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RAP IN BETWEEN GLORIFICATION AND DEMONIZATION:
A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF INTERNET NEWS COVAREGE
OF SUSAMAM AND OLAY

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RAP IN BETWEEN GLORIFICATION AND DEMONIZATION:

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**YÜCELTME VE ŞEYTANLAŞTIRMA ARASINDA RAP: İNTERNET
HABER ORTAMININ ELEŞTİREL BİR SÖYLEM ANALİZİ: SUSAMAM
VE OLAY**

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- 5) I Can't Stay Silent and Incident

FOREWORD

When I wrote this thesis, the dates showed 2020. Approximately one and a half years passed, and I lost all my motivation; the pandemic, which affected the whole world, became the centre of our lives. One Turkish rapper said the lyrics in the 2020 edition album: “You should give me back what you took from me, 2020! I will beat you.” The spoken words tightly match my personal experiences in 2020 of high-dose obscurity towards what the future holds in the light of the pandemic. Opening a master thesis with rap lyrics is not an appropriate beginning according to the academic standards; however, it could be a brief clue about my thesis topic and also it helps me what I want to achieve.

In those external circumstances and in this challenging process, I would like to express my most profound appreciation and significant thanks to my advisor Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya. His helpful demeanour guided me to develop and shape this thesis. His assessments and feedback pushed me to complete this thesis when I was stuck in a “how to write” crisis.

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*Beni bu zorlu süreçte her daim destekleyen anneme ve abime
teşekkür borçluyum.*

*Ve yaştan bağımsız olarak gençliği hissedenlere, çalışmama
ışık olduğunuz için teşekkür ederim.*

*I am indebted to my mother and brother, who have always
supported me during this challenging process.*

*And thank you to all who feel young regardless of age for
being a light to my work.*

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ABBREVIATIONS

AC	Active Citizenship
AKP	Justice and Development Party
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CHP	Republican People's Party
DEVA	Remedy Party
DIY	Do-IT-Yourself Politics
DJ	Disc Jokey
FETO	Fethullahist Terrorist Organization
HDP	People's Democracy Party
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
IYI	Good Party
MA	Master of Arts
MC'S	Master of Ceremonies
NGO	Non-Governmental Organizations
PC	Passive Citizenship
PKK	Kurdistan Workers Party
SEO	Search Engine Optimization
TBMM	Grand National Assembly of Turkey

ABSTRACT

Rap music has gained serious momentum in Turkey. In any case, the ongoing argument is not our primary interest. Debates about rap music concern mainly globalization, the music industry, popular culture, and rap music's political character. This study highlights two rap songs that exemplify these issues: *Susamam* (I can't stay silent) and *Olay* (Incident), which became popular in Turkey in 2019. However, this thesis mainly analyses how the youth's unconventional political participation is represented in Turkish internet news through discourses.

The study argues that Turkey's internet news outlet's representations of the songs reflect perceptions about youth engagement practices in Turkey. However, this thesis mainly analyses how the youth's unconventional political participation form (which is also criticized as an outdated term) is represented by the Turkish internet news atmosphere through the case study. Through the case study, young people's besieged position in society informs the mysterious character of their engagement dynamics. The study recenters youth studies from a critical standpoint for seeking to understand this situation. This perspective aids in identifying manipulated media representations. The analysis also emphasizes media outlets' discourse about youths' engagement practices, explains Turkey's media atmosphere and points at entrenched social codes.

Keywords: Youth, Youth Studies, Political Participation, Rap Music, I Can't Stay Silent and Incident

ÖZET

Rap müziğın Türkiye’de ciddi bir ivme kazandıđı gözlemlenmektedir. Süregelen bu tartışma asıl ilgi alanımız deđil. Hip-hop kültürünün bir parçası olan rap müzikle ilgili tartışmalar daha çok küreselleşme, müzik endüstrisi, popüler kültür ve rap müziğın politik karakteriyle ilgili olmuştur. Bu çalışma, 2019 yılında Türkiye’de hit olan “Susamam” ve “Olay” adlı iki rap şarkısı üzerinden tüm bu tartışmaların iz düşümünü içerse de çalışmanın temel amacı, modası geçmiş olmakla eleştirilen “geleneksel olmayan siyasi katılım” pratiğinin vaka çalışması üzerinden Türkiye’deki internet haber sitelerinde nasıl temsil edildiğini analiz etmektir.

Çalışma kapsamında seçtiğim iki şarkı geleneksel olmayan siyasi katılım biçimi olarak kabul edilirken şarkıların Türkiye’deki internet haber kuruluşlarındaki temsillerine, gençlerin siyasi katılım pratiklerinin nasıl algılandığına ve bu algının hangi söylemsel dinamikler aracılığıyla kurulduğunu irdelenmektedir.

Çalışma, gençliğin kuşatılmış durumunu anlamak için, önce gençlik araştırmalarına eleştirel bir bakış açısıyla yaklaşmaktadır. Bu eleştirel bakış açısıyla, manipüle edilmiş medya temsillerinin izi sürülecektir. Analiz, medya kuruluşlarının gençlik hakkındaki söylemlerine ve onların siyasi katılım biçimlerinin toplumda nasıl algılandığına odaklanıyor. Bu algı aynı zamanda Türkiye’nin güncel medya atmosferinin söylemini de yansıtmaktadır ve kökleşmiş toplumsal kodlara işaret etmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Gençlik, Gençlik Çalışmaları, Siyasal Katılım, Rap Müzik, Susamam ve Olay

INTRODUCTION

On 6 September 2019 and afterwards, on 7 September 2019, two rap songs Susamam (I can't stay silent) and Olay (Incident), emerged at the forefront of the trend list on both YouTube and other social platforms such as Spotify and Apple Music. Indeed, Susamam meets 41 million viewers and Olay (Incident) 8,7 million viewers on YouTube. The current numbers of viewers and listeners of these two rap songs are 55 million and 10 million (YouTube).

Up to this point, there is nothing new; there are millions of trend songs and videos on social platforms; these numbers indicate what is widespread over the numbers according to quantity standards. Considering manipulated numbers on these platforms-we do not have any proof peculiar whether the two rap songs' numbers are accurate or not- nevertheless, what is remarkable in that discussion is that these two rap songs carry more direct and visible messages. These messages create political momentum in Turkey regarding reactions in society and politicians. Even though it is nothing new to encounter resistance or the political message inside rap in a global and local sense, 14 minutes rap song "Susamam" started with this sentence: "We believe that music will change something. However, at the end of the Susamam clip is written: "No real people or institution depicted in this song." At that point, it is worth considering "the politics of apolitical culture" in Turkey.

Developing "the politics of apolitical culture" climate in Turkey is not a one-sided issue; it is a multilateral issue that consists of historical roots, structural dynamics, and a polarized political atmosphere both nourish this climate. All these criteria can also be extended; however, the two songs that handled the study's scope especially look for youth discourse and political participation relations— noticing that when this discourse constitutes primarily in pro-government internet media outlets, current debates mainly lean on demonizing songs' unconventional political participation character. In Turkey's ongoing polarized atmosphere, the

representations of songs were dramatically different, and when the Turkish media played a significant role in this polarization, it is worth considering that polarization took place in two realms, political and societal.¹ As Aydın, Düzgit and Balta stated, “There is a burgeoning debate concerning the rise of polarization and its relationship to democracy.”²

In front of this climate and opposing camps, the actively unpolitical younger generation accused of being out of politics could not defend their songs which their themes and images create “dispositif sensibilization” in a society. This reflexivity is explained by Sözeri and Kadıoğlu’s study in the following words “censorship and self-censorship relations.”³

The methods of songs differed; Ezhel’s Olay (Incident) songs specify the power of images and recap what happened in recent Turkish history; the images of the song can be categorized in two dimensions. First, Turkish politics, world news images, and some of Turkey’s magazinal popular culture figures are featured in the song clip. While all these, it was significant which demands and themes were discussed.

It can be listed; Hrant Dink Assassination, 27 April e- momerandum, Justice and Development Party’s first presidential elections, Münevver Karabulut homicide, Turkish politician Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu’s last images, Barrack Obama’s speech in Turkish Parlement (TBMM), Turkish President Erdoğan’s one minute speech, Republican Public Party’s former chairmanship Deniz Baykal’s

¹ Aydın Düzgit, Senem Düzgit and Evren Balta. “When Elites Polarize over Polarization: Framing the Polarization Debate in Turkey.” *New Perspectives on Turkey* 60/(2019): 154. Accessed 6 July 2022: <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/new-perspectives-on-turkey/article/when-elites-polarize-over-polarization-framing-the-polarization-debate-in-turkey/7577DD2452EC746F684BB4E744FBCE29/share/df909b25490a2336773d5b1831cbfa34c3046f53>

² Ibid.

³ Duru Su Kadıoğlu and Ceren Sözeri “From the streets to the mainstream: popularization of Turkish rap music” *Turkish Studies* 2020): 11. Accessed 6 July 2022: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683849.2020.1850282>

resignation, the main opposition figure Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu's candidacy for CHP chairmanship, Mavi Marmara, Balyoz/ Ergenekon cases, Gezi protests, death of Ali İsmail Korkmaz, Taksim's explosion, Atatürk Airport explosion, Diyarbakır-Sur clashes, Çorlu train crash, 17-25 December, Soma Disaster, 15 July Coup Attempt, Reza Zarrab case, Unemployment, HDP leader Selahattin Demirtaş's being imprisoned, Turkey's military operation in Syria and involvement in Syria War, Idlib crisis, death of Eren Bülbül, death of Alan Kurdi, former Egypt's president Mohammed Mursi's jail sentence, Assassination of Saudi Arabia journalist Jamal Khashoggi at Saudi consulate in Istanbul, Russian diplomat Andey Karlov suicide in Istanbul, Trump's victory of ABD elections, abuse and rape news in Turkey, 9/11 September attacks, Charlie Hebdo attack, police brutality and police-citizen-protesters clashes in the world, WikiLeaks co-founder Julian Assange's arrest, Edward Snowden leaks of US documents, S-400 crisis, peak oil prices, dropping evolution curriculum in Turkey education system, Siirt mine disaster, Mardin District Governor dies in PKK bomb attack, İzmir's fire, Boris Johnson election victory, prison sentence of Ayşe teacher, Ümraniye baby, Soldier crying at the funeral of his martyred brother, terror incidents, Dağlica attacks, Turkey transgender activist's Hande Kader death, Puppy dog whose legs were cut off in Sakarya, The monument counter Anıt Sayacı that indicates number of women who were murdered by men, Mark Zuckerberg trial, Blue Whale online suicide game, Content blocked on Twitter, death of Omer Halis Demir, Yeni Kapı demonstration, Andrew Brunson crisis, 2015 Ankara bombings, drug addiction, Soma mine disaster, the man who fire himself, drought, ISIS's kidnapping Turkey's soldiers, death of Fırat Cakıroğlu, Yasin Börü and Berkin Elvan's death, death of Ceren Damar teacher, Dilek Özçelik a cancer patient who asked for help from former Environment Minister Erdoğan Bayraktar and she refused the money that he put in her pocket while she was crying, Death of child-worker Kadir Kara, Ayşegül Terzi who exposed to violence because of wearing a short, İsmail Devrim who commit a suicide because of unemployment, suspicious death of Rabia Naz, Hasan Ferit Gedik who was killed by gunfire while protesting drug dealers, the image of a young boy who smashed an egg on former Australian Senator Fraser Anning's

head who is known as racist and Islamophobic discourse, street debates and gang warfare.⁴

On the other side Susamam (I can't stay silent), where many rappers meet, focuses on different themes; nature, drought, law, justice, Turkey, Istanbul, education, interrogation, woman's rights, foreign land, animal rights, suicide, fascism, street, traffic. When the new hashtag, #OlaylaraSusamam (I can't stay silent of incidents) became a hot topic in the cyber arena, the song, which is the centre of attention of the foreign and internal press in different forms, also criticized what it said and how it expressed what it said, more importantly, and what it did not say in the context of Turkey.

