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**KRAUTROCK BANDS OF GERMANY:
COUNTER-CULTURE AND THE FUNCTION OF MUSIC IN IDENTITY
CONSTRUCTION**

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Acceptance and Approval

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ABSTRACT

In this study, the progressive and experimental music scene in Germany in the late 1960's is analysed through the musicians' use of music as a language in their identity search and resistance. The bands of the scene, Krautrock bands of Germany, were taken as a counter-culture case and their post-war youth profile, the socio-political situation of their country and their motivation for identity reformation are explained. This study also finds out if music might be functional in identity formation and how these bands used music in the artistic expression of their past, collective guilt and being young in post-war Germany.

Keywords: Krautrock, Western Germany, counter-culture, Post-World War II, collective guilt and shame,

ÖZET

Bu çalışmada, 1960'lı yılların sonunda ortaya çıkan Alman progresif ve deneysel müzik grupları bir karşı kültür örneği olarak ele alınmış ve kimlik arayışlarında ve de direnişlerinde müziği bir dil olarak kullanmaları incelenmiştir. Krautrock müzisyenleri ismiyle anılan bu Alman müzisyenlerin de dâhil olduğu İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrası gençlerinin durumu, ülkelerinin sosyo-politik durumu ve bu müzisyenlerin kimlik inşasındaki çıkış noktaları açıklanmıştır. Bu çalışmada aynı zamanda müziğin kimlik inşasında ne derece etkili olduğu ve bu müzik gruplarının geçmişlerini, kolektif suçu ve savaş sonrası Almanya'sında genç olmayı sanatsal ifadelerinde müzik aracılığıyla nasıl yansıttıkları incelenmiştir.

Keywords: Krautrock, Batı Almanya, karşı kültür, İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrası dönem, kolektif suçluluk ve utanç,

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Krautrock, in other words *kosmische music* or *the progressive music scene of Germany*, was born when the progressive music scene was at its peak in the Western world. Artistically, Krautrock brought quite an innovative understanding of musical experience but its roots are deeply hidden in the socio-political background of post-war Germany. Its history goes back to the youth protests of the 1960's and the post-war identity reformation acts of young Germans.

The emergence of a music movement has always been natural and uncontrollable as its motivation lies in the events happening in its birth place, which is also observed in the case of Krautrock. The fact that how the search for new sounds happened in a synchronized way without any interaction in between the bands of the time when they first started to make music proves once again that music is a very strong weapon when it comes to expression and resistance. However, it is also a powerful machine which enables the authorities to control the masses. In the case of Germany's Krautrock bands, it is seen that the subcultural movement emerging from the urge to express the silence of what was left behind, the collective shame and identity search gave a way to an unpreventable musical expression through a study for new sounds which did not directly contribute to the identity reformation after the war or start a collective consciousness. But when it is focused on its partially individual resistance, it can be observed that this music and its creators formed the roots of contemporary electronic music thanks to their experiment with the newly invented synthesizer at the time and the study on the philosophy of the new music of the 20th century. As for its influence on the local culture in its motherland, Krautrock bands are unsuccessful in an effective organizational form whose notions meet the needs of today's young Germans who struggle the problem of unemployment, environmental crisis and immigration issues but these bands still keep their

artistic value as the force which triggered Germany's rise to be the center of the electronic music scene.

1.1.RESEARCH QUESTION

Revising Krautrock bands' manifest and their comments on the motivation for their artistic creativity, it is seen that they all point out to the same concern; identity formation through music. These bands took shelter in the power of music when they fought with their haunting national past. They refused to play the music of the time under the influence of Anglo-American music culture and the language which did not give voice to their silence due to the guilt of the war. In these bands' case, music was at the center of everything. Its creators wanted to separate themselves from the power of the dominant, its language and its identity. Considering all these, what is aimed in this research is an analysis of the roots of Krautrock and the conditions which gave birth to its existence. The main research question of this study is as follows: Is it possible to create a new language through music, and how functional music is in identity and counter culture formation of these bands?

1.2.RATIONALE OF THE RESEARCH

Although this music did not originate in Anglo-American rock music, it was one of the most influential styles of the second half of the 20th century. However, it can be claimed that the works of its artists were underrated by researchers until the late 1990's as there was little material on the movement apart from a number of biographies on the most popular bands of this music. With the rise of electronic dance music in the new millennium, the roots of this musical genre were revisited and more research has been done since then. There are mainly three books which have been published on the whole: *Krautrock sampler* by an English rock musician Julian Cope in 1995, *Krautrock: Underground, LSD und kosmische Kuriere* by Henning Dedekind in 2008 and *Future days: Krautrock and the Building of Modern Germany* by David Stubbs in 2014. However, the number is increasing day by day with the analysis of

musical genres and their connection to their political and social environment. Still, works published in English have been preferred in this research and the main argument of this study has been supported with the interviews by the genre's musicians. Also, two documentaries which were released in 2008 and 2009 have been consulted for the musicians' statements and comments. If we look at the works published so far from a more general perspective, we can find a lot of references to and parts written on Krautrock in a variety of popular music magazines, music encyclopaedias, books on music studies and culture, works on music scenes and movements, and studies on *kosmische musik* but they are mostly on individual artists of the time.

The published works that could be found on Krautrock usually focus on the relationship between the language, identity and today's techno music. There are also references to the influence of Krautrock bands on their successors' art because the number of the works focusing on the socio-political atmosphere of Germany in the 1980's and its musical expressions is ample. What I want to achieve by this research is a contribution to the list of works mentioned above by explaining Krautrock's position in creating a counter culture as well as its function in identity formation.

On the other hand, this dissertation has some limitations due to the scope, time, and space allocated to it. Post-war political and societal developments at both local and international levels have not been extensively discussed because this study did not start as a work on Post-war German history but a study which refers to this era to answer its research question by situating the music genre in its socio-historical context¹. The core discussions of this thesis are closely related to the literature published on guilt and shame in post-war Germany but these terms were not deeply discussed in this work due to time limitation and

¹ For further reading on Post-War Germany and Societal Developments, see: Brockman (2004); and Habermas (1991).

also the limitation of this thesis². Similarly, the discussion on the social movements in the 1960's is also explored briefly as the bands in the center of this study abandoned their close relationship with the counter-culture communes in the very early years of their musical journey and focused on their artistic development and established their political position through musical expression.³

1.3.METHODOLOGY

In this study, the steps of qualitative approach to social research as W. Lawrence Neuman explained in his book *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* are followed (Neuman, 2014: 20). When I decided that I wanted to write about this music movement, Krautrock, I searched for the term and its history, and my research started with re-watching the documentary *Krautrock: the Rebirth of Germany* to be able to “situate my topic in a socio-historical context” (Neuman, 2014: 20). Then, I referred to the books which are published on the genre, read the articles and music reviews about Krautrock bands in music magazines. After that, I decided to study the nine bands who have the most distinct musical approach as well as having international success with their music. The next step was to narrow down what key terms could be included in this research. This research used secondary literature like books and articles on the definitions of culture and identity, subcultures, and the relationship between music, language, and subcultures. After creating a framework, I conducted archival research and collected data from interviews to analyse these bands as a case study. This determined this research into the direction of these bands' birthplace because “case studies enable us to link a micro level, or the actions of individuals, to the macro level, or large scale structures and processes” as Neuman quotes from Vaughnan

² For further reading on guilt and shame, see: Doosje and Branscombe (2004); Olick (2016); and Huyssen (1995).

³ For further reading on German counter-cultures of 1960s, see: Davis et al. (2010); and Brown (2009).

(Neuman, 2014: 20). Therefore, I collected data about post-war German history to relate these bands' movement to its setting. During this research, I did not apply content analysis of the lyrics of these music bands because lyrics do not hold a strong and self-expressive place in their music as always emphasized by the bands. When this process was completed, these bands were divided into categories according to their similar and different standpoints in identity reformation, and then the interviews with the band members in music magazines and on websites to contribute to the discourse analysis in this case were studied. Finally, based on the literature review conducted on counter-culture, I discussed the success of these bands as a counter-culture case and how they used music as a language.

1.4.SCOPE OF THE STUDY

In the first chapter of the dissertation which is "Culture and Identity", to create a framework for this study, Raymond Williams and Stuart Hall's views on culture and identity were the first things to be remembered and referred to. Culture is analysed as a whole with inseparable components which are always in relation. Also, Jacques Attali's *Noise: the Political Economy of Music* is one of the main reference guides to analyse the function of music in these bands, relating their musical efforts to the authority's control over sounds and silence.

In the next chapter, "Subculture", the definition of subculture and related concepts are explained especially by referring to Sarah Thornton's *Club Cultures: Music, Media, and Subcultural Capital* in which she identifies "taste cultures" as subcultures and explains the relationship with the media in defining what clubbers call "underground". (Thornton, 1995: 22). Thornton also mentions that all kinds of media have an active role in the formation of youth cultures while disagreeing with the classic Birmingham subcultural studies' positioning the media in opposition. In addition, apart from Thornton's study, Dick Hebdige's *Subculture: the Meaning of Style* is the focus of this chapter. Hebdige follows the tradition of the

Birmingham School and especially focuses on punk culture in his case studies. To be able to understand better how a case study is conducted within the frame of youth culture, Veret Hamd and Helena Wulf's book *Youth cultures: a Cross-cultural Perspective* has been quite helpful in the study of the case as a youth culture. The term "youth" is a fluid concept and the youth expresses resistance in counter-cultural acts in specific settings as analyzed in the case of Krautrock bands.

After completing the chapter on subculture, youth culture and counterculture, the following chapter "Post-war German Youth and Music Scenes" continues with post-war Germany and the music scene by often referring to Michael Ahlers and Christopher Jacke's *Perspectives on German Popular Music* and Christopher Fox' "Music After Zero Hour". In the last chapter, the works on music studies which focus on music as a language and music in its political function has been revised to analyse Krautrock bands and their identity formation as a counter culture case with excerpts from interviews with the members of the specific Krautrock bands which had international success in the beginning of their musical journey in this music genre: Popol Vuh, Amon Düül II, Tangerine Dream, Can, Faust, Cluster, Harmonia, Neué and Kraftwerk. The conclusion chapter will serve as a wrap-up of the dissertation and focus on how successful these bands could be at their time and what their role is today.

CHAPTER 2

CULTURE AND IDENTITY

2.1. WHAT IS CULTURE?

What is culture? Is a definition possible? How can we start defining it? Is it stable and fixed with its values and meanings, or is it ever changing? It is widely accepted and thus, can be said that culture is a controversial concept when it comes to define it. Many scholars have contributed with their unique opinions to make a definition of it, however, it is still not easy to come up with one clear definition which will apply to all separate cultures. It can be seen as a system where more than one thing works together and operates. Thus, this system, with all its components, consists of non-biological but learned values, and these values are shared by groups of people who also share meanings which belong to their culture as a whole. Components of culture cannot be separated from each other and have to be examined together for a thorough analysis.

