

**THE ROLE OF THE INTERNET TECHNOLOGIES AND SOCIAL
MEDIA IN CONTEMPORARY TURKISH HIP-HOP**

by Deniz Özyurt

Master of Science in Sociology

Tilburg University

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ABSTRACT

During the last two decades, both the rapid advancements in media technologies and increasing access to the means of cultural production have rendered the producing hybrid art forms much more complex and multi-layered processes. In doing so, they have also blurred the line between the local and the global in terms of the content produced and its utilisation into the local contexts. In this sense, by using the concept of glocalisation as a theoretical lens, this paper argues that the process of cultural appropriation within the Turkish Hip-Hop culture works in two ways; both in its content being evolved, and its expressions in the online media platforms that are more than significant for the genre's spread and continuity. The findings also indicate that the contemporary patterns of using the online media, by blending the local themes and subject matters, not only empowered the Turkish Hip-Hop artists socio-economically, but also re-interpreted the range of audience due to the spatiality of the production.

KEY WORDS: Hip-hop, Turkey, Glocalisation, Social Media, Cultural Appropriation

INTRODUCTION

Hip-Hop music, since its major commercial success and entrance into global mainstream culture in the late 1970s, has spread all around the world, and been introduced into numerous different contexts (Lee 2010, Librado 2010, Oduro-Frimpong 2009, Omoniyi 2006). It has been argued that this flexibility mainly occurs due to the fact that rapping does not depend on any musical education comparing to other genres, and can be done without using any musical instrument as well (Librado 2010, pg. 45). Furthermore, in most cases hip-hop music has been used as a tool for vocalising the prevailing socio-economic and political struggles by marginalised and excluded groups of people (Librado, 2010). Therefore, especially for the disadvantaged members of any

given society who lack the access to resources, rapping appears to be the most accessible form of expressing oneself artistically. However, as a result of liberating developments in technology for deprived artists such as online sample/beat sharing, freely accessible audio editing softwares, and, internet sites with free artist pages enabling song posting, artists of the genre in the local contexts, now, are producing and disseminating localised forms of hip-hop music with the mediation of the internet (Librado 2010, pg. 46). In this respect, locally appropriated forms of hip-hop music provide a vast area where one can observe and identify the unique patterns and outcomes of the internet mediation in the interaction between the global and the local.

Over the last few decades, beginning with the diffusion of western imposed cultural products and technological means regarding the art production into the rest of the world, local forms of interpretations and re-interpretations of global mainstream culture have become significantly visible in non-Western societies (Lee 2010, Librado 2010, Oduro-Frimpong 2009). That being said, almost every non-Western society where the members have access to both the internet and art production technologies has produced their local forms of music, TV programmes and series, writing and drawing styles, cinema, etc., which have originated in the West, mostly in the United States. Prior to 1990s, media scholars had argued that the western imposed cultural products pose a threat to indigenous non-western cultures due to unequal distribution of media technologies and resources among the Western and non-Western world (Oduro-Frimpong, 2009). The consequent decline of the thesis in the beginning of the 1990s has resulted with the adoption of ‘globalisation’ concept that addresses the multi-dimensionality of the very phenomenon. However, because of globalisation thesis’ unnecessary and inaccurate categorisations, and its inability to grasp multi-directionality of global-local interactions, the concept of ‘glocalisation’ has been put forward in order to reflect simultaneous communications between the global and local (Oduro-Frimpong 2009, pg. 1087, 1088). In this regard, it is argued that the global spread of cultural and symbolic representations of a particular configuration into the others are not directly acquired and operationalised homogeneously, but, they are appropriated and adjusted in accord with the context they are introduced (Librado, 2010).

Turkish Hip-Hop, in general, differs from the most hybrid forms of hip-hop since it has emerged not within the borders of Turkey, but within that of Germany. Turkish working-class youth in diaspora, mostly the second generation migrants who were residing in Berlin during the 1990s, have produced the first examples of rap music in Turkish, and only towards the end of decade Turkish Hip-Hop began to be produced in Turkey as well (Arıcan 2011, Kaya 1997). While initially possessing similar features with hip-hop music which was made by Turkish youth in Germany, slowly but surely, Turkish Hip-Hop within the borders of Turkey has been locally re-appropriated and re-adjusted into different configurations regarding the socio-cultural and economic realities that the artists experience (Işık and Başaran, 2017). Since then, different sub-genres of Turkish Hip-Hop have been developed not only in relation with Turkish language but also with distinct musical and lyrical styles. Although Turkish Hip-Hop in Turkey in the early 2000s, following the commercial success of mainstream Hip-Hop worldwide, had found itself a considerable space in Turkish music industry and in the mainstream media, subsequent attempts by then unknown artists had not been welcomed by record companies in Turkey, and, consequently, Turkish hip-hop had almost disappeared from TV channels and radio stations (Karakurluk, 2012).

What is the most significant element in the case of Turkish Hip-Hop, and needs attention, however, following the growing usage of the internet towards the late 2000s in the country (see figure.2), hip-hop artists in Turkey began to use different online platforms in order disseminate their music without the record labels' medium. As a result, they have both become able to produce and disseminate the genre they like and set the content (both musically and lyrically) as they see fit. As Tanerman (Beat-maker&DJ and Producer) said :

“In this case, you can produce your stuff in extreme means. Because, if it is not for the internet, you should limit yourself with some standards. With things which everyone likes. But with the internet, I put my own work there without caring for the people's expectancies. There are no financial pressures or whatsoever. You can take as much risk as you like, and I did that with my own stuff. For instance, now we are doing some recordings with my friends of whom have record deals with some companies, and we are forced to record things of which we are much or less certain that they will be suitable for the mass audiences. However, with the music I only intend to put on the internet, I can act more freely.”

In this sense, while arguing that the internet technologies and its various social media components have enabled countless Hip-Hop artists in Turkey to publish their work, and have allowed them to reach broader audiences in doing so, I intend to use the concept of glocalisation for my analyses as a theoretical lens for two main reasons. First, in order to see if the concept is applicable for explaining the changes in the content of Turkish Hip-Hop, and, secondly, to make sense of the ways of which the artists of the genre share posts in their social media accounts. Since the interviewees suggested that the main motive behind the integration process of hip-hop music into the Turkish context is the fusion of local themes after the genre's decline in mainstream media, and the existing literature on hybrid forms of hip-hop music in non-Western contexts recurrently emphasise the notion of authenticity (Lee 2010, Librado 2010, Oduro-Frimpong 2009, Omoniyi 2006), it is plausible to assume that the glocalisation concept would provide valuable insights regarding the mechanisms behind the localised re-interpretations of globally diffused cultural products. Furthermore, since the role of the online media technologies are more than crucial for the genre's revival and continuity (Karakurluk, 2012), the concept of glocalisation may also help us to locate the prevailing practices of the online media usage in where locally embedded norms and values are articulated within the social media posts. In this regard, the glocalisation concept is to be treated as a multi-dimensional tool which may explain the coinciding period of the incorporation of the local themes into Turkish Hip-Hop and the genre's spread with the mediation of the online media technologies. Since the existing literature on Turkish Hip-Hop either has focused on the communities in diaspora, or the sub-cultural stance and political orientation within the contradictory socio-economic environment in Turkey (Arıcan 2011, Buhari-Gulmez 2017, Işık and Başaran 2017, Kaya 1997), I believe an analysis based on the usage of social media platforms can generate valuable insights for both with regard to the interplay between the local and global, and online patterns behind the empowerment of long-ignored local cultural settings. In this sense, my general research question will be, by using the glocalisation concept as a theoretical lens how can we explain the online presence of the Turkish Hip-Hop in Turkey, both in terms of its changed content in the last two decades and its respective ways of

utilisation into the online media platforms. This means that the concept of glocalisation will be utilised in this paper mainly in order to chart the unexplored virtual territory of the Turkish Hip-Hop as a culturally hybrid product. Furthermore, since the genre can sustain its existence mostly by using and relying on the social media platforms, it is highly significant to look at the online practices by the hip-hop artists and the hip-hop community in Turkey by trying to locate patterns of post sharing that might make more sense with the tool of glocalisation.

With this regard, after giving a general overview of the glocalisation thesis concerning that of the worldwide spread of cultural products via media technologies, I will mention about the hip-hop outside the US by referring both to the different strategies behind the differing processes of cultural appropriation, glocalisation and the role of social media in particular contexts. I also will give a short brief of the evolution of Turkish popular music and its application into the online media platforms in order to make sense of the traditional music industry in Turkey. Before moving on to the contemporary patterns in both the production and dissemination of Turkish Hip-Hop in online settings, by benefitting from the interviews I made, since there is a substantial lack of Turkish Hip-Hop's history in the literature, I will talk about the process of which has, to a large extend, relocated the appearance of hip-hop in Turkey from physical environments to virtual settings. Afterwards, by looking at several social media accounts and pages of both artists and communities which are mentioned by the interviewees I will try to locate the patterns regarding the concept of glocalisation in terms of the shared posts and their captions. Also, in parallel with the interviewees' suggestions, and being more prominent regarding the view numbers on YouTube among the others, I will show some parts of the verse sections from two Turkish Hip-Hop songs which are performed by different artists. In doing so, my purpose is to draw an introductory picture of the Turkish Hip-Hop as a glocalised musical genre which has been revived within, and, significantly depends on the usage of the online media technologies.

LITERATURE REVIEW

EMERGENCE AND THE INITIAL RECOGNITION OF HIP-HOP

Originally emerging from South Bronx in New York City in the beginning of the 1970s, hip-hop has been defined as a subcultural art movement that which had come from a context of poverty, inequality, racism, and exclusion, formed mainly by African-American and Latino youths (Alridge&Stewart 2005, Librado 2010). As DJ Kool Herc states, one of the first hip-hop artists who has inserted Salsa rhythms and African drums into hip-hop , in the introduction part of the book 'Can't Stop Won't Stop' written by Chang (2007) the parties he gave in the early 1970s were mainly just for fun, nevertheless, they soon became 'a rite of passage', especially for the youth in the Bronx. He also concedes that coming generations started to make significant contributions to what they have created, and evolution of the hip-hop has made possible (pg. xi).

