

STORY:

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„GASTARBEITER“

TO GANGSTA

RAPPER?

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From “Gastarbeiter” to Gangsta Rapper?

Hip Hop, Migration and Empowerment in Germany 1960 – 2017

Murat Güngör and Hannes Loh, 2017

Translated by Meredith Dale

Translator’s notes: (1) Copyright for this translation belongs to the translator until further notice. (2) The translation has been prepared on spec. Once place of publication has been clarified, a revision will almost certainly be necessary. I would be happy to do this; if done by others I would appreciate being consulted on the results. (3) British English is used; “middle class” in the text is equivalent to “affluent” or “privileged” in US usage. (4) Contact: medale@t-online.de.

This contribution discusses the development of hip hop in Germany in relation to the cultural empowerment strategies of the first generation of labour migrants (“Gastarbeiter” or “guest workers”). We examine in particular the relatively new phenomenon of German gangsta rap, seeking to understand how it has been influenced by experiences of migration and marginalisation and associated empowerment concepts. The contribution considers only the empowerment strategies of young men; a parallel examination of female empowerment in the same context remains to be written. We would like to thank Imran Ayata, Martin Greve, Benjamin Küsters, Eymen Nahali and Iman Soltani for inspiration and critique.

Gangsta rappers taking over?

Judging by popular and critical responses to the album "Der Holland Job" by Giwar Hajabi (Xatar) and Aykut Anhan (Haftbefehl), one might think that there is currently nothing more interesting and controversial going on in German culture than gangsta rap. "Germany has changed. Now us Kanaks have a place in German history", wrote Offenbach-born Anhan for *Spiegel Online*.^[1] At the latest since Bushido hit the charts in 2004, gangsta rappers from migrant communities have come to symbolise a multitude of fears and desires. On the one hand they are discussed as artists translating experiences of social marginalisation into words and music. On the other, demonised as thugs and "rapping multiculti primates."^[2] "In the old days we called these people trash", writes Udo Ulfkotte, "today they are rap 'culture producers'."^[3] For Ulfkotte the migrant gangsta rapper synthesises all the elements of foreign threat: urban attitude, hedonism, violence, glorification of Islam, and sexual promiscuity. Such domination fantasies are nothing new; they have been part and parcel of the (West) German migration discourse since the 1960s. Forty-three years before Haftbefehl asserted that the Kanaks had finally become part of German history, the Cologne-based *Express* headlined: "Are the guest workers taking over?"^[4]

Migrants who visibly and audibly set themselves apart from the German mainstream are a provocation. Assertiveness triggers a racist reflex in contexts where groups are played off against one another to distract from social and economic issues. The labour disputes of the 1970s saw striking "guest workers" in conflict with German colleagues,

while the asylum debate of the 1990s and the Christian democratic campaign against dual citizenship stoked fears of “swamping” and “subversion”. And now, many of the new right - and some of the old left - interpret the cultural/aesthetic supremacy of gangsta rap as heralding an “Islamisation of the West”.

Aykut Anhan was mistaken when he asserted that the “Kanaks” owed their place in German history to gangsta rap.^[5] He could have asked the Turkish-German film director, DJ and musicologist Nedim Hazar. Hazar could have told him about the prolific singer-songwriter Metin Türkoç, who he called “the voice of the Turkish workers in Germany”. Or perhaps Hazar would have played him Cem Karaca’s album “Die Kanaken”, released in 1984 - the year before Aykut Anhan was born. Or he might have told him about the Turkish wildcat strike at Cologne’s Ford car plant in 1973,^[6] which was taken seriously enough for Chancellor Willy Brandt to intervene with a television address calling on the striking “foreigners” to return to the fold of their trade unions.^[7] The idea is not outlandish: Nedim Hazar is the father of Anhan’s fellow rapper Eko Fresh.

What advice could Hazar have given the second generation for success in the German music market? How would the identity debates have played out if there had been a proper discussion at that point? As a prolific creative artist Hazar is familiar with perspectives both in front of and behind the camera - and thus also with the strategies of the culture industry. It is quite conceivable that some of the mistakes of the second and third generations concerning identity might have been avoided. After Hazar came to Germany as a political refugee in 1980, he and

Geo Schaller founded the band Yarınistan in Cologne.^[8] Both their albums won the German Record Critics' Award.^[9] In fact Hazar even began rapping before his son did. In "Ali-Rap" - the more interesting B-side of "Sieh mich an" (1990) - Hazar raps ironic observations on life in Germany over electronic percussion.^[10] Like Metin Türköz, Hazar conveys the joy of creole language mixing, including a sprinkling of Cologne's distinctive local dialect. Here we see rudiments of linguistic localisation: Hazar greets his listeners with "Güle, güle [Turkish], jeder Jeck ist anders [typical Cologne German]". At this point, in the late 1980s, Cologne was Germany's main centre for Turkish music,^[11] and Hazar's son Eko Fresh was still at kindergarten. One of Yarınistan's albums sold 12,000 copies, a figure any of today's rappers would be proud of in the streaming era. But Hazar was disappointed, because he - and contemporaries like Cem Karaca, Metin Türköz and Yüksel Özkasap - failed to leave any lasting mark on the German music scene. Too sharp was the sword of identity that segmented the German music market. Sounding too different for many radio DJs, their songs received little airtime.^[12] Nor were Yarınistan immune to cooptation into the multicultural festival scene of the 1980s. One of their last songs reveals what they thought about this well-meaning embrace: "So long then, you friends, sisters, brothers! See you again next time they burn one of our houses down."^[13]

It was left to Hazar's son Eko Fresh to establish a new genre in Germany's music market. Eko Fresh mastered the balancing act between social localisation in a migrant milieu and the status of a German musician applying his ironic critique to life in Germany.

Today's gangsta and street rappers represent a generation born between 1980 and 1990 to whom the struggles of the first and second generations mean little. In fact most of the current leading representatives of the genre arrived in Germany with their parents after 1980. These rappers draw on different migration biographies and experiences - and have perhaps for that reason contributed to the new artistic qualities acquired by German gangsta rap since about 2010.

To understand the ins and outs of hip hop in Germany one must place its development in the context of migration history. On the one hand, intergenerational rifts between the generations go some way to explaining discontinuities and disconnects within the hip hop culture. On the other, a deeper continuity runs through the self-assertion strategies, from people like Metin Türkoz and Nedim Hazar to Advanced Chemistry and Fresh Familee, and more recently Bushido, Haftbefehl and Xatar. From the perspective of hip hop culture, the genealogy of migrant self-assertion is a history of defamation by mainstream society and the responses to it - in other words of racism.