Culture, as a word, was not used commonly in language until the 19th century. Terry Eagleton reminds us in *Culture* what this word represents, indeed, is a product of humanity. “It is humanly fashioned, even though the concept itself is derived from nature. It has an affinity with the word ‘agriculture’, as well with ‘coultter’, which means the blade of a plough” (Eagleton, 2016: 24). Therefore, culture is a crusher and moulder; it has a breaking, cutting and equally shaping power in its roots, which identifies its members with cultural norms.

British cultural critic Raymond Williams divides this concept into two separate components to be able to define and explain it. These components are reflected in every human being which makes “culture so ordinary” in William’s words." First, he says that *culture is a whole way of life*. It is the description of a particular way of life. In every culture, members recognize the known meanings and directions, and they respond to these. Instead of dividing into categories as high or low culture, culture should be seen as one unity as a whole

way of life (Williams, 2014: 3). There is no high or low culture that is separate from each other and this kind of assumption of dichotomies create a hierarchy in different human activities in contrast to the idea that all human activity is recognized as equally valuable. Labelling culture as high and low is quite a conservative view which devalues mass participation in cultural production as what is referred to as high culture is reached through education. It brings inequality to cultural ownership as this education might be out of reach of the working class. Thus, it should always be kept in our minds that culture is a whole with its different classes or communities in a society having their own institutions and common meanings, arts and learning which cannot be underestimated at any cost.

Culture is also collective; its individuals form it and take it into a stage of one general tradition. Its members are not masses. There are no masses but people of a culture. Supporting this idea of masses is a way to alienate people from each other and positioning them as *others*. Williams also opposes the categorizing people with these words: “I don’t believe that the ordinary people in fact resemble the normal description of the masses, low and trivial in taste and habit. I put it another way: that there are in fact no masses, but only ways of seeing people as masses” (Williams, 2014: 10). He also adds that the naming as masses dates back to the early days of the Industrial Revolution when people suddenly happened to see unknown faces of others so it is why those faces were generalized as masses but there is one thing that we are sure that people cannot be generalized and categorized just because they are unknown. They are more than what is called “masses” mainly because each individual is embedded with the cultural meanings and values of their own society so they are not unfamiliar but actually might be quite identical with “our” minds.

Another point in this sense, considering it as a whole way of life, culture is young and also old. It has a history and a beginning which is hard to calculate but it has happened and has been happening by growing and expanding its meanings and values everyday by the new

generation with its own characteristic and unique response, as Williams stated in “The Analysis of Culture”, “...in its own ways to unique world it is inheriting, taking up many continuities, that can be traced, and reproducing many aspects of the organization, which can be separately described, yet feeling its whole life in certain ways differently, and shaping its creative response into a new structure of feeling” (Williams, 1965: 65). What young people bring to society is their way to respond to the old feeling by creating the new. Of course, what is old in culture is taken as natural by human perception as we are born into our “(al)ready-made” world of meanings and symbols but it is a product, indeed. It is made and remade in every individual and generation so it is both the old and the new.

Second, if we refer to Williams’ words again, culture is also the arts and learning of the whole human existence with its new observations and meanings which expand themselves and the concept itself every day. All the observations and concepts with the upcoming ones are put forward, tested and controlled or used to control the individuals’ environment. This might point that culture is the recording of arts & learning, history and tradition which grow every day. It is the inheritance of older generations’ values to the young. However, culture, in this sense, can sound as limited in a definition that all the intellectual and artistic meanings and values of communities are the only factors that compose culture. If so, otherwise, the communities without the reach to these (and services) would be excluded from culture and their individual contribution would be ignored. Every member in a culture shapes the term and is shaped within the premises of the definition of culture. From a holistic perspective, it can be concluded that individuals from societies grow and live together and are shaped by cultural experiences. As they find new meanings, culture also expands. When culture grows, its offering is also growing. As Williams put it into words in “Culture is Ordinary”:

If we understand cultural growth, we shall know that it is a continual offering for common acceptance; that we should not, therefore, try to determine in advance what

should be offered, but clear the channels and let all the offerings be made, taking care to give the difficult full space, the original full time, so that it is a real growth, and not just a wider confirmation of old rules. (Williams, 1965: 16)

The variety and all the differences being introduced to culture support the idea that culture is a way of life with its all artistic and intellectual elements so this growth in culture is a positive contribution to the process of cultural growth which cannot be assumed as only happening in arts. When the whole process is taken into consideration, it can be said that creative activities of a culture occur not only in the arts but in every part of society like “...in industry and engineering, and, questioning the society, in new kinds of social institutions” synchronically (Williams, 1965: 88). Culture is changing all the time in its concept and meaning.

2.1.1. How Can Culture Be Analysed?

When the focus is such a broad term with endless opinions in definition, how can it be analysed? In this part, also, Williams’ precious contribution to the cultural analysis practices will be explained. Williams, seeing culture as “ordinary”, suggests three ways for an exclusive analysis in his article “Analysis of Culture” (Williams, 1965: 57).

First is analysing “the cultural ideal”. According to this, culture is seen as a state or process of human perfection. It is the discovery of absolute universal values which are also timeless. Second is analysing “the documentary” which views the culture as the body of intellectual and imaginative work. It is the critical assessment of surviving texts or practices of a certain culture. Its focus is human experience that makes up a culture. The third and the last one is analysing “the social definition”. It supports the idea that culture is a description of a particular way of life. It aims to clarify meanings and values.

Williams claims that culture cannot be analysed thoroughly if one of these categories is ignored in analysis. Culture means relationships so the study of culture should consist of the study of relationships of organizations and systems which are both natural and human-made.

2.2. IDENTITY

Identity, in anthropology, is the self, the unique, the individual and the distinct from others but is it all? Identity is the connection to the identified and the identical. It is the sameness with another and this sameness has more than biological characteristics. It is the unity with the identical; it is where individuals meet with the identical.

To start with, it is accepted that identity is as natural as culture but also it is fixed in social terms because of being human-made, and it is only as flexible and changing (dynamic) as culture is. Also, it has evidence through symbols such as dress, language, behaviour and space which enable group members to recognize and respond to each other's sameness. In this sense, non-group members react to being "distinct" and start a relationship through being different so the question here is if one can see the self without its mirrors.

Identity, like culture, has codes introduced through education. It can be formed through nationality, ethnicity, religion, social class, generation, locality and gender, and identifying yourself through these helps us see our position in relations & our relation to the world. Stuart Hall explains this in his article "Who Needs Identity?":

Identities are, as it were, the positions which the subject is obliged to take up while always 'knowing' (the language of consciousness here betrays us) that they are representations, that representation is always constructed across a 'lack', across a division, from the place of the Other, and thus can never be adequate ~ identical -to the subject processes which are invested in them. (Hall, 2002: 19)

Therefore, it can be concluded that identities are never unified and single; they are constructed across different. It is a kind of declaration of the self which is formed through what “lacks”. There should always be a relation to the other to see what it is by defining what it is not. The self-identification is only possible through the production of outside so all identities are marginal at some point and have marginal other because they are defined through the other.

Every identity has at its 'margin', an excess, something more. The unity, the internal homogeneity, which the term identity treats as foundational is not a natural, but a constructed form of closure, every identity naming as its necessary, even if silenced and unspoken other, that which it 'lacks'. (Hall, 2002: 18)

Where one identity is recognized and accepted, there must be an opposite figure for itself. It is either the silent or the marginalized but it is always there – out of the unified identical ones because identity construction is based on excluding, leaving out and rendering. All identities cannot gather in one as it would not be appropriate to the nature of identity formation. Identities are not natural forms as they are constructed entities but they are always in an attempt to be naturalized.

Stuart Hall once again claims that identity is a construction, a process never completed; it is always in process.

In common sense language, identification is constructed on the back of a recognition of some common origin or shared characteristics with another person or group, or with an ideal, and with the natural closure of solidarity and allegiance established on this foundation. In contrast with the 'naturalism' of this definition, the discursive approach sees identification as a construction, a process never completed -always 'in process'. It is not determined in the sense that it can always be 'won' or 'lost', sustained or abandoned. (Hall, 2002: 16)

How subjects are constituted is not that clear as some subjects do not identify and put themselves in some positions while some others do. Shared history and ancestry are two strong components but whatever the most influential element in formation, it is always “in context and positioned” as Hall states (Hall, 1990: 222). Hall, in this sense, contributing his ideas on constructed identity, sees identity “as a matter of becoming more than being” (Hall, 1990: 225). Identities are our given names according to our positions in communities, within ourselves and the narratives of the past (Hall, 1990: 225). All in all, as Eagleton adds *the self is a project* and its codes are hidden in culture. (Eagleton, 2016: 25). While culture is analysed, identity can also be analysed and its codes can be interpreted.

2.2.1. Relationship Between Music and Identity

Our need for art is fundamental and it meets with our need for self-expression. Music, in this sense, is a strong tool for one’s self-expression. This need for self-expression is motivated and cultivated by the need for the presentation of identity. Music makes it possible for one to represent the identity individually or as a part of a community where group members recognize and respond to each other’s existence through symbols such as music, language, dress and many others mentioned above in identity formation. In all cultures, such examples of representations through music are widely common as music expresses the cultural self through symbols and behavioural patterns. It is connected to the expression of the artistic self, sometimes the representation of the national identity; it can also be the representation of a character who resists against the national identity, and also it can be what is constructed as cultural identity or a weapon which is used to construct the identity.

Music has a positional role in culture and society from time to time. It reminds us where we are or belong to. It tells us if we are at a funeral or a festival. Everything has its music, its language, norms and rules that one has to fit in. Therefore, music shapes our behaviours with the rules of the place it comes from. It has always been discussed for such a

long time what the main function of music is and why we make music. It is true that it is social at the very moment it is shared by people but one thing is clear that music has a bigger role in our lives; much bigger than just being a tool to entertain masses, from reducing stress and adopting a group identity to spreading political or religious messages. It can also be the tool by the authority to form and control as Jacques Attali explains in his book *Noise: The Political Economy of Music*: “When power wants to make people *forget*, music is ritual *sacrifice*, the scapegoat; when it wants them to *believe*, music is enactment, *representation*; when it wants to *silence* them, it is reproduced, normalized, *repetition*” (Attali, 2009: 20) so controlling the sounds is controlling the record of its era by the authority. While the music of the authority limits and shapes masses, music, on the other hand, can start an alternative record of history from the voice of the repressed and silenced to resist and represent itself.

Music, like national anthems, has been mentioned in this part as the tool to control and limit identities by the authority because it is known that identities can be defined through accepted or familiar sounds which are associated with the sense of sameness that they are able to be found in communities, and this determines the unwanted noises of the others which are marginalized. The history of music cannot be imagined separately from the history of repression and control. It is the organization and reformation of noise so music is noise, indeed. Before its recognition and placement by the ears of the power, every music is accepted as noise which hides our cultural and political codes. If a voice that represents some identities is ignored to be heard, it will be positioned according to the voice of the authority. “However, the power still listens to every noise with fascination to be able to control them since noise is the source of power” (Attali, 2009: 6). Noise can be anything such as a message that cannot be understood or a language which is unknown to the power. The noise of the others is a threat and can be regarded as violence so the power believes it should be silenced

or controlled. It means that every music is a noise in the beginning but when it is owned by the authority, it becomes political and constructed accordingly just like identities.

