8. Arabesk: Nomadic Tales, Oriental Beats, and Hybrid Looks

The role of a particular musical style within a specific cultural setting may well attract cultural anthropologists, ethnomusicologists, sociologists or—as in my case—a literary scholar with leanings toward popular culture. Coming from diverse disciplines and employing different analytical tools, what they/we all share is the effort to inquire how musics as forms of performance are intermingled and preoccupied with issues of nationalism, ethnicity, transculturation and hybridity, or as David Coplan puts it "the complex, indeterminate relationships between cultured sound-making and cultural sense-making in specific social contexts" (592). With emerging modern nation states, the status of music was likely to be split between political alignment and cultural tradition, with certain musical styles being favored over others. But through various developments of the media, a dissemination and dispersion of neglected or forgotten musics in many nation states has led to a contemporary scene with a wide range of musical styles and musical languages representing multitudinous ethnic and other identities within and at times in opposition to official nationalist statutes. Turkey is such a nation state that is "quite understandably nervous about musical appropriations and expressions used to foreground or fashion a sub-national 'ethnic'—as opposed to cultural—identity" (Coplan 594). Music has played a crucial role in the self-definition of the Turkish nation state as well as in the self-fashioning of various groups both of which have employed music as tuning the state politics and performing (resisting) traditions.

"Arabesk" in particular is a musical style that is closely connected to Turkey's recent national and cultural history. Besides its immense and at times subversive power, which is mostly at odds with the state-regulated efforts to forge a common national identity, Arabesk also pays tribute to a questioning of how to situate an overwhelmingly popular and socially

https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839450604-009 https://www.inlibra.com/de/agb - Open Access - [cc] BY

pervasive music genre within the discourse of globalized pop music. After first taking a look at the roots, emergence and development of Arabesk music, I will then discuss how the ambiguous polysemic body politics of Arabesk reflect *and* subvert the basically inflexible dichotomous gender structure—still—reigning in Turkey. This paradox of compliance and transgression that has led to an ever-increasing dissolution and dissemination of the music genre Arabesk will then be regarded *vis-a-vis* the needs of a global market of pop music for steadily increasing, yet clearly defined target audiences. My argument here will be that as much as Turkish national politics in general tries to uphold its traditional gender structure even through the means of regulating popular music, the Arabesk performers themselves are much more versatile players within the pop-cultural scenario of creating hybrid and multifaceted *personas* like nostalgic macho Tatlıses, flamboyant transsexual Bülent Ersoy, or Orientalized sex icon Tarkan.

Arabesk's Impurity: From Anatolia to Istanbul

The phenomenon of Arabesk is situated at the crossroads of two notable trends in Popular Music Studies described by Martin Cloonan as on the one hand works "which have tried to document the 'local' music scene, and on the other hand, accounts of processes of globalization." Cloonan, however, goes on to claim that both trends tend to downplay "the continually important role of the National-State" (193). Arabesk culture is a truly urban phenomenon paying tribute to substantial social and political transformations of Turkey. Today, the label is used as broadly as to denote not only a musical genre, but a film genre, a novel genre—like the novels of Orhan Pamuk—as well as the cultural habitus and lifestyle of its fans.

This cultural practice emerged on the fringes of Istanbul during the 1950s and '60s, where the traditional habits of immigrants from predominantly impoverished southeast Anatolian—mostly Kurdish—rural areas blended with contemporized urban life-styles. As music ethnologist Martin Stokes puts it, many of the Arabesk singers "are migrants from a remote and barbarized Turkish 'orient,' the Arab speaking and Kurdish regions of south east Anatolia, who occupy the urban spaces between squatter town and metropolitan centers" ("Islam" 213). This mass-migration peaked in the 1970s but is still continuing. Recent attempts in tearing down those ghetto-like districts notwithstanding—making way for new villa-type, guarded residential areas of an

https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839450604-009 https://www.inlibra.com/de/agb - Open Access - (cc) BY

emerging 'yuppie' upper class and leaving literary millions of people homeless as a consequence—, the migrant influx has not only drastically changed the face of Istanbul's ever-growing cityscape with the bulk of those migrants accumulating in the *gecekondular* (squatter towns, also aptly called Arabesk districts).

Moreover and from an architectural perspective, the development of those squatter districts in large cities like Ankara and Izmir, but especially Istanbul also attests to the changing attitudes of a rapidly transforming society. Speaking of the "predicament of modern architecture in Turkey," Sibel Bozdoğan claims that today's dilemma of a dissociate urban landscape stems from Turkey's profoundly ambivalent Kemalist aspiration "to be Western in spite of the West:"

> Turkish architectural culture of the 1930s adopted the formal and scientific precepts of Western modernism and yet posited itself as an anti-imperialist, anti-Orientalist, and anticolonialist expression of independence, identity, and subjecthood by a nation hitherto presented only by the Orientalist cultural paradigms of the West. (137)

The concept of Kemalism, therefore, was hybrid from the very start. Inaugurated by Turkey as it became a republic in the 1920s through its founding father Kemal Atatürk, Kemalism has been trying to consolidate remnants of urban Ottoman culture like 'pure' Turkish folk *(balk)* music and modern Westernized, i.e. reformed notions of Turkish culture. Within this already precarious nationalist model, Arabesk's foreignness and alienness—its 'Arabic' style[1]—clearly could not be assimilated and therefore posed a threat to the politics of the Turkish nation state. Alev Çınar remarks that this classing strategy of constituting the "provincial other" as "the alien infesting the city" has created personifying depictions of Istanbul as a beleaguered place on display suffering from corruption, alienation, and degeneration, as being "open to penetration and destruction, a place that is defenseless in the face of the modernizing and Westernizing influences of the secular state" (386).

The musical and urban history of Arabesk gives evidence that what has started as a fiercely contested and 'dissociated' life style of marginalized rural migrants has moved to the center of public—and political—appreciation across class, age, and ethnicity. Even balanced voices such as Bozdoğan's who

1 Etymologically, the adjective "arabesk" or "arabesque" derives from the "French, from Italian *arabesco* Arabian in fashion, from *arabo* Arab, from Latin *Arabus*" ("arabesque.").

https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839450604-009 https://www.inlibra.com/de/agb - Open Access -

try to take on "a less polemical and more fruitful approach" in order to "face the historical complexity and ambiguity of the project of modernity in architecture" seem at odds with more recent developments which embrace cultural diversity and aesthetic diversification:

> [I]n a potentially democratic impulse, educated elites became increasingly more aware of the multiplicity of taste cultures, and especially of popular culture as the manifestation of the struggle of marginalized peoples for cultural expression and self-representation. We all began learning to suppress our contempt for *geekondu* taste, *arabesk* music, *kebab* houses, intercity bus terminals, and cheap little mosques with aluminum domes, if we did not actually begin rather to like them, as we confronted our own ambivalent experiences of modernity. (148)

Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoğlu more forcefully argues "that the cultural border between the city and the village, which architectural discourse has sharply delineated, is a fluid one" (193). Instead of holding on to the notion of the distinction between the modern Turkish city and its 'Other,' that is, rural Turkey, Nalbantoğlu takes up Michel de Certeau's proposal of "tactics" as calculated actions that de-privileged subjects cleverly use due to the lack of a proper locus. In this instance, rural migrants found ingenious—resisting—ways to utilize a land belonging to others and "thus lend a political dimension to every day practices" (de Certeau, qtd. in Nalbantoğlu 203). Nalbantoğlu claims that what those *gecekondu* squatters achieved was a display of survival tactics: "Rural immigrants assimilated, subverted, and mimicked" (206). Part of those spatial and architectural tactics were the actual practices of improvised houses that could easily be moved as well as an outlay of street networks that resembled a maze and were hard to control by legal forces from the outside, but easy to manage by its inhabitants from within. What city officials, who from the 1950s onwards aimed at installing an "international style" of architecture (Bozdoğan 140; Nalbantoğlu 207), continuously described as "ugly" and "unsightly," as "the city's garbage to be disposed of" and responsible for the "ruralization of cities" (qtd. in Nalbantoğlu 203, 208),[2] the maze-like urbanscape of the *gecekondu* mirrored the aesthetics of Arabesk arising from those very spaces. Like the Arabesk songs that mixed and merged different cultural

2 See Latife Tekin's novel *Berji Kristin: Tales from the Garbage Hills* (orig. 1984) for semi-autobiographical descriptions of the process of migration and settlement in Istanbul's *gecekondular.*

https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839450604-009 https://www.inlibra.com/de/agb - Open Access - cc BY

sources most of which belong to unofficial and unacknowledged musical languages, *gecekondu* settlers operated both within and through the city language they encountered overriding conventionalized borderlines.

Originally, the epithet Arabesk was coined by Turkish musicologists to describe what they believed to be a regressive musical genre that employs 'impure' Arabicized Turkish language and complex, chromatic melodies and harmonies, very different from the diatonic system of traditional Turkish folk music (Stokes, "Music" 29). Arabesk musical sources were decidedly not rural Anatolian, but Arabic dating back to mostly Egyptian popular music and films of the 1920s and '30s, especially the custom of belly-dancing music, called *raks sharki* (also spelled *raqs sharqi*). It paradoxically reached wide Turkish audiences in translations and imitations after the Turkish ban on such Egyptian musical art after 1948. Not only did the ban actually trigger an unwanted counter-effect by spurring the creation of a booming local industry through translating and imitating the originals. But through the need to alter the Egyptian sources to accommodate the Turkish censorship, this musical culture also took on specific Turkish social concerns in its song lyrics. Moreover, since these Egyptian compositions often also were augmented with a Western-style string section, "Western influences seeped into Turkish art music via Egypt" (Özbek 213) thus further complicating the effort to control musical production. Accordingly, one can say that it is paradoxically due to the state-controlled music industry—especially restrictions on radio and later television broadcasting—that Arabesk came into being.

Increasingly intermixing Egyptian film music with powerful dance rhythms, Arabic vocal and orchestral conventions, and later still Western rock, pop, and dance music, Arabesk continued to be vastly successful within the low-income working-class milieu *and* chastised as thoroughly alienated cultural artefact by Turkish officials as well as by the Kemalist bourgeois urban intelligentsia. At the same time, Arabesk's leaning towards a philosophy of fatalism also clashed with Turkish Islamic orthodoxy, where belief in fate still leaves persons the freedom of choice whereas the fatalism of Arabesk depicts images of subjects being utterly trapped by fate and society alike (Stokes, "Music" 29). Again, the *gecekondular* with their aura of misery due to hard economic conditions and social ostracizing are evidence of Arabesk's image of being 'the music of suffering.' Although poverty and alienation were rarely explicitly addressed as themes in the songs, they were alluded to through a feeling of dissatisfaction or, as Martin Stokes puts it, "'Arabesk without pain' would simply cease to be Arabesk" (Stokes, "Music" 30).

https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839450604-009 https://www.inlibra.com/de/agb - Open Access - (cc) BY

From Tatlıses's Nostalgic Anatolian Machismo to Emrah's Sexed-Up Hard Body

Arabesk singers like Orhan Gencebay, Ferdi Tayfur, or Ibrahim Tatlıses have acquired cult status. In contrast to Gencebay and Tayfur, however, who have refused to have their work labeled as Arabesk because of its 'unclean' and 'Arabic' implications, Tatlıses boldly embraces this very label (Özbek 222). For many, especially Turkish expatriates living abroad, Tatlıses—a chosen name which means "sweet voice"—has become the symbol of Arabesk. With Arabesk's endless variations of the story of a poor peasant boy, who leaves his homestead to seek fortune and success far away, Tatlıses's own story reads exactly like one of his songs, since for 40 years now he is probably the most successful singer in Turkey. Coming from a bitterly poor Anatolian family and after child laboring and roaming the country as menial worker, he succeeded in establishing himself as one of the leading Arabesk singers ever with his first hit song and album "Ayağında Kundura" (1977), a nomadic tale reflecting his own experience of longing and suffering—here depicted as the yearning for a lost "sweetheart" who has literally moved ("shoes are on her feet") beyond his grasp:

Ayağında kundura	Shoes are on her feet
Yar gelir dura dura	And my sweetheart comes stopping from time to time
Yar gelir dura dura	And my sweetheart comes stopping from time to time
Ölürem ben ölürem vay	I die (for her) I die

(Tatlıses, "Ayağında Kundura".For the translation see <www.allthelyrics.com>.)

An important aspect of his success is the fact that he never made a secret of his mixed Arabic-Kurdish origins; on the contrary, in his songs he cultivated a noticeable Eastern Anatolian Turkish accent spoken by many Kurds at a time when Kurdish language was prohibited in schools and media. This added, naturally, to the nostalgic aura surrounding the performer as did his emphasis on a specific brand of masculinity, which as Özbek claims, "resulted in much criticism and in his ultimately being branded a vulgar *maganda*" (223). While on the one hand, Arabesk lyrics leaned towards characteristics like passivity and depression that commonly may be held as rather feminine traits, the unambiguously hyper-masculine *maganda* stereotype on the other hand

https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839450604-009 https://www.inlibra.com/de/agb - Open Access - (cc) BY

originally refers to a cartoon figure, but entered "popular vocabulary to describe and denigrate arabesk aficionados as vulgar, sexist, and uneducated" (Özbek 222). Tatlıses, being well aware of that public branding, self-assertively parodied himself as a *maganda* as well as making fun of his critics by doing so. At the same time, the explicit identification with Arabesk culture reconfirmed his social ties to "his own people."