"Songs of Gastarbeiter"

Cultural empowerment strategies of the first generation

Fresh Familee's "Ahmet Gündüz" of 1990 is more than a well-rapped track with decent beats. Over a saz sample Tachi raps eloquently about dealing with everyday racism, using a form of *Gastarbeiterdeutsch* ("guest worker

German"). In *Fear of a Kanak Planet* in 2001 we noted that it was the children of the first generation of migrant workers who found a cultural voice in hip hop. But our assumption that they would be giving their parents' generation the voice they never had was mistaken.

In 2016 we discovered the CD "Songs of Gastarbeiter Vol. 1". Imran Ayata and Bülent Kullukcu selected this compilation of fifteen songs from a wealth of tracks recorded by Turkish "guest workers" between 1960 and 1990. "The official story still insists that the guest workers came and were crushed by their worries", says Ayata. "But the German discussion has completely ignored another history of our parents' generation, one that is not dripping with clichés." As "Songs of Gastarbeiter" demonstrates, the first generation possessed fighting spirit, humour, irony and lust for life. They raised their cultural voice against exploitation at work and racism throughout everyday life. But they knew they had the right to party, and no need to take themselves too seriously. Their lyrics and their playful musical eclecticism often presage later developments in hip hop. Ozan Ata Canani arrived in Cologne in 1976, aged twelve; his response to the "foreigners out!" graffiti was to stand up against racism. By 1979 he was performing on regional and national television. Canani's laconic "Deutsche Freunde" (German friends) describes the migrant workers' experiences of exploitation and exclusion. Its last verse raises a question that will become central for the second generation: "And these people's children are split between two worlds, I am Ata and I ask you where do we belong now?" The central metaphor of the multicultural narrative is already apparent: Where do they belong, the children caught between two stools? Notably, Canani addresses the

question to his “German friends” and asks them to decide rather than – as was to play out in the 1980s and 1990s – serving as the passive recipient of a paternalistic identity discourse.

1979 was also when Cem Karaca came to Germany from Istanbul as a refugee. His band “Die Kanaken” hijacked the German racists’ favourite slur in their name, and in the title of their first album in 1984. This marked the beginning of the cultural reinterpretation of the slur “Kanake”, the process that ultimately gave us Xatar and Haftbefehl’s rap track “Kanaks”.

Metin Türkoç was one of the most successful musicians of the first generation. His career began in the 1960s, and he was the first to use *Gastarbeiterdeutsch* as a stylistic device. For Imran Ayata, Metin Türkoç was “the first hip hopper, in both attitude and style”. “For one thing, because he arranged his music very much in a collage style, rather like later sampling, for another, because he often experimented with a Turkish-German language mix.” In one of his songs Metin Türkoç addresses his foreman: “Good morning maastah, today so tired, tomorrow maybe better, today nice for me, tomorrow my birthday.” He alternates between broken German and proper Turkish, leaving the foreman unsure whether Türkoç is mocking him. With a cheerful tune more suggestive of dancing than hard labour, the song also musically subverts the cliché of hard-working subservience.

Such linguistic ambiguity is pushed to its limits by Yusuf’s “Türkisch Mann” (1978), which runs through all the stereotypes about the “guest workers”. When Imran Ayata

and Bülent Kullukcu listened to the lyrics spoken over the track's hypnotic guitar loop, they were confused: "With Yusuf we were uncertain whether this wasn't a fake, maybe a carnival song written by a German to make fun of the Anatolian guest workers," Ayata recalls.

I Turkish man, no speak no German
Cumin, garlic, also eat peppers
They say me, you no garlic today
I Turkish man, only Turkish eat
I come Germany, work factory
save save lots, then go Turkey

("Türkisch Mann" by Yusuf, 1978)

These examples of linguistic/musical empowerment evoke Henry Louis Gates's *The Signifying Monkey*, in which language becomes a puzzle of shifting meanings, hoodwinking a racist mainstream society incapable of recognising the deceptions and provocations. While it is not unproblematic to apply this concept to Germany, it is striking how confidently even the first generation deployed the German language as a means of self-assertion.

So can we regard the early *Gastarbeiterdeutsch* as a precursor of Feridun Zaimoglu's *Kanak-Sprak*, which elbowed its way into intellectual discourse in the mid-1990s and later via gangsta rap became such a central source for new German youth slang? The subversive, need-driven linguistic self-empowerment of the first generation - navigating the complexities of German with foremen, landlords and government officials - suggests we can. German society refused to extend a hand to its working

guests, and in that respect Max Frisch's observation also rings true in an existential sense:^[14] Leaving the "guest workers" locked outside the gates of the German language means denying them any German incarnation. The strangers should remain where they are recognisably strange: in their own language. Yusuf, Ozan Ata Canani, Metin Türkoç, Cem Karaca and many others refused to do so. They spoke and sang their own German, a "Kanak" German that took on a life of its own and gradually escaped the grasp of "the Germans".

This linguistic flexibility and sophistication carry through into the context of hip hop, in forms refined to the point where the tables turn and German youth scramble to emulate the word games of migrant rap stars. And the confusions are similar. One journalist writing in *Die Welt* doubts that Aykut Anhan's lyrics really reflect the way young people speak: "Nobody talks like that, in this artificial creole." Haftbefehl retorts: "Well they do. I got the words from the street. Some of them I invented myself and put them out on the streets, and collected them up again later." Yusuf in the 1970s and Haftbefehl today both speak "Kanak", to the confusion of their listeners. The difference is that today wordsmiths like Haftbefehl and Xatar spellbind the kids with their words – and the kids follow them like the children of Hamelin behind the rag-tag piper.