When the self cannot find the right tone or the sound for itself to declare its being, music is the tool for the declaration of independence so it helps one create unique sounds, rhythms and patterns as a part of this declaration. Every identity has its own codes and music can be distinctive in differentiating these codes from the others in societies. When verbal language that one is born into does not serve the ideology of the one, music becomes the language for this declaration. This relationship between music and identity and its reflections in culture will be further focused and interpreted in the next chapter which will be on subcultures where music plays an important role in identity and group formation.

CHAPTER 3

SUBCULTURE

3.1.WHAT IS SUBCULTURE?

Although culture is taken as a whole and a collective concept in this paper, the definition of subculture will be given in this chapter with an opposition as it follows: subcultures are what is left outside of the boundaries of the definition of culture by the authority. Subcultures form due to common resistance of shared experiences of different individuals and this formation starts when the dominant culture sees individuals as radical and deviant. Their expressive actions attract the attention of the media and then an entrepreneur finds a way to commodify their style and music so the subculture which is taken as marginal in the beginning ends up being mainstream. Therefore, when a subculture is recognized by the dominant and mass media, subcultures lose their resistant power.

Dick Hebdige mentions in his book *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* that the study of subculture can be traced back to the 19th century and its methodology becomes more scientific with the observations of juvenile street gangs and deviant groups. All these studies since then have helped to present subcultures as an independent organism outside the social, political and economic context (Hebdige, 1979: 76). Subcultures, in this sense, represent “noise” as Hebdige says. They represent a metaphor for potential anarchy “out there” (Hebdige, 1979: 90). Therefore, they are more likely to be perceived as gatherings and communities which are to be repressed or controlled by the authority for the sake of a community of parents who feel safe in the strict boundaries of the dominant culture.

Each subculture has its context of history, socioeconomic, class, race and mass media. They challenge the dominant ideology, hegemony and social norms through their style which can be traced in clothing, music, dance, make-up, drug use etc. They might also create a space

between the parent culture and the dominant so an alternative identity can be discovered and expressed without going too far from the centre of the mass/dominant culture, and this becomes possible with the use of language, which is *the style* in the context of subculture.

To start a subculture and an identity, you need a language for your communication with your members and your self-expression. This language as mentioned previously might work as style (just like what was observed in the case of punk). Subcultures offer a space where people with similar minds come together and form their communities which differentiate themselves from their parent culture. Age, sex, music, beliefs and many others can help these similar-minded actions.

Subcultures are not privileged forms; they are not outside the culture. They have things in common with different groups in a culture. The definition of who they are and what they do is not a realistic portrait of them when done by the dominant due to their binary positioning by the dominant. The members have merged values shared with different groups of society, so it can be said that subcultures do not have strict boundaries unlike the dominant culture because the dominant culture has limitations in the definition of its values. Consequently, it can be claimed that culture consists of many different subcultures which have shared experiences with different minor groups.

3.2.IDENTITY FORMATIONS IN SUBCULTURES

Members of a subculture are connected to each other not only through difference but also similarity. They define their little group of individuals with common tastes. Work, home or school impose their structures with rules, symbols, meanings and hierarchy of values so the oppressive power of these institutions may lead individuals to seek for an alternative self and a culture where they can express themselves. Finding the similar or an identical one brings a differentiation from the mainstream, the dominant and the parent culture. As a result, it is

clear that in identity formation of subcultures, members define their identities with two components, which are the similar and the different.

To the media and the dominant & parent culture, the subcultural elements are unordinary, primitive, lawless and uncontrolled. These features show that the members of subcultures, in this sense, are alienated, dismissed and excluded by the dominant and the media.

The meaning or expression in a subculture is defined by the language and notions of social order, and according to the dominant, distinctions and identities are certain and may be deeply embedded in the discourse and thought about the world. “The limits of acceptable linguistic expression are prescribed by a number of apparently universal taboos” (Hebdige, 1979: 91). Violation of the acceptable brings a potential chaos to the society and culture. Therefore, the other has to express the self through a new language: a new media, a new style, new norms and codes. Therefore, it can be concluded that subcultures express the forbidden contents of the culture with a newly invented style.

By trying to generalize them under integration and coherence of a general subculture term, we should not ignore “the unique group experience” in each subculture (Hebdige, 1979: 79). Subcultures are highly structured and tightly bounded group identities. The idea of style in a youth culture is symbolic forms of resistance. These forms are secretly coded in style and the reflection of what is different from the parent culture (Hebdige, 1979: 80). The youth have always had a different position than their parents (especially when observed during the post-war era) and they have always expressed this through their style, which is their both expressive and revolutionary tool.

3.2.1. Counter-culture

Counter-culture is a subculture whose members directly reject mainstream norms and challenge the dominant culture from which it emerges. Resistance is the key term to define a counter-culture, and it represents youth movements with a utopian ideal and a cry for justice in political and social systems. However, counter-cultures do not always have to include political rejection; they might deal with concerns with human rights, environmental issues and tolerance in society etc.

The binary positioning of counter-culture and its parent culture points out an opposition between the two but actually, counter-cultures host more than “otherness” in society. They have strong effects on the changes in art, fashion, music and dance, which means that they have transformative power in societies. This transformative power is best embodied in music as it works as a tool to spread new ideas of the youth in large groups, which can be even globally effective.

In terms of language and style of groups, music plays a very active role in counter-cultures. We need music to be able to comprehend the values of a culture as music signals the environment of its production and consumption. Analysis of a culture does not depend only on the history of the land, wars and elections but also every component of culture as Michael Ryan in his book *Cultural Studies: A Practical Introduction* explains as “great social movements do not occur in a sphere removed from artistic and cultural life, and [...] changes in political and economic institutions create changes in art and music, and vice versa (Ryan, 2010: 106). In this sense, identity formation through music is a well operating system because it gives us a space where we can gather with our alike. Furthermore, new ideas of youth introduce new genres of music and such new introductions of different genres to the parent society, on the other hand, might be taken as dangerous and it might result in rejection and alienation by the dominant as “new forms of music are considered dangerous because they

lead ostensibly impressionable listeners to question the logic and inevitability of value systems which insist that the body must be properly be used for labour and reproduction rather than pleasure and self-expression” (Ryan, 2010: 109). The authority does not want to see citizens with uncontrollable movements and actions. If new styles do not fit in the codes of the dominant culture, they are regarded as dangerous and destructive because it brings the questioning of the dominant and this questioning might bring a new system, music and its new body movements which revolt against the dominants’ body codes. Similarly, some movements which serve the citizens’ being ethical and disciplined are accepted and taken as “good” while some are taken as “bad” due to their encouraging effect on following the individual passions, which threatens the unity of the codes of a particular dominant community.

As for the 1960’s counter-cultures, where the resistance of youth followed by hippie movement was at its peak, it seems that the youth of the era was effective in triggering important events in culture and questioning of the dominant order. On the other hand, Andy Bennett in his article “Reappraising Counterculture” adds that what was disturbing the youth at the time was not only the firmly established parent culture’s institutions but also their control over the technology. At this point, Bennett quotes from Roszak as “the counterculture was not simply opposed to the hegemonic power of their parent culture but also to the technocracy the parent culture had created.” (Bennett, 2012: 19). In the 20th century, the youth witnessed several times what a strong and destructive technology that the parent culture had created and also the control of technology does not belong to the youth but the authority, so the children of technocracy tried to escape from *the technocratic world of the parents* (Bennet, 2012: 19).

Subculture and counterculture are quite parallel concepts because actions of middle class youth are interpreted in the analysis of both. Both concepts have style-based identity

formation, music, different mediums to speak out and a language for their common purpose against hegemony (Bennett, 2012: 20). When the 1960's are considered, counter cultures are globally more effective compared to subcultures which might also consist of very small communities. Bennett comments on this as follows:

Whereas subculture is held to represent small-scale, perhaps underground or quasi-deviant solutions to social problems, counterculture connotes something larger in scale – a movement or series of movements directed towards and orientated to address large, globally dispersed socio-economic problems and issues. (Bennett, 2012: 25)

Counter cultures might serve more universal and serious acts like environment, human and animal rights or financial crisis etc. Therefore, they should not be taken as separate units and categories from culture. Counter-cultures cannot work effectively when they define social groups with binary fashion such as counter vs dominant. Moreover, counter-cultures do not have strict boundaries in their formation and unity unlike how the dominant tries to define them. They have individuals with a common goal but this might be temporary. Still, their mechanism enables a community under the same umbrella term giving a common voice to a group whenever they emerge. Another thing which can be taken as evidence for counter-cultures not being strict is that they are fluid and mutable, which means that the individuals might have different temporary bonds with different cultural communities just like the relationship among different subcultures. They do not have unique members, so these members might be related and connected to other groups.

Lastly, a counterculture is a place of transformation. It is where the parent culture is swallowed and replaced with new social, economic and environmental values. On the other hand, counter-cultures have the same destiny as subcultures in that they are also swollen by

the mainstream culture with the intervention of the media after being recognized, accepted and lastly commodified as it was witnessed in time in the case of hippies of the 1960's.

3.2.2. Youth Cultures

Being young is universal but its forms are culturally and politically personal. Youth as a concept brings some associations like spectacular, deviant, oppositional and marginal groups when the concept is viewed from an adult perspective but this means separating young people and their actions from culture and positioning them in a place which should be observed with caution, punishment and limitation when necessary. According to Helena Wulff in *Youth Culture: a Cross-cultural Perspective*, it is emphasized that we are dealing with youth culture "if cultural practices are performed by young people" (Wulff, 1995: 6). How they dress, what they listen to, how they speak and how they behave emphasize differences with parents. What is received in youth cultures is an identity search and formation through common values with liberal peers rather than conservative parents. Therefore, it can be said that age can be used to define youth cultures but age, on the other hand, is a tricky concept due to the fact that terms such as childhood, teenager and adulthood or adult vs young that we use in our daily life so often are constructed terms, and their references have been changing in each era they have occurred.

Youth means hope and the future, so it is never dull and stable in practice. Youth is the new and the change but its impact is always ignored by the adult view. Youth emerges from what it is born into; its roots are hidden in the dominant culture. Its dynamics which are historically, economically and psychologically influenced by the parent culture are subject to change in every generation. What is sacred and privileged in a generation can be common and banal for another one but still a concise definition of a separate youth culture should not be explained through oppositions.

Youth culture is a modern term and youth as a word was not referred to as a community before compulsory schooling. Taking education and spending time with their peers helped young people come together and interact with their peers more often than adults and *they developed their own culture* in time. These similar age groups and their members in each era have been gathered under similar habits, liberties and limits by a definition which is always re-constructed.