Tatlıses in the course of his career, however, has moved from clearly discernible Arabesk songs to more mainstream pop-oriented arrangements like his version of the traditional song "Ağrı Dağı (Cano Cano)" from the album *Bulamadım* (*I Couldn't Find*) of 2007, which many artists, including Tarkan,[3] have covered:

Ağrı dağın eteğinde	At the foot of Ararat
Uçan güvercin olsam	I wish I was a flying pigeon
Türkü olsam dillerde	Wish I was a folk song on mouths
Diyar diyar dolansam	Wish I wandered from land to land
Başımdaki sevdayı	The love on my head
Karlı dağlara mı yansam	Shall I complain on snowy mountains
Bu bendeki aşk değil cano cano	This I have is not love dear
Söyle bana nere gidem	Tell me where I shall go

(Tatlıses, "Ağrı Dağı [Cano Cano]". For the translation see <www.allthelyrics.com>.)

While in general Arabesk singers like Tatlıses enact a style of masculinity within a changing urban landscape that harks back to older rural mores like "the virtues of loyalty, unselfishness, and moral rectitude, but with a bitter undertone of perpetual betrayal and disappointment" (Kandiyoti, "Gendering the Modern" 124), he gradually changed his clothing fashion discarding the conservative suit-and-tie outfit for a leisure look of sunglasses, silver necklace, unbuttoned shirt, and leather jacket, albeit never relinquishing the

3 See Tarkan's video <www.youtube.com/watch?v=HpGh7ypBGto> (accessed 13 December 2021).

https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839450604-009 https://www.inlibra.com/de/agb - Open Access - (cc) BY

trademark Islamic 'Turkish' moustache.[4] What's more, Tatlıses also changed musical arrangements and even added techno-remixes on his albums, which is significant since in pop music remixes mark the victory of electronic sound criteria over melody and harmony as major distinctive criteria (Gebesmair 54-55).

Tatlıses's altered, rejuvenated look gives way to a musical mainstreaming taken on by a younger generation of Arabesk performers like Emrah, who in their musical and visual style have increasingly joined forces with Tarkan to mix Arabesk with pop and rock. They do so, however, with different means, especially with regard to their visual presentation. Emrah, like Tatlıses of Kurdish origins and bringing a specific regionalism—that of southeastern Turkey—to Istanbul, represents a revamped model of Arabesk, which no longer is connected to the 'trash' style of the squatter towns. He is most outspoken in his presenting—unlike Tatlıses—a strongly sexualized body and herewith, I would argue, marks a link with Western images of male rock singers that is also reflected in his music. It is striking that in his albums he even highlights his well-defined, muscular body by including headless body-only shots, a style at odds with the usual face-centered presentation of Arabesk singers.

Emrah's still somewhat softened masculine representation with ethno-necklace and abstract-ornament shirt stitching on his album, *Kusurszsun* (*You are Without Blemish*) of 2004 gives way to an ultra-masculine body-image on his later album *Adın Ne Senin* (*What's Your Name*) of 2006. Unshaved with goatee and longer, wilder hair, and strictly clad in either plain unadorned white tank top or shirt: this is a body even more hardened and built-up, as his self-indulging pics reflect that show him working out and proudly sweating in a fitness studio. His fans, nevertheless, have not accepted this new image of sexed up and Westernized Arabesk performer as his plummeting album sales prove.[5] All in all, Emrah's position within the array of Arabesk stylizations

4 Mark the interesting retro-style of the album cover *Metamorfoz* (2007), where Tarkan for the first time dons formal clothing with suit and tie, whereas Tatlıses album *Neden* (2008) shows him in loose shirt and jeans.

5 This trend towards a more Westernized rock and pop style continued with his album *Dön* (2007), and his 2008 album *Yelpaze* even experimented with R&B, resulting in the lowest sale figures of any of his albums. Emrah could reverse this downward trend with the 2011 album *Terzinin Oğlu* by returning to his Arabesk roots with a visually matured look.

https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839450604-009 https://www.inlibra.com/de/agb - Open Access - CC BY

illustrates the marked shift of this most popular musical genre in Turkey towards hybridization and crossover. Emrah's sexed-up masculine hard body performance as well as the hard beats of his songs have moved much closer to Western notions of rock and thus away from the melodramatic poetics of standard Arabesk.

Flamboyant Transgression? Bülent Ersoy

The modification in the visual stylizing of Arabesk stars from Tatlıses to Emrah raises the larger question of the link between music and gender, which in the case of Arabesk proves to be a particularly complex one. Whereas female Arabesk singers are still scarce and—like Ebru Gtinde and Sibel Can—tend to reinforce a stereotypical image of woman as seductive Oriental dancer-singer, male singers have relied on a "sedate manliness" like Orhan Gencebay or on a "gloomier," rather tearful version like Ferdi Tayfur respectively. On the whole, the genre has remained in the stronghold of a masculine culture that "is strongly associated with mustaches, masculine friendship, and *rakı*-drinking, cigarette-smoking rituals" (Özbek 223). Nevertheless, the longstanding 'Othering' of Arabesk singers as well as the melodramatic lyrics of their songs have put these male performers in a somewhat ambiguous category of masculinity. Especially when considering most Arabesk singers' background of Anatolian peasantry, their former hierarchically uncontested position as family patriarchs has increasingly disintegrated with the migration from rural to urban environments due to the demands of housing, employment, and child-raising, and with wives and daughters visibly entering public spheres and therefore gaining considerable empowerment. With the manliness of Arabesk singers always already in danger of being culturally feminized—or, as shown, marked as vulgarly hyper-masculinized—, the considerable popularity of transsexual performers in this genre further adds to the complexity of body politics that distinguishes Arabesk in general.

Writing about the male body in the context of house music, Stephen Amico modifies Ellen Koskoff's inquiry into *Women and Music in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, adapting the offered four ways in which music may function *vis-a-vis* gender structures to questioning masculine signification in pop music performances. According to Koskoff, these are the four categories of music performance that emerge in connection with inter-gender relations:

https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839450604-009 https://www.inlibra.com/de/agb - Open Access - CC BY

> (1) performance that *confirms and maintains* the established social/sexual arrangement; (2) performance that *appears to maintain* established norms in order to protect other, more relevant values; (3) performance that *protests, yet maintains,* the order (often through symbolic behavior); and (4) performance that *challenges and threatens* established order. (10, emphasis added, qtd. also in Amico 359)

Whereas Tatlıses for the most part embodies the traditional Muslim Turkish male look of his generation, Emrah does the same thing for his younger, now more Westernized generation. Both can be said to confirm and maintain established social and sexual norms through their visual representation. Emrah, however, even though a clear descendant of his older idol belongs to a generation that is much more influenced by Western rock music than Tatlıses has been. And, as critics like Diane Railton have shown, the stronghold of "rock hegemony" (323) still calls for strictly exclusionary gender distribution: rock stars have recreated a male and masculine public sphere with their physical performance being clearly targeted at an appreciative and relishing and above all female audience.[6] Even though Arabesk at times was in conflict or even in contradiction to the Kemalist interests or the nation state, performers like Tatlıses and Emrah certainly posed no threat to the prevailing gender politics of Turkey.