Gurbetçimüzik versus Arabesque

So why is the legacy of figures like Yusuf, Metin Türkoç and Cem Karacas not reflected in the cultural practices of subsequent generations? Here we enter a hypothetical space and a race against time, because some of the central

protagonists are no longer alive. Cem Karaca for example died on 8 February 2004 in Istanbul. The culture of remembrance is too weak to bring these crucial figures of the past to the attention of subsequent generations.^[15]

In order to understand why a productive cultural exchange between migrant generations failed to emerge, we need to delve into the past and examine the music, the lyrics and the central messages. It is mistaken to equate the music of the “guest workers” with the Turkish Arabesque that became popular among Turkish migrants in Germany around the mid-1970s. The music of the “guest workers” was *gurbetçimüzik*: “gurbet” is Turkish for “foreign land” and “gurbetçi” means “a person of Turkish origin who lives and works in another country”. Here too, social status is subsumed into the name of a musical genre. For the musicologist Martin Greve, *gurbetçi* stands in the Turkish *âşık* folk tradition that dates back to the Ottoman Empire.^[16] The *ashiks* addressed social and personal topics in songs usually accompanied by the *saz* (*bağlama*; long-necked lute). Thematically, *gurbetçi* songs range through topics from recruitment and homesickness to everyday life in Germany.^[17] But the decisive aspect of *gurbetçi* music is its expression of the experience of otherness in Germany: succour and comfort far from home. Metin Türköz recognised this cultural need for music:

“At first our people had nothing to hold onto: no radio, no tapes, no cassettes. But everyone longed for a bit of music. Well, I could play the *bağlama* a bit. So everything we experienced – the sweet and the bitter – flowed into the strings of the *saz* and into our songs. Really, I became an

ashik the first time we celebrated the [Turkish] national holiday in Germany.”^[18]

Arabesque, which became popular in Turkish milieus in Germany from 1973, is a rather different matter.^[19] It employs strings, percussion and sometimes keyboards.^[20] Arabesque is the music of Turkey’s internal migration, where the transition from Anatolian village to Turkish city was often a culture shock; its founding father was Orhan Gencebay. “The songs, and later the Arabesque films, speak of homesickness, despair, the pain of unrequited love, the cold of the cities and acceptance of fate,” explains Martin Greve.^[21] Arabesque is the soundtrack of emigration and the lament for a lost home. What it ignores – or mentions only in the negative – is the new home. This pathos touched a nerve among migrants in Germany. But the stance of Arabesque is backward-looking, steeped in the yearning for home. Arabesque remained the defining popular music in Turkey into the 1990s, even though by that point it had been banned from popular media because the authorities felt it was too lethargic.^[22] Against that background it is no surprise that there was no substantive blending of or interplay between Arabesque and rap, as they represent contrasting stances: Rap is urban and rooted, confident and critical. Arabesque’s obsession with fate is also foreign to rap. That said, the rap tracks of the second and third generation do often feature musical samples and quotes from Arabesque classics.

The link to the second and third generation could have functioned via the *gurbetçi* tradition, which built on the irony and social criticism of *âşık* and as such would have offered openings for modern rap culture.

From Türkola to Aggro Berlin

In the 1980s summers in Turkey were a musical bonanza for Germany's Turkish youth: seemingly endless cheap music cassettes, international chart albums for a fraction of the price at home; Public Enemy, Run DMC and L.L. Cool J. discovered on cassette. The enduring success of cassette culture is easy to explain: simple technology, unbeatable price. Yilmaz Asöcal recognised that in 1964 when he established Türkola, which was to dominate the German market for Turkish music for decades.^[23] Cologne-based Türkola had gurbetçi stars like Metin Türköz and the Arabesque singer Yüksel Özkasap on its books.^[24] Özkasap was a stroke of fortune for Asöcal. She was Türkola's best-selling artist, and recorded more than five hundred titles in the course of her career.^[25] While the firm issued recordings on vinyl as well as cassettes, a record player was an unaffordable luxury for most migrant workers. The same also applied in Turkey, where production of gramophone records ceased in the 1970s after music cassettes came to dominate the market.^[26] "In 1998 Raks, as Turkey's largest producer of music recordings, sold 85.6 million audio cassettes compared to just 3.8 million CDs," writes Martin Greve.^[27] Türkola was far from the only Turkish music firm in Germany: dozens emerged across the country between 1970 and 1980, all seeking their share of the parallel music market. The music boom was also accompanied by the advent of little shops serving the specific needs of the migrant community (and offering opportunities for migrant self-employment).^[28] The music cassette was not just about the aesthetic of the sound but also a crucial social

question: the audio cassette culture democratised access to culture, an aspect that remains valid to this day.

So nearly forty years after the founding of Türkola, it was still an obvious move for rap labels like Royal Bunker and Aggro Berlin to adopt the cassette format. Their mixtapes took the rap scene by storm. In the early years, Royal Bunker boss Marcus Staiger personally posted fans their tapes. "In the past music was handed down to the masses in an elitarian way. What we are trying to do now is to work our way up into the elite from the very bottom."^[29] Aggro Berlin and Royal Bunker succeeded where Türkola had failed: despite dominating the market within the Turkish community, Türkola remained unknown to the German public. Türkola's music circulated only within Turkish contexts. It was to be thirty years before the children of the Turkish "guest workers" were able to break out of this musical parallel world: in 1995 with the rap crew Cartel and 1998 with pop singer Tarkan - who stayed in the German charts for twenty-one weeks and rose to number seven. Another fifteen years later Eko Fresh achieved the breakthrough that had evaded his father, reaching number one in the German album charts in 2013.

"A Perfect Circle"

Old School as cultural utopia

The circle is the emblem of the Old School. Its circumference symbolises the community of activists, its interior the battle as the culture's tireless motor. As such it encompasses everything that defined German Old School in the years between 1985 and 1991: "A perfect circle, 360 degrees, contains my whole life, and justifies my deeds."^[30]

The condition for acceptance in hip hop circles was not status, nationality or skin colour, but commitment to at least one of the five elements. In the 1980s many of the children of the first generation now saw in hip hop the answer to Ozan Ata Canani's question: "where do we belong now?"

So why did the sons and daughters ignore the cultural and musical legacy of the first generation? Why did they - unlike the hip hop generation in the States - not integrate the struggles and music of their parents? There are various reasons for this:

- Like adolescents everywhere, teenagers in migrant families distance themselves from their parents when they enter puberty. Many things may be cool, but not mum and dad's music.
- Films like "Wild Style" and "Breakout" offered the second generation a comprehensive cultural point of reference, content that reflected their own lives.
- Hip hop occurred exclusively outside the home and as a community. As well as liberation from the parental home, it also offered opportunities for recognition and pathways for advancement from the margins to the centre of society.
- Hip hop was an open youth culture without social, cultural or linguistic access barriers.
- With its own rules, codes and signs, hip hop remained opaque to parents and to mainstream society.
- Transmission of and esteem for culture as a component of personal identity is a characteristic of middle-class milieus, while the first-generation

“guest workers” came largely from peasant and proletarian backgrounds.