Youth culture is also a subculture but as it is mentioned before, age is the predominant component which is the key concept in the definition of youth cultures. The youth and its culture might be taken differently than the parent cultures but it is, indeed, a component which also makes up the community, the society and the dominant culture. However, it should also be kept in mind that age groups have vague boundaries. “Youth is just a word” as Pierre Bourdieu offers because the concept of youth is questionable in every era. Not every person who is between 13 and 19 can be defined as young, and also the age group which is referred to as “youth” now could point to a totally different age group than just 60 years ago. So what is youth and its culture when age is “socially manipulated and manipulable”? (Bourdieu, 1993: 95).

A single youth culture is impossible to define as all young people hold a lot of differences due to the effects of the culture they live in. Its definitions rely on its culture. It always changes in different periods and different lands. On the other hand, all youth cultures have a lot of things in common because each young person shares some common and universal features, so youth cultures are quite local and national as well as being transnational and global. Cultural practices and beliefs of the youth can be similar or different but identity and resistance are key concepts which occur in unique conditions. In each era, the state of being young might be shorter or longer and boundaries might change but youth cultures might also be temporary. Prolonged youthfulness into middle age is because of prolonged schooling

and unemployment, and when these periods are over, the member loses the youthful practices in time.

Changing dynamics might cause a resistance against the dominant and a rejection by the youth and may result in counter-culture formation. The youth and the values it introduces are tend to be ignored or underrated by adults as they are regarded as an attack to the social and established values of the parent culture. Bourdieu comments that “the old despise the young because they lose their power whereas the latter still has a hope for the future” (Bourdieu, 1993: 100). Still, from an adult perspective, what youth is interested or involved in is something futile, not important for its era or future. The youth cannot hold and maintain the power as power is attributed to being close to the adult in such a divided community.

Despite all the concerns about youth culture as an attack on cultural norms and conformity of parents, it might be seen as having a valuable and positive effect when there is no role model for the teen or the young. Young people develop their identities due to what is offered in the culture they are born into. In addition to this, thinking of youth-led revolutions of the 20th and 21st centuries, it can be concluded that youth has always had a progressive effect on society, which supports the view that the youth bring hope for the future of societies.

3.3.THE ROLE OF MUSIC IN SUBCULTURES

Style is important in subcultures as style means a way to express the self through symbols. Members of a subculture need a style to communicate with their alike and express themselves to the dominant. Therefore, all symbols of style can be taken as the language of a particular subculture. These symbols might be given through dressing, behaviour, dancing and music. Music is a functional tool in many examples of subculture and it is also influential in counter-cultures and youth cultures in terms of self-declaration and communication with the

same and the different. In this term, club cultures are formations where music is the key in expression.

3.3.1. Club Cultures

Club cultures are youth oriented taste cultures where young people gather around similar taste in music. All subcultural groups like youth cultures and countercultures have their own style of resistance and rebelling, and club cultures demonstrate their rebellion in the form of music, dance and frequently with drugs. Club cultures are also rave cultures and dance cultures as music and dance play an important role in their formation and style. Unity is crucial in these places because similar taste brings different individuals together and they are surrounded by a lifestyle and a feeling of belonging to a group as well as gaining independence from the parent, the dominant, home and the authority.

Club cultures, indeed, date back to the disco wave of the 1970's but its fast development starts back in raves and clubs in the 1980's until they evolved into underground rave parties in the 1990's. Clubs and raves are dynamic places which are open to transformation to keep up with youth taste.

Rave subcultures like all subcultures keep being underground and isolated from the mainstream until they are recognized by the mainstream media. The common lifestyle of club cultures enables its members to have common consumption of the media but the media also consume their experience in time. Sarah Thornton in her book *Club Cultures: Music, Media and Subcultural Capital* argues that:

Although club culture is a global phenomenon, it is at the same time firmly rooted in the local. Dance records and club clothes may be easily imported and exported, but dance crowds tend to be municipal, regional and national. Dance styles, for example,

which need to be *embodied* rather than just bought, are much less transnational than other aspects of the culture. (Thornton, 1995: 14)

It can be concluded that club cultures are reached by the underground groups very easily when their lifestyle is exported and imported, and they might be underground and very local but at the same time, they might be shared as a global place thanks to their shared music and the lifestyle it brings. On the other hand, club cultures create a market for economy no matter how underground they are meant to be.

Club cultures have cultural hierarchies, too. They use some specific terms to define their marginal or uncentered culture. They also describe themselves through binary expressions such as the authentic vs the phoney, the hip vs the mainstream and the underground vs the media. They are regarded as the distinguished, radical, diverse and alternative while a centered culture which swallows its alternatives is positioned in the core. This kind of interpretation and analysis of culture has been discussed and named as a narrow-minded view in the previous chapter of this work but it should be reminded once again that although subcultural groups like club cultures and countercultures refer to these terms to define “the mainstream”, they also cause themselves to be named as “the other”.

Music and dance are strong components of club cultures, and clubs serve as a space where its members can experience being the self without the control of parents. Dance culture is like a place which hosts the cultural ideals of its members. They are the same as communes, which means that clubs are safe spaces for expression and gathering with the similar as well as being places where music is taken as a common language. Being open late at night and having a more imaginative and separate decoration from their houses, clubs are the alternative spaces to young people’s “parent house”. In this sense, clubs work as a space of rite of passage for young people because their young members have the opportunity to experience adult activities and discover “*autonomous*” and “*distinct*” identities (Thornton, 1995: 33).

On the other hand, clubs create their own “others”. They name themselves as the one who is “*outside and in opposition to the mainstream*”. Although they know there are different communities with the same definition, they still position the communities which are similar to them in a non-parallel place to theirs. Taste is not a personal choice but it is shaped by family background, education and class, so who is in and out of a club is already known by everyone, which makes clubs exclusive as they provide a little group with independence while leaving out “the others” and excluding them from this sense of independence and the chance for self-expression.

CHAPTER 4

POST-WAR GERMAN YOUTH AND MUSIC SCENES

4.1. A GENERAL VIEW ON POST WAR GERMANY

For Post-war Germany, *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* which means “coming to terms with the past” is on the focus to comprehend and understand the identity crisis of the 20th century. After the war, Germany was silent for a long time due to what had happened in the war. It was difficult for people to confront the Nazi past of the country and also to accept the responsibility of Nazi past. However, the identity crisis was so dominant that the management of this crisis was not successful in many attempts. For young people, their positioning of themselves in their homeland was determined by the guilt and shame because of their parents’ past actions.

The year 1945 was the end and beginning of two different periods for Germans which “... implies an absolute break with the past and a radical new beginning” as Stephen Brockmann commented in his work “German Culture at the Zero Hour” (Brockmann, 1996: 8). The aftermath of WWII was “the Stunde Null” (Zero Hour) and it aimed for the future, a new culture and a new country independent from the past and its burden.

To speak of a Zero Hour is to invoke rich cultural resonances going back to the creation of the world in Judeo-Christian tradition; to the invention of calendars; to the advent of Christ and Christianity’s division of time itself into the old and the new; to the mathematical acceptance of the number zero, with all its problematic philosophical implications; and to the vague but indispensable concept of modernity itself, with its sweeping away of old traditions and customs. (Brockmann, 1996: 8)

The new government in power created its new perception of time with the year zero. It was strongly believed that a break from the past and the focus on the future would help the way to the development. However, the country was too much in conflict and trouble with the moment

it was experiencing after the war to be able to concentrate on what was coming later, and also this conflict was much more complicated than it seemed:

“The war” here is not simply the military conflict that lasted from 1939 to 1945; it is the enormity of Germany’s moral, spiritual, political, military, cultural, and economic catastrophe. And the “wounds” caused by the war are not just physical or medical; they are also spiritual, political, national. Germany itself becomes a gaping wound, with the political division between the two post-war German states as only the most obvious and best known incarnation of that wound. (Brockmann, 1996: 30)

Germany, after 1945, was trying to build the nation socially, economically and politically from the scratch. Not only the first generation who lived through the war had this painful reformation process, but also their children and grandchildren were in a struggle for defining themselves and finding a connection to their society. There were many factors which affected and made this process hard for everyone. First, Germany was divided into two in many terms. It was divided both physically and morally into two lands until 1989. Also, the Nazi era was over but the country was still governed by people with Nazi roots. Additionally, people could not position themselves in their home culture as the war destroyed so many things in their “homeland”. Apart from all these, the Marshall Plan provided economic development in West Germany and started to impose American pop culture and its figures on a culture and its members who were trying to come into terms with their past.

When the post-war period is considered in all terms, it cannot be ignored that the early years after the war were the years of reconstruction all around the country. The country was financially recovered to a large extent during the 1950’s, the years of economic miracle and people could enjoy this recovery even at their houses. In addition to this economic rebirth, Germany’s football victory over Hungary in 1954 brought the first post-war national pride in the international media after a long period of national withdrawal. West Germany was back in

the world scene again. Starting from the late 1940's, West Germany was into an ongoing developmental process until the 1960's, the transitional period.

The 1960's were the years of silencing the past crimes and leaving the "dark" past behind as a great part of the population did not want to look back and deal with the past any more after having better life standards again with the recovering economy. The focus was now on the future. The past was a taboo and no one wanted to feel responsible for the nation's past crimes. Meanwhile, life had to continue in every part of the society and people with occupations were needed to work for the future of the country more effectively. Because of this, war criminals were led into the society because they were needed as a workforce after the loss of a great number of qualified citizens during the war. This meant that the Nazis were everywhere again, which brings the idea to the youth that the threat in the society was not over.

During the recovery years, the German society was divided in many terms. First, the land was divided into two and then the people in each divided land were divided into pieces. The majority of the society was in conflict with the young generation. The programme of the foreign aid could easily introduce the American consumerism into the German society by taking advantage of the gap of a national culture, which was abused and stopped, thus becoming difficult to be faced and embraced by the succeeding generations. This silence of the past led to an increase in the American consumer culture experienced in Germany while the young generation was trying to adapt themselves to the world. In this sense, American culture offered them a more liberal space from their authoritarian parents and their society.

In post-war Germany, the new society was built by the old generation. The generational gap was getting bigger mainly because the new system, its power and its offerings were far away from what the young could afford, which pushed the younger generations out of the powerful positions in society. This is also another reason why younger

generations welcomed American commercial culture. The economy was expanding in the 1950's but there were no jobs for younger people as the new Germany was restructured by old and qualified people whereas the developing economy of the previous decade created working positions for young people in the 1960's. Consequently, this encouraged a change in working and leisure time habits of the young people who had an income. The new target as a consumer group was then the young Germans. However, the youth still could not find a space to make themselves heard and was largely affected by "the dominance of an escapist entertainment culture" as Melanie Schiller quotes from Adorno (Melanie Schiller, 2014: 178). Memories of the past were undesired to remember. As a result, the youth fulfilled the craving for independence and self-expression by turning their faces to the foreign, the outsider and the other while attaching to the power of the economic miracle.

