Başkaldırıyorum (1988)								
61	Beni Tarihle Yargıla	Ersin Ergün Keleş	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Farewell letter of an inmate sentenced to death	4/4	C	Buselik
62	Başkaldırıyorum	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Manifest, rebellion	12/8	A	Buselik
63	Acı Ninni	Atilla İlhan	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Lullaby	4/4	C	Hicaz
64	İçeriden Çıkan Adam	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	What the prisoners will encounter when they are discharged	4/4	C	Buselik
65	Herkes Kendi İşine	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Manifest, don't mess with my head	4/4	D flat	Uşşak
66	Gül Dikeni	Ülkü Tamer	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	anti war, peace, fraternity	4/4	C	Buselik
67	Sorgucular	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	manifest, rebellion against betrayal and hypocricy	9/8 (3-2-4)	A	Kürdî
68	Koru Kendini	Georgi Svejin - A. Kadir?	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Prisonary life	4/4	C	Hicaz
69	Uçun Kuşlar Uçun	Rıza Tevfik Bölükbaşı	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Longing for home	4/4	D	Uşşak
70	Denizin Ardı Özgürlük	şiir: Nihat Behram	Derleme: Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Passion for freedom, hope	5/8 & 8/8	A	Buselik
Album: İyimser Bir Gül (1989)								
88	Adı Bahtiyar	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Lament for a deceased guerilla in Diyarbakır Prison	4/4	G	Uşşak
89	İyimser Bir Gül	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Prisonary, longing for love,	4/4	A	Buselik
90	Birazdan Kudurur Deniz	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Life after prison	4/4	A	Kürdî
91	Çek Mustafa Çek	Pedro Shimose & Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Silence, insensitivity and surrender of the academy to the Coup	4/4	A	Buselik
92	Bu Yalnızlık Benim	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Unhappy separation, loneliness	4/4	G	Buselik
93	Evlerinin Önü	Anonim	Anonim	Osman İşmen	Love		A	Buselik
94	Doğum Günü	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Prisonary, longing, lonely birthday	4/4	G	Kürdî
95	Kaçak ve Anne	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Fugitive life after Coup, loneliness, tiredness	4/4	A	Hicaz
96	Kardelenler Açınca	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Civil war, stuggle, fear,	5/8 & 9/8	A	Uşşak
97	Kaçakçı Kurban	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Mountain, fugitive, lament for a smuggler	2/4	A	Uşşak
98	Yollarına Baka Baka	Anonim	Anonim	Osman İşmen	Love, separation	4/4	A	Buselik
99	Amanın Minnoş	Fethi Perilioğlu	Fethi Perilioğlu	Osman İşmen	Love, separation	4/4	D	Hicaz
Album: Sevgi Duvarı (1990)								
116	Dardayım	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Koç; Ahmet Kaya	Fugitive life, homesicknesness	4/4	C	Kürdî
117	Eylül'e İsyan gibi	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Koç; Ahmet Kaya	Longing for comrade, comradeship	2/4	C	Kürdî
118	Sevgi Duvarı	Can Yücel	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Koç; Ahmet Kaya	Loneliness	3/4	A	Buselik
119	Kendine İyi Bak	Ali Çınar	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Koç; Ahmet Kaya	Longing, lover	4/4	C	Buselik
120	Gaş Sabah	Anonim	Anonim	Ahmet Koç; Ahmet Kaya	Unhappy separation, loneliness	6/8	C	Buselik
121	Karar Vermek Zor	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Koç; Ahmet Kaya	Lament, execution, despair	2/4	C	Hicaz
122	Şiddet	Hasan Hüseyin Korkmazgil	Marcel Halef	Ahmet Koç; Ahmet Kaya	Struggle, violence	??	A	Hicaz
123	Hep Sonradan	Ali Çınar	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Koç; Ahmet Kaya	Wrong love	4/4	C	Buselik
124	Şiire Gazele	Anonim	Anonim	Ahmet Koç; Ahmet Kaya	Love	6/8	G	Kürdî
125	Doruklara Sevdalandım	Nihat Behram	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Koç; Ahmet Kaya	Praise for struggle, tiredness, hope	4/4	G	Kürdî

Figure B.1 (continued): Basic Musical Elements in Ahmet Kaya's Songs (Lifetime Albums).