Hip Hop culture usually contains four founding elements: DJ-ing (Disc jockeying), graffiti art, break dancing, and MC-ing (or rapping) (Alridge&Stewart 2005, Librado 2010). As Price (2006) has stated, although being the last element to emerge, rapping has become the most conspicuous and prevailing one among the others (as cited in Librado, 2010). However, within a few years, as hip hop gained much popularity, it evolved into something which enveloped everything from the way one dresses to the way one talks, i.e., a large ground for reflecting specific ways of viewing the world and vocalising various concerns with the use of the local form of speech and the language in general (Alridge&Stewart 2005, Librado 2010). Therefore, it was only inevitable for hip hop to become a valuable signifier for the market products to be consumed by masses, not only in the United States, but in all around the world. As Kun (2002) has pointed out, once a 'noun', hip hop changed into an 'adjective', as in 'hip-hop fashion', 'hip-hop novels', 'hip-hop movies', and 'hip-hop basketball', thus, hip-hop can be seen as both a social art movement and a

departure point for developing marketing strategies, as well as a lifestyle, similar to the wave of rock and roll in the 1960s (as cited in Librado 2010, pg.12).

The general acknowledgment of hip-hop and its entrance into national and international mainstream culture, starting with the major commercial success of the 1979 release of Sugar Hill Gang's 'Rapper's Delight' track, was realised by the end of the 1970s (Librado 2010, pg.14). As a result, apart from becoming a 'possible market commodity', as Price (2006) claims, Kitwana (2004) indicates the fact that what emerged as an expression coming out of the inner city, for the sake of creative resistance, became to be identified and articulated with its 'commercial manifestation' (as cited in Librado 2010, pg.14).

The Development of Glocalisation Thesis

The global dissemination of hip-hop music and culture can now be observed in large number of groups, especially in countries where the conditions, mostly of young generations, can be relatable with the experiences of African-American youth (Librado, 2010). According to Os-umare (2011), there are resonating similarities among the young global generation which has termed by him as 'connective marginalities'. In that sense, he asserts that once being an 'extension of African American popular culture', hip-hop, now, is signifying different forms of marginalisation globally (as cited in Librado 2010, pg.17). Consequently, the term itself implies that hip-hop culture has developed into a global entity where resembling struggles and concerns of different countries' marginalised youth are being expressed with the mediation of rapping. However, even though the departure point of hip-hop movements in various countries may have similar motives, it does not mean that they can be identified as simple copies or sub-versions of American hip-hop, but rather should be regarded as appropriations to the local context of politics and socio-economics (Librado, 2010).

Up until the 1990s, the dominant viewpoint among scholars studying cultural imperialism, was that western imposed cultural products, operating within media technologies, are a threat to indigenous non western cultural practices. They further claimed that the existence of this danger was due to the unequal distribution of media outlets and resources among the Western and non-western world (Oduro-Frimpong, 2009). Consequently, in the 1990s, according to Kraidy (2001), the decline of the thesis was inevitable because of its insufficiency in terms of explaining the multi-dimensionality of global communication (as cited in Oduro-Frimpong, 2009). In order to employ a revisionist approach by acknowledging the inherent limitations of the cultural imperialism thesis, according to Harindranath (2003), some scholars refused to 'shelve it', and, as Appadurai (2003) has states, these scholars have recognised the critical corners of the theory and suggested a reconceptualisation based on a 'complex, overlapping disjunctive order' by adopting the 'globalisation' concept, to be able to explain the effects of this immanent unequal distribution, in global media interactions (as cited in Oduro-Frimpong 2009, pg. 1087). However, although the concept of globalisation brought a substantial refinement over the cultural imperialism thesis, it has been criticised from different perspectives. For Robertson (1992), the inability of globalisation thesis in clarifying the concurrence of local and global components necessitated the suggestion of the concept of 'glocalisation' which can reflect their present 'simultaneity' (as cited in Oduro-Frimpong 2009, pg.1088). In this sense, as Shim (2006) notes, especially in the sphere of popular culture, the interaction between global and local generates a 'creative form of hybridisation' that mainly functions as a tool for preserving the local in the context of global (as cited in Lee 2010, pg.140).

Hip-Hop as a Glocal Entity

Hip-Hop music ultimately may have transformed into a global phenomenon that can be a social critique on poverty, exclusion, racism and inequality, however, the content of the lyrics mediated by the music cannot be uniform in their essences for the fact that each context has its unique configuration which would manifest themselves in their country-specific social issues (Lee, 2010). Constructing the local hip-hop scenes, therefore, eventually is based on great flexibility which promoted the genre's massive spread around the world (Librado, 2010).

As Motley&Henderson (2008) argues, hip-hop's elasticity enables its re-interpretation parallel with the political controversies, conflicts and deprivations of the context into which it has been introduced (as cited in Librado, 2010). Pennycook (2007) argues that the first step for many hip-hop artists is to shift towards local motifs which is, at the same time, can be thought as the repudiation of the perspectives adopted in the United States' rapping scene such as police violence, gang wars, racial conflicts and political insensitivity (as cited in Lee, 2010). In this regard, the concept of 'cultural re-territorialisation', which put forward by Lull (2000), explicitly indicates the view of cultural products as flexible means and re-interpreted with new messages that are applicable to the local they are applied (as cited in Librado 2010, pg.19).

Thus, the appreciation of the global hip-hop culture calls for an understanding that which tries to analyse the phenomenon as the mixture of American inner-city verbalisations with the dispositions of the local it has fused with, in terms of the 'culture, music, language, and lived experience' (Librado 2010, pg.20). For that reason, the global dissemination of hip-hop has been maintained not only through the mediation of technology, but also with that of the values and norms peculiar to each context where the mobilisation of disadvantaged diverse groups are made possible via localised hip-hop culture.

Instrument of Hip-Hop outside the United States

The recognition and the analyses of hip-hop culture outside the U.S.A, with respect to notions of negotiation and appropriation based on contextual peculiarities, requires certain inquiries in relevance with the historical, political, and socio-economical composition of a particular context. In his book, the leader of the band Public Enemy, rapper Chuck D (1997) mentions that during his travels around the world, he came across so many times stories of oppression, deprivation of the poor, and suffering of the black people. However, he argues that he has observed another aspect of the 'game', which is, even if there is not a substantial black population in a country, the new ways of excluding people based on 'ethnic, religious, or cultural' diversities. As also pointed out by a Public Enemy fan in Croatia, in that sense, while representing the differing contextual importances, the notion of diversity also indicate the band's significance for the fans

in terms of reflecting a ‘powerful political statement’ by connecting the lyrics of Public Enemy and the experiences of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Croatia (as cited in Librado 2010, pg.18).

At the core of the existing analyses, several notions have been paid attention in the interplay of local and global components. Expectedly, one of the few conceptions that has been focused is the notion of cultural resistance (Librado, 2010). As was being the most compelling idea prior to hip-hop’s emergence in the United States of racism, David Librado, when he is researching the hip-hop music in El Alto, Bolivia, argues that the local appropriation of hip-hop has been due to the notion of cultural resistance mainly displayed in public sphere. Derived out of the poverty, racism, inequality and discrimination, most hip-hop artists in El Alto characterises hip-hop with striving for social change by expressing existing concerns over the society. Apart from its usage as an instrument for resistance, hip-hop in El Alto also has used as a mean of rehabilitation. For instance, through hip-hop workshops that are given for prisoners in San Pedro Prison where, according to the author, the most marginalised prisoners are being held, being asked to create their own rap tracks, participants are stimulated for denouncing what they have been going through, and, in a sense, they are being motivated for adopting a creative way of resistance in the form of therapy (Librado, 2010).

One of the most crucial points made by Librado (2010), however, is his emphasis on the differences of spatial configurations which might enable us to realise the existence of different reasons and impulses behind the local hip-hop practices. According to him, El Alto, a city characterised by overwhelming levels of inequality, poverty, and discrimination, has been subjected to many socio-economic and political conflicts and protests since its rapid grow, mainly due to droughts which triggered migration from rural to urban migration in masses and the enactment of neo-liberal policies in countrywide. Those factors inevitably separates hip-hop music in El Alto from the rest of Bolivia where hip-hop culture is less social, less political, and more about fashion, trends, profit-making and fame (Librado, 2010, pg.52, 53). The political structure of the city has been shaped by migrants who came from rural country-side, labelled as indigenous ethnic people. Their previous experiences, subsequently, allowed them to apply those experiences of

unions and communities in rural areas to daily urban life and organise around structures that compensate the absence of working institutions which should represent the concerns of the public (Librado 2010, pg. 23).

The overwhelming majority, by 94%, of youth in El Alto, Bolivia, as Yapu (2008) reports, consider themselves with an indigenous ethnic group (as cited in Librado, 2010). Once belonging to discussions of class conflicts, according to Canessa (2006), social movements have replaced by 'ethnisation' of the politics which gave way to 're-valorisation of indigenous identity' in the context of El Alto (as cited in Librado, 2010). The high risk of marginalisation for the majority of youth in El Alto, therefore, is not only due to the economically disadvantaged pre-settings, but also is due to the maintenance of powerful relations with residents' cultural roots, and exclusion based on age which, for Librado, is something fronted by the youth in global scale (Librado 2010, pg.25). Consequently, the prevention of participation of youth in neighbourhood organisations pushed them away from engaging in formal political sphere, and, in a way, promotes the ways of alternative political forms of participation. However, in October 2003, when Bolivian government decided to export natural gas in Bolivia to the U.S and Chile, the residents of El Alto had taken the streets for protests, and, eventually, brought the government 'to its knees' (Librado, 2010, pg.24). After this point, El Alto has become to identified as a power symbol for the people, and, interestingly, the articulation of social plights and the political messages given by the youth in form of rapping brought the generations together by unifying them on the common ground of 'preservation of traditional culture' and 're-valorisation of identity' (Librado, 2010, pg.57, 58, 61).