4.1.1. Collective Guilt

Guilt and shame cannot be explained separately in Post-war Germany. Lars Rensmann, in "Collective Guilt, National Identity, and Political Processes in Contemporary Germany" says "guilt cannot be inherited or transferred; you cannot be guilty for crimes committed before you were born, but only for your own wrongdoings" (Rensmann, 2004: 170). However, it is clear that guilt can be associated with group-based actions, too even though the members know that they did not act in a harmful way. This is because people tend to identify themselves with their surrounding and their morals. At this point, Rensmann refers to Adorno and quotes "a crucial element for conceptualizing guilt feelings in relation to a group identity is the degree to which the individual is *identified with the collective*" (Rensmann, 2004: 170) which, in Germany's case, means that it is inevitable for the post-war generations to feel guilt for the crimes in the war due to their connection with a country which had a negative history. Similarly, Stephen Brockmann refers to Thomas Mann by quoting "our shame lies open to the eyes of the world" [...] "everything German, everyone who

speaks German, writes German, has lived in Germany, is affected by this shameful revelation.” (Brockmann, 1996: 8). Both young and old people shared this guilt. This was like a burden from the past for the young generation and prevented them from building their future.

Members of a group can feel shame even though they do not have a role in the action personally. Shame, indeed, can be a triggering feeling to take action to compensate for your wrongdoings and to fix the problem. E. Dresler-Hawke and J. H. Liu support this in their study “Collective Shame and the Positioning of German National Identity” and say “shame could be viewed as a motivation for restoring relationships and making amends for damage to one’s social status” (Dresler, 2006: 134). On the other hand, the young generation did not know where and how to start to confront their past and deal with this shame. They were stuck in between neglecting the responsibility of the past and making compensation for what had happened. Until the late 1960’s and student movement of the time, the silence of the young generation was not broken, and eventually, the shame and guilt of this social trauma started to find place in the post-war second generation German youth’s actions.

4.2. MUSIC SCENES IN POST WAR GERMANY

The German entertainment industry had significant changes during the 20th century and German music lost the 1940’s with the start of the Nazification of music. In the first quarter of the century, before the war, the German music scene was very rich in terms of classical music composers and jazz musicians. However, the Nazi period stopped the coexistence of different voices and hence a wide range of musical contributions in a drastic extent. The war period under the regime of the Third Reich was a difficult time for musicians and artists as “every form of utterance was given an explicit political value” and “musicians could adopt only one of two possibilities: silence or compromise” (Fox, 2007: 8). In other words, an artist had to make music in the authority’s premises and were not allowed to

collaborate with anyone “degenerate”. The racist attitude towards musicians started to increase in time and non-Aryan music was banned on the Reich-controlled radios through the end of 1930’s just like what happened to Jazz music in Germany which was disapproved by Nazi ideology as this music dated back to African American people. Similarly, as Klaus Nathaus mentions in his chapter “The History of the German Popular Music Industry in the Twentieth Century” in *Perspectives of German Popular Music*, “the persecution of Jewish songwriters, publishers and performers deprived German popular music of many of its most prominent and interesting figures” (Nathaus, 2016: 253). Jewish music and any work by Jewish musicians were pushed out of the industry. “‘Racially inferior’ musicians were expelled, ‘racially inferior’ music was also identified for expulsion” (Fox, 2007: 7), which caused many musicians to flee to the USA. When the war was over, those musicians hesitated to come back to unsafe and “poverty-stricken Europe” (Fox, 2007: 9). Therefore, when the history of German music is considered, the 1940’s are the missing years when the musical tradition stopped.

After WWII, American aid to European countries brought an interest in its culture together. It was inevitable to welcome American music and popular culture especially to break the Nazi roots. Christopher Fox comments that this aid to reconstruct the wounded Europe led to a point “when that which was reconstructed wanted to establish its own autonomy, which was reached in the late fifties and later” (Fox, 2007: 17). In other words, what would occur in German music in 20 years was the outcome of this economic aid, which can be taken as an act of resistance.

During the war, the radio’s meaning for people changed from a machine for entertainment to a machine for propaganda. After the war, the radio gained its importance in the entertainment business again. It was in the heart of the music industry because it was “the medium with the largest audience” (Nathaus, 2016: 254). The 1950’s was the time when

different sounds and musical ideas were introduced into German popular music. With the Anglo-American pop culture's effect, American soft rock and pop songs became popular in German youth. On the other hand, beat culture was on the rise and it arrived in West Germany in the late 1950's by offering a big market for West German youth. This influence was from the outer world, focusing mainly on the teenage market. This arrival was political but it did not contribute to a change in the political standpoint of youth culture, which makes it more political. "Rock and Roll in Germany had a reputation of protest culture, because it opposed traditional German Schlager and because it was, like American culture in general, little accepted by the adult world" (Schiller, 2014: 181). Rock and roll was not approved by parents, the old generation. Therefore, for the youth, it was a chance to differentiate themselves from their parents by adopting this foreign music and its culture.

What was approved by the parents was the old, traditional and safe *Schlager*. Although it dates back to the early 20th century, Schlager, easy listening re-recorded American songs with German lyrics, were also popular on the radio during this period as American songs were in quite a dominant position in the market, and Schlager was the sound which was meant to be heard during that period. On the other hand, classical musicians like Karlheinz Stockhausen and Hans Werner Henze started to experiment with electronic sounds in classical music in the 1950's, which would affect the next generation's experiments with sounds, which was encouraged by the technological developments and new approaches to music in the classical and avant-garde music scenes. Still, pop music reached a bigger group of people as it always does even now. Klaus Nathaus mentions in "the History of the German Popular Music Industry in the Twentieth Century" that new was welcomed in many terms because "the German music industry can be seen adapting to changes in taste and media use by reforming its dance and light music formula" but the society and the industry were not open to revolution, yet so "the revolutionary sounds found it much harder to get a break"

(Nathaus, 2016: 256). For the 1960's, discotheques were on the rise and created a new space for entertainment for the youth. In the late 1960's, thanks to the developments in technology and the student movement, there were young musician groups which were chasing "revolutionary sounds" and made music related to rock acts although being neglected by German music companies at the time.

4.2.1. The Rise of Krautrock

All the musical attempts and trends in the 1960's showed that music was the language for the young German generation who were stuck in between two different German national identities of the past and the "ongoing" present one, and those who could not identify themselves with American pop culture. In such a challenging setting with the crimes of the past, collective guilt, silence and shame, young people had difficulty to express themselves. However, the new era was open to search for the alternative, the new and the future, so young people were also at a point where they could experiment with the new: ideas and sounds. The need for expression led to a new artistic search, and as for music, this was experienced with the rise of bands with counter cultural actions. These bands, labelled as "Krautrock bands" by the Anglo-American music media at the time, started a musical heritage which has its influence in even today's musicians. These bands were from different parts of West Germany and unaware of each other for some time but their motivation to make music was the same. Rejecting German language and the negative history that their grandparents had left, young German experimental progressive musicians were searching for new sounds to express themselves and wanted to form a new identity which was not German but universal and away from nationalistic definitions with all its revolutionary concepts of sounds.

The aim of this study is to focus on and analyse these bands' musical acts from different parts of Germany and their contribution to the youth culture of the time as a revolutionary movement. The next chapter of this study will include quotations from specific

Krautrock bands and analysis of interviews with the band members from Amon Düül I & Amon Düül II, Popol Vuh, Neu!, Can, Kraftwerk, Harmonia, Cluster, Faust and Tangerine Dream. Before ending this chapter, the necessary information about bands' backgrounds will be given.

First band that will be mentioned here is Amon Düül I & II from Munich. Amon Düül, (later named as Amon Düül I) was a German radical political art collective which was formed during the student movements of the late 1960's. Amon Düül II was the second wave of this art collective which was also a far-left group connected to some members from the Red Army Faction in their early days. However, Amon Düül II took a separate path and continued only as a band who improvised music in 1968. Amon Düül has gone into a lot of member changes and still makes music. They are one of the rare Krautrock performers who write lyrics for their songs and sing in English. One of the most important facts that should be reminded about the band is that they are the only band with a female band member, which was not common in many Krautrock bands. Amon Düül II, at the beginning of their musical career, were much closer to youth communes and German hippies but they separated themselves from political formations in time. Their musical themes were space, cosmic world and more spiritual concepts when compared to many other bands of the genre.

Another band which was formed in Munich was Popol Vuh by keyboardist Florian Fricke in 1969. Popol Vuh made music until the death of Florian Fricke in 1999. They started their musical life with electronic experiments but then they followed a musical path which was into ethnic percussion, world music and spirituality. Popol Vuh was also close to hippie communes in Munich in their early years. Later, they also took a separate path from communes just like Amon Düül II did, and they collaborated with Werner Herzog in his films more than many times during their career.

In the west of Germany, the musical approaches were a bit different than the spiritual scene in Munich and around. Can, founded by Holger Czukay in 1968 in Cologne, consisted of trained musicians under Karlheinz Stockhausen. They had a Japanese lead singer, who also contributed to their standpoint as a band which was trying to make universal music. They made 11 rock music based albums until 1989. They have remarkable influences on rock and ambient music.

Not very far from Cologne, in a neighbouring city Düsseldorf, Neu! was founded by Michael Rother and Klaus Dinger in 1971 and made 3 albums in their musical journey with Neu!. These two musicians were the pioneers of the characteristic motoric beat of Krautrock and both of them have actively collaborated with different bands even after they disbanded. The same city also hosted Kraftwerk, one of the most popular and influential German bands which was founded by two classically trained musicians, Ralf Hütter and Florian Schneider. They have been making music and performing since 1970 with changes in their members (both members of the band Neu! collaborated with the band in their early years), their musical style and music technology.

Meanwhile in Berlin in 1967, another internationally successful Krautrock band, Tangerine Dream started their musical journey during which they have released over hundreds of albums and made musical collaborations with changes in their band members. Their musical sound and experiments were ambient and electronic. Another band Cluster, which was evolved from the space rock band Kluster, was founded in 1971 by the musical duo Hans-Joachim Roedelius and Dieter Moebius who also collaborated with Michael Rother of Neu! and Brian Eno (for a short time) later as Harmonia and released 11 albums of ambient and cosmic music until 2009. The members of Cluster were also connected to the Zodiak Free Arts Lab, which was a popular experimental live music venue in 1968. Roedelius and Moebius worked with Michael Rother of Neu! under the name of Harmonia and recorded 2

albums in the 1970's in the rural village of Forst, Germany. Their musical style was minimal and experimental. Another band who was experimenting sounds in rural Germany, avant-garde music band Faust was formed in Hamburg, Germany in 1971 and have made 13 albums with changes in their band members.

In the next chapter of this work, interviews with these bands and their members will be analysed in detail in terms of their function as a counter-culture act and their identity formation through music.

CHAPTER 5

KRAUTROCK BANDS AND THEIR IDENTITY FORMATION AS A COUNTER-CULTURE CASE

Counter-cultures like subcultures have many different aspects when they are formed but in this study, three main components will be focused and used to analyse a counter culture, which are *resistance, transformative power, language and style*.