Album: Başım Belada (1991)								
126	Başım Belada	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Fugitive, illegal life	12/8	B	Buselik
127	Tezgahtar Nebahat	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Desire to liberate from existing life condiitons; portrait of a laborer woman	4/4	A	Buselik
128	Hiçbir Şeyimsin	Atilla İlhan	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Unexisting love	4/4	B	Kürdî
129	Kalan Kalır	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Friendship, death, unfidelity	6/8	A	Uşşak
130	Bir Acayip Adam	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Meeting a revolutionary at childhood; portrait of an old revolutionary in bad situation at the present time	2/4	C	Buselik
131	Entel Maganda	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Critism of pseudo-inbtellectuals; portrait	12/8	D	Buselik
132	Ayrılığın Hediyesi	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Separation from unfaitfull woman	4/4	B	Kürdî
133	Yangın Gecesi	Atilla İlhan	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Love	4/4	A	Buselik
134	O Vahşi At	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Time passed so fast, oblivion, disloyalty	4/4	A	Buselik
135	Gel Hadi Gel	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Longing	4/4	B	Buselik
136	Hasretinden Prangalar Eskittim	Ahmed Arif	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Unending prisonary life, longing for ex-lover, longing for home	4/4	B	Buselik
137	Oy Havar	Ahmed Arif	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Love, resistance, rebellion	4/4	A	Uşşak
Album: Dokunma Yanarsın (1992)								
138	İçimde Ölen Biri	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Reproaching for lover, for a friend	4/4	A	Buselik
139	Dokunma Yanarsın	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Mid-age crisis of an ex-revolutionary	2/4	A	Buselik
140	Tıka Basa Pastırma	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Longing for raki	4/4	A	Buselik
141	Böyle Bir Sevmek	Atilla İlhan	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Love	4/4	A	Buselik
142	Bir Anka Kuşu	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	A revolutionary's life	4/4	C	Buselik
143	Rinna Rinnan Nay	Atilla İlhan	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Bad life of an agricultural worker	12/8	A	Uşşak
144	Biz Üç Kişiydik	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Guerilla	4/4	C	Kürdî
145	Sürgün Acısı	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Exile	4/4	G	Buselik
146	Merhaba	A.Hülya Özzümrüt	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Last farewell before execution	4/4	A	Kürdî
147	Kenar Mahalleli	Süha Tuğtepe	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Slum guy	4/4	C	Çargâh
148	Nevroz Ateşi	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Dream for revolution, libreation and meeting with martyrs	12/8	A	Buselik
149	Bir Minik Kız Çocuğu	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Cild worker, work accident	4/4	A	Kürdî
Album: Tedirgin (1993)								
150	Munzurlu	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Longing for homeland	4/4	C	Uşşak
151	Tedirgin	Ali Çınar	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Mood of bandit	4/4	A	Buselik
152	Mahur beste	Atilla İlhan	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Lamnet for losses	4/4	E	Mahur
153	Layla	Ali Çınar	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Mood of bandit	4/4	A	Buselik
154	Grev	Atilla İlhan	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Right to strike	9/8	A	Buselik
155	Derin bir ah çektim	Ali Çınar	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Destiny, unable to meet	4/4	C	Hicaz
156	Yazamadım	Ali Çınar	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Destiny, unable to express oneself	4/4	D	Buselik
157	Yalanci ayrılık	Seda Akay	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Separation, loneliness, love pain	4/4	La	Buselik
158	Sevemezsin	Ali Çınar	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Expected separation, unfaithful lover (that is not proper for a revolutionary who did not wait for him)	4/4	A	Buselik

Figure B.1 (continued): Basic Musical Elements in Ahmet Kaya's Songs (Lifetime Albums).