“Dangerously foreign” German fear of floods and flames

The “Gastarbeiter” concept ended on 23 November 1973 with a national moratorium on recruitment. In the oil crisis that broke out the same year migrant workers were disproportionately affected by unemployment. Between 1980 and 1988 the unemployment rate for foreign workers in Germany rose from 3.9 percent to 13.9 percent – 5.8 percent above the overall average.^[31] Migration researcher Mark Terkessidis comments: “A growing presence of ‘foreigners’ in a neighbourhood came to be seen as associated with multiple problems. An – utterly exaggerated – threat of ‘ghettoisation’ was raised, conjuring up the infamous ‘American example’.”^[32] What now fanned the fears of the Germans was no longer the foreignness of the “Türkisch Mann” but the “Kanak” – in the aggregate state of the gang. In November 1984 the news weekly *Der Spiegel* reported:

“And just as the Black and Puerto Rican ghettos of New York became the breeding grounds for gang culture, Germany’s unemployed and guest workers are concentrated in particular urban quarters. Almost all street gangs have young Turks as members, along with Greeks, Yugoslavs, Portuguese. Many gangs are dominated by foreigners.”^[33]

At the end of the 1980s the German media spectre of the “social flashpoint” was joined by the “refugee flood”. Even

before 1990 there had been a steady increase in right-wing violence. Reunification was followed by a series of pogroms, with fifty-six people killed in racist attacks between 1990 and 1994. This period marked the end of the Old School. The success of Die Fantastischen Vier paved the way for the commercial breakthrough of a playful, unpolitical German-language rap. On the other side, the racist attacks in Rostock, Solingen and Mölln politicised many hip hoppers and drew them into social and anti-racist struggles. A different shockwave arrived from Los Angeles: gangsta rap and G-funk became the soundtrack of a generation choosing a different road, interested neither in *Deutsch-Rap* nor *multikulti*; a generation that would burst into the limelight ten years later as the “Azzlack-Stereotyp” (Haftbefehl).

Excursus 1: Kanak

Perhaps the best indication of the relationship between outsider and established is how the host society responds to migrants’ attempts to master the new language. In (West) Germany this relationship was emotionally charged from the outset. It would appear as though there was never a moment of neutral encounter, as though from the very outset language had been a battlefield where migrant self-assertion sparred with racist attribution. Four basic phases can be identified between 1955 and 2017:

- 1. Gastarbeiter-Deutsch:** The rough-and-ready self-taught German of the first generation.
- 2. Kanak-Sprak:** The slang of the second generation and its linguistic subversion by second-generation authors.

3. **Comedy Kanak-Sprak:** Blackfacing-style mockery of Kanak-Sprak by German comedians.
4. **Gangsta slang and street slang:** Terms and idioms from Turkish, Kurdish, Arabic and Romani elevate a new gangsta slang to dominance in youth culture. Elements of gangsta slang gradually find their way into German street slang.

Gastarbeiter-Deutsch

During the initial phase of labour migration between 1955 and 1973 the state put no thought into integration. In fact it was taken for granted that the migrants' presence was only temporary. The self-taught broken German of the first generation quickly became an object of ridicule. Turkish "jokes" revolved around garlic and cumin - but also dustbins and gassing.^[34] But the guests defended themselves. Even before Metin Türkoz and Yusuf began using *Gastarbeiter* slang as a weapon of parody, Turkish families were laughing about Germans who ate nothing but cabbage and potatoes: "Whether winter or summer, they sit in gloomy oak-panelled diners, looking glum and eating the inedible."^[35] Some of this repartee found its way onto the stage at the end of the 1990s with the success of new comedians like Kaya Yanar.^[36] And even in the 1970s and 1980s first generation "guest workers" were already beginning to reclaim their slang. Cem Karaca struck the first blow against the racist slur "Kanake" in 1984, and many more were to follow.

Kanak-Sprak

Like Helmut Schmidt, who he succeeded in 1982, Chancellor Helmut Kohl refused to acknowledge that immigrants were here to stay. Measures like language teaching, support for migrant start-ups, equality of opportunity in employment and education, and action against discrimination were deferred. The “guest workers” and their children now became “Ausländer” (foreigners). On the other side, a broad coalition of churches, trade unions and political organisations emerged in the 1980s to oppose Helmut Kohl’s right turn. Many of its elements stood up against racism, advocating instead an ideology of multicultural coexistence. German publishers released seventeen anthologies by migrant authors between 1980 and 1984 alone, giving birth to the genre of “guest worker literature”.^[37] Yet in certain important respects multiculturalism shared the conservative premise of inherent difference: In retrospect the engagement of the multicultural activists appears paternalistic, with their agenda of the “good foreigner” and the (enriching) difference between cultures. “Basically this meant incorporating ethnic difference into the entire spectrum of visible difference in fashion and lifestyle,” notes Mark Terkessidis.^[38] Only after the dream of diversity (“Bunte Republik Deutschland”) was consumed by the flames of Rostock, Solingen and Mölln did the tone change.^[39] In the guise of Kanak Attak, a political-cultural movement that rejected identity altogether burst onto the scene: “Kanak Attak is no devotee of multiculturalism” its 1998 manifesto states “We do not waste our energy on folklore. (...) Kanak Attak is a matter of attitude not nationality.”

While Kanak Attak politicised a smattering of hip hop activists, it failed to in its goal of “shaking up the hip hop mainstream”.^[40] Its deconstructivist strategies could not connect with the kids on the streets. Instead, the gangsta rap generation chose the road Kanak Attak explicitly warned against: “the figure of the angry young man who fights his way from the margins to the upper crust of German society.”^[41]

Comedy Kanak-Sprak

The Afro-American intellectual William Du Bois identified the roots of the success of the racist nineteenth-century minstrel shows in their affirmation of the whiteness of the (largely working class) audience. In other words, “blackfacing” contributes to a construction of a “white” consciousness experienced as different and superior to the dim-witted and libidinal other. At the end of the 1990s a number of German comedians adopted a “Kanak” mask and an exaggerated “foreigner slang”, which became very popular even among white, middle-class kids. “This construct reproduces some of the typical features of the language of migrant youth, but sets itself apart from reality through the addition of especially “foreign”-sounding elements.”^[42] The minstrel “Kanaks” of Matze Knoop, Erkan und Stefan and Mundstuhl are characterised by shameless simple-mindedness and material impoverishment. Laughing at the “Kanak” idiot reassures the German audience of its superiority. And the mockery of “Kanak” pseudo-slang reinforces the most important dividing line keeping the “Kanaks” down: language. A younger generation whose repertoires poke fun at clichés on both sides and deconstruct societal stereotypes in biographical

and historical contexts did not resurface until Kaya Yanar, and then the RebellComedy show founded in 2005 by Babak Ghassim and Usama Elyas.