First of all, resistance is the key term to define counterculture. The members of a counter-culture are expected to challenge the dominant, question the social mainstream and resist the values of the authority. They tend to have fluid boundaries and relationships with other acts of resistance. Counter-cultures, basically, reject the authority's power. This rejection, in Krautrock bands' case, is the original motivation which lies in the heart of these bands' formation in the beginning of their musical journey. These bands rejected and questioned two characteristics in their parent culture. The first is the post war Germany and its present relation to the Nazi past and the second is the cultural influence of unstoppable American consumerism culture. The former showed that nothing changed for German people as the power positions in the society was still governed by those people who had relations to the Nazi past. This was mainly because the country needed those people during the reconstruction years. John Weinzierl of Amon Düül II, the successful Krautrock band from Munich, comments on this in the BBC documentary *Krautrock: the Rebirth of Germany*:

After the war, you wouldn't just erase all people or get rid of all people, especially judges, teachers, if they were Nazis, they had to take them because you can't just kick them out and have no teachers at all. It was all still there but it was not as loud anymore. Nobody dared to say Hitler or something like that. The word Jew wasn't there in German language. (*Krautrock: the Rebirth of Germany* 00:03:42-00:04:12)

The country needed people with occupations and those people with Nazi connections were let into the society again. In other words, the Nazi mindset was still there. For a new generation which was feeling responsible for their parents' action and trying to connect with their country and culture, this was too much to handle as they felt as if they were betrayed by their parents due to their silence. Another band member of Amon Düül II, Renate Knaup also has a few words about those days in the same BBC documentary:

Our parents didn't really talk about Hitler, you see, and about the Jews and what this was all about. They were just in true silence. Nobody really talked about it. If I asked my father, he would never say "I was a Nazi". If you go to Dachau, which is 30km away from here, talk to the people there, "we didn't know anything about it."

(Krautrock: the Rebirth of Germany 00:04:14-00:04:40)

The disappointment in the new generation prevented them from connecting with their national identity as what the nation presented showed that not many things had changed over time. The youth was disappointed also due to the misuse of technology by their parents. Technology belongs to the future, and the future belongs to the youth. However, what was brought to the future was the shadow of death and the silence of the Nazi crimes. Michael Rother, half of the creative duo of Neu!, also mentions the Nazi effect that they could still see in the country back then and he said in an interview that "at that time (1971) it was still a period of leaving the German history behind. That was also the part of the story, the conservative remains of post-war Germany, Nazi times, was still to be found everywhere." *(Krautrock: the Rebirth of Germany 00:32:22-00:33:31)*. Similarly, Irmin Schmidt of Cologne-based band Can remembers those days and says in an interview with Alexis Petridis that he found it "absolutely flattened by bombing. I grew up in these total ruins. That was an experience that is still deeply within me: growing up in this town, this land, where everything was devastated, all the buildings, all the culture" and he continues remembering his relationship with his

father “Always asking, ‘Why did you do this?’, ‘Why didn’t you do that?’, ‘How could you?’ I think there is this kind of ... mourning within me which I can never get rid of.” (Schmidt, 2018). The young generation’s fury over their past and culture resulted in a resistance against the strongly rooted nationalistic values of the dominant culture and its past which was still roaming around. Pascal Bussy, the French music journalist who wrote one of Kraftwerk’s biographies, summarizes the situation of the youth in his book *Kraftwerk: Man, Machine and Music* and he commented that while they were trying to catch up with the present time, they found themselves dealing with the past. “A new generation of young West Germans were wrestling with a consciousness that remained in the shadows of Nazism and the Second World War, even though they were too young to have actually experienced the holocaust” (Bussy, 2008: 12). Therefore, the German youth of the 1960s had to find a crack to get themselves out of the situation of the conflict with the past by supporting the resistance of the student movements and other left-wing related acts. There were no strict boundaries between the position of the Krautrock bands and the other German counter-cultures of the late 1960s although these bands did not want to be directly connected with communes which provided the youth with social spaces and locate politics in the centre of their music.

On the other hand, the young generation was not only in a conflict with their own culture but also they were struggling with the outer threat of American consumerism culture. While offering an escape to the specific part of the German youth of the time from their native culture which was the burden on their shoulders, American culture with all its newly introduced products and music did not appeal to all individuals. As for the conservative parents, it represented a new way of life away from their national culture. Therefore, American culture was not approved by parents but this alternative escapist culture which was more liberal than their homes was quickly adopted by young people as it gave them a chance to revolt against their parents. American consumerism and music which were newly

introduced might not have appealed to all those who sought to differentiate themselves from their parents, too. A more liberal culture from the outside of the country might have helped the youth to create a comfortable space for the expression of their issues but it also did not satisfy all its target consumers and brought a self-questioning and an identity crisis. Renate Knaup of Amon Düül II says “the only thing we could hold on is classical music or the folk and everything else was from England or America.” (*Krautrock: the Rebirth of Germany* 00:05:50–00:05:58). There was a cultural gap as the 1940s were lost and this gap grew bigger in the following decade with the fast economic development leaving cultural development behind, so American consumerism was there to fill it for the youth. As Timothy Scott Brown, in his study of “In Search of Space: The Trope of Escape in German Electronic Music around 1968”, points this foreign cultural effect and says “these transnational vectors played a key role in filling the cultural void experienced by young west Germans in the 1960s.” (Brown, 2017: 342). The cultural facilities provided for young people were limited so the void was tried to be filled with transnational cultural elements of mainly foreign music and pop culture which could easily affect many consumer habits. Another musician from that time, Karl Bartos from the Cologne-based band Kraftwerk explains why they were not fit in American culture and were not pleased with being surrounded by it in the 2008 documentary *Kraftwerk and the Electronic Revolution*:

We were pretty much aware that we weren't raised in the Mississippi Delta or we weren't raised in Liverpool and it was certainly not our identity. Having an artistic mind somehow - probably I didn't know at that time - I think our generation had to come up with a counterpoint to that. It doesn't make sense really to play the music you love, it is one thing but coming up with your own genuine idea and by defining your own reality, your own culture. You have to come up with some other things. (*Kraftwerk and the Electronic Revolution* 01:01:21-01:02:18)

All these were the central themes of the German counter-culture in the 1960s as it was all around the world at that time. Krautrock bands shared some strong concern with the German counterculture of the 1960s but they never defined themselves by locating politics in the center of their music. However, these bands and their works cannot be separated from the characteristics of the time, the students' demonstrations and hippie communes as Jean-Hervé Péron from the band Faust adds: "There was lots of revolutionary thoughts in the air, on all levels so I guess artists usually are just a mirror of what's happening." and he continues commenting on how unsatisfying the foreign cultures were for them: "[...] and rock & roll was not enough to reflect all the facets of what was happening." (*Krautrock: the Rebirth of Germany* 00:35:42-00:35:55). These bands were deeply related to the characteristics of the German counter culture of 1968, which can be given in the context of German hippie culture, rural and urban communes, growing interest in the east and etc. However, these bands differ from the German counter-culture in that they do not have a massive effect on society in terms of starting or leading a social movement. They can be seen mostly as a part of greater or louder counter-cultural acts.

Another important component of countercultures is the transformative power they always carry with them. This transformative power brings change and it is the take-out of the resistance. Counter-cultures can trigger bigger actions for societies with their resisting power, which helps redefine the meanings and values of societies. These bands and their resistance were transformative in an individual sense but they had a limited reach to normal audiences and could not become a part of these people's every day actions. Therefore, it is difficult to say that these bands' transformative power had a social influence in the beginning of their careers. This can be caused basically by their artistic motivation and individual identity search. As mentioned before, politics were not directly in the centre of these bands' musical expression but everything is politically situated in societies, so these bands' efforts cannot be

excluded from the political setting of their times. Ulrich Adelt quotes Ralf Hütter's words from Tim Barr's book *Kraftwerk: From Düsseldorf to the Future* in his article "Machines with a Heart: German Identity in the Music of Can and Kraftwerk":

There was really no German culture after the war. Everyone was rebuilding their homes and getting their little Volkswagens. In the clubs when we first started playing, you never heard a German record, you switched on the radio and all you heard was Anglo-American music, you went to the cinema and all the films were Italian and French. That's okay but we needed our own cultural identity. (Adelt, 2012: 362)

It was inevitable for these young German musicians in the search for their own identity, their culture and their national pride to exclude themselves from the cultural revolutionary impulses of 1968 all around the world which were deeply rooted in similar concerns. What was experienced as the transformation was their cultural search and finding a medium to express themselves. This musical movement evolved in parallel to what was happening at the time as Irmin Schmidt says: "It was that atmosphere of 1968: let's dare something, let's have an adventure, we will find an art." (Schmidt, 2018). The future waiting for them was being shaped with drastic changes by the youth all around the world and the German youth could not be indifferent to it.

The last component of countercultures which will be mentioned is the language and style. Subcultures and countercultures need symbols which help members to communicate with their alike. These can be similar tastes, similar views, connected motivations and common goals. The members tend to prefer a language which is not controlled by the dominant. The language here is not the verbal language out of culture. It is the medium to communicate. In Krautrock bands' case, this medium was music.

Music is always in the center of countercultures. It contributes to collective actions in communities and it creates a space for expression. It offers a safe area different from home and allows you to connect with the members and reject the language of “the other”. This language in a counter-culture can emerge naturally. However, it is always known that there has always been a close relationship between rock music and the political struggle which has always enriched each other (Brown, 2017: 344). John Weinzierl from Amon Düül II puts it: “We didn’t have guns or the tools to chase them (Nazis) away but we could make music and we could draw audience, we could draw people with the same understanding, with the same desires.” (*Krautrock: the Rebirth of Germany* 00:05:00-00:05:20). In this sense, it can be concluded that music was also seen as a weapon to resist authority. It was the expressive medium which took the place of their verbal language for expression.

Krautrock did not emerge as a scene in a central place. It is difficult to locate the bands in a central city. Michael T. Putnam describes Krautrock as a scene in his article “Music as a Weapon: Reactions and Responses to RAF Terrorism in the music of Ton Steine Scherben and their Successors in Post-9/11 Music”: “Krautrock as a music scene was an artistic attempt to deconstruct music and society.” (Putnam, 2009: 598). Krautrock has different emerging centers due to the economic and technological developments in different centers such as Munich, Cologne, Düsseldorf, Hamburg and Berlin where German industry was settled in the post-war area. Although the bands were unaware of each other and unconnected, their attempt can also be taken as a scene because the members of this musical act were sharing the same motivation for their actions: building a new identity for their generation who did not feel connected to their parents’ culture and their country’s past.

5.1. “NON-GERMAN IDENTITY FORMATION”

It is difficult to generalize the musical production of experimental and progressive German musicians of the late 1960’s but they can be gathered under one term in terms of their

motivation. All these bands are from different parts of the country and still they were able to start a scene which was independent from each other and location. What makes Krautrock taken as a music scene is not its space but its original motivation which moved young people back then.

