

CULTURAL BRIDGES AND FLOWS : AFRICAN ARTISTS OF
ISTANBUL

NİL LEA DELAHAYE
109678009

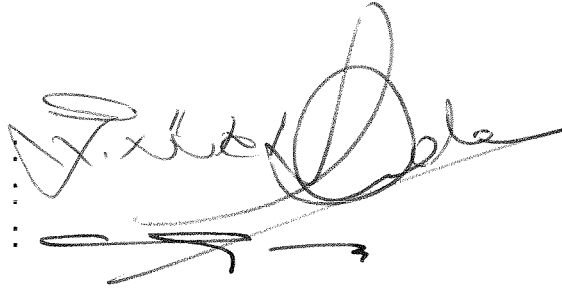
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PROF. DR. FÜSUN ÜSTEL
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Cultural Bridges and Flows: African Artists of Istanbul

Nil Lea Delahaye
109678009

Prof. Dr. Füsün Üstel
Assoc. Prof. Serhan Ada
Prof. Dr. Aydın Uğur



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Özet

Bu tezde, İstanbul'un uluslararası insan göçü trafiğindeki konumunu şehirde yaşayan Afrikalı sanatçıları odağına alarak inceleniyor. Türkiye'nin son dönem göçmen politikalarının, Avrupa Birliği süreci içerisinde bu konuda yapılan değişiklikleri ve Türkiyelilerin yabancılara karşı olan tutumlarının, göçmenlerin kalıcı veya geçici yurtları İstanbul'da yaşadıkları sorunlara olan etkisi tartışılıyor. Daha sonra İstanbul'da yaşayan Afrikalı sanatçılara odaklanılarak bu trafiğin, yerli ile yabancıların karşılaşmasının kültürel bir çeşitliliği nasıl yarattığı analiz ediliyor. Tezde göçmenlerin kültürel haklarını koruyarak, Türkiye'ye kültürel ve sanatsal anlamda yapabilecekleri katkı değerlendiriliyor ve bu katkının güçlendirilmesi için araçlar öneriliyor.

Abstract

This thesis investigates the place of Istanbul in the international immigration traffic by focusing on the African artists, who live in the city. The problems of strangers who settle to Istanbul permanently or temporarily are discussed together with the relation of these problems to the new regulations on immigration which are adopted by the Turkish state according to EU standards and the general attitude of people of Turkey towards the immigrants are questioned. Later, by focusing on the experiences of the African artists who live in Istanbul, an analysis is suggested in order to transform the problems of the migration traffic which enables the encounter of different cultures into an advantage, by which the cultural diversity can be celebrated.

In memory of Sotigui Kouyaté

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INTRODUCTION

Turkey has always been considered as an emigration country from the point of view of migration studies. Its emigration flows started in the 1960's with the workers' migrations to Western Europe. As a matter of fact, it has also been an immigration country since the beginning of the Republic and even before since the beginning of the Balkan wars in 1912-1913. The immigration directed to Turkey has been growing since decades and Turkey has experienced a new phenomenon of immigration. People from countries of the ex-USSR, countries on its Eastern borders like Iraq or Iran, countries in war whose migrants are seeking asylum such as Afghanistan or Somalia, or other economically poor countries are coming to Turkey. There are several patterns of these migrations to Turkey, but the main ones are: the migration in search for a work, the migration handling international trades, the educational migration, the migration for seeking asylum, and the "transitory" migration that is aiming at reaching countries of the European Union through the Turkish frontiers. There are particularities of this immigration like the diversity of the countries of origin, the trans-national character of the migrants (passing through several countries, having links in many places all over the world and being in permanent communication with a plurality of places at the same time), and the fact that those flows are not controlled or managed and not even observed by

States.¹

In these unshaped migration flows, the Turkish State faced a management problem in organizing migration policies. Yet, there are proofs of efforts done in this area, to be linked with very intense international policies and inter-governmental agreements with neighbouring but also far away countries on the Asian and African continents. The immigration “policy” of Turkey is more or less organizing educational or trade-based economical immigration but is lacking monitoring of areas that are hugely in need of State intervention and international implications like human trafficking, labour exploitation, social care, housing, or social and cultural integration.

Although coming at the bottom of the list of problem areas, the social and cultural integration of migrants is nevertheless an issue which affects the European accession process. This is a matter that every immigration country has to deal with and it involves questions like the scope of the cultural rights of the people concerned. Cultural rights are part of human rights and thus every human should have access to them. However, those rights are constantly forgotten, put aside, or forced to remain silent. When it concerns migrants, those rights simply come at the bottom of the list. Indeed, granting such rights to immigrants becomes impossible when national, historical or regional minorities do not enjoy them. According to Symonides,² the neglect of cultural rights in general is due to the fact that “cultural rights are usually enumerated together with economic and social rights, they receive much less attention and quite often are completely forgotten”. Also, guidelines adopted to make up for the lack of attention paid to cultural rights in the implementation of the reports

1 There was 1 328 405 migrants in Turkey in 2005 according to the United Nations Secretariat, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division which means 1,8% of the total population of Turkey. But the strategic position of Turkey makes the country more and more attractive in time.

2 Janusz SYMONIDES, “Cultural Rights: a neglected category of human rights”, *UNESCO International Social Science Journal*, 158/1998, pp. 559-572.

presented to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights aren't sufficient according to the author. The very definition of culture remains uneasy and there still is a fear by the States that cultural rights may endanger national unity.

In this thesis, my aim is hence to bring answers to the problems involving the lack of consideration related to the cultural rights and integration of migrants in Turkey. The main reasons why culture is not included in Turkish immigration policies are dissociable in three points. First, the cultural rights of each citizen in Turkey are still not recognized as the cultural diversity of the country is not officially protected. Thus the cultural rights of migrants become a secondary problem. Secondly, the immigrants coming to Turkey are considered as temporary, “transitory” and thus not as a permanent issue to which solutions have to be found. This is the same mistake done by Western Europe forty years ago with its own immigrants, thinking that cultural policies should be invented only in the logic of a return to the country of origin. Most of the time, immigrants themselves thought they would go back but this appeared to be a mistake and resulted in a loss of time for cultural integration. Thirdly, immigrants don't have the choice to immigrate legally to Turkey as there isn't any demand from the host country, thus most of the immigrants fall in illegality when their visa expire or because they unlawfully entered the country. Consequently, those immigrants are broadly considered as “illegal” which is a criminalizing point of view and the respect of any of their rights is not even considered.³

In this thesis, I sustain the argument that migrants should benefit from cultural rights in Turkey for three reasons. First, cultural rights are one of the

3 The word “illegal” is criminalizing people who are actually just using their fundamental right of freedom of movement. This is what is denouncing Claire RODIER, ““Emigration illégale” une notion à bannir”, from the Migreurop Network, 2006, [online] <http://www.migreurop.org/article922.html>.

human rights and they are as much important as the others. Secondly, we learn from past experiences that it is a mistake to consider the immigration to Turkey as temporary and thus not worth working on it. Thirdly, immigrants are enriching elements of the society and their skills must be cultivated and integrated to the culture of the country, we sustain this last argument by studying a sample from this migrant population; the African artist migrants in Istanbul.

In this perspective, Chapter 1 focuses on studying the raise of the problem of cultural rights and the ways of handling it with multicultural policies oriented toward immigrants in European societies. On the other hand, I study immigration in Turkey in history and the current migration policies of the country in order to understand why and how the cultural fact is omitted and to contextualize the status of the cultural policies of the country today. The following chapter (Chapter 2) is a closer study of the African particularity. I first give an outline of the migration situation and then I present my field study with African artists from Istanbul. This field study is about the Sub-Saharan immigration to Turkey and the factual artistic participation of a sample of culturally active African migrants in Turkey and the interest they generate in the host population. Finally, I conclude on possible transformations of the actual structure of migrants' cultural integration in the Turkish society.

This thesis, only concentrates on the African migration in Turkey to be able to establish later a broader opinion upon Turkish migration policies in the realm of culture. The reason why I chose the Sub-Saharan Africans is that, as Brewer and Yökseker put,

Although Africans are not as numerous as some other groups who illegally enter and/or stay in Turkey, their presence is indicative of certain pressing issues in international and forced migration. (...) Given

Turkey's geographical location at the crossroads of land and sea routes between the Middle East, North Africa and Europe, (...) the number of Africans arriving in Turkey as migrants and asylum seekers increased considerably by the turn of this decade.⁴

Another reason more relevant to this very study is the productivity of the African diaspora in popular culture all over the world. With Jazz in the USA, Capoeira in Brazil, Reggae in Jamaica, dances and musics in all Latin America and many other very important cultural practices, artists, writers and intellectuals all over the world, the African diaspora appears as preserving, importing and developing its cultures more actively than any other migrating group. As Martiniello says, "displacement creates meaning or, at least, modifies the significations invested in artists practices."⁵ This argument is still valid for today's African migrations all around the world. An example from present time that would prove that the situation is not particular to Turkey is this story of the creation of an African music band in Lithuania by four West-African musicians after meeting in the centre for immigrants.⁶ Or the Senegalese migrant performer Cheikh Gueye who came to Buenos Aires when only 3 000 African migrants live in Argentina and begun to give African dance classes in the capital.⁷ Or the Balafon musician Kimi Djabaté who emigrated from Mali to Portugal to meet more Guinean musicians.⁸ It is actually not very surprising to

4 Kelly BREWER, and Deniz YÜKSEKER, *A Survey on African Migrants and Asylum Seekers in Istanbul*, MIREKOÇ Research Projects, 2005-2006, p. 20.

5 Marco MARTINIELLO, Nicolas PUIG and Gilles SUZANNE, "Créations en Migrations – Parcours, déplacements, racinements", in *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales*, 2009 (25), p. 11.

6 Laura SHEETER, "Lithuania warms to African band.", in *BBC News*, Vilnius, 2006, [online] <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4723268.stm>.

7 Candace PIETTE, "Latin America see influx of African immigrants.", in *BBC News*, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 2009, [online] <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8432129.stm>.

8 Toni POLO (director), *Migratory Musics #01 – Kimi Djabaté*, Documentary movie, Lisbon, 2010, [online] <http://vimeo.com/15207013>.

see that artists are emigrating as often as the rest of the population.

Although this thesis is studying the importance given to culture in Turkish migration policies, we use the logical process of induction to generalize from the Sub-Saharan African migrants to the whole migrant population of Turkey. But there is a second dualism that should be stressed here: the changeover from “migrant” to “artists and/or culturally productive migrant”. Not every migrant or African migrant is culturally productive but every migrant must reach his/her cultural rights. The reason for choosing solely the culturally productive migrants is to study the ability of these populations to enrich Turkey's diversity generally and Istanbul's cultural landscape more locally as the city is our main study area. Because according to Martiniello, “as humans circulate, (...) cultural contents migrate also”⁹

The field study I lead is thus a qualitative study that aims to shed light on the never studied subject of African artist migrants in Turkey. This study aims to be representative as the interviewees are involved in different activities, come from different Sub-Saharan African countries, and have different migratory and artistic journeys (*parcours*) in Turkey. As Martiniello says, “the artistic creation constitutes (...) a very special entrance to apprehend matters linked to migrations, to their actors and to their productions.”¹⁰ Because the forms taken by cultural and artistic productions in exile or migration are representative of paths and routes shaped by external political and economical decisions. The method used for this study was thus the semi-structured in-depth interviews. The reason of this choice was to let the artist construct his own discourse about his artistic production, and to build points of comparison with the other interviewed artists. Artistic productions of African migrants in Istanbul are here studied to help integration policies of Turkey gain in accuracy

9 MARTINIELLO, PUIG, SUZANNE, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

10 *ibid.*, p. 9.

and better target the concerned population.

CHAPTER 1

MIGRATION AND EUROPEAN CULTURAL POLICIES AND ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION IN TURKEY

Turkey is facing the phenomenon of international immigration and doesn't seem prepared to all the dimensions it entails. Although migrants' needs are often considered as secondary problems, those needs are actually very important as they are keys to their integration to the society. The cultural rights have been one of the hardest problems of immigration in all countries included in Western Europe. Indeed, questioning the means of respecting the cultural rights has been one of the main focuses of democracies for the second half of the last century. The nature of the argumentation of such debates can shift from case to case but one fact remains: cultural rights are an essential component of human rights. Geneviève Koubi treats this subject in very clear terms, maintaining that “cultural rights cannot be thought without civil, political, economical and social rights.”¹¹ They are dependent on them and are as important as the others. According to her, the cultural rights are situated on a very complex definition that has to recognize and define clearly the rights of groups or communities, and at the same time, the rights of the individual. The danger here is to restrain the individual into the rights accorded to communities without letting any freedom to choose to belong or not to that community.

11 Geneviève KOUBI, “Des Droits Culturels? Des Droits de l'Homme! (II) ou les droits de l'homme, fondement des droits culturel”, article on the blog of the researcher, 2008, [online] <http://koubi.fr/spip.php?article40> (translation).

When explaining the crucial importance of cultural rights, Koubi maintains that they are “the first stages of a “right to cultural identification” of a self first, and of a community later”. According to Yvonne Donders, a jurist at the UNESCO, “the application of cultural rights passes through the protection of creativity, of intellectual property, of artistic and intellectual freedom, of rights to education, to religion, and to expression”.¹² Hence, we need to keep in mind all those branches while considering the individual and the community apart.

Nevertheless, the practical application of the recognition of cultural rights is very dependent of the constitution of a given country. This subject has raised different approaches with differentiations between minorities. Regional, national, linguistic, or religious minorities, named differently according to the country's constitution and history, have faced very diverse fates. They are discernible from minorities represented by marginalized groups like migrants but also LGBTT for example) even though both are claiming a recognition of their identity with the argument of their cultural rights. Thus, in this chapter, I define more precisely what migrants' cultural rights are by giving examples from European countries. Then, I give a reading of the same situation in Turkey about migrants' rights and Turkey's intentions concerning this problem.

My objective here is to open gates for a Turkish interpretation to the problem of foreign immigration and the respect of cultural rights. This problematic will then be exemplified when transposed to the specific situation of Sub-Saharan African migrants in the next chapter.

The reason why I decide to compare those different entities and histories is to analyze the accession negotiations of Turkey to the EU on one side but also to present one understanding of the migrants' rights inside a very multiple way of

12 Yvonne DONDERS, “Study on the legal framework of the right to take part in cultural life”, in: Y. DONDERS and V. VOLODIN (eds.) *Human Rights in Education, Science and Culture: Legal Developments and Challenges*, UNESCO/Ashgate, December 2007, pp. 231-271.

practice on the other.

1.1 Multiculturalist policies in Europe

As Laurent Chambon explains it, “a regime is truly democratic when it manages to include a maximum of the different components of its population into the political process. To do so, the State must (...) offer an institutional and cultural space to the minorities.”¹³ This affirmation about the democratic regime is relevant of the policies of the last 30 years in the Western world. The simple recognition of those “different components of the population” can be seen as multiculturalism. This notion of multiculturalism is the key to the democratic society as much as it can be its failure. Indeed, there are different interpretations to multiculturalism and the simple recognition of the diversity can be a tool to discrimination. That is why for example, France's republican attitude prohibits the division and the differentiation of the citizen at the eyes of the State. Multiculturalism found there a deadlock as the republican French State doesn't accept an intermediary like the community between itself and the citizen. On the other hand, the trends imported by the movement of “affirmative action” from the USA found good implantations in the UK in forms like “racial relations management”. With this acceptation, to the contrary of France, the respect for the rights of the individual passes through the recognition of his/her community. As Milena Doytcheva explains it very clearly, multiculturalism has three complementary definitions. The first one is an ideal or a political program to address the question of the cultural diversity. The second is multiculturalism

¹³ Laurent CHAMBON, *Le Sel de la Démocratie – l'Accès des minorités au pouvoir politique en France et aux Pays-Bas*, doctorat thesis, Universiteit van Amsterdam, 2002, p. 31 (translation).

as the invention of modern societies that “saw the matter of cultural differences as a social justice issue.” And the third one is multiculturalism as a political program that implies an active role of public powers.¹⁴ The issue remains one definition of culture and of what is involved in it. As Füsün Üstel explains in her introductory analysis to the problems and debates involved in the construction of cultural policies, the definition of “culture” has changed since the reflection about its use in the modern democracies. Indeed, as the primary aim of first cultural policies¹⁵ was to democratize culture and to make the most prestigious of it available or at the reach of everyone,

(...) cultural democracy signifies the deconstruction of the hierarchy of high culture based on social prestige, or at least its reversal. Celebrating creativity, egalitarian relativity and the synergy of cultural differences, it invalidates the functional divides that incessantly regenerate the privileges of high culture. It emphasizes the need to restore the reputation of minority cultures (...).¹⁶

Thus, cultural democracy involves a fresh, larger definition of what culture is. On the other hand, the idea of cultural diversity appeared as a continuation of the redefinition of culture. Indeed, the diversity of those cultures reacting in an “egalitarian relativity” must now be protected since processes like globalization begun to affect cultures and languages that are less used by mass communication tools.¹⁷ This is a theme that emerged and has been totally

14 Milena DOYTCHEVA, *Le Multiculturalisme*, La Découverte, coll. Repères, 2005, p. 16-17.

15 The primary aim that we are talking about is the one defined by André Malraux, the first actual minister of culture founded in France in 1959.

16 Füsün ÜSTEL, “Cultural Policies in Europe: Debates and Dilemmas”, in *Introduction to Cultural Policy in Turkey*, ed. by Serhan ADA and H. Ayça İNCE, İstanbul Bilgi University Press, 2009, p. 19.