Gangsta slang and street slang

German gangsta rap has been roughing up the mainstream ever since the independent rap label Aggro-Berlin shot to prominence in the early 2000s. While the protagonists of the new genre speak a language familiar to marginalised youth, most of their fans are in fact white German adolescents from good homes who like to adopt their idols' slang and attitude. Now the tables are turned. Suddenly everyone wants to talk like the gangsta rappers in the videos - but they do not necessarily understand everything their stars are saying.

The artificial language of German gangsta slang draws on a multitude of linguistic sources: (proper) German, Turkish, English, Kanak slang, street slang etc. Thomas Ernst notes: "Although most second-generation migrants remain unable to escape their minority position within society, they have - in some cases - broader linguistic options than the youth of 'German majority society'."^[43] This process intensified from 2010 as a new generation of street rappers distilled German gangsta slang into a highly artificial language mix that incorporates ever more street slang and often simply strings nouns together. It is not always clear which words are invented by rappers themselves and disseminated by their fans, and which are originally drawn from local neighbourhoods and popularised nationwide through the songs. With its new linguistic authority, German rap has achieved the status it deserves according

to M1 of the New York rap duo Dead Prez: "We define what shit means! We say what we want and the whites have to decode it, they have to chase after our words! That's what rap is about. We change what the words mean."^[44]

Rappers like Azad, Xatar, Haftbefehl, Celo und Abdi, Veysel, Kurdo and KC Rebell have popularised a multitude of words borrowed from Turkish, Kurdish, Arabic and Romani: "Para", "Baba", "Chabo", "Cho", "Xalas", "Amcas" etc. If you want to keep up, you have to listen to a lot of rap, and ideally have Turkish or Arab friends. In "Türkenslang/ Straßendeutsch" (2011) Eko Fresh relishes in this new semantic dominance as he explains the in-words to his German fans. Just a year later Frankfurt-based Celo und Abdi upped the ante with "Hinterhofjargon" in which they spell out more street slang "für Hans und Franz". The table-turning is also reflected in the way Celo und Abdi jokily present themselves as the head teachers of "Kanakendeutsch": "So sit down and shut up, lesson one (...) it's me, Abdi, inventor of global rap, interlingo, get out your vocabulary book." Various studies conclude that the socio-ethnolect of migrant youth has become the most important source for urban slang.^[45]

And what about the term "Kanak"? The outcome here is ambivalent: On the one hand, migrant gangsta rappers have torn the racists' favourite slur completely out of their hands and adopted it as their own badge of pride. On the other, they keep the word tightly tied to ethno-social attributes. The "Kanake" is the dark-skinned thug from the bad 'hood - as affirmed by Xatar in "Überall Kanacken", Summer Cem in "Kanakk", Nazar in "Kanax", SAW (KC Rebell and PA Sports) in "Kanacken ABC" and Coup

(Haftbefehl and Xatar) in "Kanack". Yet if one listens closely, does one not also hear an echo of Yusuf's "Türkisch Mann". Do such brutally exaggerated and unashamedly flaunted stereotypes not in fact confront mainstream society with its own prejudices? What is beyond doubt is that gangsta rappers return again and again to the term as semantic touchstone in their artistic negotiation of identity and attribution.

Postscript: Foreign in our own country

In 1979 Fischer-Verlag published an anthology of Jewish writings about life in (West) Germany. The editors, Henryk M. Broder and Michael Lang, titled the volume *Fremd im eigenen Land* (Foreign in our own country). As Broder told Spiegel in 1981: "For Jews there can be no normality in Germany." In Advanced Chemistry's 1992 maxi-single "Fremd im eigenen Land", Torch, Toni L and Linguist reflect on their experiences as Afro-Germans and migrant children in the reunified Germany. Their "Fremd im eigenen Land" influenced a whole generation of hip hop activists and ensured that hip hop was long regarded as synonymous with anti-racist. Sixteen years later Berlin-based white German Fler named his third solo album "Fremd im eigenen Land", reaching number seven in the German album charts in 2008. Fler presents himself as a "Deutscher Bad Boy": "I'm German 'cos I've got identity." Honour and self-assurance are central to Fler, who insists that his "foreign friends" respect him for the pride he shows in being German. In February 2016 demonstrators in the small town of Clausnitz held aloft a banner reading "If we're tolerant today we'll be foreign in our own country tomorrow." They were protesting against the arrival of

refugees. Today an internet search for “Fremd im eigenen Land” still turns up references to Fler and Advanced Chemistry – alongside pages and pages of links to right-wing extremist websites. In stark contrast to the history of the term “Kanak”, this story shows how a once emancipatory slogan can be hijacked by the right and recast as a racist slogan.

Excursus 2: Gangsta rap and segregation

Today, the German discussion on immigration, integration and gangsta rap also encompasses medium-sized cities like Bonn, Offenbach and Essen. That discussion always revolves around the places where migrants live, and the subjective threat they project. Since the 1970s in Germany the term “ghetto” – in a borrowing from US culture that obscures the term’s original meaning describing separate Jewish quarters in medieval European settlements – has come to describe urban quarters characterised by ethnic and/or social segregation. These days footage of bleak high-rise estates is virtually de rigeur in the latest gangsta rap videos: Sido (Märkisches Viertel, Berlin) and Azad (Nordweststadt, Frankfurt am Main) led the way in the visual presentation of these “dangerous places”. In fact, when these estates were planned and built in the 1960s and 1970s, the tenor was one of architectural optimism: replacing cramped, crumbling, noisy tenements in the inner cities with modern housing on the outskirts boasting all modern conveniences. The watchword was progress, and nobody was thinking of ghettos. It was not until the second oil crisis of 1979/80 that these schemes gradually degenerated into the concrete slums displayed in the videos of artists like Azad and Sido. As the crisis fuelled

unemployment, the modernist quarters built with such optimism degenerated into sink estates. In Germany the history of gangsta rap is intimately bound up with these specific urban locales formed by the interaction of migration history and (failed) urban development. Where a person can live in a city depends on their income - and on whether their surname is perceived as the wrong kind of foreign. Economic trends, the growing inequality between rich and poor, and public discourses about migration and refugees - which include the debates about gangsta rap - determine the perception and assessment of marginalised and deprived quarters. These places form the symbolic background for the phenomenon of German gangsta rap, as the fount of migrant youth identity.