159	Ah	Atilla İlhan	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Love, desire and praise for a socialist militant woman	4/4	A	Buselik
160	Elektro şok	Ali Çınar	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Prisonary life	4/4	G	Buselik
Album: Şarkılarım Dağlara (1994)								
161	Kum Gibi	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Shared poor life, love, solidarity	4/4	G	Hicaz
162	Cinayet Saati	Atilla İlhan	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Suicide, despair, loneliness, internal inquiry	4/4	A	Buselik
163	Gururla Bakıyorum Dünya'ya	Orhan Kotan	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	We will win even if we pay cost against imperialism	4/4	A	Buselik
164	Ağladıkça	Gülten Kaya	Ara Dinkjian	Osman İşmen	We will win despite the cost	4/4	E	Uşşak
165	Mavi'nin Türküsü	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Lament for those who fell in the war	4/4	D flat	Kürdî
166	Ölüm Dörtlüğü	Anonim	Anonim	Osman İşmen	Let death not intimidate you, don't be afraid, march			
167	Özgür Çağrı	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Call for struggle and reconcilliation	4/4	B	Kürdî
168	Sabır Kalmadı	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Ex-lover	4/4	A	Kürdî
169	Yalan da Olsa	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	False happiness reagrding social problems, despair, yet still hope	4/4	A	Buselik
170	Yeter	Zeynep Talu	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Love	4/4	A	Buselik
171	Bize Ne Oldu	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Ex-lover	4/4	A	Buselik
172	Saza Niye Gelmedin	Anonim	Anonim	Osman İşmen	Unfaithful lover	10/8	D	Uşşak
Album: Beni Bul (1995)								
173	Arka Mahalle	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Unfaitful lover (or country?)	4/4	E	Kürdî
174	Demedim mi Haydar	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Failing to adapt the city life, unrquited life	4/4	A	Hicaz
175	Telgrafçı Akif	Anonim	Anonim	Osman İşmen	Misfortune	10/8	D	Uşşak
176	Beni Bul Anne	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Custody, call for help, Saturday mothers who lost their children	4/4	F sharp	Kürdî
177	Yetiş Nerdesin	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Call for help, longing	10/8	D flat	Uşşak
178	Can Yoldaşım	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Love	4/4	C	Uşşak
179	Beni Vur	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Love, death of a revolutionary/bandit	4/4	D	Buselik
180	Diyarbakır Türküsü	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Death of a guerilla, hope, meeting	4/4	A	Uşşak
181	Sen Yanma Diye (İlahi)	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Destiny, being an Alevi	4/4	B	Uşşak
182	Senin Derdindeyim	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Revoltionary whose struggle is not understood and recognized, love	4/4	B	Uşşak
183	Karlı Dağlar	Salih Güngör	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Love of mother	4/4	B	Uşşak
184	Süryani	Anonim	Anonim	Osman İşmen	Love	10/8	D	Hüseyni
Album: Yıldızlar ve Yakamoz (1996)								
185	Yakamoz	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Despair, supplication, still hope despite darkness	2/4	G	Kürdî
186	Gayrı Gider Oldum	Enver Gökçe	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen			B flat	
187	Kadınlar	Hasan Hüseyin Korkmazgil	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen			C	
188	Acılara Tutunmak	Hasan Hüseyin Korkmazgil	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen			C	
189	Öyle Bir Yerdeyim ki	Hasan Hüseyin Korkmazgil	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen			c	
190	Ağlama Bebeğim	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen			B	
191	Turuncu Gemi	Gülten Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Call for stuggle, paying the cost	4/4	D	Hicaz

Figure B.1 (continued): Basic Musical Elements in Ahmet Kaya's Songs (Lifetime Albums).