17 In the sense that they literally disappear while the need for them decreases because of the globalization of the information until they are unused and then forgotten.

adopted by important international organizations like UNESCO. As Üstel reminds us, “in particular, emphasis was laid on the cultural identities of the Southern countries as a significant aspect of their economic development”.¹⁸ This emphasis is due to this context that engaged supranational institutions to work on the problem of endangered cultures and languages.¹⁹

As the reflection evolved with the claims of immigrants and other marginalized communities which became important multitudes, the real shift happens in the heart of supranational organizations like UNESCO or the Council of Europe with the decision that cultural diversity is not a danger for the unity of the nation but a richness for the country. But the situation for immigrants always remains very unclear as minority policies do not always define precisely their status comparing to more urgent recognition demands from the regional, national or historical minorities. We now see the problems encountered by cultural policy when defining the status of the migrants especially with linguistic rights. Then we analyze some multiculturalist policies oriented towards migrants in Europe and the limits and alternatives found to it.

1.1.1 Different rights for different minorities, the example of linguistic rights

Linguistic rights are one of the cultural rights. According to Üstel, “they represent one of the most important claims in the struggle of ethnic groups for

¹⁸ ÜSTEL, 2009, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

¹⁹ The UNESCO itself created an interactive map of endangered languages that counts the number of speakers of each language. [online]
<http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/cultural-diversity/languages-and-multilingualism/endangered-languages/atlas-of-languages-in-danger/interactive-atlas/>.

the recognition of their specific identity by the State.”²⁰ This subject needs a special attention as it is a very delicate one for republican unitary states like Turkey or France. Both countries have had a constitutional nation-state build on the egalitarian and secular educational system. For both countries, this equal education for all citizens passes through providing the exact same content and curriculum in all the schools of the Republic and thus in the same language. Since the French Revolution and even a bit before, France tried to unite all its populations under a same language. The unitarist ideology corresponds to the ideal of one nation = one language. Hence, the French nation speaks only French and this logic continues to exist since the Revolution. Since 1794, investigations are lead like the report of Abbé Grégoire “about the necessity and the means to ruin patois and to universalize the French language”.²¹ This report about the linguistic diversity of France was proposing to eradicate dialects for the sake of the modernization of agriculture. In Turkey, linguistic rights are still a very current subject and the hegemony of the Turkish language is predominant as the official language of the State. This nation/language relation has evolved in soften recreations of recognition of plural identities in France. Nevertheless, according to Üstel, France still remains the only European country that “dedicates a privileged place to only one official language”.²² This contentious relation between the national language and the regional languages is described by the socio-linguist Danièle Moore as a parallel between the official status of languages and the identity representations of the languages. In this conception, the status of the language in the society, regulated by the official discourse about the superiority of the national language, affects the

20 Füsün ÜSTEL, “Dil Hakları ve Anadilde Eğitim”, in *Türkiye’de Kürtler, Barış Süreci İçin Temel Gereksinimler*, Heinrich Böll Stiftung Derneği Türkiye Temsilciliği Yayını, İstanbul, 2008, p. 240.

21 Hervé LUXARDO, “L’Abbé Grégoire en guerre contre les “Patois” (1790-1794)”, in *Les Clefs pour l’Histoire*, Jan., Fév., Mar. 2000.

22 ÜSTEL, *op. cit.* 2008, p. 241.

representation of the speaker of regional language in his identity apprehended as inferior and not valuable. This hegemony of the state's discourse is such strong that it even blinds didactic practices convincing schools with the lie that multilingualism isn't a major learning ability to be developed when the other language's status is socially underestimated.²³ To this dilemma, migrations brought together with other cultural challenges the addition of a third category of languages spoken on the national territory: languages of migrations. On this subject, it is hence revealing to notice that, as Gaye Petek tells in an article, the language and culture of origin teaching (Elco) classes taking place in French public schools since 1977 were first created and applied not in the intention to fulfill the cultural rights demands of migrants but because French authorities were still believing that migrants would be going back to their home countries after their work would take an end.²⁴ Those classes were thus made with the objective that children of migrants would not have insertion problems when their parents decide to go back to the home country.

The author is also underlining the difficulty to define the culture to provide to children whose “country of origin” is actually France since they were born and educated in that country. As Petek says, “this issue [of which culture and language to teach] is all the more obvious for children whose mother tongue is not recognized or not taught in the country of origin, as for Berber or Kurdish”.²⁵ This difficulty of defining the culture of citizens of a same country with different pasts has been treated by the European Parliament: the culture provided, made accessible for all, must correspond to a logic of an inter-cultural education where the promotion of the mother tongue is preserved but in such a manner that this culture provided here is accessible for all the

23 Danièle MOORE, *Plurilinguismes et école*, Didier, coll. Langues et Apprentissage des Langues, 2006.

24 Gaye PETEK, “Les Elco entre reconnaissance et marginalisation: Langues de France”, in *Hommes et Migrations*, issue number 1252, 2004, p. 45-55.

25 *ibid.* p. 50 (translation).

pupils.²⁶

We shall thus keep in mind how cultural rights and the recognition of the value of the cultures brought by immigration aren't supposed to be handled under policies to ghettoize or create an identity withdrawal among minorities. But they aim to create an exchange and an inter-comprehension between equally valuable assets and to enhance cultural diversity. Nevertheless, this matter of linguistic rights for migrants is brought differently by other European countries. For example, beyond language classes like in France, the federal constitution of Germany allows the Länders²⁷ to target linguistic needs. Joppke explains the “Bavarian Model” of bilingual schools providing migrants' children with an education in mother-tongue.²⁸ Nevertheless, the author tells how this type of policy has been brought, as for the Elco in France, in the hope that migrants and their children would go back to their country. Those linguistic rights have taken diverse dimensions like in Spain for example where regional languages have the autonomy of the educational system up to the university. But migrants' linguistic rights are always secondary compared to regional languages' recognition. This way, the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages specifies that this appellation does not refer to languages of immigrants. Nevertheless, other policies of cultural integration enhancing diversity and a certain harmony in the society are possible.

1.1.2 Multiculturalist policies for migrants in Europe

As it was pointed out before, policies change according to the type of

²⁶ *ibid.* p. 47.

²⁷ Länders is the name given to the federated states of Germany.

²⁸ Christian JOPPKE, “Multiculturalism and immigration: A comparison of the United States, Germany, and Great Britain”, in *Theory and Society* 25: 449-500, 1996, p. 470.

minority they are addressing. That way, Banting and Kymlicka distinguish the cultural policies in developed countries in three categories. The policies for “indigenous peoples” are aiming the recognition of people who were living on the lands colonized and ruled by others as the Aboriginal in Australia or Canada with the Inuits. The policies for “national minorities” are regarding “substate nationalism” that claim rights as the Corsican in France or the Catalans in Spain. Finally (but primarily in the article) the policies for migrants.²⁹ This third category is the one we want to focus on as it is in our problematic. According to the authors, several multiculturalism policies are directed towards migrants. Among them, three are dragging our attention as we develop further that they have an applicability to Turkey according to its situation. Those three are “the existence of a government ministry or secretariat or advisory board to consult with ethnic communities”, “the inclusion of ethnic representation/sensitivity in the mandate of public media or media licensing”, and “the funding of ethnic group organizations or activities”.³⁰

The first policy, the institutionalization of consultation with ethnic communities, is an approach that fits with the application of rights by the recognition of the difference. The example of Great Britain is indicative of such improvements. As Joppke tells, “a dense network of local Race Relations Councils (RRC) was set up to provide social welfare and monitor racial discrimination at the local level.”³¹ The attempts in UK have been oriented, as in the USA towards the regulation of racism and discriminatory practices with political tools. The American policies went through processes of affirmative action (or positive discrimination) to set obligations of equal treatment and even favor treatments for underprivileged groups or “races”. Such policies imply the

29 Keith BANTING, and Will KYMLICKA, “Do Multiculturalism Policies Erode the Welfare State?”, Luxembourg Income Study Working Paper Series, paper no. 366, 2005.

30 *ibid*, p. 14.

31 JOPPKE, *op. cit.*, p. 481.

division of citizens amongst communities of affiliation.

The second policy, representativeness in media and sensitization by media, is taken very seriously by supranational organizations. The United Nations organized a panel discussion on “addressing vulnerability of migrants to racism, xenophobia and discrimination” in May 2011 where such problems were raised. Also, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, prepared a report about the “image of asylum-seekers, migrants and refugees in the media” in 2006. This report recommends that

It is the media’s responsibility to reflect also the positive contribution to society made by these persons [migrants], and to protect them from negative stereotyping. It is also important that migrants and asylum seekers are themselves represented in the media as media professionals and that their views, and issues of interest to them and concerning them, are reflected in the media.³²

As we saw before, the migrants aren't considered as a threat to the unity of the nation but as a richness and the media are supposed to reflect positively this richness. Nevertheless, it seems to be a problem that is still very present and that asks for regulations. The “NefretSöylemi.org” group in Turkey conducted by the International Hrant Dink Foundation is driving a similar work while watching closely the hate discourse spread by written media. This group aims to point out all the hate speeches made against ethnic or religious minorities in the media.³³ Unfortunately this very young tool isn't watching hate speeches against

32 Council of Europe, Parliamentary Assembly, *The image of asylum-seekers, migrants and refugees in the media*, 5th recommendation of the report, Committee on Migration, Refugees and Population - Rapporteur: Mrs Tana de Zulueta, Italy, Socialist Group , 2006, p. 2.

33 Nefretsoylemi.org, the group's aims are described as such: “The main objective of the project is to combat racism and discrimination based on ethnic and religious grounds, through monitoring the newspapers and exposing the “problematic” articles in the media.”

immigrants.

The third proposition, the funding of ethnic group organizations or activities, is analyzed by Doytcheva in the French context about the migrants' ethnic associations as they are the perfect mediation tool between the institutions in such fields as local animation or social action. Those associations thus “saw an improvement in the conditions of their collective expression and (...) an importance given to their specificities”.³⁴ The cultural rights of migrants are respected in the supporting of their collective expression through their right to unite under associations. This is relevant for Turkey because I witnessed this similar claim is expressed by African migrants who want to get subsidies for their cultural associations and to participate in the cultural life of the city to become more visible.

Other multicultural policies and practices could be mentioned here considering their diversity, but I prefer to stay focused on multicultural practices that could have an applicability in a Turkish context that I study further.

1.1.3 Limits of multiculturalism

In this comprehensive approach of multiculturalism, the political organization must coincide with what constitutes the “people” of the country. The issue of dignity underlying problematics raised by multicultural policies is highlighted by Schnapper. According to her, thanks to multicultural policies, migrants and their descendants would see their cultures of origin being

[online] http://www.nefretsoylemi.org/en/amac_hedefler.asp.
34 DOYTCHEVA, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

“recognized in the public space for their meaning and dignity”.³⁵ Opposing tendencies to multiculturalism appeared in Europe after several events that attracted the international attention. Steven Vertovec and Susanne Wessendorf estimate the agony of multiculturalism by time with events like the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the USA in 2001, the March 2004 Madrid train bombing that “prompts further fears of Muslim terrorists-among-us in Europe”, the murder of the filmmaker Theo Van Gogh by the extremist Mohammed Bouyeri in April 2004 in the Netherlands, or the riots in Paris suburbs in 2005.³⁶ Furthermore, multiculturalism is accused among others, of “fostering separateness”, of “refusing common values”, of “supporting reprehensible practices”, of “providing a haven for terrorists”.³⁷ All those accusations are constitutive of a real questioning about the metamorphosis of a country after its receiving immigrants. Moreover, the discussions led upon multiculturalism are very polemical and political. Many research treat today about the islamophobia gaining ground in Europe and oriented more against the Muslim migrant minorities than the Muslim countries of the world. The raise of political right-wing parties all over Europe is a sign of a “multiculturalism backlash” led against the migrant minorities accused of disturbing the peace in the country. In the name of such beliefs, practices like “citizenship tests” are gaining force in Europe. Those tests apply for immigrants who want to become citizens or for foreigners who want to immigrate. These imply language tests but also general knowledge and familiarity with the history of the country. The tests also examine the adherence to the host society's core values. With such practices, “the Netherlands has passed from being a model of recognition of

35 Dominique SCHNAPPER, *Qu'est-ce que l'intégration?*, Gallimard, coll. Folio Actuel, 2007, p. 89.

36 Steven VERTOVEC and Susanne WESSENDORF, “Assessing the backlash against multiculturalism in Europe”, in S. VERTOVEC and S. WESSENDORF (eds.), *The Multiculturalism Backlash – European discourses, policies and practices*, Routledge, New York, 2010, p. 4-5.

37 *ibid*, p. 6-11.

ethnic/cultural diversity and guarantor of social equality to becoming one of the most radical supporters of immigrant acculturation.”³⁸ Germany is providing compulsory integration courses that have to be intended and passed. And in France, family regrouping is now policed by blood tests to establish biological relationships. Despite being humiliating and acculturating, those tests mark an ethnic control of the migration. If only people who share the values of a Eurocentric point of view upon life can be admitted, it means that only people culturally close enough to Europe to actually know about those values are eligible.

To respond to these new tendencies in Europe, policies and regulations of the immigration have taken diverse forms. These are interesting for countries that don't need supplementary human force as Turkey. Thus, regulations like “highly skilled migration”, “educational migration”, or “chosen migration” corresponding to an understanding of the aim of immigration could well be policies chosen also by Turkey.

Globally, today, developed countries wish to attract “skilled migrants”, meaning people from developing countries who received an education, who are qualified, but who could prefer working outside of their country for reasons of salary, material equipment but also quality of life. The phenomenon of “educational migration” is also the result of migration policies inciting young dynamic generations from emigration countries to come to study and make research go further in a developed country. This system works with foreign students quotas and scholarships in universities for example, the educated students can then leave or find a job in the host country after studying there a certain amount of years. This aspect of migration policy is particularly relevant in the case of Turkey as we see in the next part. In other terms, “chosen

38 Sue WRIGHT, “Citizenship Tests in Europe – Editorial Introduction”, in *International Journal on Multicultural Societies (IJMS)* Vol. 10, No. 1 Citizenship Tests in a Post-National Era, 2008, p.5.

immigration”³⁹ is clearly an immigration policy oriented on an individual case basis that privileges “useful” migrants against migrants who would represent a “burden” for the host country. This new type of understanding and of regulating and managing the world's migrations had impacts primarily on the developing countries whose main resource is leaking: brains. It is called “brain drain” or “brain exodus” and has important consequences on the hard development of poor countries. But, as a journalistic article by Losson explains it, migration policies are not the only responsible for this situation; the intellectual property laws are also preventing professionals to work legally in their countries with low economical means.⁴⁰ According to this same article, the report of UNCTAD (United Nations Conference for Trade And Development) on the least developed countries of 2007 is recommending an urgent need to transform “brain drain” into a “brain circulation”. A deeper look into that report is showing that the alternative of the return to the home country supported by the host country would promote “brain gain”.⁴¹

1.1.4 Special policies for artist migrants

The same way as it is thought about skilled migration; for artists and cultural workers, the aim of such policies is not to encourage people to emigrate

39 This term has actually been popularized by Nicolas Sarkozy, “immigration choisie” which corresponds to a point of view upon immigration based on victimization of the host country.

40 Christian LOSSON, “Il y a plus de médecins Béninois en Ile-de-France qu'au Bénin”, in *Libération*, article from the 20th of July 2007, [online] <http://www.liberation.fr/economie/0101107698-il-y-a-plus-de-medecins-beninois-en-ile-de-france-qu-au-benin>.

41 United Nations Conference on Trade And Development, *The Least Developed Countries Report 2007 – Knowledge, Technological Learning and Innovation for Development*, Chap. 4: *Addressing the International Emigration of Skilled Persons*, United Nations, New York and Geneva 2007, p. 152.

to Europe, but to enable them freedom of movement inside the EU. For example, programs of three to twelve months of residency financed by States (and providing a free circulation in the borderless Schengen Area) are organized for foreign artists.⁴² In the sense of a general policy, the study led by the Policy Department of the European Parliament on the status of artists in Europe is talking about the possibility of developing a “statute of the artist”.⁴³ For non-European artists, this statute would implement the creation of “a special visa designed for artists which would allow them to stay for longer, uninterrupted periods abroad”, such requests have been explicitly expressed by the Schengen Opera Group and Petition who also requires that “there must be an immediate stop to instant "return to the border" for non-EU artists”.⁴⁴ Today, States show more or less clemency in their tax, employment, residency and visa regulations toward foreign artists, the need for a generalized policy comes from the mobile aspect of the cultural professions.

Another sign of this positioning of Europe is the rallying feature of foreigner artists; intra-European networks are created to support them like *Zebrart*, a Flemish cultural network who supports refugee artists and create a communication between them and the cultural scene of Flanders, or the *European Union Migrant Artists Network* which is an association created in Helsinki by Iraqi artists to help those cultural workers to enter the hybrid characteristic of the European cultural and creative sphere and to remain in touch with their home country. The advocacy and lobby organization *Culture Action Europe* is also supporting the mobility of artists in Europe. Martiniello theorizes this transnational situation in the practices of arts by migrants. According to him, “times and spaces of the artistic work (the artistic creation)

42 For example, the French Ministry of Culture and Communication is encouraging foreign artists to come to France with immigration policies, cf. <http://www.artistes-etrangers.eu/en/>.

43 Policy Department Structural and Cohesion Policies, Directorate General Internal Policies of the Union, *The Status of Artists in Europe*, Brussels, European Parliament, 2006.

44 *ibid.* p. 46.

are more and more structured by the mobility of the actors. And, inversely, the local organization of the worlds of art gets transnationalized to give birth to configurations of actors and migratory paths that always challenge frontiers (...)”⁴⁵ Thus those new configurations are the ones that this type of policies for foreign artists are trying to frame or at least to follow.

