RESEARCH ARTICLE

THE SOUND OF PROTEST - THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL MUSIC IN TURKEY BETWEEN HYBRIDIZATION AND CULTURAL HERITAGE

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Abstract

This paper examines the genesis and development of politicized popular music in Turkey from a political science perspective. For a better understanding of specific factors influencing the content and music, or path dependencies arising from them, a discourse-theoretical framework based on the work of Michel Foucault is used. The main focus of the study is on the genre of Turkish Anatolian Rock of the 1960s and 1970s, which appears as a musical reservoir of hybrid musical forms and political lyricism.

Keywords: Anatolian Rock, political science, protest music, world music.

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ARAŞTIRMA MAKALESİ

PROTEST MÜZİK - MELEZLEŞME VE KÜLTÜREL MİRAS ARASINDA TÜRKİYE'DE SİYASAL MÜZİĞİN GELİŞİMİ

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Bu çalışma araştırma ve yayın etiğine uygun olarak gerçekleştirilmiştir.

Öz

Bu makalenin temel amacı, Türkiye'de siyasallaşan popüler müziğin doğuşunu ve gelişimini siyaset bilimi perspektifinden incelemektir. İçeriği ve müziği etkileyen belirli faktörleri veya bunlardan kaynaklanan yol bağımlılıklarını daha iyi anlamak için Michel Foucault'nun çalışmasına dayanan bir söylem-teorik çerçeve kullanılmaktadır. Çalışmanın ana odak noktası, melez müzik formları ve politik lirizmin bir müzik deposu olarak ortaya çıkan 1960'lar ve 1970'lerin Türk Anadolu Rock müziğidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Anadolu Rock, siyaset bilimi, protest müzik, dünya müziği.

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Introduction

Ever since the success of Grammy-nominated Dutch-Turkish band Altın Gün, the Turkish psychedelic genre is experiencing a global revival. The band's cover songs of Turkish folk-rock classics, such as "Kaymakamın Kızları", "Cemalım" and "Tatlı Dile Güler Yüze" does not only enchant European dance aficionados, moreover, the specific sound of these tracks secures the band a place in the realm of world music. Yet Turkish rock of the 60s and 70s has played an important role in the global music market long before the success of Altın Gün. For example, it has been an important source of sample material in the electro and rap music scene for quite some time. "Supermagic" by Mos Def and "Easy Rider" by Action Bronson are only two recent examples of the influence of Turkish psychedelic sound on contemporary popular music.

One aspect that is often overlooked because of the current international reception is that a large number of these covered and sampled pieces have a latent to direct political character. Thus, the form, as well as the content of early Turkish folk-rock, often reflects the social tensions as well as the political struggles of its context of origin. In this respect, the genre of Anadolu Rock (also known as Anatolian Rock), as the current of Turkish- psychedelic is called in Turkey today, is considered to be the forerunner of contemporary Turkish protest music. With regard to its hybrid forms of expression and the processed Anatolian motifs, it also represents a kind of counter-hegemonic cultural discourse, which has had a lasting impact on the understanding of Turkish music in general. From a social science perspective, the political character of Anatolian Rock and its inherent discursive relation to socio-political developments of its time is an interesting and far too little researched object of study.

On this basis, the main purpose of this paper is to examine the genesis and development of politicized popular music in Turkey from the perspective of political theory - namely by recourse to a constructivist reading of Michel Foucault's work on the relationship between discourse, knowledge and power. In this context, the study does not center on the discursive action -in this case, the artistic manifestations of Anatolian Rock- as in the 'Theory of Hegemony' (Laclau/Mouffe), but rather on the socio-political discursive contextualities that provide the knowledge formations for the concrete materialization of Anatolian Rock. This approach not only allows us to develop an explanatory model for the thoroughly hybrid character of Anatolian Rock but also to discursively contextualize the emergence of comparable musical genres in Turkey, such as "Turkish Nueva Canción" of the 80s and Özgün Müzik of the 90s.

Although this article is written primarily from a political science perspective, it intends to stimulate further interdisciplinary research by setting a general context for the comprehension of the specific relation between politics and music in recent Turkish history. The approach outlined in this article can therefore be described as exploratory, as it intends to contribute to overcom-

ing the lack of literature on the topic of political music in Turkey. So, it should first be noted that the interrelation between popular music and political developments in Turkey is a field that has been publicly discussed only to a limited extent, especially within the academic arena. Christoph Ramm provides a possible explanation in noting that "Turkish pop and rock music of the sixties was not 'exotic' enough to generate much academic attention" (2020: 273). Nevertheless, the aspect of the "exotic" seems to be the main factor for a substantial emphasis on "aesthetics" of Turkish rock, reflected by the emergence of according literature in recent years (Spicer 2018; Işık Dursun 2019; Gedik and Ergun 2019; Gültekin 2019; Baysal 2018; Lund 2018). While a large number of these works focus on the genuine sound of different genres as well as mostly cultural aspects, studies on concrete political references remain outnumbered (Way 2015; Ramm 2020; Güler and Oran 2020; Güler 2016).

Still, fruitful approaches can be found in cultural studies, especially the reception of the music of the 1960s and 1970s. The aspect of hybridity in Turkish music seems particularly worth mentioning. In particular, Holger Lund's decolonial approach opens up a view into the nature of Turkish music in the course of the "first wave of global pop" (Lund, 2013, 2019). The mixture of Western instruments and original Anatolian content within rock music, or the Arabic influences on Turkish arabesque music show that the Turkish musical landscape, at least in terms of its forms of expression, has a very inclusive character. Considering the objective of a political analysis of Turkish music, i.e. the reception of its politicized content, a focus on hybridity however does not go far enough. In search of the right political science theory to serve the objective, one can encounter a variety of scientific approaches, of which three will be discussed below and brought together within the framework of a discourse-theoretical model.

