Introduction

Bu dünyada beraberce yasiyoruz
Dogu ve batiyi birlestiriyoruz
Sinirlari asiyoruz
Kültürler kaynasiyor
Birbirini tamamliyor.

Azize-A

We live together on planet earth,
and if we want to grow in peace
We need to erase our borders,
share our rich cultures.
Yes, connect and blend the West
with the East.

Azize-A[1]

In her rap song '*Bosporus Bridge*', the Berlin-Turkish rapper Azize-A, attempts to locate the descendants of Turkish migrants in a hybrid space where cultural borders blend, where the periphery meets the centre, and where the West merges with the East. She perceives these transparent cultural border crossings as sites of creative cultural production, not as what Renato Rosaldo (1989: 208) calls 'empty transitional zones.' So far, Turkish immigrants in Germany have been regarded by most Turkish and German scholars as culturally invisible because they were no longer what they once were and not yet what they could become. Only recently some scholars have begun to inquire into the creative character and potential of newly emerging syncretic cultures.

We can identify three stages in the studies on Turkish migrants in Germany. In the early period of migration in the sixties, the syncretic nature of existing migrant cultures was not of interest to scholars analysing the situation of Turkish *Gastarbeiter* (guest worker) in Germany. The studies carried out during this period were mainly concerned with economics and statistics, 'culture' and the dreams of return (cf. inter alia Abadan, 1964; Castles and Kosack, 1973). As Ayse Çaglar (1994) has rightfully stated, the reason behind this neglect is twofold. First, at the beginning of the migration process, Turkish workers were demographically highly homogenous, consisting of either single males or females, and were not visible in the public space.

Second, workers in this period were considered temporary, and they themselves regarded their situation as such (Çaglar, 1994: 16-17).

The end of recruiting foreign labour to Germany in 1973 and the beginning of family reunion mark the beginning of the second stage. The number of studies on Turkish migrants' culture increased with the visibility of Turkish migrants becoming more evident in the public space after the family reunification. Faced with the choice of leaving Germany without a possibility of returning, most migrants decided to stay in Germany for the time being and were joined by their families. The transformation from being a rotatable workforce to becoming increasingly settled went hand in hand with the emergence of community structures (development of ethnic small business, sport clubs, religious organisations and meeting places), which made Turkish migrants more visible to the German populations. Furthermore, the rising presence of non-working dependants, women and children, necessitated the provision of some basic social services, such as education and housing. Against this background, studies of this period concentrated on the reorganisation of family, parent-child-relationships, integration, assimilation and 'acculturation' of migrants to German culture (cf. inter alia Abadan-Unat, 1985; Nauck, 1988; Kagitçibasi, 1987). The key words in these studies were 'cultural conflict,' 'culture shock,' 'acculturation,' 'inbetweenness' and 'identity crisis.'

The third stage – starting in the 1990s – is characterised by a wide diversity of approaches. In this last stage, questions pertaining to the relationship between structure and agency, and interest in cultural production have come to the fore. Studies have dealt with such questions concerning citizenship, discrimination and racism, socio-economic performance and increasingly with the emergence of diasporic networks as well as cultural production (cf. inter alia Çaglar, 1994; Mandel, 1996; Schwartz, 1992; Zaimoglu, 1995; Faist, 2000b).

This study is critical of conventional approaches that followed a holistic notion of culture. Rather than reducing Turkish-German youth cultures to the realms of 'ethnic exoticism,' this work claims to be evolving around the notion of cultural syncreticism, or bricolage, which has become the dominant paradigm in the study of transnational cultures and modern diasporas. The formation and articulation of the German-Turkish hip-hop youth culture will be investigated within the concept of cultural bricolage. The main framework of such an investigation should, of course, consist of the question of 'how those

youngsters see themselves': as '*Gastarbeiter*,' immigrant, '*gurbetçi*' (in exile), caught 'betwixt and between,' as with no culture to call their own, or as agents and *avant-garde* of new cultural forms.

Research Framework and Interest

As I began to search the Turkish diasporic youth in Berlin, my attention often wandered to some more particular aspects of diasporic youth culture. I became fascinated with the hip-hop youth culture, undoubtedly because Turkish hip-hop has represented an adequate model of cultural bricolage and diasporic consciousness. This book focuses on the processes of cultural identity formation and articulation among the Turkish male hip-hop youth living in Kreuzberg, Berlin. My main hypothesis is that Berlin-Turkish hip-hop youth has developed a politics of diaspora to tackle exclusion and discrimination in their country of settlement. As a response to those boundaries that have been erected to keep them apart from the majority German society, these youngsters have created symbolic boundaries based upon parental, local and global cultures that mark their uniqueness. Apparently, these symbolic boundaries have been created through diasporic networks and modern means of communication and transportation.

