

5-2020

Schieß, Bruder: Turkish-German Rap and Threatening Masculinity

Manasi Deorah

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Schieß, Bruder: Turkish-German Rap and Threatening Masculinity

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement
for the degree of Bachelor of Arts in German Studies from
The College of William and Mary

by

Manasi N. Deorah

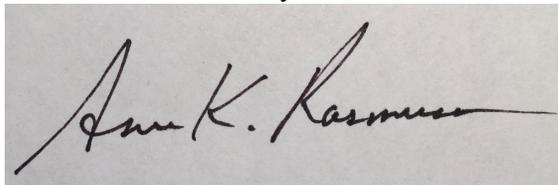
Accepted for High Honors
(Honors, High Honors, Highest Honors)



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Williamsburg, VA
May 7, 2020

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Introduction

*“Ja, ich bin ein Ausländer, unsre Narben sind die Markenzeichen/
 Darum wechselt ihr die Straßenseiten/
 Denn ich bin ein Ausländer, laufe durch Gassen und Seitenstraßen/”*
 “Yes, I am a foreigner, our scars are the brand.
 That’s why you cross the street,
 because I’m a foreigner, walking through alleys and backstreets.”

Ausländer 2020, Alpa Gun, Mert

These are the first lines of the song *Ausländer 2020*, a German-language rap track that was released in Spring 2020, and quickly became wildly popular, hitting spot #16 on the Official German Charts in less than one week. (Mert and Alpa Gun Charts, 4/24/2020) A collaboration between Alpa Gun, one of the most prominent German rappers of Turkish descent today, and Mert, a slightly younger figure on the scene, the song is a spiritual successor to Alpa Gun’s first ever hit single and Mert’s own first hit single, which samples Alpa Gun’s, all called *Ausländer* (Foreigners).

This excerpt as well as all of the *Ausländer* tracks involve the artists speaking as representatives of Turkish-Germans as a whole directly to an audience - this excerpt uses the pronoun *ihr*, a collective you, used when addressing an entire group of people. The artists speak frankly about the ways that they are treated by German society at large and especially in this

passage, how they are viewed as threats. This excerpt is a snapshot of an ethno-cultural conflict in which there are two sides; the audience being spoken to, White Germans and mainstream German society, and the narrator, who speaks for Turkish Germans. The narrator comments on the rift between these two groups and how the White German gaze defines his experience - he is visibly marked as an outsider, which causes the people he is addressing to physically distance themselves from him in a manner that implies a fear of violence.

When analyzing this ethnic rift between Turkish Germans and White Germans, competition theory suggests that this conflict and the attempts of White Germans to control the Turkish German experience is driven by White Germans feeling threatened by immigrants. (Olzak 2013) According to the theory, this threat stems from perceived deterioration of clear ethnic boundaries, competition for resources, and potential political instability at the hands of immigrants. (Olzak 2013) Therefore, there is a desire for the ethnic group with hegemonic power to control who is in its ranks, what they have access too, and retain power over others.

Due to White German hegemonic power feeling threatened by Turkish immigrants, I argue that in order to ensure ethnic purity, resource availability, and political control, legal and cultural practices have been imposed throughout German history based on a paradigm I call euromasculinity - an outlook that centers and prioritizes Whiteness, but in a particularly patriarchal manner. As I will expand upon in the following chapters, perceived hypermasculinity of men of color, care for the sexual purity of White women, and paternalistic protection of vulnerable groups are central justifications for this White supremacy. The actions and discourses that arise from this outlook operate in especially patriarchal ways, and they are leveraged against competing models of masculinity.

I use the term paradigm to describe how euromasculinity functions as an underlying motivation for actions and as a framework that influences cultural production because a paradigm is a specific epistemology - a set of core beliefs, assumptions, and goals that underpin how one learns about and views the world, and then goes about trying to change it. (Kuhn and Hacking, 2012 chpt. 1) Though the concept of the paradigm is primarily used within natural sciences, such as the approach a scientist takes in conducting research, in this case I argue for an application of the concept of the paradigm to the actions and outputs of a society. Thus, by analyzing the art, concepts, laws, and historical trends of German society we can find evidence of a euromasculine paradigm -foundational beliefs in the superiority of White Caucasians and cisgender men, and a desire to mitigate threat posed by Turkish German people - that motivates and influences all of these products. Euromasculinity is wielded against Turkish German men, and is a framework that underlies how society treats them, how they view themselves, and how they interact with the world around them.

Thus, if Turkish German men's experiences are influenced by euromasculine definitions and constraints, their rap would inherently also exist within the euromasculine framework. After analyzing five German-language tracks created by Turkish-German artists that explicitly mention the social and political circumstances of Turkish Germans, I found that they sometimes supported euromasculine ideas, sometimes explicitly refuted them, and sometimes commented on them. Most notable, however, was how this music utilizes a counter-paradigm, using references to Middle Eastern, Turkish, and Islamicate (MTI) musical elements, cultural values, and language in response to euromasculinity and in refutation of it. These references lead to music that contains, juxtaposes, and blends elements of the euromasculine paradigm and MTI concepts to create music that portrays the ideologies of both the oppressor and the oppressed.

This work is composed of three major parts: Part 1 will focus on how cultural production is an arena for power negotiation, the politics of rap as a medium, the rise of the Turkish German rap tradition, a history of policing culture in Germany, and how what is subversive and what is ideal give contour to the euromasculine paradigm.

Part 2 will look at how historical orientalism and beliefs about men of color influenced German law, ideas of miscegenation, sexuality and protection of White women from the threat of Brown men, the history and impacts of Turkish migration to Germany, and the current cultural backlash and return to orientalism.

Part 3 will analyze five songs that explicitly mention the sociopolitical status of Turkish Germans for how they support and refute euromasculinity, and the ways they reference Middle Eastern, Islamicate, and Turkish ideas as a counter-paradigm.

Part 1: Rap and Cultural Control

The Production of Culture as Power

The relationship between knowledge and power is a subject that has been discussed at length, notably by French theorist Michel Foucault. He maintained that power saturated all social activity, and that power was not just held by groups over each other, but rather should also be viewed from a bottom-up model. Since power exists in all interaction, he conceptualizes power as constant small forces that encourage us to act one way over another. He emphasized discursive formations as networks of these small forces that are shaped and disseminated by the dominant groups of society, yet do not operate in a directional binary between the powerful and the powerless but are rather a cyclical process. (Gutting and Oksala, citing Foucault)

It is this cyclical discursivity that is expanded upon by Homi Bhabha as he mentions that the periphery groups of society - immigrants especially - hold a position of power when shaping national discourses, since these people are the subjects of culture created by the dominant groups. (Bhabha, 1990:298) Immigrants learn about a nation and the discourses within it through the major institutions of that nation, and then through their interpretation and outwards performance of this culture, they in turn impact the dominant national discourses. (Zambon and Uca 2016)

Thus, every unit of culture is imbued with power that is cyclically interpreted and disseminated by dominant groups and non-dominant groups in tandem, and music is an especially salient cultural unit that demonstrates processes of appropriation, adaptation, and transmission.

Music has been long regarded as having both affective and political power - an ability to move people in spiritual and emotional ways and incite them to action a manner that is unique to the medium of music. (Nooshin, 2009: 7) This has been coupled with a modern technological connectivity that allows for an easier spread of music globally than ever before, further allowing for the recursive processes of being transmitted and transformed between communities.

Rap as a Political Medium

It is this process of adoption and adaptation that is at the core of rap and has contributed to its popularity as a space for marginalized voices. Rap and hip hop are fundamentally Black American musical forms that originally emerged as an exploration of conceptions of Blackness and the assertion of self in the face of dehumanization and oppression. (Rollefson, 2017) Around the 1980s as new technologies enabled people worldwide to listen to rap and hip-hop music, communities across the globe were struck with the affective and political potential of these forms, as well as an identification with the struggles of Black Americans in American society. (Rollefson, 2017 introduction) This appreciation of rap and hip hop led to the recursive process mentioned above, as these communities imbibed these forms, and adapted them to their specific contexts and social conflicts, often blending languages, instruments, and poetic structures in this process of adaptation.

In reference to the adoption of rap in the Arab world, Meghan Drury uses the concept “sonic diasporic resistance” to refer to practices in Arab hip hop of sampling, layering, and linguistic play that act as aural indicators of foreignness, and designate the inclusion of traditional elements of Arab music in the production of new music that is not an imitation of either American rap or pre-existing Arab music, but rather a separate entity, born of a process of

cultural production that uses pre-existing elements to create something entirely new. (2017) The ideas of aural markers of foreignness and sonic diasporic resistance can also be used to describe the rap and hip hop music of other communities beyond the Arab speaking world, as sonic diasporic resistance is a common element of many immigrant rap/hip hop traditions and is an example of diasporic communities engaging in discursive power, as defined by Foucault and Bhabha. Sonic diasporic resistance is a process of immigrant hip hop artists using recognizably “foreign” cultural elements mixed with dominant languages or structures to convey and comment on their own positionality. By imbibing elements of the dominant culture, transforming them through combination with non-dominant cultural elements, and then making their music public for consumption by others, these artists can both contribute to and alter national discourses and dominant culture.

Though recursive cultural production and discourses exist as a cyclical conversation between groups, this cycle is impacted by the power one group holds over another, and structures such as racism and classism constrain and alter immigrant communities’ enacting of recursive power over culture just as it constrains and alters their lived experiences. An example of recursive cultural formation that occurs within this power imbalance is the construction of the “ghetto” - a racialized space of criminality and minority aesthetic that is positioned as the backdrop of rap/hip hop. (Stehle, 2012 introduction) Rap and hip hop themselves were genres born of poverty, segregation, and racialized struggle from their roots as Black musical forms from New York city in the 1980s, and the ghetto and urban isolation are still deeply associated with the genres today, even they have spread globally.

Rap, and its widespread success, is often a process of marginalized people creating to express their frustrations over their socio-cultural status, thereby finding success through a

commodification of poverty and oppression. Ultimately, this poverty and ethnic oppression are the result of the discourses, culture, and in-group/out-group boundaries of dominant groups, and rap transforms these discourses and elements of dominant culture as the artist expresses non-dominant viewpoints, and this in turn shapes the discourses surrounding their oppression.