192	Ben Beni	Aşık Mahzuni Şerif	Aşık Mahzuni Şerif	Osman İşmen			B flat	
193	Karanlıkta	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen			C	
194	Karayazı	Sebahattin Ali	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen			B	
195	Şafak Türküsü	Nevzat Çelik	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen			B	
Album: Dosta Düşmana Karşı (1998)								
196	Giderim	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen &İlker Yurtcan	Manifest, threat of separation	4/4	G	Kürdî
197	Adı Yılmaz	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen &İlker Yurtcan	Eulogy for the young guerilla	10/8	G	Kürdî
198	Nereden Bileceksiniz	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen &İlker Yurtcan	Living among those who fail to recognize his troubles, disloyalty	4/4	A	Kürdî
199	Dost (deyiş)	Hüseyin Karakuş	Hüseyin Karakuş	Osman İşmen &İlker Yurtcan	Friendship, wisdom related to Alevism	2/4	C	Uşşak
200	Bize Kalan	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen &İlker Yurtcan	People fail to support the struggle, hopelessness, concerns for surviving replaces the dream of a new world	4/4	A	Sabâ (1st part) - Kürdî
201	Fosso Nejdat	Yusuf Hayaloğlu	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen &İlker Yurtcan	Portait of a neighborhood bully (kabadayı)	10/8	C	Kürdî
202	Dosta Düşmana Karşı	Orhan Kotan	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen &İlker Yurtcan	Struggle, hope, costs	6/8	C	Uşşak
203	Korkarım	Gülten Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen &İlker Yurtcan	Exile, unfortunate destiny of revolutionaries	4/4	F sharp	Hicaz
204	Söyle	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen &İlker Yurtcan	Longing	4/4	A	Kürdî
205	Ay Gidiyor	Gülten Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen &İlker Yurtcan	Love, reproach and fear for loss	6/4	C	Hicaz
206	Mican	Anonim	Anonim	Osman İşmen &İlker Yurtcan	Ballad of a bandit	9/8	A	Hicaz
207	Yazmalı Gelin	Abdurrahman Kızılay	Abdurrahman Kızılay	Osman İşmen &İlker Yurtcan	Love	10/8	D	Hüseyni
Album: Hoşçakalın Gözüm (2001)								
208	Siz Yanmayın(Sürgün)	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Reproaching the exile and those who led to exile, desire to return	4/4		Kürdî
209	Memleket Hasreti	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Longing for homeland, exile	4/4		Nihavend
210	Al Öfkemi	Gülten Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Exile, Reproaching those who led to exile	4/4		Kürdî
211	Telgrafın Telleri	Anonim	Anonim	Osman İşmen	Love, being deceived	4/4		Uşşak
212	Yakarım Geceleri	Yılmaz Odabaşı	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Reproaching the unfaithful lover	6/8		Nihavend
213	Karwan(Kervan)	Xoşnav Tilli	Xoşnav Tilli	Osman İşmen	Longing for homeland	4/4		Kürdî
214	Ada Sahilleri	Anonim	Anonim	Osman İşmen	Reproaching the unfaithful lover	4/4		Hicaz
215	Diyarbakır Hasreti	Yılmaz Odabaşı	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Unrequited love	4/4		Nihavend
216	Hadi Bize Gidelim	Ahmet Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Reproaching the spoilt lover	4/4		Kürdî
217	Hoşçakalın Gözüm	Ahmet Kaya&Gülten Kaya	Ahmet Kaya	Osman İşmen	Exile, Reproaching those who led to exile	12/8		Uşşak

Figure B.1 (continued): Basic Musical Elements in Ahmet Kaya's Songs (Lifetime Albums).

APPENDIX C: Full Score '*Giderim'*.

