

Paper for the 14th Nordic Migration Researchers' Conference:  
Bergen, November 14-16, 2007

### **Whose Diaspora? Hybrid identities in "Turkish Rap" in Germany**

**Thomas Solomon**

University of Bergen, Norway

[thomas.solomon@grieg.uib.no](mailto:thomas.solomon@grieg.uib.no)

#### **Introduction: on diversity within diasporas**

The term *diaspora* has gained much currency in cultural studies over the last 10 years or so. The term is increasingly entering popular discourse as well. The amount of attention given to *diaspora* in recent music studies suggests that it has emerged as a new paradigm for music research, to the extent that Born and Hesmondhalgh could confidently announce in 2000 that "In contrast with ethnomusicology's former object of study — 'traditional musics' — it is diasporic music that has moved to the center of attention" (2000:25). The enthusiasm that has accompanied the "discovery" of diaspora by ethnomusicologists has, however, sometimes been accompanied by an uncritical application of the concept to musical communities. The old, discredited logic of homogenous ethnic groups, each having their own music, seems to have found new life in some scholars' discussion of diasporic contexts for music, such that diasporic social formations are paradoxically assumed, despite their transnational connections, to be coherently organized, bounded groups with stable identities based on an unambiguous relationship to the homeland, correspondingly and predictably reflected or expressed in their musical practices.

A different perspective on diasporas is provided by researcher in cultural studies Ien Ang (2001, 2003), who has argued that the diaspora concept paradoxically maintains the very logic of the state which the concept is meant to critique. She has written:

While the transnationalism of diasporas is often taken as an implicit point of critique of the territorial boundedness and internally homogenizing perspective of the nation-state, the limits of diaspora lie precisely in its own assumed boundedness, its inevitable tendency to stress its internal coherence and unity, logically set apart from "others." Diaspora formations transgress the boundaries of the nation-state on behalf of a globally dispersed "people" ... but paradoxically this transgression can only be achieved by drawing a boundary around the diaspora ... (2003:142)

Ang continues this argument with the observations that

... the language of diaspora is fundamentally proto-nationalist: it feeds into a *transnational nationalism* based on the presumption of internal ethnic sameness and external ethnic distinctiveness. Unlike the nationalism of the nation-state, which premises itself on a national community which is territorially bound, diasporic nationalism produces an imagined community that is deterritorialized, but that is symbolically bounded nevertheless. (2003:145, italics in original)

For Ang, then, paradoxically "the politics of diaspora is exclusionary as much as it is inclusionary, just like that of the nation" (2003:144).

It is the tendency which Ang identifies to stress the "internal coherence and unity" of diasporic social formations that makes it possible for people to confidently speak and write about, for example, a "Turkish diaspora" (about 15,600 hits on Google for this phrase as of 27 September 2007) in popular and academic discourse. The problem emerges when this kind of analytic shorthand begins to take on a life of its own, as if it refers to a coherent thing out there in the real world that one can point to, rather than a

useful abstraction for what is actually a complex social formation full of internal tensions and contradictions, with multiple intersecting histories, discourses, and practices. While paying attention to the sounds of diasporic groups as echoes of diversity within their host societies, we should not forget to listen for the voices of diversity within diasporic groups themselves.

### **Rap music in the "Turkish diaspora" in Germany**

By way of illustrating these points, I now turn to a brief case study of rap music in the "Turkish diaspora" in Germany. The cursory sketch I give here cannot do justice to the topic of Turkish rap or the complex transnational issues involved, but I hope it will at least serve as a starting point for discussion on how we approach diaspora in music studies.

Turkish-language rap music, and Turkish hip-hop youth culture more generally, began not in Turkey but among Turkish youth living in Germany and other western European countries.<sup>1</sup> Especially prominent within Turkish rap from Germany during the 1990s was a subgenre called "Oriental Rap," which combined African-American techniques of rapping and making beats with self-consciously "Turkish"-sounding melodic samples and motifs taken from Turkish folk and popular musics (Diessel 2001; Greve & Kaya 2004; Kaya 2001:190-191,202). Turkish rap from Germany would thus seem to be a paradigmatic example of diasporic, hybrid cultural expression, in which cosmopolitan diasporic youth imagine and explore their own hybrid identities by fusing the resources of globally circulating popular culture with cultural resources from the Turkish homeland (cf. Kaya 2001).