Theoretical Framework

In the reception of the nature of popular music products specifically and cultural products in general, one often finds a reference to the concept of the *Kulturindustrie* (culture industry) developed by the critical theorists Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno (2002). Certainly, this work represents a central point of reference for the theoretical examination of the production and functionality of culture in late capitalism and makes an important contribution to better understanding the commercial marketing of culture. In the present article, however, another of Adorno's writings seems far more interesting: Ästhetische Theorie (Aesthetic Theory). In this collection of posthumously published writings, Adorno describes, among other things, forms of artistic expression as the "societal antithesis to society" (1973: 19). In this respect, "social struggles, class relations" are embedded in the structure of art products (1973: 350). The contextualization of this unruliness of culture within the basic framework of social dependencies seems interesting insofar as it

opens a link to another well-known post-Marxist reception of culture. Even though at a later stage Adorno states "Paradoxically, [art] has to bear witness to the irreconcilable and at the same time tend to reconcile it; this is possible for it only in its non-discursive language" (1973: 251), the effective power of art within discursive relations must not be completely negated. In particular, the functioning of art as a counter-narrative within the social contexts in and against which it takes place virtually begs for a hegemony-theoretical consideration, as we can see in the works of Antonio Gramsci (1971).

In his historical analysis of the Italian Risorgimento, Antonio Gramsci develops his concept of hegemony. He understands hegemony as "[A] condition in process in which a dominant class (in alliance with other classes or class fractions) does not merely rule a society but leads it through the exercise of 'moral and intellectual leadership" (Storey, 2018: 79). If the state consolidates its power, not primarily through violence, but through the production of consenting ideas and the control of culture, then, according to the Marxist activist Gramsci, it is necessary to gain control over culture. This approach shows that alongside hegemony, for Gramsci there are also always free spaces in which forms of cultural resistance can develop, ultimately being the breeding ground for counter-hegemonic projects. However, hegemonic and counter-hegemonic or resistant culture do not develop in isolation from one another. As Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe describe it -in the tradition of Gramsci- their relationship is more like agonism than antagonism (2012). In this sense, the counterculture and its products, as in Adorno's elaboration of the "societal antithesis to society", are based on the same foundation as the culture of hegemony. This state of affairs illustrates the immanence of the respective social framing, which provides the knowledge for the emergence and development of an artistic counterculture. Since the post-Marxist perceptions of cultural products -remaining true to their materialist tradition- deal with the question "what" the socio-political task of art is or should be, they partially obstruct the question "how" art or artistic counterculture comes into being. By adding a third discourse-theoretical approach, however, the overcoming of this problem seems to be quite possible.

In "Archaeology of knowledge", Foucault states that discourses are to be understood as the totality of linguistic practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak (2002: 58). This underscores the character of the relationship between language and reality, thus discourses -in contrast to structuralist perceptions such as Saussure's- are primarily forms of appearance and represent the circulation of valid knowledge (Keller, 2011: 98). This conception can also be clearly demarcated from normative ideas of discourse, such as in the works of Jürgen Habermas. Foucault's discourse is not an "arena of communicative action" (Biebricher, 2005: 75) through which an objective truth is to be developed and which takes place as a singular process between a limited circle of participants. The Foucauldian discourse is omnipresent and subject to respective social-contextual orders. Following the remarks of "The

order of discourse", Renate Martinsen therefore describes discourse as the totality of statements that establish the order of thinking, speaking and acting on a particular topic in a particular spatial and temporal context (2012: 62). In doing so, any discourse repeatedly builds on what has already been said and resembles a continuity of discontinuities in its course. In its development, discourse thus does not steer toward any objective truth, rather it constructs genuinely dependent truths in different eras and social contexts. On the basis of his historical-comparative work on the processes of knowledge production in different historical periods of the Occident, Foucault thus concludes that our knowledge of the world is discursively mediated (Kammler et al, 2008). Based on this premise, the German linguist Sigfried Jäger states: "Discourses do not merely reflect reality. Rather, discourses not only shape but even enable (social) reality. Discourses can thus be understood as material reality *sui generis*" (Jäger and Maier, 2009: 36).

According to this understanding the discourse of music, with its inherent class relations (Adorno), its hegemonic or counter-hegemonic functionality (Gramsci), is nourished by knowledge formations and ideas of the overall societal discourse surrounding it. The decisive factor, whether a counter-hegemonic momentum can develop in the discourse of music, depends in this sense on the created discursive references, which are fed by existing knowledge formations. This act of targeted referencing of knowledge outside the existing hegemony can only be triggered by events that result in the questioning of the prevailing norms - at least within a certain part of society. If a reference to the emergence of modern protest music is made at this point, it should be noted that protest and politicized popular music are inextricably linked in the popular imaginary to social change and youth revolt (Haycock, 2015: 424). The global social upheavals of the 1960s are in this respect decisive events, which gave central impulses for the emergence of new and above all politicized forms of music in various parts of the world. The specific individual developments, on the other hand, especially the concrete processes of the politicization of music and the forms of expression, are to be perceived within the specific socio-discursive frameworks of the individual countries. In this respect, the understanding of the protest character of certain musical pieces as well as of the genre of protest music as a whole within a country and in this case in Turkey can only be determined by means of a genealogical approach.

The discursive context of Turkish protest music can be considered as embedded within two central settings. First, within the global discourse of music which was partly captured by the aspect of hybridity. Hence, the world music perspective certainly provides information about the aesthetic developments of Turkish music as a whole, it does only allow a limited understanding of the development of the content and politicization of popular music. Therefore, it is necessary to secondly understand a far more specific level of discursive embedding: namely the socio-political discourses of the Turkish society. This is particularly important given the functionality of historical and symbolic ref-

erences which constitute a central element of music culture in Turkey. These symbols not only feed on Anatolian collective identification but also contain direct references to current socio-political developments. The partial politicization of the Turkish musical landscape and the resulting current of protest music must therefore be understood within this immediate political context of recent Turkish history.