The politics of diaspora is a product of exclusionist strategies of 'differential incorporation' (Rex, 1994) applied by the Federal Republic of Germany *vis-à-vis* migrants. The politics of diaspora, which I shall call diasporic consciousness in the following chapters, or diasporic identity, is comprised of both particularist and universalist constituents. The particularist components consist of an attachment to homeland, religion and ethnicity; and provide these youngsters with a network of solidarity and a sense of confinement. The universalistic constituents include various aspects of global hip-hop culture such as rap, graffiti, breakdance and 'cool' style; they equip the youngsters with those means to symbolically transcend the discipline and power of the nation-state and to integrate themselves into a global youth culture. In this sense, the notion of modern diaspora, as I shall suggest in the following chapters, appears to be a useful concept for the study of contemporary labour migrants and their descendants: it embraces and conceptualises two of the main antithetical forces that characterise modern times, namely localism and globalism.

My main interest lies upon the creation of diasporic cultural identities amongst the working-class Turkish hip-hop youth in Kreuzberg, Berlin. I am not concerned with generalised external pronouncements about the 'problems' or 'crises' of Turkish identity, but focus on the form and content of these identities as they are experienced in everyday life. In doing so, I try to move away from a predominantly macro-structural approach, in which Turkish youth constitutes a social category considered only in its relation to institutions.

The research for this work has been carried in a Turkish enclave. However, it does not claim to shed light on the situation of all youngsters living in this enclave. In this sense, my work is rather illustrative, not representative. Various other youth groups such as Islamic youth, middle-class youth and *Alevi* youth will be touched upon in order to provide the reader with a deeper analytical insights for understanding the distinct situation of Turkish hip-hop youth. Far from constituting a culture of despair and nihilism, I intend to demonstrate that Turkish hip-hop youths are concerned with the construction of new cultural alternatives, in which identity is created and re-created as part of an ongoing and dynamic process. By focusing on a specific group of Turkish youths, I seek to compose an alternative picture of Turkish youth, commonly portrayed as destructive, Islamic, fundamentalist and problematic by the majority society (cf. inter alia *Der Spiegel* 1997; *Focus* 1997; Heitmeyer, 1997).

Flagging up the notions of cultural bricolage, diasporic consciousness and globalisation, my research draws from and contributes to the fields of migration studies, 'race' and ethnic relations and diaspora studies (cf. inter alia Clifford, 1997, 1994, 1992; Hall, 1994; Gilroy, 1995, 1994, 1993; Cohen, 1997, 1996, 1995; Vertovec, 1997, 1996b). The growing research on transnational migrant communities and their descendants suggests that the notion of diaspora can be considered an intermediate concept between the local and global, thus transcending narrow and limited national perspectives. The material analysed in this study provides further evidence that the contemporary notion of diaspora is a beneficial concept in order to study the formation and articulation of the cultural identity among transnational communities.

Much of the current research on the Turkish migrants and their descendants in Germany has focused on socio-economic issues, emphasising their labour relations, residential patterns and 'acculturation' difficulties. No research has yet been undertaken to explore the forma-

tion and articulation of both cultural identity and political participation strategies among German-Turks, based on the notion of diaspora. One of the central claims here is that working-class Turkish hip-hop youth culture in Berlin can adequately display how cultural bricolage is formed by the diasporic youth in collision, negotiation and dialogue with the parental, 'host' and global cultures. The idea of cultural bricolage, thus, contravenes those problematic terms such as 'deculturated,' 'inbetween' and 'degenerated,' attributed to the German-Turkish youth.