This analysis elides, however, the complexities of just exactly *who* is making this music. Kurds, Alevis,<sup>2</sup> Germans, and members of other nationalities/ethnic groups have been important in the creation of "Turkish rap" in Germany. For example, a DJ often

credited with popularizing the use of samples and motifs from Turkish folk music on a rap record, DJ Derezon from the (now-defunct) group Islamic Force, is the son of a German mother and a Spanish father (Kaya 2001:194). He was born in Kreuzberg, a district in Berlin especially known for having a high concentration of Turkish migrants, but also home to migrants from many other countries. "Turkish rappers" in Germany who do have roots in Turkey may in fact prefer to engage with local multi-ethnic hip-hop communities where German is the *lingua franca*, rather than privilege their "Turkishness," and so, like rappers Kool Savas (whose father is Turkish and mother is German) and Eko Fresh (born in Köln of Turkish parents, grew up in Mönchengladbach near Düsseldorf), rap primarily or only in German, even if they are claimed by others as belonging to the community of "Turkish rappers" in Germany. Still others may selectively perform their "Turkishness" only on occasion as it suits their agendas at that moment, like Berlin rapper Bektaş, who started his career rapping in German, but switched to Turkish for a high-profile duet project with rapper Sırtlan (also from Berlin) on the Turkish-language album *Satırlarımıza Başlamadan*, released in 1996 by Sony-BMG in an intended (but ultimately unsuccessful) breakthrough into the music market back in the homeland in Turkey.

A number of prominent "Turkish" rappers in Germany are Kurds who choose to be "Turkish" in their public personas and rap in Turkish and/or German. [I do not mention their names here, since they have chosen not to reveal this publicly, though for most of them, that they are Kurdish is a well-known "secret" to those familiar with the scene.] When someone "outed" some of these rappers as Kurds by posting (in German) a message to the "forum" section of their record label's web site, the web master promptly deleted the message and closed down the forum, showing how serious the issue is. These choices of how to publically identify oneself and perform that identity

should be understood in the context of the civil war in the predominantly Kurdish region in southeast Turkey during the 1990s, and the Turkish state's repression of any public expression of Kurdish identity during that period. To sing publically in the Kurdish language — even expressly non-political music — during this period was to court state harassment, including arrest (Yurdatapan 2004). For Turkish Kurds resident in Germany who wanted to be able to freely travel back and forth between Germany and Turkey, calling too much attention to their Kurdishness (as, for example, by rapping in Kurdish) may have created problems for them "in the homeland."

On the other hand, people who have been lumped into the category of "Turkish migrants" in Germany because of the country of origin of themselves or their parents (or grandparents), and who may for practical reasons have at one time accepted the designation "Turk," are since the 1990s finding it increasingly useful to assert new identities such as Kurd, Alevi, or Zaza (Greve 2000; Kaya 1998; Neyzi 2002, 2003). The broad category "Turks in Germany" or "the Turkish diaspora in Germany" thus masks an huge internal diversity in this group, which can include ethnic Turks who are Sunni Muslims or Alevis as well as people who self-identify as Kurds, Circassians, or Laz (Kaya 2000).<sup>3</sup> Even the category "Kurd" is not transparent, as it also includes significant overlapping sub-groups based on linguistic or sectarian identities, including Kırmançî speakers and Zazakî<sup>4</sup> speakers (Kırmançî and Zazakî are not mutually intelligible languages); speakers of both of these languages may be Sunni or Alevi, and the latter of these may privilege their Alevi identity over their "Kurdishness," feeling they have more in common with Turkish-speaking Alevis than with Kırmançî- or Zazakî-speaking Sunnis. If keeping all this dizzying array of identities straight is confusing, that's part of the point. And these are not just sociological categories imposed by the outside analyst. They are subjectivities constructed, lived, and

performed by the actors themselves in different ways. Understanding these different possible subject positions is important for making sense of the media texts rappers produce and insert into the flow of public culture. For example, rappers Boe-B and Killa Hakan from the group Islamic Force were Turkish Alevis. Knowing this helps one interpret the intentionally ironic name of the group (they were not "Islamist" at all), the universalist messages in the group's early English-language, and later Turkish-language raps, and the use of a quotation (in German translation) from 13th-Century Sufi poet Yunus Emre on the cover of their 1997 CD *Mesaj*.