That is why it is labelled as "co-terrorist-production." After songs launched, non-rap circles and, more strikingly, some of the rappers above the 18 singers disagreed—some names withdrawn from the project. The song is an example of unconventional political participation; however, rappers and their articulation of resistance are affected by the cultural attributes of Turkey's atmosphere. Turkish media outlets also have an essential role in creating this atmosphere.

The other rapper Defkan, explains the reason for the withdrawal from the project following words: "Due to the political acceleration of the project." On the other hand, one of the rappers, Miraç, makes a social media statement following words: "I have to say as a person in the song, and as a person describing the poor, orphan, refugee, the street, I am extremely disturbed by the extreme political groups, the HDP and FETO affiliates sharing the song." This statement also has a clue about music and affection relationships among different groups as it is unlikely to distribute a license for sharing or listening to the song because it does

⁴ Onedio, "Ezhel'in 'Olay' Klibinde Geçen Türkiye ve Dünya Gündeminde Son Zamanlarda Yaşanmış Olaylar" (7 September 2019). Accessed 20 July 2022: <https://onedio.com/haber/ezhel-in-olay-klibinde-gecen-turkiye-ve-dunya-gundeminde-son-zamanlarda-yasanmis-olaylar-884455>

not belong to the exclusive clique. While the project is gaining political momentum, these two songs lead audiences to “get into the mood of the song” at the same time, the process is getting confused with the influence of lynching culture on rappers from the politicians, and social media has become polarized, and media outlets enter into the force.

Furthermore, within the scope of the Susamam song, t-shirts were produced, and donations were made to village schools with the sale of these t-shirts. Even the first library was created for these t-shirts’ income. Also, the growing wave of donation chains and participation of famed individuals in Turkey started another campaign on social media, and this movement spread to other non-governmental organizations.

The second song, Olay, was released after Susamam, which categorized age-restricted videos on Youtube after a short time. The song clips Olay include the agenda of new Turkey; it contains remarkable moments from Turkish politics and popular culture history in recent years. Lyrics, images and videos of the songs also significantly influence Turkey’s politics of apolitical culture.

After one year, Susamam clip director Şanışer who is also the opinion leader of the song, states, “The first year of #Susamam is today. Sorry, I believe less now that music can change things, but I will continue to do so. Because that is all, I can do.” On the other hand, Ezhel, the most listened to artist on Turkey’s music list and opinion leader of Olay songs was arrested in 2018 for allegedly promoting drug use in his songs simultaneously; he faces trial for drug using. Olay clips directed by Berkant Akarcan and Yavuz Günel are in 140 journals teams.

The scope of this study focuses on two rap songs, “I can’t stay silent (Susamam)”, which was released on 6 September 2019, and in succession “, Incident (Olay)”, which was released on 7 September 2019 on YouTube. At first glance, why do these two rap songs matter despite two years have passed? This

question could be answered both as a part of my dispositions and the influence of songs on the community; however, it also reflects the youth and their unconventional political participation, in other words, engagement practices in Turkey. Whatever we call conventional or unconventional, traditional and untraditional or passive and active, it also reflects some old-fashioned conceptualization when we try to recognize the young people's relationship with politics without underestimating looking at a broad perspective.

These two rap songs chosen in the scope of the study are examples of unconventional political participation. The study will examine how the concept of youth and their compressed political participation are considered between the glorification and demonization within Turkey's polarized internet media outlets. In addition to the Turkish context, the reflections of two songs in the foreign internet outlets will be examined within the study's limits. In the light of the case study, the reflections of the historical ties of the youth's emergence on the political scene as a political category are still evident. Lüküslü summarised this situation as a word of "myth of youth".

Whereas the primary focus of this thesis is on "youth". As we all know, the phrase from Bourdieu states that "Youth is just a word" points to the arbitrary use of youth as whom this definition is used and also manipulated "by the holders of patrimony."⁵ At that point, the risky trilogy in this study tries to unite youth, political participation and rap music.

This trilogy reflects how youth engagement practices appear through the internet news outlets' content. To establish this linking this trilogy, first, wandering and questioning the limits and boundaries of the concept of youth in detail and rethinking youth and political participation relationship, instead of the accusation of youth apathy to the politics by questioning what is political in today's networked

⁵ Pierre Bourdieu, "Youth is just a Word" in *Sociology in Question* (London: Sage, 1993): 94.

⁵ Ibid.

society. Third, one of the study's questions is "Where does rap music stand in this trilogy?" without falling into the reductionist approach.

To sum up, the significance of the study derived from the problematic discourse of youth and their baffling portrayal of political engagement practices. Arguments of the thesis are as follows; first, youth discourse and their engagement practices perception have carried some historical dimension since the 1960s-1970s. The 12 September 1980's Military Coup is a determinant era for the depoliticization process. This historical memory comprises violence, the right-left spectrum debates and clashes, dissolving political parties and unions, and press censorship. The remembrance and ongoing depotentiated youth societal position affect current discourses differently. Both marginalization, radicalization, demonization, and glorification nourish anti-youth attitudes and discourses. Hence, "youth apathy towards politics" is not an adequate criterion for understanding youth political engagement and political behaviours. The supporting argument through the case study, Turkey's polarized media atmosphere, is a reference point for this examination.

CHAPTER 1: RESEARCH QUESTION

The main research question of the thesis is as follows: “How did different polarized Turkey’s internet news media outlets represent the following rap songs: Susamam (I can’t stay silent) and Olay (Incident)?” While the representation is specific to handle for these two rap songs, it is noticed that the emergence of youth discourse and their engagement practices shaped mostly paternalist gaze. The media coverage focuses on youth provoked, manipulated, and agency identity when regarding politics.

1.1. RATIONALE OF THE RESEACH

Through the case study, the lyrics and themes of the songs reflect the youth’s current concerns and the elements surrounding the youth. The songs aimed to draw attention to the political climate of Turkey in terms of “dispositifs de sensibilization.”⁶ Where this intention is revealed, the polarized representations of the two rap songs in the media reflect the political attitude of the youth. Youth “who are accused of being apolitical”⁷ and their engagement practices reflection also is a way to comprehend which historical process product of these songs, the political socialization form of the period, and the nature of engagement practices. It brings a holistic view of the context in which engagement takes place. It was significant because it reflects youth engagement practices and their polarized representations in Turkey’s “hybrid media.” According to Chadwick, hybrid media identified following words:

The hybrid media system is built upon interactions among older and newer media logics in the reflexively connected social fields of media and politics. Actors in this system are articulated by complex ever-evolving relationships based

⁶ Tuba Emirođlu, “2000’li Yıllarda Yeni Aktivizm Biçimleri Yeni Toplumsal Hareketlerde Gençlerin Siyasal Angajmanı” in Lüküslü and Yücel, *Gençlik Halleri 2000’li Yıllar Türkiye’inde Genç Olmak* (Ankara: Efil Yayınevi, 2013): 238.

⁷ Ibid.,7.

upon adaptation and interdependence and concentrations and diffusions of power. Actors create, tap, or steer information flows in ways that suit their goals and in ways that modify, enable, or disable the agency of others, across and between a range of older and newer media settings.⁸

Considering hybrid media, when discussing “crisis in young people’s civic and political engagement,”⁹ we should re-think crisis discourse linked to multidimensional paths and factors. At the same time, this crisis needs to comprehend outside the apolitical label of youth. The inculpatory character of this label indicates to us why and where the accusation comes from and what structural dynamics make up this accusation? When we think of all the question marks, the roads take us to a highly political position.

1.2. METHODOLOGY

As a case study of *Susamam* (I can’t stay silent) and *Olay* (Incident) songs, we focus on specifically its representation in Turkey’s internet news coverage. Through the internet news coverage of songs, this thesis paper explains how different polarized internet news media outlets in Turkey address the following rap songs and how they shape youth discourse and political engagement practices? When the representation issue comes to the stage, political atmosphere and organizational structure, media ownership, ideology, news format, interviews, editorial independence, clickbait, and SEO journalism play a significant role in contextualizing. Although I focused on the internet news portal to narrow my focus in this thesis, I tried to draw attention to some columns about the songs and their reflection in internet news outlets in Turkey, their representations in the foreign internet news outlets within the limits of the study. The thesis is based on a content analysis of media coverage of these two songs presented in various news portals in

⁸ Andrew, Chadwick. *The Hybrid Media System*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017:17.

⁹ Martyn Barrett “Young People’s Civic and Political Engagement and Global Citizenship” (20 September 2017). Accessed 6 February 2022: <https://www.un.org/en/chronicle/article/young-peoples-civic-and-political-engagement-and-global-citizenship>

Turkey. To show a more accurate picture, I have chosen several online news portals located on different sides of the ideological and political spectrum. On the one hand, I have chosen some pro-government portals such as Ahaber, Sabah, Yeni Şafak, Akit, Hürriyet, CNN Turk, NTV, TRT and on the other hand, some oppositional and alternative news portals such as Cumhuriyet, Sözcü, Duvar, T24, BirGün, Evrensel, BBC Türkçe, DW Türkçe, Euronews Türkçe. However, this sharp distinction between media outlets may not be an adequate criterion; it is compulsory, and we have been forced to make this distinction.