It should be mentioned that this work does not include a full survey of discursive contextualities of protest music in Turkey. Rather, it is an account of crucial political and musical events, which exert a direct "discursive" influence on each other[1]. The discourse-theoretical understanding of the development of music applied here therefore functions more as a heuristic structural model that can be used to explain the development of Turkish music as well as its inherent hybridization tendencies.

Prologue: The Center-Periphery Split and State Influence on Music

Although the emergence of Turkish protest music is mainly considered a phenomenon of the 1960s, a certain historical contextualization is necessary especially for a deeper understanding of the lyrical references of the later politicization of popular music products. Based on this, two-path dependencies appear to be particularly important: The Ottoman musical culture, with its tension between court and folk music and the attempt to canonize Turkish music in the course of the foundation of the modern Turkish republic. The first condition that sets the framework here is the fundamental center-periphery divide in Ottoman society, which is characterized by the unequal dualism between an urban elite and a rural general population (Mardin, 1973). The power of this social cleavage can also be seen in the reception of music. Taking this as a starting point, Ottoman palace music (*Saray Mûsikîsi*) developed, beginning in the 14th century and experienced its heyday in the 16th century, parallel to court lyricism (*Divan Edebiyatı*) (Soydaş, 2011; Arslan and Aksit, 2014). Both movements were characterized by a strong Persian and Arabic influence. In this sense, Ottoman court music, for example, followed the Arabic *makam* and was realized in a monophonic or heterophonic form[2]. While at court the poetry of High Ottoman was received, folk music in simple Turkish -the so-called *türkü*- dominated among the general population. Accompanied also by

[1] In this respect, no discourse-analytical methodology is applied. Nevertheless, central pieces of protest music should lend themselves to a more profound individual consideration in future analyses, for example following critical-discourse methods (Jäger, 2009; Weiss und Wodak, 2007).

[2] Since I limit myself in the following to the contrast and the political connotations of the music, only a short recourse to the Ottoman music takes place at this point. This is not to say that the form -which is still received today under the name of *Geleneksel Türk Sanat Müziği* has not undergone further developments. At this point, reference is made to the valuable work of the musicologist Kurt Reinhard (1972).

monophonic sounds - e.g. those of the *saz* - these songs told (and still tell) of classical love motifs, but also heroic sagas (*destan*) and religious stories (*deyiş*). Especially the cumulative contents of everyday experiences and religious symbolism lead to the fact that folk songs throughout Ottoman history were also used as carriers of rebellious content and, especially in the late empire, were viewed skeptically by the state authority.

This cultural difference between the court and the common people was partially abolished in the course of the Young Turkish Revolution of 1908. Not only was the power of the sultan significantly curtailed after the reintroduction of the Ottoman constitution but the triumph of the Party of Unity and Progress (*İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti*) also established a new kind of informal appreciation of popular culture. This state of affairs was certainly decisive for the spread of nationalist literature, such as that of Namık Kemal and Tevfik Fikret, in everyday Turkish. Parallel to this, non-canonical folk music in simple Turkish also became widespread. Especially in the course of the First Balkan War (1912-1913) and the subsequent Turkish-Italian War (1911-1912), dissemination of the soldier's song within society can be observed. This dissemination -of these mostly regional sounds- was further intensified in the context of the mobilization for and events during the First World War (Anikeeva, 2016). Even today, a large number of the nationally known *türkü* originate from this period and are still associated with aspects like heroism and sacrifice (Çakır, 2020).

While no real attention had been paid to the political functionality of music in the bourgeois phase of the Ottoman Empire, this changed with the establishment of the Republic. Considering that the political center-periphery divide previously had no real implications for the reception of music, the new leadership under Mustafa Kemal Atatürk assigned cultural issues an important role relatively early on. For the first time, the state provided impulses for the purposeful use of music. These efforts were embedded in the overarching goal of creating a new western orientated national consciousness with a Turkish and secular connotation, as the foundation of the emerging nation (Rumpf and Steinbach, 2004; Gökçedağ, 2007). Following an avant-garde understanding from above (Bağce, 2015) this new approach not only negated the old regime, it also opposed it with a new cultural agenda. As Lund mentions: "The Turkish Republic itself, as constructed by Kemal Atatürk and his chief ideologist Ziya Gökalp, was founded on the idea of combining East and West. Musically, this combination was realized by building hybrids of Eastern and Western elements" (2021). From a discursive perspective, the state thus began to define what forms of expression were part of the legitimate musical discourse - comparable to Foucault's definition of the field of sayable statements (2002: 36). As a result, *alaturka* music, i.e. the understanding of music in the Ottoman period, was not only delegitimized, it was fought against ideologically. In 1934, İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, a member of the Fine Arts Commission of the Ministry of Education, described all *alaturka* music as inherently reactionary and called for its disposal (Üstel, 1993: 295). Since the elimination of

the old music could only be established through the establishment of a new musical understanding, the state took on the task of constructing a genuinely Turkish secular musical culture.

Beginning in 1926, the state specifically sent employees of the Ministry of Culture to rural Anatolia with the task of recording and canonizing folk literature and songs (Gökçedağ, 2007; Nazlı, 2010). This process (*derleme*), coordinated by the state, also had a repressive ideological component. In this regard, dialect and textual content that was not considered Turkish enough was translated into simple Turkish and thus "adapted" to the ideological expectations of the time (Bates, 2011: 2). How much musical heritage of non-Turkish speaking minorities in Anatolia fell victim to this practice can hardly be assessed from today's perspective. Nonetheless, the practice of *derleme* made an important contribution to the establishment of a centrally coordinated cultural policy. This was particularly important since prior efforts by the government to establish western cultural formats such as opera or ballet had failed (Safa, 1960: 99). In this context, isolated efforts to expand the monophony of folk music to include polyphonic arrangements also represented a further setback[3]. The archival material would only experience its real impact with the spread of radio in the 1960s[4].