On the other hand, "The Gendered Carnival of Pop" as Railton calls it, opens the dance floor for yet very different ways of presenting and receiving gendered codes and messages. Arabesk with its roots in "low culture" belongs to the realm of popular entertainment that not only in the U.S. has traditionally been associated with "mindless" enjoyment and bodily pleasure and as such has been "inextricably linked to the feminine" (325). For the Turkish state, therefore, faced with the fact of a rising popularity of unruly Arabesk, it certainly did not help matters that the singers and performers of Arabesk music have often stemmed from ambiguously sexed and socially marginalized urban tenants like Kurds, gypsies, homosexuals, transvestites, and young children. Following the 1980 military coup, the restrictive politics included a policing of Arabesk music and films that in turn resulted in the exile of Arabesk stars like transsexual Bülent Ersoy, to pick an especially notorious and famous example.

6 See also Rosa Reitsamer who speaks of rock culture's gendered dichotomy as accepted realm to articulate normative male sexuality: "Rock offeriert einer Reihe gesellschaftlich akzeptierter, sexualisierter männlicher Posen den Rahmen, sich in Stereotypen auszudrücken" (173).

https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839450604-009 https://www.inlibra.com/de/agb - Open Access - (cc) BY

Ersoy was one of the first widely known Turkish transsexuals, quickly gaining cult status within the Arabesk community. After her sex reassignment surgery in 1981, she not only faced transphobic reactions from the government leading to her ban from public performances, her petition to be legally recognized as a woman was rejected at the time as well. Her operation was performed abroad in London, because local sex reassignment surgery was illegal in Turkey at the time. Her highly visible stardom might even have accelerated the restrictive measures of the military government on Arabesk. Being forced to leave the country due to persecution, she, however, successfully continued to perform in West Germany until her return in 1988, initiating yet another development of Arabesk culture: the rising translocation of Arabesk musical production to Western European countries like Germany and the —at times illegal—re-import and distribution of those very products through the channels of a vast black market in music-cassettes. This explosion of the music market especially during the 1980s brought with it a vast expansion of venues for listening to Arabesk performers, literally to every corner of the urban space:

> Although arabesk music was excluded from state-run radio and television because it did not fit into any of the officially sanctioned musical modes, by the mid-1970s it was everywhere. […] Arabesk invaded virtually every private and public sphere, from theaters that showed movies of arabesk singers to thoroughfares were street peddlers sold cassettes. (Özbek 218)

After Ersoy returned from forced exile, she filed a court case, fighting for her legal recognition as a woman. Due to the changed Turkish Civil Code in 1988, which added the amendment that male-to-female post-operative transgender people could now obtain the "pink card" to certify their new female gender (Yüksel 279), Ersoy continued her career as a female performer in Turkey, although retaining her rather male first name Bülent. Ersoy not only managed to regain her position as one of the leading Arabesk singers, she also successfully entered various other performance spaces like starring in the musical genres of Turkish folk and classical music as well as with an almost daily presence on television as popular guest star in talk shows, as juror in talent shows, and as moderator and performer in her own shows. Whether her transsexual *persona* protests or challenges the established order remains to be discussed, nevertheless.

At first glance, it seems that her status as transsexual *per se* undermines customary notions of clear-cut gendered identities. Her flamboyant behav-

https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839450604-009 https://www.inlibra.com/de/agb - Open Access -

ior and presentation add to a campy image that especially in the U.S. has widely been accepted as subversive and anti-hegemonic agency.[7] Viewed from within Turkish gender politics, I tend to have doubts, however, as to the exact level of transgression. Although the change in legislation was brought on by Ersoy's court case, resulting in a rather progressive legal regulation,[8] the ensuing situation for transgender people has not been without conflicts. On the contrary, as Deniz Kandiyoti points out, the pressures to eliminate any ambiguity in matters of gender has caused serious problems for transgender people: "Despite these changes, the medical and legal preconditions for sex-change surgery have not yet been fully worked out, creating areas of uncertainty, tension and potential medical malpractice" ("Pink Card Blues" 279). Still today, transsexuals face a life that stereotypically links them to prostitution and makes them subject to frequent and violent police harassment, often forcing them into continued semi-illegal sub-cultural ghettoization. The established hegemonic structure, though somewhat loosened in recent years, still today maintains a strictly dichotomous gender system, denying the existence of homosexual and transgender identifications. Therefore, a male-to-female transsexual like Ersoy is more likely to be considered as an aberrant woman and thus her former biological male sex will simply be ignored. As many cases from Istanbul's transgender scene prove, one of the ways to 'come out' of the prescribed invisibility of closeted sexual behavior still remains the choice of a 'corrective' surgical procedure. Nevertheless, as Kandiyoti argues, gender issues in general and those relating to transgender people in particular have a local specificity due to historically and culturally given mechanisms of exclusion and inclusion that are unyielding to generalizations:

> [T]he identities of male-to-female transsexuals in Turkey are crafted through complex interfaces between their personal biographies, the economic and political pressures of their immediate milieu and the more distant backdrop of international trans-gender and human-rights politics. The interactions of *travestis* with state apparatuses at critical junctures of

7 See, for example, Kate Davy's essay "Fe/Male Impersonation: The Discourse of Camp."

8 The Amendment to the 29th clause of law no. 743, Turkish Civil Code, 12 May 1988, 19812, states: "In cases where there has been a change of sex after birth documented by a report from a committee of medical experts, the necessary amendments are made to the birth certificate." According to Kandiyoti, "this ruling *may* appear as more advanced than that of many European countries, where the original record of one's sex of birth is not thus obliterated" ("Pink Card Blues" 291, emphasis added).

https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839450604-009 https://www.inlibra.com/de/agb - Open Access - (cc) BY

> their lives—when applying for new identity papers, trying to avoid military service or being handled by police force—communicate powerful messages of their stigmatisation as a deviant minority. […] On the other hand, the images of fast-track living, glamour and consumption that they project, as well as the market networks in which they circulate, encapsulate the post-1980s mainstream, with its emphasis on material success and "making it fast" (*köşeyi dönmek*) to an uncomfortable degree. ("Pink Card Blues" 290)

This claim of a specifically Turkish mode of living transsexuality accounts not only for the ambiguous fascination that transsexuals evoke in the broad public, but also for the perception of transsexuality as a signifying cultural practice of paradoxical and disparate public performance, especially with regard to highly visible actors like Arabesk singers. Thus, an example like Ersoy's speaks for Arabesk as "all encompassing metaphor" (Öncü, "Global Consumerism" 186) expressing the pervasive identity problem of a Turkish society that is "strangely composite" and as such unwillingly "appropriating and incorporating into its closed circle what does not fit into the existing scheme of things" (Öncü, "Istanbulites and Others" 115).