Even though, hip-hop in a local context is being defined, and appears as 'the global voice of the marginalised', its basic target resides within the structure of that context which may not always inhabited by disadvantageous groups. This brings us to one of the main concepts in the process of identity making by the means of music hybridisation which is the notion of 'authenticity'. The various claims of authenticity based on different realities are unavoidable articulations that can be inferred from the hip-hop's proposition of speaking the contextual truths. According to Pennycook (2007), even the concept of globalisation disputes the idea of authenticity, we ob-

serve the ‘global spread of authenticity’ in hip-hop culture. Furthermore, he argues that even the stress on ‘being true to oneself’ can be regarded as the spread of an individual typology, it cannot be explained on the basis of individual attractions but through the dialogues maintained with communal engagements (as cited in Lee 2010, pg141). To illustrate, in context of South Korean Hip-Hop which began to flourish in the beginning of the 1990s , Lee observes that the adjustment of the genre’s and its conventional characteristics demonstrate specific understandings that can be captured in general tendencies of South Korean society as well. For instance, ageism, which is thought to be the negative bias towards the old population in the West, is often considered in the East as an indication of ‘wisdom and experience’. Therefore, in most cases, the ‘fake hip hoppers’ in South Korea are labelled as ‘young and inexperienced’ compared to ‘real older brothers’. Moreover, as an addition to age-based order when looking at the ‘real’ vs. ‘fake’ hip-hop dichotomy, the significance of work ethic and being perseverant, in parallel with Confucianism, rather than being only talented and counting on it, is at the centre of the authenticity claims and the importance of keeping the hip-hop real in South Korean hip-hop scene (Lee 2010, pg. 145-148). Nevertheless, when hybrid forms of hip-hop culture in African continent, where the game of authenticity has already embedded in the context, are examined, different notions come into play due to the historical background of the continent which creates musical, lyrical, and emotional links between the African continent and African-Americans.

According to Toynbee (2002), Afro hip-hop is the sub-varied form of ‘mainstream’ hip-hop in global scale which contains the latter’s subjective indications. In other words, hip-hop as a global phenomenon borrows its main identifying elements from the western form of hip-hop (as cited in Omoniyi, 2006). In the case of Nigerian hip-hop, however, Omoniyi (2006) has argued that the prevailing features of this particular context of hip-hop can be recognised in its dissimilarities as well, compared to the western form of hip-hop. These peculiar characteristics and departure points from the mainstream rapping mostly excludes components such as gang violence, sexist expressions, political subjects and ‘monolingualism’. Furthermore, as Oduro- Frimpong (2009) observes that in ‘hip-life’ music of Ghana which considered as a mixture of American Rap Music and Ghanaian ‘highlife’ music which was dominant during the 1960s, the contents

such as hatred towards women, gang violence, etc. are absent, as well. Different from Nigerian hip-hop, however, Ghanaian hip-life and its process of blending American Rap and Ghanaian highlife primarily had affected by the political context within the country. The decline of highlife music, beginning with 1960s, was first realised when the first president of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah who helped generate enthusiasm for highlife music, was overthrown by National Liberation Council, who persecuted highlife artists for supporting Kwame Nkrumah. Heavy taxations on imported musical instruments, existing socio-political condition, and economic downfall and corruption, during the 1970s and 1980s, both led to dramatic decreases in highlife music production and migration of Ghanaian artists to abroad. Finally, the alterations in political sphere, which had replaced the military rule with a governance based on democracy in 1992, insured the autonomy of the media, free from governmental interventions. Starting from 1995, new private radio stations began to promote music, a process which has resulted with the emergence, and, then, with the spread of hiplife music (Oduro-Frimpong, 2009, pg.1091). When juxtaposed, the features of hiplife music is both displaying corresponding and antagonistic elements with that of American Rap music. For instance, according to Oduro-Frimpong (2009), one of the noteworthy similarity between these two genres is how the artists flaunt their wealthy status with 'expensive cars, jewellery, and fashionable attire' (pg. 1093). Additionally, he also mentions that the notion of 'generational identity' in Ghanaian hiplife, just as in hip-hop culture in the U.S, plays an important role for artists to separate themselves from the older generations who played highlife music (pg. 1095). A further similarity between the genres is indicated by Oduro-Frimpong (2009) as the 'reference to sexual acts', however, with a crucial distinction which is the operationalisation of those references in Ghanaian hiplife is being made implicitly whereas they are considerably direct in American Rap music (pg.1095, 1096). Nevertheless, he argues, as he exhibits the differences between genres, that since Ghanaian hiplife artists are often aware of their socio-cultural disparities, and, therefore, they do not blend the characteristics of globalised rap with their lyrics such as 'gangsterism, misogyny, and homophobia' (pg. 1098). The same kind of absence which is valid for Nigerian hip-hop too points out the fact that the appropriation of global hip-hop culture into some local contexts of Africa has not necessarily brought the employment of globalised rap, therefore, artists of the genre are both performing and demonstrating 'their

glocal selves' not 'the other' as such (Omoniyi 2006, pg.204). Omoniyi (2006) acknowledges the emergence and the acquisition of popularity of Nigerian hip-hop that was assumably due to the 'utilisation' of the local rapping form of Nigeria, Pidgin Rap, with the adoption of varying linguistic apparatuses such as 'code switching' (mixing the Standard English, Pidgin English and Yoruba), 'cross referencing' (making references to mainstream global hip-hop artists), and colloquialism (the amalgamation of global and local colloquial forms) by Nigerian artists in diaspora who had resided in South London, England. He also concedes that the mediative usage of media has been facilitated by one of the request shows of the prominent TV channel, MTV-UK of which had several requests coming from Nigeria or Nigerians in diaspora. Consequently, as he notes, this had resulted in MTV's opening of its 100th channel in Africa which provided potential increase in local hip-hop (pg. 196, 197).

DIGITAL PARTICIPATION AND HIP-HOP

In the existing literature, I came across with two cases in where the use of social media and digital participation regarding the Hip-Hop artists in local settings are mentioned. In the first example, Clark (2014) talks about the role that which played by new and social media in Tanzanian Hip-Hop production. According to the author social media establishes a habitat in where both producers and consumers can get together in terms of interacting in each other and the artists are empowered for they are allowed to engage with participants directly (Clark, 2014). Clark states that the changes we have been seeing in terms of listening, communicating, and creating have transferred a considerable amount of power from certain institutions to 'journalists, bloggers, and anyone with a cell phone camera who can create counter narratives that are then distributed and spread through social media' (pg. 1116). For Clark (2014), with respect to the 'revolutionary change in the dissemination of hip-hop worldwide', artists of the genre were able to create online pages and share their music shortly after the introduction of MySpace, where the users could engage with the products the artists produced and could learn more about them, in 2003 (pg. 1117). Towards the end of the decade, with the establishment and the growing popularity of Facebook

and Youtube, hip-hop artists have found even more space to engage with their fans without any recognition from mainstream media and record labels (Clark,2014).

In the second example Campos and Simoes (2014) try to analyse the ways in which the black youth in Portuguese, who are thought to be a socio-economically deprived group, digitally participate by the Rap music they are producing, despite ‘the very fact that they are not usually regarded as a digitally connected group (pg.88). According to them ‘the issue of digital inclusion’ arises not only as an academic subject matter but also ‘as a political (and ideological) one’ that which can surface the prevailing inequalities in a society with regard to the competency of usage of the social media (pg.89-90). They claim that the digital circulation run by these rappers have at least two vital functions which are namely ‘both restricted (only searched for by some)’ and ‘extensive (available for everyone)’ (pg.90). In this sense, it can be said that the practices adopted by Hip-Hop artists, especially of the margins of society, utilise the content produced as global, since it can be accessed by every online participant in the world, yet local, and even sub-cultural for the fact that it portrays a depiction of reality experienced by a group so-called minority (Campos and Simoes, 2014).

Regarding the existing literature on hip-hop music in non-Western contexts and the role of the internet technologies in local forms of hip-hop, it can be suggested that the local settings are more than effective in terms of culturally appropriating the globally diffused cultural products. In this respect, in order to make sense of the ways in which the local and the global challenge onto each other, trying to analyse culturally hybrid products by utilising the concept of glocalisation provides a deeper understanding towards the cultural dynamics of any given contexts. By applying theoretical assumptions based on local forms of hip-hop culture, the concept of glocalisation reveals the mechanisms of this hybridisation process which would point out the culture-specific themes and their unique ways of convergence into the globally diffused hip-hop culture. In this sense, the usage of glocalisation as a theoretical tool in the case of Turkish Hip-Hop in Turkey, would provide a more clear picture in which one can interpret more accurately both the mechanisms and the motifs behind the changing characteristics of the genre.

METHODOLOGY

The findings which will be discussed in this paper are gathered from various sources by using different methods such as in-depth interviews and online content analysis. My initial purpose was to limit my analysis with in-depth interviews, however, I came across with a general reluctance from the hip-hop community in Turkey to give interviews (even though I had telephone calls with several managers of the artists' to arrange the interviews, they neither had given me the contact information I needed nor answered my subsequent calls). Therefore, I was only able to make 2 interviews. Firstly with a DJ&Beat-maker and producer who claimed having performances and collaborations with most of the rappers in the Turkish hip-hop community and with a graffiti artist who has engaged with the genre from its initial success in the mainstream media at the early 2000s.

I structured my questions in order to find out, first, the initial impressions of the people who are engaged with the genre, and general responses towards the Turkish Hip-Hop in Turkey from the society. The reason for that is to be able to identify how a globally diffused cultural product in a local setting made its first appearance in the public sense.

Secondly, the questions were asked in order to discover possible reasons behind the genre's decline from the mainstream media which would reveal the general tendency behind the reactions from the side of the local. Furthermore, this has given me ideas about the process in which the general decline of the Turkish Hip-Hop from the mainstream media eventually led the artists to use the online media technologies in order to produce and disseminate their products.

Thirdly, my questions revolved around the perceived changes of the content within the Turkish Hip-Hop. The reason for this is to see if the Turkish Hip-Hop, after its disappearance from the mainstream music industry, has been imbued with themes and subject matters which can be thought as the penetration of the local. In other words, I tried to capture the content changes in Turkish Hip-Hop by using the glocalisation lens.