In this perspective, the European Union has already oriented its immigration policy on security and on the selection of the migrants. For example, the Blue Card, the equivalent of the American Green Card, is providing a free access and travel in some of the European Union countries and a work permit in the country of issue for highly-skilled migrants since 2008.

There is still more to tell about the relationship that has been elaborated between culture and immigration in Europe but my aim here was only to design the idea that lies below. We should also consider that there exists a lobby for Europe to improve its policies regarding foreign artists. The report written by Freemuse, the European Live Music Forum and the European Council of Artists is basing its argumentation on the UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions for the struggle for more flexible treatment for artists' visa.⁴⁶ This is to say that, the closest the countries try to stick to UNESCO's ideas, the more the issue of immigration remains to ask again.

45 MARTINIELLO, PUIG, and SUZANNE, *op. cit.*, p.8.

46 Ole REITOV and Hans HJORTH, *VISA / The Discordant Note – A White Paper on visa issues, Europe & artists' mobility*, Freemuse, ELMF, ECA, Denmark, 2008, p. 5.

1.2 Enhancing cultural policies for migrants in Turkey

In Turkey there are both types of minorities but very few engagements are taken on the side of the cultural diversity. Turkish experiences with immigration have most of times been quite traumatic. This situation is probably linked to the way Turkish authorities have managed those migrations but we shall also remember that everywhere in the world, migration stories are dehumanizing for people living it. Thus, the lack of policies and of taking in charge seriously those problems today can be linked to the history of Turkey in relation with migration. Thus, I want to introduce now the immigration in Turkey in history and to bring it together with issues of minority rights and migrants' cultural integration.

1.2.1 From past to present: Migration policies in Turkey

One can say that there is a certain continuity between past events and today's Turkish migration policy's discrepancies. Nevertheless, Adanır⁴⁷ discerns a shift in migration practices between the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey. The movements of population appearing since the end of the XIXth century are the sign of a new phenomenon, the will to construct a “nation”. The feeling of

47 Fikret ADANIR, “Bulgaristan, Yunanistan ve Türkiye Üçgeninde Ulus İnşası ve Nüfus Değişimi”, in *İmparatorluktan Cumhuriyete Türkiye'de Etnik Çatışma* ed. by Erik-Jan ZÜRCHER , İletişim, 2008 (first edition in 2005), pp. 19-26.

insecurity created by mass deportations driven by Tsarist Russia between the XVIIIth and the XIXth centuries against Muslims from Crimea and Caucasia has had repercussions on the Ottoman management of the region. The authorities began an “islamization and turkization of Anatolia in 1877 and during ten years”.⁴⁸ To conserve a unity, the Ottoman government has enhanced the immigration of Muslims from the Balkans to Anatolia and disheartens Muslims of other ethnic origins to want to go back to their geographies. The desolation landscapes offered by the mass arrivals of Muslim *muhacirs* in Anatolia fleeing the Balkans war of 1912-1913 had impacts on the decision by the Young Turks government to move more than 50 000 Rums (Greeks of Anatolia) to Aegean islands. The Istanbul Treaty of 1913 between the Ottoman empire and Bulgaria was regulating the property issues of both populations from the region who flew in one way and the other of the new frontier. Another treaty was then signed with Greece in 1914 to exchange Greek Orthodox and Muslim populations. But World War I started before the conventions could be applied. The Greeks of the Aegean islands were displaced back to Anatolia. And much more radical actions have then been implemented against Armenians. “Massacres have occurred during the Armenian deportation realized without any discernment since 1915. During this period the quasi totality of the Armenian population of Anatolia has been annihilated.”⁴⁹ After the war, population exchanges resumed between Greece and Bulgaria and also with the Ottomans following the Sèvres Treaty for Pontus and Cappadocian Greeks. Again at the creation of the Turkish republic in 1923, a protocol to the Lausanne Treaty was confirming the forced exchange of population that already happened between Greece and Turkey.

In a much closer past, the same kind of forced displacement of

48 *ibid*, p. 21.

49 *ibid*, p. 23 (translation).

population happened during the last 30 years with the Kurdish populations of Turkey. Bozarslan denounces that during the 15 years between 1984 to 1999, “some 1 779 villages and hamlets, and 6 153 settlements were partly or completely destroyed, along with several towns (...); and almost three million people were forced to leave their homes .”⁵⁰ Those people were forced to immigrate to big cities of Turkey. These internal migrations managed by the State are very relevant of a certain apprehension of the phenomenon of migration and need to be analyzed very carefully. As this internal migration is not the purpose of this thesis, I keep aside this subject and concentrate only on the external immigration to Turkey.

Parallel to those facts and since the beginning of the Republic, there has been a modeling of a “land of asylum” inside the image of the Republic of Turkey. As for the population exchanges we mentioned before, Turkey continued to carry a discourse of attraction for the Muslims of the regions of the Black Sea and the Balkans. This asylum is a very specific one that is not build on an internal conception of the asylum rights but on an external recognition of peoples from other countries as belonging to the Turkish race/ethnos. As Didem Daniş and Jean-François Pérouse describe it, from the 1920's to the 1980's, we witness here an “ethnic” policy for the establishment of refugees. Indeed, “the law of 1934 on settlement (*İskân kanunu*) defines (...) the *muhacir* (refugees) as people “of Turkish race” (*Türk soyundan*) or “linked to the Turkish culture” (*Türk kültürüne bağlı*)”.⁵¹ But the settlement (*iskân*) itself of those populations inside the Turkish lands was divided into zones with different purposes like the “Places where concentration of populations of Turkish culture is desired”,

50 Hamit BOZARSLAN, “Human Rights and the Kurdish Issue in Turkey: 1984-1999”, in *Human Rights Review*, Volume 3 number 1, 2001, pp. 45-54.

51 Aslı Didem DANIŞ and Jean-François PÉROUSE, “La Politique Migratoire Turque: vers une normalisation?”, in *Migrations Société*, CIEMI, Vol. 17, n° 98, mars-avril 2005, p. 95.

meaning places with a majority of non-Turks.⁵² It is interesting to see how Turkey positioned itself as a “land of asylum” comparing to other migration practices the country had, and also to today's refugee policies that are in place.

Turkey's position in international refugee laws is yet very different from the one it maintains on the geopolitical space. The differentiation between “migrant”, “refugee” and “asylum seeker” is that a migrant left his country for economic reasons, the asylum seeker left his country for political reasons, and the refugee is the asylum seeker who gained a legal recognition and status from a country of asylum⁵³. In this perspective, Turkey signed the Geneva Refugee Convention of 1951 that establishes the conditions of recognition of asylum and the rights of the refugees. But the said Convention is proposing to adopt an alternative in the recognition of refugee between two situations: either “events occurring in Europe before 1 January 1951” or “events occurring in Europe or elsewhere before 1 January 1951”.⁵⁴ Thus, Turkey adopted the first alternative and is only recognizing as refugees people who are fleeing from events happening in Europe. As a matter of fact, the 1967 New York Protocol decided to extend this definition also to events occurring after 1951.⁵⁵ Turkey also signed this protocol but it didn't change its geographical reserve. Today, UNHCR's Ankara Office is taking in charge the legal process of asylum seekers from other countries than European ones. They investigate on the legitimacy of the asylum demand and, once a fellow is recognized as a refugee (not by Turkey but by United Nations), UNHCR will replace them in a third country of

52 Erol ÜLKER, “Assimilation, Security and Geographical Nationalization in Interwar Turkey: The Settlement Law of 1934”, in *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, Numero 7, 2008, Demographic Engineering – Part I, [online] <http://www.ejts.org/document2123.html>.

53 Esra KOÇ, “Mülteci, Sığınmacı, Göçmen nedir?”, published the 20th of June 2001 on BİA Haber Merkezi, Istanbul, [online] <http://bianet.org/kadin/bianet/2953-multeci-siginmaci-gocmen-nedir>.

54 Convention of Geneva of the 28th of July 1951 Relating to the Status of Refugees, articles 1 B.1. a) and b).

55 Protocol of New York of 1967 Relating to the Status of Refugees, article 12.

asylum. This process takes several years, and by the time they get accepted, refugees obviously need to build a life in Turkey to survive. The Turkish legislation has changed some details about the conditions of staying of asylum seekers in Turkey, for example, those who don't benefit of a source of income can be exempted from paying the residence tax, illegal immigrants who get caught by Turkish authorities have now the right to apply for refugee status, and the authorities have the duty to protect the informations they collect from refugees and asylum seekers.⁵⁶ As we talked about those “illegal migrants”, we must talk a bit about this “transit country” qualifier term attributed to Turkey. Logically, as Turkey isn't an asylum country for non-Europeans, despite it's positioning as a land of asylum for Muslims of Central Asia, refugees and people fleeing from bad life conditions are crossing Turkey to try to attain Europe. Thus, Turkey is only a “transit” place for those people. But most of times, this final journey to Western countries (in the sense that it is the last point before Europe) needs to be prepared during a long time and most of times arranged with smugglers. As Brewer and Yüksekler say, this transit condition is debatable as it can take more time than predicted.

Anyway, all those circulars and conventions that are regulating the passage of migrants inside Turkey does not really define an “immigration policy” for the country. What we would call a policy in terms of immigration is more something that sticks to a general ideological line that guides the actions of the State towards its immigrant inhabitants. As I said for the period between the 1920's and the 1980's there actually was an immigration policy that was and, according to Özdil, is copied on the “ethno-model nationalism in Turkey in its ideological and discursive formation”.⁵⁷

56 Circular about “Refugees and Asylum Seekers” of March 2010 (T.C. İçişleri Bakanlığı'nın “Mülteci ve Sığınmacılar” konu, 2010/19 sayı, ve 19/03/1010 tarihli genelgesi), article 1, 2 and 3.

57 Koray ÖZDİL, *To Get a Paper To Get a Job: The Quite Struggles of African Foreigners in*

Nevertheless, another type of migration is happening in Turkey; the educational immigration. Foreign students coming to Turkey are from very diverse backgrounds and countries. It seems that a “brain drain” phenomenon is actually happening in Turkey. This is a statement that is at least reinforced by the ongoing Turkish efforts towards foreign students. Indeed, we must notice that a “Presidency of Turks from Abroad and Relative Communities” (Yurtdışı Türkler ve Akraba Topluluklar Başkanlığı) has been created in March 2010 with the goal to facilitate foreign students' conditions of staying and studying in Turkey. The Presidency is also aiming to help the administrative deadlocks to be broken.⁵⁸ The origins of such attempts to significantly encourage the attraction of foreign students to Turkey actually dates from the creation of the Big Student Project (Büyük Öğrenci Projesi) in 1992 by Köksal Toptan when he was Minister of Education. This project was first launched to provide a good and sustainable relation between Turkey and “Turkic republics and relative communities”.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, the relations and attributions of scholarships to students are never really sticking to an ethnic or linguistic quality. Although those scholarships don't always come from the State, the universities attracting foreign students are mostly state institutions. Today, there are 17 000 foreign

Istanbul, Turkey, Central European University, Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology, 2008, p. 10.

58 Devlet Bakanlığı, “Yurtdışı Türkler ve Akraba Toplulukları Başkanlığı kuruldu”, 18 April 2010, [online]

http://www.turkonline.at/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=769:yurtd-tuerkler-ve-akraba-topluluklar-bakanl-kuruldu&catid=103:tuerkiye&Itemid=476.

59 I couldn't find an exact meaning of this “Türk Cumhuriyetleri ve Akraba Toplulukları” in the texts, on the other hand, there exists a civilian association for “World's Turks and Related Peoples” and those include the “Turk Republics” meaning those who speak a Ural-Altaic language like in Turkey but also the “Related Peoples” whom are geographically and linguistically covering a large zone. Those are for example Albanians, Polish Turks, Chechen, but also some ethnic minorities of the world in the Balkans and in Middle-Asia and very interestingly “American Turks: Melungeons – Native Americans”. More information on the official website of the association created by academicians : <http://www.dunyaturkleri.org.tr/default.asp>.

students studying in Turkey. Yusuf Ziya Özcan⁶⁰ is also claiming that Turkey is planning on doubling this number for the year to come so that the fee can bring money to the education system as in Western countries.⁶¹ This is a debatable declaration but very instructive one in the sense that it gives a foretaste of political intentions in terms of educational migration.

As immigrants in general are more and more numerous every year, the part they represent in the economy of the country also grows. By virtue of a lack in hosting and comprehending those immigrants, their status can most of times stay in illegality, except for students even if this is also arguable because they also fall in illegality as soon as they graduate. As they don't benefit from any social rights, their work force and their capital contribution is not taken into account. Thus, they participate to what we call “informal economy”. Hence, suitcase traders are part of this economy. According to Erdem, “the suitcase trade is concentrated in the Laleli district in the historic centre of Istanbul”.⁶² But we shall also take into account the informal economy generated by the work force of immigrants in Turkey. The most famous case of this specific type of economy is the female migration from Central-Asia and Caucasia that comes to Turkey to offer housework or medical aid at home. Most of those house workers are women and due to the informality of their work, their fundamental freedoms can often be threatened and their rights not respected. There are cases of illegal detention, bad corporal and moral treatments and even rapes by authorities. Often, these women are considered as prostitutes by the authorities

60 Yusuf Ziya ÖZCAN is the President of the Council of Higher Education (YÖK).

61 Cf. the articles on YÖS bilgi edinme ve haber portal, “YÖK Yabancı Uyruklu Öğrenci Sayısını Arttıracak”, 6 October 2008, [online] <http://www.yossinavi.com/yos-ile-ilgili-haberler/yok-yabanci-uyruklu-ogrenci-sayisini-arttiracak.html> and on *Sabah* web page, “Özcan: Yabancı öğrenci sayısı ikiye katlanacak”, 11 June 2010, [online] http://www.sabah.com.tr/Gundem/2010/06/11/ozcan_yabanci_ogrenci_sayisi_ikiye_katlanacak

62 Esra ERDEM, *Migrations from the “Global South” and the Informal Economy in Turkey: Laissez passer, laissez faire?*, University of Massachusetts Amherst, 2005-2006, p. 20.

and not declared by their employers, thus, their rights are not protected and their circulation is limited.⁶³ There is also a great deal of human trafficking for sex-work that is involved in that same kind of immigration in the sense that those immigrant workers cannot access their basic rights.

Anyway, in terms of immigration regulations ruled by the host country, the interest for the State to regulate and control such an immigration is motivated by the will to frame the economical exchanges that are involved in it. But even though, the government launched a project to encourage registered employment (KİTUP), this project mostly concerns only Turkish citizens because according to the official statistics, 43.5% of the employment of the country was not registered in October 2010.⁶⁴ But nothing in this project seems to point at foreign trades in particular though it could actually benefit both parties.

We shall also mention that an effort is done to regulate the circulation and the working of artist migrants. But the law dating from 1983 is very specific and restrictive about their status and the places where they can work. Foreign artists and skilled foreign professional workers can only work in touristic enterprises, they must be renowned, and they shouldn't overpass 20% of the workers in the enterprise.⁶⁵ Anyway, this law is not encouraging an art and culture importation to Turkey and seems only to respond to a need of the tourism sector.

We thus understand that the immigration account is based on two different sources: the migrations of “transit” through Turkey where the country is only on the path and not the primary aim of the migrants and a migration that

63 Ayşen ÜSTÜBİCİ, *Türkiye'ye yönelik Kadın Göçü: Seks işçileri ve Ev İçi Hizmetlilerin Kişisel Güvenlik Sorunlarını İlişkilendirmek*, Umut Vakfı, 2009, p. 10.

64 Turkish Republic Social Security Institution, ““Kayıtlı İstihdamın Teşviki için Teknik Destek Projesi (KİTUP)”nin Açılış Konferansı Yapıldı”, 26 January 2011, p.2. [online] <http://www.kit-up.net/web/index.html>.

65 Turkish Republic Minister of Culture and Tourism, “Belgeli Turizm İşletmelerinde Yabancı Personel ve Sanatkarların Çalıştırılması Hakkında Yönetmelik”, Resmi Gazete Tarihi: 01.03.1983 Resmi Gazete Sayısı: 17974.

is specially aiming Turkey either through studies or work. Some policies are defined toward those immigrations as we just saw here but we can also observe the fact that there is no policy oriented towards the cultural rights and/or the cultural and artistic contribution of immigrants in Turkey. I sustain that there is a possibility for Turkey to engage serious cultural policies for migrants in those conditions. Nevertheless, I believe there is a *sine qua non* condition for healthy cultural policies to be established for migrants in Turkey: the recognition and protection of minority rights. Those rights and their recognition will shape the field of diversity to which the migrants' cultural bringing can then be added. It is not conceivable to consider migrant's cultural rights before national minorities' ones.

1.2.2 Minorities' cultural rights in Turkey

The efforts regarding the observance of the cultural rights of migrant minorities in Turkey can gain in sense if and only if the cultural rights of all citizens, especially national minorities are guaranteed. One isn't the practical condition of the other but both together are the proof of a real cultural policy procedure. Thus, the question of cultural rights for migrants passes through the question of minorities' cultural rights in the country.

“The recognition of different cultural identities is one of the most important problems of liberal democracies of our time (...) because of the definition and application of the liberal democracy sustaining the principle of the equal representation of all citizens”.⁶⁶ As Füsün Üstel underlines it, minorities' rights is a problem of today that nation-states have to face seriously.

⁶⁶ Füsün ÜSTEL, *Yurttaşlık ve Demokrasi*, Dost Kitabevi, Ankara, 1999, p. 15 (translation).

But, even though some countries are constructed on unitary state models like France or Spain, this very same issue experiences different ways of being resolved. As France refuses to sign the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities in the name of the equality of all citizens in the eyes of the state, regardless of religion, language or race, the Spanish constitution is recognizing officially the different peoples and cultures of Spain on the criteria that “(...)the sovereignty doesn't belong to the Spanish nation but to the whole Spanish people.”⁶⁷ As France, Turkey is a unitary state that didn't sign the Framework Convention, but as in France, the debate is very fiery and solutions are still to be found.