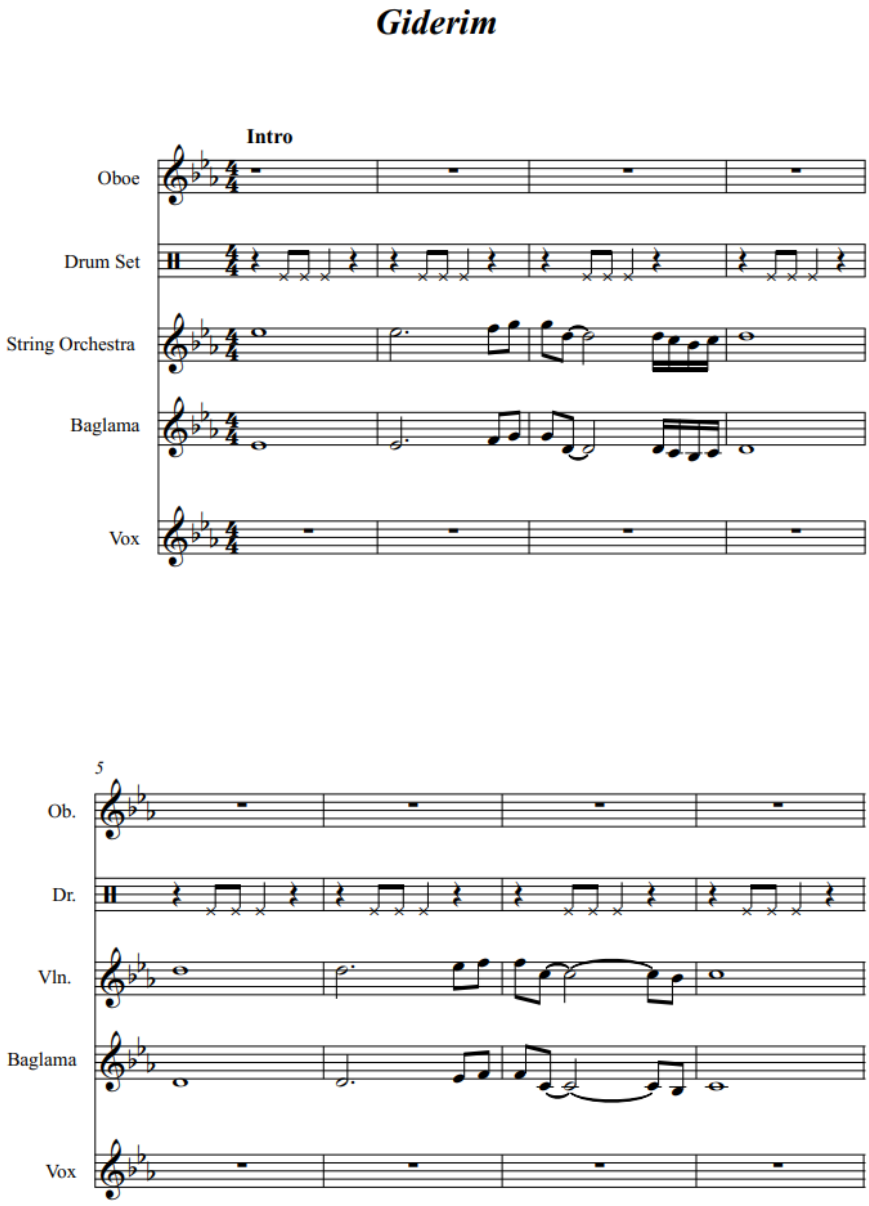

Figure C.1: Full Score '*Giderim'*.

Figure C.1 (continued): Full Score '*Giderim'*.

Figure C.1 (continued): Full Score '*Giderim'*.

Figure C.1 (continued): Full Score '*Giderim'*.

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Figure C.1 (continued): Full Score '*Giderim'*.

Figure C.1 (continued): Full Score '*Giderim'*.

Figure C.1 (continued): Full Score '*Giderim'*.

APPENDIX D: Glossary[67]

Accumulation (in musical accumulation)**:** The term 'accumulation' can be defined as what an individual, a particular group, or section of society keeps, practices, performs, and reproduces in relation to relevant cultures and traditions. In that respect, accumulation is not a passive act of collection. Accumulation is a collection of traditional and cultural elements through a personal or collective lens, in that respect accumulation may differ from or even contradict with the reference tradition and culture. Any given tradition or culture is not adopted as it is but rather combined with elements from other cultures and traditions. Therefore accumulation is a mixed/hybrid collection of several different cultures and traditions. This is of course affiliated with such concepts as identification and sense of belonging. In other words, accumulation helps building one's identification and reinforces the sense of belonging with a reinvented, reimagined relation to the reference culture and tradition.

Acısız arabesk (see *arabesk*): In 1980s, after the military coup, the authorities found *arabesk* non-compliant with the modernist-Kemalist narrative of the Junta and even tried to introduce a sterilised version of it, namely *acısız arabesk* (or arabesk without pain as represented by Yıldırım Gürses and Hakkı Bulut), who tried to replace the monophonic, fatalist music of lower classes and migrants with so-called polyphonic and cheerful melodies with the help of extensive media coverage.

Alaturka, A la Turca (in music)**:** Turkish music, mainly used to refer to Turkish/ Ottoman classical music.

Alevi**:** A religious sect.

Anadolu pop/rock: A musical genre popular in 60s-70s. For more information see Chapter 3.

Arayış müziği**:** A music constantly in search (a term used by Ahmet Kaya to call his music against various other namings such as *devrimci-sol arabesk* used by media writers and some intellectuals).

Âşık**:** A singer-poet and bard accompanying his/her song originally with *bağlama* in Turkic, Azerbaijani, Persian, Armenian, Georgian and Greek cultures as well as the wind instruments such as *balaban* and *qaval*. Traditionally *âşık*s are travelling folk singers and song writers who combine their poetic, musical and performance abilites. For reference works on *âşık* tradition, see Artun (2015) and Başgöz (1986).