Lastly, the questions were asked to see how and through which platforms are being used in order to publish their works from the artists' perspective, and to find out about the leading figures (both artists and news sources) in the online Turkish Hip-Hop community. By doing this my purpose was both to provide target points for the analyses of the local articulations on the social media platforms and to have ideas about the Turkish Hip-Hop artists of whom I could not reach. This will be mentioned in the analysis section in terms of their respective ways of re-interpreting the hip-hop in general (see Appendix A.).

By benefitting from the answers given by the interviewees, I have analysed the contents of the several artist pages and accounts from different social media platforms. By doing this, my aim was to incorporate objective numbers, of followers and listeners of Turkish Hip-Hop, and also to add prevailing subject matters in artists' posts into my analyses from online sources such as YouTube, Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and Spotify. By looking at these general themes, I wanted to emphasise about how the locally embedded norms and values that are being incorporated into the hip-hop culture in Turkey. In other words, they needed to be analysed with the globalisation lens, in order to make them explicable when the question comes as what do those themes imply about the ways of cultural appropriation in Turkish context. I also included the three Turkish pop music artists who are most shared on social media platforms, according to a research conducted by the social media research company Gonzo Insight (2016). By doing this, I wanted to provide a comparative picture between the online presence of Turkish Hip-Hop and Turkish Pop music. Furthermore, I also included an online content analysis of two websites which are concentrated on Turkish Hip-Hop in general by referring to their social media accounts respectively. The main reason for this was, as the interviewees suggested, that these websites are pioneers in terms of circulating the news on Turkish Hip-Hop in digital platforms, and they have far more followers in their social media accounts among the others. In this sense, I wanted to emphasise that the number of online news sources are both a few and concentrated, which make the existence of the Turkish Hip-Hop community in the virtual grounds quite exclusive. These websites are listed on Appendix B. Additionally, by taking into account of the answers of the interviewees about the popular songs and artists, I also included parts from verses of two Turkish

Hip-Hop artists' songs from a website in where one can encounter with numerous lyrics of Turkish Hip-Hop artists. These two songs are listed on Appendix C.

In this study which had conducted between June-August 2017, in order to also emphasise the empowering role of the online media technologies in Turkish Hip-Hop, I limited my analyses, with the information provided from the interviewees, with three prominent artists of whom have been enabled to reach audiences by using varying social media platforms. The interviewees stated that even though some of these artists have been televised after their success having made thanks to these technologies, although to a very limited extend, they are still largely ignored by mainstream media tools in Turkey. That being said, while pointing out the opportunities having created by the online media for these hip-hop artists in a country where the hip-hop culture has not been recognised or taken into account by the majority of people, the concept of glocalisation has been utilised in this paper for two reasons: First, to identify the changing content of the hip-hop from its adoption to evolution in the last two decades in Turkey. Secondly, to reveal the patterns of using the internet, while both producing and disseminating the very genre. In this sense, the first reason points out the process of cultural appropriation of the Turkish Hip-Hop as a hybridised cultural product, and the second one signifies how the concept of glocalisation operates within the adoption and usage of another Western product, the social media. In this regard, glocalisation concept is treated not only as a one-dimensional process, but as a multi-dimensional one which would function both in the cultural appropriation of a music genre which was initially performed abroad, and, its particular ways of utilisation into the online media technologies by the articulations of local themes.

PATTERNS OF GLOCALISATION IN TURKISH HIP-HOP

A BRIEF HISTORY OF TURKISH POPULAR MUSIC

Prior to the late 1960s, after the inauguration of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, the prevailing music genres, in terms of having played on the radio, were either 'Turkish Folk Music' or 'Turkish Art Music' which had been regarded as syntheses of Anatolian melodies and the Western polyphony (Tekelioğlu, 1996). Additionally, resulting trends of Westernisation, convergence

of the popular Western songs with Turkish lyrics, namely ‘Light Music with Turkish Lyrics’ were presented to urban population in popular music as ‘new choices’ by the 1960s (pg.211). Nevertheless, this was neither a mere coincidence or a natural development in the light of the newly established secular Turkey, but an unyielding agenda which had adopted by the state, and especially by the political elite, who were ‘keen on westernising reforms in this field’ (Tekelioğlu 1996, pg.195). Despite the efforts being made, in parallel with the censorship towards the media, according to Tekelioğlu (1996), the majority of the people in Turkey did not welcome these syntheses of Western polyphony being performed by Turkish composers. In this regard, an unexpected development, for the cultural elite, in Turkish music had been the emergence of the Arabesk, a genre combined with Arabic tunes and Classical Turkish Music, as a popular music in the late 1960s, which was the result of the migration from rural areas to urban centres, and its consequent changes having brought as the rise of ‘*gecekondu* squatter towns’ (pg.196). Although the Turkish government back then supported a campaign against its spread, Arabesk music had become the only popular genre in the 1970s Turkey. Afterwards, in the following decades, it has been started to be incorporated into upcoming musical trends from the West, either musically or lyrically (Tekelioğlu, 1996). In order to illustrate, the following figure, pulled from the work of Tekelioğlu (1996) shows the evolution of popular music in the context of Turkey up until the 2000s.

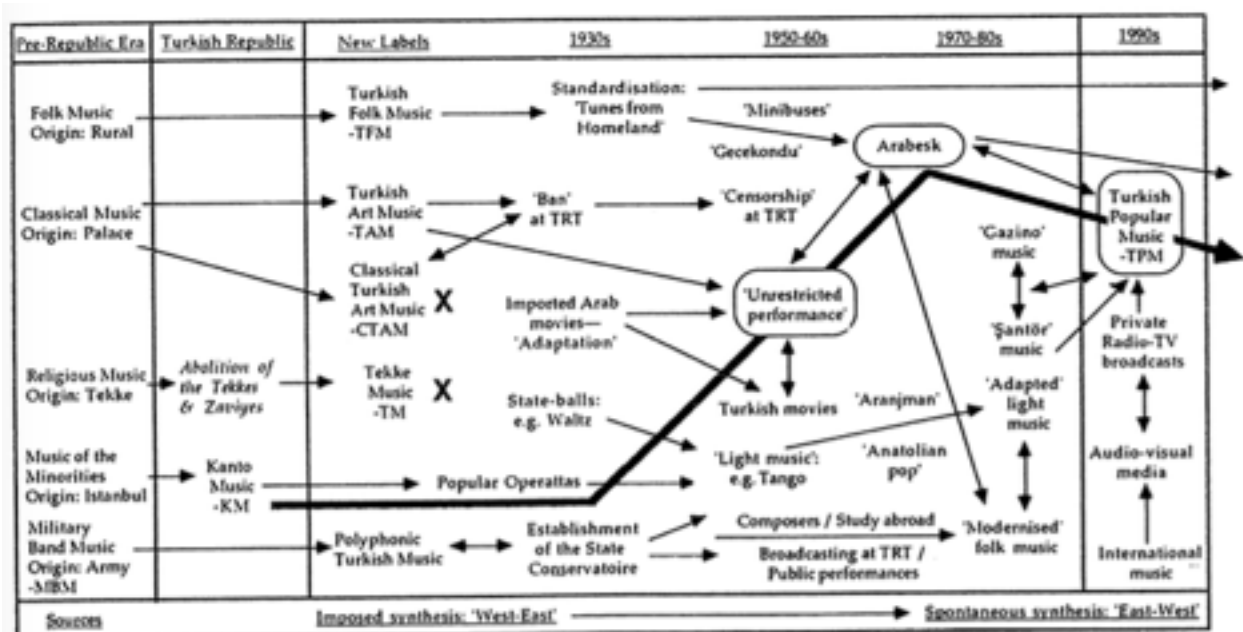


Figure 1. ‘THE HISTORICAL STRUCTURE OF THE “SPONTANEOUS SYNTHESIS” IN TURKISH MUSIC’ (Tekelioğlu 1996,pg.206)

After the 1980s, however, with the adoption of neo-liberal policies in the country, the standardisation of popular Turkish music, in terms of the production and the consumption, has begun to occur (Kuyucu, 2016). The usage of computer based recording technologies, according to Kuyucu (2016), led to the era of ‘pop music boom’ in Turkey in the 1990s, and, in parallel with the growing numbers of commercial radio stations, rendered the Turkish popular music to be produced in pre-defined patterns by the industry (pg.190). In this regard, as pointed out by Aydar (2014), in the 1990s and 2000s, ‘Sezen Aksu’, one of the most recognised Turkish pop music artist, had significantly contributed to the transition of the perception of cultural popularity in Turkey, in terms of creating a strategic music industry based on producing the so-called ‘pop stars’, by discovering numerous then unknown pop singers and introducing them into the market (pg.807). Since then, the popular music in Turkey has been relying on various pop singers, and so-called alternative types of musical genres cannot find themselves a substantial space in the music market. In this case, it can be suggested that the global echoes of pop star making process has also arrived and operationalised in Turkey with the application of the corporate settings of popular culture industry.

In the beginning of the 2000s, according to Kuyucu (2014), the music industry in global sense has begun to change regarding the expansion of digital music market. In this sense, in Turkey as well, the traditional music industry started loose its power, and eventually dominated by the digital music industry. In this respect, while the most sold album on digital platforms counted as 366K in Turkey, 2013, it had not been published as a physical copy more than 100K (pg.54). Furthermore, with the arrival of music streaming platforms, the existing labels and companies which are mostly marketing the pop music stars also had to adapt the new conditions of the digital music industry in Turkey (pg.58).

FROM STREETS TO VIRTUAL SITES: THE UNDERGROUND DILEMMA

Even though both the beginning of hip-hop culture in US, and its adoption by Turkish community in diaspora in Germany around 1990s had reflected a sense of belonging to a certain neighbourhood, and, put a lot of emphasis on the streets, hip-hop in Turkey has not emerged out of a socio-culturally driven collective movement (Arıcan 2011, Chang 2007). As Tanerman suggested:

“ There were small parties with people of 20 to 30, but there was not a ‘street’ thing like there was in US. It was more like a gathering of people of whom love hip-hop music. In US or in Germany, there is a feeling of socio-cultural closeness between the people who are doing this. However, in Turkey, people have started this little by little, out of their love for the genre. Even Ceza and Sagopa Kajmer are coming from different places, despite the fact that they were the first ones who started Turkish hip-hop in grand scales.”