The case study will examine selected internet articles on two rap songs. When selecting articles from various media outlets, I looked for different ownership structures (political-economy perspective) and political orientations/ideological differences, how these features affect the shape of articles, and in another way, how these features unaffected measure demonstrated. As Özçetin remarks on Herman and Chomsky's approach, it is not easy to comprehend the propaganda strategies, especially when the media has a private media ownership structure. When Özçetin explains the concept of the "manufacturing of consent" and its position on political economy in mass media, he summarises the following words:

Authors stress that the media does not transmit current events objectively: it reinforces certain prejudices and perspectives of the media. As a threshold guardian, there are certain filters at work about what will or will not be news in the media or what will be reported in the first place. The propaganda model reveals in what ways money and power can filter print-ready news, marginalize the opposition, and that the government and the dominant private interest groups can send their messages to the public.¹⁰

Meanwhile, it is also considered that economic reductionism is not the only determinant factor. Storey, who transferred Fiske's view, the product of

¹⁰ Ibid.

popular culture, needs to analyze in two realms. These two realms defined the financial economy and cultural economy. Storey states “Whereas financial economy is primarily concerned with exchange value, the cultural is primarily focused on use-meanings, pleasures and social identities. There is, of course, dialogical interaction between these different but related economies.”¹¹ According to Storey, working on popular culture is closely related to who produced these value judgments and their representation at the discursive level, rather than producing a value judgment about them.¹² On account of this perspective, the power of consumers can not be overestimated.¹³

The case study uses Norman Fairclough’s Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach to scrutinize media coverage of these rap songs between demonization and glorification. In other words, we can say “struggle between discourse types”¹⁴ will be examined.¹⁵ Then looking at these discourses also reveals the political character of the struggle; according to Wodak, this link makes discourse a political project as an ideology is embedded. Also, when we consider the concept of power, which is a part of discourse analysis, it may be helpful to recall Gramsci’s concept of hegemony, which is based on class fractions but interpreted in various ways in academia. Shortly, hegemony is also strongly linked to power relations, and comprises the shadow of ideology.¹⁶ According to Gramscian terminology, when this hegemony is ensured through coercion or consent and who dominate common sense come out victorious. Nevertheless, the unstable character of hegemony illustrates that hegemony can change between

¹¹ John Storey, *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture An Introduction* (London: Pearson, 2009): 217.

¹² *Ibid.*, 215.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 214.

¹⁴ Norman Fairclough, *Language and Power* (Longman, London: 1989).

¹⁵ Ruth Wodak, “Critical Discourse Analysis” in *The Routledge Companion to English Studies* ed. Constant Leung and Brian V. Street (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014): 305. Accessed 12 March 2022: https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Ruth-Wodak/publication/238105100_DCA_-_Critical_Discourse_Analysis/links/0a85e535bc18f09787000000/DCA-Critical-Discourse-Analysis.pdf

¹⁶ Thomas R Bates, “Gramsci and the Theory of Hegemony.” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 36/2(1975): 351-66. Accessed 11 March 2022: <https://doi.org/10.2307/2708933>.

social groups and generate counter-hegemony.¹⁷ After all these preliminary assessments and despite the difficulty of the standard definition of discourse analysis, it can be summarised following words before the mentions of Fairclough's CDA:

- 1- A critical stance towards taken for granted knowledge, and scepticism towards the view that our observations of the world unproblematically yield its true nature to us
- 2- A recognition that how the ways in which commonly understand the world are historically and culturally specific and relative
- 3- A conviction that knowledge is socially constructed- our nature of the world itself but by social processes.
- 4- A commitment to exploring the ways that knowledge- the social construction of people, phenomena or problems- is linked to actions/ practices¹⁸

On this basis, “this health warning activity”¹⁹ is not just limited criticism towards discourse but can not be limited to interrogating existing knowledge. However, self-reflective and self- critical features play a significant role in pre-acceptance and assumptions of subject position. The case study of this thesis mainly aims to reflect on youth political engagement practices and discourses in Turkey, and their representations in the captured media environment reflect socio-historical conditions and perceptions. These conditions and perceptions that carry traces of the past are also part of the self-reflective process. The study aims to reveal that media has an essential function in forming this process by examining discursive practices. Therefore, Fairclough's approach and his three-layered explanation of discourse analysis comprise a basis for thesis methodology. According to Fairclough:

¹⁷ Chris Barker & Emma A Jane, *Cultural Studies theory and practices* (London: Sage, 2016): 77.

¹⁸ Rosalind Gill, *Discourse analysis in Qualitative Researching With Image, Sound and Text* edited by Martin W. Bauber and George Gaskell (London: SAGE Publications, 2000):173.

¹⁹ Ibid.,179.

(...) the social condition of production, social conditions of interpretation, and the level of the social institution, which constitutes a wider matrix for the discourse; and the level of society as a whole. These social conditions, moreover, relate to three different ‘levels’ of social organization: the level of the social situation, or the immediate social environment in which the discourse occurs; the level of the social institution which constitutes a wider matrix for the discourse; and the level of the society as a whole.²⁰

Rather than linguistic analysis, this multi-dimensional relation is explained by Wodak following words: “The manifold roots of CDA lie in rhetoric, text linguistics, anthropology, philosophy, sociopsychology, cognitive science, literary studies, and sociolinguistics, as well as in applied linguistics and pragmatics.”²¹ Fairclough, like Van Dijk, also states that CDA’s driving force is a problem-oriented attitude, thus leading to real problems that affect society. According to Fairclough:

CDA is interested in (...) “what is wrong with a society (an institution, an organisation etc.), and how ‘wrongs’ might be ‘righted’ or mitigated, from a particular normative standpoint. Critique is grounded in values, in particular views of the ‘good society’ and of human well-being and flourishing, on the basis of which it evaluates existing societies and possible ways of changing them.”²²

The discourse analysis reveals power relations or structures that “legitimized or delegitimized.” This internalized process also reflects the unconscious part of the discourse. According to Nonnhod, discourse analysis (CDA) needs to be addressed on two grounds; first, “discourse analysis and

²⁰ Norman Fairclough, *Language and Power* (London: Longman, 1989): 25.

²¹ Ruth Wodak and Micheal Mayer “Critical Discourse Analysis: History, Agenda, Theory, and Methodology 1” (ResearchGate, January 2019): 1. Accessed 12 March 2022: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/265678850_Critical_Discourse_Analysis_History_Agenda_Theory_and_Methodology_1

²² Norman Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis. The Critical Study of Language* (London, New York: Routledge, 2010): 7.

critique”; second, “discourse analysis as a critique.”²³ The discursive, interventionist, self-reflexive and controversial character of critical discourse analysis in general, “subjectivity and interventionist form of academic work,” refers to projecting an existing criticism into discourse analyses. Nonhold describes this attitude as the ideal position of CDA, which he attacks.²⁴ At this point, the external and internal or integrated character of discourse analysis distinction can be summarised by Nonhold’s following words:

One main difference between the two perspectives could be summarized in the following way: In the external relationship of discourse, analysis and critique precede the analysis, and any critical potential will thus mostly be attributed to the critical attitude of the analyst. On the other hand, in the integrated relationship of discourse analyses, the critical potential will be attributed to discourse analysis itself, or rather and more precisely, to discourse analysis read as a discursive formation.²⁵

However, as noted by Fairclough, “(...)language and discourse within social theory and research to develop our capacity to analyse texts as elements in social processes.”²⁶ This social process parenthesis plays a significant role in comprehending discourse and its backgrounds. It should also be noted that we need interdisciplinary features that make CDA not a single method.²⁷ Many theorists can be listed and extended in that field, such as Ruth Wodak, Teun Van Dijk, James Paul Gee, Foucault, Chantal Mouffe, Ernesto Laclau, Niklas Luhmann, James Paul Gee, Leeuwen, Hammersly, Widdowson.²⁸

²³ Martin Nonhoff, “Discourse analysis as critique” *Palgrave Communications* 3/17074 (2017): 2. Accessed 12 March 2022: <https://www.nature.com/articles/palcomms201774.pdf>

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 3

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 2.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 7.

²⁷ “Chapter 4 Critical Discourse Analysis, Intertextuality and the Present Study 4.1. Introduction.”: 60. Accessed 14 March 2022: <https://ses.library.usyd.edu.au/bitstream/handle/2123/1701/05chapter4.pdf?sequence=5>

²⁸ Teun A. van Dijk, “Principles of critical discourse analysis.” *Discourse & Society* 4/2 (London: SAGE Publications, 1993). Accessed 14 March 2022: <http://discourses.org/OldArticles/Principles%20of%20critical%20discourse%20analysis.pdf>

1.3. SCOPE OF STUDY

The first chapter of the dissertation explains the three-layered relationship between two rap songs. The songs' viral and political character, the study's methodology, and why I was interested in such a topic are explained.

The second chapter makes sense of which values have surrounded the youth and is an interdisciplinary field of study. The emergence of “youth studies” is open to dispute in sociological, psychological, philosophical, political, and policy disciplines. However, the term youth, whose etymological roots are based on the terms “young” and “departure of age”, has been addressed and interrogated. This stage aims to understand the definition of youth through theoretical approaches. When considering the conditions of young people in Turkey and around the world, one must draw attention to the historical process that constitutes a generation within the study’s limits. However, it is required to consider the concept of generation includes different experiences.

Considering various historical processes and elements that create youth discourse, they show that young people reflect on these discursive elements to navigate risks, threats, and perceptions. Young people, who are part of different realities, reflect the shared consciousness of a generation while undertaking all responsibilities, successes, and failures individually. Whether or not neoliberalism or its various components explain this situation, young people’s disempowerment reflects their practices and political demeanour.

In the third chapter that relates to the background given in the second part, attention is given to the political participation dynamics of youth. At the same time, discussing political participation and its changing nature, which is also examined independently of youth emphasis—disintegration from the conventional and non-conventional duality; the sharp boundaries are blurred. The changing nature and viewpoints of politics and the place of new technologies are discussed. As reported

by Sarah Pickard, “forms of citizenship that develop both the political imagination and the repertoire.”²⁹ However, this form of citizenship and its spheres, influence and efficiency are also discussed.

In the fourth part, before analysing the case studies of two rap songs, one of the “forms of citizenship that develop both the political imagination and the repertoire”—rap music, a product of hip-hop culture—is examined historically within the scope. This part also mentions the culture or creative industry, popular culture, subculture and rap, and resistance debates as part of the evaluation.

The fifth chapter covers the case study of this thesis. The case study draws attention to the representations of songs in Turkey’s polarised media environment. Within a specific methodological limitation, Turkey’s internet news outlets are handled. At that point, examining the youth’s political engagement practices and discourses, the structure and ownership of the media organisations, editorial processes, and political climate affect the representation of songs. For comparison, representations of the songs in the foreign press on internet news sites were also included in the study, within limits. The discourse and themes of the songs reflect the youth positions, which we have already mentioned in the discussion of youth studies.