### **Exploring diasporic consciousness through rap music**

While I would argue that the complexities of diasporic identity formation can best be studied through an ethnographic approach to exploring diasporic consciousness that privileges interviews and participant observation in the communities researchers study, I want to also briefly present an example of how diasporic consciousness can be explored through the reading of the texts of public culture. My example is a 1997 cassette titled *Halay-Çocuklar* by a group called K.W.B. The musicians performing on the cassette are based in Germany, but the cassette was commercially released only in Turkey, by a small record company based in Istanbul. This cassette has generally been considered by fans and some academics to be representative of "Turkish rap" from the Turkish diaspora in Germany. The group's name K.W.B. stands for "Kanacks with Brain" (*Kanack* being a racial epithet used against foreigners in Germany), and is meant to be analogous to name of the African-American rap group N.W.A (Niggaz with Attitude). The visual design of the cassette also clearly evokes hip-hop, as the performers are pictured, on the front cover and in an inside photo, in front of a wall covered with hip-hop-style graffiti.

German ethnomusicologist Dorit Klebe (2004) has discussed this cassette in the context of her discussion of the *Kanak Attak* movement as a multi-ethnic political and

cultural intervention against racism and xenophobia in Germany. Klebe notes, for example, how the musicians hybridize the genre of rap music with Turkish folk music, using Turkish musical instruments and Turkish melodies in songs with rapping and hip-hop style beats. Klebe places the cassette in the context of a "multi-ethnic" artistic milieu, noting that both Turks and ethnic Germans perform on it. I would like to push this discussion a little further by considering how diversity and tensions within the very category "Turk" are also embodied in the music on the cassette. One area this diversity is audible is in the language(s) to be heard on the cassette. In addition to raps in (modern) Turkish, German, and English, the cassette also includes songs in Zaza-Kurdish and medieval Azerbaijani Turkish (the latter a rapped setting of a poem by the 16th-Century Azeri poet Fuzûlî).

The song "Zazanâme," with lyrics written by Yusuf Ergün and music composed by Kemal Kahraman, is the second song on side B of the cassette. While a whole paper could be written on just the musical aspects of the song, which include among other things a parodic use of a human beat-box, for reasons of space I will restrict myself here to discussing a few aspects of the text and style of vocal delivery. The song has a quasi-rapped text in the Zazakî language. Zazakî is often grouped together as "Kurdish" with other Kurdish "dialects" like Kîrmancî and Sorani, even though Zazakî and these other dialects are not necessarily mutually intelligible (Kîrmancî and Sorani are much closer to each other than either is to Zazakî). The song is explicitly concerned with the tensions between Zaza, Kurdish and Turkish identities in the diaspora in Germany. The text describes Zaza youth who come to live in Germany and adopt hip-hop culture, using slang expressions from (African-American) English like "yo yo!" and "cool," and going to the discotheque to dance. The text is entirely in Zaza, except for one crucial line in German, the question "Was ist denn überhaupt ein Zaza?" ("Just *what* is a

Zaza?"). The disparaging tone of the text suggests not the creation of a new form of cosmopolitan diasporic Zaza identity, but a loss of identity as the young people ineffectually try to emulate European youth culture. The performers deliver the text in a quasi-rapped style that contrasts with the text delivery in the other songs on the cassette, which mostly feature a rapping style much closer to what could be described as old-school, East Coast rap from the U.S.

**Zazanâme**

Lyrics: Yusuf Ergün

Music: Kemal Kahraman

**Song of Zaza<sup>5</sup>**

*Zazakî (as printed on cassette J-card)*

*English*

Ax minin ne domane europa  
Xo wira kerde zone ma  
Ame alemanya vane lo papa<sup>6</sup>  
Was ist den überhaupt ein zaza

Oh these children of Europe  
They've forgotten our language  
They've come to Germany, they say "what's up?"  
But just what is a Zaza?

Taye inu vane ma tırki me  
Taye inu vane ma kirdi me  
Taye inu vane ma zazai me  
Tayek vane wulle ma almen bime

Some of them say "We are Türks"  
Some of them say "We are Kurds"  
Some of them say "We are Zaza"  
And by God, some even say "We have become German"

Sone diskoteku xo tadane  
Yoyo vane cool vane  
Xo bers kene dane war  
Wile ne domanı péro biye hari

They go to the disco and wriggle around  
They say "yo, yo!" they say "cool"  
Acting like hot stuff, they make fools of themselves  
These kids have gone wild, by God!