According to Karakurluk (2012), it is plausible to assume that there is no other rapper in Turkey who would be known by the masses apart from ‘Ceza, Sagopa Kajmer, and the memories of Cartel’, in other words rappers who had enjoyed the initial yet evanescent popularity of hip-hop in Turkey in early 2000s (pg.15). Nevertheless, the author states that there are hundreds of MC’s, DJs and beat-makers in Turkish underground hip-hop scene (Karakurluk, 2012). Although the presumable reason behind this decline might be thought as the incompatibility between cultural settings that gave way to the emergence of hip-hop and with that of Turkey, in general, the interviewees mentioned about the initial perception about hip-hop in Turkish society not only as something alien but also, both with ways how hip-hoppers dress and rap, as something to be mocked. Furthermore, this sense of mockery was not only limited to listeners who are engaged with the genre but also to the very producers of Turkish hip-hop. As Tanerman pointed out:

“Since I loved the hip-hop rhythms and the general lyrics, I wanted Turkish hip-hop to become better as well. At the beginnings there were ones of which I felt ashamed. Either on TV or on the internet,

when Turkish rappers had given chances to show themselves, it was mostly embarrassing. It sounded so foreign, it did not belong in here. Our generation should be aware of this. It is not like that anymore, new generations are much more integrated. There were some lyrics of which we were feeling awkward of listening. Some of them were full of invectives, so they were being seen as weird by the majority of people. In time, it started not sounding that funny anymore. I cannot say whether if we have become used to it or it has become something which represents more from us. Maybe it is both. At those times Turkish hip-hop was being mocked a lot. For instance, ‘yeah yo how are ya’, ‘you are speaking too fast, will we be able to understand?’. Mockeries like these. But now, it is not like that anymore. Now, it is being accepted, and respected. People were feeling as ‘Where did this come from?’, as if Turkish hip-hop has come from Mars. The feeling of ‘what the hell are these freaks are doing’ had passed.”

In the light of these comments made it can be suggested that the earliest responses towards Turkish hip-hop among the Turkish society was not that welcoming, and, even consisted of dismissive characteristics. This would also signify the idea that Turkish hip-hop in Turkey, in its earliest stages, did not mirror the shared, and, in a way, prevailing problems that which should be regarded as an act of raising issues within a culture-specific style of expression. As also pointed out by Uğur (Graffiti Artist):

“They were mocking with you before, just because you were listening hip-hop. But now it is more accepted by the people. Maybe it is because either people got used to it, since Turkish hip-hop is being made by more people compared to 10 years ago. Even some of the pieces can be regarded as underground, they are being disseminated online, and this shows the power of the social media platforms such as Facebook, Youtube, and Twitter, and of course concerts are effective too.”

The initial success of the Turkish Hip-Hop came out with Ceza’s albums ‘Medcezir’ (Tide) (2002) and ‘Rapstar’ (2004) and Sagopa Kajmer’s ‘Bir Pessimist’in Gözyaşları’ (Tears of a Pessimist) (2004) (Karakurluk 2012, pg.14). Afterwards, however, in the latter half of the decade, following some financially failed attempts, record companies in Turkey started to withdraw themselves from publishing hip-hop albums, and the traditional media stopped televising Turkish Hip-Hop videos, apart from those mentioned artists (Karakurluk, 2012). Following this short termed success of Turkish hip-hop, the future artists who had rejected by record labels, could not get a desirable record contract, and slowly but surely, started to use the internet platforms in order to upload and disseminate their music. Furthermore, they had to

act not only as their own producers but also as their own distributors in physical sense. As Tanerman mentioned :

“Record companies aim for the maximum profit they can get from an artist. That’s why they have to market the product depending on the general context of a country. Because of this they cannot take risks thinking like this music is great so it will sell for sure. Back at then, you would have your demos and go to record labels. I haven’t done this, but I know lots of people who did. There was a big chance for you to get rejected, or getting a deal for small amounts of money. Because you should have been on either TV or radio, there was not any social media at that time. Consequently, they have figured it out that going to the labels would not solve anything. Then they thought like this: for example, they have 5000 listeners, and if they would sell one for 10 liras they will get 50.000 liras out of this. Say that they spend 10.000 for recording costs, the net benefit would be 40.000 liras for them. It might be a small amount for a company and they may not care for it, but for artists it is a really good money. So they started to contemplate about this. Then, they began to spread the news of concert dates either in small communities or by using MySpace, as notifying the fans that they are going to sell some CDs, which they recorded by themselves, on these events. So there were concerts, and people were coming at those concerts, 100-150 people, then these artists realised that they do not need the hand of the traditional music industry.” (Standard monthly living expenses in Turkey calculated as 1.542 Lira for the year 2016) (Atar, 2016).

In this sense, it can be said that the inauguration of online platforms, such as MySpace, not only created a space for artists to engage with their fans online, and rendered the music listening experience a multi-scoped entity for listeners, but also empowered, socio-culturally, and also economically, the artists who could not find the opportunity to be marketed by record labels in mainstream music industry. As Clark (2014) , as well, asserts that hip-hop artists in the US too sold mixtapes on streets in order to gain recognition, however, the founding internet technologies and digital media these artists have been enabled to engage with broader audiences, in one way or the other (pg.1117). Moreover, according to Livingstone and Helsper (2007) , the usage of the social media reveals a way of ‘climbing up a ladder of opportunities’ with regard to the complexity of usage in terms of the capacity of using the online platforms, from basic to complex ones (as cited in Campos and Simoes, pg.90).

Apart from MySpace, according to the interviewees, the first, and the contemporary as well, online platform where the most recent Turkish hip-hop news, streaming links, and even downloadable files, when it was first founded, is 'hiphoplife.com.tr'. As Uğur pointed out:

“Rappers were recording their albums but there wasn't any distributors who marketed the products into music markets. For instance, there were only one or two graffiti shops in İzmir, and only a number of albums were coming there, limited to the community, and they were using MySpace rather for advertising themselves, maybe putting their singles there. I was mostly downloading albums from hiphoplife.com.tr.”

The website has the widest content regarding the hip-hop being made in Turkish. It has several different sections on its homepage namely as the news, interviews, critic of albums, glossary, album download and forum, and an additional section called 'pro' where the news about new albums, Turkish hip-hop artists and their respective video clips are showcased. Furthermore, there is a contact section where users can send their questions and comments in message format. In the news section, new albums and videos are notified frequently, almost every week. Interview section consists from different sources' interviews with so many hip-hop artists. In album critic part, newest albums are being reviewed and voted by the critics. In graffiti section, mostly scenes from hip-hop artists' video clips that which show various graffitis, sketch battle news, and, to a least extend, short movies related with graffiti are being displayed. In forum section, however, despite the general expectancy, there are not any discussions on any hip-hop related subjects, but, rather, there are topics created for brand advertisements without any replies in them. Hiphoplifecomtr has also Instagram, Twitter and Facebook pages in where upcoming concert dates, new albums, projects, and collaborations and also covers of the latest recorded albums are shared. In Instagram the platform has 39.5K, in Twitter 61.5K, and in Facebook 125.8K followers, which makes it one of the most followed platform in Turkish hip-hop community. As Tanerman mentioned:

“Hiphoplifetr has always been there, from the beginning when Ceza got famous. This website has become the prominent media platform of Turkish hip-hop thanks to the internet. If someone was to learn anything about Turkish hip-hop, s/he would go to that site. It's been there from the beginning as I said, and it is still there. They have been the ones who goes to record companies, saying that our artists have

this many hits, likes etc., in order to point out that there is a value and a potential here in terms of Turkish hip-hop being made. That's why I believe, regarding the development of hip-hop in Turkey, they have played a great role. Of course, nowadays, they are doing this much more professionally. They even have their deals and agreements with certain record labels.”

Regarding the initial cultural restrictions from, and, later on, the decline of the visibility of Turkish hip-hop in mainstream music industry in Turkey, usage of the online platforms such as hiphoplife.com.tr has not only been crucial for sustaining hip-hop production in the country but also been central for hip-hop artists to get recognised, and, subsequently, to reach the audiences in nationwide. Another significant issue concerning the usage of internet by hip-hop artists in Turkey, and, actually one of the most important benefits in return, has been the relatively unrestricted space provided by virtual grounds in where these artists have enjoyed the lyrically free expression, without being censored by certain government institutions. These so-called underground virtual localities have certainly empowered the artists not only in terms of the socio-political expressions at will but also in the sense of reflecting their realities without being concerned by appropriate language settings of which are, in most cases, desired, ruled, and regulated by the mainstream media in general. However, even though the general content of the lyrics in Turkish hip-hop is not homogeneous as such, especially of those produced and disseminated through so-called underground scenes of different virtual grounds, in most of the songs, one would easily come across with over-emphasises on various themes related with ‘street experiences’ or ‘street realities’ that which might be regarded as the politics of the streets. As I mentioned before, there is not any visible neighbourhood community in Turkey of whom engaged with the very genre. In this case, since, apart from concerts or festivals, these hip-hop artists have very little or no space in physical sense where they can get together and perform publicly. Furthermore, it is more than visible that almost entire hip-hop culture in Turkey today relies heavily on internet in order to maintain its existence. In this sense, it may occur as conflictual that, despite both the spatial and communal reality experienced online, still, the prevailing content of lyrics are densely about physical side of the general experiences. Or in order to put it more clearly, hip-hop artists in Turkey do not seem to engage with the ‘streets’ in terms of performing, or rather, operationalising their music onto the environment they mostly talk about, but they, almost, solely depend on vir-

tual configurations in terms of materialising the experiences they want to express by the medium of hip-hop. In order to illustrate, here is an example of a verse from one of the songs of rapper Yener Çevik's 'Duvar' (The Wall):

Facebook, Instagram, WhatsApp is a gift to the new generation

Come, hold, shoot it from here, scoundrel's selfie is photoshopped again

Neighbourhood was of shanty houses, contractor builded a residence (refers to luxury apartment)

To find a rich husband; TV marriage; meat bazaar ; business.