Based on the local and global context and background information, the political atmosphere in which these songs emerged and the historical conditions and dynamics that pushed them can be the subject of a detailed study. Nevertheless, this work mainly focuses on how selected internet media outlets embraced these rap songs, especially the “pattern of youth”, in their discourses. This reflects the historical period and Turkey’s polarised atmosphere and manipulated representations of youth political engagement practices. The songs referred to in

²⁹ Sarah Pickard, *Politics Protest & Young People Political Participation and Dissent in 21st Century Britain* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019): 2.

this thesis are the product of a particular historical context. Hence, the songs need to be analysed in the context of Turkey's political atmosphere; however, this may be a subject for an another study.

CHAPTER 2: YOUTH STUDIES

2.1. INTRODUCTION

In this part of the study, the definition of youth is discussed from a questioning perspective. It will spark a discussion about accepted definitions of youth within different frameworks. The preadmission character of youth definitions also indicates who and which historical context it used or constructed. The general discussion regarding the youth studies literature is handled at the interdisciplinary and theoretical level within the scope of the part and asks how the youth discourse dynamics shape the global context and its historical roots in Turkey.

2.2. BEING YOUNG IN THE 21ST CENTURY

Being young is always challenging, and “to be young in the storms of the 21st century”³⁰ also includes many complexities in terms of “psychological, ecological, economic, health and social challenges.”³¹ Tracing the possibility or impossibility of discussing a universal youth concept, in opening this discussion, we have to ask what complications may face the responsibility of not defining youth? As Wyn and White mention, the following words:

It is important to study youth because the points where young people engage with the institutions that either promote social justice or entrench social division are significant points of reference for every society. Hence, the study of youth is important as an indicator of the real ‘costs’ and ‘benefits’ of the political and economic systems of each society.³²

³⁰ Johannes Kroenberg, Youth Section at the Goetheanum, “To be young in the storms of the 21st century” (4 July 2019). Accessed 8 February 2022: <https://www.youthsection.org/latest-post/to-be-young-in-the-storms-of-the-21st-century/>

³¹ Ibid.

³² Johanna Wyn and Rob White, *Rethinking Youth* (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 1997): 6.

On the other hand, McRobbie remarks sector of youth and their problematical “representation within film, literature, music and other popular cultural forms.”³³ McRobbie criticizes subcultural theorists from a feminist standpoint, and her criticism is linked to male cultural forms. In general, she also draws attention to moral panic within youth narratives and how these narratives can deconstruct.

Before entering the striking classification of young discourse, it is essential to note that, as Andy Furlong emphasizes, young people’s life standard has changed dramatically in today’s world in terms of “education, labour market experiences and patterns of dependency...”³⁴ At the same time, all dimensions are determinative of how experiences change from generation to generation. Nevertheless, it does not mean that these experiences or different kinds of inequalities are not transferred. Furlong claims that:

In many respects, the lives of young people today have things in common with earlier generations. Inequalities such as class and gender influence their lives, and many continue to experience smooth and highly structured transitions. Understand how inequalities are reproduced between generations and reflect on how structure and agency combine to shape life.³⁵

According to Walter R. Heinz, when youth create so-called biographies, various dimensions affect these biographies. These are:

Each life phase affects the entire life course: lifespan development.

Individuals actively construct their biography: human agency.

The life course is embedded in historical events: time and place.

³³ A. McRobbie, *Feminism and Youth Culture* From Jackie to Justseventeen in “Settling Accounts with Subculture: A Feminist Critique” (London: Palgrave, 1991).

³⁴ Andy Furlong, *Handbook of Youth and Young Adulthood New perspectives and agenda* (Canada: Routledge& Taylor Francis Group, 2009): 1.

³⁵ *Ibid.*,1.

Social circumstances and events influence transitions: timing of decisions.

Social relationships and networks contribute to the shaping of biographies: linked lives.³⁶

Whether or not all these factors indicate the life course theory of how and what circumstances transition will occur.³⁷ Besides, the transition concept has already been controversial and comprises complexity; the other crucial question needs to ask “What exactly are we talking about when we say youth?” What then is the opposite definition of this? What is the limit between being young and being old?”³⁸

It is well-known that youth is frequently associated with categorization age departure. This age emphasis mainly stands on biological motivations. Cartesian binarisms are prevalent in all walks of life, such as woman and man, black and white, East and West and youth and adulthood. In this context, the term young otherness is at the centre of youth studies. At that point, research interest and naming itself may relate to this classification; however, it should be not ignored that, as Griffin mentioned before, from the psychological standpoint: “Our concern over young people’s lives reflect in part our concern an uncertain future.”³⁹

Consequently, the term “uncertain future” is the main congestion. In this regard, this uncertain future seems strongly related to the “risk society” definition. Reymond describes this uncertainty following words “Living in contemporary risk societies intensifies feelings of contingency, feelings of never being sure if

³⁶ Walter R. Heinz, “Youth transits in age of uncertainty” in Andy Furlong, *Handbook of Youth and Young Adulthood New perspectives and agenda* (Canada: Routledge&Taylor Francis Group, 2009): 4.

³⁷ *Ibid.*,13.

³⁸ Chris Barker, Emma A. Jane, *Cultural Studies theory and practices* (London: Sage Publications, 2016): 351.

³⁹ Christine Griffin, “Imagining New Narratives of Youth: Youth Research, the ‘New Europe’ and Global Youth Culture.” SAGE Publications: 2 (May 2001):147 -167. Accessed 12 October 2021: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568201008002002>.

personal decisions will take me where I want to arrive.”⁴⁰ According to Giddens and Beck’s analysis, the era of late modernity has turned a new page different from modernity. This page embodies the “transition from wealth distribution society to risk distribution society.” Beck states that risk is not merely belonging to the era of modernity as there was always a risk, but the forms of risk transformed from individual or local risks to risks that threaten all humanity, which means “global risks.”⁴¹

Beck exemplified ecological disaster, nuclear and atomic fallout, terrorism, and the threat that transcends the local and territories. In this situation, Beck emphasises the “incalculability of risk” which indicates the following words: “(...) calculation of risk as it has been established so far by science and legal institutions collapses.”⁴² This means that late modernity’s rational mind can not deal with these risks, even the form of unpredictable risks; Beck mentions this unpredictability and incalculability threat to late modernity itself. Beck analysis the problematization of modernity. He clarifies this situation with the “boomerang effect.” This boomerang effect creates a new form of inequality.⁴³ Following words from Beck:

Some people are more affected than others by the distribution and growth of risks; social risk position springs. In some of their dimension, these follow the inequalities of class and strata positions, but they bring a fundamentally different distributional logic into play. The risk of modernization sooner or later also strikes those who produce or profit from them.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Manuela du Bois Reymond, “Model of navigation and life management” in Andy Furlong, *Handbook of Youth and Young Adulthood New perspectives and agenda* (Canada: Routledge& Taylor Francis Group, 2009):31.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ulrich Beck, *Risk Society Towards a New Modernity* (London: SAGE Publications, 1992): 23.

Although the risk society alarm is not new, the main question is, what is the place of young people in this new risk society? Young, on this page, encounters “risk management.” As Donald and Marsh state in their work:

According to Beck, contemporary risk societies are typified by greater opportunities for individual action and decision-making but which, because of this, involve increased risks. Young people are required to adopt calculative, strategic and reflexive personalised strategies toward the new risks and opportunities of the post-school world rather than to follow the obsolete ‘solutions’ traditionally associated with their collective class, ethnic or gender identities. In this context of “reflexive modernisation” individualised transitions predominate.⁴⁵

Market-driven motivations shape the idea of risk management regarding neoliberalism ideas. According to Giroux, the notion of governmentality in this risk management within every aspect of life, such as an economic, educational, cultural, and political arena..⁴⁶ Giroux's critics are based on the neoliberal policy in the United States. This policy makes youth invisible under criminalization, marginalization, individualization, and demonization. When Ferreira focuses on how neoliberalism shapes youth political participatory behaviour and engagement, he states:

Reflecting the global spread and deepening of neoliberalism, these measures have contributed to the economic marginalisation of young people in the labour markets, driving scepticism towards formal politics and encouraging more individualistic approaches to political participation or engagement, such as volunteering at NGOs) or boycotting consumerism.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Robert Mac Donald and Jane Marsh, *Disconnected Youth* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015): 33.

⁴⁶ Henry A. Giroux, *Youth in a Suspect Society Democracy or Disposability?* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009): xiii.

⁴⁷ Vitor Segio Ferreira, “Youth Studies and Generations” *Multidisciplinary Digital Publishing Institute* (MDPI) March/2020): xi. Accessed by 14 October 2021: <https://www.mdpi.com/books/pdfview/book/2127>.

In that context, individualization is a crucial outcome of privatization in the economy; this situation also affects other institutions in society. When we think of youth, individualization brings young people's failings and difficulties as seen by their failures and personal causes, only their responsibility. For this reason, youth are trying to deal with all these problems by themselves.⁴⁸ Giroux emphasizes that neoliberalism stepped in when youth normalized and internalized this thought. At that point, the imposed idea of "it is each man for himself" is one of the most critical damages to young people. As Giroux mentioned, this situation leads to no taking responsibility from policymakers under the light of "zero-tolerance policies."⁴⁹

As we can deduce from these, the youth is also strongly related to the concept of policies that focus on youth development. Development is not an independent category. Whatever frame is used is rooted in enlightenment nuance and brings social change. However, the nuance of change or the transition is an uncertain and questionable term within various disciplines. The following chapters will focus on comprehensive analysis through youth discourses element.

2.3. AGE CLASSIFICATION AND NAMING PRACTISE THE TERM OF YOUTH

To begin with an age departure, the term youth, as Furlong and Spence⁵⁰ also many theorists mentioned, reflects the "phase of life between childhood and adulthood."⁵¹ As Gabriel said, "(...) youth is like a third term, the child and adult binary possible."⁵² Gabriel notes through the deconstruction theory and focuses on the naming practice of youth for interrogating binary relations between the young

⁴⁸ Henry A. Giroux, *Youth in a Suspect Society Democracy or Disposability?* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009): 23.

⁴⁹ Ibid.,23

⁵⁰ Dan Woodman, *Youth Studies An Introduction*, (London: Routledge, 2012). Accessed 12 September 2021.