Excursus 3: Big brother France

While at the beginning many youth looked admiringly towards L.A., from the late 1990s Germany's growing gangsta rap scene turned to French street rap for aesthetic and musical inspiration. There are various reasons for this:

- The French banlieues of Paris and Marseille are much larger than their German counterparts but reflect comparable planning ambitions and similar architecture.
- Nordweststadt, Märkische Viertel and Chorweiler experienced similar social and ethnic segregation, leading them to be branded as sink estates and "migrant ghettos".
- In France -like in Germany - rap offered a hybrid art form with which ethnic minorities could overcome the language gap using subversive creole appropriation strategies.

The commercial German gangsta rap quickly adopted the video aesthetic and sound of the successful French street rappers. Specter, one of the founders of the label Aggro-Berlin, had a great influence on the visual world of German gangsta rap with his artwork and video design for artists like Azad, Bushido and Sido.

The influence of IAM from Marseille – the best-known French rappers of their generation – especially Shurik'n, is already noticeable in Azad's early productions. Azad was also the first to adopt the Arabic words "Chuja" and "Cho" – via the French – and transform them into German street slang.^[46] Bushido's borrowings from Booba and other French street rappers are unmistakable. And the influence persists, with surreptitious borrowings from Paris and Marseille supplying more than creative inspiration. Replicating musical and aesthetic elements almost always guarantees commercial success – in some cases verging on plagiarism. Haftbefehl's borrowings from Parisian rappers Booba and Kaaris are obvious, and the great success of KMN-Crew (around Azet, Nash, Zuna and Miami Yacine), Berlin-based Locosquad and 385ideal-protégé Nimo are almost inconceivable without their French models. On the other hand, the success of (Afro) trap in Germany can be traced back to new migration biographies, different to those of the preceding gangsta rap generation. Many of the current rappers of this genre came to Germany as refugees from African states; some initially lived with relatives in France or Belgium, where they came into contact with French street rap. The Franco-African influence on German gangsta rap is tangible in many areas. Artists like Yonii have even begun rapping parts of their songs in

Arabic (for example on "Anonym") and referencing the Mahgreb states. This is also reflected in new male moves - evocative of North African folklore - found in their videos.

What is Azzlack-Stereotyp? Gangsta rap today

Three phases can be identified in the development of gangsta rap in Germany:

- 1. Incubation (1990-2000):** Californian gangsta rap introduces the street gang and the hustler as social and economic role models. But unlike in France, this new phenomenon is rarely taken up artistically.
- 2. Consolidation and commercialisation (2001-2008):** Artists like Charnell & TMO (Da Force) and Azad give German gangsta rap its first aesthetic contours. Bushido's commercial success makes him the genre's charismatic figurehead, the prototypical German gangsta rapper. Berlin and Frankfurt become the centres of street rap.
- 3. Regionalisation and artistic renewal (2009-2017):** While highbrow culture critics trumpet the demise of German gangsta rap, a new generation of street rappers appears. The genre becomes more diverse and develops artistically - and by 2015 the intellectual critics are back to discussing its aesthetic qualities.

Many of the protagonists of Germany's modest Old School were children of the first generation. As breakdancers, sprayers, DJs and rappers they helped to make hip hop a

major youth culture. On the other hand, with its culture of jamming and travel the Old School remained foreign to many young migrants. This generation's cultural wake-up calls were not "Rapper's Delight" or "The Message" but "The Chronic" by Dr. Dre and "Doggystyle" by Snoop Dogg. They found themselves not in "Wild Style" or "Beat Street", but in "John Singleton's Boyz n the Hood" (1991), in Mario Van Peebles' "New Jack City" (1991) or the Hughes Brothers' "Menace II Society" (1993). But it was to be almost another ten years before this generation took to the microphones themselves; initially, Californian gangsta rap remained mood music for the kids from Kreuzberg, Chorweiler and Nordweststadt. Increasing segregation, lack of educational and career perspectives, and persistent experiences of racism and exclusion led many young migrants to seek alternative models and idols. Alongside success in sport and music, the prospect of getting rich quickly in the darker corners of the shadow economy now played a role - with American gangsta rap supplying two important models: on the social and collective level the street gang, on the individual and economic level the figure of the hustler. The street gang lends the individual member strength and confidence and enforces rules on the collective. It also reinforces identification with and responsibility for the local neighbourhood. As Şenol Kayacı, former member of Berlin's 36Boys, puts it: "Identity and community were about the borough as a whole. There was actually very little violence or conflict within the group."^[47] The hustler on the other hand is a smooth operator, the embodiment of the rags to riches myth: anyone who is clever, determined and ruthless enough can make it big. Californian gangsta rap's portrayal of the hustler's aesthetic magnetism and seductive coolness

created an idol for marginalised youth all over the world. In 1992 Günter Jacob pointed out how sexuality and power coincide in the rhetoric of the male rapper “without any shades of grey and without any attempt at reflection. (...) The pimp’s rules transform the principles of bourgeois power into gangster power, yet without negating the bourgeois.”^[48]

For a long time the emergence of German gangsta rap was blocked by two discourses: Firstly the success of Die Fantastischen Vier tied the idea of rap to “German” and middle class. For a long time the highbrow culture pages insisted that Germany lacked the social prerequisites for credible street rap. Secondly, the multicultural discourse insinuated that “ethnic” rappers were searching for an identity and using hip hop as their mouthpiece - so to speak the Turkish CNN.^[49] Mainstream interest in rap and growing nationalism in the wake of reunification (which also contributed to the success of *Deutsch-Rap*) initially led most migrant youth to reject German as a language in which to rap.^[50] Not until the end of the 1990s did German gangsta rap begin to emerge. By the time of Sido’s “Mein Block” and Bushido’s hits the focus had shifted to the “ghetto”, confronting majority society with marginalised people and places - real and imagined - within their own country. Dortmund-based MC Intifada summarises this phenomenon succinctly: “I see the street in the Top Ten, and even if the yuppies know some kids from the block now, it’s still filthy as Gotham here.” What *Ice T* characterised as “Home Invasion” was also significant: middle-class kids got into gangsta rap and contributed to its great commercial success. At this point German gangsta rap also regionalised and democratised access to cultural

capital. Now anyone could take a cheap hand-held camera and show off the grubbier corners of their neighbourhood. "Now every hood could be Compton" writes Jeff Chang with respect to the success of N.W.A., "everyone had a story to tell".^[51] Now there were models to which the kids in the 'hood could relate, and in whom they recognised familiar feelings and attitudes. As Haftbefehl recalls in an interview with *Die Welt*: "Bushido was the first German gangsta! When Azad was still rapping bout rap, Bushido was talking about the street."^[52]