In this verse the artist criticises the usage of social media, first, and, then, denounces a very common practice in Turkey nowadays which is urban gentrification, mostly referring to the replacement of poor neighbourhoods with luxury residences, in other words, rendering the poor homeless. Lastly, he ends the verse by stating that people go to TV marriage programs to find a rich husband, and draws a parallel between the very event and a meat bazaar, i.e., a platform for business. What is interesting and, in a way, conflictual about these lyrics is that the rapper Yener Çevik relies significantly on social media platforms in disseminating his music, although he criticises the youth for their ignorance, derived from the usage of online media, which blinds them from seeing what is happening on the physical environment.

As Tanerman also mentioned:

“There is this situation, for sure, Turkish hip-hop cannot find itself a considerable space in the streets or open air festivals. Because, no matter what, organisers, when you do these on the streets, they do not want anyone to get irritated. They want to make sure that the place is full, and all the tickets are sold. That's why we do not have events on the streets. We do have, however, small parties, for instance, in where 20 rappers perform, organised by small agents who already love hip-hop. Of course, if you think of it, this ain't the street. As an answer to your question, yes, hip-hop talks about the streets, but it is not on the streets. But maybe, it is because our sense of the street has become the internet. Consider that, even when we walk on the streets or while driving a car, we are looking at things through the internet. Maybe the real life for us has become the internet, and, since rap is all about the real life, not the life people are

talking at the school or a life desired by most of the people, we are doing things as in the ways we perceive them. It might had been, back then, ‘the streets’, but now the reality is the internet.”

This is a very significant comment in the sense that, despite hip-hop’s pre-disposition of reflecting the reality has always been thought as mirroring the notion of authenticity within cultural or sub-cultural terms (Lee 2011, Hare 2017). Nevertheless, the changing spatiality of mediums that which are used in specifically glocalised forms of hip-hop music, while expressing the experienced reality and claiming authenticity, have almost never taken into account. Although my focus for this paper revolves around the glocalised patterns of using the internet technologies through, as a glocalised form of music genre, Turkish hip-hop, the notion of authenticity in production of local forms of globalised cultural commodities, regarding the virtuality of the grounds of which have become the sites of demonstration, would be worth pursuing for future researchers.

CONTEMPORARY PATTERNS OF THE INTERNET USAGE IN TURKISH HIP-HOP

Starting with the decline from mainstream media platforms, and parallel with the growing usage of internet technologies, and particularly different social media platforms, hip-hop artists in Turkey have been significantly benefitting from digital media that which reached its peak in the last few years. Apart from the internet’s role regarding the cultural empowerment of these artists, in terms of achieving a certain level of recognition from the public, their digital participation has been more than effective, first, in production level, second, in disseminating their product which have served them both economically and socially. Last but not least, by engaging with online circuits, there has come the realisation of the hip-hop community in Turkey, which was not possible in relatively grand scales prior to their, both artists’ and fans’ mass digital participation in nationwide. With respect to these, in this section, first, briefly, I will talk about the general

production settings in the online environment of the Turkish hip-hop in Turkey. Secondly, I will mention of the digital platforms of which these hip-hop artists chose to publish their music with respect to artists' pages, views and likes, and numbers of the listeners. Lastly, especially by referring to Facebook pages of both the artists' and Turkish hip-hop communities', I will make analyses based on the content of shared posts, apart from album links and video clips. In doing so, my aim will be to reveal the localised patterns of post-sharing both in terms of the locally attached norms and values, and their respective glocalised resonances.

PRODUCING TURKISH HIP-HOP IN ONLINE SETTINGS

According to Lindtner et al. (2012), parallel with the appropriation of technology, cultural appropriation signifies the strategies adapted by the people where they “make the technology their own” (pg.1). In this sense, as Ito (2009) pointed out, online media technologies maintain a ground for ‘performing ideas of community and connection’ in where contribution from the users frames the mechanisms of participation (as cited in Lindtner et al., pg.2). Furthermore, according to the authors, although these online media tools are used continually for communication, they also enable the users to imitate the others or to differentiate themselves, or to generate ideas about the identities being made, both locally and globally (Lindtner et al., 2012). With regard to these, social media technologies have enabled the hip-hop artists in Turkey, not only for disseminating their music, but also to engage with each other as they produce the genre in the first place. As Tanerman said:

“Since hip-hop in Turkey mostly appeals to young people, we, the hip-hop artists, are living online, and also are meeting with each other online settings. Usually, we are checking each others' work on the internet, and, then, getting into contact from there. Saying, for example, “your work is very good, should we collaborate in each others' project?”. Of course we are talking about the money as well. For instance, I put a beat sample on the story section of Instagram, and afterwards someone just says, “dude, this is so dope, can I put this into my album? How much do you want?”. And there are lots of people I am working with, and I rarely see them in real life. From an eye of the producer, I would say, everyone in this hip-hop circuit meet in each other online, asking things like : “I need this, can you do that?”. I think the

main reason for this is hip-hop, to a large extent, is being made on computers, if you do not want to include live instruments. Someone makes the beats, another records the rapping parts on his/her city, and, then, we send it to a sound engineer. That is why, mostly, the job is done online.”

The changing patterns of producing music in parallel with the information technologies, with regard to the comments made by Tanerman, shows the significant role of the social media platforms in terms of connecting the producers of Turkish hip-hop, and getting them together which enables the collaboration on virtual grounds. By engaging with various online media tools, and sharing their music on those, these hip-hop artists have broken the chains of traditional production settings in where the dependency over record labels usually outweighs the artistic creation and expression. Furthermore, both the time and money being saved, thanks to these ever-growing technologies, have rendered the production processes as something much more accessible and economically doable which, in turn, would empower any future Turkish hip-hop artists in doing so. As also found out by Campos and Simoes (2014), rappers, especially ones that are socio-economically marginalised, believe that the social media functions as a tool, in order to overcome numerous limitations, that which helps them to bypass the mainstream music industry, and, in the meantime, inspires them to put their focus onto creativity (pg.97). In this sense, it can be claimed that the role of the information technologies open new spectrums for artists, both in the terms of production, and, the subsequent dissemination of their products. By incorporating the globally diffused media technologies these hip-hop artists have come up with their own ways of producing the genre by a necessary collective approach of which derived from the local limitations they are facing with. With this regard, it can be also suggested that the strategies adopted by the Turkish Hip-Hop producers reveal the mechanisms of glocalisation in terms of the patterns regarding the production of the genre within the online media technologies.

DISSEMINATING TURKISH HIP-HOP IN ONLINE SETTINGS

The birth of the internet in Turkey took place in the early 1990s, which was mainly government sponsored, and for the usage of the universities and research institutes only (Wolcott and

Çağıltay, 2001). Before the end of the decade, however, with the efforts of the Middle East Technical University and the Turkish Scientific and Technical Research Council, by establishing the required infrastructure, ‘ the three most populous Turkish cities: Ankara, Istanbul, and Izmir’ has been connected to the world wide web, both for institutional and individual users (pg.137). From then on, the usage of the internet has grown tremendously throughout the country, especially in the urban areas. In order to illustrate, I pulled three figures, first one is from the Turkish Telecom Net’s 2011 report for the ADSL penetration map, the second one is from the Turkish Statistical Institute’s 2017 report of the internet usage percentages for residences and the people aged between 16-74 in nationwide, and the third is from the ‘Digital in 2017 Global Overview’ which was published by the digital marketing agents ‘We Are Social’ and ‘Hootsuite’.



Figure 2. ADSL Penetration Map of Turkey (2011) (Demirel, 2011)

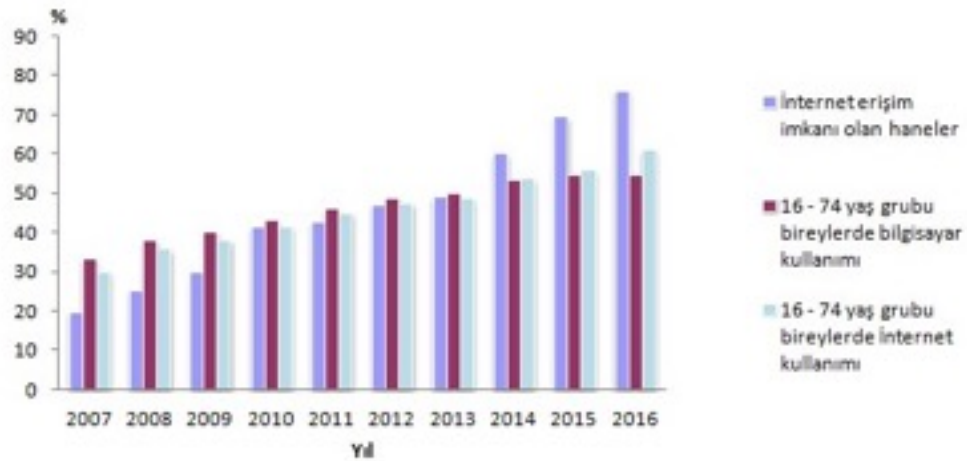


Figure 3. Percentages of ‘The residents having Internet Access’, ‘Computer Usage between the aged 16-74’, ‘Internet Usage between the aged 16-74’ (TÜİK, 2016)



Figure 4. The Snapshot of Turkey’s Key Digital Statistical Indicators (Kemp, 2017)

According to Dewan and Ramaprasad (2014), the inauguration of social media technologies has enabled people for having alternatives for finding new music artists, and sharing their works. What is at stake here, for the authors, is that while the existing traditional media tools would only allow for the discovery of mainstream music, social media would facilitate, especially of, the encounter with ‘niche music’, i.e., non-mainstream music, both from shared posts and YouTube videos (Dewan and Ramaprasad 2014, pg.104). As Tanerman mentioned:

“Of course, hip-hop is not the most popular genre in Turkey. But consider this, there are lots of countries in the world who follow certain trends. Turkey is one of those. You can generalise this in most cases, such as technology. Usually it arrives in here with delays. Hip-hop may have come here from the US, but there are huge differences between the Turkish hip-hop being made at back then and the contemporary Turkish hip-hop. Back then it was mostly ignored, and said that it does not worth any money, or it does not have any audience. However, thinking how everything is being structured slowly, the same applies to Turkish hip-hop as well. For instance, there are many listeners right now, much more younger than we are. I usually play at +18 events, but sometimes when I am DJing behind some rapper, I see how those youngsters are looking at us. As if they would not care if you put Tarkan over there. There is an amazing young audience, and I believe it will get only for the better.”