It was explained in the previous chapters that these West German musicians belonged to a group of young people who had to face the past when they had not been even born but they were still responsible for the actions of their parents which resulted in silence and this led these young people to position the identity search in the heart of their actions. The collective trauma of guilt ended up with the young generation's effort to re-create themselves through a new German identity. They needed a new name and a new language for themselves because they were still named after their parents by the rest of the world. Germans did not use Krautrock as a name until the mid-1970s. The psychedelic bands of Krautrock were referred to as Kosmische music bands for a long time in their homeland. In his article "What's Old is NEU! Benjamin Meets Rother and Dinger", Lloyd Isaac Vayo summarizes the new German identity formation acts of the time when these bands were formed:

As with any successful or even partially successful change in national ideology, art plays a central role, forms both traditional (visual, aural art (music)) and non-traditional (performance art) and, in some ways, "terrorism" (such as the spectacularly choreographed operations of the Baader-Meinhof Group) contributing to the constitution of the new German identity. Krautrock, perhaps the first predominantly original musical genre in post-war Germany, is not immune to the project of reproducing the new German identity." (Vayo, 2009: 618)

As Vayo states, the spirit of the time, the topics and themes were obvious and highly related to the near past, so these young musicians followed what they were surrounded with: identity reformation. Art shapes cultures and its reflections might be observed in various forms. For

Krautrock bands of Germany, these reflections were embodied in music. Similarly, Wolfgang Seidel of Ton Steine Scherben, a highly influential music band of the time who was active in political discourse and separate from the Krautrock scene, comments on those days:

It is often said that Krautrock was born from the fact that rock & roll was a typical American music that German musicians weren't able to properly emulate. It is not as we said "we can't play rock and roll, let's invent something new" like there was a discussion or a plan. It just happened by itself. (*Kraftwerk and the Electronic Revolution* 01:02:20-01:02:50)

As Seidel was quite clear about it, the emergence of Krautrock bands was a natural process resulting from the problems with "Germanness". The tradition of the country in arts and everything was broken, so these bands had to be in a search for re-inventing a tradition. This search can be called "the youth searching for the inner self in the outer space" and the identity search of these bands can be categorized in five different themes: the ethnic East, the cosmic Space, the new universal, the new German and the German avant-garde.

Krautrock bands found the meaning of the new in the adaptation of technology and trying unconditional paths. The West German youth was in search of themselves in different contexts from all over the world, and also the hippie culture which arrived in Europe in the late 1960s were on the rise with its high interest in the outside of their Western world. Popol Vuh from Munich were named after the ancient Mayan texts and they focused on creating a sound which was exotic and foreign. Their attempt was to re-define themselves with unknown sounds to Germany and Europe. Florian Fricke of Popol Vuh remembered those days in an interview with Gerhard Augustine, the German music producer and the co-founder of the music program Beat-Club, in 1996:

In those days the society was not only a political society, in Europe we had the '68 revolution which started in Paris, but also was part of the German change in culture and

society, and music was a great part in this change. But there was also a spiritual revolution. We have discovered the Eastern part of this globe, of this world, over and over again. The culture of the old Maya, of the book “Popol Vuh”, was one way for us to find ourselves, re-define our ideas in the early days.’ (Fricke, 1996)

This was not only a political and a social revolution. It was also a spiritual revolution which was started by the escape from the national inner self, which led to an interest in the East and the exotic. Popol Vuh used their strong background in classical Western music and adopted spiritual Eastern in their new musical experiments.

Similarly, another theme which was dominant in Krautrock music was the outer space and the cosmos. These themes were also supported by the technological improvements of the era when the first moon landing took place, the door to the space was opened and the interest in sci-fi movies increased. This world was full of too much pain, so the hope for the future could be in space. Amon Düül II from Munich and Tangerine Dream from Berlin are the Krautrock bands whose ties with the space theme are the strongest. John Weinzierl from Amon Düül II recalls those days and says “we wanted to be international. We tried very hard not to be Anglophonic and not to be German so space was one solution.” (*Krautrock: the Rebirth of Germany* 00:05:59-00:06:08). “In musical terms, this meant a turn to otherworldly sounds” and a dream of “a sonic utopia” (Brown, 2017: 350). It was the escape from the earthly reality. The space was the eternal unknown and it was opened to be discovered. The space was the future and even today, it is what is attributed to the future in human perception. Wolfgang Seidel puts it:

The focus was on the future, the music developed a sound that was not only from outside of this country but from outside of this world. [...] In the sixties, these new tools of sound design were linked with a notion of space. Delay. Echo. Anything that could create an artificial sense of space whose sound immediately says “here, we are

somewhere else”. I think the mood is so fitting nowhere else in the world were people so willing to travel than the youth in Germany. Let’s get out of here! We want to get away.” (*Kraftwerk and the Electronic Revolution* 00:50:07-00:51:25)

As cosmic music was a way to the stars away from the parents’ real past, everything that symbolized the future and the space was welcome. The reflections of these themes are clear in the music of both Amon Düül II and Tangerine Dream. Edgar Froese of Tangerine Dream also agrees that the eternal space offered them an unlimited number of chances to experiment and follow their passion in the search of themselves. He says “as horrific as it was, it had one, forgive me to say that, one positive point, there was nothing else to lose. They lost everything. And, so when we thought about doing music in a different form, there was only the free form, the abstract form” (*Krautrock: the Rebirth of Germany* 00:19:26-00:19:50). It is often emphasized in these bands’ interviews that their bond to their past and music tradition was broken, stopped and cut. Thanks to the technology also developing in the music industry, the newly invented synthesizer enabled to make “atmospheric sounds”. Piero Scaruffi, the music researcher, describes Tangerine Dream’s sounds experiments and music on his “A Brief Summary of German Rock Music” as “the perfect soundtrack for the mythology of the space age”, which set the beginning of cosmic music (Scaruffi, 2002).

On the other hand, as Jens Gerrit Papenburg explains in his “Kosmische Music: On Krautrock’s Takeoff”, the cosmic concept of Krautrock bands were supported by the music industry “not to sell the music for the music itself, or even for entertainment or as an explicit political message but rather in order for music to become a component of a philosophy directed at holism and consciousness expansion” (Papenburg, 2016: 63). In the international music market, cosmic sound was also related to the psychedelic music scene which was at its peak and so cosmic music was promoted for the hippie culture and its consumer community.

Psychedelic and spiritual experiences related to drugs were really common at the time. While some bands preferred a trip to the inner self through the outer space or the exotic, some bands such as Neu! from Düsseldorf, Can from Cologne, Harmonia from Forst and Cluster from Berlin had almost no interest in a search with these terms. They were more interested in using every sound available through technology by chasing everyday noise of everyday life in an attempt to adopt a universal identity.

NEU! from Düsseldorf was aiming to leave the negative German past, and what they wanted to reach with their music was universal rather than national. They wanted to build an identity from a more international point. Michael Rother remembers those days and says “when I jammed with Ralf Hutter, it was so apparent that we had both the same idea for melody and harmony which was definitely not American, not blues. It was a European music” (*Krautrock: the Rebirth of Germany* 00:30:15-00:30:28) and his musical partner who created one of the most characteristic sounds of Krautrock – the motoric beat, Klaus Dinger in an interview with Stefan Morawietz in 2005 explains: “I wanted to create my own image. I wore Levis too when I was sixteen but after a while it was all too American for me. We had to find something in front of our own door” (Dinger, 2005). Both members of the band had the same desire to re-create a self-image: not American, but an image they could see themselves in a more global context rather than having roots with only a specific culture.

Meanwhile in Cologne, Can supported a multinational identity even in their group formation. Their lead singer was Japanese and he was singing in English. The band members wanted to create such a musical identity which was not born in the States but Germany and owned different and multicultural identities in its German roots. Its members had classical music training like many members of different Krautrock bands and were related to Stockhausen. Their aim was to leave behind the traditional approaches in music. The co-founder of the band, Holger Czukay noted, “We never came off as particularly German. We

focused more on international music scenes.” as Adelt quoted from the band’s biography by Hildegart Schmidt and Wolf Kampmann. (Ulrich, 2012: 365). Similarly, another band member, the drummer Jaki Liebezeit commented: “Can was founded in 1968. That was the year of student revolutions in Germany. A mental revolution happened at that time. The war was definitely finished and the old way of thinking had to be destroyed” (*Krautrock: the Rebirth of Germany* 00:24:21-00:24:40). Can found the meaning of being German in being universal as their peers in Neu!. Melanie Schiller quotes Irmin Schidt of Can from Peter Wagner’s “Pop 2000: 50 Jahre Popmusik und Jugendkultur in Deutschland”: “We also didn’t destroy any structures; we just created our own” (Schiller, 2014: 620). The aim of these young musicians was leaving musical conventions behind as well as leaving their Nazi past behind.

Cluster from Berlin were similar to Can and Neu! in terms of forming an identity in the universal sense but their attempt differs in that they were searching the self in nature and its sounds. The duo made great ambient music and experiments with noise by taking advantage of the synthesizer as well as founding the Zodiac Free Arts Lab, the experimental live music venue, which also held a space for young musicians to experiment, collaborate and improvise in the late 1960s. In an interview with David Stubbs, Hans-Joachim Roedelius describes their early work saying that he “hoped it might have opened the doors to a new understanding of how to live” (Roedelius, 2018). Later on, Cluster members collaborated with Michael Rother from Neu! and followed Cluster’s organic approach in music and continued their improvisations with noise and sounds which helped them to build a musical identity.

On the other hand, Kraftwerk, by creating a unique position in their musical journey, accepted the current technology of the era not only in their music but also in their visual style as a music band. They were trying to create a new concept in music: Musikarbeiter (music workers). It was the era of machines and technology which was developing quite fast, and in this fast development of their country, they found a place with their music supported by the

machines and machine sounds. Having a background in classical music, Florian Schneider of Kraftwerk explains why they wanted to turn their face to more progressive sounds: “I studied seriously up to a certain level, then I found it boring, I looked for other things, I found that the flute was too limiting... Soon I bought a microphone, then loudspeakers, then an echo, then a synthesizer. Much later I threw the flute away, it was a sort of process” (Bussy, 1993: 17). Music critic Mark J. Prendergast also comments on Kraftwerk’s position in the Krautrock scene:

The difference between Kraftwerk and the other bands wish to totally disassociate themselves from the past in German’s history. They also wish to actually make a totally new using the hippie idea of free form improvisation, which Kraftwerk were different. They were willing to embrace the past. Actually in the long term, they invented a new kind of aesthetic that people around the world could really relate to by using humour and experiment and brilliant understanding of electric sounds. They have made their own, basically remade German identity and made it something to actually look at and you can feel it on Kraftwerk. (*Kraftwerk and the Electronic Revolution* 00:56:43-00:57:24)

Kraftwerk re-invented their German identity by trying to be based on Germany and claiming that what they presented in music and with the clichés of German image in visual style was the new German identity. Their early years were more connected to the Krautrock scene but they turned their musical identities quickly into a project and gained an incredible success in the international music market in time. Their discourse was also universal but they always preferred to be based on Germany and rejected American or British influence in their sound,

so technology was the central theme in Kraftwerk's music, coming from the fast technological development in Germany.