In many German cities from about 2005 this "hood-centric" focus on "what is real" and the ease of getting started led to the emergence of local neighbourhood-based rap crews. In the Ruhr conurbation, Cologne and Hamburg, as well as a string of smaller cities, the boys from the sink estates now took the microphones. This new generation of gangsta rappers, born between 1980 and 1990, was making its mark on the genre by 2010. It is characteristic that these young MCs are not in the first place third-generation migrants but often arrived in Germany as refugees with their parents in the 1980s: KC Rebell came to Germany as a child with his refugee parents, as did Fard, Kurdo, Xatar, Bero Bass, Nazar, Eno, Zuna, Farid Bang, SSIO and Majoe; Manuellsen, PA Sports and Massiv were born in Germany after their parents arrived as refugees. Although none of them grew up with German as their first language, their urban hip hop ethnolect has a huge influence on German youth slang. Many of today's most successful rappers come from families that immigrated from the Middle East in the 1980s. On their heels comes a generation whose parents came to Germany from African

states - and we can safely assume that we will hear from the first Syrian gangsta rapper in about ten years time.

Clearly, gangsta rap in Germany (as elsewhere) draws its vitality and impetus for renewal from the diaspora experience of its protagonists. The more immediate the experience of flight and displacement, the fresher and stronger that force - which does not necessarily mean that these topics automatically appear in the lyrics. In this way German gangsta rap has become a diverse artistic medium that exposes the consequences of neoliberalism, globalisation and displacement by confronting society with "the ghetto" and thus contradicting the narrative of boundless growth and prosperity. Its protagonists often present themselves provocatively as hedonists, demanding a share in the bounty of capitalism. On the other hand, gangsta rap has nothing to say when it comes to overcoming the neoliberal order, preferring to reproduce reactionary concepts of honour, masculinity and family. Any yet Germany's gangsta rappers persistently put their finger on the relationship between periphery and centre, between marginalised minority and mainstream society, and stand up against racism and exclusion. Rappers like Mert ("Ausländer"), Al-Gear ("Integration"), Alpa Gun ("Ausländer"), Chima Ede ("Wir sind das Volk"), Eko Fresh ("Gastarbeiter"), Jaysus ("Kanacke sein"), Haftbefehl and Xatar ("AFD"), Kurdo ("Wir sind nicht wie du"), Ali As and Pretty Mo ("Deutscher/Ausländer"), BOZ ("Made in Germany"), Nate57 ("Immigranten"), Hayat & Matondo ("Ausländer raus") and Credibil ("Mensch") reject stereotypes and defend the idea of a society where people are not judged by their background or appearance - which is actually an echo of the multicultural utopia of the 1980s.

As far as the reception of gangsta rap is concerned, Haftbefehl's highbrow critical recognition has encouraged journalists to treat the genre as a whole less hysterically and pay greater heed to its artistic qualities.^[53] However, there is also another development. In the wake of growing new right influence in cultural discourse, extreme-right intellectuals increasingly blame German gangsta rap for the brutalisation of German youth and the demise of their "white Western culture". One of them, Udo Ulfkotte, writes:

"Gangsta rap glorifies multicultural street gangs. It is fixated on youth violence and criminal clichés. European journalists have contributed to mythologising the criminal subculture of gangs and gangsta rap as a model for European youth."^[54]

The structure of this defamation resembles the racist strategies of the 1970s and 1980s: an ethnic minority is blamed for the consequences of neoliberal economic policies. The behaviour of "foreign" individuals and gangs creates problems in German cities - problems that would be resolved if the Germans had their country to themselves again. The leading figures of gangsta rap have little to set against this onslaught from the right. One reason for this is the dilemma faced by successful street rappers. On the one hand the brutalised language of gangsta rap reflects the "brutalisation of everyday life" where its protagonists live.^[55] On the other hand it is their exaggerated portrayals of sex and violence and the grubby peephole into their halfworld that guarantee them the attention - and cash - of middle-class kids yearning for such clichés.^[56] Unlike in the 1990s, anti-racist critique is on the defensive today. Left-

wing and anti-racist groups have little weight in the current debates over refugees, nationalism and integration, nor are they networked with the artists and musicians who make up the street rap scene. Perhaps this is also the tragedy of German gangsta rap: Although the genre is more successful than ever before and has a great influence on the development of German youth language and culture, it has largely failed to generate social impulses of its own (and it is unclear whether the protagonists even possess any interest in so doing). What is undeniable is that gangsta rap is the object of ongoing public discourse.

While the self-empowerment of the first generation of immigrants manifested itself primarily on an economic/social level (reflecting the centrality of the issues of work and housing), the second generation reflected their situation more acutely and raised political and societal questions concerning citizenship, identity and participation. The form of gangsta rap that has emerged in Germany over the past fifteen years stands for an indirect, hybrid form of empowerment: the issues that concerned the first and second generations also appear here, but tend to be embodied in attitude, style, language and appearance - in other words in aesthetic categories. The question remains open whether this can be regarded as an expression of migrant empowerment, or whether gangsta rappers are not merely serving as inspiration for a consumer society coopting the exotic codes of a marginalised milieu. A gangsta rapper's ethnic presence in the mainstream does not in itself represent an empowerment strategy. Gangsta rap is more than other cultural phenomena - quite literally - a child of the diaspora. The experience of migration and marginalisation

in post-Fordist society is constitutive of gangsta rap. This makes it especially attractive to young males who arrived in Germany as children in migrant or refugee families, and started out on the extreme margins of society. For this reason the aesthetic, musical and linguistic shape of the genre is bound up with the migration biographies of its protagonists. Gangsta rap shows us the footprint of past global migration movements and reminds us of the wars and crises that force people to leave everything behind.

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[1] "Deutschland den Stock aus dem Arsch ziehen", *Spiegel Online*, 12 August 2016.

[2] Udo Ulfkotte, *Vorsicht Bürgerkrieg* (Rottenburg, 2015).

Ulfkotte was a journalist on the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* until 2003, after which he became known for right-wing populist writings and conspiracy theories.

[3] Ibid.

[4] *Express*, 29 August 1973.

[5] "Kanake" is the German equivalent of "Kanak", a designation originally describing inhabitants of parts of the south Pacific (where Germany had colonies until 1918). During the 1960s, by routes that remain obscure,

“Kanake” became the primary German racist term used to describe Turks.