Taye inu vane ma tırki me  
Taye inu vane ma kirdi me  
Taye inu vane ma zazai me  
Tayek vane wulle ma almen bime

Some of them say "We are Türks"  
Some of them say "We are Kurds"  
Some of them say "We are Zaza"  
And by God, some even say "We have become German"

A "happy hybridity" (see Jacqueline Lo 2000) analytical approach would probably celebrate the hybridity embodied in K.W.B.'s cassette as a cultural intervention, as "Turkish migrants" in Germany fuse the globally circulating styles of rap music and hip-hop youth culture with "Turkish" cultural elements, as in Klebe's analysis of how certain songs on the cassette exemplify the "oriental rap" genre. In that analysis, issues of "ethnicity" and "diaspora" remain at the level of "Turks in Germany." A closer listen to the cassette, however, uncovers that there are multiple

levels of hybridity and diaspora embedded in the various songs on the cassette, and that the song "Zazanâme" in particular exposes some of the tensions and contradictory experiences embodied in these multiple levels. The song appears on a cassette whose visual design and musical content largely appropriate rap music and hip-hop's visual style as a strategy for cultural intervention, using the "resistant" position associated with this style to make statements against racism and other social problems both in Europe and in Turkey. Other songs on the cassette, for example, are about child laborers in Turkey and about the "Cumartesi Annerleri" [the "Saturday Mothers"], a weekly protest action of mothers and other relatives who gathered during the mid- to late 1990s at a well-trafficked point in the Galatasaray neighborhood in Istanbul holding pictures of their loved ones who went missing while in police custody, similar to the internationally better-known Madres de la Plaza de Mayo during the "dirty war" in Argentina; both of these songs are performed entirely in Turkish, with sung choruses and rapped verses.

But "Zazanâme" makes use of the rap idiom to problematize diasporic youth culture, actually questioning the way Zaza youth have adopted hip-hop style in their diasporic identity constructions, and asking at what price these youth have embraced hip-hop and global popular culture, if it means losing contact with what the author of the song's lyrics discursively constructs as an essential Zaza identity, now put in flux in the condition of diaspora. The style is not-quite-rap, a sing-song vocal delivery that borders on parody of the more familiar-sounding rap style used on the other songs on the cassette.

This short case study of one song from a cassette opens up a number of issues about the different subjectivities constructed by "Turks" living in Germany. While I don't have space to explore all these issues, I think the example at least makes the basic point

that we should not assume a one-to-one correspondence between diasporic communities objectively defined in terms of citizenship or other external criteria, and the subjective identities people create for themselves in diaspora. People may be from the state "Turkey," but not necessarily participate in the state-of-mind of being Turkish.

## Notes

1. For further discussion of Turkish rap and hip-hop both in Turkey and in the Turkish diaspora, see Solomon (2005a, 2005b, 2006, i.p.).
2. The Alevi are a heterodox Islamic sect and quasi-ethnic group in Turkey. Like Shi'a, they regard Ali as the first rightful successor to the prophet Muhammed. But their form of Islam incorporates numerous heterodox religious practices, with devotional rituals including music and dance, sometimes claimed to have their origins in old Central Asian Turkic pre-Islamic shamanistic practices (Bozkurt 1998:86; Markoff 1986, 1993, 1995, 2002; Mélikoff 1998:3; Seufert 1997:173; Vorhoff 1998:27,33). For these and other reasons, Turkish Alevis are often regarded with suspicion by the majority Sunni (Mandel 1990, Markoff 1986, Seufert 1997). Estimates of the number of Alevis in Turkey vary widely, from 9-10 million, or 15-20% (Shankland 2003:20), to 20-26 million (Clarke 1999:2), including a sizeable number of Kurdish Alevis (Çelik 2003, Leezenberg 2003, Neyzi 2003, Seufert 1997, White 2003). Alevis are proportionally over-represented in the Turkish migrant diaspora in Germany (Mandel 1990:165), where they find "an environment conducive to expressing their Alevi identity free from what they perceive as the pressures of a Sunni-dominant, repressive, hegemonic order in Turkey" (Mandel 1990:163).
3. *Circassian* (*Çerkez* or *Çerkes* in Turkish) is a blanket term for several distinct groups of peoples originating in the northwest Caucasus, many of whom migrated to various parts of the Ottoman Empire when expelled from their homeland by Russia in the late 19th Century. See Kaya (2004, 2005) for a discussion of the Circassian diaspora. The Laz are an ethno-linguistic group on the northeastern Turkish Black Sea coast. Both of these groups are represented in the "Turkish diaspora" in Germany. An example of a musician from the Turkish diaspora in Germany who has cultivated a self-consciously Laz identity is Fuat Saka.
4. Linguistic and historical research suggests that Zazakî may actually not be a "Kurdish" language at all, but rather represent a separate branch of the Indo-Iranian language family that came into Anatolia as the result of a migration from an area outside of historical Kurdistan in what is now northern Iran (Leezenberg 2003, White 2003). The "Kurdish" identity (or not) of the Zazakî-speaking Alevis is a politically charged topic (White 2003).
5. Note on procedure for translating the song text: I do not speak Zazakî. The cassette J-card includes the Zazakî lyrics with a Turkish translation. I sent a copy of the Zazakî