The first treaty to mention the rights of national minorities in Turkey is that very one that is recognizing officially today's frontiers for the Republic of Turkey, the Treaty of Peace with Turkey signed in Lausanne (1923). But this treaty is considered by the State as concerning only “non-Moslem minorities” as minorities and thus not Kurds, Alevi, Arabs or other Muslim minorities of Turkey. We shall remember that minorities' rights were taken seriously only after the Second World War and that today's ideas about the subject weren't mature at all by the time of the signature of the Treaty. The Treaty is regulating the “Protection of Minorities” in the Section III in 9 articles. To summarize, these articles ensure the freedom and rights of non-Muslim minorities under the protection of the United Nations Organization. The treaty guarantees a freedom and protection of religious practice and of language speaking, learning and teaching in schools founded by representatives of minorities with the help of the public fund or even founded by the government itself in geographies with a majority of such national minority for primary schools. It also guarantees a free use of the language of their own before the courts, and in private intercourse, commerce, religion, press, publications and public meetings. It guarantees a

⁶⁷ *ibid.*, p.18 (translation).

freedom of movement and emigration, and the accession to the same civil and political rights like public employment as the other citizens. And it prescribes the creation of commissions to elaborate measures permitting the settlement of family law and personal status questions in accordance with the customs of those minorities.⁶⁸ It is interesting to notice this last point as it reminds us of some understanding of today's multiculturalist practices. Actually, Baskın Oran even says that the *Millet Sistemi* of the Ottoman Empire was a multiculturalist system until 1856.⁶⁹ But although it is a very interesting subject to study, I don't have the capacities to elaborate more on the Ottoman multiculturalist policies in this thesis. Nevertheless, the Treaty of Lausanne hasn't been observed in all its dimensions as today even non-Muslim minorities are expressing similar needs.

The minorities' rights have been the field of a battle that is still going on especially between the Kurdish minority and the Turkish State. The history of this battle is much broader than my reach and I will make do with encompass tools. Thus, the Minority Rights Group International report on Turkey made in 2008 gives us a short summary of the evolution witnessed today. This report is criticizing the resistance of Turkey to adopt measures to ensure the rights of minorities. Namely, the “Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities” established in 1995 by the Council of Europe is still not signed or ratified by several countries for which structure is based on the concept of nation like France and thus Turkey. But, when France is trying to develop policies to conciliate the “indivisibility of the nation” with the individual freedoms still with many shortcomings and problems, we can see that

The multicultural heritage of Turkey is still not espoused by the highest

68 Treaty of Lausanne, 24 July 1923, Section III “Protection of Minorities”, article 37 to 45.

69 Baskın ORAN, “Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e mülkiyet politikaları ve gayrimüslimler: 1936 beyannamesi”, in *Türkiye'de azınlık hakları sorunu: vatandaşlık ve demokrasi eksenli bir yaklaşım – uluslararası konferans tebliğleri – 9-10 aralık 2005, İstanbul*, TESEV, İstanbul, March 2006, p. 25.

echelons of the State; (...). The minorities are experiencing a multifaceted discrimination, the existence of minorities who are not Sunnite is still denied, the use of minority languages or symbols in the public space can lead to penal prosecutions, non-Moslems are still not hired as government officials and the assembly is not representing the will of the people or the multiculturalism of the society.⁷⁰

This shows us how Turkey keeps on having a cautious attitude towards that type of human rights. The report is here telling that the support for cultural diversity is not even mentioned as the simple use of “languages or symbols” still represents a threat. Also the “Minority and cultural rights report” established in 2004 by the group conducted by Baskın Oran was concluding on very concrete decisions to take as the rewriting of the Constitution for a pluralistic democratic content, the right to develop one’s own identity and culture, the transparency of the central and local governments, and the signature of universal norms of human rights and freedoms.⁷¹

Again in 2011, the report published by the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) is still pointing at all the discriminations happening even at the state level toward minorities. But the report also acknowledges positive steps taken in the direction of the fight against racism and discriminations, and thus of democracy. It recognizes the importance of the “democratic initiative” announced by the government in 2009. We shall remember that this initiative was initiated by the government for two main reasons: bringing peace in the war led against Kurdish separatists since 1990's and opening an area of dialogue to listen to and understand the Kurdish political

70 Minority Rights Group International, *RAPOR – Bir Eşitlik Arayışı : Türkiye’de azınlıklar*, September 2007, chap. “İlerleme yönünde adımlar”, p.34 (translation).

71 The Human Rights Advisory Board, *The Minority Rights and Cultural Rights Working Group Report*, October 2004, p. 7-8.

democratic claims. This second point, mainly based on cultural rights as the free use of the language has led to the opening of several Kurdish courses in state universities for example. But the war couldn't be stopped and the “initiative” actually led to the judgment of opposition leaders. On the other side, ECRI defines the improvements made as follows: “the authorities have begun to move towards an important new vision and understanding of the diversity of Turkish society and of steps that could be taken to ensure that all of its members are able to participate fully irrespective of their culture, language or ethnic origin”.⁷² The problem of the passion that is leading to tensions in the debate remains to be solved and this means sensitization in the political spheres and in the civil society about the principles of education in mother tongue in general or bringing justice in past criminal events.

Another improvement to note is the “regulation about the languages and dialects traditionally used in the daily life of Turkish citizens in radio and televised diffusions”.⁷³ That regulation allows the diffusion in those languages (but not the teaching of those languages through diffusions) during a certain amount of time every day. Also, there is the “regulation about the learning of the languages and dialects traditionally used in the daily life of Turkish citizens”,⁷⁴ to allow private institutions to provide their clients with minority language teaching courses. We shall not mix up the teaching of the language and the education in that language, the concerned fellows still don't have the right to access a public education in their mother-tongue.

From the point of view of migration, the question of linguistic rights is, as for other European cases, very secondary compared to national minorities'

72 ECRI, *ECRI Report on Turkey – (Fourth monitoring cycle)*, Council of Europe, adopted on 10 December 2010, published on 8 February 2011, “chap. VII – Democratic Initiative”, p. 46.

73 “Türk vatandaşlarının günlük yaşamlarında geleneksel olarak kullandıkları farklı dil ve lehçelerde yapılacak radyo ve televizyon yayınları hakkında yönetmelik”, July 2003.

74 “Türk vatandaşlarının günlük yaşamlarında geleneksel olarak kullandıkları farklı dil ve lehçelerin öğrenilmesi hakkında yönetmelik”, December 2003.

linguistic needs. Even more, linguistic rights don't seem to be a claim for the immigrants in Turkey. Again, those rights would make sense in the case of a probable return to the country of origin. Also, the language issue for immigrants always comes within an assimilation process, not as an integrational one. Indeed, the immigrant is never expected to bring new features in the structure of the language but to learn it as such (even if hybrid forms exist among bilinguals).

But confronting the others national minorities' claims (cited by Oran) with immigrants' cultural needs, it can be stressed out that rights like identity protection or association rights are the bases to prepare the field in the context of a pluralistic Constitution.

1.2.3 Reading of the national intentions towards migrants

Now that we have a clearer outline of the situation for minorities in Turkey concerning their cultural rights, we can more easily analyze the situation for migrants. Yet, the government has taken initiatives to change the situation regarding their rights and duties. Those evolutions have been expressed through the National Action Plan toward migration and asylum.

The “National Action Plan about asylum and migration” is absolutely revealing of a shift of political intention in Turkey. There are very important changes brought to the recognition of the status of asylum seekers and the rights of all migrants as free circulation or residence rules. But despite those, the point that is the most interesting for this thesis is obviously the chapter about the

integration of asylum seekers, refugees and migrants from other categories.⁷⁵ To summarize, the Plan draws the attention upon several points. Article 4.9.1 mentions the creation of an institution that shall regulate and supervise the integration activities of “aliens” in addition to the system that exists for asylum seekers and refugees. An integration policy and system should be created and bear procedures that explain clearly the rights and responsibilities of “aliens”. Municipalities and local governments are involved in the provision of aid and assistance. Also, NGOs and other relevant institutions should be involved in integration issues. Concretely, the application of such decisions is realized through those:

- The state may allow institutions which may carry out (or contribute to) integration activities to play a role in implementation in order to benefit from tax deduction. (...)
- Communication may be established with friendly family groups to be formed by NGOs for certain social groups.
- The State should promote integration programs through the press and the media in order to ensure the full exercise of social and cultural rights;(...).
- Consultancy services to facilitate integration should be provided. A system similar to “au pair” may be considered for the aliens to adapt to cultural life easier, and to become self sufficient.
- The communication of aliens with NGOs may be strengthened and merging into the Turkish society may be encouraged for the integration of aliens.
- Financial funds should be provided to parties, which shall carry out integration activities, obtained directly from the government budget and from official international institutions, UN, EU, UNHCR, IOM and NGOs

75 Asylum and Migration Legislation, Chap. II: Turkish National Action Plan, article 4.9, Ankara, February 2005, p. 42.

in cooperation.

It can be noticed here that the Plan proposes only an “adaptation” to the cultural life. Integration still seems to be put aside because of this temporary character attributed to immigration in Turkey. Article 4.9.2 proposes to the aliens to enjoy “education and other social rights”, Turkish language learning should be established. “Language learning, cultural adaptation activities and, in relation to that, integration should be encouraged.” This should be done with NGOs and universities. The training of teachers for Turkish as a foreign language. “Vocational training should be provided for parents.” Here there is a real step forward in the sense of integration. “Vocational trainings” and language courses seem to envisage a situation of stay. On social assistance, article 4.9.5 is not exactly precise about how the problem should be dealt with but it says that foreigners “shall not be in conflict with the cultural life” and that “whether such people have the desire and will to adapt to the Turkish society should be studied”. This study should most certainly appear relevant to them in that case. Article 4.9.6 on access to labor market is very interesting as it mentions that “Employment opportunities may be created according to their skills and knowledge.” It denotes a skilled-migration potentiality in Turkey. Also, here is the article that is namely speaking about cultural rights :

4.9.7. Access to Social, Economical and Cultural rights : Third country citizens should enjoy social, economical and cultural rights, except for the right to elect and to be elected, to the extent close that of the citizens of the country. Measures shall be taken for them to take part in social activities, and regulations shall be made for them to attain literacy in Turkish in order to benefit from social services. Furthermore, naturalization procedures should be made easier for those, who are not

of at least one nationality and willing to be naturalized, (...). Within this scope, they should have a good command of Turkish, have at least a minimum knowledge about the laws, which establish the public order, the traditions and customs, be financially self sufficient, and not constitute a burden for the state. (...)

As I noted before, the minorities' rights represent more or less the limits of the State's capacity to develop integration policies for immigrants. The Plan seems still very cautious to me, the immigrants' cultural rights defined as a right to “take part in social activities” isn't quite defining of the enjoyment of cultural rights. And finally the only article that is taking the Turkish side as the principal actor of the integration process is the 4.11. “Creating Public Awareness”. That article defends that creating an awareness among the society about asylum and migrant related issues is important for the promotion of the understanding of Turkey's obligations. That would mean that the use of media for a sensitization is proposed as for Banting and Kymlicka's multiculturalism policies for migrants.

The Plan also believes that the creation of an awareness is important for the integration of migrants. Such integration would then logically imply the introduction to the immigrants' cultures, or at least of the historical reasons that pushed them to Turkey. Interestingly, according to the Plan, this awareness should be created with the medium of “the support of European Commission, UNHCR and relevant NGOs, and with the participation of the relevant academic circles and think tanks”, but I believe that the actual concerned people (immigrants) associations should be the main actors of such a dialogue between the Turkish society and the migrant society. Indeed, NGOs and UNHCR can give precious knowledge about the situation of migrants in terms of economical or health and education situation, but not create a cultural dialogue that would

actually enhance the integration of the immigrants. Unless the integration plan is aiming only to provoke a relation of pity, I don't believe it is a healthy point of view.

To have a clearer opinion about what is exactly meant in this Action Plan, we draw a table that explains each decision, the involved parties, and the topic concerned (Table 1).

Table 1: Functions of the “institution for integration” and of the “integration policy and system” implemented in the National Action Plan

Decisions	Applications	Parties	Tools
Integration activities	Explain rights and responsibilities	NGOs + Municipalities + Local governments	<u>Promotion</u> of the programs with the help of press and media. <u>Funding</u> from the government + UN + EU + UNHCR + IOM + NGOs
	Turkish language learning – for children	NGOs + Universities + Pilot Schools	
	Vocational training – for parents		
	Cultural adaptation activities		
	Citizenship introduction programs	(unspecified)	
	Employment opportunities using skills and knowledge	Turkish Employment Agency + Private employment offices	
Services	Consultancy services (au pair system)	NGOs + Municipalities + Local governments	
	Access to health care and social services		
Host country's involvement	Training of Turkish language teachers	Universities	Academic Circles + Think tanks
	Public awareness	European Commission + UNHCR + NGOs	

Thus according to the Plan, the needs for migrants to be integrated in the

society are economic and social but there is also a humanitarian issue there. Indeed, the report published in 2011 and elaborated by the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance denounces racist treatments inflicted on asylum seekers and refugees.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, the report seems largely insufficient considering that illegal migrants are not even mentioned for all the attempts to their human rights that are inflicted like slavery and illegal confine for the only reasons that they are foreigners. Also the assassination of the Nigerian football player and migrant Festus Okey by Turkish police in Istanbul is not even mentioned in the chapter “Racist Violence”.⁷⁷

Anyway, the National Action Plan toward migration and refuge isn't proposing a policy to rule for the government but it is stipulating basic rights of those migrants to be respected. This plan is important when taken as the minimum rights and services brought to migrants. Naturally, the problems of capacity and of legalization of migrants aren't raised in the Plan and I want to tackle these subjects in this thesis. The elements I gathered here are useful because they are revealing which parties are involved in the social, economical and cultural integration of foreigners.

The cultural and artistic dimension isn't even mentioned whereas it is actually a source of great richness. This affirmation constitutes the argument of the next chapter. To me, the integration of the migrants is to be taken from the beginning within the cultural encounter. Formations created by culture and art are stronger in an immigration context than at home. As Martiniello and Lafleur say, “the same music that is listened to solely for entertainment purposes in the country of origin may very well contribute to the process of identity formation amongst the migrants and their offspring in the country of settlement.”⁷⁸ This

76 Council of Europe, *ECRI Report on Turkey, (fourth monitoring cycle)*, 2011, p.39.

77 *ibid.*, p.42.

78 Marco MARTINIELLO, and Jean-Michel LAFLEUR, “Ethnic Minorities' Cultural and Artistic Practices as Forms of Political Expression: A Review of the Literature and a

different type of apprehending is now studied in the context of the Sub-Saharan African migration to Turkey and more precisely in Istanbul.

CHAPTER 2

SCANNING AFRICAN CULTURAL PRESENCE IN TURKEY AND ISTANBUL

The emergence of a Black African community in Turkey is a quite recent phenomenon. Even though there are still some reminders of the African slave trade to the Ottoman Empire in the skin color of some citizens of the modern republic of Turkey.⁷⁹ According to Toledano, “a steady stream of about 11,000 to 13,000 slaves per annum entered the (Ottoman) empire from Africa and the Caucasus”.⁸⁰ But those descendants of Eastern African ancestors have been deeply culturally assimilated and never considered as migrants. This is why that part of the population is out of our reach and cannot be included in this thesis. On the contrary, the community I want to discuss about in this thesis is constituted by Sub-Saharan African migrants who are relatively newcomers, they are predominantly born in Africa, which means that they are a first generation migrants. They came by their own will to Turkey during the last few decades. Apparently, there doesn't seem to be a link of solidarity between the two groups and that's why the first one does not fall within the scope of this study.

79 cf. the book written by a descendant of African slave, Mustafa OLPAK, *Köle Kıyısından İnsan Biyografileri – Kenya-Girit-Istanbul*, Ozan Yayıncılık, November 2006.

80 EHUD R. TOLEDANO, “Late Ottoman Concepts of Slavery (1830s-1880s)”, *Poetics Today*, Vol. 14, No. 3, *Cultural Processes in Muslim and Arab Societies: Modern Period I* (Autumn, 1993), pp. 477-506 .

A second aspect of that migration compared to migrations from other parts of the world to Turkey, Sub-Saharan Africans are very few and their presence is not exactly representative of the migration flow to Turkey. Thus, it is interesting to analyze strategies of cultural and identity existence even in such little numbers. The cultural presence isn't determined by the numerical presence but by other parameters.

This chapter is studying the African cultural presence in Istanbul today. First I introduce the Sub-Saharan African migration to Turkey to frame my argumentation in the context of this particular migration. Then I present the community building processes of Africans in Istanbul. Finally, I introduce my field study in an analysis of cultural needs of African artists in Istanbul and cultural workers in Turkey.

2.1 Distinctiveness of the African immigration in Turkey

The migration flows that take grounds in Africa (meaning the migration that are internal to the African continent and displacements of populations inside a given country plus the ones that are in an external movement to the continent) represents 19 million of migrants i.e. 9 percent of the global migrations according to IOM⁸¹. That would mean that the flow going to or through Turkey from Africa has a great potentiality, because if Turkey is a recently used path for Africans to go to Europe, its use might grow bigger with two determinants. The first one is the growing difficulties of using the path that follows the North of Africa for the purpose of reaching Europe. Indeed, as Jean-François Pérouse mentions it in his research about Maghrebis in Istanbul: “Movements of transit strictly speaking seem more recent. They are linked to the relative closing of the access to Europe through “natural” paths, meaning Spain, Italy or France; closing that can be related to the establishment of the Schengen space”.⁸² The actual situation with the political events in Libya is seriously perturbing this order but we can still see it as a matter of fact if we consider that the events in Libya are conjectural. The signs of the intensification of the use of Turkey as a transit way to Europe for the Maghrebis dates back to the beginning of the 1990's according to Pérouse's research.