In addition to investigating how the Berlin-Turkish hip-hop youths have constructed and articulated a form of diasporic consciousness and cultural bricolage, this study also scrutinises how the Berlin-Turks, those allegedly least autonomous and influential actors of the German social system, have hitherto developed two major strategies for political participation. These two strategies are namely *migrant strategy* and *minority strategy*. These political participation strategies have been built up by migrants along ethnic lines as a response to the exclusionist and segregationist regimes of incorporation applied by the Federal Republic of Germany *vis-à-vis* migrants. Migrant strategy was formed at the beginning of the migratory process as a need to cope with the destabilising effects of migration. Minority strategy, on the other hand, emerged sometime after the family reunion started and the labour recruitment ceased in 1973. While the former strategy was based on a non-associational community formation, ethnic enclave, *hemsehri* (fellow citizens) bonding, and a *Gastarbeiter* ideology (see Chapter 2), the latter was based on the idea of permanent settlement and the discourses of culture and community. Shedding light upon these two strategies, my work will also demonstrate how the modern diaspora discourse appears to be replacing, or at least supplementing, these ethnic strategies.

Before describing the details of my field research in Berlin, let me briefly touch upon some of the terms I will be using in the book. The terms such as Turkish hip-hop youth and/or Berlin-Turkish hip-hop youth, which I will interchangeably use throughout the work, primarily refer to the working-class male Turkish diasporic hip-hop youth. Hip-Hop, in general, has its roots in urban American ghettos and represents a form of youth culture that expresses the anger, visions and experiences of black and/or Latino 'underclass' youngsters. Although there are some successful female hip-hoppers such as Queen Latifah

and Sister Souljah, hip-hop remains a predominantly male domain. Against this background, I choose to focus in my research on male, working-class youngsters. During the course of my research, I did, however, meet and converse with a number of Turkish women hip-hoppers, who provided me with a valuable insight into their experience both as a comparison with, and contrast to, the experience of Turkish men. Clearly, an analysis of female hip-hoppers is necessary in the future in order to gain a fuller picture on cultural forms created by diasporic youth.

A separate note is also needed for the contextual use of the term 'German-Turk' in this work. The notion of German-Turk is neither a term used by the descendants of Turkish migrants to identify them, nor is it used in the political or academic debate in Germany. I use the term German-Turk in the Anglo-Saxon academic tradition to categorise diasporic youths; the term attributes a hybrid form of cultural identity to those groups of young people. There is no doubt that political regimes of incorporation applied to the immigrants in Germany are very different from those in the United States and England. Accordingly, unlike Italian-American or Chinese-British, Turks have never been defined as German-Turks or Turkish-German by the official discourse. They have rather been considered apart. That is why, practically, it does not seem appropriate to call the Turkish diasporic communities in Germany 'German-Turks.' Yet, it is a helpful term for my purposes for two reasons: the term distances the researcher from essentialising the descendants of the transnational migrants as 'Turkish;' furthermore it underlines the transcultural character of these youths.

The Universe of the Research

The main body of my research took place among three separate youth groups in Berlin. Two of the groups are located in the Turkish ethnic enclave in Kreuzberg 36[2], spending their leisure time in two different youth centres. The first one, which was the focus of my research, is called *Naunyn Ritze Kinder & Jugend Kulturzentrum* located in *Naunynstraße*. The second one is the *Chip Jugend, Kultur & Kommunikationszentrum* located in *Reichenberger Straße*. Both centres are quite close to each other, so that the youth workers and some of the youngsters are in contact. Both centres are financed by local organisations and Kreuzberg municipality.

The third youth group is comprised of youngsters living mostly outside Kreuzberg and attending the gymnasium. These middle-class Turkish youths were approached in order to build, by way of contrast, a fuller view of the life worlds of the working-class Turkish hip-hop youngsters, and to indicate the heterogeneity of the Turkish diasporic communities. Inclusion of the middle-class Turkish youth will also provide us with a ground where we can more precisely differentiate between the strategies of cultural identity formation undertaken by various Turkish youth groups in the diaspora. In what follows, I shall briefly describe these groups.

Naunyn Ritze Youth Centre

Naunyn Ritze youth centre is situated in *Naunynstraße*, a street that is predominantly inhabited by the Turkish migrants originating from the eastern rural parts of Turkey (see Chapter 3). The centre is run by the Kreuzberg municipality and a Kreuzberg neighbourhood organisation, *Mixtur 36 e. V.* The main activities in the centre are breakdance, *capoeira* (Brazilian dance), mountain climbing, graffiti, painting, photography, bodybuilding and taekwondo. The Turkish youngsters in the centre, who number between forty-five and fifty, are mainly involved in breakdance, graffiti, painting, body building and taekwondo. Some of them have won many prizes in Berlin's breakdance and graffiti competitions. The other activities are dominated mostly by Germans. The centre is open from Tuesday to Saturday between 15.00 and 22.00 o'clock. The proportion of girls and boys coming to the centre is almost equal. There is a *café* in the centre where the youngsters usually congregate; in addition, the girls have a separate room for themselves.