Rap exists within a difficult binary in which it aims to criticize the dominant and neoliberal structures that cause the oppression of its artists, yet still aims to be successful within these structures, as it is bought and sold and listened to by members of dominant groups. Thus, the cultural signifiers and symbols of the oppression discussed in rap are also consumed by dominant groups and are co-opted. (Zambon and Uca, 2016) This co-opting leads to the aesthetics of oppression and the “ghetto” being fetishized and stripped of power to act as signifiers of clout divorced from their origins of oppression, which in turn influences the use of those signifiers in rap and hip-hop music. The culturally imagined ethnic “ghetto” that is seen as the origin of rap music is constructed through constant recursive interaction rooted in the actions of dominant groups that oppress people of color, people of colors’ responses to this oppression in culture, and then elements of their response being adopted and altered by dominant groups in ways that enforce oppression.

It is within this imbalanced recursive process that the Turkish German rap tradition was formed, and its principles, aesthetics, and imagined setting impacted by the discourses and actions of White German hegemonic power.

A History of Turkish German Rap

Rap and hip hop were initially introduced in Germany through films such as Charlie Ahern’s *Wild Style* and Harry Belafonte’s *Beat Street*, in 1982 and 1984, respectively, which also

portrayed that hip hop in the U.S. was not just a musical genre, but rather was a vibrant street culture comprised primarily of immigrant youth. (Elflein, 1998:261) Though discursively the rise of immigrant hip hop and rap culture in Germany in the 1990s has been discussed as a grassroots movement, there was a fair amount of institutional involvement and support of this movement in order to acculturate immigrant youth and control potentially threatening political ideas.

In the mid 1970s the government of the Federal Republic of Germany undertook a cultural policy which led to the opening of local community and youth centers in urban areas, especially in areas of high concentration of immigrants, as part of an explicit goal to democratize culture, encourage artistic creation, and integrate immigrants into German culture. These community centers became spaces where the seeds of the Turkish German hip hop movement of the 90s were planted. Hip hop was supported by state-sponsored media of the 1980s, such as with the films mentioned above, and in the 1990s was posited as a solution to extremism post-reunification as racial tensions and violence spiked. (Zambon and Uca, 2016)

Agencies dealing with young people during that time used hip hop as a primary mechanism to channel potential youth violence, and various state institutions made concerted efforts to educate poor and immigrant urban youth and promote hip hop as a method of avoiding sociopolitical conflict. Due to a German institutional understanding of the power of hip hop, the grassroots immigrant rap movement was underlined by sociocultural policies that explicitly encouraged immigrant youth to engage in hip hop and rap in order to provide an outlet for potentially threatening desires and culturally assimilate immigrant youth to German values.

In the 1990s and early 2000s immigrant rap focused heavily on the sociopolitical standing of immigrants and groups such as Advanced Chemistry, Karakan, and Cartel were underground successes due to their exploration of ethnic identity in contrast to national identity

and linguistic play. At its origin, rap in Germany was primarily in English, as German was not seen as a language compatible with the form, but Advanced Chemistry was one of the first groups to rap in German. (Elflein, 1998) The group was composed of members who had immigration backgrounds, yet all were citizens of Germany, and use the German language and emphasis on having German passports to protest the treatment of immigrants as perpetual foreigners. Though they were popular, they were also criticized by fellow immigrants for their singular prioritizing of German citizenship. (Zambon and Uca, 2016: 731)

Karakan was a Turkish German rap duo that paired with other primarily Turkish artists to create the collective album Cartel. Karakan and the other artists on Cartel rapped primarily in Turkish and explored a similar subject matter of living as migrants in Germany however, compared to Advanced Chemistry, they emphasized ethnic belonging beyond national citizenship.

From the mid 2000s onwards, the subject matter of Turkish German rap has expanded to include non-political topics, and there are many rap songs written by people of Turkish descent that have little to do with their sociopolitical positioning as Turkish German immigrants, yet still often engage with the concept of a “ghetto” and the discourses surrounding ghettos. Some of the most common topics of Turkish German rap songs today are those of being better than other rappers, gang related violence, drug dealing, and sexual conquest, all of which are recursively influenced by the current rap of the U.S. and the actions and appropriations of White German hegemonic forces.

A History of Subversive Culture in Germany

To understand how Turkish German rap is currently policed and framed by euromasculinity, it is important to understand how cultural production has been legally and discursively controlled by hegemonic groups in Germany throughout time, primarily from the Weimar Republic onwards.

The constitution of the Weimar Republic forbade almost all forms of censorship in written material, however, made an exception for film and established protocols for published works to be reviewed on a case by case basis if there was concern that the material could be “harmful to youth”. Literature that was considered harmful to youth was indexed and documented on the federal level however, there were explicit laws stating that published material could not be indexed for political, religious, or ideological reasons. (Ritzheimer, 2019 introduction)

The majority of media that was indexed as harmful were things like dime novels, serial fiction, pamphlets, and other material that was cheaply made, mass produced, and aimed at a wider audience. This work, especially works which contained descriptions of sexuality, was legally and discursively regarded as trash that fell below standards of what was considered proper culture.

This policing of culture occurred primarily along class lines, as during this time there emerged a *Bildungsbürgertum*, or an educated, cultured class of people, and to be a member of this class required education. True art was constructed as having roots in German history, primarily from the Renaissance, Romantic, and Baroque eras, and was esoteric - to have an understanding and appreciation of this art was rare and indicated intellectual and moral superiority. To be culturally educated was an achievement that was valuable because of its rarity. (Ritzheimer, 2019 chapter 2)

This conception of high art positioned media that was meant to be accessible, enjoyable, and easily understood as not real art, thus leading to censorship being focused on material that was aimed at the masses. This mass-media included film, which through its visual storytelling was too base and pedestrian to be a medium of true art and was heavily censored. Police departments in the Weimar era devoted considerable resources to having branches of the force specifically meant to raid film studios and theatres, and pornographic film was especially heavily censored, especially depictions of non-normative sexual relationships, namely interracial or homosexual relationships. (Loiperdinger, 2013: 89)

The Weimar Republic fell due to the *Nationalistische Sozialistische Demokratische Arbeiter Partei* (NSDAP) – or Nazi Party - seizing control of government and it is well known that the NSDAP practiced intense censorship and clearly defined what was acceptable culture and what was not. All forms of cultural production during that time were controlled by the state, and both the NSDAP production of culture and policing of non-NSDAP approved culture indicated a desire to eradicate recursivity in cultural production and maintain total discursive control. (Ritzheimer, 2017)

The NSDAP regime was intimately aware of how cultural production is tied to power and how to create and influence discourses in service of hegemonic power. The media produced by the Third Reich was all in service of upholding very clearly defined models of race, gender, and sexuality, and scholars such as Susan Sontag in her essay *Fascinating Fascism* have discussed how the aesthetics of NSDAP fascism eroticized and idealized race and masculinity, and ways those aesthetics still permeate culture today. (1975)

Beyond the messaging of the media created by the regime, their treatment of subversive art and artists especially highlight how they tried to maintain complete control of culture. The

NSDAP's primary policy towards culture that did not fit their clearly defined models was that of destruction, burning books and manuscripts, destroying film - they destroyed as much physical evidence of culture that violated their boundaries as possible, not condemning it, but trying to erase it from existence entirely and remove it from discourse.

Given that discourse is cyclically produced, and ideas enact power through their interpretation and transmission, the NSDAP not only destroyed physical works of culture, they destroyed the people that interpreted and transmitted culture in way that violated their norms. They brutally jailed, tortured, and murdered people who criticized their models and produced art or literature that defied these models in order to stop them from engaging in discourses and enact recursive power over culture. (Ritzheimer, 2017)

After the fall of the Third Reich, the ruling forces of the two separate German states heavily constrained and shaped cultural production to suit their ideals but used very different methods. Immediately after the second World War the U.S. army received control of all methods of cultural production within the Allied-controlled sections of Germany that later formed the Federal Republic of Germany. (Costabile-Heming, 2000) These methods of cultural production included theatres, production studios, publishing centers, and all journalist and broadcast media, and as the government of the FRG was formed, the American occupation set a standard for all media, film, and literature to be reviewed by the state for NSDAP symbols or ideologies as part of the process of "denazification." (Zipser, 1990)

As the constitution of the FRG was written, this precedent led to the inclusion of fairly stringent censorship along moralistic and political lines, justified by a need to protect the state and its citizens from harmful ideologies and a resurgence of NSDAP ideas. The FRG constitution criminalized a variety of topics in media, including the disparagement of the federal

president, the state, and its symbols, support of communist ideas, disloyalty to the constitution, and depictions of sexuality that could be considered harmful to youth. This censorship was also compounded by criminalizing work that supports or rewards criminal activity, and so even if a work didn't mention any of the topics above, if it showed support for another work or artist that did violate these laws, its authors could be punished. (Loiperdinger, 2013)

These censorship laws led to widespread prosecution of artists and activists who critiqued the state, and often was applied to those who held left-leaning ideas on government, racial relations, and sexuality. Beyond creators of publicly distributed media, it also led to prosecution of citizens who held countercultural ideas. An example of this prosecution of average citizens over cultural beliefs was the 1972 Berufsverbot, occupation ban, that banned people from public service professions if they were suspected of not being loyal to the constitution in a manner that echoed the red scare in the United States.

As mentioned earlier, along with criminalizing certain topics, the FRG in the 1980s developed socio-cultural policies under the banner of "*Bildung für Alle, Kultur für Alle*," (cultural education for all, culture for all) that encouraged citizens to be educated about fine arts that uphold traditional German ideals or were non-political. Unlike the *Bildung* of earlier historical periods, these policies encouraged democratizing culture and making fine art accessible to all and stimulated artistic production amongst youth, but within the framework of institutional approval and as a form of social control. (Zambon and Uca, 2016)

In the Soviet controlled German Democratic Republic, though censorship of all forms was banned in the constitution, the ruling party - the SED - enacted widespread censorship and constraint over all areas of cultural production. Almost all criticism of communism as practiced by the GDR or the government itself could be punished through imprisonment. All state

sponsored broadcast and publishing required works to receive SED approval, which led to alteration and suppression of works that challenged GDR ideas. (Zisper, 1990)

This suppression led to the formation of underground art, poetry, and film scenes that became spaces of resistance and rebellion and recursively influenced the discourses surrounding censorship by the state, but even that was constrained and controlled by the GDR. Along with the secret state police that would prosecute rebellious art and actions, the SED also developed an intensive spy state through the use of unofficial collaborators. Citizens were often blackmailed by the secret police wielding accusations of illegal anti-government conduct, and then forced to spy and inform on friends, colleagues, and neighbors at the behest of the state, or else risk criminal action.