Orientalized Pop-Export: Tarkan

Turkish singer Tarkan for years has been one of Turkey's most prominent pop exponents and exports. His music style and performance mixes belly-dance, rap, break-dance, Turkish classical music and Western pop. Significantly, since the release of his first all-English album *Come Closer* (2006), produced in the U.S., he has been aiming, through his music style and star image, to join the global market forces.

And yet, refocusing the perspective from a global scope back to Turkey, Tarkan is but one example of a booming pop-culture within his homeland Turkey, centered in Istanbul's clubbing scene, and present—via radio, television, internet, cell phones, mobile media players, and music streaming services—in virtually every household throughout the country. Tarkan, who as a child of Turkish *Gastarbeiter* in Germany was relocated to Turkey in his early teens and now lives in Istanbul and New York, is a 'product' of migrant politics due to transnational economics. When viewed solely from a Western perspective, he figures as thoroughly Westernized and highly sexualized Orient-export. Yet, as unlikely as it may seem from that perspective, his music

https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839450604-009 https://www.inlibra.com/de/agb - Open Access - (cc) BY

is actually rooted in the Turkish tradition of Arabesk culture that rightfully must be claimed to be of a historically and geographically localizable—non-Western—specificity. An example of his mixture of Western pop and Oriental Arabesk is the bestselling hit song "Kuzu Kuzu" ("Like a Lamb") from his 2001 album *Karma*. As can be seen in the song's video versions, Tarkan not only uses finger cymbals, but also engages in a routine of belly-dance, both of which indicate the music's Arabic sources.

As the lyrics show, this is a love song not necessarily connected to the Arabesk tradition of bemoaning one's bleak destiny. On the contrary, the song's theme of a lover, who has been unfaithful and has betrayed his beloved, but who claims to have changed and is now willing to return humbled "like a lamb," depicts a person who tries to change his destiny. There are even overt sexual allusions like the 'punishment' of hot peppers for forbidden kisses that highlight erotic role play instead of ineffective melancholic yearning:

Bak! Kırıldı kolum kanadım	Look! I'm lost without you
Olmadı, tutunamadım	I couldn't handle it
Zor! Yokluğun çok zor	Hard! Your absence is too hard
Alısamadım	I couldn't get used to
Vur, vur bu akılsız başi	Bang, bang this foolish head
Duvarlara	On the walls
Taşlara vur sevabına	On the rocks for the joy of it
Sonra affet, gel baş bağrına	Then forgive me, come embrace me
Süzüldüm, eridim	I'm changed, melted
Sensiz olamadım	Couldn't do without you
Işte kuzu kuzu geldim	Look I've come meekly as a lamb
Dilediğince kapandım dizlerine	At your knees for as long as you want me
Bu kez gururumu ateşe verdim	This time, I've swallowed my pride
Yaktım da geldim	Threw it away and came
Ister at, ister öp beni	Discard me if you wish, kiss me if you want
Ama önce dinle bak gözlerime	But first listen, look into my eyes
Inan, bu defa	Believe me, this time

https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839450604-009 https://www.inlibra.com/de/agb - Open Access - (cc) BY

Anladım durumu (bil), tövbeler ettim	I know the situation (know this), I've repented
Ooofff ooofff	Ooooo ohhhh
Acı biberler sür dilime dudaklarıma	Rub chili peppers on my tongue and lips

(Tarkan, "Kuzu Kuzu". Lyrics see <www.elyrics.net/> and translation—slightly altered—by Ali Yildirim <www.getalyric.com/>.)

Together with the fact that the album's title, *Karma*, plays with Arabesk's notion of fateful destiny, Tarkan both refers to traditional Arabesk traits and in a self-referential, Orientalizing manner moves beyond tradition. This is obvious especially when looking at songs like "Kuzu Kuzu," where he interconnects love lyrics with instrumental pop arrangements and Oriental body performance creating a stylistic cross-over. This move from local tradition to encompass larger, widely differing audiences is also reflected in recent music theory. In her review of the "Politics and Poetics of Dance," Susan Reed refers to ethno-musicology's shift from the category of music to sound in order to incorporate such elements as performance, dance and movement into its field of interest (504). She analyzes the complex ways "in which dance and movement styles are transmitted across class, ethnic, and national lines" (505) and claims that this crossover gives insight into signaling group affiliation and difference. Accordingly, looking at movement through the focal point of class and locality may bring forth a "bodily bilingualism" that Jane Desmond describes in the context of race and class differentiation as a "way of speaking, with the body [that] is used in specific instances, depending on whether class or racial codes are semantically overriding" (46). While Arabesk performance is also situated at the crossroads of class and ethnicity as shown, Desmond's concept here seems equally useful in terms of cultural and gender crossovers. Tarkan's allusion to Oriental belly-dancing can therefore be claimed to be such a bodily bilingualism. On a global terrain, Tarkan is recreating and molding himself into a representation of an Oriental 'Other' which in turn brings him precariously close to feminized, exoticized and colonial notions of the Orient, mostly associated with sexually attractive and available women, but including men as well. It is especially through his movements which include belly-dancing that Tarkan may be said to deliberately allude to such an Orientalism.

Also, his overall bodily presentation leans towards an even higher degree of sexualization compared to Emrah, for example, while conspicuously lacking the exaggerated masculinity of his colleague. And this foregrounding of

https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839450604-009 https://www.inlibra.com/de/agb - Open Access - (cc) BY

the sexualized body makes Tarkan even more than Emrah a target of ambiguous adoration within the rock/pop arena. In the history of Western pop music at least, white heterosexual masculinity was the norm on stage or screen, but as such ultimately invisible compared to women or ethnically marked men. Only rarely could "cock rockers" such as Mick Jagger or Iggy Pop be fetishized without endangering their masculine allure: "Cock rock performers are aggressive, dominating and boastful and they constantly seek to remind the audience of their prowess, their control" (Whiteley, qtd. in Kiessling and Stastný 38). Within this discourse of normative white male heterosexuality, dancing men are considered effeminate and gay. Tarkan, however, in his visual representations often looks directly into the camera with an alluring, seductive smile, and his defined, but not too muscled and hard-bodied physique is shown in various stages of semi-nakedness, yet mostly adorned with some symbol of the Orient. His 2005 commercial campaign for the telephone company Avea is a case in point in that it not only confirmed his cult status in Turkey, but also his strikingly ambivalent presentation in terms of masculinity. In one of the ads, he is dressed in a transparent shirt that through various lighting devices seem to be luminously floating about his naked torso while he is moving to fast dance beats. Another video shows him sitting naked in a bath tub—full of foam, of course—singing an a-cappella tune of melancholic yearning. Both ads conspicuously refrain from heterosexual physical contact with the bathtub commercial even suggesting to autoerotic pleasures. Besides, most of the images in his CD booklets underline this stylized Oriental presentation, with some openly alluding to the Islamic art of ornamental calligraphy.