A Coup as a Door Opener for Musical Development

Until the second wave of global democratization (Huntington, 1993), in the course of which the one-party system in Turkey ended, the military-backed central state had a fundamental monopoly on the development of music. It seems all the more interesting that the fundamental liberalization of music discourse was only made possible by the intervention of the Kemalist military circles in 1960. From the perspective of political science's reception of democratic development in Turkey, it should be noted that the military played an important role in politics as "Guardians of the Republic" until the 1990s. In the years between 1960 and 1997, for example, two military coups, two memoranda overthrowing the government and several coup attempts by various juntas were the work of the Turkish strike forces. Democracy scholars, in particular, have therefore always pointed to the vulnerability of Turkey's political system in the face of this illegitimate political actor when explaining the democratic deficit in the country (See Kramer, 2001 as but one example of many).

Contrary to this reception, however, it is often disregarded that the military did not always appear as a repressive authority and sometimes even ap-

[3] One intermediate approach is certainly the choral performance of folk music on state radio. in this way, at least the vocal monophony can be overcome. See: (Karahasanoğlu and Skoog, 2009: 57 mentioned in Ramm 262).

[4] It should be mentioned here that the rearrangement of Turkish folk songs via Western instruments was carried out especially in institutions such as the village institutes (Öztürk and Melis, 2019).

peared as a progressive driving force. In Turkey itself, for example, there is a long-lived debate about the evaluation of various juntas and their influence on the country's democratic development. Most recently, the content of this debate was picked up by the international scientific community through the publication of "The Democratic Coup" by Ozan Varol (2012). In his work, Varol explicitly refers to the Gürsel junta of May 27, 1960, the first successful military coup in Turkey's Republican history. Most recently, this intervention is attributed, primarily in left-wing Kemalist circles, with a demonstrable democratizing effect. The reason for this is that, unlike subsequent military interventions, the junta under the leadership of Cemal Gürsel had a decisive influence on the socio-political and cultural liberalization of the country. While the previous Menderes government had pursued a very restrictive policy of prohibition under the pretext of fighting communism, the progressive junta constitution of 1961 revised many of these measures. Perhaps the most striking example of this is that the new Basic Law allowed the formation of an openly socialist party for the very first time. The Workers' Party of Turkey (*Türkiye İşçi Partisi*, TİP), founded in the same year, was not only able to participate freely in party competition, but it also succeeded in getting "socialist deputies" into the Turkish parliament in the course of the 1965 elections. The creation of new possibilities of political positioning was accompanied to the same extent by liberalization of cultural discourse. The import of foreign literature and its translation into Turkish, which had previously been heavily regulated, was *de facto* abolished by the military government. In addition to the import of world literary classics, political literature was now legally translated into Turkish. In addition to the works of Marx and Lenin, for example, the poetry volumes of Nazım Hikmet -who had been in exile in the Soviet Union since 1951- could also be sold. It should be noted that this process was not limited to socialist cultural products. In the same period, conservative circles also imported ideological writings, including the works of Sayed Qutub[5].

Parallel to the setting of new political and cultural impulses, it can also be seen that new musical currents began to gain a foothold in Turkey. Although Songül Karahasanoğlu and Gabriel Skoog (2009) correctly state that some Western music and films were already introduced before the coup -including movies starring Elvis Presley- a proven success of foreign music can only be seen after 1961[6]. The effect of the Elvis movies and his particular sound especially seem to have been decisive for the growing interest among the listeners. Imitating Presley's style the chanson singer Erol Büyükburç recorded the first commercial success in Turkish rock history with his English song "Little

[5] Qutub's book *Al-Adala al-Ijtima'iyya fi'l-Islam (Social Justice in Islam),* published in 1949, was translated into Turkish in 1962.

[6] In their article, the authors also discuss the spread of light Western music *(hafif batı müziği),* inspired by French chanson and jazz, but the popularity of this music is limited to a specific urban-bourgeois clientele. On this basis, I do not believe that there was any real establishment of contemporary Western forms of music in Turkey before 1961.

Lucy" (1961) and was promptly crowned as the *Turkish Elvis* by the press. Later greats of Anatolian Rock also tried their hand at adapting the *Rockabilly* motif. In 1962, Erkin Koray's single "It's so long" was released, while on the single cover of "The Jet" Barış Manço, the later pop-folk legend, turned to the camera in a black leather overall. This process of localizing global pop by adapting western music, partly in a linguistic but mainly in an expressionist way, appeared as a popular practice of the 1960s (Ramm: 259). Although the arrangement *aranjman* culture, i.e. performing already popular western chanson music in Turkish language, existed until the late 1970s, it ceased to play a prominent role in the mid-1960s. This was primarily due to a decisive - discourse-relevant - event, which initiated a qualitative change in the reception of music.

With the singing competition 'Altın Mikrofon' (Golden Microphone), the daily newspaper *Hürriyet* initiated the first private music event for contemporary Turkish music in 1965 (Ergun, 2017). In essence, the competition was a deliberate move by the private media to counter the raw adaptation of Western music. This was also due to the strict rules of the competition: "The participating groups had to play folk songs from traditional Turkish repertoire with non-Turkish instruments" (Ramm: 262). The Golden Microphone competition was significant in that not only did young bands achieve national prominence through it, but the reinterpretation of folk music outlined here also went on to define the structure of a common practice. While the prize in the first year went to Yıldırım Gürses for his chanson-heavy song "Gençliğe Veda", the following year the band Silüetler won with their reinterpretation of the folk music classic "Lorke". Until 1968, the event had developed into the most important mouthpiece of local rock music due to the success of bands such as the Silüetler and Mavi Işıklar ("Çayır Çimen Geze Geze"). While the musical influence of bands such as the Beatles -ever since 1968- can hardly be denied, artists now increasingly turned to the rich repertoire of Turkish folk music. Preference is initially given to melodies and rhythms of various folk dances (*halay*, *zeybek*, *horon* and others), which are characterized by simple lyrics. Classical themes such as longing and love are paraphrased through rural Anatolian symbolism. Prime examples of this are the track "Arpa Buğday Daneler" by the band Haramiler or "Leblebi*"* by Modern Folk Üçlüsü. Turkish folk-rock was primarily dance and entertainment music in the mid-60s[7]. This changed