When I asked him what would be the thing that hip-hop means for those youngsters but Tarkan, one of the most famous pop stars in Turkey (Başfıncı and Çilingir, 2010), does not, he told me that:

“I believe that since the youngsters’ media practices have changed, for the fact that they do not watch things from TV but from YouTube, they are mostly engaging with the music on online platforms. And, of course, if the content is being produced and shared online, these people become fan of the music from where it is being circulated. It is not a matter of which music genre is superior over the others. If the music is posted and shared on YouTube, naturally, they follow those artists who would provide content for YouTube. This is an age of extreme consumption that we are living in, and big names rarely publish music, and since hip-hop music is mostly being made by young people, there comes more material from where the people are more interested in producing stuff. For instance, a hip-hop artist in Turkey publishes one video clip per month. This is also related with the decreasing costs of production. And when they

produce more, young audiences, consequently, choose to follow them. I think this is highly correlated with us producing the content and publishing it in right places. So, when Tarkan publishes one song in a year, these youngsters would not be even aware of his existence.”

Nowadays hip-hop artists in Turkey use many different social media tools in order to both sale and disseminate their music. Among those, the worth mentioning ones are YouTube, Facebook, Spotify and iTunes, and these are being supported by Instagram and Twitter either in order to generate additional material for reaching out broader audiences or advertising the products that will be shared on the former ones. In order to illustrate, I include three Turkish Hip-Hop artists’, as suggested by the interviewees, follower and listener data, namely ‘Sansar Salvo’, ‘Gazapizm’, and ‘Yener Çevik’, who had to start their career from an underground point of view, by looking at Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and Spotify. In addition to this, in order to allow for comparison, I also include most shared three of Turkish Pop music artists’ follower and listener data (Gonzo Insight, 2016), by looking at the same online platforms, in a second table. Since the websites regarding the iTunes album sales data are not reliable in terms of giving a concrete picture (there were figures referring either to last 24 hours of sales or to top10 charts), I exclude them from the tables below. Furthermore, since the pop artists’ YouTube videos have been shared from different channels, via different labels or brands, and mostly with supported advertisements, I exclude the YouTube data in the second table in order not to distort the general image.

	Sansar Salvo	Gazapizm	Yener Çevik
Online Platform			
Spotify (listeners per month)	68K	59K	75K
Facebook	198K	232K	38K
Twitter	141K	131K	50K
Instagram	96K	95K	71K
YouTube Channel (subscribers)	54K	120K	161K
YouTube (most viewed video clip)	10.2M	8M	2.9M

Table 1. Followers/Listeners/Subscribers and View Numbers of Hip-Hop Artists (13/08/2017)

	Sezen Aksu	Gülşen	Sıla
Online Platform			
Spotify (listeners per month)	608K	327K	373K
Facebook	1.4M	1.1M	4.4M
Twitter	4.8K	1.6M	5.4M
Instagram	116K	1.3M	2.4M

Table 2. Followers/Listeners/Subscribers and View Numbers of Pop Music Artists (30/08/2017)

The three pop music artists mentioned in the second table have been actively participating in the Turkish music industry for more than one decade, and due to their televised images, they are highly recognised by the majority of the public in Turkey (Gonzo Insight, 2016). In this sense, keeping in mind the unavoidable superiority of pop artists' follower and listener counts and their active participation in the online media platforms, the undeniable invisibility of the Turkish Hip-Hop artists from the public realm is still surprising due to the fact that, apart from Twitter and Instagram, the differences in followers and listeners are maximum six to ten times between pop stars and hip-hoppers in Turkey. In this regard, as it can be noticed from the first table, these hip-hop artists, as well, have a broad audience of whom are, to a large extent, following them, and listening to their music via online media platforms. Despite the fact that the hip-hop artists mentioned above do not occupy a place within the traditional media in Turkey, and, therefore are unknown to the overwhelming majority in the country, having this kind of big

numbers of followers or listeners would emphasise the unavoidable role of the information technologies in making this possible. As also pointed out by Tanerman:

“First, there was MySpace. We were putting our songs there, and it was a good platform for those times. Later on, YouTube had arrived, and with Facebook, music has been started to be circulated from those sites. I remember opening my Facebook page, and we were posting Soundcloud links over there. Then, everything had happened so fast, with Twitter and Instagram. For my part, I checked how my idols abroad were using those platforms, and in what sense were they doing these. This might occur as a joke in the first place, but when you see that there is a considerable amount of money you can earn from these, you begin to draw a path in online world by taking your reference from those artists. For instance, they say show what you are doing on the background on Instagram, or shoot backstages at your concerts for Snapchat. After a while this turns out to be a business, and you cannot look at it as an entertainment.”

In this regard, it can be suggested that while pursuing the economic triumph, hip-hop artists in Turkey both adopted the social media platforms that are originated in the Western contexts, and their respective usage concerning the online practices of hip-hop artists who achieved certain positions in the global music scene. Although this kind of an application indicate the very globality of the patterns of using the online media platforms in terms of music dissemination, the musical content that is produced and shared is inevitably liable to local contexts in where it is embedded. Keeping this in mind, I argue that the contemporary hip-hop artists in Turkey are, more than ever, bounded with the notion of authenticity both in the production and dissemination processes of the hip-hop music that they have been culturally appropriated.

LOCAL THEMES AND SUBJECT MATTERS

The contemporary Turkish Hip-Hop artists are using the mentioned social media platforms not only to share and disseminate their music but also in order to convey certain cultural, and ideological, themes and motives while doing so. For instance, when Gazapizm shares an either a YouTube or Spotify link, or a picture of his, he adds captions from his songs which mostly signifies a melancholic and pessimistic view of the world. Mostly known as ‘Arabesk’, this particular way of expressing oneself is usually considered as a part of Turkish slum culture

(Yalçınkaya, 2008). Considering Gazapizm's overemphasis on 'the streets', both in his lyrics and social media pages, this peculiar type of engagement with the internet technologies, regarding the addendum of local into what is called global, provides a significant ground in where one can locate distinct patterns of glocalisation. In order to illustrate, I display Gazapizm's Twitter account's cover photo, and two verses from a song of his that is called 'Memleketsiz', meaning 'the one without homeland'.



Figure 5. GAZAPIZM SOKAKTIR! (GAZAPIZM IS THE STREET!)

This street has no window, its cooking pot is empty

I do not have anything, I am beetle-browed

I do not have a place, my face is down

It is hard to smile after looking under my eyes

I did not have my park, my street, my homeland, and the money

The wine became a rebellion for a street child

They were the ones who shouted for the morning to come

Why did not anybody hear? Hang on my boy, surely it will pass

According to Yalçinkaya (2008), marks of Arabesk culture can be traced with ‘key melancholic concepts’ such as the loss of something or someone, mental suffering, living in a state which is far away from what can be described as normal, and, in a way, feeling addicted towards pain and agony (pg.7). Since, as the author suggests, Turkey has been culturally confounded between the so-called the West and the East, this incompatibility, and the inability of being either ideally, may have led the Turkish society into ‘a state of melancholy’ (Yalçinkaya 2008, pg.4). In this regard, Turkish Hip-Hop, and its expressions on the online social media platforms can be thought as both the continuity of discordance of the two distinct cultural products, and a way of culturally appropriating one into another. This would not only suggest that the globally diffused cultural commodities via media technologies always challenge with the prevailing norms and the values of the local, but also helps us to locate, first, to what extent the global forms can be sustained within local contexts, and, secondly, how the local settings penetrate into the imposition of global trends.

Similarly, Yener Çevik as well, as I mentioned before, frequently uses ‘the street’ related themes in his songs. However, it is not the sole subject matter in his online posts. He usually incorporates cultural norms and ideological motifs in his pages such as nationalism, religiosity, and often sexism. In order to illustrate I show two posts of him that I pulled from his Facebook page, one of them had captioned by his lyrics.



Figure 6. IT IS SHOOTING

A man who is not jealous of his lover is either a halfhearted/loser or a poof,

I've cursed/swear, TV and Radio beep me

If Pop is music, then Turkish rap is epic

We are brothers/sisters from Edirne to Ardahan, so knock it off.



Figure 7. Remembering Martyrs

With this post Yener Çevik remembers the martyrs on its first anniversary of July 15, 2016, failed military coup, that which cost around 300 people's lives, leading Turkey to a greater political and social polarisation (Yılmaz et al., 2016). While the general themes within these posts can be identified as the apparent examples of the traditional approaches and mindsets within the Turkish culture, they also exhibit the ways of appealing to broader audiences. That being said, I do not claim that

the hip-hop artists being mentioned here consciously choose to use these narratives in order to attract broader audiences apart from the hip-hop enthusiasts, on the contrary, these seemingly well-thought strategies are the result of the clashes between local and global narrations. In this sense, it can be suggested that the instrument of hip-hop music is more than flexible, and, therefore, is open to various forms of interpretation, both musically and lyrically. Furthermore, it is also profoundly being used not only to express individual troubles, experiences or desires, but also to emphasise or strengthen the rooted ideological assumptions and claims within a particular context.

TURKISH HIP-HOP COMMUNITY IN THE SOCIAL MEDIA PLATFORMS

Turkish Hip-Hop, both in terms of the produced contents and various news and events, has been digitally circulated through social media platforms. This has been performed not only by the hip-hop artists in Turkey, but also by the fans, hip-hop enthusiasts, and organisers. Apart from the 'hiphoplifecomtr' that which I mentioned in this paper, the most extensive and frequent-

ly shared content is being posted by ‘TürkRapFm’ page on the Facebook. The reason for my selection of this particular page is because, among the others, it has far more followers compared to the rest, and both the frequency of post sharing, and its range of content is the most exhaustive. On its Facebook page ‘TürkRapFm’ has around 900K followers. The page shares varied contents, from the latest Turkish Hip-Hop songs, photos of hip-hop artists (usually with lyrical captions), upcoming hip-hop events, fun facts about Turkish rappers to hip-hop fashion based shopping websites. The mechanism of frequent post sharing may have rendered the page the most liked and followed among the similar Turkish Hip-Hop themed online sources. The variety of the posts being shared, as well, makes this particular page significantly distinguished in where almost every Turkish Hip-Hop enthusiast may encounter with various news that might be appealing to them. Furthermore, for the fact that the ‘TürkRapFm’ page gives chance to any Turkish Hip-Hop artist’s works to be shared, and get recognition from the hip-hop community in Turkey, may have generated a certain support from each differently re-interpreted Turkish Hip-Hop form, and from their respective listeners.