In the north of the country, the situation was similar. There were also other bands which were experimenting with sounds just like Faust from Hamburg. For the musicians of Faust, the individual identity search of their generation was a result of the collective identity search and positioning. They also based their experimental musical approach and sound hunting on the views of Italian futurist composer Luigi Russolo. "We are very influenced by whatever is around us. So anything that sounds good, looks good to us, we would use it. So it's left to chance. [...] Living is art, art is living. Life is art." (*Krautrock: the Rebirth of Germany* 00:36:12-00:36:28). Faust, in this sense, holds the closest approach to the avant-garde music scene among the Krautrock musicians of the time. Michael Putnam says "Krautrock as a music scene was an artistic attempt to deconstruct music and society" and quotes from David Stubbs interview with the band Faust in *the Wire* with Jean Hervé-Peron's words: "We were trying to put aside everything we had heard in rock and roll, the three-chord-pattern, the lyrics. We had the urge of saying something completely different" (Putnam, 2009: 598). Putnam later comments that in the frame of these artistically new attempts, "Krautrock can be viewed as the apex of the counterculture and hippie movements that began in the 1950s and the avant-garde minimalist music of intellectual continental listeners and artist alike of the 1960s" (Putnam, 2009: 598). This was a revolution in the perception of music and this revolution was largely based on intellectual reconstruction which brought a dissolution in the boundaries of identity definitions.

When Melanie Schiller commented on Kraftwerk's identity formation, she summarized the efforts of the West German youth in identity formation as "trying to identify themselves as Germans, both a protest against Anglo-American dominance and as an act of demarcation against the East (the Soviet Union and the GDR). The national community is

thus articulated against a constitutive outside, which functions not only as “*the Other*”, but also as an intrinsic factor of self-identification” (Schiller, 2014: 630). This can be easily observed in all bands’ positioning and self-definition as describing the other helps to define the self. These bands made very clear what they rejected from the beginning and used “the other” to differentiate themselves and create a meaning of their own inner-self free from the connection to their parents, the guilt and the shadows of the past and stepped out of the national by embracing the multicultural, the Eastern, the cosmic future, the future of machines and fluid boundaries of artistic experimentation with connections to different approaches, popular trends and discoveries of the century.

5.2. LANGUAGE AND MUSIC RELATIONSHIP

Sounds have cultural meanings. These are accepted and fixed among the members of a community. As Paul Moore states in his work “Sectarian Sound and Cultural Identity in Northern Ireland”:

We use sound to make meaning of the world around us, it is also the case that we also learn what particular sounds mean culturally. These cultural meanings are identified and learnt as we develop and grow within a society, contributing to the growth of our *imagined community*. (Moore, 2003: 266)

Sounds are related to memories in our minds which have embedded cultural signals of the one we are born into. Sounds create an understanding and a standpoint, so we can agree on which sounds are good or which ones are not good for our community and communication. The moment when a sound is heard is perceived according to cultural doctrines, and creating a different or unusual sound from the dominant one is a challenging process for the ears and the mind.

It is undeniable that the individual and the environment are always in relation. As we are connected to our community, our emotions are connected with our group members as well. Thus, it can be said that our emotions do not belong only to us. They are collective, too. In this sense, the reflections of our collective feelings and emotions are likely to be expressed similarly within the same space or have similar forms in the way they are expressed. Music, in this term, is a way of expression which serves as a space as well where common reflections of common problems shared by individuals are embodied in a similar way. However, these reflections are uniquely put forward by every individual as it is often witnessed in artistic expression because expression is unique and one just like what we see in musical expression, too.

Emotions, feelings and neglected notions can easily find themselves a space in musical expression because the function of music is to give a voice to the silenced. Music is an action which is taken against death and disappearance, so it is the language which is used by the silenced not to be forgotten. It is the one which is heard and also the one which speaks, so it is functionally a medium which is used to keep the notion and thoughts alive. Emotions and feelings, either positive or negative, are encouraging for action and production, so they are the tool to produce thoughts and to speak. In this sense, music is the producer and the production; in other words, it is the alternative language to express an alternative reality than the notions of the center.

5.3. WERE KRAUTROCK BANDS SUCCESSFUL AT USING MUSIC AS A LANGUAGE?

Krautrock bands were quite interesting especially to Anglo-Saxon music media as they were active during the years when English progressive music scene was on the rise but their vision on music was based on their effort to differentiate themselves from the Anglo-American musical culture at that time. This musical style today does not answer or give any

solutions to the problems of the German youth who deal with unemployment and immigration issues but it also did not succeed in unifying masses or being reachable during its golden age. While popular music was used as a control tool for lower and middle class youth, Krautrock would not be able to manage to work as a moving tool for the great masses. Moreover, these musicians, although many of them were in active relationship with the popular youth communes like Kommune 1 Fabrik (West Berlin), the Amon Düül Commune (Münich) and the Horla Commune (Cologne), were not trying to start a social movement which would offer a chance to educate and change people but rather focused on their individual and artistic reformation which was shaped by the ghosts of the past, identity search and social unrest. Although their effort was not enough for a more collective expression, it shaped the electronic music scene drastically, and today it is still seen that young musicians of the 21st century are highly affected by the innovations in music which were introduced by Krautrock bands of the late 1960's.

At a time when German rock bands or music bands tended to be underestimated in the international music media, these bands could manage to make themselves heard and give a voice to a small group of silent masses. They could create their unique style without mimicking the foreign other and mastered technology by using it as their signature in their universal artistic production and musical approach. As Heiner Stahl explains in his study on the electronic music scene in Germany: "A Border Crossing Soundscape of Pop: The Auditory Traces of Subcultural Practices in 1960s Berlin", "visibility and audibility may be understood as two main features of self-empowerment in public space. To be heard in public is a mode of generating attention. To be seen by others and to perform in front of others is a social practice that draws lines of aesthetic demarcation" (Stahl, 2016: 223). In this sense, Krautrock emerged out of the attempts of young people who were trying to make themselves heard by their invented sounds and revolutionary approaches in music. They refused to tell

their stories in a way that had a connection with “Nazis’ penetration of language” (Brockmann, 1996: 23). Music, thinking of their little effort in meaningful English or German lyrics, worked as their language in the expressive function and a weapon to fight “if you are on the side of the people you make music for” (Ton Steine Scherben, 1972). Music gathers people around it when it is located in the centre of the relationship of communities. Because verbal language might be limiting and manipulative, unconventional sounds offer a world of endless chances for expression and creativity. When this expression through the unconventional finds its audience, it ends up as a rebellion to the conventional. It helps the members of its community to declare their independence. Music is universal compared to the verbal language because music can bring different minds together and creates a communicative space without the convention of verbal language. Brockmann points again that “it is impossible to create a new human language because human language relies precisely on convention. Human languages change, but they cannot be created out of whole cloth” (Brockmann, 1996: 23). Without its people and its culture, one cannot create a language but music is free sounds in the beginning and it finds its form and becomes a common communication tool when unconventional minds come together to praise their similar minds and create their own perception of the world. However, apart from holding an alternative medium for communication, according to Putnam:

Music can indeed be used as a weapon, as a psychological tool used to direct the attention of its listeners to perceived dangers and evils. As with any media source, it can shape and distort situations and facts based on the doctrines and ideology supported by its creators. [...] a vocal minority of musicians attempted to use their music to educate the masses and draw attention to less discussed and less popular interpretations of (sometimes extremely controversial) events” (Putnam, 2009: 604).

On the other hand, when Krautrock bands' place is given consideration about their use of music, if these bands had not been successful at sending their message, the record companies including Virgin Records from the UK although Krautrock bands worked with small labels such as Pilz, Ohr and Brain, would not have made contracts with them for their upcoming albums and tours. Even though they mainly worked with local companies at the time, they could gain universal success. They also differ with their distinctive sounds from the world progressive music scene. Besides, perhaps the most importantly, they could create a space with the youth for expression as well as contributing to the German club culture and the experimental music studios which were founded in the upcoming years.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This study has analysed how the selected Krautrock bands, the late 1960s progressive and experimental music bands of Germany, used music as a medium for self-expression and in their post-war identity formation. Krautrock bands were a part of the German counterculture of 1968 although they disassociated themselves from the political acts and positioned themselves in an art-oriented standpoint. As artists, the bands might not have had an influence directly in the political consciousness of the youth but their effect cannot be ignored or underestimated as they could succeed in representing an accordingly smaller young intellectual group in their society. Such actions and members of such a movement in art cannot be separated from culture because culture is a whole way of life with its artistic, intellectual, historical and social elements and heritage.

Members and events of a culture are a whole and there is no centre in a culture. All members and events are related and in undeniable connection which they enrich and shape each other. Therefore, it never means that Krautrock bands have no effect on culture. On the contrary, considering their common motivation and how diversely artistic their production was, one can conclude that a specific event in culture and history might cause multiple and independent effects which might be difficult to define under the same title. Their genre's name, Krautrock, is what they are called today after their acts, tendencies, similarities and differences are analyzed. It is difficult to observe and comment on the effects of an event during its formation; however, when the circumstances in which they occurred are taken into consideration and culture is analyzed as a whole with its all components, the main motivation of these bands and their relationship with a variety of different elements in their culture can be explained in cause and effect relationship. One single event in history might bear multiple results which can motivate different acts in different areas in life. In this sense, Krautrock

musicians were a mere and natural result of what was ongoing in late 1960's Germany and an artistic example of the youth resistance in its own terms.

As for their identity formation, these bands can be taken as the pioneer of original and creative ways of expression. It should not be forgotten that every artwork is a statement by its artist and the art form is the artist's medium to express herself/himself. In Krautrock's case, these band's identity search might result best in the introduction of the central themes into the world of music such as the Ethnic East and taking a path into different instruments and perception of sounds and composing, the space and the embodiment of the current technology by creating an imaginary world to turn their faces, welcoming the sounds of nature and adopting a universal German identity. On the other hand, when the band's escapist approach to their national identity is discussed, Kraftwerk differs from these bands in their identity formation in that they embraced their "Germanness" by adopting the clichés of German stereotypes and giving them a new meaning with their artistic representation. Instead of an escapist action due to the rejection of the national self under the burden of the past crimes and the guilt, their reconciliation with the self opened a way to the upcoming musicians by encouraging them to be able to express their past and identity in their music.

For the other bands studied in this work, it can be said that their attempt in identity search resulted in musical search to identify themselves. Music was their medium because music needs no words but it still can speak. They mostly rejected the use of verbal language and their attempt was more focused on the outside, the unknown and the unpredictable sounds of nature and the universe, which contributed to the music studies and the start of the application of the new technology in music. They took advantage of music as a storyteller of their silenced and traumatized national self.

In writing my thesis, my aim has been to contribute to the current studies on youth cultures and conduct research analysing an alternative identity formation through music. As

Raymond Williams, to whom I often referred and located in the center of this study, states, culture is a whole with its all elements and it cannot be positioned as high and low in a hierarchy of cultural elements. Culture can be analysed in every reflection of a single event which has millions of relationships with different events and millions of results in different areas of life.

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