[7] One aspect that seems particularly interesting here is the parallelism between the development of rock music in the US and Turkey. In the North American context, too, it can be seen that from the mid-1960s onward, the majority of blues and country songs were reinterpreted as rock music (see, for example, Creedance Clearwater Revival and others). In this respect, the positivist and productive reference to one's own musical cultural heritage seems to be a powerful stimulus. Thus, among others, the members of the English rock band Pink Floyd describe that in their early creative phase, especially the Southern blues from the U.S. had a massive influence on the development of their own musical style. A deepening of this comparison would offer itself especially from a music-historical perspective.

with the increasing social politicization in the context of the student protests in 1968 which set new discursive frameworks for the hybrid reception of folk music.

1968 and the Politicization of Popular Music

1965 was not only a fateful year for Turkish rock-pop, it was also a turning point for political developments in Turkey. In the parliamentary elections of that year, the successor party to the Democratic Party - which had been dissolved with the coup of 1960 - the Justice Party (*Adalet Partisi*, AP) under Süleyman Demirel, won in a landslide victory of 52.9 per cent. This result was not only a rebuke to the Republican People's Party (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*, CHP), which was favored by the military but also the first sign of impending political tensions. A new development was that, parallel to the rifts between the AP and the CHP, a third, albeit marginal, opposition to the left of the CHP emerged in the form of the TİP. Meanwhile, the strong ideological heterogeneity within the TİP was leading to a fragmentation of the left, in which the student youth, in particular, was increasingly moving toward extra-parliamentary opposition. This movement found organizational materialization through the founding of the Federation of Debating Clubs (*Fikir Kulüpleri Federasyonu*, FKF) on December 17, 1965. In October 1969, this formation took the name Revolutionary Youth (*Devrimci Gençlik*, *Dev-Genç*) and become the nucleus of several armed leftist organizations.

When students in Istanbul and Ankara organized the first protests against the Vietnam War and U.S. imperialism, interest in the situation of workers and peasants in their own country also grew. To a certain extent, these political interests were reflected in the music that was consumed. Whereas the focus had previously been on reinterpreting innocuous folk songs, in this phase, young people discovered the musical resistance narratives of Anatolia. Poems by Pir Sultan and Köroğlu which had been turned into folk songs for centuries and that told of resistance and fighting tyrants were particularly popular. The saying of the folk poet and nomadic Turkmen rebel Dadaloğlu "ferman padişahın dağlar bizimdir" ("The decrees to the Sultan, the mountains are ours") became in this period the slogan of an entire generation. On the music market itself, the strong reference to rural melodies was reflected in the success of folk interpretations by Fikret Kızılok's arrangement of Aşık Veysel's "Uzun ince bir Yoldayım" and Tülay German's "Burçak Tarlası".

From 1968 onward, central figures emerge within Anatolian Rock genre. One of them, who would become a pioneer of politicized rock in the course of the 1970s, was Cem Karaca. In the second half of the 1960s, he released the record "Ümit Tarlaları" ("Fields of Hope") as the lead singer of the band Apaşlar. For the first time, the criticism of the feudal status in rural Anatolia was addressed from a rock music perspective. Subsequent singles, such as "Emrah" (1967), "Zeyno" (1969), and "Dadaloğlu" (1970), not only demonstrate the suc-

cess of this new musical amalgamation of latent political content within the rock genre, they also illustrate the indirect discursive connectivity between musicians and the political left (Güler and Oran 2020: 115). In this respect, the growing student disobedience and the attempt of an intergenerational closing of ranks with the country's working-class also functioned as an impetus for the overall discourse on popular music.

Politically, meanwhile, Turkey was slipping towards the next coup. Starting in the summer of 1968, repeated bloody confrontations between left-wing students and the police, who increasingly cooperated with right-wing groups, took place. The temporary climax of these clashes is the so-called "Bloody Sunday" ("Kanlı Pazar") which occurred on February 16 1969 in İstanbul's Beyazıt Square and resulted in two deaths and several injured persons. While the political discourse hardens, the music strikes far more melancholic tones. In 1969, the song "Bu Son Olsun" ("let this be the end") was released, which represented a break with the dance-heavy modern folk of bands such as the Modern Folk Üçlüsü or individual artist like Selçuk Alagöz. In this phase, the sounds of the Anatolian Rock were more and more displaced by militant marches. It is worth noting that within this process, a large number of marches from the Ottoman and early republican stage were given new lyrics. For example, student leader Deniz Gezmiş was reportedly eager to initiate the Ottoman Plevne March at demonstrations. The reason for this was the passage "why does a brother shoot at a brother" which reflected the confrontation between different political camps at the time (Feyizoğlu, 2017). Likewise, the hymn of the Dev-Genç was a modification of "Eskişehir Marşı" from the independence war (1919-1923). On a political level, this development was symptomatic of the growing disconnect between student protest and established politics in the country, as well as a sign of growing militancy among young people.

In view of these developments, it should be emphasized that while there was no organic relationship between the student protest movement and the production of music in the late 60s, strong discursive links were evident. The student-left counterculture appeared as a source of new ideas for a discourse that was processed by various artists through recourse to the rebellious heritage of Anatolian folk music. Probably the most important output of this discursive referencing was the establishment of politicized pop music, which in terms of its form showed all signs of hybridization of East and West, but in its content had clear references to history and specific narratives of Turkish folk music. In this sense, this process can be understood as harmonization of western forms of expression with continuities of the Anatolian folk music culture, which was genuinely political within the framework of a rebellious zeitgeist.