The centre employs approximately ten youth workers, three of whom are Berlin-Turks. The youth workers have the controlling power over the youngsters. There is some tension between the German youth workers and the Turkish youngsters, and the Turkish youth workers, Neco (25), Elif (25) and Ibo (28), try to absorb this tension since they are more respected by their co-ethnic youngsters. Incidentally, the presence of the Turkish female youth worker, Elif, encourages the Turkish girls to come to the centre and to become involved in the activities.

Naunyn Ritze is the most popular centre for Turkish minority hip-hop youth. This is the centre where the previously active *36ers* and *36*

Boys gangsta groups, and the local rap group *Islamic Force*, which I shall examine more fully in Chapter 6, originated. It is also the place where interested parties of the German media come in order to collect trendy material on Turkish hip-hop youth culture. There is always American music in the background. It is the head youth worker, Peter, who decides which music to play, not the youngsters. Yet, the girls and boys, when they meet up in their private rooms in the centre prefer listening to Turkish *arabesk*, Turkish folk music, Turkish pop music and *Islamic Force* (see Chapter 6). *Arabesk*, hip-hop, Turkish folk music and Turkish pop music are respectively the most popular types of music amongst the youngsters. The pessimism of *arabesk*, the romance of the Turkish pop, and the 'coolness' of rap match the feelings they have. They call *arabesk* '*isyan müzigi*' (rebellion music). *Arabesk* is a protest style of music in itself, but it has always had a passivist beat and a pessimist content, which leads to what Adorno (1990/1941: 312) called 'rhythmic obedience' (see Chapter 6).

The youngsters in *Naunyn Ritze* are mainly *Alevis* (see Chapter 3) – few are *Sunnis* – and their parents migrated mostly from the eastern parts of Turkey. This group is a relatively homogenous group in terms of ethnicity compared to the other 2 youth groups examined in this study.

Chip Youth Centre

Chip is located in *Reichenberger Straße,* a street that is situated on the other side of the *Kotbusser Tor U-Bahn* station and which is inhabited by mixed ethnic dwellers such as Turkish, Lebanese, Yugoslavian and German (see Chapter 3). It is also administered by the municipality. Activities in the centre include music, graffiti, photography and computing. It is smaller than *Naunyn Ritze*; there are only five youth workers, none of whom are Turkish. The research was carried out with approximately twenty Turkish youngsters. The centre is mostly dominated by Turkish and Lebanese male youngsters. Turkish girls participate only in the vocational training activities, and rarely spend their spare time in the centre's *café*. In these respects, *Chip* is quite different from *Naunyn Ritze*.

The controlling power resides in the hands of the male youngsters, especially of the Turks. There is always a tension between the youth workers and the youngsters; even I, myself, could feel this tension during the course of my research. Furthermore, the relations between

the Turkish and Arabic youths are problematic and sometimes violent. The youngsters and the youth workers told me that an Arab killed a Turkish youngster in front of the centre in 1994. Thus the tension between the groups has continued since. It should be noted that *Chip* is another important centre like *Naunyn Ritze*: *Chip* has previously been a meeting place for one of Berlin's *gangsta* groups – the *Fatbacks*, a group that was mostly composed of Turkish and Arab youngsters. Tension between the *Naunyn Ritze* boys and *Chip* boys still exist, however sometimes alliances are formed to fight against other Arab or German youngsters.

The Turkish youngsters coming to the centre are mainly *Sunnis*. Their parents originate from various regions in Turkey. It is a more heterogeneous centre in terms of parental origins. It is the youngsters themselves who decide which type of music is played in the *café*. They mostly choose the melancholic and pessimistic Turkish *arabesk*, which plays in the background. Wolfgang, a youth worker, indicated that the youth workers in the centre have been trying to adopt a democratic understanding in *Chip*. Although they have granted the youngsters the freedom to choose their type of music, they were not happy with the pessimist and passivist *arabesk* music. Two months after my first visit to the centre, the youth workers had made some rearrangements in the organisation, i.e. they took over the running of the *café* from the youngsters, and now they play hip-hop music to attract also German youngsters to the centre.[3]