Tarkan's method of adorning his body, seemingly in a self-referential manner, distinguishes himself *and* reaches out, since, as Georg Simmel has claimed, adornment can never remain with the individual alone:

> One adorns oneself for oneself, but can do so only by adornment for others. [Adornment is] an act, which exclusively serves the emphasis and increased significance of the actor, nevertheless attains this goal just as exclusively in the pleasure, in the visual delight it offers to others. (206)

And since his adornment is one that for Western pleasure-takers indistinctly seems 'Oriental,' a sense of individuality gets lost altogether, because such a "foreignness of sensibility does not permit us to grasp the real individuality in the work of art, so that we can only penetrate to its more general and typical features—as is often the case for instance with oriental art," says Simmel.

https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839450604-009 https://www.inlibra.com/de/agb - Open Access - (cc) BY

What emerges, however, instead is the foregrounding of style as "that type of artistic arrangement which, to the extent it carries or helps to carry the impression of a work of art, negates its quite individual nature and value, its uniqueness of meaning" (Simmel 211). Particularity, the artist's very own signature so to speak recedes in favor of an artistic commonality shared by many beyond the individual work.

These are moments of the mentioned "bodily bilingualism," since on the one hand Tarkan situates himself more than the other Arabesk singers within a cultural context of the Middle East, where belly-dancing has long been both a social—or folk—practice as well as a profession performed by women *and* men alike. Dance scholars like Anthony Shay stress the fact that only through colonial rule did the notion of exclusively female belly-dancing become dominant, because especially the male members of the colonial society deemed male dancers as unmoral and feminized, and usually a ban on male dancing was the result of the colonial male sensibilities being offended:

> The European observers came to the Middle East bearing orientalist opinions concerning depraved Moslem morals and looked to have them validated. A closer analysis reveals that male dancers were almost always discernible from females in the iconographic sources. (Shay 70)

Thus, even though a male dancer's sex would be discernible, his male gender was disputable from the viewpoint of cultural outsiders. For the latter, the scandal of the male dancer was his dubious sexual allure as seemingly being available, yet remaining frivolously aloof. As such, and although

> the male dancer continues as an institution, it is an occupation that is fading with the emergence of new concepts of gender and sexuality and the issue of which behaviours may be ascribed as "male" and "female" constitute dynamic and fluid cultural categories. The performances of dancing males can still excite both intense interest and deep-seated feelings of choreophobia. (Shay 82)[9]

On the other hand, Tarkan's body—his style and movements—adheres to the Western discourse of double entendre. In doing so, he covertly uses a second language that is queerly coded, I would claim. It is an 'open secret' within the

9 The custom of belly-dancing continues in an informal and impromptu manner in gay bars.

https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839450604-009 https://www.inlibra.com/de/agb - Open Access - (cc) BY

gay community both in Turkey as well as abroad that Tarkan himself is gay.[10] This is not to say that we can automatically conflate his private predilections with his public star *persona*. But I do argue that Tarkan deliberately mixes musical genres of different cultures as well as creates hybrid body images that cover *and* reveal various things simultaneously. Taking a look at his album *Metamorfoz,* for example, there is a noticeable move in terms of music towards rock beats, its stronger Western kick drum rhythm representative of a well-established masculinity in its generic coding. And clearly, with his catering to an international audience Tarkan participates in the rising interest—and sales figures—of Oriental music products on the Western market since the 1990s, as Oliva Bloechl confirms: "British and American consumers' desire to possess cultural artefacts associated with the Middle East must be […] contextualized as part of the living history of Orientalism" (134). Markus Wyrwich even makes a case that such a living Orientalism has a sedative quality, covering otherwise confrontational situations like the impending Islamist fatwa against the U.S., while paradoxically reproducing offensive Orientalist clichés at the same time (83). Even though Wyrwich mainly refers to Western artists incorporating Oriental elements into their own compositions or performances, in his discussion he also includes pop songs released by transnationally operating labels.

Tarkan's all-Turkish album *Metamorfoz*—as was his preceding all-English album *Come Closer*—was produced by subdivisions of Universal, and not as his prior albums by Istanbul Plak. While his move back to Turkish language has generally been noted as a return to his local roots, this supposed switch back is not as unambiguous as it might seem. Like the non-Turkish production label, the album's conspicuous title suggests that Tarkan plays with the changeability of his stage *personas* offering new and subtle twists. Alternatively dressed up in retro-style business attire and hard-rock jeans-and-leather outfit, his short-trimmed hair and full beard are clearly signs of a re-masculinized rep-

10 Gossip about Tarkan's sexuality continues to flourish, in part due to his own contradictory statements. Already in 2006, for example, he claimed in an *Hürriyet* interview: "Bu ülke beni ille de gay yapacak" ("This country will necessarily make me gay") (Arman). And while repeatedly denying to be gay and also asserting not to believe in marriage ("Tarkan: Gay değilim, evliliğe inanmam;" "Leute: Der türkische Popstar Tarkan"), he did marry Pinar Dilek in 2016 and in 2018 their daughter was born.

https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839450604-009 https://www.inlibra.com/de/agb - Open Access - CC BY

resentation, making him less Oriental, perhaps more straight acting, but ultimately less gay?

I believe, to quote Amico on his findings analyzing the connection of house music and homosexuality, that Tarkan here takes part in a cultural dilemma where "gay men are forced to resort to re-appropriation, *bricolage*, in their attempts to mine 'straight' society for musical material" (369). At the same time, Tarkan's musical and gendered crossover success accounts for a cultural realization of an East-West synthesis that governmental politics have failed to bring about as the seemingly never-ending bid of Turkey for an entry into the EU shows. Ertuğrul Özkök in an article of the Turkish daily newspaper *Hürriyet* of 1993 even considers Tarkan to be "the first full-blown megastar of the East-West synthesis" who not only unites Turkish people across the age divide but whose musical and visual aesthetics participate in Turkey's efforts in modernization: "The new music that gushes forth from Tarkan's unbuttoned shirt is the first sign that an exodus that had rejected the East without being able to set foot in the West, a mental migration, an aesthetic nomadism is achieving a transition to sedentary life" (Özkök qtd. in Bora 445).