Meanwhile the national radio station TRT, in particular, was doubly skeptical of Anatolian Rock. These reservations did stem not only from the politically critical content of the new songs but also from how Western and genuinely Turkish music were brought together as a whole. In this respect, the loss of

the state monopoly over musical discourse also marked the ultimate failure of a repressive policy of recreating Turkish music. In this respect, it was not surprising that TRT applied a strict censorship policy toward Anatolian Rock (Ramm 2020: 267). But before this tug-of-war between the censorship authorities and the music industry could fully unfold, the military intervened once more. The de facto coup of March 12, 1971, finally drew a political line under the liberal experiment of 1961. The brutal crushing of the leftist student movement, mass imprisonment, and the execution of former student leaders Deniz Gezmiş, Yusuf Aslan, and Hüseyin İnan on May 6, 1972, were the last act in the history of the Turkish 1968 movement. For a short time, silence reigned in the country. In this respect, the intervention of the military also represented a caesura for the burgeoning politicization tendencies in the music discourse of that time.

The Golden Era of Anatolian Rock

With the military intervention of 1971, the country's political stopwatch was set to zero. It is all the more surprising that, in retrospect, this year was probably the most important in the history of Anatolian Rock. Primarily responsible for this development was the band Moğollar around Cahit Berkay and Taner Öngür. Following the release of their instrumental singles "Behind the dark" and "Garip", the band secured a three-year contract with the CBS record company in 1970. The following year, they recorded their album "Anadolu Pop" in Paris, for which they were awarded France's most prestigious music prize, the *Grand Prix du Disque*. The album also hit Turkey like a bomb. Songs like "Ilgaz", "Toroslar" and "Agrı Dağı Efsanesi" not only redefined the sound of this new genre from scratch, the title of the album was eponymous for the entire genre. The psychedelic influence of bands like The Doors, Pink Floyd and Jefferson Airplane were most groundbreaking for Turkish rock in this phase. However, while Western bands focused on Indian-ethnic sounds, the representatives of Anatolian Rock continued to swear by the rustic sounds of Anatolia. In this sense especially, the years following 1972 were decisive for the genre, which would later internationally be known under the name of "Turkish Psychedelic".

The international success of Anatolian Rock as well as the global rise of Rock Music brought about a vast number of Turkish bands that set out to find their own unique sound. By the middle of the decade, the Turkish music market was flooded with Anatolian Rock. Music groups such as Kurtalan Ekspress, Üç Hürel, Dadaşlar and the Kardaşlar developed classics of the Turkish rock genre out of a sometimes-experimental momentum. Barış Manço's "Dağlar Dağlar" (1970), Erkin Koray's "Goca Dünya" (1972) and 3 Hürel's "Sevenler Ağlarmış" (1974) were not only on everyone's lips, they also exerted a decisive influence on the rest of pop music in the country. A good example of this was the song "Ayrılık olsa bile" by the Afro-Turkish singer Esmeray. Furthermore, vital con-

tributions to the growing popularity of Anatolian Rock were also made by the soundtracks of successful feature films such as "Ağrı Dağı Efsanesi" and "Selvi Boylum Alyazmalım", composed by Cahit Berkay. Although the focus of the content was once again on the symbolism of rural Anatolia, this was increasingly linked to current social issues, such as migration.

From the middle of the 70s onwards Turkish society faced remarkable changes. Two political developments seemed to be decisive in this context. First, the CHP under Bülent Ecevit who won the elections in 1973 and 1977 was taking a strong social democrat course[8]. Second, after the general amnesty of 1974, many former leaders of the 1968 movement were released from their imprisonment. In this sense, the political left spectrum was experiencing a strong influx of new impulses, both legal and illegal. Likewise, however, an "anti-communist" and militant push took place in the right-wing spectrum through the formation of the ultra-nationalist Nationalist Movement Party (*Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi*, MHP). Overall, the general political discourse and, as a result, the political identification behavior of the population was increasingly and decisively shaped by left-right perceptions. As seen earlier, the art and culture scene were not detached from this general discursive influence. Film and music seized on the criticism of social grievances, most of which was voiced by left-wingers[9]. The central problems that were addressed comprised the situation of the workers, the living conditions in rural Anatolia, and the fate of migrant workers in the banlieues of western metropolises. Strong references to these new social conditions were also detected in the popular music of this period. While the burgeoning Anatolian Rock of the late 1960s still contained mostly tentative, indirect political references, these appeared far more blatant in the 1970s. From a discursive perspective, the success of Turkish Rock and Pop Music -in terms of form and content- had an increasingly strong influence on the general music industry in the country. From this point on, also artists from other genres tried out forms of interpretation that had strong links to the style of the young rock bands. One of them was the former chanson singer Özdemir Erdoğan, who sang about the social downside of the migrant reality in his song "Gurbet" and thus created a timeless classic of the Anadolu Pop genre (Söylemez, 2019).

Thus, it could be seen that parallel to the dominance of the latently politicized Anatolian Rock, far more politicized and militant music was emerging. Today often subsumed under the term *devrimci müzik* ("revolutionary music"),

[8] An interesting example is the book "Bu Düzen Değişmeli" ("This System Must Change") by Bülent Ecevit from 1968, in which he describes the need for land reforms.

[9] Since I will not discuss Turkish film in this article, I would like to point out a specific example for the influence of the leftist discourse on cinema: In 1978, the film Maden was released, starring Cüneyt Arkın and Tarık Akan, which deals with the labor struggle of mine workers. The film ends with the slogan "Workers of all countries unite". Comparable direct references can be found in the films of Yılmaz Güney, whose oeuvre requires explicit consideration and is therefore only touched upon here.

a marginalized but openly ideological form of protest music emerges during this period. This development is undoubtedly embedded in the growing political tensions and the resurgence of the extra-parliamentary left-wing opposition. Striking about this musical development was, that it distanced itself in form and content from pop music-heavy Anatolian Rock. This music, which was far more traditional and in parts more militant, did not have a common musical reference point, but rather was characterized by the work of various individual artists such as Ruhi Su, Aşık İhsani, Mahsuni Şerif and many more. One example from this period was the album "Nazım'ın Türküsü" by Zülfü Livaneli from 1978. Reinterpreting the poems of Hikmet, Livaneli constructed a calm but far more political counterpart to Anatolian Rock. While *Devrimci Müzik* was limited to a small, highly politicized audience, Anatolian Rock experienced its golden era.