BTBTM Youth Group

This is a group of between fifteen and twenty middle-class youngsters, living mostly outside Kreuzberg. They all attend Gymnasium. In addition, they take some additional courses at the *Technische Universität* delivered by a Turkish student organisation called Berlin-Turkish Science and Technology Centre (*BTBTM*).[4] Courses that they are taking include Turkish, Maths, Physics, Biology and German literature. These youngsters decided to form a group that meets regularly and gives them the opportunity to exchange ideas about their problems. Their meetings were organised by a university student, Nurdan who was then the head of the *BTBTM*. Discussion topics include identity, sexism displayed by Turkish men, youth, racism, xenophobia and nationalism. At the end of these meetings, which lasted nearly one year,

they initiated a *Jugendfest* (youth festival) in the *Werkstatt der Kulturen* located in the neighbouring district of Neukölln. They presented their own works to German and Turkish audience (see Chapter 4). I joined their meetings as an observer and also participated in the festival and their entertainments.

While doing the research, I spent time with several political activists in their community organisations, with a few families in their homes, with many first generation male migrants in their traditional Turkish *cafés*, and with many youth social workers in the youth centres. However, I spent most of my time with youths in the street, at their other 'hangouts' and in their youth centres. Of these three distinct aforementioned youth groups, *Naunyn Ritze* youths became the core of my field research. Accordingly, in the following section I will narrate the story of my acceptance into the *Naunyn Ritze* youth centre.

Developing Rapport with Youngsters

At the very beginning of my research, I was a stranger for the youths, coming from a place that they did not know. I was obviously a Turkish citizen, but what kind of Turkish? Was I Kurdish, or *Alevi*, or *Sunni*, or what? They were initially extremely sceptical about me, as they always are about any stranger. However, as the social workers of the Naunyn Ritze Youth Centre, Neco and Elif, had introduced me to them, they had a slightly more positive first impression of me. Beyond their introductions, our rapport depended on my own ability to communicate with them. Should I act as a researcher asking many questions, or as a participant observer scrutinising everything, or should I interact with them as 'myself'? These were the questions with which I struggled in the beginning. Actually, it seemed extremely difficult, and not at all reasonable, to decide on which role to choose at the very beginning of the research. I merely endeavoured to avoid the formalism of research methods.

I was at the centre almost every day, except on holidays. I introduced myself as a student coming from England and doing research about experiences of Turkish hip-hop youngsters in Kreuzberg. Their first reaction, or first confirmation, of what I was doing, was that I had come to the right place to research such a subject. *Naunyn Ritze* has hitherto been the most popular place for German and other international journalists who want to find out about the daily life of Turkish

youngsters and *gangsta* groups living in Kreuzberg. That is why I was also treated as a television or newspaper journalist at first sight and was even asked by the youngsters where my camera or tape-recorder was. Since I avoided using any mechanical equipment to record, to videotape, or to take pictures, I convinced them that I was not a journalist. Although they were at first slightly disappointed, it did not take long for them to get used to the fact that I was just a student. They immediately wanted to know what kind of student I was. Apparently, I did not match the type of student they had in mind – according to them 'I was a bit old to be a student.'

Repeatedly, they asked me questions about England and the Turkish youths living there. They wanted me to make a comparison between themselves and the British-Turkish youths. I let them question me as much as possible in order to balance our positions. My transnational identity – or, in their perceptions, cosmopolitan identity – obviously worked in my favour and facilitated a rapport with them. They found my English connection more interesting to play with than my Turkish connection. I was trying, at all times, to avoid being received as merely an academic researcher. Rather, I was presenting myself as a student doing his PhD., or doctorate, which they failed to understand clearly. To make it clear for them, I told them that this research would, at the end, lead to a book about them. It was pleasant for them to imagine their stories printed in a book. Then, they all agreed to help me.

While I never concealed the fact that I was doing research, these youngsters did not generally define my identity as merely a researcher. I was seen as an elder brother (*agabey*) and a good friend who would understand their problems and help them obtain their goals. Accordingly, my relationship with the youngsters developed on a friendly basis. If the researcher makes friends with the actors of the research and considers them 'interlocutors' rather than 'informants' and/or 'respondents,' and if the actors trust the researcher, they will also be honest with him/her (Horowitz, 1983, 1986; Adler et al., 1986; Alasuutari, 1995: 52-56). My personal background is working class and I am of Turkish-*Alevi* origin, therefore quite similar to those of the youngsters. Accordingly, I was not relegated to a marginal position in the course of the research. Rather, I was considered an insider to a certain extent, though they maintained a fragile distance.