The unofficial collaborator program led to the GDR having a direct hand in its own underground rebellious cultural movements. The state strategically allowed the movements to continue while shaping and controlling them in order to allow for dissent and expressions of frustration, but on their own terms. They specifically manipulated the discourses of rebellion to ensure their power was not threatened while allowing subversive ideas to be expressed, but in ways that were institutionally approved and monitored, similar to how the FRG tried to control and shape cultural movements. (Loiperdinger, 2013)

In the current reunified Germany, there is very little state sponsored censorship, and most of it focuses on hate speech, neo-Nazis, Holocaust denial, and depictions of war. (German Criminal Code, 1998) Current ideas of subversive culture are expressed through the discourse of *Leitkultur* and primarily focus on immigrant assimilation in Germany. *Leitkultur* literally translates to “leading culture” and is used to describe the idea that there are core German values and concepts

that constitute German culture and make it superior to other cultures, and therefore non-native Germans must accept and conform to this culture.

Idealized Culture as Evidence of Paradigm

Both *Bildung* and *Leitkultur* are ideas of a fundamental German culture that is better than other types of culture, specifically belongs to one group of people, and is a goal for non-members of the group to aspire to. Both of these are models of idealized culture that exist in foil to the subversive. *Bildung* focuses on the boundaries between fine art and trash, based on class, education, and an imagined intellectual history of Germany. This results in the degradation of art meant to be widely consumed, easily understood, rooted in the everyday, and produced by marginalized people.

German discourses of idealized culture have evolved over time to acknowledge the classism inherent to the *Bildung* model of the beginning of the century, and through the democratization and standardization of the arts of the 1970s and 80s, and the emergence of mass media and pop culture, the *Bildung* model no longer functions to draw boundaries between the subversive and the ideal.

The *Leitkultur* debate emerged as a result of the questions posed after reunification about meanings of Germanness, and specifically applies to immigrants. The term *Leitkultur* was coined by Arab German sociologist Bassam Tibi in 1998 to refer to the construction of a German ideal culture, belief that this culture and all others are separate entities, and that those of other cultures must abandon that culture to integrate into German culture. (Pautz, 2005:41) The *Leitkultur* debate differs from the idea of *Bildung* as it does not create boundaries between what is art and

what is trash, but rather what are acceptable values and beliefs for one to have, and what are unacceptable values and beliefs.

The values and beliefs of the idealized German *Leitkultur* can be summarized as a faith in neoliberal democratic government, moderately progressive social ideals, and capitalist ideas of productiveness and value, and these values are placed in opposition to the perceived unacceptable beliefs of “backwards” cultures of the global south. Assimilation to *Leitkultur* is a standard that immigrants within Germany and those seeking to enter Germany are both held to, as it is used to determine the standards for naturalization or long-term residence, and is also used in judgement of the constructed “ghetto”, as it attributes the crime and social problems of racial and ethnic enclaves to issues of resisting assimilating to German culture. The *Leitkultur* debate is a discourse propagated by White hegemonic forces of Germany to determine if someone’s beliefs make them fit to be German.

Leitkultur is the next step in using culture to assert power; as opposed to policing cultural production as a way of mitigating threat to hegemonic power, *Leitkultur* inextricably intertwines support for hegemonic structures of power with the culture of the nation and uses deference to this culture-power as a criterion to even be allowed into the nation. This leads to the members of dominant groups both shaping the discourse surrounding ideal and subversive culture, and also refusing those who may hold subversive beliefs from even participating in the discourse in the first place.

In summary, the use of culture as a way of discursively expressing power makes rap music a popular medium of expression because of how it allows for recursive and circular assertion of power in the adaptation and creation of culture. Yet, the ways that hegemonic forces use law and discourse to construct the boundaries between ideal culture and subversive culture,

and the ways those boundaries are enforced, can be proof of an underlying motivation to oppress certain groups in society and privilege others.

Throughout history, German law and discourse has prioritized culture produced by White men that serves the purposes of the state in power and supports White cultural elitism, the power of the government, and ideal models of race, sexuality, and masculinity while suppressing culture and people who signify otherwise, controlling both the discursive networks and who has access to them to begin with - all in order to mitigate the threat to patriarchy and Whiteness, thereby indicating the underlying paradigm of euromasculinity.

Part 2: Brown Bodies and Social Control

Just as the exchanges of power in law and discourse that aim to regulate German culture over time can be evidence of an underlying paradigm, so too can the exchanges of power in law and discourses that seek to regulate racial/ethnic categories be a sign of an underlying paradigm, which reacts to the threat posed by ethnic outsiders in service of euromasculinity and therefore frames the work of Turkish German rappers.

A History of European Orientalism

The construction of racial categories and their attributes between the global south and global north is best explained through Edward Said's foundational work in cultural studies, *Orientalism*. (1978) The concept of orientalism is used to describe how art, literature, cultural study, and discourse produced in Europe about Asia and Africa construct an East, or an Orient, that exists in foil to the West, or the Occident. (Said, 1978)

The orientalist viewpoint fabricates the East as a fictional, stagnant other that is immutable and exists entirely outside of the West and is essential to European power as it produces scholarship and art about this perceived Orient that legitimizes European supremacy. The Orient acts as a fictional stage upon which the West projects ideologies and beliefs to fit its own needs and define itself in opposition to.

The orientalist viewpoint has been historically fixated on the intersection of race and sex and the sexuality of people of color. French orientalist painting of the mid 1800s was characterized by eroticism and sexualization, imbuing all aspects of life depicted in the East with an inherent eroticism that was positioned as an endemic part of daily life. In the Victorian era, the East became a space onto which fantasies of transgressing European sexual morals were

projected, as the concept of harems and female slaves captured public imagination. The sexuality of people of color was both seen as brutal, animalist, and impure, yet also scintillating and erotic, and therefore found its way into the scholarship, art, literature, and discourses throughout Europe throughout the 1800s and into the early 20th century.

This paradoxical disgust and fascination with people of color as sexual objects also permeated German culture, and led to a development of a view of race, ethnicity, and sexuality that was central to both German colonial policy and NSDAP era policy meant to create and protect the concept of the German bloodline in opposition to the bloodlines of other races.

Early German Views of Race, Masculinity, and Sexuality

The German model of intertwined race and sexuality of the early twentieth century was notably developed through the laws and discourses of German colonization in what is now Namibia. It is within this setting in response to interracial relationships and miscegenation between the colonizer and colonized that a racial epistemology was developed that “moved from the colonial periphery to the metropolitan core.” (Fitzpatrick, 2009:357)

Originally in the colonies, mixed-race colonial families were recognized if a White man took a Black woman as a wife, and whatever children they had would be considered German citizens, and therefore given the benefits of German citizenship. This was altered however, after a 1904 revolution in which mixed people and Black members of German families, *Mischlinge*, were seen as having sided with Black natives and intimately betraying White Germans. Early on in German colonial policy, race was not associated with a biologically subordinate status, but rather with a socially subordinate status, and racial difference and mixing were not always seen as negative. Literature from this era describes how in some cases marriage to a Black or mixed

person could be materially useful, and mixed people themselves were seen as possessing special talents because of their knowledge of both cultural groups, and of their combination of White intellect with Black physical prowess.

The 1904 uprising and the resulting genocidal colonial war caused a drastic shift in the White German discourse surrounding mixed people, and the same perceived mix of White intellect and Black physicality that was once seen as one of the colony's greatest advantages soon became its greatest threat. Race was shifted from a social class to an intrinsic biological quality, and those who were non-White were seen as having biological impurities that were fundamentally incompatible with White biology and would therefore cause harm to the health and fertility of the entire group. This racial epistemology led to a ban on interracial marriages, and eventually the revocation of citizenship for mixed people in German families, as this biologically defined view of citizenship resulted in all children born of interracial couples being automatically Black, and especially important to excise from German society because of the unique threat they posed. (Fitzpatrick, 2009)

In spite of the marriage ban between White people and non-White people, many men still engaged in sexual relationships with Black women and continued to cohabit and build families even if they were not legally married, which led to harsh criminalization of sexual relations between the racial groups as well. The desire to sever interracial couples and mixed-race families was further justified by a biological imagining of race, since White men who were engaging with Black women were seen as acting in an unnatural and mentally unsound fashion that was in opposition to their internal biology, and therefore the colonial authorities had license to intervene and rescue these men from their own insanity.

These colonial policies first introduced the concept of using eugenics to control family formation to the German government. Though prior to the first World War, such policies had been met with resistance in mainland Germany and only existed in the radical periphery of the colonies, the defeat and national humiliation of the first World War led to a radicalized turn to biological racism that influenced the policies of the NSDAP, and a desire to control sexual mixing between White Germans and the lesser races as a way of creating and maintaining hegemonic power.

During the era of NSDAP control, women were especially seen as being necessary to carry children to continue the German race and avoid racial pollution, and so women who were accused of having sexual relationships with Black and Jewish men were put on trial and often faced harsh punishment - including revocation of citizenship, placement in work camps, and sterilization. (Szobar, 2002) The arguments against these women claimed that men of color were animalistic and sexually perverse, and positioned them as especially threatening to German society because of how their offspring could overrun and cause the destruction of the race. These trials were also especially humiliating for the women being accused, as they were made to recount details of sexual encounters in public spaces, attended by state officials, family, and peers. This treatment was justified by the claim that these women had allowed degradation of the race as a whole by allowing themselves to be defiled and were part of larger discursive and legal trends to control women and their actions in order to enforce ethnic boundaries.

Thus, in service of the interests and perceived threats of White men, both women and men of color were subject to brutal control through a discursive merging of ethnic purity and sexual purity - lower races polluted the ethnic group through blood mixing just as individual non-White men polluted White women through sexual contact. This conflation of ethnic and

sexual purity was the basis of paternalist discourse that sought to constrain and punish the actions of women by claiming they required protection from the sexual perversity of men of color, while also commodifying them as a reproductive resource that non-White men should not have access to, as they were the property of White men.