At the First of May celebrations in Taksim Square, the songs of Cem Karaca, Selda Bağcan and Edip Akbayram blared from the speakers. The latently politicized Anatolian Rock had reached a level of mass compatibility that it would not experience again in this form. In 1978, the increasing political polarization of Turkish society reached its peak. The confrontation between left-wing and right-wing groups sank the country into civil war-like conditions. With the pogroms of Kahramanmaraş (1978) and Çorum (1980), violence reached an entirely new level. On September 12, 1980, the military finally intervened. This time, however, the junta did not initiate a new political start of the country; instead, it marked the beginning of a military dictatorship that lasted for four years.

The End of the Anatolian Rock Era and New Forms of Politicized Music

In retrospect, the 1980 coup was probably the most profound caesura in recent Turkish history. Not only because the military pushed for structural changes in the state system, but also because the brutality of the fight against anything considered as "political" caused a lasting sociopolitical trauma within society. As a result, the cultural discourse experienced a double "cleansing". The military's policy of banning and censorship was only one immediate step in this process which led to the imprisonment of many artists and the exilement of just as many. The second aspect was the creation of an atmosphere of fear, which not only nipped political content in the bud but also forced adaptation. While artists like Cem Karaca chose the path of political exile, other greats of the once politicized Anatolian Rock adapted to the circumstances and emptied their music of any political content. For example, on his 1981 album "Sözüm Meclisten Dışarı", which features stylistic classics such as "Alla beni pulla beni", and "Dönence", Barış Manço sang about the differences between a hamburger and a lahmacun on his track "lahburger". In this respect, Barış Manço's music, which would continue to occupy an important place on the music market in the early 1990s, was a striking example of how references

to socio-political events were decisive for the development of Anatolian Rock. The omission of socio-political feedback in the music discourse, due to the repression of the junta, led to a complete stagnation of further development of the genre. It seemed even more astonishing that it was in this phase of double repression, and the resulting self-disciplining of musical discourse, that a completely new sound emerged that structurally possessed the pretensions of revolutionary music but nevertheless acted so subversively that it was able to escape military censorship. In contrast to the rock of the 1970s, this new form of musical protest was no longer oriented around musical currents in the west, but around the resistance music of Latin America, the *nueva canción*.

A certain opening to new forms of music had already taken place in the time preceding the coup, particularly in revolutionary musical discourse. Among the university students in particular, various smaller bands oriented themselves toward forms of Latin American *Nueva Canción*. It should be noted that the Latin American reference was not new in circles of the Turkish left. Barely a decade earlier, the writings of Che Guevara and Carlos Marighella, or narratives of the struggle of the Guerrilleros in Cuba or the Tupamaros in Uruguay, had provoked political upheavals within the left. The growing interest in forms of political resistance in Latin America also led to attempts of cultural unity in the late 1970s. The band Yeni Türkü, founded in 1978, played a pioneering role in the spread of this new musical style, which was inspired by bands such as Inti-Illimani and Qualipaypun. Even the name "Yeni Türkü" was a direct translation of the Spanish words "Nueva Canción". While the band's 1979 album "Buğdayın Türküsü", was still strongly politicized with tracks that reinterpreted famous political marches such as "Bir Mayıs", the influence of the coup, which was pushing towards depoliticization, became equally evident in their work. In their 1983 album "Akdeniz Akdeniz", the mélange of Anatolian instruments and Latin American sounds took precedence over the lyrics. A similar approach was taken by the band Ezginin Günlüğü, founded in 1982.

From the mid-1980s onward, a new political wind blew in Turkey. With the 1983 parliamentary elections, the military had reluctantly handed over political power to a civilian government. The new prime minister, Turgut Özal, and his liberal-conservative Motherland Party (*Anavatan Partisi*, ANAP) set Turkey on a neoliberal course. But a short time later, it became clear that the government's new economic policy would bring new challenges. Large-scale privatizations of state property and the opening of the Turkish market for foreign investments drove money into the economic cycle, while at the same time causing disastrous social consequences. As the economy grew the gap between rich and poor widened. The middle-class ideal based on the U.S. model did not bed down in Turkey. The short-term political truce started to crumble. The leftists, who were thought to be dead, began to form again, and with them a new political-musical approach. Contrary to the Anatolian Rock of the 70s, this newly emerging musical discourse was much more related to the new political struggle.

One of the most important and long-lived musical formations from this period is the band Grup Yorum, founded in 1985. The importance of this band, which released its first album "Sıyrılıp Gelen" in 1986, was significant in that it pioneered the genre of political music. Thus, the band members considered (and even today consider) themselves primarily as part of a broader political struggle, within they fight on the "musical front". This militant view of the functionality of music became a central feature of the band from the very beginning. For example, the album "Haziranda Ölmek Zor" from 1988 contained propagandistic songs such as "Diriliş" and "Berivan", which called for participation in the revolutionary struggle. Another distinctive but only emphasized feature of the band was its affiliation with a militant left-wing group. Nonetheless, Grup Yorum's songs have become a general accompaniment to social struggles since the 1990s at the latest till today. In particular, the Turkish-language reinterpretation of the Italian partisan song "Ciao Bella" is today considered one of the most played pieces at political events of the left-wing spectrum.