If indeed we take Arabesk as an example of music's capacity of "sounding out," i.e. of constructing trajectories between oneself and elsewhere (Stokes, "Sounding Out" 121), then Arabesk's inherently generic hybrid style of "cut'n'mix" to evoke Dick Hebdige's term speaks of an interplay between power and resistance, metropolitan center and marginal dislocation, global and local, Occident and Orient, mainstream and exoticism, and thus ultimately reflects where Turkey stands in the world at this very moment. While 'Turk Pop' as being part of the all-encompassing label of 'World Music' for many may seem to signify the successful entry of a local music tradition into the global music economy, it risks losing its rootedness in actual migratory history and social turmoil.[11] Arabesk music being globally marketed as "The Sound of Istanbul" grants this music a geographically and visually specific 'sound;' whether this marketing strategy highlights national identification

11 See Fatih Aydogdu and Frketic who in an interview on "Türk Pop" as migrant music claim: "Die Transferprozesse der World Music verliefen in eine Richtung, nämlich von einer territorial und ethnisch festgeschriebenen und scheinbar authentischen 'Dritte-Welt-Kultur' hin zu westlichen Metropolen, wo immer Interesse an neuen und 'fremden' Phänomenen besteht. Dass der Transfer von World Music von tatsächlichen Migrationsbewegungen begleitet war, und dass die Quellen der Weltmusik meist selbst von Überlagerungen, Aneignungen und Übersetzungen geprägt waren und sind, wurde völlig ausgeblendet" (95).

https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839450604-009 https://www.inlibra.com/de/agb - Open Access - (cc) BY

or rather blurs it instead, remains to be disputed. As a musical genre, Arabesk both adheres to the stereotype of an Oriental sound signifying longing, beauty, and seduction *and* to the equally prevailing stereotype of anything Oriental being disturbing, ambiguous, or even perverse (Aydoglu and Frketic 98). Today's Arabesk performers, be they Tatlıses, Emrah, Ersoy, or Tarkan, all take part in cross-cultural gender politics and transnational musical syncretism. While moving back and forth between the rootedness within Istanbul's metropolitan culture and the global market of pop culture, the Oriental beats and nomadic tales of these at times subversively hybrid performers ultimately sound out to audiences far beyond their home habitat.

Works Cited

"arabesque." Web. 31 July 2021. *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*. <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/arabesque>

"Leute: Der türkische Popstar Tarkan als Homosexueller bezeichnet." *Der Tagesspiegel*. 10 June 2021. Web. 4 Dec 2021. <https://www.tagesspiegel.de/gesellschaft/panorama/leute-der-tuerkische-popstar-tarkan-als-homosexueller-bezeichnet-und-weitere-promi-news/233096.html>

"Tarkan: Gay değilim, evliliğe inanmam." *gayhaber.com*. 26 July 2006. Web. 4 Dec 2021. <http://www.gayhaber.com/haber/231/437/tarkan-gay-degilim-evlilige-inanmam-.html>

Amico, Stephen. "'I Want Muscles:' House Music, Homosexuality and Masculine Signification." *Popular Music* 20.3 (2001): 359-378.

Arman, Ayşe. "Bu ülke beni ille de gay yapacak." *Hürriyet.* 12 Nov 2006. Web. 21 Nov 2021. <https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/bu-ulke-beni-ille-de-gay-yapacak-5419770>

Aydoglu, Fatih, and Vlakta Frketic. "'Türk-' und 'Jugo-Pop:' The Sound of . . . Migrantische Musik und ihr Labeling durch die Popindustrie." Interview with Rosa Reitsamer and Rupert Weinzierl. *Female Consequences: Feminismus, Antirassismus, Popmusik*. Eds. Rosa Reitsamer and Rupert Weinzierl. Wien: Löcker, 2006. 93-101.

Bloechl, Oliva. "Orientalism and Hyperreality in 'Desert Rose.'" *Journal of Popular Music Studies* 17.2 (2005): 133-161.

Bora, Tanıl. "Nationalist Discourses in Turkey." *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 102.2/3 (2003): 433-451.

Bozdoğan, Sibel. "The Predicament of Modernism in Turkish Architectural Culture: An Overview." *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*.

https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839450604-009 https://www.inlibra.com/de/agb - Open Access - (cc) BY

Eds. Sibel Bozdoğan and Raşat Kasaba. Seattle and London: U of Washington P, 1997. 133-156

Çınar, Alev. "National History as a Contested Site: The Conquest of Istanbul and Islamist Negotiations of the Nation." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 43.2 (2001): 364-391.

Cloonan, Martin. "Pop and the Nation-State: Towards a Theorisation." *Popular Music* 18.2 (1999): 193-207.

Coplan, David. "Musics." *International Social Science Journal.* Special Issue *Anthropology—Issues and Perspectives: II. Sounding Out New Possibilities* 154 (1997): 585-595.

Davy, Kate. "Fe/Male Impersonation: The Discourse of Camp." *The Politics and Poetics of Camp*. Ed. Moe Meyer. London and New York: Routledge, 1994. 130-148.

de Certeau, Michel. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Transl. Steven Rendall. Berkeley: U of California P, 1984.

Desmond, Jane C. "Embodying Difference: Issues in Dance and Cultural Studies." *Cultural Critique* 26 (1993/1994): 33-63.

Gebesmair, Andreas. Die Fabrikation globaler Vielfalt: Struktur und Logik der transnationalen Popmusikindustrie. Bielefeld: transcript, 2008.

Hebdige, Dick. *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*. London: Methuen, 1979.

Kandiyoti, Deniz. "Gendering the Modern: On Missing Dimensions in the Study of Turkish Modernity." *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*. Eds. Sibel Bozdoğan and Raşat Kasaba. Seattle and London: U of Washington P, 1997. 113-132.

——— "Pink Card Blues: Trouble and Strife at the Crossroads of Gender." *Fragments of Culture: The Everyday of Modern Turkey*. Eds. Deniz Kandioyti and Ayşe Saktanber. London: I. B. Tauris, 2002. 277-293.

Kiessling, Stephanie, and Nina Stastný. "'Let's Get Physical.' Körperinszenierungen zwischen Pop & Rock." *Female Consequences: Feminismus, Antirassismus, Popmusik*. Eds. Rosa Reitsamer and Rupert Weinzierl. Wien: Löcker, 2006. 33-43.

Koskoff, Ellen. *Women and Music in Cross-Cultural Perspective*. New York: Greenwood, 1987.

Nalbantoğlu, Gülsüm Baydar. "Silent Interruptions: Urban Encounters with Rural Turkey." *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*. Eds. Sibel Bozdoğan and Raşat Kasaba. Seattle and London: U of Washington P, 1997. 192-210.

https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839450604-009 https://www.inlibra.com/de/agb - Open Access - (cc) BY

Öncü, Ayşe. "Global Consumerism, Sexuality as Public Spectacle, and the Cultural Remapping of Istanbul in the 1990s." *Fragments of Culture: The Everyday of Modern Turkey*. Eds. Deniz Kandioyti and Ayşe Saktanber. London: I. B. Tauris, 2002. 171-190.