Turkish Migration and Societal Standing

Though after the war both German states underwent some level of state-sponsored denazification, the ways that racial categories and the sexual threat of men of color were legally and discursively defined from the mid 1800s onwards did have an impact on how Turkish immigrants have been treated and socially positioned within German society.

Soon after the end of the second World War, the FRG experienced a period of economic growth and a high demand for labor, higher than the German population could provide at the time. This labor shortage led to the development of a *Gastarbeiter Program*, a guest worker program, in 1956 during which the government of the FRG actively recruited young men from Mediterranean and Middle Eastern countries to migrate to Germany and fill this labor shortage. (Castles, 1985)

The original intention of this program was for migrants to arrive in Germany, work and send remittances back to families while also investing in the German economy, and then eventually return to their country of origin; however, in reality once many of these men became financially settled in Germany, they sent for their wives, children, and other dependents and established their families in Germany as well. This was also supported by German employers, who preferred to retain skilled employees rather than re-train their workforce every two years. In 1965 in response to the growing guest worker population in Germany, the Alien Act, or

Ausländergesetz was passed to regulate the work and residence permits of guest workers and placed the power of regulating these permits purely within the hands of the German authorities,

The *Gastarbeiter* program officially ended in 1973, and this time there were over four million foreign residents in Germany, with Turkish Germans making up the plurality of the immigrant population with approximately 1 million migrants. (Castles, 195:519) The laws and discourses of this time reflected a belief that Germany was not an immigrant-receiving country, like say Australia or the US, which affected the sociocultural and material circumstances of migrants.

The 1970s and 1980s were marked by exclusionary policy centered in the idea that immigrants were not, and could never be German, and this was echoed in the 1977 Federal Naturalization Guidelines, which stated a clear intention on behalf of the government to restrict and avoid immigrant naturalization. (Anil, 2005) This exclusionary law and discourse encouraged social separation and segregation, as Turkish German immigrants had very few legal rights and were excluded from mainstream German society through discrimination in the labor market and in the housing market. This encouraged the formation of ethnic enclaves as immigrants were motivated to band together and form communities for support and solidarity, in addition to the fact that they were pushed together in segregated housing and limited job opportunities. These enclaves grew in number and in identity as more and more children were born into these communities and engaged in the process of defining their own identities as born on German soil, yet of Turkish origin. These enclaves and unique third culture have also led to the association of Turkish German immigrants with highly racially segregated urban areas and the relationship between immigrant identity and the “ghetto.”

As the Federal Republic of Germany and the Democratic German Republic reunited at the beginning of the 1990s Germany engaged in a conversation of redefining national identity, which was marked by growing anti-immigrant sentiment and restriction for those seeking asylum in Germany, yet also the introduction of the possibility of naturalization for immigrants. (Anil, 2005) These conflicting sentiments were especially directed at the Turkish German community, as they were at the time the largest non-European ethnic minority in the nation, and influenced multi-generational immigrants to create their own separate third-culture that was neither entirely German, as Turkish Germans were socio-politically excluded from Germany, nor entirely Turkish, since though these immigrants were legally Turkish nationals, they had vastly different lived experiences from Turks living in Turkey, or even from first generation immigrants. This idea of cultural belonging was also complicated by changes to legal systems of citizenship as the Alien Act of 1965 was amended in 1990, 1993, and 1999 increasingly allowing immigrants to have a legal claim to naturalization. (Anil, 2005:455)

Until 1990, German citizenship was a purely Jus Sanguinis system, meaning that only those with German ancestors and “blood” could be granted legal citizenship, and though there was an option for immigrants and their children to be authorized permanent residents of Germany, this authorization did not convey the same legal rights as citizenship, and still left immigrants vulnerable to deportation under certain circumstances. After the changes in the Alien Act, especially that of 1999, many Turkish German immigrants were eligible to receive German citizenship and have the same legal rights as their peers with regard to civic representation, however, German citizenship still primarily functions through an ethnic model, and though it was theorized that these citizenship changes would allow for the complete integration of ethnic minorities within Germany, Turkish Germans and other migrants from Middle Eastern countries

have continued to be subject to racial and ethnic discrimination both legally and discursively, as rhetoric has formed that differentiates between bio-Germans and passport-Germans, or those who are truly racially/ethnically German versus those who have a legal marker of Germanness, yet are not actually German. (Anil, 2005; Takenaga, 2019) The shift away from racial and ethnic categories being used to determine citizenship and allowing racial and ethnic minorities access to Germanness has encouraged members of the racial and ethnic majority to create new discourse to ensure clear ethnic and racial boundaries and mitigate threat to their hegemonic power.

Just as asylum seekers sought refuge in Germany post-reunification in the 1990s, the 2010s and conflict in the Middle Eastern world led to increased migration flows of people from countries such as Sudan, Syria, Afghanistan, and Iraq, supported by the fact that Germany's constitution currently claims it to be a nation open and eager to welcome refugees and asylum seekers. However, this increased awareness of ethnic/racial minorities in German law and discourse as the country is theoretically obliged to open its doors to refugees and migrants has caused hegemonic groups within Germany to feel especially threatened and thus try to impact these laws and discourses to mitigate threat to whiteness and patriarchy.

Old Boundaries Made New Again

The current political backlash against immigrants, refugees, and other foreigners is a synthesis of earlier German systems of defining race and ethnicity and employs many of the same discourses in an orientalist and paternalist manner.

On New Year's Eve 2015 in the city of Cologne over one thousand men converged upon the central train station, widespread thefts and groping were reported to police, and many white women described being surrounded by groups of Arab or North African men. This event drew

international attention, sparked a parliamentary debate, and was the topic of news coverage for months. (Weber, 2016) The response to this event legally and discursively reflected an instinctive turn to orientalist and paternalist ideals that have persisted since the beginning of the 20th century.

The news coverage and government debate after the Cologne New Year's Eve attacks emphasized that the cultures of North Africa and the Middle East were fundamentally separate from German and European culture, and that all members of these cultures viewed sex and gender in a uniform manner that poses a direct threat to women everywhere. After further investigation, it was found that few of the men actually were North African, but soon reports came of Arab and Algerian men, and the German government was quick to halt almost all incoming asylum seekers from Algeria and create harsher standards for all migrants to be admitted into Germany on the basis of preventing crime and protecting women's rights. This slipped back into historical discourses of the Orient as a monolithic static unit, whose male members are unduly obsessed with sexuality and express their desires in inherently violent ways.

Another example of older discourse being used to reinforce racial and ethnic boundaries in a current context is the official platform and messaging of the new German right-wing, the *Alternative für Deutschland Partei*, or Alternatives for Germany Party (AfD). In the party's official platform statement, not only do they cite a need for the German population to reflect German values, they describe these values as being accepting to LGBTQ people and the rights of women, despite the party's own anti-feminist and anti-same sex marriage beliefs. The distinctly tokenize minorities such as women, LGBTQ people, and Jewish people as justification for excluding Muslim and Middle Eastern immigrants from Germany and calling for those immigrants who are already in Germany to further assimilate.

Much of the party rhetoric focuses on fighting a supposed immigrant take-over of Germany and exists in response to a conflation of immigrants and elements of their culture existing within Germany with immigrants working to enforce their culture upon mainstream German society. In order to build an image of the sort of brutal and sexually perverse culture immigrants will impose upon German society, the AfD has even begun using pieces of French orientalist painting such as *The Slave Market* by Jean-Léon Gérôme on posters and billboards, with a caption warning against Europe becoming Eurabia.



This advertisement is part of a larger series on the AfD's Facebook page with the expressed purpose of using images from European art history to point to common values that must be defended. (Hickley, 2019)

This specific painting, and many of the others in the series portrayed the immutable otherness of people of color that was used to support European imperialism, and simultaneously degrades the woman and criticizes the traders exploiting her, allowing the duality of erotic titillation and moral superiority central to the orientalist view point.

Though mainstream reactionary discourse in response to the increased visibility of immigrants in German society hasn't explicitly stated the racial epistemology of the NSDAP that assigns immigrants a biological inferiority, the use of orientalist ideas and a paternalist need to speak on behalf of minority groups indicates that this discourse is firmly rooted in the conceptualizations of racial and ethnic boundaries of German history, and is an attempt by

dominant groups to maintain their hegemonic power by ensuring clear ethnic boundaries between who is German and who is not.

A Summary of the Euromasculine Paradigm

Thus, by analyzing how dominant groups in German society have conceptualized culture and race and have enforced these conceptualizations overtime, it is possible to define an underlying framework of euromasculinity that seeks to mitigate the threat that Turkish German artists pose to hegemonic power. Euromasculinity ultimately aims to serve the goals of White patriarchal forces in order to mitigate ethnic, political, and material threat outsiders may pose to these forces.

This framework has led to policies and discourses that degrade culture that is critical of the state and produced by marginalized groups and isolate people who are seen as racial and ethnic outsiders and ensure that they always live as outsiders. In the service of hegemonic forces, the early immigrant rap movement was shaped by the state to neutralize potentially threatening ideas in a way that mirrored prior efforts by German governments to minimize political threat from non-normative art and media. This is coupled with how Turkish, Middle Eastern, and Muslim immigrants have been consistently positioned as threatening, hypersexual, and socially incompatible with the people of Germany in a manner reminiscent of prior orientalist discourse and biologically reductionist policy utilized by German hegemonic forces to avoid ethnic threat from non-white immigrants. By tracing the manifestation of the same ideologies repeatedly over time, we are able to better determine how these ideologies have created the context in which Turkish German rappers currently produce their music, and it is a context formed by euromasculinity.

Therefore, it is within the constraints of, and in opposition to, euromasculinity that Turkish German rappers create their music and assert their cultural power, and they do so by referencing their heritage.

Part 3: Between two Paradigms

The goal of establishing what euromasculinity is and how it is enforced is to elucidate the context in which Turkish German rap is produced and understand how this music interacts with this context and also opposes it. The context of euromasculinity has worked to position both the art form of rap as threatening and the artists, Turkish German men, as threatening, and in conversation with this positioning, Turkish German rappers assert their own power and identity by referencing their heritage in Middle Eastern, Turkish and Islamicate music.