In the course of the field research, I did not need to apply any of the formal participatory roles established by various schools of re-

search. For instance, I refused to implement both the Chicago school of symbolic interactionism, whereby the researcher attempts to take the most objective and detached position, and the ethnomethodological way of subjective interactionism, whereby the researcher takes the most radically subjective and involved position. I tried to refrain from a variety of research postures differing in the degree of researcher's involvement. Hence, I tried to abstain from the use of two polar field research stances: *the observer-as-participant* and *the participant-as-observer*. Rather, I eventually maintained a balance between involvement and detachment. I was spending time with the youngsters, getting to know them informally, but also trying to avoid becoming personally or emotionally involved with them to retain my objectivity.

Developing close relationships with the youngsters still made me aware of the severe pitfalls associated with losing detachment and objectivity: 'going native' (Berg, 1995; Rosaldo 1989, Chap. 8; Adler et al., 1986; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983). 'Going native' refers to developing an overrapport with research subjects that can harm the data-gathering process. Overrapport may also bias the researcher's own perspectives, leading him/her uncritically to accept the views of the members as his/her own (Adler et al., 1986: 364). The rapport I developed with the youths never involved making repeated overtures of friendliness, artificial postures to attract the attention of the youngsters, or exploiting the norms of interpersonal reciprocity to build a research web of friendly relations and key informants. Because playing roles and using deceptive strategies in the interest of sociological inquiry do not constitute a good faith commitment.

Another crucial point to be raised about gaining rapport among the youngsters is the advantages and disadvantages of being an 'ethnic' researcher. As an ethnic minority researcher I acquired privileged relations with both Turkish youngsters and adults. Familiarity with the language and physical space of the Turkish minority in Berlin provided me with an easy access to the youth groups that I worked with. I had more advantages compared to German researchers because of the negative perception that the working-class Turkish youths have of the Germans. The youngsters assumed that I empathised with them – an empathy that they would not expect from a German researcher. But as well as providing a crucial advantage in facilitating the process of 'getting in,' being an ethnic researcher brings about some disadvantages. It might accelerate 'going native,' and it might also lead to the senti-

mentalisation of the research due to the close effective links established with the people researched. Above all, sometimes the minorities might expect the ethnic researcher to solve their problems, or at least to mediate between the governmental authorities and themselves. Having in mind all these disadvantages of being an ethnic researcher, I tried to abstain from developing an overrapport and giving an impression, which might lead them to think that I was there to find a solution to their problems.

I had a theoretical and ethical difficulty in treating the youngsters in the process of social inquiry. Was I going to treat them as 'respondents,' 'informants' or whatever? After spending some time to get into their worlds, I realised that treating the youngsters as 'respondents' was not relevant and ethical at all because it was the parents, youth workers and the police who asked questions in their world. These were the social actors who signified power to be obeyed by the youngsters. Accordingly, I tried to refrain from adopting the power to ask questions as granted. Above all, the researcher who has the power to ask questions attempts to place himself/herself on a higher position than that of the people s/he searches. Such a positioning might lead to the manipulation of the research on the sidewalk of the researcher. In other words, this notion might invite the risk of praising the scientific dogmatism or pure sociological investigation.

Unlike 'respondents,' the term 'informants' might, at first glance, seem a more reasonable role to give the youngsters because, then, they are considered to narrate their own life stories to the researcher who supposedly stands on a neutral, or rather assimilated, positioning. Although this term ethically seems more accurate, the researcher ceases to exist as a subject. Contrarily, this term might invite the risk of 'going native,' which is contemplated as the end of scientific knowledge. Thus, I also tried to avoid purely ethnographic approach, praising the youngsters and their narratives more than necessary. As Rosaldo (1989: 180) put it I had to dance "on the edge of a paradox by simultaneously becoming 'one of the people' and remaining an academic."

Bearing in mind the limitations of these two terms, I prefer using the term 'interlocutor' that locates the researcher and youngsters as separate subjects, who are free from ideological manipulation of each other and open to dialogical interaction. In doing so, I tried to distance myself from pure sociological and ethnographic puritanism, or from what Rosaldo (1989) calls 'sociological and ethnographic monumental-

ism.' Treating the youngsters as 'interlocutors' is also an attempt to minimise the question of power between the researcher and the people 'researched.' This term, at the same time, situates the researcher in a middle position where s/he can utilise both his/her objective and subjective dispositions in his/her attempt to capture and explain the full meaning of the social life of the people 'researched.' Without objectivity, researching particular/local cultures and identities is out of the question because objectivism attempts to prevent the subjective researcher to romanticise his/her subjects. Identically, it is also accurate to claim that the subjective character of the human beings that collect and interpret the knowledge influences all human knowledge. Therefore, social analysts should explore their subjects from a number of different positions, rather than being locked into any particular one.