In retrospect, the emergence of genuinely political bands such as Grup Yorum, and later comparable groups such as Grup Baran, Grup Munzur, Umuda Ezgi and many others, follows a practice functionally similar to that of Anatolian Rock: The mélange of foreign musical forms of expression with motifs of the resistance narrative anchored in the collective memory of Turkey's society. Thereby, the ideologization of the Turkish *Nueva Canción* showed that the intention of the political was ranked above the musical aspects. The combative content did not allow any sign of weakness in this regard. A different, but not less political reference, could be seen in another musical development at the end of the 80s, which would be marketed from the mid-90s under the term of *Özgün Müzik* ("original" or "protest music"). In contrast to previous forms of politicized music, *Özgün Müzik* borrowed heavily from arabesque music. *Arabesk*, which emerged in the peripheries of the metropolises at the same time as Anatolian Rock and was often referred to as the music of pain, was genuinely apolitical (Yarar 2008; Özgür 2006). Especially in leftist circles, it was therefore ridiculed as the music of the "Lumpenproletariat" and actively fought against within the music discourse itself. In the mid-80s, this dogma was broken by an individual artist: Ahmet Kaya.

Migrating with his family from the east of the country to İstanbul as a child, he spent his youth in the turmoil of the 1970s. During this period, he was part of a leftist movement, played the saz at demonstrations, and was briefly imprisoned for reciting a poem. In 1987, Kaya's album "Yorgun Demokrat" ("The Tired Democrat") was released, followed by "Başkaldırıyorum" ("I Rebel") in 1988. Musically and in terms of content, the two albums were tantamount to a fist bump against the elitist understanding of political music. Kaya sang about the narrative of a defeated left, a remnant of the 1970s - battered and exhausted. For the first time also, people outside the left spectrum could identify with this content. Soon it was said that Kaya's songs were heard loudly in

left-wing circles, quietly in conservative ones, and silently by right-wingers. The starting point for Kaya's lyrics were often the poems of a new generation of lyricists who did not fit the type of Nazım Hikmet. Here, interpersonal longings go hand in hand with social criticism. Poems by Hasan Hüseyin Korkmazgil or Yusuf Hayaloğlu, like Kaya's voice, are angular and unembellished (Söylemez, 2020).

At the beginning of the 1990s, domestic tensions once again dominated Turkey. Civil war-like conditions prevailed in the east of the country, and the population was worn down in the struggle between the state's security forces and the Kurdish-separatist PKK. At the same time, the sociopolitical confrontation between conservative and secular camps were intensifying. Political assassinations became once again the order of the day. At the same time, the disinhibited economic policies of the 1980s were taking revenge, and the Turkish economy lurched from one crisis to the next. Kaya's albums, as well as those of the band Grup Yorum, sold millions of copies during these years. As a consequence of this success, the collective term of *Özgün Müzik* was applied consumptively to all forms of left-wing politically motivated music from this period on. However, the peak of *Özgün Müzik* was also the beginning of its decline. From the mid-1990s, general interest in *Özgün Müzik* declines rapidly. One reason for this is undoubtedly the wear and tear of the political motifs that were used since the 1970s. Although the albums of individual artists such as Kayas continued to sell well, politicized music in general was developing -once again- into a marginalized phenomenon addressing only a specific clientele.

Conclusion: The Outcome of Anatolian Rock

From a theoretical perspective, there was already a latent politicizing urge in the fundamental essence of the Turkish Republic's musical culture. The attempt of the state to canonize the collective musical memory of the Anatolian peoples and their dogmatic adaptation to new political ideals was an important factor here. The reaction to these efforts were as reflective as they were revolutionary. Thus, along with the emergence of new oppositional political currents, a counter-hegemonic musical discourse also developed, which reacted to the attempts to control music by recourse to the antagonistic content of that very music. The early blending of Anatolian folk music and Western rock music was therefore not only oriented towards new political discourses but also showed itself to be open to concepts of musical and content hybridity from the very beginning. The musical counter-hegemony of early Anatolian Rock thus resulted from the overall social discursive development of Turkey in the late 1960s. In this sense, music also distanced itself more and more from traditional discursive structures, parallel to the strengthening of extra-parliamentary/student oppositions. While this led to social polarization on a political level, a free and experimental approach emerged in musical discourse. The

sound of the 70s, labeled as psychedelic, was a direct consequence of these developments.

However, the deepening spiral of violence in the political arena also brought about a radical break in the music. The armed confrontation between right-wing and left-wing groups therefore also forced music to take a clear position. *Devrimci Müzik*, which subordinated artistic freedom to political objectives, was only one result of this. The renewed state intervention in the form of the coup of 1980 only drew a final line under the already terminated development process of Anatolian Rock. Only with the stabilization of the political system do the possibilities of linking political and musical discourses arise again. Attempts to adapt the *Nueva Canción*, however, now followed fixed framework conditions. The state's pressure to impose sanctions was just as powerful as the clear guidelines of oppositional political groups. The avant-garde thought of bands like Grup Yorum could only be interrupted briefly by the rise of individual artists like Ahmet Kaya. Overall, however, the influence of politicized music was increasingly losing its grip on Turkey's overall social music discourse. *Özgün Müzik* is now one genre among many others, addressing a more or less clearly defined audience and finding it difficult to break out of its self-imposed framing.

Nonetheless, protest music continues to play an important role throughout the 1990s. Many songs of Anatolian Rock, as well as *Özgün Müzik*, are now integral parts of Turkey's collective musical memory. Above all, the latter genre is also the pioneer of today's popularity of ethnic music, in which the linguistic and cultural diversity of Turkey is reflected. It is thanks to Anatolian Rock as well as *Özgün Müzik* that musical dogmas of form and language could be softened and finally broken from the beginning of the 2000s. Without this preliminary work, the production and distribution of music in Kurdish, Armenian, Circassian or Lazi would be unthinkable today. Ultimately, the history of Anatolian Rock reflects a variety of historical and socio-political influences, which are decisive for today's musical diversity in Turkey. The politicization of this music and its links to political developments in Turkey may not be a unique feature of this genre, but they are fundamentally responsible for its emergence and evolution.

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