lyrics with the Turkish translation to native Zazakî and Turkish speaker Mesut Özcan in Ankara. He made some clarifications of the Turkish translation so that it more closely reflected the meaning of the Zazakî original. I then made an English translation from the Turkish translation. Thanks to Mr. Özcan for his help, and to Tunca Arıcan for making some further suggestions to improve the English translation from the Turkish. A partial English translation of the song also appears in Neyzi (2003).

6. "Lo papa" is a stereotypical informal greeting in Kurdish, used especially by youth. An English equivalent might be something like "what's up, dude?"

### References cited

- Ang, Ien. 2001. *On Not Speaking Chinese: Living Between Asia and the West*. London: Routledge.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2003. "Together-in-Difference: Beyond Diaspora, into Hybridity." *Asian Studies Review* 27(2):141-154.
- Born, Georgina and David Hesmondhalgh. 2000. "Introduction: On Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music." In *Western Music and Its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music*, ed. Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh, 1-58. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bozkurt, Fuat. 1998. "State-Community Relations in the Restructuring of Alevism." In *Alevi Identity: Cultural, Religious and Social Perspectives*, 2nd edition, ed. Tord Olsson, Elizabeth Özdalga and Catharina Raudvere, 85-96. Istanbul: Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul.
- Çelik, Ayşe Betül. 2003. "Alevi, Kurds and Hemşehris: Alevi Kurdish Revival in the Nineties." In *Turkey's Alevi Enigma: A Comprehensive Overview*, ed. Paul J. White and Joost Jongerden, 141-157. Leiden: Brill.
- Clarke, Gloria L. 1999. *The World of the Alevi: Issues of Culture and Identity*. Istanbul: AVC Publications.
- Diessel, Caroline. 2001. "Bridging East and West on the 'Orient Express': Oriental Hip-Hop in the Turkish Diaspora of Berlin." *Journal of Popular Music Studies* 13(2):165-187.
- Greve, Martin. 2000. "Alevitische und musikalische Identitäten in Deutschland." *Zeitschrift für Türkeistudien* 13(2):213-238.
- Greve, Martin and Ayhan Kaya. 2004. "Islamic Force, Takım 34 und andere Identitätsmixturen türkischer Rapper in Berlin und Istanbul." In *Rap: More Than Words*, ed. Eva Kimminich, 161-179. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Kaya, Ayhan. 1998. "Multicultural Clientelism and Alevi Resurgence in the Turkish Diaspora: Berlin Alevi." *New Perspectives on Turkey* 18:23-49.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2000. "Ethnic Group Discourses and German-Turkish Youth." In *Redefining*