Bağlama**:** A stringed musical instrument which belongs to the family of long-necked lutes.

Bar**:** A dance form.

Barak**:** A free air form mostly in Southern region of Anatolia.

Bendir**:** Frame drum with skin usually played by hands.

Bozlak**:** A free air form in Middle Anatolia.

Çağdaş halk müziği**:** Contemporary folk music. A term accepted and widely used by the urban (especially political/protest) musicians and music groups to call their musical

[67] The words, concepts and terms contained in this glossary are given only with their meaning in the context of this thesis. No further or comprehensive explanation is claimed.

style and approach. In this approach, the folk songs are arranged and re-interpreted, and sometimes compositions on folk material come to the agenda, by using Western harmony principles and the related musical techniques, instruments, etc. which were accepted as contemporary.

***Dengbej*:** Kurdish epic folk singer or singing storyteller.

***Devrimci-sol arabesk*:** Lit. revolutionary arabesque or leftist arabesque, both expressions used to call the music of Ahmet Kaya by various circles.

Deyiş: *An Alevi* religious music form.

***Dizi*:** Sequence (see *makam dizisi*).

***Hafif müzik*:** Lit. light music. The term has been used to refer to the Turkish pop music appeared by 1960s.

***Geçiş döneminin geçiş müziği*:** Music of transition in a transitional period (Ahmet Kaya's definition of his music in his earlier period).

***Hüznün müziği*:** Music of grief (a term used by Ahmet Kaya to call the emotional side of his music in his earlier period).

***İlahi*:** Works composed for religious purposes in Turkish mysticism and mosque music, sung by one person or collectively, and sung without instrumental accompaniment. It is composed of poems about divine thoughts expressing the superiority of God, prophet and religious nations as in 'hymnes' (Sözer, 2005, p. 361).

***İnce saz*:** The music of Malatya and Harput-Elazığ region is called as *ince saz* and it differs from other folk songs especially in terms of modal structures (such as *uşşak*, *hüseyni*) and instruments used (instruments such as clarinet, oud, violin instead of *bağlama*). It can be counted as a genre between regional folk music and Turkish classical music. It also owns its hybrid/mixed character to this state of being between these two traditions.

***Kanto*:** A song in *tuluat* (improvisation) theatre sung by a female artist and a dance accompanied by this song. The word *kanto* has passed into Turkish from the Italian work *cantare* (to sing).

***Karşılama*:** A folk dance performed in two series against each other, mostly performed in Balkans, Thrace and Marmara region in Turkey.

Kemençe: A string instrument played with bow used in Turkish classical music.

***Kilam*:** Literally means 'word' and refers to a poetic form adopted for music in Kurdish oral tradition like '*türkü*' in Turkish.

Left-leaning protest music tradition: The term has been used to call the protest music field associated in any way with the leftist movement, culture and thought in Turkey. By avoiding the use of the term 'protest music' as an umbrella musical category and by arguing that there has been a kind of tradition invention/construction here, it was aimed at describing the field as a whole in terms of songs, singers, musical practices as well as discussing the philosophy behind it in terms of key references, sources and approaches.

***Makam dizisi*:** Maqamic sequence. In Turkish music, octets formed by adding a quartet in front of a quintet, or vice versa, are called *diz*is (sequences). The Turkish *dizi* covers 24 unequal intervals, as opposed to the Western 12 equal pitch tampere scales (Sözer, 2005, p. 715).

***Newroz*:** Lit. meaning 'new day' in Kurdish. A spring festive event, celebrated on 21st of March and widespread among various cultures throughout Anatolia and Mesopotamia.

***Ozan*:** Folk singer, bard. In this thesis, *devrimci ozan* is used to refer to the folk singer-song writers or bards with a revolutionary perspective.

***Özgün müzik*:** Lit: original music. An umbrella term to call the music of various music groups that emerged in the protest music domain of 1980s and usually used to call political musics associated with the Left in Turkey.