⁵¹ Jean Spence, "Concepts of youth" in *Working with young people* (London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi, Open University in association with SAGE, 2005): 46-56. Last accessed 12 October 2021: <https://dro.dur.ac.uk/6407/1/6407.pdf>

⁵² Fleur Gabriel, *Deconstructing Youth* (London: Palgrave Macmillan,2013): 3.

and adult dichotomy. Gabriel remarks through the deconstruction theory that the exclusionary practice of youth is not originating from the outside but from the inside of the term she mentions.⁵³ Following words from her:

As the binary opposite of adult childhood is more stable category than youth. The boundaries of childhood are drawn more stable category than youth. The edges of childhood are drawn more clearly compared to youth, which exists in meditation between child and adult and represents the transition between the two. We might say that childhood marks a socially legitimated zone of purposelessness which is to say that the purpose of childhood is to be a child?⁵⁴

This duality also opens a way to examine what it means to be an adult. To have a purpose or not become an adult when do not have a purpose? A similar question can be asked; it can also be extended. Despite the concept of age that perceiving as a biological reality Johanna Wyn and Rob White position against age, which is the primary defining force for youth in the context of biology; they state that the term young is not an ideal universal category, and they mention: “Age is a concept which is assumed to refer to a biological reality. However, the meaning and the experience of age and ageing are subject to historical and cultural process.”⁵⁵ At that point, their primary purpose is to remark on non-universality, the term of youth.⁵⁶ Indeed, Semerci's criticism is also related to this homogenization: (...) while some of us can always enjoy the freedom or luxury of being young in the country where we live, unfortunately, some of us always carry the responsibility and obligation to be adults.⁵⁷

This circumstance also opens room for thinking of those who can not live their childhood or adulthood category under the light of age identification. Dijk, Butter and Bruijn's study elucidates the position of youth in the context of African

⁵³ Ibid.,5.

⁵⁴ Ibid.,3.

⁵⁵ Johanna Wyn and Rob White, *Rethinking of youth* (London: Routledge,1997): 10.

⁵⁶ Ibid.,3.

⁵⁷ Pınar Uyar Semerci, “Çocuktan Yetişkinliğe Genç Olamayanlar” in *Türkiye’de Gençlik Çalışması ve Politikaları* (İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları): 401-402.

societies. Their remonstrance is about the “situational” definition of youth related to the categorization and production of the Western-based approach.⁵⁸ According to them, the term youth is an ideological project, and they are sceptical of international youth development programmes. They give an example such as “civic, education, NGO activities and policies”, which is an element of the post-colonial state.⁵⁹

In another study, Kelly describes youth as a state of being. Following words from her: “(...) as an artefact of expertise, youth is principally about becoming; becoming an adult, becoming a citizen, becoming independent, becoming autonomous, becoming mature, becoming responsible.”⁶⁰ In the context of becoming, the most common usage of growing up is strongly related to the ageing phenomenon, and following this phenomenon, it reflects some stereotypes. Sherlock transferred Nussbaum’s approach by following words:

However, in policy debates and much of the literature, there is a general tendency to look at older people (however defined) as a homogenous group with common needs and experiences. These simplistic approaches have led to the emergence of two somewhat polarized views of the ageing experience.⁶¹

At that point, youth studies try to work to interrogate shallow bilateral explanations. The young positions within betweenness and indefinableness because

⁵⁸ Rijk Van Dijk, Mirjam de Bruijin, Carlos Cardoso and Inge Butter, “Introduction: Ideologies of Youth” *Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa* 3/4 (January 2011): 4-5. Accessed 12 October 2021: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/277989864_Introduction_Ideologies_of_Youth

⁵⁹ Ibid., 7

⁶⁰ Peter Kelly, “Youth at Risk: Processes of individualisation and responsabilisation in the risk society” *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 1/22 (April 2001): 30. Accessed 12 October 2021: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/45403541_Youth_at_Risk_Processes_of_Individualisation_and_Responsibilisation_in_the_Risk_Society

⁶¹ Peter Lloyd Sherlock, “Nussbaum Capabilities and older people” *Journal of International Development* 14 (2002): 1164. Last accessed 12 October 2021: <https://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.196.6890&rep=rep1&type=pdf>

of not being a child and not being an adult. This “state of nothingness” is explained by a psychologist following words as Griffin mentions:

For a psychologist, this turmoil is usually assumed to reflect hormonal upheavals of puberty, whereas a sociologist is more likely to discuss the uncertainties arising from social changes associated with entry to the job market or independence from parents.⁶²

It is helpful to re-think Bourdieu here, as we might understand Griffin’s explanations; the various disciplines’ interpretation and youth definition differ. Also, this differentiation is supported by some information for the fields to verify themselves. For instance, some studies show that age-shaped categories correlated with creativity, brain functions, learning capacity, etc.⁶³ While these categories are objectively defined, on the other hand, this embedded rationality is criticised. Gabriel states that while these categories are objectively defined, on the other hand, this embedded rationality is criticised. Gabriel states that:

(...) For example, reach physical, cognitive and emotional maturity; asserts their independence; become sexually active) are also taken as dangerous, problematic or trouble and as grounds for disciplinary action to regulate youth behaviour.⁶⁴

Some studies try to show narratives of youth discourse from a historical perspective. As Griffin emphasises, that definition of youth goes with the nation. As we think of the context of nationalism, Griffin states: “Youth is a key indicator of the nation’s state.”⁶⁵ The protection duty undertaken by youth has a broad scope. Griffin highlighted “(...) to hold the key to nation’s future, and treatment and management of the youth are expected to provide to solution to a nation

⁶² Christine Griffin, “Imagining New Narratives of Youth: Youth Research, the ‘New Europe’ and Global Youth Culture” *SAGE Childhood* 8/ 2 (May 2001):142.

⁶³ David W Galenson, “Creative Life Cycles: Three Myths” *Becker Friedman Institute for Research in Economics* (December 2016). Accessed 8 February 2022: https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2888089

⁶⁴ Fleur Gabriel, *Deconstructing Youth* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013): 5.

⁶⁵ Christine Griffin, “Imagining New Narratives of Youth: “Youth Research, the ‘New Europe’ and Global Youth Culture”, *SAGE Childhood* 8/2 (May 2001): 149.

problems.”⁶⁶ However, according to Giroux, “guardian of the nation” is not just a rhetoric part of youth but holds responsibility. That is why Giroux mentions, “Any discourse about youth out of ethical necessity should raise serious questions about the social and political responsibility of educators in addressing the plight of young people today.”⁶⁷ According to Giroux, there is no problem with the discourse of youth as a source of hope and driving force of change; thus, the absence of this discourse paves the way for great irresponsibility. Griffin points out “the problem-solver role of youth” following words:

The youth as trouble paradigm is not ideologically neutral. It operates along the dimension of class, gender, race, sexuality, ethnicity and disability, as well as religion and nationality in some instances, to construct marginalized and subordinated groups as the primary source of specific social problems.⁶⁸

Besides these dimensions, Griffin also interrogates how gender orientates the future. According to Griffin, the economic participation of young people is mostly discussed with an emphasis on male labour.⁶⁹ This situation illustrates that the youth studies field is also gendered.⁷⁰ McRobbie’s critics focus on two main works. Critics are about Paul Willis’s “Learning to Labour” and Dick Hebdige’s “Subculture” works; these are examples of “the hegemony of heterosexual script.” According to McRobbie, the term youth strongly consists of male connotations in these works.⁷¹

Apart from male connotations, it can be mentioned that naming practice gives agency whose future is in the hands of a particular group and shape; at that point, youth can also be read as excluding the notion of adulthood in terms of the

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Henry A. Giroux, *Youth in a Suspect Society Democracy or Disposability?* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009): xiii.

⁶⁸ Christine Griffin, “Imagining New Narratives of Youth: Youth Research, the ‘New Europe’ and Global Youth Culture”, *SAGE: Childhood* 8/ 2 (May 2001): 149.

⁶⁹ Ibid.,52

⁷⁰ Ibid.,16.

⁷¹A. McRobbie, *Feminism and Youth Culture From Jackie to Justseventeen* in “Settling Accounts with Subculture: A Feminist Critique” (London: Palgrave, 1991): 16.

future guard. Not having this power also leads to the “anti-youth” situation that Bourdieu mentions.⁷² Bourdieu exemplifies the following words:

Characteristic of declining classes (such as craftsmen or small shopkeepers) or individuals in decline and the old in general. Not all old people are anti-youth, of course, but old age is also a social decline, a loss of social power, and in that way, the old share in relation to the young is also characteristic of declining classes. Naturally, the old people of the declining classes, that is to say, old craftsmen, old shopkeepers and so on, combine all these symptoms in an extreme form: they are against young people but also against the artist, against intellectuals, against protests against everything that changes and stirs things up, precisely because their future lies behind them, because they have no future, whereas young people are defined as having a future, whereas young people are defined as having a future, as those who will define the future.⁷³

This example can also be thought about the youth’s view of adulthood. Wyn and White also remark similar argument as being non-adult discourse with the following words: “(...) the problematic nature of being a young person and the even more problematic nature of becoming an adult...”⁷⁴ Indeed, their work remarks striking points because being young takes shape within various institutions such as school (education), law, family, media, and economic engagement in the labour market, the police and welfare. It is possible to expand these examples, but the main issue is shaping young people’s identity according to who is included or not included in these positions.⁷⁵ Wyn and White emphasize that “The outcomes are shaped by the relations of power inherent in the social divisions of society.”⁷⁶ This relationality is linked to institutions changing structure; it also means economic and political dimensions identify youth positions.⁷⁷ It means crossing a threshold.

⁷² Pierre Bourdieu, “Youth is just a Word” in *Sociology in Question* (London: Sage, 1993): 100.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Johanna Wyn and Rob White, *Rethinking of youth* (London: Routledge, 1997): 8.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 3.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

2.4. A HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF YOUTH DISCOURSES IN TURKEY

Yentürk, Kurtaran and Nemetlu state: “The absence of a youth policy in Turkey is itself the youth policy of this country.”⁷⁸ According to them, there is a fine line between policy and instrumentalization of youth. The discourse of “our tomorrow’s guarantee” and “getting ready for the real-life”⁷⁹ comprise the driving force of change that youth has been taken for granted and instrumentalization of transition. As in historically gaze, according to Neyzi, the era of “modernity” also shaped youth discourse in Turkey.

In this regard, Neyzi’s pre-acceptance starts with the distinction between East and West. The following words indicate that the term “youth” is a Western term, but, Neyzi leads the following question: “How, on the other hand, is the transition from childhood to adulthood experienced and constructed in non-Western modernities?⁸⁰” Although Neyzi admits there is no single modernity, Neyzi seeks to question the discourse of youth in the context of Turkish society, which offers us a historical perspective to indicate the category of youth. Neyzi identifies three periods in Turkey and how youth discourse is shaped within three-dimension. These periods: “(1923-1950), (1950-1980), (Post-80).”⁸¹ Neyzi states that:

(...) in the first period (1923-1950), youth - educated youth in particular - came to embody the new nation. In the second period (1950-1980), in which a student movement led to widespread violence between “leftists and rightists”, youth were reconstructed in public discourse as rebels and as a major threat to the nation. However, young people involved in the student movement viewed the incumbent government itself as illegitimate, perceiving themselves as acting in the name of the people to build a just society. In these two periods, then, despite a change in discourse, educated youth identified mainly with the mission assigned to them of

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹Nurhan Yentürk, Yörük Kurtaran and Gülesin Nemetlu, *Türkiye’de Gençlik Çalışması ve Politikaları* (Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2016): 5.