81 IOM, *Etat de la Migration dans le Monde 2010*, 2010 Organisation internationale pour les migrations, p.127.

82 Jean-François PEROUSE, « Transits maghrébins à Istanbul : trajectoires, profils et stratégies », *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* [online], 119-120 | novembre 2007, <http://remmm.revues.org/index4183.html>, p.118 (translations).

For Black Africans, we can assume that the same years can be taken as an hypothesis for the beginning of the migration as the reasons for the use of that path is external to Maghrebis as much as to Black Africans. The second determinant is the expansion of relations between African countries and Turkey in terms of diplomacy and business. Indeed, cooperation summits and international congresses are taking place between the continent and Turkey since 2005. One of them even lead to the signature of the Framework of Cooperation for Africa-Turkey Partnership in 2008.⁸³ As a matter of fact, in her work, Aslı Öcal also considers the African students coming to Turkey at the beginning of the 1990's as witnesses of the evolution of this African migration in the country.⁸⁴

2.1.1 African Presence in Turkey

The migration coming from Africa to Turkey is very diverse in its motivations but we can summarize them in four types of situation. Economical migration, trade-based migration, educational migration and asylum seeking migration. The economical one is due to the social inequalities generated by the economic collapse. This very migration is most of times the reasons for xenophobic behaviors because those people are accused of coming to “rich countries” to take the money there, to steal job opportunities, and of being dirty because they are poor. This point is very controversial as economic poverty can prevent someone from accessing to his/her fundamental rights (education, decent life, housing...) in contexts where the State is not able to provide every citizen with

⁸³ Framework of Cooperation for Africa-Turkey Partnership, Istanbul, 19 August 2008.

⁸⁴Aslı ÖCAL, *Les Migrants Issus de l'Afrique Noire à Istanbul*, undergraduate thesis, Galatasaray University, June 2005.

basic social services. Also, this migration is not a subject of criminalization when agreed by the emigration and immigration countries together. But it is called illegal when not previously regulated.

The trade-based migration, also called “shuttle trade” by the economists,⁸⁵ doesn't necessarily mean settlement in the country of trading. But this might be sometimes the case and the goods involved in the trading are diverse. Pérouse is talking about this migration with the case of Maghrebis⁸⁶ but there is no real information about that specific migration from Sub-Saharan Africa to Turkey today. Also, an unfolding research lead by Mahir Şaul is willing to throw light on this kind of trade between Western Africa and Turkey. It appears that traditional masks are imported from Africa to be sold in Turkey but that most of the informal traders seem to be quite pessimistic about the chances of selling the items related to the African culture that are successful on the European and the American market. African traders are coming to Turkey because of the agreements and resolutions between some African countries and Turkey.

Turkish-African relations are only based on trade and encouraged since 1998. 2008 was declared the year of “Action Plan for the Opening to Africa” (Afrika'ya Açılım Eylem Planı). According to the “African Institute” of Turkey, an institute created for promoting this type of trade-based relations, the relations with the continent are aiming to “realize humanitarian aid, to multiply diplomatic representations on the continent, to conclude economic, technical, scientific cooperations and commerce agreements, and to help the rapprochement between Turkey and Africa in every field”.⁸⁷ Thus it isn't very

85 Cf. the definition gave by the OECD: “Shuttle trade refers to the activity in which individual entrepreneurs buy goods abroad and import them for resale in street markets or small shops. Often the goods are imported without full declaration in order to avoid import duties.”
[online] <http://stats.oecd.org/glossary/detail.asp?ID=2459>.

86 PÉROUSE, *op. cit.*

87 Ufuk TEPEBAŞ, *Türkiye'nin Afrika Açılımı ve Türkiye-Afrika İş Birliği Zirvesi*, 2008,

surprising to find a lot of African traders in Turkey. I met two for my research. One of them happens to be the “general secretary” of the informal Nigerian Community in Istanbul that is very well established. People from this migration are not “illegal” because they have a visa to Turkey and they keep on coming and going between African countries and Turkey.

The educational migration is linked to the policies of Turkey oriented on attracting foreign students. Among all studies about the African migrants in Turkey, this point is only evoked by Aslı Öcal in her work.⁸⁸ Those people are totally “legal” as they were granted with a scholarship to come to study in Turkey. They passed a university entrance exam and they followed a one year-Turkish language course before starting their education. The integration of this very population seems more urgent than the others because they are in a total immersion with Turkish people and are more isolated than other African migrants.

The last case of migration from Africa is the asylum seeking one, this means that people claim (in front of the UNHCR) that they qualify for international protection. The matter of knowing how can someone qualify for international protection is a very specific and hard one. The 1951 Refugee Convention defines a refugee as someone who "owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country."⁸⁹ But this definition is controversial, as Brewer and Yüksekler are pointing out⁹⁰ the fact that the Organization for

[online] <http://www.tasamafrika.org/en/archive/articles/251-tuerkiyenin-afrika-acim-ve-tuerkiye-afrika-birlii-zirvesi.html>.

88 ÖCAL, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

89 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees of 1951, Chapter 1, Article 1 “Definition of the term “refugee””, A-2.

90 BREWER and YÜKSEKER, *op. cit.*, p.13.

African Unity had to redefine for its own frontiers the meaning accorded to the term “refugee” in the “Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa”.⁹¹ Here, refugees can also be persons who “owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence.” According to İcduygu, “African irregular migration and asylum seeking in Turkey is a case in point which demonstrates the intermingling of asylum seeking and irregular migration.”⁹² This argument is also sustained by Brewer and Yükseker that asylum seeking and economically motivated irregular migration are intertwined because most often “generalized violence and economic collapse are also correlated”. All those types of migration from Africa imply different legal status and different object of study for researchers. Nevertheless, all researches made about the African migration are considering the four types together and not as different processes. Because whatever the reason for migrating, the cultural and social conditions of life of those migrants remains more or less the same. Also we see in the following pages that the culturally active African migrants also belong to all those types of categories.

There is not any exact data about the presence of the Africans in Turkey. The undocumented migrants' flows are uncontrolled and difficult to discern from the transitory migration. We can only estimate a very approximate number by comparing different data and proposing estimation projection. The migrant stock (Table 2) taken from the United Nations Population Division tells us about the migration from all countries in Turkey.

91 Convention de l'OUA régissant les aspects propres aux problèmes des Réfugiés en Afrique, 1969, article 1.2, [online] http://www.africa-union.org/root/au/Documents/Treaties/treaties_fr.htm.

92 Ahmet İÇDUYGU, *Rethinking irregular migration in Turkey: Some Demo-Economic Reflections*, CARIM AS 2008/72, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, San Domenico di Fiesole (FI): European University Institute, 2008, p.7.

Table 2: Turkey's migrant stock, the 2008 revision.

Indicator	2005	2010
Estimated number of international migrants at mid-year	1 333 883	1 410 947
Estimated number of refugees at mid-year	2 716	4 795
Population at mid-year (thousands)	71 169	75 705
Estimated number of female migrants at mid-year	693 326	734 116
Estimated number of male migrants at mid-year	640 557	676 831
International migrants as a percentage of the population	1.9	1.9
Female migrants as percentage of all international migrants	52.0	52.0
Refugees as a percentage of international migrants	0.2	0.3

Source: United Nations Population Division

Those calculated data show us how the refugee portion of immigrants in Turkey is very insignificant compared to the whole mass, it represents more or less 0.3%. But this data calculated with the help of the censuses made in the country on the basis that every person who is born in a foreign country is an immigrant.⁹³ That means that undocumented immigrants are certainly not recorded in this estimation. On the other hand, we have the Foreigners' Police's data about apprehensions for illegal immigration by country of origin (Table 3) that is a source given by Brewer and Ykseker in their research *A Survey on African Migrants and Asylum Seekers in Istanbul*.⁹⁴

93 United Nations, *International Migration Stock: The 2008 Revision*, [online] <http://esa.un.org/migration/index.asp?panel=4>.

94 BREWER and YKSEKER, *op. cit.*

Table 3: Breakdown by country of origin of apprehension for illegal migration (1995-2005)

Sub-Saharan African countries	Benin	6	Ghana	401	Senegal	548
	Botswana	2	Guinea	123	Sierra Leone	940
	Burundi	149	Kenya	224	Somalia	8512
	Cameroon	124	Lesotho	1	South Afr.	952
	Central Afr. Rep.	39	Liberia	211	Sudan	735
	Chad	56	Mali	42	Swaziland	18
	Djibouti	1	Mozambique	3	Togo	8
	Eritrea	145	Niger	345	Zaire	10
	Ethiopia	477	Nigeria	2049	Zimbabwe	21
	Gambia	159	Congo	265	W. Sahara	4
			Rwanda	480		
Total Sub-Saharan African countries					17052	
Selected countries	Afghanistan	64922	Georgia	16445	Poland	929
	Armenia	3723	Iraq	107712	Romania	21519
	Azerbaijan	10618	Iran	24248	Syria	6906
	Bangladesh	17389	Moldova	51434	Tadjikistan	285
Total of all apprehensions of all countries					580139	

Source: Foreigner's Police cited in Brewer and Yüксеker's survey

This data shows us how many of undocumented migrants are coming from a

Sub-Saharan African country. Yet, it doesn't say what portion of the illegal migrant population those illegal immigrants represent. They are only the ones who have been apprehended. This data dates back from 2005. As we could see on the other table there was a multiplication by 1.05 of immigrants in five years, we can assume that this data can be multiplied proportionally. We then find about 18 000 Africans for a total of 609 145 undocumented migrants. Africans represent then about 3% of the undocumented migrant population. Thus, we can estimate very roughly that, as the total of legal and undocumented African migrants in Turkey is 18 000 undocumented plus 3% of the legal migrants meaning approximately 42 300 people, equals to 60 000 African migrants in Turkey.

As I underlined in the introduction, according to Brewer and Yüksekler, even if numerically little compared to other migrant groups, the presence of Africans in Turkey is increasing every year.

The origin of Africans in Istanbul is also to establish. The data of apprehended undocumented African migrants established a record of 8 512 Somalis and 2 049 Nigerians in 2005. We must remember that those data change and depend a lot on the political situation of countries. Some periods can see an increase of migrants from different countries according to a state of war, to an economic crisis, to political, racial, religious, linguistic persecutions and so on. Nevertheless, the most comprehensive study made about African migrants in Istanbul, Brewer and Yüksekler's study, is counting also a majority of Somalian and Nigerian respondents among the 133 people subjected to the questionnaire, Congolese and Ethiopians come right after them.⁹⁵ Another quantitative study made about African migrants in Istanbul, Nicolas Fait's geographical research, shows us another perspective of the origin question. He compares the role of each element in the community building. For example, he

95 BREWER and YÜKSEKER, *op. cit.*, p. 73, table 4.5.

draws a diagram of the relation between Senegalese and Mauritians because of their common Muslim religion, between Senegalese and Ivorians because of the French vehicular language and between the three of them because of the Soninke vernacular language.⁹⁶

Also, Fait is studying the paths followed by Africans to reach Istanbul in a complex mapping system. This survey is concerning 19 African migrants so the paths studied here might not be exactly representative but it is still very instructive to understand the kind of trip made by those migrants. Fait did the mapping of the paths of migrants coming from Africa by plane, by foot, by train, by car or truck, and by boat, the mapping of the countries where they come from, the type of aid they benefit before, during and after the trip. So, according to Fait, there are several itineraries and means of transportation used by the Sub-Saharan African migrants to reach Turkey. New paths are constantly found by the smugglers who define their ways in accordance with the ones that police doesn't control yet. One way broadly used is the air transport. Indeed, Turkey used to not require the visitor to obtain a visa before coming to Turkey for a lot of Sub-Saharan African countries. "Illegality" starts when one stays in the country longer than the period authorized for the tourists. But most of Africans now need to get visas before they take the plane to Turkey. Other paths, "illegal" ones, are across the sea or the frontiers. According to Fait, the path across the sea requires such an important amount of money as 1500 to 2000 US\$ to give to the smuggler for the path through the Mashriq. Most of migrants from the Horn of Africa use this path that goes through the countries of Mashriq by land and then to Turkey by sea. On the other hand, migrants from Sahelian countries that have common frontiers with Arab countries also pass through the Mashriq or by the sea after

96 Nicolas FAIT, *Migrants Africains à Istanbul, Naissance et pérennité d'un territoire migratoire récent*, Université Lille 1, UFR de géographie, master mention Géographie, Milieu et Territoire, 2009-2010, p. 58, figure 9.

crossing the Sahara.⁹⁷ This path study wasn't one of the concerns of the study I led among artists as they all came by plane for diverse reasons but it is still important to take into account this type of research. Thus now we have an approximate opinion of which Africans are coming for what reasons and through what ways. Those migrants have also been the subject of the study of survival strategies in the city of Istanbul.

2.1.2 Surviving in Istanbul

Koray Özdil studied in diverse senses the strategies used by Africans to survive in Istanbul. His thesis "*To Get a Paper To Get a Job*": *the Quite Struggles of African Foreigners in Istanbul*⁹⁸ is an analysis of the different forms of struggles of African foreigners in the city "on the basis of daily survival". It studies the ways of approaching the struggle in parallel with the migration regime of The Republic of Turkey and its approach to the foreigner in the creation of the national identity. The thesis is aiming to understand how Turkish practices upon immigration (detention, deportation, criminalization, and police inspection) have an impact on the nature of the relation of those migrants with the administration and are engendering those "quite struggles" led by African foreigners. To the contrary of Nicolas Fait, Koray Özdil is maintaining that African migrants are aiming to stay in Istanbul and that they divide in two groups; the ones who were able to cross the border and the ones who had to come back to Istanbul (after trying several times) and who resign themselves to foresee a viable life in Istanbul. This thesis is very instructive because it

⁹⁷ *ibid*, p. 40-42 and p. 45 figure 4 for the map of the clandestine paths from Africa.

⁹⁸ Koray, ÖZDİL, "*To Get a Paper to Get a Job*": *The Quite Struggles of African Foreigners in Istanbul, Turkey*, MA thesis, Central European University, Budapest, 2008.

enlightens us about daily life of Africans in Istanbul generally and cultural life as a form of struggle particularly. But the author decided to work solely upon West-Africans because he would be able to communicate with them in English, not because they represent a particularity in their ways of cultural gathering and expression. As Nicolas Fait also mentions it, Africans are victims of violence due to their physical distinctiveness. Nevertheless, Koray Özdil doesn't take the risk to attribute racism to the whole Turkish society but he analyses this treatment from national police as a mirror of the attitude of the Turkish state toward immigrants in a State based point of view. Özdil is confirming that cultural life of Africans in Istanbul is a matter of viability and a way to foresee a new life, or maybe to impose a cultural behavior needed for survival. There is the example of the *Lady V* Nigerian restaurant that Koray Özdil is talking about in his undergrad thesis.⁹⁹ This paper by Koray Özdil is a detailed analysis of a lived experience that is mentioned in his master thesis. He tells the story of a man victim of stigmatization (because of the colour of his skin) from some young people of the Turkish population who asked him for drugs. The paper then retraces the path of the African presence in Istanbul and how those migrants tried to organize in an association to find ways of making their rights being recognized, but the association could never be legally recognized. I also met Nigerian migrants during my research and it is interesting to notice how this community is definitely better organized and intending to create a space of living in Istanbul as we see in the following pages. Koray Özdil is analyzing how African migrants, victims of racism even in the administration, find ways to spend a rather normal life in Istanbul. This short study is more oriented on the problems of obtaining a legal status and on an 'African approach' to this problem. Another research we found upon this subject is again an article by

99 Koray ÖZDİL, *New forms of Inclusion/Exclusion: Undocumented Nigerian Immigrants in Istanbul*, undergrad thesis, Sabancı University, 2006.

Koray Özdil.¹⁰⁰ Özdil is here explaining very clearly how the only state of clandestineness or irregularity doesn't explain the causes and nature of particular immigrant experiences, and that migrants are victims of exclusion, isolation and spatial marginalization because of the legal system dynamics of the host society (Turkish).

From a society based point of view, Nicolas Fait is also raising the problem of a “newly discovered Turkish racism” against Black people. The stigmatization of that population is also studied in the context of urban life in Aslı Öcal's research.¹⁰¹ According to interviews made by Öcal, Africans in Tarlabası are complaining about people of Kurdish origin having racist and even violent behaviors toward them. This racism has different dimension and effect on the lives of African migrants. For example, even if some “free residences” are put at the disposal for asylum seekers in provincial centers of Turkey, it appears that all Africans surveyed and interviewed in the Brewer and Yüksekser's study preferred to live in Istanbul because others cities were not hospitable places for foreigners. The researches also denote a need to live together in a community build on the basis of the continent of origin and sometimes countries to protect themselves from that racism among other reasons.

On the other hand, to the contrary of all studies reviewed here, Brewer and Yüksekser's survey shows that most Africans declare having good relations with Turkish citizens against a little minority saying they do have bad or no relations with them (only ten of them declare having bad relations with Turkish citizens). Yet, almost all the migrants who stayed for less than one year in Turkey declared they did not speak Turkish, this point helps us out understanding much better the limited interactions between the migrant and a minority of educated

100 Koray ÖZDİL, “Creating New Spaces, Claiming Rights. West African Immigrants in Istanbul”, in *Public Istanbul – Spaces and Spheres of the Urban*, ed. by Frank ECKARDT, and Kathrin WILDNER, 2008.