‘TürkRapFm’ originally has founded as an internet radio station in 2010, and is still active. In its website, similar to ‘hiphoplife.com.tr’, there are namely ‘forum’, ‘radio’, ‘MCs’, ‘about us’, ‘interviews’, ‘graffiti’, ‘videos’, ‘news’, ‘tests’, and ‘survey’ sections. Even though the contents within the sections are highly similar to those in hiphoplife.com.tr, fundamentally being an online radio station, and playing almost every kind of Turkish Hip-Hop piece, put the ‘TürkRapFm’ to an inevitably significant position in the online community. It also has a Twitter page, with 51.6K followers, and a Instagram account, with 100K followers, which make it the leading non-artist page of the hip-hop scene in Turkey. In this sense, although Turkish Hip-Hop in Turkey still occupies less than a margin in traditional media resources, and does not correspond to a comprehensive audience within the public majority, it has enormous numbers of artists, followers and listeners, who maintain its existence in through the online grounds of interaction, which cannot be denied or disregarded. This would also imply that even if Turkish Hip-Hop, both from artists’ and listeners’ perspectives, does not seem to be rewarding in socio-economic terms, it does not stop them from engaging with the genre. As Uğur had pointed out:

“I think, since this particular music genre is not at the top in Turkey, this, in a way, makes the people to hold on each other more and more. Because you know that there is not so many people doing this, and big opportunities are not granted to you. When this is the case, fans would be more in support of the artists they like. They feel like as if the artists are their children, someone who do not belong to everyone, someone that you yourself have discovered, and not had heard as in the form of imposition. Of course, this kind of an attitude is more noticeable on the social media. For instance, when there is a hashtag on Twitter about Turkish Hip-Hop, all the fans suddenly start to share it, and push it. Or, on YouTube, you can come by with comments under Turkish Hip-Hop songs, such as ‘ Let’s make it views 10 million’, or things like that. Even this would be occasional, when a rapper is on TV for a singing contest, you would support that fella, even if you don’t like the music. It is like the feeling of ‘we are supporting the hip-hop in Turkey’. There is an understanding based on backing and pushing up the culture rather than particular individuals.”

As suggested by Pennycook (2007), although the globalisation and the diffusion of global cultural products into local contexts are expected to challenge with the notion of authenticity, what we are experiencing in terms of hybridises forms of hip-hop is that the authenticity and the local settings eventually overcome the cultural incompatibilities (as cited in Lee, 2010). In the context of Turkish Hip-Hop, while the initial main aspects of the genre had been thought as something foreign and alien not only by the society but also by the people who are engaged with it, slowly but surely, the genre have started to incorporate the prevailing local themes into its content. In this sense, by the mediation of online media technologies which have been crucial for the genre’s spread in the country, the Turkish Hip-Hop artists had the chance to re-interpret the music they produce by fusing the local settings both into the content and the ways of sharing that content in the online media platforms. With this regard, as noted by Shim (2006), the creative form of hybridisation that generated out of the interaction between global and local functions as a tool for preserving the local in the context of global (as cited in Lee, 2010). In case of the Turkish Hip-Hop, as well, it is clear that the locally embedded norms and values have become much more visible in time, and, therefore, trying to explain the existence of this culturally hybrid product by using the concept of glocalisation as a theoretical lens provides a deeper understanding about the general mechanism of the cultural appropriation in the interaction between the local and global.

CONCLUSION

The processes of cultural appropriation when analysed by using the concept of glocalisation signify the very existence, and the resistance of the local settings which have been facing with the immense diffusion of the globally imposed cultural products and the media technologies both in terms of their mediatory role and their respective patterns of application (Campos and Simoes 2014, Lee 2010, Librado 2010, Oduro-Frimpong 2009, Omoniyi 2006). In this sense, the locally embedded norms and values and their utilisation into the globally diffused cultural products provide insights about the particular contexts in which the interplay between the local and the global is being materialised.

In this exploratory case study, my purpose was, by incorporating the concept of glocalisation as a theoretical lens, to provide an understanding about the Turkish Hip-Hop as a culturally hybrid product which owes its presence and the spread mainly to the online media technologies. By asking the question that how can we understand the evolution of the Turkish Hip-Hop's content and the underlying messages in shared posts in the social media platforms from the perspective of glocalisation concept, I investigated the uncharted patterns of the Turkish Hip-Hop. In order to do so, firstly, I tried to analyse how the general content of the Turkish Hip-Hop has changed by benefitting from both the answers of the interviewees and the lyrics of the artists. The analyses suggest that despite the initial unwelcoming attitudes from the public, and the perception that it is being performed as something foreign, the contemporary examples show that the Turkish Hip-Hop artists use themes in their lyrics which can be regarded as the parts of the local culture. Especially with the fusion of the Arabesk styles of lyrics into the genre, the Turkish Hip-Hop may have become something that reflects more from the local notions of expressions. The lyrical analyses also showed that the problems experienced by the margins of the society are vocalised in the contemporary Turkish Hip-Hop, not necessarily in the form of melancholia, but with a critical way of portraying them. Additionally, the themes such as nationalism or sexism are also being incorporated into the content of lyrics. In this sense it can be claimed that, regard-

ing the concept of glocalisation, hip-hop music as a global product has been culturally appropriated into the Turkish context with the addendum of the prevailing culture specific themes and values. Therefore, the application of the glocalisation as a theoretical tool into the analyses make these developments explicable from a sociological point of view.

Secondly, by investigating the usage of the online media technologies by the artists, I tried to reveal the predominant themes in the shared posts. Similar to the lyrical content of the Turkish Hip-Hop, the social media posts and pictures that are shared by the artists of the genre, as well, provide insights about the realities which the artists want to depict. In this case, the recurring themes are the emphasis on the streets, religiosity and nationalism. Particularly, the street and the street reality can be regarded as the most iterated one. A reason for this might be that one can encounter with the socio-economically disadvantaged margin of the society mostly in the streets, and, therefore, the streets may represent the general deprivation experienced among the society. Since, the hip-hop culture in some contexts can be thought as a tool for vocalising the collective marginalities (Librado, 2010), in Turkish case as well it might serve to express socio-economic deprivation in general. In this sense, the analyses showed that the subject matters in the shared posts reflects the predominant ideologies due to the socio-political climate of the local context. Therefore, when it is observed with the lens of the glocalisation concept, the articulation of these ideologies within the Turkish Hip-Hop artists' social media accounts, signifies the condition in where the locally embedded issues penetrate into the globally diffused hip-hop culture. In this sense, in the Turkish Hip-Hop case, the tool of glocalisation provides an understanding in which the vocalisation of the local specific issues become meaningful for the analysis.

The findings also indicate that, by engaging with the internet technologies, the Turkish Hip-Hop artists have empowered themselves both socio-politically and economically that which, in turn, not only enabled them to reach out the hip-hop enthusiasts who were already engaged with the genre, but also created a substantial and broader audience, especially from the young generations. This had been made possible by, first, producing the content into the online platform where the music is being consumed, and, secondly, with the fusion of local themes into globally diffused hip-hop culture. In this case, when analysed with the glocalisation tool, in terms of the

genre's cultural appropriation in time, the Turkish Hip-Hop in Turkey seems as more authentic compared to its initial appearance, regarding the articulation of the local subject matters, which become observable within the usage of the glocalisation concept as a theoretical lens.

There are several limitations which should be mentioned about the research. The first one is the absence of the Turkish Hip-Hop artists whose social media posts are analysed in this paper. Secondly, due to the lack of time and access, I could not be able to participate in Turkish Hip-Hop events that are mostly being advertised on the social media platforms. That may have generated further ideas about the means of cultural appropriation of the content, and I could have get acquainted with the artists more easily for the future interviews. Lastly, I have not taken into account that the different regions in Turkey may provide different subject matters which can be used in order to make comparisons between those regional differences.

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE FUTURE RESEARCH

For the future investigations, I would like to point out the need for a participant observation in where the patterns of using the social media tools of the Turkish Hip-Hop artists can be assessed from the first hand. This would also make possible to reach for more artists to conduct interviews, since the Turkish Hip-Hop community can be deemed as a closed one, and they are usually reluctant to give interviews, especially for the scientific research. Furthermore, the utilisation of the Turkish Hip-Hop into the online media technologies in Turkey can be analysed in terms of regional differences, regarding both the content being advertised and various patterns of using the internet and social media. Additionally, I would also suggest a broader online ethnographical research based on different regions of Turkey by including more Turkish Hip-Hop artists who are prominent in online settings in order to categorise the themes, general content, and the follower/listener data to be able to assess both the prevailing themes and subject matters and the corresponding ways of using the social media posts with regard to the relation between the hip-hop artists and hip-hop listeners in Turkey.

APPENDIX A : THE INTERVIEW GUIDE

- How did you meet with the hip-hop culture?
- How would you evaluate the initial examples of Turkish Hip-Hop in Turkey?
- What do you think have caused the decline of Turkish Hip-Hop in the mainstream media?
- How the Turkish Hip-Hop has started to be circulated in the internet?
- Have you perceived any changes in the content of Turkish Hip-Hop over the years?
- Which online media platforms are being used to disseminate the Turkish Hip-Hop?
- Who are the most prominent figures in Turkish Hip-Hop nowadays?

APPENDIX B : WEBSITE LIST

1. hiphoplife.com.tr
2. turkrapfm.net
3. facebook.com
4. twitter.com
5. instagram.com
6. youtube.com
7. rapsozler.com

APPENDIX C: SONG LIST

1. Yener Çevik- Duvar (2017)
2. Gazapizm- Memleketsiz (2017)
3. DJ CRAZY DOGG feat. Yener Çevik- Ateş Ediyö (2015)

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