- [6] Repeatedly referred to in German media at the time as a “wild strike” or “Turks’ strike”.
- [7] Serhat Karakayali, *Gespenster der Migration* (Bielefeld, 2008), p. 156.
- [8] Nedim Hazar, “Die Saiten der Saz in Deutschland”. In *Fremde Heimat: Eine Geschichte der Einwanderung*, ed. Aytac Eryilmaz and Mathilde Jamin (Essen: Klartext, 1998), p. 294.
- [9] Geo Schaller, <http://www.geoschaller.de/musik> (last viewed 10 January 2017).
- [10] Yaranistan, “Sieh mich an”, Phonogram GmbH / Mercury (Cologne, 1990).
- [11] Nedim Hazar, “Die Saiten der Saz in Deutschland”. In *Fremde Heimat: Eine Geschichte der Einwanderung*, ed. Aytac Eryilmaz and Mathilde Jamin (Essen: Klartext, 1998), p. 294.
- [12] *Ibid.*, p. 292.
- [13] *Ibid.*, p. 296 (“Macht’s gut ihr Freunde, Schwestern, Brüder! Wenn wieder mal ein Haus abbrennt, dann sehen wir uns wieder!”).
- [14] In 1965 the Swiss author Max Frisch observed: “We asked for workers. We got people instead.” (“Wir riefen Arbeitskräfte, und es kamen Menschen.”).
- [15] Various projects seek to keep this slice of musical culture alive. Mark Terkessidis published a CD of “Heimatlieder aus Deutschland” (Homeland songs from Germany). It includes a song by the Greek musician Stelios Kazantzidis, whose music is today heard in series like *The Wire*.
- [16] Martin Greve, *Die Musik der imaginären Türkei* (J.B. Metzler, 2003), p. 37.

- [17] Ibid., p. 37
- [18] Nedim Hazar, "Die Saiten der Saz in Deutschland". In *Fremde Heimat: Eine Geschichte der Einwanderung*, ed. Aytac Eryilmaz and Mathilde Jamin (Essen: Klartext, 1998), p. 288.
- [19] Martin Greve, *Die Musik der imaginären Türkei* (J.B. Metzler, 2003), p. 23.
- [20] Ibid., p. 48.
- [21] Ibid., p. 48.
- [22] Martin Greve, *Die Musik der imaginären Türkei* (J.B. Metzler, 2003), p. 48.
- [23] Martin Greve, *Die Musik der imaginären Türkei* (J.B. Metzler, 2003), p. 78.
- [24] Özkasap was known as "the nightingale of Cologne".
- [25] Nedim Hazar, "Die Saiten der Saz in Deutschland". In *Fremde Heimat: Eine Geschichte der Einwanderung*, ed. Aytac Eryilmaz and Mathilde Jamin (Essen: Klartext, 1998), p. 288.
- [26] Martin Greve, *Die Musik der imaginären Türkei* (J.B. Metzler, 2003), p. 77.
- [27] Ibid., p. 77
- [28] Martin Greve, *Die Musik der imaginären Türkei* (J.B. Metzler, 2003), p. 78.
- [29] *Juice*, no.11, 2003. p. 65.
- [30] Torch, "Kapitel 1".
- [31] Stefan Bender and Werner Karr, "Arbeitslosigkeit von ausländischen Arbeitnehmern", *Mitteilungen aus der Arbeitsmarkt- und Berufsforschung* 26, no. 2 (1993).
- [32] Mark Terkessidis, *Migranten* (Hamburg, 2000), p. 28.
- [33] "Wir nehmen den ganzen Laden auseinander", *Der Spiegel*, 46/1984.
- [34] Murat Kayi, "Der Türke in der Mülltonne", Migrationspolitisches Portal der Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung.

- [35] Murat Kayi, "Der Türke in der Mülltonne".
- [36] The fathers of migrant comedy were stand-up duo Knobi-Bonbon (Şinasi Dikmen and Mussin Omurca), which debuted in 1986 and won the German cabaret award two years later.
- [37] Thomas Ernst, *Literatur und Subversion* (Bielefeld, 2013), pp. 286–87.
- [38] Terkessidis, *Migranten*, p. 81.
- [39] "Bunte Republik Deutschland" (Colourful Republic of Germany, 1989) was a studio album by Udo Lindenberg.
- [40] Murat Güngör in *35 Jahre HipHop in Deutschland*, p. 388.
- [41] Kanak Attak Manifest, quoted from Loh, *35 Jahre HipHop*, p. 386.
- [42] Thomas Ernst, *Literatur und Subversion*, p. 312.
- [43] Thomas Ernst, *Literatur und Subversion*, p. 331.
- [44] Hannes Loh, "HipHop and Politics: Dead Prez & das Patchwork der Widersprüche", *INTRO* (March 2004).
- [45] Mohamed Amjahid, "Potenzial des Ethnolekts: Kiezdeutsch ist mehr als ‚Isch geh‘ Aldi‘", *Berliner Tagesspiegel*, 13 August 2014, and Hatice Deniz Canoglu, *Kanak Sprak versus Kiezdeutsch – Sprachverfall oder sprachlicher Spezialfall* (Berlin, 2012).
- [46] "Chuja" is Arabic for "brother"; the affectionate abbreviation "Cho" is equivalent to "bruv".
- [47] Hannes Loh, *35 Jahre HipHop*, p. 196.
- [48] David Dufresne, *Yo Rap Revolution* (Paris, 1992), p. 181.
- [49] See Ayse Caglar, "Verordnete Rebellion: Deutsch-türkischer Rap und türkischer Pop in Berlin". In *Globalkolorit: Multikulturalismus und Populärkultur*, pp. 41–63.
- [50] The success of the German-Turkish band Cartel also belongs in this context.

- [51] Jeff Chang, *Can't Stop Won't Stop* (New York, 2005), p. 497.
- [52] Michael Pilz: "Ich bin genauso deutsch wie mein Nachbar Marius", *Die Welt*, 24 November 2014.
- [53] Marc Dietrich: "Haftbefehls Einbruch in den Feuilleton-Olymp", *All Good Magazin*, 15 December 2014.
- [54] Udo Ulfkotte, *Vorsicht Bürgerkrieg* (Rottenburg, 2015).
- [55] David Dufresne, *Yo Rap Revolution* (Paris, 1992), p. 181.
- [56] The American sociologist Tricia Rose describes this phenomenon in relation to US gangsta rap in *The Hip Hop Wars* (2005).

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