101 ÖCAL, *op. cit.*

part of the host population (those who can speak English or French for example).¹⁰²

Özdil's article in "Public Istanbul" is this time happening in a place called *Amina's Restaurant*. Özdil explains in a different way how the discriminative attitude of Turkish citizens is also due to the conditions of living of Africans as in his past studies. Özdil concludes on describing the attempts of using the public spaces by Africans in these words: "immigrants' social spaces play a central role. Drawing upon my ethnographic study, I argue that new public spaces created by African immigrants can be identified as a challenge to the exclusionary mechanisms of the host society".

Those public spaces and the cultural use of them brings a positive aspect to the African presence on both sides, for a better knowledge by Turkish citizens of the Africans and for an attempt for inclusion or integration by the African immigrants as I study it with some entertainment places in the following pages.

2.1.3 A settled life in Istanbul

Considering the fact that all studies about African migrants note the creation of social spaces, the "transitory" aspect can leave its place for a settled one. Indeed, Fait analyses a possibility of a "transitory integration" that would lead, together with the Europeanization of Turkey, to the status of Turkey changing toward a country of immigration, notably African. Also, Brewer and Yüksesker's study aims to explore the means that population procures to itself to survive in the city. The researchers thus lead field studies in places of socializing frequented by Africans, they analyze all kinds of "faith-based community

102 BREWER and YÜKSEKER, *op. cit.*, p. 85, table 4.22 and 4.25.

building, informal entrepreneurship, playing football, marriages within the group or with Turkish citizens” as being “various aspects of the efforts of many African migrants in Istanbul to build their lives.”¹⁰³ As for Öcal, African students are in a different position compared to other African migrants because they are linguistically integrated and their social integration is comparable to the ones who arrived a long time ago (10 to 20 years) and who are engaged in commercial business (formal or informal) between Turkey and their country of working on the African continent.¹⁰⁴

African migrants seem to have a settled life also in terms of a cultural identity, indeed Öcal is perceiving an affirmation of a belonging to a general “African identity”, one interviewee says “when I’m asked who I am, I say that I’m African and proud of it”¹⁰⁵ and then talking about the long-term staying migrants saying that they created an “afro-turkish” culture as much as they want to represent the African identity in Turkey. Talking about his place, the owner of the reggae bar *Nayah* (a Sudanese ex-migrant I also interviewed) is evoking that the mission of the place is to “make disappear races and colors”.

But like Brewer and Yüксеker, Öcal is suggesting that places of worship aren't socializing areas as bars and cafés. Indeed, churches and mosques don't seem to be places of communion between peoples as there is either a language barrier or a lack of interest for each other. The third part of Fait's thesis which concerns the daily life of African migrants is also particularly fascinating. Taking his survey as a source, he tries to define the ways of communication with the country of origin, whether they send money to someone who stayed there or to a third party, to draw a map of origins, religions, and languages present in Istanbul, and finally to define the places of meetings, hanging out, praying, cooking, or feasting. Opposing to Brewer and Yüксеker, Fait affirms that

103 *ibid*, p.23.

104 ÖCAL, *op. cit.*, p.21.

105 *ibid*, p.50 (translation).

people issued of African migration recreate places of practices and of living not necessarily according to their origin but also to the similar experience of migrating (paths, journeys...).

According to Brewer and Yüksekser these interactions between Africans of different origin appear to be mostly possible only during football matches organized on the occasion of the yearly Pan-African football cup tournament of Istanbul (Kurtuluş). The survey doesn't give details about the organization of this African Cup but we enter more in the subject in the following pages thanks to the Nigerian community's "general secretary" and to a movie made partly about it. The only other place where Africans and Turks socialize is cited as being Reggae bars in Beyoğlu. The authors finally invite researchers to explore the unstudied field of community building by Africans and the patterns of interactions between Turkish citizens and African migrants. It is also very relevant to see that the conclusion is also denouncing the lack of involvement from the Turkish civil society in humanitarian aid directed to African migrants. Indeed, cultural places are the very areas of social interaction between Turkish citizens and African migrants.

2.2 African cultural outreach in Istanbul today

In the light of all those studies about African migration, I led my own study based on the artistic and cultural production of Sub-Saharan African migrants in Istanbul.

2.2.1 Methodology

The goal of the qualitative field study I led on the subject of African artistic presence in Istanbul has been to build a representative sampling. There are certainly many more Sub-Saharan African artists in Istanbul but I could only reach those I interviewed for the reasons that are cited below. This study aims to explore the terms and patterns of the artistic production of African artists in Istanbul and to figure what are the junctions where a cultural policy could and should reach this production to enrich and sustain it. Thus, our hypothesis at the outset was that African migrant artists living and working in Istanbul need cultural infrastructure in the host country to be able to survive.

Through this field study I actually discovered that this isn't the case for some of them but we also have to keep alive the idea that most of the artists I was able to reach did already potentially survive and succeed to live as artists which makes them less needy. Also, one person living in hard migratory conditions might have artistic skills but wouldn't define him/herself as an

“artist” because he/she wouldn't find a use for it in such conditions. This is the reason why I defined a criteria of research in those terms: people who define themselves as artists, and who have a certain recognition for their artistic activities/creations. I also took in consideration people who can be called “cultural workers” and who have a preeminent place in the process of a recognition of African arts in Istanbul because of their entrepreneurship. This last concept will be further defined in following pages.

The technique that appeared being the more relevant here has been voice recorded in-depth interviews. Those were realized in semi-structured interviews with thematics tackled in this order: biographical informations (country/ies of origin, date of arrival in Turkey, languages spoken...), artistic career (artistic practices in the country of origin, the beginnings in the host country, developments and ambitions...), needs and claims (feeling of integration or of rejection, practical, juridical, social needs...), degree of happiness (social life, future plans of staying or leaving...). Those interviews were realized either in cafes chosen by the interviewee, in his office/studio/atelier when there was one, or in my house when the relation turned into friendship. Those interviews lasted from 20 minutes to one and a half hour depending on the elaboration of a discourse of the artist over the subject. Some of them could be led in a face-to-face interaction but four of them had to be made by correspondence because of the geographical distances separating us. In total, I made 7 interviews with two musicians, one dancer, one film-maker, and three cultural entrepreneurs.

I had a “participative observation” in a way because I used those researches I made to introduce some of the artists to one another when they asked me to for the sake of the creation and for a more organized production. But I can't say that I was of any help or participation in the artistic production itself. Nevertheless, I have been to their gathering places, I assisted to concerts of theirs and I even danced in a music clip for one of them.

The sampling of African migrant artists has been hard to establish and to evaluate exhaustively for several reasons:

- The informants I have been looking for, being immigrants and considering the conditions of immigration we just saw, are not always confident in unveiling all their lives that have to remain real secrets for most of the time. For example, I failed in sampling the craftsmen's presence as I encountered a small group of Ethiopian mosaic artists who refused that I record their voice and didn't find it secure to give me personal information.
- For the same reason, African communities are quite isolated and closed groups whereas, this thesis is aiming to develop an argument of cultural and artistic values potentially shared with the host society.
- Another difficulty is the acceptance given to the words "artist" and "arts" that has to be taken in the light of particular properties of African cultures. For example, the *griot*¹⁰⁶ tradition of some geographies in Western Africa is considered by Europeans as the art of acting, chanting, telling and dancing but it is more in the order of the duty transmitted genetically in a caste system for *griots* themselves. Thus, a *griot* immigrating to Turkey wouldn't exactly present himself as an artist and wouldn't find a use for his skills outside his mother-society. This is why, the acceptance of "artist" and "art" is the one given by the European but more importantly conceived like this by the artist (producing creations and being recognized for "universally shared artistic values").
- A last point would be that this study is qualitative and led with in-

106 Griots are the repository of oral tradition in West Africa. They are traditional poets, musicians and praise singers.

depth interviews that take time to plan, to organize, to collect and to analyze.

The corpus I present here still remains open and needs to be fed. For example, I couldn't find any woman artist (except for the Ethiopian mosaic artist whom I failed to interview) and this might be due to strategic needs that make the migrant women less visible. Although the geographical representativeness is quite matching for this size, there are still artists from many other countries that should fit in this study.

To summarize on the arts and geographies presented here, there are two musicians, one from Congo and the other from Nigeria (plus a music band from Nigeria), one dancer from Kenya, one film-maker from Tanzania, and three entrepreneurs one from Nigeria, one from Sudan and a third from Uganda. This Ugandan entrepreneur is actually not living in Istanbul but I considered his work was also relevant on this topic because it has an impact on Istanbul and other cities of Turkey.

Parallel to this study, I also interviewed Turkish people who were showing a great deal of interest in African artists in Turkey or in Africa and who are actively spreading African cultural assets either by media tools or artistic tools. Hence, I collected information on the strategies adopted by locals to attract Turkish audiences toward African arts and cultures and/or on the issues African communities encounter over what those Turkish locals felt the need to build sensitization. Again, this sample needs to be enriched, and there are many other Turkish people culturally active who deserve attention (like for example the Ethiopian Jazz experts Alper and Esra Kaliber who present the radio program *Aheng-i Hengame* each week on *Açık Radyo*). For this, I also interviewed four individuals plus five institutions which I present with African artists according to the relevance it bears.

2.2.2 Presentation of the African interviewees

Among the people interviewed for this research, the Africans are the source of the interest here. It is thus important to get a short introduction of those people to be able to situate them in the analysis.

Enzo Ikah¹⁰⁷ is a Congolese song-writer and musician. He came from a family that was rich and powerful at the time of Mobutu's ruling. Both his parents died in a politically involved affair of gold theft and he had to leave his natal country Italy to go to his grand-mother in Congo-Kinshasa to live in a little village 6 km away from the school where he had to go by foot. Enzo has many stories of lions or snakes standing on his way to school to which he didn't want to go as he explains in his song "Lazy Boy". Ikah arrived in Istanbul in 2007 by chance. The Congolese regime's restrictive artistic censorship has caused him to be subjected to torture and forced him to escape from the hands of his tormentors. On his way to Paris, he transited in Istanbul where he got arrested by the customs for not having a valid visa. The reason for the arrest and torture of Enzo Ikah by Congolese authorities at the first place being a song he wrote to denounce the involvement of the government in the harsh reality of child soldiers, he has been recognized by the UNHCR as a political refugee and got free after two months in Turkish detention camps. He began his musical career in Turkey when the owner of a music shop in the neighborhood of Tünel (Beyoğlu - Istanbul) saw him playing guitar and decided to offer him one so he can try to have a fresh start in Turkey. I interviewed Enzo during one and a half hour in my house because we became friends. So I kept on seeing him from time to time and I went to his concerts in live-music bars. There are many

¹⁰⁷ I interviewed Enzo Ikah on the 31st of October 2010.

newspaper articles about Enzo Ikah in Turkish, English and French and TV shows and documentaries about his art and his atypical destiny.¹⁰⁸

Enzo now wishes to stay in Turkey and not to be transferred to another country of asylum. He became famous in Istanbul and is even going on concert tours throughout Turkey. Enzo Ikah kind of arrived in a very well prepared area where other reggae musicians embraced him in a place called Nayah also described in following pages. But the relationship didn't go further with Nayah, and Enzo had to find another place in the city. This is about the time when he met the famous Turkish band Bandista.¹⁰⁹ This well-known band helped him a lot into getting a recognition.

After Enzo Ikah has reached a certain level of fame and formed his own music band, he decided to produce his very first album with a music edition house in Kadıköy: "Red, Black and White". According to Enzo, "the name of that album (which is also the name of one of his songs), refers to "red" for natives of America, "Black" for Africans, and "White" for whites like Turkish people for example". His choice is "to symbolize a unity in humanity beyond the skin color differences". After gaining celebrity with concert tours all over Turkey, he has been noticed by a movie production who asked him to act for a second role in a movie: "Kırık Midyeler" by Seyfettin Tokmak. The status of Enzo has been clarified with the help of the UNHCR and he is a legal asylum

108 Online articles about Enzo Ikah: in English

http://www.babelmed.net/Countries/Mediterranean/a_congolese.php?c=5961&m=9&l=en, in French <http://www.lepetitjournal.com/istanbul/culture-loisirs/49683-istanbul-reggae-istanbul.html>, in Turkish, French and English in HYD's journal:

<http://www.hyd.org.tr/?pid=726>, and many others in regular Turkish newspapers.

109 As Bandista describes itself on its website : "**bANDiSTA** is a music collective established in May 2006 in Istanbul, Turkey. Bandista has its roots in the cultural diversity of Anatolia; though the band's presence clearly declares its internationalist approach. The sound of Bandista varies from Django to Reggae, from Bratsch to Ska, Dub and Afro-Beat. The basic formula of the band is to deconstruct whatever sound, text and image possible in favour of a border and class free world. Every Bandista performance is a situationist experiment of rage and rapture. Bandista has performed at several festivals, demonstrations and halls." from <http://tayfabandista.org/blog/>.

seeker but his problem, as an artist, is that he needs celebrity to be able to work, he says he doesn't want to leave Turkey now, it would be so much hard to build up all from scratch to win a new audience in another country.

Ike¹¹⁰ is a Nigerian musician. He is in Turkey dealing with trade. His company is buying spare parts for cars and exporting them to Nigeria. He is Ibo like the other Nigerians he is working with but being a real immigrant worker here, not receiving the protection of the UNHCR, Ike didn't want to give too many details about his situation and his biography. He is a Christian Nigerian and is singing Gospel music. He explains how working for the company doesn't leave him any time to practice his music as he used to do (he already edited one album in Nigeria), but that he plays from time to time in bars and when he is with his friends. His album seems to be the one that Reyan Tuvi, the director of the documentary movie *Ofsayt* which tells about the lives of the Nigerian community in Istanbul, gave me saying it was from a musician living in Istanbul: Blessed Samuel Chinyeremaka. My interview with Ike was very short. It took place in his office in an industrial centre in Istanbul where the Nigerian community also had a meeting at the same time. Thus, we couldn't have much time to talk deeply about his needs and claims as an amateur artist.

Imu¹¹¹ is a Kenyan dancer from Nairobi. He came to Istanbul in 1993 to study Management Information Systems in Boğaziçi University. Imu won a scholarship from the Islamic Development Bank based in Saudi Arabia that helped him to come to Turkey for studying. Apparently, the scholarships granted do not let the winner the chance to know what he came to study for neither in which university. So after arriving in Istanbul, Imu was proposed by the organization to go to Selçuk University in Konya to study agricultural engineering. Liking Istanbul better, Imu asked if another way was possible for

110 I interviewed Ike on the 29th of January 2011.

111 I interviewed Imu on the 15th of April 2011.

him to escape that fate and that is how he got accepted after an examination in Boğaziçi University in Istanbul. In the school, Imu was going to students' dance clubs and got noticed by the owner of a bar inside the Swissotel who asked him to come three times a week to give dancing lessons to the clients. Imu actually started his dancing career as a real job this way: clients of the bar started to ask him to give them private lessons. Going from one house to another, Imu got tired and simply decided to open his own place so people can come.

Imu is now running his own dance school in the neighborhood of Gümüşsuyu. Actually, the first school he opened was the “Afro-Cubanos” that is still on Istiklal Caddesi in front of Galatasaray Highschool, but “somebody played him out of it”, he lost that place he created and he blames madly the Turkish laws that don't protect foreign workers in any manner.

The new place Imu opened¹¹² had to be surrounded only with friends and people he can really trust (Imu is in a partnership with his wife now), all developments and growth must be watched very carefully. Nevertheless, this new place is working very well too. Imu could create his own dance company also where he leads a group that performs on national TV and competitions. There are today 5 or 6 teachers and a full-time dance group but unfortunately no other African dancer with whom he can dance (except for one who was studying at the same time but who had to leave after his studies “*because of the restrictive migration policies.*”) Imu's school is giving Latin dances and hip-hop classes and workshops about Afro-dance because “*those dances are African rooted and the African dance should be taught too*”. Imu is happy running his own business and earning his life with his art but he dreams of going back to Kenya one day, once he is retired.

Nasa Seif Said¹¹³ is a Tanzanian who came in 2000 to study tourism in

112 Website of the dance school: <http://www.imudance.com/>.

113 I interviewed Nasa Seif Said on the 4th of June 2011.

Istanbul University. Before meeting his wife, he was working in different areas like textile or food industry. He then became an actor and a producer after he married a Turkish woman who is a movie director, Nur Akalın. Together they work in their own company Nada Films.¹¹⁴ Nasa is playing in the first movie he produced with Akalın; *Joenjoy*. This movie tells the story of a number of personal friends, all African migrants who live in Istanbul. The story is constructed around a music and dance bar in the neighborhood of Beyoğlu. That bar is invested practically only by Eastern Africans. The main character is the DJ, Jongo Maruni. He is called Joenjoy by his friends and he knows a lot of people in the city. Hence, the film shows how a kind of solidarity exists between him, established in Istanbul and newcomers from Tanzania whom he helps to transit via Turkey. We see him bringing migrants to smugglers and dealing the prices. On the other hand, he is married and deeply in love with a Turkish woman. At the beginning of the movie, they are in bed reading Greek philosophy, their relationship evolves in the movie with the mutual understanding of each others' world. According to an interview in the newspaper, the film aims “to draw the attention on migration issues and on the prejudices Turkish people have about people from Africa.”¹¹⁵ The movie is dedicated to one of the actors, Abdallah Mywinyi, who died in a suspicious fire accident a few months after the movie, and to another of their friends who was hit to death by a car. Those real stories are a reflection of the sad story of the African migrants that is told in the movie. Nasa says that a particularity of the movie *Joenjoy* is that it is the first Turkish-Swahili film made in the world. This assertion is very important for us as we can see here a real creation of a certain identity shaped by those migration flows. Nasa is still working actively in the

114 Website of the company: <http://www.nadafilm.com.tr>.

115 Elif BERKÖZ ÜNAY, “Afrikalı göçmenlerin filmi çekti, başrolde Tanzanyalı kocası var”, in *Milliyet*, 27th of November 2010, [online] <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/afrikali-gocmenlerin-filmini-cektiler-basrolde-tanzanyali-kocasi-var/pazar/haberdetay/28.11.2010/1319351/default.htm>.

cinema sector as a hobby. Nasa and I had a correspondence instead of an interview because he was too busy with film festivals.