- the Nation State and Citizen*, ed. Günay Göksü Özdoğan and Gül Tokay, 233-251. Istanbul: Eren Yayıncılık.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2001. *'Sicher in Kreuzberg': Constructing Diasporas: Turkish Hip-Hop Youth in Berlin*. Bielefeld: Transaction Publishers.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2004. "Political Participation Strategies of the Circassian Diaspora in Turkey." *Mediterranean Politics* 9(2):221-239.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2005. "Cultural Reification in Circassian Diaspora: Stereotypes, Prejudices and Ethnic Relations." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31(1):129-149.
- Klebe, Dorit. 2004. "Kanak Attak in Germany: A Multiethnic Network of Youths Employing Musical Forms of Expression." In *Manifold Identities: Studies on Music and Minorities*, ed. Ursula Hemetek, Gerda Lechleitner, Inna Naroditskaya and Anna Czekanowska, 162-179. London: Cambridge Scholars Press.
- Leezenberg, Michiel. 2003. "Kurdish Alevis and the Kurdish Nationalist Movement." In *Turkey's Alevi Enigma: A Comprehensive Overview*, ed. Paul J. White and Joos Jongerden, 197-212. Leiden: Brill.
- Lo, Jacqueline. 2000. "Beyond Happy Hybridity: Performing Asian-Australian Identities." In *Alter/Asians: Asian Australian Identities in Art, Media and Popular Culture*, ed. Ien Ang, Sharon Chalmers, ed. Lisa Law and Mandy Thomas, 152-168. Pluto Press. Reprinted at: <<http://dlibrary.acu.edu.au/research/adsa/Lo.htm>>, accessed 14 October 2005.
- Mandel, Ruth. 1990. "Shifting Centers and Emergent Identities: Turkey and Germany in the Lives of Turkish *Gastarbeiter*." In *Muslim Travellers: Pilgrimage, Migration, and the Religious Imagination*, ed. Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori, 153-171. London: Routledge.
- Markoff, Irene. 1986. "The Role of Expressive Culture in the Demystification of a Secret Sect of Islam: The Case of the Alevis of Turkey." *The World of Music* 28(3):42-56.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1993. "Music, Saints and Ritual: Sama' and the Alevis of Turkey." In *Manifestations of Sainthood in Islam*, ed. Grace Martin Smith and Carl W. Ernst, 95-110. Istanbul: The Isis Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1995. "Introduction to Sufi Music and Ritual in Turkey." *MESA Bulletin* 29(2):157-160.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2002. "Alevi Identity and Expressive Culture." In *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music, Volume 6: The Middle East*, ed. Virginia Danielson, Scott Marcus, and Dwight Reynolds, 793-800. New York: Routledge.
- Mélikoff, Irène. 1998. "Bektashi / *Kızılbaş*: Historical Bipartition and Its Consequences." In *Alevi Identity: Cultural, Religious and Social Perspectives*, 2nd edition, ed. Tord Olsson, Elizabeth Özdalga, and Catharina Raudvere, 1-7. Istanbul: Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul.
- Neyzi, Leyla. 2002. "Embodied Elders: Space and Subjectivity in the Music of Metin-Kemal Kahraman." *Middle Eastern Studies* 38(1):89-109.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2003. *Zazaname: The Alevi Renaissance, Media and Music in the Nineties.*

- In *Turkey's Alevi Enigma: A Comprehensive Overview*, ed. Paul J. White and Joos Jongerden, 111-124. Leiden: Brill.
- Seufert, Günter. 1997. "Between Religion and Ethnicity: A Kurdish-Alevi Tribe in Globalizing Istanbul." In *Space, Culture and Power: New Identities in Globalizing Cities*, ed. Ayşe Öncü and Petra Weyland, 157-176. London: Zed Books.
- Shankland, David. 2003. *The Alevis in Turkey: The Emergence of a Secular Islamic Tradition*. London: RoutledgeCurzon.
- Solomon, Thomas. 2005a. "Living Underground is Tough!: Authenticity and Locality in the Hip-hop Community in Istanbul, Turkey." *Popular Music* 24(1):1-20.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2005b. "Listening to Istanbul': Imagining Place in Turkish Rap Music." *Studia Musicologica Norvegica* 31:46-67.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2006. "Hardcore Muslims: Islamic Themes in Turkish Rap in Diaspora and in the Homeland." *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 38:59-78.
- \_\_\_\_\_. i.p.: "'Bu Vatan Bizim' ['This Land Is Ours']: Nationalism in Turkish Rap in Diaspora and in the Homeland." In *Practicing Popular Music: Proceedings of the Twelfth Biannual IASPM Conference, July 3-7, 2003, Montréal, Quebec*, ed. Geoff Stahl.
- Vorhoff, Karin. 1998. "Academic and Journalistic Publications on the Alevi and Bektashi of Turkey." In *Alevi Identity: Cultural, Religious and Social Perspectives*, 2nd edition, ed. Tord Olsson, Elizabeth Özdalga, and Catharina Raudvere, 23-50. Istanbul: Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul.
- White, Paul J. 2003. "The Debate on the Identity of 'Alevi Kurds.'" In *Turkey's Alevi Enigma: A Comprehensive Overview*, ed. Paul J. White and Joos Jongerden, 17-29. Leiden: Brill.
- Yurdatapan, Şanar. 2004. "Turkey: Censorship Past and Present." In *Shoot the Singer! Music Censorship Today*, ed. Marie Korpe, 189-196. London: Zed Books.

## Discography

- K.W.B. *Halay-Çockular*. Anadolu Müzik Yapım (Istanbul), cassette, 1997.