I spent approximately eight months in Berlin, from January to August 1996. Afterwards, I had a few more trips to Berlin for a couple of weeks, one of which was in December 1996, and the others in June 1997, September 1998 and August 2000. Besides interacting and making participant observation, I also carried out semi-structured in-depth interviews with ten members of the each youth group, five of whom are girls and five boys. My intention was to obtain a summary of the experiences utilising some 'key questions' suggested by an examination of the data. However, these interviews remained semi-structured in that the replies by the youngsters led to the generation of further questions as I sought explanations and elaboration of the events. In the course of the research I did not use any tape- or video-recorder to record the interviews or informal chats I made with the youngsters. Since there were many journalists visiting these two youth centres, especially *Naunyn Ritze*, the youngsters seemed to develop a fixed way of representation of themselves to the media. Being equipped with no electronic recorder, I aimed not to be received as a journalist by the youths.

The Implications and the Scope of the Study

As pointed out before, my work mainly reflects the stories and narratives of the two working-class youth groups who took part in the field research in Kotbusser Tor, Kreuzberg 36. During the course of the study, it has become evident that the processes of cultural identity formation of these youth groups primarily revolved around two sig-

nificant constituents: *diasporic cultural consciousness* and *global hip-hop youth culture*. Accordingly, this work explores these two constituents in order to map out the landscape of these youths' cultural identity. To do so, these Berlin-Turkish hip-hop youth groups should be situated in a broader social and cultural framework highlighting their ethnic enclave, their parental culture, middle-class Turkish youth culture, majority society culture and contemporary global youth culture.

Thus, this study is built on three principal phases. The first phase portrays the diasporic urban space created by the Turkish migrants and their descendants in Kreuzberg. The second phase of this study considers teenagers as they interact and develop identities in various social settings: in their homes, in the schools, on the streets, and in Turkey. The third phase of the study examines the process by which the Berlin-Turkish hip-hop youth develops a diasporic consciousness in collision, negotiation and dialogue with the majority society. Hence, the main theme, which these three phases aim to reveal, is the cultural bricolage and diasporic cultural identity constructed and articulated by the Berlin-Turkish hip-hop youths that are subject to the streams of globalisation.

The first chapter explicates the debates over the relative importance of theoretical notions such as culture, youth culture, 'subculture,' ethnicity, globalism and hip-hop in the study of German-Turkish hip-hop youth. In a first step, two distinct notions of culture namely the *holistic notion of culture* and the *syncretic notion of culture* are put forward. Departing from this differentiation, I summarise the main trends that characterise studies on German-Turks. Highlighting the limits of these conventional studies, I base my argument on the idea of cultural bricolage through which the youngsters construct their identities. In this chapter, where I question some theoretical conceptualisations, I also try to develop a theoretical frame that allows differentiating the hip-hop youth culture from the traditional concept of 'subculture.'

The second chapter explores the migratory process in the Federal Republic of Germany, which has resulted in the formation of a diasporic consciousness by the Turkish labour migrants. Prior to describing the formation of diasporic consciousness, it discusses ethnic-based strategies of political participation developed by the Turkish migrants in Germany since the beginning of the migratory process in 1961. In drawing up the main framework of *migrant strategy* and *minority*

strategy, I also outline the migratory process and the incorporation regimes in the Federal Republic of Germany, leading to the 'ethnic minorisation' of the labour migrants.

Chapter 3 begins with delineating the importance of Kreuzberg for migrants, refugees and asylum-seekers, and demonstrates how Turkish migrants and their descendants in Kreuzberg 36 have created a modern diasporic space, or what they call '*Kleines Istanbul*' (Little Istanbul). Thus, it portrays the images, symbols, sounds, views and traditions carried by transnational migrants from their homeland to form a diasporic space which provides them with a protective symbolic 'fortress' against institutional discrimination, assimilation and racism. Subsequently, the major constituents of this diasporic space are displayed: the Turkish media and ethnic associations in Berlin. Eventually, this diasporic space and its cultural constituents are evaluated in the broader setting of multicultural Berlin with special reference to the Turkish *Alevi* community. This final section aims to raise the question of ideology of multiculturalism and its discontents for the Turkish diasporic communities.