Osman Osman¹¹⁶ is a Sudanese who came to Turkey in 1983. He opened many bars, went abroad and returned to Istanbul. He also worked in the radio. Indeed, he was working at the Istanbul Bilgi University's radio "*back in those days when we called it the Bilgi Family*", but the radio didn't work out and he decided to start at Açık Radyo at the very first year of the creation of that radio with a reggae program, "High Times", that is still going on today. He describes the creation of that program as "*a good chance to spread the culture teaming up with Ras Memo*" (a Turkish man who is still making the radio program today). He spent 23 years in Turkey. Had to open six bars until he finds a way to build the sustainable seventh one, Nayah from 1991 to 2009. By the way, the dancer Imu tells the story of one of those bars, Pupa situated near Boğaziçi University and that he describes as "*the only place in Istanbul where we could actually dance and come only for the dancing*". Anyway, Osman Osman refuses to describe the reggae bar Nayah as a live performance place, he refers to it as a "cultural place". A real problem that Osman Osman had to face during all his attempts to opening bars is that it was hard for him to attract African artists and offer them a possible way to live decently thanks to their music because most of them cannot appear under the spot lights being "illegal" in the country and others who manage to do it have only a short career until they have to be transferred to a third country. Today, Osman Osman is in Canada chasing his dream and trying to introduce Rastafarian and African culture which are for him "*a load I always have to carry*". Because of the obvious distance, I also had to interview Osman Osman via e-mail.

Taju¹¹⁷ came to Turkey in 2002 and is working in the same company

116 I interviewed Osman Osman on the 9th of December 2010.

117 I interviewed Taju on the 28th of January 2011.

with Ike, he has close relations with Nigeria as he keeps going back and forth to the country but he really feels like there is an urgent need to settle much more strongly in Turkey. He isn't an artist but like Osman, he has plans that involve African culture in Turkey. Taju complains more about the way Africans are treated than about the laws working against them; "*nothing is free, nothing is given to you, you have to work, you have to fight for every little thing*" he says. But Taju doesn't give up, he wants to get the visibility that African migrants deserve to have in an urge to stop the social and physical violent treatments against them. Even more, Taju wants to organize an African Cultural Day in Istanbul where all African migrants would present cultural riches of their own. This event would be annual and aim to show Turkish people how culturally rich the African continent is and thus to prevent racism. Taju is also the "General Secretary" of the Nigerian Community who is organizing the famous African Football Cup each year in Istanbul. I could meet Taju with the help of Reyan Tuvi who shot a movie about the Nigerian community taking Taju as the main character. We had an interview in a cafe in Taksim square during an hour but we met again several times to introduce each other to African artists.

Rogers¹¹⁸ is a 23 years-old Ugandan student who came for studies to Izmir. He is the "Chairman" of a student group called "African Students in Turkey" that is very active and uses the social network Facebook to communicate all around the country. Even though Rogers isn't in Istanbul, I decided to stick to his group because it has a broad reach including in Istanbul and because he has very interesting claims about the needs for integration policies for migrants and especially African students in Turkey. Rogers is the only African I met who actually wasn't afraid of expressing his discontentment about the conditions of studying in Turkey. Departing from his own experience, he explains the reasons why he and some friends decided to create a group and

118 I interviewed Rogers on the 3rd of December 2010.

why it was necessary for them: *“it was after we were insulted by the increasing arrogance and ignorance of the locals here about Africa and Africans. People here mostly know only one side about Africa. As being a poor, diseased, war-torn, helpless and hopeless continent that needs help. The ‘African’ concept here is really terrible and misrepresented. (...) So we came up with this group to first of all clear up the image of Africa by showcasing its potential in terms of nature, cultural diversity, economy, tourism etc. The group was also to help bring the African students together as one brotherhood. Through this group we wanted to organize an annual African cultural day where we would present different cultural diversities in Africa. We thought it would be the easiest way of reaching an African community here.”* It is very interesting here to see how the very same idea with Taju's annual African cultural day meet here. We have two people from very different country, background, age, living in different cities but having the same perception of what should and could be done in Turkey. The group is active in the whole Turkey through the Internet and is helping two hundred African students since one year. The group organizes *“picnics, get-togethers, helps students on their arrival days here in Turkey, organizes football matches, social activities such as parties etc.”* But they don't get any financial help nor technical support like even a space for gathering in the university or establishing a student office (which would certainly be broadly followed by all foreign students and not only Africans).

The appendix will help us to realize better the situation of each interviewee.

2.2.3 Specificities of the African artistic production in Istanbul

Now that all the data is organized and that we have a general perspective of all the different types of practices, the analysis is made easier. I proceed by studying the artistic inspirations of the artists and the ways this art is born from the migration context, then the entrepreneurial attitude toward the African cultures, the needs expressed by those protagonists, and the strategies to raise awareness used by Turkish parties.

Firstly, it is important to understand what are the artistic inspirations carried by those artists. If we look at Enzo and Imu, they both practice arts of the African diaspora, which is interesting in a migration context. It is certainly most significant to remember that reggae music is not an African music, even though it is African rooted, it comes from the African diaspora living in Jamaica and it is represented by musicians like Bob Marley or the Wailers. As Louis Chude-Sokei explains it in an article about post-nationalist geographies through music, there is a difference between what African diaspora says about Africa and what Africa says about itself.¹¹⁹ As the reggae music was first (and until the 80's) a “Rastafarian mythos which celebrated a universalized notion of black racial and cultural identity”, the message contained in the music through lyrics started to change with new generations. Nevertheless, what remained was the bass and drums called “riddim”. What was left behind was primarily the “global Pan-African discourses, racial metaphors, and religio-political allegories”. We can also underline that reggae music is much suffused with notions of exile from Africa and lives in ghetto in the host country that is ruled by a

119 Louis CHUDE-SOKEI, “Post-nationalist Geographies – Rasta, Ragga, And Reinventing Africa”, in *African Arts*; Winter 1994, Vol. 27 Issue 4, p80, 5p, [online] <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=f5h&AN=9412052993&site=ehost-live>.

protectionist and authoritarian system called “Babylon system”.

Thus, it is not exactly surprising to see that black musician migrants in Istanbul play reggae music in bars and affirm an African identity through it. On the other hand, Francio Guadeloupe informs us more specifically on the reggae music's message and reason of being.¹²⁰ In his article about reggae music in Sint Marteen island, the author explains that reggae is an appeal to common humanity with recognition of specificities.

This is the exact message that we can get from Enzo Ikah, the Congolese musician says that “*I am not into politics, all I know is that I am against wars. I don't respect money, I respect people.*” From that basis, Conscious Reggae Music carries messages as “the entrée into a new mode of being human, the awareness of perniciousness of global injustices”, and also “to represent this sensitivity in its visual form through bodily aesthetics. The locks and the way of dressing symbolizes their rejection of the notions of respectable behaviour imposed by the capitalistic nation-state based system”. Guadeloupe is talking about a trans-national culture that is over the local. This is a concept that can be juxtaposed with Enzo Ikah's musical messages. We face here the African identity in a trans-national context, Enzo confirms he chose this type of music for its universality; “*I play reggae only because it's a universal language, I could do R'n'B and make money but I choose reggae because money cannot give you everything that love can.*” Enzo was only a composer in Congo and it is the migration context that made him start to sing. As for Imu, his discourse about the Latin dances is seeking for African roots in the Afro-Latin dances. Imu wants to teach the African culture embedded in Latin dances in occasional workshops. He explains that “*Latin dances are*

120 Francio GUADELOUPE, “The National Thing is a Scenario not Made for We Third World Massive: A Case of Working-Class Youth on Saint Maarten & Sint Maarten Emancipating Their Minds from Exclusive Nationalism”, in *Transforming Anthropology, Journal of Black Anthropologists*, Vol. 18, Number 2, pp. 157–168, ISSN 1051-0559, electronic ISSN 1548-7466, 2010.

originally from Africa, and I've always had this theme in my mind that all the dances that we do should have an African road kind of. So I prefer to teach African dances too, and I try to do workshop on African dances and it's very well received by people." Thus he elaborated the content of his African dances workshop very carefully, *"what I am trying to do is to get steps from most African dances, West African, East African, South African, even North African, a little bit Arabic. So I put them together and create a synergy, what I would really call African dance."* Imu tries to be a real teacher to transmit to his pupils the roots of each step, he explains that *"The more people get into Latin dances, the more they realize that there is more than just movements. There has to be meaning to it. And the meaning comes from African dances. In Africa when you dance, each movement expresses something. The dances are more raw, they are more energetic, and more meaningful for the expression of the body. And when people talk about the Rumba or the Cha cha cha or Salsa, is like refine the form. So what is the original form, it's African dances."* To help his students understand the meanings, Imu made a presentation on the website of the school about each god and goddess of the Yoruba religion, the Orishas who inspired each step of the original rites that had to be disguised in diverse syncretisms and that took form in different Latin dances. He explains this: *"when you dance, you move according to Oshun, or to Iemanja that is the god of the sea. So there is always meaning to it, it's never just a matter of moving."* Imu is a teacher of Latin dances that brings a real knowledge and innovation to the Turkish approach of those dances. He chose each teacher in his school to add something new in a specialized branch, hence, *"I also have a teacher who specializes in Cuban dances, there are both traditional Cuban dances and modern Cuban dances, he teaches Afro-Cuban dances too. So this is to give informations to the students."* Imu was already dancing back in Kenya, he was *"surrounded with music and dance"* in Nairobi with his DJ brother playing in his father's bar. But

the migration made him professionalize in this passion he had. He didn't plan to become a professional dancer before. Telling about his former studies, he says “*dancing came in, so I started dancing as well and now it's dancing that is taking me along.*” Yet, he is now studying English language teaching again, which make us think that he might have other plans.

On the other hand, we have Ike who is singing Gospel. This Gospel music isn't the one of the USA that we know but the Nigerian Gospel that is very specific. From what we can understand with the article by Femi Adedji, there are 12 qualifying styles of religious music in Nigeria.¹²¹ According to the author, “the success of a particular style is dependent on patronage of the society, as each style has its respective audience.” Thus, the success of Ike seems very limited to the Nigerian society. Nevertheless, Ike expresses a will to try and be famous with his music in the Turkish society. His gospel music seems to have a double potential use; one for the Turkish audiences to discover an aspect of the Nigerian Christianity and another for the Nigerian community itself for religious meetings or simple gatherings. We remember this is what Taju wants to realize among all Africans, find ways to gather through culture. Ike says that “*I know that there are people here who would love it because my music it changes people, because it's like a message to the world, to everybody. That's why people who have listened it like it. So I believe...*” It is actually a real will that Ike is carrying, to make Turkish people like his Gospel music he even wrote one song in Turkish.

Nasa's artistic inspirations are more in the American cinema concerning acting but he also demonstrates a certain interest for the old African cinema; “*The important is the topic of the movie. The African cinema was very good before. Then, because of the wars there has been a disconnection.*” He also pays

121 Femi ADEDEJI, “Classification of Nigerian gospel music styles”, in *Africa* (São Paulo), 2002-2005, n°24-26, pp. 225-246.

attention to the Turkish cinema as he says that “*Turkish cinema old movies are better too. If you look at the 1950-1960 years, Turkish cinema could have been better than Hollywood.*” Actually, his Turkish wife introduced him to the cinema so it is interesting to analyze his perception of this Afro-Turkish kind of cinema they are creating through this love relationship. They made together the first Swahili and Turkish speaking movie, this represents a real moment in the history of the African migration to Turkey.

There is a need to explain what a cultural entrepreneur is as I want to define the three other Africans as such. The definition of this notion of “entrepreneur” given by Gökçe Dervişoğlu and Esra Aysu Aysun, is as follow:

“Since entrepreneurial ventures seek to generate new wealth, entrepreneurs engage in efforts to identify resources and opportunities that are, as yet, undiscovered or underexploited by others. While new wealth can be generated by entrepreneurial ventures that may vary in their degree of novelty, ranging from ventures that offer inventions that are extremely unique to those offering inventions or innovations that represent incremental advancements in extant product markets, all entrepreneurs engage in resource-picking in an effort to create economic rents for their ventures. This resource-picking involves the purchase of resources that are undervalued or overlooked, effectively outsmarting the market.”¹²²

This strategy becomes cultural when the entrepreneurial approach is seeking to exploit a cultural asset that is underestimated, undervalued, or undiscovered in his environment. I believe this definition applies very well to the three

122 Gökçe DERVIŞOĞLU and Esra Aysu AYSUN, “Being “Cultural Entrepreneur” in Istanbul, Artist or Manager?”, *ICCPR Conference*, Yeditepe University, 2008.

individuals presented here: Osman Osman, Taju and Rogers.

When Osman Osman left to study in Holland, he thought of coming back to Turkey to “*help bringing African and Rastafarian culture in Turkey (...) with an approach of cultural education bringing together all people with different skin complexion in one place and share the same feelings of culture and unity*”. Like many other entrepreneurial actions, his wasn't oriented on profit and economic benefit. This is what we can see in many entrepreneurial cases, the main *leitmotiv* is rarely money and the urge for becoming rich, but to transmit broadly a dream in which the entrepreneur is the only one to believe at the beginning. Also, this very characteristic managerial approach can be defined as a courageous action and this skill can definitely be applied to Osman Osman as he had to open six bars until he found a way to build the sustainable seventh, Nayah from 1991 to 2009. And he is now doing the same in Canada, as Imu says about Osman Osman, “*that's the good thing with Africans, they never give up!*”

Now about the Nigerian Community's entrepreneurial attitude, as we saw in Koray Özdil's study about the Nigerian migration in Istanbul, this community already tried to organize itself in an association. According to this same study, “the Nigerian social spaces enable most of the West African groups a space of freedom, where they can express their cultural practices”.¹²³ Indeed, the Nigerian community has today created more than a social place, it launched a great visibility project. As it is told in the documentary film *Ofsayt*¹²⁴ by Reyan Tuvi, Nigerians organize a football tournament between African nations to enable footballers to have a chance to get visible. The African Nations Football Cup is happening every year and represents a great opportunity for many

123 Koray ÖZDİL, *New forms of Inclusion/Exclusion: Undocumented Nigerian Immigrants in Istanbul*, Sabancı Üniversitesi, 2006, p.8.

124 This documentary won the the Best First Documentary Price in Antalya Film Festival in 2010 and was selected in the competition in Nyon's festival “Visions du Réel”.

immigrants who are trying to find a way out of poverty and invisibility in the host society. I also made an interview with Reyan Tuvi, the director is telling the really hard conditions those immigrants are living in and how this cup is also a way to escape this sadness.

As Reyan asked the Nigerian community to become the main subject of her documentary, she was also asked to be the voice of the Africans at the moment when the Nigerian Festus Okey died from the bullet of a policeman in the police station. The murder happened just during the shooting of the documentary and thus the following emotion and despair of the community is transmitted in the images. Facing injustice, racism, disrespect, loneliness every day, the Nigerians of Istanbul decided to organize themselves in a Community (in the sense of an organized group) whose “general secretary” is Taju, the star of Reyan's movie. As Taju explains, other than football, the Community is also culturally active as they want to organize an African cultural day.

When I asked Taju about African immigrants' capacities today in producing such a cultural event, he said that only “*within the Nigerian community, you can find six different cultural groups who can perform but it requires a lot of input for costumes and musical instruments*”, so the Nigerians will begin and others will join the festival the following years. At the same time, the Nigerian Embassy asked the community to prepare a musical and dancing performance for the visit of the President in Ankara. I had the chance to attend a rehearsal of that performance in a church in Beyoğlu with original Nigerian instruments specially brought for the event.

Taju's point of view upon migration and the living conditions of African migrants is very positive and full of hope, he is really willing to change something about the racism against Blacks in Turkey and this will be actually going even further than he might ever dream considering all the lives this change could affect positively. Taju says that “*wherever you are, you should*

always look at what impact you can have on that host community.” He explains all these efforts done for the Nigerian Community and all Africans of Istanbul saying that being away from home is hard and there is no much time to keep the culture alive “So this is part of belonging and it brings us closer to each other.” Taju is very volunteer and devoted to the Community, he says that “I believe someone just has to do it (...) since school I always liked taking responsibilities.” For him, the stakes of such engagements in this community are high. “Our destiny is in our hands, we shouldn't be on the side line and wait for things to happen, we have to contribute to the society. Economically, we are bringing a lot to this country, so we should get a recognition from Turkey, Turkish people don't know our economical impact and they should be informed.”

Rogers is also an entrepreneur. According to him, *“the truth is if we change the way we look at Africa we will add courage to those who are struggling to have it through its' challenges. African diversity in culture and languages is not backwardness. It is a sense of belonging not seen anywhere in the world. A technology-free society but happy, hopeful and stress-free. I believe Africa has a great role to play towards spear heading a hopeful future generation. We just need time and hope.”* He and other students are the victims of a direct racism in academic contexts, *“Actually I have been a victim of this misrepresentation. One day I was asked by my teacher if we really have water in Africa. My fellow students keep asking me so many naive questions that sometimes I fear interacting with them. Other African friends undergo a similar experience.”* He explains those facts by the reason that Turkish people don't know Africa, African cultures and Africans, *“there is absolute ignorance about Africa here in Turkey. People here still ask questions like, Do Africans think?, Does Africa have water?, Who is the president of Africa? what is the national language of Africa? Are there houses, cars, light in Africa? Do Africans eat*

people? And many more.”