Accepting and Rejecting Euromasculinity

In this chapter I am analyzing the musical qualities and lyrics of five rap tracks created by Turkish German artists that explicitly mention their sociopolitical positioning. The first of these songs is *1994* by Eko Fresh, one of the most popular rappers within Germany, and a third generation Turkish German immigrant. This song was produced in conjunction with the government of North Rhine Westphalia to encourage immigrant youth who are German citizens to vote, and takes the narrative form of a father who is a second generation immigrant talking to his third generation children about how their grandfather was a guest worker and experienced struggles, how the second generation has further integrated in German society and identifies as German, and how proud the third generation should feel to be truly and equally German because of their right to vote, thus encouraging them to use it. This song is ultimately state sponsored and presents a picture of Turkish German sociopolitical positioning that is optimistic and perhaps dismissive of current discrimination and racial struggle, but also is infused with references to Turkish heritage, which is symbolized by the use of traditional Turkish instruments and aesthetics. Thus, this song exists in an institutional context and explicitly transmits messages that

are beneficial to the state, yet also engages in sonic diasporic resistance and an assertion of a dually Turkish-German identity that influences dominant discourses of national identity.

The second track is the *AfD Abschiebungs Anthem*, a deportation anthem, that appropriates the discourse of dominant groups aiming to remove immigrants from German society and then parodies this discourse in response to a rap beef, or feud, between two Turkish/Middle Eastern German rappers. This song involves a Turkish German rapper showing solidarity with an Algerian German rapper, who is also positioned as threatening, and references the Cologne New Year's Eve events of 2015 in a mocking way. AfD is an example of immigrant rappers embracing their sociopolitical positioning as threatening by encouraging sexual violence and criminality in an exaggerated and intense manner, and then using this threatening image created by the context of the majority in a conflict with a fellow member of the minority. *AfD Anthem* is an example of subverting and utilizing hegemonic ideas in service of personal goals and referencing the imagined culture ascribed to immigrants.

The remaining three songs are the ones referenced in the introduction, the *Ausländer* tracks, the first from 2007 by Alpa Gun, the second from 2015 by Mert, and the third from 2020 by Mert and Alpa Gun. In the original *Ausländer* 2007, Alpa Gun emphasizes the incongruity between the legal statuses of immigrants and their positioning within German society, and conditionally agrees to mainstream German stereotypes about his “ghetto” community. The track acts as a direct plea from a member of the minority for acceptance from the majority, implores cultural unity, and asks for the audience to recognize immigrants as members of the German people.

Ausländer 2015 by Mert samples the primary hook of *Ausländer* 2007, but also introduces more audibly Middle Eastern elements through the use of traditional instruments and

combines mockery of stereotypes about Turkish Germans with references to distinctive cultural experiences that are common amongst Turkish German youth. The lyrics of *Ausländer 2015* have a more sarcastic and teasing tone in response to the sociopolitical positioning of Turkish Germans as threatening, and as opposed the earlier track which tries to logically dispel ideas of threat and asks the audience to consider immigrants as German, Mert asserts the cultural identity of Turkish Germans and indicates a sense of entitlement: Turkish Germans are not going to kindly ask for you to treat us like we belong, we are already here and there's nothing you can do about it.

The most recent *Ausländer* track released earlier this year asserts a similar sort of confidence and refusal to acquiesce to hegemonic ideas but has a seriousness that *Ausländer 2015* does not. In *Ausländer 2020*, both Alpa Gun and Mert lyrically assert the cultural identity of Turkish Germans in rejection of the context created by hegemonic forces yet acknowledge the impact these forces have on the lives of Turkish Germans. They discuss how they are socio-politically victimized by the systems surrounding them through stereotyping, suspicion, and cultural assumptions, but also how this context shapes their own understanding of their place in German society. At the end of the chorus of *Ausländer 2020* the last lines are, "We didn't think this way, you made us this way/ I am a foreigner." The song as a whole asserts a blended Turkish German identity in which the artists take pride in being members of this third culture of immigrants, and they reference it through cultural symbols, metaphors, and musical fusion, but this stands very much in opposition to decades of German policy and discourse that claim Turkish German immigrants to be members of a separate cultural and ethnic group that is not compatible with German culture and ethnicity and that such a blended identity cannot exist.

Harkening to Heritage and Audio Politics

As discussed by Meghan Drury with regard to rap in the gulf, as rap is utilized by migrant groups in response to sociopolitical contexts in their host nations, they use musical elements of their heritage to affirm their cultural identity in a process of sonic diasporic resistance. (Drury, 2017) In this fashion, many of the artists mentioned above utilize instruments, sounds, and language to explicitly convey Turkishness in their rap.

For example, 1994 is a state-sponsored track, yet was written and produced by Turkish German artists and as the lyrics discuss how Germany is this family's homeland and they must civically engage within it. Musically, however, the entire piece is underscored by the sounds of the baglama and the kaval. These are the only two instruments for the first half of the song until a synthesized rap beat comes in around halfway through, and these instruments are very traditional and common instruments in Turkish music. The baglama is a Turkish lute and the kaval is a popular Arab wind instrument, and the soundscape these two instruments create in 1994 is a distinctly foreign one. Thus, this instrumentation adds an element of assertion of cultural power, as this song is meant to indicate how German this family is while simultaneously being very Turkish, challenging earlier conceptions of monoethnic national identity.

Ausländer 2015 opens with the sounds of a Middle Eastern flute known as the ney that is common in traditional and current Turkish music, and *Ausländer* 2020 uses a synthesizer in its introduction that sounds like an electronic imitation of a Turkish bowed string instrument called the kamançe, but even if one does not know the exact instruments being used, their goal is to cue the listener in to the fact that what they are listening to has Middle Eastern influence, while the rest of the song in German affirms the existence and traits of a third culture that is simultaneously both Middle Eastern and German.

Beyond instruments, both *Ausländer* 2007 and 2020 also engage in audio politics by using official news broadcasts discussing immigrants within Germany in the introduction of the song underlined by a pensive sounding string instrument as an indicator of tone and sociopolitical context. Both of these news clips are meant to remind the listener of how immigrants are constantly othered and positioned as threatening within German society juxtaposed with audibly foreign instrumental solos to symbolize the cultural divide the artists exist in the middle of and are commenting on.

These tracks use language, instruments, and audio sampling to indicate foreignness and engage in sonic diasporic resistance, but I argue that they also use these auditory elements in conjunction with references to Turkish culture and symbols to indicate a counter-paradigm that is meant to oppose their socio-political positioning as threats within the Euromasculine context.

Counter-paradigm: Middle Eastern, Turkish, Islamicate Concepts

In focusing specifically on references these songs make to Turkish and immigrant culture, they allude to Middle Eastern, Turkish, and Islamicate (MTI) concepts and musical elements in their method of asserting cultural power and opposing their position in euromasculinity. This is especially evident in *Ausländer* 2015 and 2020, as 1994 asserts Turkishness nonverbally yet reinforces hegemonic ideas lyrically, *AfD Anthem* references urban spaces that are coded “ghetto” for the purposes of subverting hegemonic discourse, and *Ausländer* 2007 very much operates within euromasculine terms and concedes to existing discourse and law and attempts to assert power within those structures.

Ausländer 2015 and 2020, both primarily by Mert, who is of a younger generation than the other artists mentioned, reference cultural practices and experiences that are common

amongst Turkish Germans to create a new context outside of the one created by dominant forces within German society.

Ausländer 2015 constructs an image of a third culture by referencing family dynamics especially. The first verse references Turkish mothers throwing sandals with sniper-like precision, which is a form of discipline many immigrant children have been on the receiving end of, and the sharp gaze, pride, and abundant chest hair of Turkish fathers. Mert goes on to further describe his daily life and the elements within it that can be relatable for other Turkish German youth, such as eating the same Turkish dishes for dinner every night and not having stylish Tupperware containers with sandwiches in them for lunch at school like non-immigrant classmates. He also describes the rebellious youth culture of his friends all sneaking out and riding bikes to place bets at a sports bar and trying but failing to seem tough by having a popular urban haircut. These references describe his community in a manner unlike how it has been described by dominant groups in society and indicate an outlook that does not involve the assumptions and goals of the euromasculine paradigm, indicating a counter-paradigm - a different context based on his heritage and lived experiences. It is by positing this context that he confidently asserts the importance, identity, and influence of his community.

In *Ausländer* 2020, Mert and Alpa Gun make references to fashion choices and foods, but also common experiences faced by Turkish Germans - experiences shaped by hegemonic forces. This song makes reference to the cultural choices these rappers make; they wear Nike instead of Lagerfeld and blast Turkish folk music while driving instead of pop hits, they prefer Turkish food over caviar and spend time in certain streets. It also uses symbolism to describe how they feel rooted in both German and Turkish culture; in Alpa Gun's verse he says, "we are the crescent and star in the middle of the German flag," portraying a combination of the

Turkishness and Germanness, and also that Berlin is his *Heimat*, German homeland, and Antep is his *Memleket*, Turkish homeland, as he is a member of both of these groups and on a daily basis experiences a culture that is a mixture of these two. One is not above the other; they both exist equally. These references allude to a cultural understanding that is more nuanced than one that falls along racial lines, and yet the song portrays how Turkish Germans are judged, assumed to be criminals, and brutalized by the police in a manner that reinforces their euromasculine positioning as threatening outsiders.

Ausländer 2015 and 2020 describe a context and paradigm that encourages cultural plurality and equality and an understanding of family, community, and identity based in Middle Eastern, Turkish, and Islamicate concepts and conveys this linguistically and musically, yet *Ausländer* 2020 also describes how this vision conflicts with the treatment of Turkish German men in a euromasculine context, as they are seen as outsiders, criminals, threats to others.

In response to one paradigm or context that has manifested in German law and discourse throughout history to position Turkish German men as both cultural and ethnic threats - euromasculinity. These five tracks all reference the socio-political standing of Turkish Germans and either attempt to assert power and identity within the euromasculine framework, or musically, lyrically, and symbolically refer to Turkish heritage to create a counter-paradigm.