———. "Istanbulites and Others: The Cultural Cosmology of Being Middle Class in the Era of Globalism." *Istanbul: Between the Global and the Local*. Ed. Çağlar Keyder. Lanham et al.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999. 95-119.

Özbek, Meral. "Arabesk Culture: A Case of Modernization and Popular Identity." *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*. Eds. Sibel Bozdoğan and Raşat Kasaba. Seattle and London: U of Washington P, 1997. 211-232.

Railton, Diane. "The Gendered Carnival of Pop." *Popular Music* 20.3 (2001): 321-331.

Reed, Susan A. "The Politics and Poetics of Dance." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 27 (1998): 503-532.

Reitsamer, Rosa. "Walk on the White Side: Weiße maskuline Normativität in der Popkultur." *Female Consequences: Feminismus, Antirassismus, Popmusik*. Eds. Rosa Reitsamer and Rupert Weinzierl. Wien: Löcker, 2006. 169-179.

Shay, Anthony. "The Male Dancer in the Middle East and Central Asia." *Belly Dance: Orientalism, Transnationalism, and Harem Fantasy*. Eds. Anthony Shay and Barbara Sellers-Young. Costa Mesa: Mazda, 2005. 51-84.

Simmel, Georg. *Simmel on Culture: Selected Writings*. Eds. David Frisby and Mike Featherstone. London: Sage 1997.

Stokes, Martin. "Islam, the Turkish State and Arabesk." *Popular Music* 11.2 (1992): 213-227.

———. "Music, Fate and State: Turkey's Arabesk Debate." *Middle East Report: Turkey in the Age of Glasnost* 160 (1989): 27-30.

———. "Sounding Out: The Culture Industries and the Globalization of Istanbul." *Istanbul: Between the Global and the Local*. Ed. Çağlar Keyder. Lanham et al.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999. 121-139.

Tarkan. "Kuzu Kuzu." *Karma*. Istanbul Plak, 2001.

Tatlıses. "Ayağında Kundura." *Ayağında Kundura*. Türkuola, n.d.

———. "Ağrı Dağı (Cano Cano)." *Bulamadım*. Idobay, 2007.

Tekin, Latife. *Berji Kristin: Tales from the Garbage Hills*. London and New York: M. Boyars, 1996.

Whiteley, Sheila. *Sexing the Groove: Popular Music and Gender*. London and New York: Routledge, 1997.

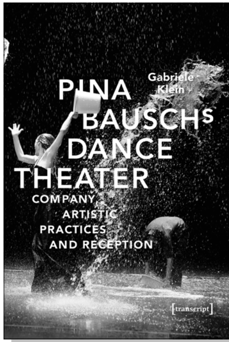
https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839450604-009 https://www.inlibra.com/de/agb - Open Access - (cc) BY

Wyrwich, Markus. “Lokalisierung im Klischee—Orientalismus in gegenwärtiger Popmusik.” *Sound and the City: Populäre Musik im urbanen Kontext*. Eds. Dietrich Helms and Thomas Phleps. Bielefeld: transcript, 2007. 65-85.

Yüksel, Şahika et al. “Group Psychotherapy with Female-to-Male Transsexuals in Turkey.” *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 29.3 (2000): 279-290.

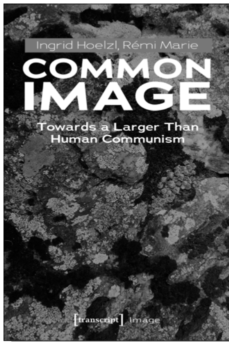
https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839450604-009 https://www.inlibra.com/de/agb - Open Access - (cc) BY

Cultural Studies



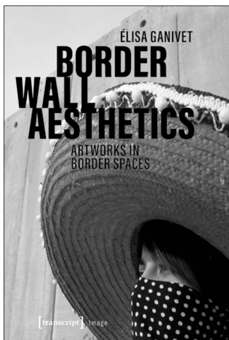
Gabriele Klein
Pina Bausch's Dance Theater
Company, Artistic Practices and Reception

2020, 440 p., pb., col. ill.
29,99 € (DE), 978-3-8376-5055-6
E-Book:
PDF: 29,99 € (DE), ISBN 978-3-8394-5055-0



Ingrid Hoelzl, Rémi Marie
Common Image
Towards a Larger Than Human Communism

2021, 156 p., pb., ill.
29,50 € (DE), 978-3-8376-5939-9
E-Book:
PDF: 26,99 € (DE), ISBN 978-3-8394-5939-3



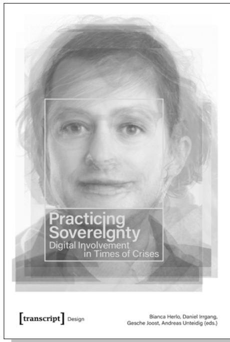
Elisa Ganivet
Border Wall Aesthetics
Artworks in Border Spaces

2019, 250 p., hardcover, ill.
79,99 € (DE), 978-3-8376-4777-8
E-Book:
PDF: 79,99 € (DE), ISBN 978-3-8394-4777-2

All print, e-book and open access versions of the titles in our list are available in our online shop www.transcript-publishing.com

https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839450604-009 https://www.inlibra.com/de/agb - Open Access - (cc) BY

Cultural Studies

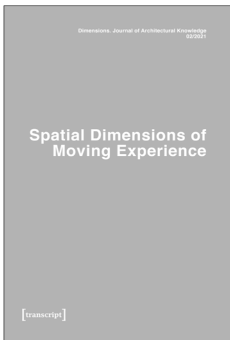


Bianca Herlo, Daniel Irrgang,
Gesche Joost, Andreas Unteidig (eds.)
Practicing Sovereignty
Digital Involvement in Times of Crises

January 2022, 430 p., pb., col. ill.
35,00 € (DE), 978-3-8376-5760-9
E-Book: available as free open access publication
PDF: ISBN 978-3-8394-5760-3

Tatiana Bazzichelli (ed.)
Whistleblowing for Change
Exposing Systems of Power and Injustice

2021, 376 p., pb., ill.
29,50 € (DE), 978-3-8376-5793-7
E-Book: available as free open access publication
PDF: ISBN 978-3-8394-5793-1
ISBN 978-3-7328-5793-7



Virginie Roy, Katharina Voigt (eds.)
Dimensions. Journal of Architectural Knowledge
Vol. 1, No. 2/2021:
Spatial Dimensions of Moving Experience

2021, 228 p., pb., ill.
39,00 € (DE), 978-3-8376-5831-6
E-Book: available as free open access publication
PDF: ISBN 978-3-8394-5831-0

All print, e-book and open access versions of the titles in our list are available in our online shop www.transcript-publishing.com

https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839450604-009 https://www.inlibra.com/de/agb - Open Access - (cc) BY

https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839450604-009 https://www.inlibra.com/de/agb - Open Access - CC BY