Thus for Rogers, the only way to fight this ignorance is to show people about African, to teach them, but also to help other Africans to learn to deal with this psychologically very hard situation. *“Like many get lost on their first days. Some are exploited just because they don't know Turkish. You know, we have had some of our friends having to go back to their countries because of the way they are handled on their first days. So really we had to encourage them that they can make it through by using this group.”* This is a real call for integration policies towards students at least. As we can see here, the absence of integration makes even the studies impossible to follow. It is the school that is the source of the problem instead of the society. Those students don't even get the right to have a room to gather or to have a formal union opportunity.

Nevertheless, some universities have an interest into Africa. I interviewed officials of the only two “African research centers” existing in Turkish Universities' to see whether the side of Africans living in Turkey was a point of sensitivity for them. Both Ankara University's center and that of Kadir Has University (Istanbul) don't have any researcher or assistant of African origin. Even though Ankara holds film or literature days and Kadir Has (Istanbul) organizes conferences on African cinema as well as migration, none of them is thinking of proposing integration tools to the already inadequate efforts by the government. As Muhammed Bakari says in his paper presented to the first Turkish-African Congress talking about students' integration, besides TV programs and cultural events presenting Africa to Turkey, “the presence of Swahili, Hausa or Zulu language classes in the university would be considered as an important step forward”.¹²⁵ The same author is also calling for literature translations into Turkish and showing on the TV also documentaries about

125 Muhammed BAKARI, “Türk-Afrika Sosyo-Kültürel İlişkileri”, presented to the 1st International Turkish-African Congress on the 23rd of November 2005, translated to Turkish by Hasan Öztürk, p.5.

Africa made by African directors.

It should be noted that the Turkish society is opening here and there some little doors to the tolerance towards Africans. The example we gave with the music group Bandista is very representative of such attempts. I had the chance to interview one of the band's musicians, Çağdaş, who told me about the story of meeting Enzo Ikah and the decision they took to support him. Bandista has a very well established audience attracted very broadly in every performance, the decision of sharing its scene with another musician is definitely a way of showing solidarity for his music, his struggle and his condition as an asylum seeker in Turkey. This fraternity is so deep that the band even decided to launch Enzo Ikah with a special name formation created just for him : “Afro-Bandista.” When I asked Çağdaş about Afro-Bandista, he told me that this band was created for Enzo so he can form his own band later once he gets a bit famous.

The main fight engaged in the figure of Enzo for Bandista is actually more the recognition of immigrants' rights in Turkey. They have close relations with the politically active group “Göçmen Dayanışma Ağı” (Migrants Solidarity Network) and migration is one of their concerns as they want to develop other musical and artistic projects with migrants' cultures.

Other struggles involved in migration and refuge subjects find coincidences with African migrants' struggles. For example, the Helsinki Citizen Assembly's (HCA) Refugee Advocacy and Support Program in Istanbul launched a very interesting project that is still going on. It is a quarterly journal, *Mültecilerin Sesi* (Refugees' Voice) where refugees can tell their stories. This journal is “a forum organized so that refugee **writers and artists** can share their opinions and points of view”. In 2009, the journal was prepared with the aid of the Sweden Institute and the Creative Force: Sweden-Turkey 2009 program. The Creative Force's work in Turkey, “Cultural and Visionary Encounters

Sweden-Turkey” program was established to work upon themes like “children and youth affairs, gender equality, cultural diversity and freedom of speech”. In that framework, the Swedish Institute gave grants to the journal *Mültecilerin Sesi* during nine months with the aim to raise awareness upon “the use of social media as a tool for positive change”. In a correspondence with Jesper Werner, the program officer highlighted that the action of the Swedish Institute was located on the use of “narrated slideshows” in the journal and that the HCA team learns to use those media as well as the refugees to “*provide themselves with tools to use in their own efforts to advocate for social change, for example through the publication of their own stories, art, music, photographs and other forms of expression*”. Indeed, the journal is publishing now issues including videos and color images.

Even though, this journal is focusing on refugees' integration in the society and not all migrants, it presents in entertaining ways countries of origin of those refugees like for example a frame prepared by children in the winter 2010 issue presenting “the 10 special features of our country: Democratic Republic of Congo”. Those articles are thus trying to sensitize Turkish citizens to refugees' problems. But, as the advocacy coordinator of HCA, Oktay Durukan says in an interview, there is no financing for this project and very little time to develop it. This is the main reason why the journal appears at a very unregular pace, depending on the help it gets from other organizations. HCA isn't taking the Ministry of Culture as a potential investor because of “*the extremely criticizing point of view that this organization holds against the State*”. But according to Durukan, *Mültecilerin Sesi* would need more time than money. Indeed, it appears that because the artistic skills of a person are not criteria for his/her acquisition of the asylum seeker status, there is no relevancy in considering that aspect of his/her personality and thus no time to talk about that. Besides the irregularity of its printing, another problem of the journal

seems to be its lack of visibility. But yet, it is an attempt and it presents artists passing through Turkey and who are able to feed this land with their arts. But also individuals are working on a better visibility of migrants, I already talked about Reyan Tuvı and her movie *Ofsayt*, but there are other people whom I could interview. Hence, one of my interviewees is Nihal Güven, a Turkish woman who has been broadcasting her radio show “Bongopod” on Açık Radyo (like Osman Osman). It is very interesting to understand so much obviously how love can be at the very beginning of a cultural undertaking. Nihal got married with a Tanzanian man who has to live away from her. And the love feeding their relationship she had to consider how racism amongst society was affecting her as much as him. Nihal wanted to show how African music is diverse and rich and this is the reason why she decided to go on with that very successful program.

On a similar attempt but out of curiosity, Esra Ersen is an artist who realized a short movie about African migrants: “Brothers and Sisters” in 2003. The movie is giving equal space to men, women and children and tragically witnessing another death as in Reyan's movie. Esra Ersen draws the attention to the awareness of those migrants concerning their environment. She says that *“despite a great cultural difference (with the host country), they have the ability to analyze very rightly this new area where they live. In the movie, one of them is giving a very well-detailed sociological map of Tarlabası”*.

CONCLUSION

With regard to the incredible cultural potentiality of the migration taking place in Istanbul as we just saw, it is possible to assert that there is a real need to frame this productivity for multiple reasons that are all equally important. As already sustained in the introduction, cultural expression is a human right of migrants and a duty of the host country. Also, the host country must ensure the cultural integration of those foreign inhabitants for the sake of the society. And finally, considering the multiple facets of the cultural richness cultivable here, there is a real benefit to extract from it to enrich the cultural landscape of Turkey.

It becomes thus obvious that Turkey must fight with intolerance and racism and raise awareness and sensitization among its citizens on immigrant populations. Secondly, the State must find ways of interacting with important or representative members among these migrant communities. The benefits of those migrations should be recognized and opened to public knowledge. The contact with those communities can be established through communications inside association networks that would report problems and difficulties of inappropriate integration policies. The case by case study of the communities' needs can only be carried out at a local level with little infrastructures that can centre on the very issue with precision. Laws on foreign investments but also civil rights have to be softened in order facilitate the living conditions of these people. And of course, the recognition of the artistic inputs is essential to the healthy development of that kind of positive input by the migrants.

To arrive to this conclusion, in the first part of this thesis, I compared European migration policies with Turkish ones in the perspective of migrants' integration. Western Europe has been an immigration attraction center since industrialization and developed various social integration policies since then. On the other side, Turkey's status of an immigration country is a recent phenomenon and thus still uncertain for it is unplanned and uncontrolled like it used to be for Western Europe. Thus, my aim was not to compare the two policies and single out the differences, but to retrace an actual study of both practices. This study allowed me to rethink Turkey's position in its migration policy-making inside a contextualized point of view, the context being Europe. Hence, European policies and attempts to create social spaces for new citizens and the recognition of individual rights has led to various interpretations and practices of multiculturalism. This multiculturalism is thought here as a political attempt to manage the fact presented by cultural diversity of the nature of the society at a given time and for given reasons.

For the study of Turkey, I tried to present a certain linearity in Turkey's migration policies from the creation of the Republic up to today's situation. We saw how the relation with the other and with self has always shaped internal and external migration in Turkey. While we can note the lack of any formal policy of migrant integration in Turkey be it in legislation or in practice, we can identify a number of facts and circumstances that are keys to integrative steps that could be taken. This is the case I underlined about students for example, who are welcomed and encouraged to study in Turkey. This is also the case for international policies that promote investment and bilateral trade with Turkey. Still, policies aren't clear and the social integration of foreign inhabitants remains informal.

Thus I tried to investigate the different paths to the integration of marginalized communities like migrants. In that purpose, I first identified

shortly the policies oriented towards minorities starting from the national minorities. From the creation of the Republic, those minorities have been only considered upon the basis of a religious differentiation, not ethnic nor linguistic. But today, some recognition improvements are notable. I analyzed them in the light of the report of the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance. Later on and with the knowledge of this particularity, I concentrated on the analysis of the intentions of the country with regard to integration policies for migrants. I analyzed the national action plan for migrants and refugees and discussed its relevance to the situation.

In the second part, I studied more precisely the Sub-Saharan African migration in Turkey. My attention was specially driven towards African artists who migrated to Istanbul. I started from the statement that artists represent the cultural bridge between the host society and the migrant communities. Indeed, artists are producers and creators contributing to the development of culture and the sense of belonging to a social group or to a common identity and the affirmation of it is a symbol and manifestation of a minority community. Thus, I firstly introduced the matter of the African migration being a minor migration comparing to other more crowded immigrations. The reason why I chose a numerically non representative migration is to insist on the inevitable aspect of the phenomenon of the cultural expression even when the community is very underrepresented. I saw also how we could not talk about one African community but that the skin color factor was a uniting one under certain situations (students for example). I presented this migration through diverse positions and reasons for migrating to Turkey.

Then, I presented my field research about the African artists themselves. I researched their work, their presence and what they represent inside the community. In that part, I could see how much those communities mostly organized under sub-groups according to countries of origin with the example

of the Nigerians or conditions of migration with the example of the students, are all expressing a real need of cultural production. This claim should not be entirely interpreted as a struggle for the respect of their cultural rights. The first real need of those migrants is to get integrated in the society. For that, a strategy is to inform and to invite the society to their own cultures.

The artists I presented in this thesis are hence speaking as a representative of a community and as an individual who, as an artist, has specific needs. Those artists being thus the key elements to the cultural integration of migrants, I tried to analyze their needs and I asked them the essence of their struggles when they had one. My findings matched my first intuitions on the needs for the migrant society to integrate and being accepted in the host society. The interviewees consisted of two musicians, one dancer, one cinema director, and three cultural entrepreneurs. On the other side, I also interviewed individual and institutional actors who open gates for the African culture to enter in the sphere of interest of the Turkish society. This showed us how in diverse degrees, the host society has already prepared a certain ground for this kind of openness to new cultures they accepted being now part of theirs.

From my research I can assert that migrants, even in little numbers, even when thought as temporary, even when considered as culturally distant, need to culturally integrate in the society in order to be accepted and better understood. The opportunities offered by multiculturalism are not always compatible with the idea of the nation-state and must be worked on. The question of Turkey's minority policies affects indirectly the situation of the migrants and the worst is probably to come as this migrant population might grow with time.

Nevertheless, this thesis is only a door to an unstudied field that is the social and cultural integration of migrants in Turkey. This can be done using the path I chose here through the claims of the artists belonging to other migrant communities (for example Iranian artists in Turkey) or through other groups of

relevance. The women and the children being the most representative part of the population in terms of integration, their ways of living or of surviving is a field that should be analyzed with meticulous attention. Also, African artists in Turkey are undoubtedly many more and engaged in many different struggles in the performance of their art and this very same field is most fruitful and extraordinary. Same type of research should also be done in other countries of the European Union's neighbourhood. It would be interesting to compare artistic productions of African migrants in Turkey with productions of Africans in Belarus for example, to see how the society affected the production in artistic and identity terms. There is a big urge to study the subject of the migration policies of Turkey in general. This migration thought as temporary and therefore not comparable with the one in Western Europe has been neglected for too long. There should be a re-appraisal of immigration in Turkey and of the State policies regulating it. Finally, the problem of the integration and of the cultural rights of migrants in Turkey seems to be an important subject for the future.

Migration in any form and condition is more than often a painful and undesired process than a will to discover other places. It is less of an exotic adventurous trip than a forced voyage to unknown lands. The wandering of artists in the world through frontiers and cultures is also a difficult process and sometimes the fruit of hazardous choices. If it was today, Chagall or Picasso wouldn't have been awarded with a visa to enter France and enrich its culture with their great works. Systematic migration policies are the only one to blame for this. This is the inestimable price of closing frontiers without any discernment, it is giving up the essence of the plurality of culture. As we saw in this thesis, the entrance inside the frontiers of Turkey wasn't the main problem until now. It has rather been the non-recognition of the artistic and cultural value behind this immigration. In Turkey, migrants are not considered as being

qualified or skilled, they don't bring and enrich diversity, they still aren't the subjects of social integration. They are only guesstimated numbers who represent a political challenge to democracy in the long run and an economic one in the short. But there is most certainly a long way to go in that field of study.

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Appendix

Enzo Ikah

<p><i>Interview conditions</i></p>	<p><i>Country of origin</i></p>	<p><i>Reasons of migration</i></p>	<p><i>Artistic occupation</i></p>	<p><i>Plans</i></p>	<p><i>Claims and needs</i></p>
<p>In my house, one and a half hour, 31st of October 2010</p>	<p>Congo-Kinshasa, speaks Lingala, French, English and good Turkish</p>	<p>Asylum seeker, 2007</p>	<p>Reggae musician, singer, made an album in Turkey</p>	<p>Staying in Turkey for his career instead of going to a country of asylum.</p>	<p>Universal message of peace and tolerance through the lyrics of his music</p>

Osman Osman

<i>Interview conditions</i>	<i>Country of origin</i>	<i>Reasons of migration</i>	<i>Artistic occupation</i>	<i>Plans</i>	<i>Claims and needs</i>
Correspondence on the 9 th of December 2010	Sudan, we spoke English but speaks Turkish	Came for studies in 1983, is in Canada since 2010, cultural entrepreneurship	Made seven entertainment places in Istanbul the last one being the famous Reggae bar Nayah	To propagate the Rastafarian culture in Canada also	Need to create more spaces for Africans in Istanbul, help artists living of their art, universalist Rastafarian messages

Nasa Seif Said

<p><i>Interview conditions</i></p>	<p><i>Country of origin</i></p>	<p><i>Reasons of migration</i></p>	<p><i>Artistic occupation</i></p>	<p><i>Plans</i></p>	<p><i>Claims and needs</i></p>
<p>Correspondence on the 4th of June 2011</p>	<p>Tanzania, Swahili, speaks English and Turkish</p>	<p>Came for studies in 2000, works in Turkey and makes films</p>	<p>Cinema actor and producer, played and produced <i>Joerjoy</i> and <i>Merdiven Altı</i>, created his own production company with his Turkish wife</p>	<p>Keep on acting and producing films, plans to stay in Turkey for good</p>	<p>Sensitization on issues of migration, smuggling, and racism</p>

Imu

<i>Interview conditions</i>	<i>Country of origin</i>	<i>Reasons of migration</i>	<i>Artistic occupation</i>	<i>Plans</i>	<i>Claims and needs</i>
<p>In a cafe in front of his school, 45 minutes, 15th of April 2011</p>	<p>Kenya, Swahili, speaks English and Turkish</p>	<p>Came for studies in 1993 and became professional dancer in Turkey.</p>	<p>Afro-Cuban dancer, built his own school two times, has a dance company and 5 to 6 teachers working in it</p>	<p>Expand his school until he retires, explain the African roots in Latin dances</p>	<p>Legal protection for foreign investors, better recognition of dances as art, support for artists</p>

Taju

<i>Interview conditions</i>	<i>Country of origin</i>	<i>Reasons of migration</i>	<i>Artistic occupation</i>	<i>Plans</i>	<i>Claims and needs</i>
In a cafe, 30 minutes, on the 28 th of January 2011	Nigeria, Ibo, English, Turkish	Trader, 2002	Cultural entrepreneur, General Secretary of the Nigerian Community, organized the African Football Cup, played in the documentary <i>Ofsayt</i> by Reyan Tuvi and	To organize an African cultural day in Istanbul	Community building opportunities, get the Turks to know Africans better and gather Africans of Turkey

Ike

<i>Interview conditions</i>	<i>Country of origin</i>	<i>Reasons of migration</i>	<i>Artistic occupation</i>	<i>Plans</i>	<i>Claims and needs</i>
In his office, 20 minutes, 29 th of January 2010	Nigeria, Ibo, we spoke in English	Trader, (date?)	Gospel musician, made an album in Nigeria	Plans to make an album in Turkey and sing in bars	More time from his job to practice music

Rogers Mukiibi

<p><i>Interview conditions</i></p>	<p><i>Country of origin</i></p>	<p><i>Reasons of migration</i></p>	<p><i>Artistic occupation</i></p>	<p><i>Plans</i></p>	<p><i>Claims and needs</i></p>
<p>Correspondence on the 3rd of December 2010</p>	<p>Uganda, we spoke in English</p>	<p>Came for study and is still a student in Izmir, chairman of the African students in Turkey group</p>	<p>Advises African students all over Turkey, helps with language and cultural integration problems, creates a solidarity among Africans</p>	<p>Organize an African cultural day, cultural events in the university, better solidarity web among the African students</p>	<p>More support from the University, integration possibilities, education about Africa for Turkish students and teachers</p>