Conclusion

Dominant ethnic groups within German society have been motivated by an imagined threat and thus acted to create clear boundaries between who is German and who is not and control the dissemination of unwanted ideas, which created the context in which Turkish German rappers live and create their art, and I refer to this context as euromasculinity. In analyzing five tracks that explicitly reference the impacts of euromasculinity on the Turkish German community, I argue that some of them operate within this context as the artist either tries to assert power for his community or for himself using discourses shaped by dominant groups, and some of them operate outside of this context and assert power by critiquing euromasculinity, and positing another context, one based on Middle Eastern, Turkish, and Islamicate concepts.

Those Left Behind in a Struggle of Masculinities

Ultimately, this is an incredibly narrow analysis -looking at how the dominant groups within Germany have enacted law and discourse to maintain cultural and ethnic power, and then how this has affected Turkish German men specifically turns a blind eye to the fact that this paradigm and the responses to it deeply impact the experiences of Turkish German women and LGBTQ people. Misogyny, homophobia, and transphobia are tokenized by White Germans to justify racism against non-European immigrants despite the prevalence of these power structures within mainstream German society, and misogyny, homophobia, and transphobia exist within immigrant communities in complicated ways. This structure combines to create an environment in which women and LGBTQ people are oppressed from multiple intersecting directions and considering the number of talented female and openly queer rappers within the Turkish German rap scene, analyzing their music would be a rich area of further study.

Euromasculinity as a Universal Opponent

The ways other members of the Turkish German community beyond heterosexual cisgender men experience euromasculinity leads to why this analysis is relevant in the first place - by looking at how dominant ethnic groups in a society have defined cultural production and ethnic boundaries throughout history, we are able to deduce an underlying paradigm and better understand the current context in which artists of ethnic minority create their work and how they blend cultural elements in their work to assert their power and identity in the face of oppression.

Structures of racial/ethnic oppression exist globally and are justified in a variety of ways, and art created by the oppressed is especially significant in dismantling these structures. By understanding a society's language and law throughout history to see how structures of oppression have manifested, we can understand the context in which those oppressed in that society engage in cultural production and appreciate how their art engages with their oppression.

The paradigm I refer to as euromasculinity - an outlook that centers and prioritizes Whiteness, but in a particularly patriarchal manner - impacts the experiences of people of color worldwide, especially those who hold multiple marginalized identities, and an understanding of how euromasculinity constrains a particular social group can be a tool of analysis of the art produced by that social group, as it has been in analyzing the rap of Turkish German men.

Appendix A: Playlist

<i>Title</i>	<i>Artist(s)</i>	<i>Album</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Length (m:s)</i>
1994	Eko Fresh	Single	2020	2:22
AFD (Abschiebungs Anthem)	Bass Sultan Hengzt, Al-Gear	Zahltag: Riot	2017	3:30
Ausländer	Alpa Gun	Geladen und Entichert	2007	4:08
Ausländer	Mert	Single	2015	2:35
Ausländer 2020	Mert, Alpa Gun	Kunde ist König 2	2020	2:58

Appendix B: Lyrics and Translations

B.1: 1994 – Eko Fresh

Dein Großvater kam in dieses Land wo er gar niemanden kennt/ Sein Kumpel hatte ihm erzählt von ner Arbeit die er fand/ Sein Schicksal nahm er in die Hand als er auf den Wagen sprang/ Die Fahrt war lang doch für die Familie trat er sie gern an/ Das sagt sich leicht aber sich auf eine Reise machen auf den Schritt dann einzulassen/ Frau und Kind allein zu lassen/ In einer Welt wo ich die Sprache nicht sprech/ Er sagte regelrecht nur ein Wort „ja“ zu dem Chef/ aber sein Ziel war noch weit am arbeiten unter seines gleichen, wann wird die Familie endlich wieder vereint/ Da war ich 17 ein halb und wir sind übergekommen/ Doch dieses Abenteuer hab ich nicht als Schüler begonnen/ Dafür war es schon zu spät damit man Armut überlebt/ War für uns der Weg vorherbestimmt arbeiten zu gehen/ Und wir haben uns bewegt und dann lernten wir auch deutsch/	Your grandfather came to this country where he didn't know anyone/ His best friend told him about some work that he had found/ He took his fate in his hand when he jumped in the car/ The journey was long, but he did it willingly for his family/ This is easier said than done, but to make a journey and commit to this step/ To leave your wife and kids alone/ In a world where I didn't speak the language/ He said only one word, "yes" to his boss/ But his goal was still far from reach, working below his peers, when would the family finally be reunited/ I was 17 and a half when we came over/ But I didn't start this adventure as a student/ By then it was far too late, in order to survive poverty/ It was decided that we had to go to work/ And we moved and then we also learned German/
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Opa sagte immer wieder wir sind hergekommen für euch/ Er hat sehr vieles versäumt und wollt nichts Neues probieren/ War leider noch im gleichen Job von 9 bis um 4/ Doch Im Gegensatz zu ihm hatten wir Freunde von hier/ Haben uns mit Deutschland identifiziert Und dann kamt ihr/ 3. Generation Gastarbeiter gurbetcis/ Wo man ne 1 in deutsch und Mathe auf dem schulheft sieht/ Vergessen nicht die Herkunft weil sie hier in neuer Heimat sind/ Ihr Werdet es im Leben einmal deutlich weiterbringen/ Die Vorurteile sind gar kein Thema nein/ Du wirst Jahre später ein großer Arbeitgeber sein/ Heut ist Opa tot und all das nahm er in Kauf/ Und wir haben uns getraut haben nen Laden gekauft/ Mein Traum war ein Stückchen Land von hier Garten und Haus/ Doch leider kann ich bei den Wahlen nicht raus/ aber du Sohn Dede wär stolz das ist was wo ich mir sicher bin/ denn er kam mit nichts hier hin sein Enkel darf jetzt mitbestimmen/	Grandpa always said, "we came here for you,"/ He missed a lot and didn't want to try anything new/ Was unfortunately always working from 9 to 4/ But unlike him we had friends from here/ We identified with Germany/ And then you came/ 3 rd generation guest worker migrants/ To a place where you get 1s (A+s) in German and Math on schoolwork/ Don't forget your heritage because you are here in a new homeland/ You will continue to become even more successful than us in life/ The prejudices are not an issue at all, no/ Many years from now, you will be a big employer/ Today Grandpa is dead, and he realized that/ And we dared to buy a shop/ My dream was a piece of land here, with a yard and a house/ But unfortunately, I can't go and vote/ But you, son, Dede (Turk. Grandpa) would be proud, I'm sure of that/ Because he came here with nothing and his grandson can now have an equal say
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B.2: AFD (Abschiebungs Anthem) – Bass Sultan Hengzt, Al-Gear*Alternative for Germany - the Alt-right political party (Deportation Anthem)*

TW: Homophobic language, sexism, mentions of sexual violence, profanity

[Part 1: Bass Sultan Hengzt]

Jetzt wird gefickt Boy, Arsch hoch, Hände auf den
Boden/

Alle deutschen Rapper blasen Schwänze bei
Franzosen/

Berliner Fick Legende so wie Rolf Eden
Rapper komm' mit ihren Waffen/

Ich mit Goldbären - fickt euch!/
Du fährst nur Mercedes mit 'ner Busfahrkarte/

In deiner Freundin sind mehr Samen als ner
Kushplantage/
Deine Mutter ist 'ne abgefückte zgedröhnte/

Und alle Männer in Leggings sind
HURENSÖHNE!/
Ich fick die Low-Carb-Bitches, bin auf Fettsack-
Modus/

In deiner Crew sind mehr Ratten als in Caspers
Wohnung (Lutscht mein' Schwanz, ihr Homos)/
Ihr seid undankbare Penner/

Dass Penner sogar sagen: "Ey guck mal da der
Penner!"/
Das ist Midlife-Crisis pur, Mitleid? Keine Spur!/
Deine Junkie-Mutter geht auf Kneipentour/

Die letzte Bitch, die ich fickte war japanisch/
Sie sah mein Schwanz, ich fragte: "Angst?", sie
sagte: "Ja, panisch!"/

[Hook: Bass Sultan Hengzt & Al-Gear] (2x)

[Part 1: Bass Sultan Hengzt]

You're getting fucked, boy, ass up, hands on the
floor/

All German rappers suck dicks with the French/

Berlin fuck legend like Rolf Eden (playboy)/
Rappers come with their guns/

Me with gummy bears - fuck you!/
You only drive a Mercedes with a bus ticket/

There's more seeds in your girlfriend than a
marijuana plantation/
Your mom's a fucked-up druggie/

And all men in leggings are the sons of whores!/
I fuck the low-carb bitches, I'm in fat-ass mode/

There are more rats in your crew than in Casper's
apartment (Suck my dick, you homos)/
You're ungrateful bums/

That bums that even say, "Hey, look at that bum!"/
That's pure midlife crisis, pity? Not at all./
Your junkie mother goes on a pub crawl/

The last bitch I fucked was Japanese/
She saw my dick, I said, "Scared?", she said, "Yeah,
panicked!"/

[Hook: Bass Sultan Hengzt & Al-Gear] [2x]

(Al-Gear)

Ey yo Hengzt welcher Rapper steht dir grad im Weg/

(Hengzt)

Ich würde sagen *piep* *piep* er hat mich mal erwähnt/

(Al-Gear)

Kein Problem dann wird es Zeit das er die Tage zählt/

(Hengzt)

Schick den Kanak in die Heimat wie die AFD!/

[Part 2: Al-Gear]

[Part 2: Al-Gear]

Ich brauche mich nich' vorstellen, die ganze Szene zittert schon/

Ich sorg dafür dass Rapper sich auch ohne Sex 'n Tripper hol'n/

Klar ihr habt zig Kanonen, doch nur weil ihr auf Twitter wohnt/

Meine alten Feinde findet heute nicht mal Interpol/ Düsseldorf, Immigranten auf der Kö/

Ellerstraße, kriminelle Banden im Milieu/

Der Algerier ist am Bahnhof und Schlampen sagen nö/

Doch mir geht's am Arsch vorbei wie die Hand von Jogi Löw/

Auf in die Tipico Filiale und tu Tausend setzen
Denn ich brauch Flous, händeringend wie beim Daumen Catchen/

Hast du was Auszusetzen oder 'ne Sache die dich stört?/

(Al Gear)

Yo, Hengzt, what rapper is standing in your way/

[Hengzt]

I'd say *BEEP* *BEEP* he mentioned me once/

(Al Gear)

No problem then it's time for him to start counting the days/

[Hengzt]

Send the Kanak (slur for Turkish or Arab person) home like the AFD!/

[Part 2: Al Gear]

[Part 2: Al Gear]

No need to introduce myself, the whole scene's shaking/

I'm gonna make sure rappers get the clap without sex/

Sure, you got a dozen guns, but just because you live on Twitter/

Interpol can't even find my old enemies today./ Düsseldorf, immigrants on the Kö (King Street)/

Eller Street, criminal gangs in the milieu/

The Algerian is at the train station and sluts say no/

But I don't give a damn like the hand of Jogi Löw/

Go to the sports hall and bet a thousand/
Cause I need fluff, wringing hands like thumb wrestling/

Do you have a problem or something that's bothering you?/

Wirst du von mir rasiert als wär' ich Hassan der
Friseur/

Weil dich Bastard keiner hört, gilst du im Block als
Verlierer/

Dann heißt es ab unter die Brücke, MOK rutsch
mal rüber/

Noch seid Ihr in Sicherheit Bitch, doch auf lange
Sicht/

Wird jeder von euch angepisst wie nach einem
Quallenbiss/

[Hook: Bass Sultan Hengzt & Al-Gear] (2x)
(Al-Gear)

Ey yo Hengzt welcher Rapper steht dir grad im
Weg/

(Hengzt)

Ich würde sagen *piep* *piep* er hat mich mal
erwähnt/

(Al-Gear)

Kein Problem dann wird es Zeit das er die Tage
zählt/

(Hengzt)

Schick den Kanak in die Heimat wie die AFD!