⁸⁰ Leyla Neyzi, “Object or Subject? The Paradox of Youth in Turkey”, *International Middle East Studies* 18 (February 2001): 102.

⁸¹ Ibid.,114.

transforming society from above - although most young people, as the rural masses as a whole, remained silent in public discourse.⁸²

In that context, Neyzi's periodization also utilizes the "generations." At that point, this generational approach seems to be a pre-condition of the youth's understanding of her work. However, some new studies criticize this generational, which penetrates the youth studies field and nourishes the "marketing interest, age cohorts and political engagement." According to Ferreira:

(...) A sequence of letters conflates generations and age cohorts born in the last few decades (generation "X", "Y", or "Z"), as well as multiple categories, are used to describe today's young people as a generation that is distinct from its predecessors...⁸³

This labelling is also a form of "a new orthodoxy in the study of youth."⁸⁴ In other words, these age cohorts melt all the youth in the same pot, and this situation leads to homogenising youth. As Ferreira said, "Youth conditions and behaviours, blurring unequal social and cultural conditions in the light of experiences of Western youth located in Anglo-Saxon countries and among the white, urban, and more highly educated middle classes."⁸⁵

Undoubtedly, this generational bears on Mannheim's work, which is why the concept of generation inhold a "youth" shadow. At this point, the generation should be enlightened first instead of the "youth." In his study, Mannheim focuses concept of generation and its transition power in the "The Sociological Problem of Generation." Mannheim uses a former sociological approach to understand "generations. Nevertheless, his study opens with the title "problem", which explains how sociology conceptualizes generation. According to Mannheim, "The

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.,ix.

⁸⁴ Ibid.,ix.

⁸⁵ Ibid.,ix.

sociological problem of generations begins at that point where the sociological relevance of these biological factors is discovered.”⁸⁶

Mannheim explains generation following words: “Individuals who belong to the same generation, who share the same year of birth, are endowed, to that extent, with a common location in the historical dimension of the social process”⁸⁷ can not be an adequate definition for comprehending what makes a generation a generation. Generations are not concrete groups or contract groups whose main principles are “existential ties of proximity” or “rational will”, Mannheim states.

However, it does not mean that he refuses the definition of biological factors (age) and generations’ historical and locational dimensions. Mannheim accepts all of these because rejecting and unconsidered these components connote not believing the “power of change” undertaken by generations. However, he discloses the generation’s definition with one-sided biological emphasis, nor degrades historical and locational dimensions. These characteristics make a generation which would not be possible without one.

For instance, when we mention location, there must be a place, and the position within the place can only be read in historical and social processes. The focal point for Mannheim should be to bear in mind that the location emphasis in the historical process refers to the class position, but it does not mean that classes have the same class consciousness. According to Mannheim, for individuals who live in a particular historical process but have a different experience level, location in the position carries both limits and potency for fresh contacts.⁸⁸ For this reason, it contains both positivity and negativity. Being a generation member in historical processes with age, class, and location attributes could be both exclusionist and inclusive. The following words from him summarise the main point:

⁸⁶Karl Mannheim, “The Problem of Generations,” in *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge* (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1928/1952):168.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 167.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 3- 166.

The fact of belonging to the same class and belonging to the same generation or age group have this in common that both endow the individuals sharing in them with a common location in the social and historical process, and thereby limit them to a specific range of potential experience, predisposing them for a certain characteristic mode of thought and experience, and a characteristic type of historically relevant action. Any given location, then, excludes a large number of possible modes of thought, experience, feeling, and action and restricts the range of self-expression open to the individual to certain circumscribed possibilities. This negative delimitation, however, does not exhaust the matter. Inherent in a positive sense in every location is a tendency pointing toward certain definite modes of behaviour, feeling, and thought.⁸⁹

The problem arises when considering the class position as just a single layer; the question that comes to mind is how to explain the concept of a generation when an individual has more than one class position. At that point, Bourdieu's approach steps in. When Bourdieu mentions the arbitrary use of the term young, which contains obscurity, thus he remarks, "Youth is just a word."⁹⁰ Bourdieu draws attention to the social construction of the term youth and its ambiguity. He tries to say youth is a relational term that can change according to different positions. Wyn and White also remark a similar point as, like Bourdieu, Wyn and White state that "growing up" is linked to relationality. According to them, "(...) the social process whereby age is socially constructed, institutionalised, and controlled historically and culturally specific ways."⁹¹ However, Bourdieu's analysis goes a little further; Bourdieu argues that: "Classification by age (but also by sex and of course class...) always means imposing limits and producing an order to which each person must keep himself in his place."⁹² His emphasis on the ageing of a variety of disciplines and their function is following words:

⁸⁹ Ibid.,168-169.

⁹⁰ Pierre Bourdieu, "Youth is just a Word" in *Sociology in Question* (London: Sage, 1993): 94.

⁹¹ Johanna Wyn and Rob White, *Rethinking Youth* (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 1997): 11. Accessed February 11, 2021. ProQuest Ebook Central.

⁹² Pierre Bourdieu, "Youth is just a Word" in *Sociology in Question* (London: Sage, 1993): 94.

As I have shown in relation to fashion or artistic and literary production, each field has its specific laws of ageing. To understand how the generations are divided, you have to know the specific laws of functioning of the field, the specific prizes that are fought for and the divisions that emerge in the struggle (nouvelle, vague, nouveau roman, nouveaux, philosophies, the new judge's et). All that is fairly banal but it demonstrates that age is a biological datum, socially manipulated and manipulable; and that merely talking about the young as a social unit, a constituted group, with a common interest, relating the interest to biological defined age, is in itself obvious manipulation.⁹³

In a recent study, Bessant, Pickard and Watts use the Bourdieusian approach to explain the term youth. According to them, Bourdieu does not interrogate about precondition phenomenon of youth, the phenomenon regarding classification struggles as they mention “classified is variable and subject to manipulation.”⁹⁴ The scene of these manipulations and struggles is a field.

In other words, field means space, and various spaces have different rules that Bourdieu called “laws.”⁹⁵ At that point, a variety of discipline inner dynamics conflicts get involved in this discussion. As Bourdieu states, “(...) a space structured according to oppositions linked to specific forms of capital with differing interests.”⁹⁶ Bourdieu points out relations between social position and the benefits. In the light of his habitus concept, following his words: “The intellectuals who speak about all these things have vested interests, concealed interests invested in all these things: there are the interests of poets musicians, lawyers or philosophers.”⁹⁷ Thus, Bourdieu advocates every practice that we emphasize without interest; although we do not accept it, we have an interest, even without realizing it. However, it can not associate with classic utilitarian motivation, and it

⁹³ Ibid.,95.

⁹⁴ Ibid.,95.

⁹⁵ Judith Bessant, Sarah Pickard & Robb Watts, “Translating Bourdieu into youth studies” *Taylor Francis* 23 (2020): 2024. Accessed 12 October 2021:<https://doi.org/10.1080/13676261.2019.1702633>

⁹⁶ Pierre Bourdieu, *On the State Lectures at the College de France 1989-1992* translated by David Fernbach(Cambridge, Malden: Polity Press, 2014): 20.

⁹⁷ Ibid.,352.

is a form of connection or relation. Bessant, Pickard and Watts intended to illustrate that relationality arises from “substantial tradition.”⁹⁸ Following words from them:

How do those working in youth studies conceptualise their ‘objects’ of study, such as ‘youth’, ‘class’, ‘gender’, ‘change’, ‘culture’ or ‘transitions’? On the face of it, the variety of ‘theoretical’ approaches and perspectives (symbolic interactionist, feminist, queer, media studies, cultural studies, neo-Marxist, etc.) would suggest an equivalent variety of answers to this question.⁹⁹

However, with this substantial traditional obstacle to mobility, Ken Roberts defines this reproduction theory as an obstacle to development. Roberts identifies reproduction theory as an “epistemological fallacy.”¹⁰⁰ Despite Bourdieu, Roberts does not agree with the idea that children live the destiny of their parents’ positions. Roberts states that:

(...) Reproduction theorists insist that the maintenance of class relationships must be regarded as perpetually hazardous, given that one class of people is not just relatively disadvantaged but is actually exploited and has an objective interest in the breakdown of reproduction and the ensuing revolutionary transformation.¹⁰¹

As we understand all this, the idea of transformation over the young is a controversial concept that includes both “institutionalized and less institutionalized guidelines.”¹⁰²

⁹⁸ Judith Bessant, Sarah Pickard and Robb Watts, “Translating Bourdieu into youth studies” *Taylor & Francis*: (2019): 8. Accessed 12 October 2021: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13676261.2019.1702633>-

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹⁰⁰ Ken Roberts, “Socioeconomic reproduction” in Andy Furlong, *Handbook of Youth and Young Adulthood New perspectives and agenda* (Canada: Routledge & Taylor Francis Group, 2009): 18.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 14.

¹⁰² Andy Furlong, *Handbook of Youth and Young Adulthood New perspectives and agenda* (Canada: Routledge & Taylor Francis Group, 2009): 4.

2.5. YOUTH DEBATES UNDER THE LIGHT OF THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter will discuss how various disciplines participate in the youth debates and what kind of questions could be raised in the context of youth. Along the side of complexity and blurred term youth, we need to comprehend the multidimensional path to analyze the actors of the debate. As seen from the discussion, despite the variety of disciplines in attendance, Woodman and Bennet mention two main lines that shape the debate within the youth context: “transitional and cultural” dimensions.¹⁰³ However, according to them, these “twin tracks” are insufficient to realize the youth situation. They mention:

(...)Any neat division between transitions and cultures in youth studies is increasingly out of step with the reality of young lives, and the future of youth studies will demand renewed efforts to bridge the gap between the two.¹⁰⁴

Goodwin and O'Connor demonstrate that young is an interdisciplinary focal point, stating, “Young has been of interest to sociologists, psychologists and policymakers.”¹⁰⁵ This dimension can also be expanded. However, it must be mentioned that education is the central dimension which includes “clear-cut-differences classes entitlements.”¹⁰⁶ Bourdieu clarifies this situation, “The previous state of the system means that limits were very strongly internalized: it leads people to accept failure or limits as to just or inevitable.”¹⁰⁷

In the context of youth studies, youth and workforce relations must be added. As we already know, the labour force is the central dilemma for youth in today's world and centuries. The first question could be why youth unemployment

¹⁰³ Dan Woodman and Andy Bennet, “Cultures, Transitions, and Generations: The Case for a New Youth Studies” in *Youth Cultures, Transitions and Generations Bridging the Gap in Youth Research* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015): 8.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*,3.