Chapter 4 examines the process of 'homing of diaspora' by the working-class Turkish male youths in Kreuzberg that experience a socioeconomic and political marginality. Being subject to structural outsiderism, working-class Turkish diasporic youth develops a 'demotic' discourse and a language of fatalism against exclusion and discrimination. This chapter also delineates the principal life-worlds of the working-class diasporic Turkish youth: youth centre, street, school and household. The male peer groups construct their identities in negotiation between these distinct worlds. To understand the working-class Turkish diasporic youth, this chapter also explores a relevant side of the identity formation processes among the middle-class diasporic Turkish youth.

Chapter 5 investigates the major constituents of 'third culture' and/or cultural syncreticism developed by the working-class Turkish hip-hop youth in Kreuzberg. Their cultural syncreticism becomes apparent in their leisure culture, which is characterised by both particularistic and universalistic constituents. The particularist components of their leisure culture are '*âlem*' (meeting with friends), *dügüns* (wedding ceremony) and *arabesk* music, while the universalist ones are rap, graffiti, dance and 'cool' style. Defining the main framework of the cultural identity formation processes and of leisure culture of these

hip-hop youngsters, this chapter underlines the multicultural competence of ethnic minority youths.

Chapter 6 calls attention to the issues of cultural syncreticism, 'double diasporic consciousness' and transculturation. It explores the discourses and social identities of the Berlin-Turkish rappers whom I consider *contemporary minstrels*, 'organic intellectuals' and 'storytellers' of their own communities. What they call 'Oriental' hip-hop provides these youngsters with a ground where they can express their imagaginary nostalgia towards 'home' and 'already discovered country of the past' as well as to manifest their attachment to the 'undiscovered country of the future.' In other words, 'Oriental' hip-hop as an expressive cultural form represents the symbolic dialogue undertaken by the diasporic youths between 'past' and 'present,' between 'tradition' and 'translation,' between 'there' and 'here,' and between the local and global.

Finally, I conclude that a diaspora can be created through cultural artefacts and a shared imagery that symbolically connect the new country of settlement to homeland. These symbolic links between the diaspora and homeland can only be produced through modern means of communication and transportation. I am aware that in rapidly changing world all generations are transitional, but I am convinced nonetheless that Turkish hip-hop youngsters in Berlin have constructed something unique – a 'third culture,' which transcends conventional binary understandings of cultural interaction.

Notes

1 Orientation (1997). *Bosporus Bridge*. Berlin: GGM Orient Express. The project of 'Orientation' run by the Oriental Express, is a mix of 'oriental hip-hop' and 'arabesk soul.' It aims to introduce an amalgamation of various musical forms to the Berlin audience. Meryl Prettyman made the translation of this song. I made the English translations of all the other Turkish rap songs in this book.
2 The number 36 refers to one of the pre-reunification postal area codes of the Kreuzberg district which is densely populated by Turkish migrants. Kreuzberg 36 comprises the three *U-Bahn* stations Kotbusser Tor, Görlitzer Bahnhof and Schlesisches Tor. Kreuzberg 36 can be defined as a Turkish ethnic 'enclave,' not a 'ghetto.' Peter Marcuse (1996) describes enclaves as 'those areas in

which immigrants have congregated and which are seen as having positive value, as opposed to the word 'ghetto,' which has a clearly pejorative connotation.' In this sense, enclaves refer to symbolic walls of protection, cohesion and solidarity for immigrants and ethnic minorities. Kreuzberg as an ethnic enclave is rather different from those black and Hispanic ghetto examples in the United States, where the poor, the unemployed, the excluded and the homeless are most frequently concentrated.

3 *Chip* was temporarily closed in June 1997 due to some violence among the youths.

4 Berlin Türk Bilim ve Teknoloji Merkezi (BTBTM) was founded in 1977 by a group of Turkish university students in order to provide technology transfer to Turkey from Germany. Although it was established in the very beginning as an initiative aiming to contribute to the technological development of Turkey, it has recently become a social democratic student initiative dealing with the problems of the second and third generation Turkish students. It has become more oriented to the Turks living in Berlin rather than to Turkey. Since 1992 they have conducted a project in Berlin, called '*Project Zweite Generation*' (Second Generation Project). Through this project they aim to assist Turkish students with their problems whilst studying in the high schools in Berlin.