It is possible to say that the counterpart of revolutionary/protest music in the 1980s was *özgün müzik* in Turkey. We can understand why such a term emerged in the 1980s, when it was not easy to use the terms 'revolutionary' or 'protest' (as discussed briefly in Chapter 2). However, nobody agreed on its definition and scope, and most musicians did not accept it as a category or genre. *Özgün müzik*, although it was a label that was initially used in the market to call the music of Ahmet Kaya as well as other musics with protest character and was not referred to as a genre in music circles, gradually evoked a political attitude and a sound associated with it from the second half of the 1980s. As we will mention shortly, there has been a lot of debate in the press regarding this nomenclature. Although not well accepted by the musicians, listeners liked and used this name for the period. On the other hand, Ahmet Kaya's music, due to its eclectic structure, irregularity, modal and rhythmic character, his singing style, and largely because he deals with themes such as 'pain, grief, death, defeat, betrayal' in his songs, soon begins to be criticized; even names such as *sol-arabesk* (leftist-arabesque) and *devrimci-arabesk* (revolutionary-arabesque) are attached to his music.

There are two words in the word sets *sol-arabesk* and *devrimci-arabesk*: *arabesk* and revolutionary or *arabesk* and left. Usually the meanings of both words are loaded in the word set. Here, along with the meanings attributed to *arabesk*, it is a matter of drawing attention to the 'incompatibility' of these meanings with 'revolutionary' and 'leftist-socialist' values and thus trying to create a perception through subversion / humiliation. And in fact, there is an underlying criticism that Kaya exploits revolutionary values by putting *arabesk* to work both musically and commercially. An important point here is that while there are references to a 'certain culture' associated with *arabesk* (from musicians to listeners, from musical influences to socio-political conditions) in evaluations about *arabesk* music in general, there is a reference to the musician himself here, because this idiom was established consciously to describe Ahmet Kaya's music. With references to the representation of the *arabesk* singers with Kurdish origins, Ahmet Kaya is trying to be humiliated over an 'Eastern' identity knitted with ethnic and class allusions, especially upon his speech and his pronunciation of Turkish language. On the other side of the coin, these word preferences actually tell us about the ideological and political stances of the people who use them, which constitute the main point of criticism on which this thesis rests.

Re-construction: For the purposes of this study, 'reconstruction' is considered a set of efforts to reconnect to existing tradition(s) or elements of tradition(s) and *re*-construct them in line with the general set of values, ideology, and paradigm of, say, the Left. This is generally a romantic approach towards the elements of such tradition and canonize and such elements are sublimated often through a reimagined fashion. The examples include the 'purity,' 'innocence,' 'hardworking,' 'patience,' and even 'pain' of peasants. Exclusion is another important step in the formation of a new

tradition. In that undesired elements are stripped of from the existing tradition and only solicited elements are incorporated to the newly founded tradition.

Tavern (*taverna*): A place where people gather to drink alchol and eat as well such as pub, bar, inn, etc.; hence tavern music is simply the music performed in taverns. While tavern music in Turkey has been performed by Greek musicians since the 1970s, with the 1980s a kind of arabesque music based on the use of keyboard and drum machine begins to be identified with tavern music, whose significant example is Ümit Besen.

***Toplumcu müzik*:** Music with social concerns; music with a socialist perspective (a name used to call various political/protest musics).

***Tulum*:** A wind instrument similar to gaida specific to Black Sea region

Türkü: Generally, the name '*türkü*' is used for all kinds of tunes with lyrics in folk music. Although this term was coined to refer to Turkish folk music, it is used in thşs thesis outside of the ethnic or linguistic associations. "*Türkü* is poetry written in syllabic meter and composed with folk melodies" (Sözer, 2005, p. 716). In other words, *türkü* is a form of verse that is sung with a specific melody, written in syllabic meter and mostly becomes anonymous over time. *Türkü*s consist of main stanzas and the following refrains.According to their rhythmic structure, *türkü*s are divided into two categories: free airs (*uzunhava*) and rhythmic songs (*kırıkhav*a). In free airs, local forms such as *bozlak* (common in Middle Anatolia), *barak* (mostly found in Southern regions) *hoyrat* (in Eastern regions), lament, etc. are seen. In rhythmic ones, it is possible to see local forms such as *halay, deyiş, ilahi, bar, zeybek, karşılama*.

***Zeybek*:** The general name of the dances specific to the Aegean region. They are mostly in 9/4 rhythm. It is called as *zeibekiko* in Greek.

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Aether / Original Film Music **(**film directed by Rûken Tekeş, *Sare Film*)

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