¹⁰⁵ John Goodwin and Henrietta O'Connor, “Youth and generation In the midst of an adult World” in Andy Furlong, *Handbook of Youth and Young Adulthood New perspectives and agenda* (Canada: Routledge&Taylor Francis Group, 2009): 22.

¹⁰⁶ Pierre Bourdieu, “Youth is just a word” in *Sociology in Question* (London: Sage, 1993): 97.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

is served, and why does this unemployment consistently distinguish between young and adults? Is it means youth unemployment seems to be a more prominent material? For whom? As critics from Sukarieh and Tannock point out provocative interrogation, they state that:

Why are academics and other elite social actors talking about ‘youth unemployment in the first place, as opposed to unemployment more generally? Who is talking about youth unemployment and in the services of which interests and agendas? What work is the category of youth performing to shape the experiences and actions not just of young people concerning unemployment but those of a wide range of other (adult) actors as well?’¹⁰⁸

Contrary to Sukarieh and Tannock, Côté disagrees with underestimating “the political economy” perspective when discussing youth.¹⁰⁹ According to Côté, this situation leads to not recognizing the youth period; in other words, not recognizing numeric standards or biological segments, whatever we call them, leads to the inability to evaluate young people’s living conditions realistically and objectively. This unacceptance also limits comparison and is a barrier to future analysis of youth positions. At that point, Côté claims that age identification or emphasis, whatever is called, is a requirement for pragmatic observation.

As a diametrically opposite critique of Côté’s view, Threadgold criticizes quantitative studies, especially “figures” that rational embedment in youth studies. Although he distinguishes useful and useless figures from each other (however, he does not give a particular explanation of how to separate them), he highlights how these figures operated by instrumentality. The field that he called youth studies

¹⁰⁸ Mayssoun Sukarieh and Stuart Tannock, “On the political economy of youth: a comment” in *Journal of Youth Studies* 19/9 (Taylor Francis: October 2016): 1288. Last accessed 8 February 2022: DOI: [10.1080/13676261.2016.1206869](https://doi.org/10.1080/13676261.2016.1206869),

¹⁰⁹ James E. Côté, “Towards a new political economy of youth” in *Journal of Youth Studies* 17/4 (Taylor Francis (2013):3. Accessed 8 February 2022: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13676261.2013.836592>

needs to reveal this “instrumentality of ”camouflage.” The following words from him summarize the main point:

Youth Studies needs to consider how some of the figures used within it contribute to, buffer and even reinforce the problematic figures that dominate political and media discourse. In an academic field where so-called impact is being emphasised, this is one area where Youth Studies can publicly intervene to make impacts beyond our own academic interests.¹¹⁰

According to Griffin, this instrumentality is not limited to quantitative research; it may also be seen in qualitative research (ethnography). In qualitative research about youth, this instrumentality uses the “storm and stress” model, which is a hegemonic discourse that belongs to Stanley Hall’s “psycho-biological” approach.¹¹¹ Despite the Threadgold and Griffin argument, Côté emphasises that numerics standards and figures need observations; also, it benefits locating youth in a contextual and historical framework. He exemplifies the 1960s, references Cultural Studies’ attention to subcultures and disadvantaged groups, and remarks on the near case of unemployment rates in a significant recession in 2008. Côté claims that some of the periods revealed how essential the highlighting of political economy was for the comparison. As stated by Côté, the political economy youth perspective can define in the following words:

The term ‘political economy’ has a varied history and multiple usages, a point picked up below. In the youth field, it can be defined as a perspective that investigates the root causes and consequences of the positioning overtime of the youth segment of those (adults) in a given society with political and economic power, and thus how those in power see fit to develop policies that might recognise the political rights of the young, and therefore, support their economic interest.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ Steven Threadgold, “Figures of youth: on the very object of Youth” in *Journal of Youth Studies* 23/6 (Taylor Francis: 2020): 691.

¹¹¹ Christine Griffin, “Imagining New Narratives of Youth: Youth Research, the ‘New Europe’ and Global Youth Culture.” *SAGE Childhood* 8/ 2 (May 2001): 150.

¹¹² James E. Côté, “Towards a new political economy of youth” in *Journal of Youth Studies* 17/4 (Taylor Francis: 2013): 2. Accessed 8 February 2022: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13676261.2013.836592>

In defiance of Cote's functional gaze, Sukarieh and Tannock disagree with the "way of viewing youth in a contemporary global society (as a proletarianized social class)."¹¹³ Their argument does not mean overlooking economic empowerment; however, they remark that economic degradation and explanation for youth positions is a kind of resources arena for a labour market that nourishes neoliberal aims. It leads to the construction of a reciprocal turn between young and institutions regarding what they expected of them and what they see themselves in a potential labour force in the community.¹¹⁴ Further, Sukarieh and Tannock's remarks on the policies that were conducted for youth empowerment turned into policies to save the day in terms of reducing youth wages and lack of social security.¹¹⁵ According to Sukarieh and Tannock's standpoint, economic empowerment discourse changes in a historical context for those using it. As a result of the economic emphasis on youth, conditions that lead to degrading their participation in social life are contingent on their market value.

This market value is used by youth policies, educational programmes and NGO policies globally, especially by capitalist organizations in business ecology. The absence of market value means the risk is social exclusion. Donald and Marsh's study illustrate that risk is not merely dependent on the absence of market value which is closely related to underclass theory. Thus, they state: "Contemporary debates about 'the underclass and social exclusion provide a classic example of these paradoxical, ideological ways of thinking about youth."¹¹⁶ Their research with interviews indicates that the actuality of "sub-employment" is frequently underestimated. The sub-employment form exemplifies "working on

¹¹³ Mayssoun Sukarieh and Stuart Tannock, "On the political economy of youth: a comment" in *Journal of Youth Studies*: 19/9 (Taylor Francis, 2016): 1281. Accessed 8 February 2022: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13676261.2016.1206869>

¹¹⁴ Mayssoun Sukarieh and Stuart Tannock, "On the political economy of youth: a comment" in *Journal of Youth Studies*: 19/9 Taylor Francis(2016): 1288. Last accessed 8 February 2022: [10.1080/13676261.2016.1206869](https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13676261.2016.1206869).

¹¹⁵ Ibid.,170.

¹¹⁶ Robert Mac Donald and Jane Marsh, *Disconnected Youth* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015): 203.

short-term contracts, under-skilled jobs, unemployed, ‘retired’, ‘on the sick’ or otherwise economically inactive).”¹¹⁷

At this point, the concept of social exclusion is not one-sided, as they mention the main point: “Unemployment, job insecurity and poor work have become common working-class experiences, rather than the preserve of an under-class stranded beneath them.”¹¹⁸ Despite all of them, all we talked about is mainly focused on youth participation in the economic area. In other words, we read ‘youth debates’ in the light of economic explanations and participation in the workforce. That is why this argument is mainly related to the Marxist approach. However, what is crucial in that discussion is that the lack of empowerment of youth can not be explained by having a job, inadequate employment of youth, a reality that can not be ignored and the obstacle to self-realization of youth. At that point, Foucault takes to stage and objects to “labour” itself that is accepted by humans inherent. According to the Foucauldian view, self-realization-subjectivity affiliated mostly with “labour” and participation in the workforce preconditions is a problematic discourse.

Taylan points out Foucault’s view, in the context beyond Marx, “the historical formation of “labour” is the production of disciplinary techniques under governmentality. In this perspective, “productive activity” can not unlimited producing goods and objects.¹¹⁹ According to them, this perspective can be extended to education, factory, barrack, and producing a will.

Besley and Peters point out that “labour” benefited from Foucault’s interrogation under the light of the “governmentality” concept. The remarks that emphasise the importance of labour are strongly related to youth governmentality

¹¹⁷ Ibid.,202.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.,203.

¹¹⁹ Ferhat Taylan, Christian Laval, Luca Paltrinieri, *Marx&Foucault Okumalar, Kullanımlar, Yüzleştirmeler* translated by İsmet Birkan (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2020): 194.

discourse, and this discourse interacts with policy frameworks and policymakers. According to them:

Such perspective can also be used to address the policy approach of neoliberalism to the question of youth unemployment that is inflected towards the themes of self-responsibilisation, governing the unemployed, and the entrepreneurial subject. A genealogy of the entrepreneurial self reveals the relationship promoted by neoliberalism that one establishes with oneself through personal investment (e.g. user charges such as student loans) and insurance that becomes the central ethical component of a new individualised and privatised consumer welfare economy.¹²⁰

Peter and Besley remark that this entrepreneurialism dominates in every field and sees themselves as a type of investment tool, in other words, a project. In that context, youth subjectivity strongly depends on different kinds of tags, mainly work status. When we adopt this entrepreneurialism over the youth, youth becomes a political subject. Dijk, Butter, Bruijn and Cardasco draw attention to ‘navigational agency’. By implying that youth is an ideological definition according to them:

Youth is thus a navigational concept. It indicates how and by following which trajectories, a ‘certain’ group of people in society produce, occupy, or escape from specific spaces and places. Redefining youth as an identity project of ‘becoming somebody’, this becoming is captured in navigating specific spaces and places – the bar, the disco, the funeral, the school, the church, the state, the house and so forth.¹²¹

¹²⁰ Micheal.A.Peters and Tina Besley, “Marx and Foucault: Subjectivity, Employability and the Crisis of Youth Unemployment in the Great Global Recession” in *Policy Futures in Education*: 11/6 (June 2013): 782. Accessed 15 October 2021: <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.2304/pfie.2013.11.6.779>

¹²¹ Van Dijk, Rijk, Mirjam De Bruijn, Carlos Cardoso, and Inge Butter. “Introduction: Ideologies of Youth.” *Africa Development / Afrique Et Développement* 36, no. 3/4 (2011): 5-6. Accessed 21 January 2021: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/i24482100>

In contrast to the navigational character of youth debates, Giroux emphasises youth pedagogy. His attempt shows that governmentality is not just damaging connations; it can also create room for transforming youth position within the positive connations. His emphasis focuses on positive governmentality. The critical point in this discussion is the need to ask how governmentality is determined without arbitrary motivations.