Do I shave (irritate) you like I'm Hassan the barber/

Because nobody hears you, bastard, you're
considered a loser on the block/

Then it's off under the bridge, MOK move over

You're still safe, bitch, but in the long run watch out/

Everyone gets pissed because of you like after a
jellyfish bite/

[Hook: Bass Sultan Hengzt & Al-Gear] [2x]
(Al Gear)

Yo, Hengzt, what rapper is standing in your way/

[Hengzt]

I'd say *BEEP* *BEEP* he mentioned me once/

(Al Gear)

No problem then it's time for him to start counting
the days/

[Hengzt]

Send the Kanak home like the AFD!//

B.3: Ausländer – Alpa Gun (2007)

Ich bin hier geboren und werd' hier draußen alt/	I was born here and I'll grow old out here/
Ich bin ein Türke mit unbefristetem Aufenthalt/	I'm a Turk with permanent residency/
Du brauchst nicht so zu gucken, home, nur weil ich schwarze Haare habe/	You don't have to stare like that, homie, just because I have Black hair/
Es war nicht leicht hier das sind 26 harte Jahre/	It hasn't been easy here. It's been 26 hard years/
Und unsere Eltern, canim, haben das Geld gebraucht/	And our parents, dear, needed the money/
Sie haben hier geackert und 'ne neue Welt gebaut/	They've been working here, building a new world/
Vater wurde schikaniert als wär er ein Terrorist/	Dad was harassed like he was a terrorist/
Deswegen leb ich heute da, wo das härteste Ghetto ist/	That's why today I live where the toughest ghetto is/
Da wo nur Kurden, Russen, Araber und Türken wohnen/	Where only Kurds, Russians, Arabs and Turks live/
Da wo die Menschen kämpfen müssen für ein bisschen Lohn/	Where people have to fight for a bit of pay/
Euch geht es gut da oben doch wir haben's hier unten schwer/	You guys are fine up there, but we're having a hard time down here/
Für euch sind wir Kanacks und müssen trotzdem in die Bundeswehr/	We're Kanacks to you, and we still have to join the army/
Ich bin kein Faschist - ich bin hier nur so aufgewachsen/	I'm not a fascist - I just grew up here/
Wenn ich drüben im Osten bin, kenn' ich auch ein paar Glatzen/	When I'm over there in the East, I know a few bald guys (skinheads)/
Wir sind hier zu Hause, es wird Zeit das ihr es heute rafft/	This is our home, it's time you get it today/
Fast jeder von uns auf der Strasse hat nen deutschen Pass/	Almost everyone (all of us) on the street has a German passport/
[Hook]	[Hook]

Ich bin ein Ausländer doch ich bin hier Geboren/ Zu viele sind heute im Knast nur aus manchen ist was geworden/ Ich bin ein Ausländer, canim, wir haben's hier nicht leicht gehabt/ Die Strasse im Ghetto hat noch niemanden reich gemacht/ Ich bin ein Ausländer, doch Berlin ist mein zu Hause/ Meine Heimat, meine Stadt hier kriegst du auch mal auf die Schnauze/ Ich bin ein Ausländer doch für euch bin ich Kanacke, canim/ Trotzdem bin ich hier und leb' unter der deutschen Flagge/ Hier gibt es viele Banden und zu viele Draufgänger/ Ja es stimmt die meisten von denen sind Ausländer/ Guck jeder Zweite von uns im Viertel ist vorbestraft/ Du machst auf Gangster, doch keiner in deinem Dorf ist hart/ Früher war alles anders, ich hab auch abgezogen/ Und so manche guten Freunde von mir wurden abgeschoben/ Ich weiß man hat kein Grund und nicht das Recht jemanden anzugreifen/ Doch sie finden immer wieder ein Grund dich anzuzeigen/	I am a foreigner but I was born here/ Too many are in jail today, only some of them are still alive/ I'm a foreigner, dear we didn't have it easy here/ The street in the ghetto has never made anybody rich/ I am a foreigner, but Berlin is my home/ My home, my town, you're gonna get your ass kicked around here too/ I'm a foreigner but to you I'm Kanacke, dear/ Yet here I am, living under the German flag. There's too many gangs and too many daredevils here/ Yes, it's true most of them are foreigners/ Look, one out of every two of us in this neighborhood has a criminal record/ You pretend to be a gangster, but nobody in your town is tough/ Everything used to be different. I used to pull the trigger too/ And many a good friend of mine has been deported/ I know you have no reason and no right to charge someone/ But they always find a reason to report you/
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Und heute ist es so das wir uns gegenseitig schlagen/	And today, we're beating each other/
Es hat sich viel geändert - es ist nicht mehr wie vor 30 Jahren/	A lot has changed - it's not like 30 years ago/
Damals hielten wir noch mehr zusammen und waren nur gegen Nazis/	At that time we banded together more and only were against Nazis/
Jetzt hast du Beef mit Leuten, die du hier jeden Tag siehst/	Now you have beef with people you see here every day/
Doch in mein Bezirk sind wir wie eine Familie/ Ich wohne gerne in Schöneberg, weil ich hier alle Liebe/	But in my district, we're like family/ I like living in Schöneberg, because here I find all the love/
Ich kann nicht Weg hier, weil ich die Gegend brauche/	I can't leave here because I need this place/
Guck Berlin ist meine Heimat/ Berlin ist unser zu Hause/	Look, Berlin is my home/ Berlin is our home /
[Hook]	[Hook]
Ihr müsst mir glauben, der Umgang mit euch ist gar nicht leicht/	You have to believe me, you're not easy to handle/
Ihr schmeißt uns alle auf einen Haufen und sagt wir sind alle gleich/	You all throw us all together and say we're all the same/
Ich hab mich oft geschlagen, doch mein Bruder wollte nicht so sein/	I've been in a lot of fights, but my brother didn't want to be like that/
Trotzdem kommt er wegen sein Aussehen in keine Disco rein/	Still, he can't get into a disco because of his looks/
Türken töten für Ehre und drehen auch krumme Dinger/	Turks kill for honor and do bad things too/
Und manche Deutsche machen lieber Sex mit kleinen Kindern/	And some Germans prefer to have sex with small children/

Nicht jeder von uns würde mit Koks oder Hero
dealen/

Not all of us would deal coke or heroin/

Ich sag doch auch nicht jeder Deutsche ist gestört
und pädophil/

I'm not saying that every German is deranged and a
pedophile/

Es ist wie eine Rebe mit großen und kleinen
Trauben/

It is like a vine with big and small grapes/

Wenn eine schlecht ist heißt es nicht das alle gleich
verfault sind/

If one is bad, doesn't mean they're all equally rotten/

Wir mussten kämpfen und haben nie was von euch
gewollt/

We had to struggle, and we never wanted anything
from you/

Ihr sollt nur wissen, wir sind auch ein Teil vom
deutschen Volk/

You just should know that we are also a part of the
German people/

[Hook]

[Hook]

B.4: Ausländer – Mert (2015)

Ich bin ein Ausländer, ey, Bruder, tank mal ein'n Zehner/ Kanakas sind mit jedem verwandt und verschwägert/ Dreißig Cousengs passen rein in ein'n Benz/ Du musst jeden umarm'n, obwohl du kein'n davon kennst (hö?)/ Schon als Kinder klauten wir Yu-Gi-Oh!-Karten/ Zu 'nem Ausländer darfst du niemals „Hurensohn“ sagen (was, lan?)/ Sie lernten auf den Bergen Munition laden. 'Ne Kanakenmutter kann dich mit 'nem Terlik totschlagen/ Von Baba reicht schon ein böser Blick/ Du darfst ihn nicht stören, wenn er Döner isst/ Yeah, er hat zwar keine Muskelarme/ Aber voll die Brustbehaarung, heh/ Eltern sagen immer, wir sollten die Schule machen/ Und angeblich waren alle beide gut in Mathe (blablabla)/ Leute lasst euch nix erzählen/ Wieso haben wir von den'n noch nie ein Zeugnis gesehen, he?/ Wir sind Ausländer, ihr könnt uns alle in ein'n Topf werfen/ Wir bereiten Kopfschmerzen, ich weiß/ Doch wir sind Ausländer, wer weiß, wie lange wir euch noch nerven/	I'm a foreigner, yo, brother, gas up a tenner/ Kanakas (Turks) are related to everyone and are all in-laws/ Thirty cousins fit inside a Benz/ You have to hug everybody, even though you don't know any of them (eh?)/ Even as children we stole Yu-Gi-Oh! cards/ You never say "son of a bitch" to a foreigner (what, man?)/ They learned to load ammunition on the mountains/ A Turkish mother can beat you to death with a sandal/ From Dad, one sharp glare is enough/ You can't bother him when he's eating Döner/ Yeah, he doesn't have muscular arms/ But he's full of chest hair, heh/ Parents are always saying we should do school/ And supposedly they were both good at math (blah, blah, blah)/ Don't let anyone tell you anything/ Why have we never seen any report card from them, huh?/ We are foreigners, you can lump us all together/ We give headaches, I know/ But we are foreigners, who knows how long we'll bug you/
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Wir bereiten Kopfschmerzen und wir sind dreist, Digga/ Wir sind Ausländer, ihr könnt uns alle in ein'n Topf werfen/ Wir bereiten Kopfschmerzen, ich weiß/ Doch wir sind Ausländer, wer weiß, wie lange wir euch noch nerven/ Wir bereiten Kopfschmerzen und wir sind dreist, Digga/ Ich bin Ausländer, ich bekomm' schon Pickel von dem Cekirdek/ Anne, wieso schon wieder Mercimek?/ Und dann muss ich mir wieder anhör'n, dass wir es besser haben (bla)/ Weil wir Essen haben und in Betten schlafen (blablabla)/ Ich hatte in der Schule keine Butterbrote/ Die Deutschen hatten immer so'ne Tupperdose/ Im Auto stauen sich die Pfandflaschen/ Sogar meine Mutter hat 'n Basey in der Handtasche (yüah)/ Sie regt sich immer auf, wenn ich nicht zu Hause esse/ Jede ausländische Oma hat 'ne Augenschwäche/ Jeder ausländische Opa hat noch Kraft/ Und obwohl ich sein Enkel bin, glaube ich, dass er mich hasst („wieso, Mann?“)/ Dass mein Vater mich erwischt, ist das Risiko/ Doch wir fahr'n zu zehnt auf 'nem Fahrrad zum Tipico („kommt, Jungs!“)/ Ich bin ein scheiß Boxerschnittträger/	We give headaches and we're audacious, dude/ We are foreigners, you can lump us all together/ We give headaches, I know/ But we are foreigners, who knows how long we'll bug you. We give headaches and we're audacious, dude/ I'm a foreigner, I'm already getting pimples from the snacks/ Mom, why lentils again? And then I have to listen again that we have it better (blah)/ Because we have food and sleep in beds (blah, blah, blah)/ I didn't have sandwiches at school/ The Germans always had such a Tupperware box/ The recycling bottles are jammed in the car/ Even my mother keeps a baseball bat in her purse/ She always gets upset when I don't eat at home/ Every immigrant grandmother has an eye weakness/ Every immigrant grandpa still has strength/ And although I'm his grandson, I think he hates me ("why, man?")/ My father catching me is the risk/ But there's ten of us riding bikes to the bar ("Come on, boys!")/
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B5: Ausländer 2020 – Mert, Alpa Gun

[Intro]

„Die Angst vieler Deutscher vor Kriminalität wächst. Steigende Einbruchszahlen, Diebstähle. Die Ausbreitung krimineller Clans und ein Verdacht: Sind die Täter besonders häufig Ausländer?“

[Hook: Mert & Alpa Gun]

Ja, ich bin ein Ausländer, unsre Narben sind die
Markenzeichen/
Darum wechselt ihr die Straßenseiten/
Denn ich bin ein Ausländer, laufe durch Gassen
und Seitenstraßen/
Sitze im Benz oder im Streifenwagen/
Ja, ich bin ein Ausländer, und sie gucken auf die
schwarzen Haare/
Weil ich das teure Auto bar bezahle/
Ja, ich bin ein Ausländer, schon damals Päckchen
im Hof gepackt/
Wir hab'n nicht so gedacht, ihr habt uns so
gemacht/
Ich bin ein Ausländer/

[Part 1: Mert]

Heh? Bin ich jetzt kriminell?/
Schwarze Haare, dicke Karre und ich liebe Geld/
Stolz in der Brust, Respekt ein Muss/
Ein Wort über Mama und es fällt ein Schuss/

[Intro]

"The fear of crime is growing among many
Germans. Increasing numbers of burglaries, thefts.
The spread of criminal gangs and a suspicion: are
the perpetrators primarily foreigners?"

[Mater: Mert & Alpa Gun]

Yes, I'm a foreigner. Our scars are the brand/
That's why you cross the street/
Because I'm a foreigner, walking through alleys and
backstreets/
Sit in a Benz or patrol car/
Yeah, I'm a foreigner, and they stare at the Black
hair/
Because I'm paying cash for that expensive car/
Yes, I'm a foreigner, even back then I was packing
parcels in the yard/
We didn't think this way, you made us this way/
I'm a foreigner/

[Part 1: Mert]

Heh? Am I a criminal now?/
Black hair, big car and I love money/
Pride in the chest, respect a must/
One word about mom and it'll be gunfire/

Ich bin ein Ausländer, trage Nike und kein
Lagerfeld/

Sucuk mit Ei und ein Çay voll mit Parliament/
Mahmut und Hasan und nicht Joko und Klaas/
Komm'n wir in den Raum, riecht's nach
Kokosnuss, wa?/

Ich bin ein Ausländer, ich geh' nicht zu der
Bundeswehr/

Trag' die Nike-Capi und das Alpha-Zeichen
umgekehrt/

Ich wollte Stürmer und kein Schiedsrichter sein/
Jede Woche lila Schein auf mein'n
Lieblingsverein/

Bin ein Ausländer und ich scheiße auf Bull'n/
Du bist auf 180, siehst du Seiten auf Null/
Atemlos durch die Stadt im Benz/
Keine Schlager-Musik, ich pump' Tatlisés/

[Hook: Mert & Alpa Gun]

Ja, ich bin ein Ausländer, unsre Narben sind die
Markenzeichen/

Darum wechselt ihr die Straßenseiten/
Denn ich bin ein Ausländer, laufe durch Gassen
und Seitenstraßen/

Sitze im Benz oder im Streifenwagen.

Ja, ich bin ein Ausländer, und sie gucken auf die
schwarzen Haare/

Weil ich das teure Auto bar bezahle/

Ja, ich bin ein Ausländer, schon damals Päckchen
im Hof gepackt/

I'm a foreigner, I wear Nike and not a Lagerfeld/

Sausage with egg and a tea full of parliament/
Mahmut and Hasan and not Joko and Klaas/
When we walk in the room, it smells like coconut,
what?/

I'm a foreigner, I'm not joining the army/

Wear the Nike hat and alpha sign upside down/

I wanted to be a striker, not a referee/
Every week purple shines on my favorite club/

I'm a foreigner and I don't give a damn about cops/
You're on 180, you see pages at zero/
Breathlessly through the city in the Benz/
No pop music, I blast Talises (Turkish folk singer)/

[Mater: Mert & Alpa Gun]

Yes, I'm a foreigner. Our scars are the brand/

That's why you cross the street/
Because I'm a foreigner, walking through alleys and
backstreets/

Sit in a Benz or patrol car/

Yeah, I'm a foreigner, and they stare at the Black
hair/

Because I'm paying cash for that expensive car/

Yes, I'm a foreigner, even back then I was packing
parcels in the yard/

Wir hab'n nicht so gedacht, ihr habt uns so
gemacht/

Ich bin ein Ausländer/

[Part 2: Alpa Gun]

Wir sind der Halbmond und Stern mitten in der
deutschen Flagge/

Immer noch Ausländer, Moruk, ich bin Deutsch-
Kanake/

Boxerschnitt, Übergang, sitzen im Mercedes-
Benz/

Sie machen Auge, weil die Roli und die Kette
glänzt/

Berlin ist meine Heimat, Antep ist mein
Memleket/

Diesel-Hose in den Socken, Taschen voller
Çekirdek/

So komm' ich in die Charts, cane, guck, ich bange
Trends/

Was für Kaviar? Wir essen Sucuk oder Menemen/

Es heißt Murat und nicht Muhrad/

Weil wir Ghetto sind wie B.I.G und 2Pac/

Laufe mit der Goldkette durch den Ku'damm/

Du zeigst es nicht, doch ich seh' dir deine Wut an/
Guck, sie woll'n sich lustig machen über uns und
wie sie uns parodier'n/

Lan, ich bin deutsch, auch wenn ich wie ein Türke
salutier'/

Jetzt weißt du Bescheid, yallah, geh und hol mir
Çay/

We didn't think this way, you made us this way/

I'm a foreigner/

[Part 2: Alpa Gun]

We are the crescent and star in the middle of the
German flag/

Still a foreigner, boomer, I'm German-Kanak/

Box cut, cross over, sitting in a Mercedes-Benz/

They're making eyes at me because the Rolex and
the chain are shiny/

Berlin is my home, Antep is my Turkish home/

Diesel pants in socks, pockets full of sunflower
seeds/

That's how I get on the charts, man, look, I worry
about trends/

What of caviar? We eat sausage or menemen
(Turkish dish)/

It's Murat, not Muhrad/

Because we're ghetto like B.I.G. and 2Pac/

Run with the gold chain through Kufürstendamm/

You don't show it, but I can see your anger/

Look, they're trying to make fun of us and parody
us/

Man, I'm German, even if I salute like a Turk/

Now you know, yallah, go get me tea/

Mert und Alper Abi, Fenerbahçe, Galatasaray/

[Hook: Mert & Alpa Gun]

Ja, ich bin ein Ausländer, unsre Narben sind die
Markenzeichen/

Darum wechselt ihr die Straßenseiten/

Denn ich bin ein Ausländer, laufe durch Gassen
und Seitenstraßen/

Sitze im Benz oder im Streifenwagen/

Ja, ich bin ein Ausländer, und sie gucken auf die
schwarzen Haare/

Weil ich das teure Auto bar bezahle/

Ja, ich bin ein Ausländer, schon damals Päckchen
im Hof gepackt/

Wir hab'n nicht so gedacht, ihr habt uns so
gemacht/

Ich bin ein Ausländer

Mert and Alper Abi, Fenerbahçe, Galatasaray
(artists)/

[Mater: Mert & Alpa Gun]

Yes, I'm a foreigner. Our scars are the brand/

That's why you cross the street/

Because I'm a foreigner, walking through alleys and
backstreets/

Sit in a Benz or patrol car/

Yeah, I'm a foreigner, and they stare at the Black
hair/

Because I'm paying cash for that expensive car/

Yes, I'm a foreigner, even back then I was packing
parcels in the yard/

We didn't think this way, you made us this way/

I'm a foreigner/

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