Another part of the youth discussion related the globalization. One of the United Nations reports clarifies how globalization affects youth:

Globalization offers clear economic opportunities and benefits but comes with substantial social costs that often appear to affect young people disproportionately, given their tenuous transitional status within an uncertain and rapidly evolving global context.¹²²

The following section will discuss how all the dilemmas that shape youth discourse affect their political participation practices. One of the things must be taken into account as Griffin declares:

Youth cultural research has always occupied a relatively marginal location in terms of research funding, so it is further marginalized through erroneous positioning of dominance. However, it remains the case that those who criticize the prevailing wisdom of their day are seldom welcomed into government policy units or showered with increased resources. The question for radical youth researchers and practitioners is how to retain a critical voice in debates around youth while resisting the process of marginalization, both for themselves and about particular groups of young people that are represented as troubling.¹²³

¹²² United Nations World Youth Report 2003, "Young People in a Globalizing World"(October: 2006): 1. Accessed 18 October 2021: <https://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/documents/ch11.pdf>

¹²³ Christine Griffin, "Imagining New Narratives of Youth: Youth Research, the 'New Europe' and Global Youth Culture." *SAGE: Childhood* 8/ 2 (May 2001): 151.

In that context, the voice of the youth has begun to be declared somehow; the marginalization strategy enters into force. It focuses on troubling youth identity, which is created by representations. At this point, all dimension within the scope of this chapter drawn under youth studies also influences political participation or, in other words, engagement practices. As Ilaria Pitti said, there is a strong relationship between “unconventional participation and youth conditions in contemporary society.”¹²⁴ In the next chapter, I intend to draw attention to this dual tie and answer how new technologies have shaped youth political participation within the scope of interrogating the “political participation” description.

* * *

Deconstructing the concept of youth, revealing its structure shaped by rhetoric elements, and looking for specific collectivism on the changing face of youth indicate their identity can not be accepted as homogeneous. Nevertheless, the elements surrounding the youth include similarities and reflective processes. Thomson, Flynn, Roche and Tucker have explained by following statements:

How young people are seen or socially constructed and how they see themselves. This is a critical agenda in the sense that it seeks both to displace the dominant images of young people, which see them as problems and to take seriously the varied ways in which young people tell us in symbolic and practical social activity who they are and what their interest is.¹²⁵

This discussion is crucial to comprehend the dynamics and conditions of youth and their affection for engagement practices in the political arena. Outside the conventional political definitions and borders, perceptions and images of youth engagement practices are problematic.

¹²⁴ Ilaria Pitti, *Youth and Unconventional Political Participation* (Sweden:Palgrave MacMillan): 2-3.

¹²⁵ Stanley Tucker, Ronny Flynn and Rachel Thomson, *Youth in Society: Contemporary Theory, Policy and Practice*(London: SAGE, 2004): xvii.

CHAPTER 3:

YOUTH AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

3.1. INTRODUCTION

In this part of the study, the changing nature of political participation, the crisis of democracy and the fragile definitions of citizenship are discussed. While the criticism of “youth apathy towards the political arena” may relate to structural transformation and the elements they have been facing from youth and social policies that weaken them, uncertainty, polarization at the global-local level and distrust the politics cause a reaction. This situation essentially reflects a political attitude. The historical view of the political participation of youth is also addressed both globally and in Turkey in general terms.

3.2. THE TRANSITION IN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OFFLINE, ONLINE OR MEDIATED YOUTH?

In the previous part, we discussed the ambiguous character of youth definition and emphasized that there are many obstacles to youth as a purely universal category. The homogenizing of the youth corresponds to not considering their specific positions within the same generation. While mentioning the conditions of today’s young position within limits, their position also reflects why unconventional political participation engagements are a natural consequence. However, this consequence is not just explained by life-course theory.¹²⁶ In that context, Pitti states “(...) paying attention to how the conditions of youths at given times and in given spaces shape young people’s political behaviours.”¹²⁷ For this reason, rather than claiming young people’s apathy toward the politics narrative,¹²⁸ it is necessary to look at why and how young people’s political participation

¹²⁶ Ilaria Pitti, *Youth and Unconventional Political Participation* (Sweden: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

¹²⁷ Ibid., 2-3.

¹²⁸ Sarah Pickard, *Politics Protest & Young People Political Participation and Dissent in 21st Century Britain* (London Palgrave Macmillan, 2019):172.

practices are considered apathetic?¹²⁹ Sarah Pickard argues that “Thus, young people who are blamed for not engaging with politics, rather than politicians and polity for not engaging with young people.”¹³⁰ According to Pitti:

(...) young people appear, in fact, neither just protesting towards institutions asking for their intervention, neither attempting to escape the confrontation with traditional political institutions. They seem, instead, to actively seek to defy traditional political institutions pursuing a re-appropriation and re-conquest of politics.¹³¹

While discussing this, it should also bear in mind that Weiss questions: “How does youth political participation differ from adult political participation? Which factors lead to different behaviour between young and old? Third, does this mean that young adults are politically disengaged?”¹³² Although there are multiple evaluations of all questions, such as life course, the generational situation, episodic events, and political socialization affect political attitudes. Still, it is uncertain whether it relates to family or social capital.¹³³

As Weiss states, “Young adults might not define their actions as political, even though they are political.”¹³⁴ Weiss also points out that youth disengagement results from how politics are organized rather than the youth’s lack of interest in

¹²⁹ Ilaria Pitti, *Youth and Unconventional Political Participation* (Sweden: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018): 2-3.

¹³⁰ Sarah Pickard, *Politics Protest & Young People Political Participation and Dissent in 21st Century Britain* (London Palgrave Macmillan, 2019): 72.

¹³¹ Ilaria Pitti, *Youth and Unconventional Political Participation* (Sweden: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018): 117.

¹³² Julia Weiss, “What Is Youth Political Participation? Literature Review on Youth Political Participation and Political Attitudes”, *Frontiers in Political Science*. 2/1 (May 2020): 1-5. Accessed 17 November 2021: <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpos.2020.00001>

¹³³ Pippa Norris, *Democratic Phoenix Reinventing Political Activism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002): 5-9.

¹³⁴ Julia Weiss, “What Is Youth Political Participation? Literature Review on Youth Political Participation and Political Attitudes”, *Frontiers in Political Science*. 2/1 (May 2020): 4. Accessed 17 November 2021: <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpos.2020.00001>

politics. Norris believes that political activism has changed significantly in recent years and that the younger generation may be more adaptable to new forms of political expression, mobilization, and engagement.¹³⁵ To conclude, we can deduce that young people do not accept the narrow limits of politics.¹³⁶ As Sarah Pickard remarks:

It is worth noting that voting—habitually considered the pinnacle of democratic acts—can be construed as a non-political act if someone votes simply due to peer pressure, conformism, or want of anything better to do; this is not reflexive political participation. Conversely, not voting can be a highly political act when it refuses to validate the political status quo or any political party. Similarly, participating in a riot can be highly political or not. Without asking participants about their motivations and aims, we cannot know.¹³⁷

Pickard suggests that exceeding binary conceptions such as conventional/unconventional and traditional/ untraditional or passive and active, whatever we have been called, are anachronistic terminology in today's world. Another line of discussion is related to politics and everyday life relations, as Lefebvre's thesis Funch summarizes with the following words. "Politics exists in any context where there is a structure of power and struggle for power in an attempt to gain or maintain leadership positions."¹³⁸ When Funch adopted by Lefebvre's production of space thesis to communication technologies, we can deduce the internet, new media or new technologies, digital commons-whatever we declare-

¹³⁵ Pippa Norris, "Young People & Political Activism: From the Politics of Loyalties to the Politics of Choice?". *Paper* presented in the conference 'Civic engagement in the 21st Century: Toward a Scholarly and Practical Agenda', University of Southern California, Oct 1-2 2004: 2. Accessed 11 February 2022: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/237832623_Young_People_Political_Activism/link/569153d708ace91f69a50822/download

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹³⁷ Sarah Pickard, *Politics Protest & Young People Political Participation and Dissent in 21st Century Britain* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019): 63.

¹³⁸ Christian Funch, "Henri Lefebvre's Theory of the Production of Space and the Critical Theory of Communication" *Communication Theory* 29/2(May 2019): 135.

offer a new space for participation; however, main the dilemmas appear as Funch argues:

(...) digital capitalism creates spaces of alienation, and a humane digital society requires a self-managed and socialized Internet and digital media landscape. In times when humanity is under serious threat by anti-human forces such as far-right movements, nationalism, authoritarianism and potential new fascisms, engaging with the tradition of humanist Marxism that Lefebvre belongs to enables reflections on the causes and consequences of society's problems and how social struggles for alternatives can intervene.¹³⁹

With the digital or networked society within considering digital capitalism debates, “new expectations and meanings of citizenship”¹⁴⁰ “the interconnectedness of local, national and global issues, organisations and forms of actions and hybrid identities”¹⁴¹ hollow out traditional democratic institutions, or is it something that enriches participation? As Coleman asks a similar question following words:

Has the emergence of the internet changed the balance of communicative power within modern liberal democracies? Are citizens more able than they were in pre-digital times to question, comment upon, challenge and influence those who govern them? Has the internet served democratic ends?¹⁴²

Based on Habermas's thesis, Morales and Hernández assess the public sphere based on class interests from past to present. However, they do not ignore that civic participation positively contributes to democracy.¹⁴³ According to

¹³⁹ Ibid., 148.

¹⁴⁰ Stephen Coleman and Jay. G. Blumer, *The Internet and Democratic Citizenship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

¹⁴¹ Philippa Collin, *Young Citizens and Political Participation in a Digital Society Addressing the Democratic Disconnect* (London: Palgrave Macmillan: 2015): 4 .

¹⁴² Stephen Coleman and Jay. G. Blumer, *The Internet and Democratic Citizenship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009): 8.

¹⁴³ José Manuel Robles Morales and Ana María Córdoba-Hernández, *Digital Political Participation, Social Networks and Big Data Disintermediation in the Era of Web. 2.0* (Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019): 22.

Bennet's thesis emphasis on DC and AC styles of citizenship, he identifies the following words:

(...) dutiful citizenship (DC) oriented to government through parties and voting, with citizens forming attentive publics who follow events in the news, (...) self-actualizing (AC) styles of civic participation common among recent generations of youth who have been termed digital natives. Their AC learning styles favour interactive, networked activities often communicated through participatory media such as videos shared across online networks.¹⁴⁴

In that context, Bennet draws attention to the unifying power of these two paradigms, which he emphasises as "AC and DC orientations."¹⁴⁵ Bee and Kaya have identified "active citizenship as a practice and active citizenship as a demand."¹⁴⁶ According to them, active citizenship occurs outside the former participation channels consisting of disputes and deliberation. It should be noted that active citizenship occurs when former participation channels have been blocked.¹⁴⁷ However, Norris also opens a parenthesis with the following words:

Widespread disengagement from civic life is problematic if political participation functions as a mechanism to hold elected officials to account, articulate and express public demands and grievances, and train and educate future political leaders.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ W. Lance Bennet, Chris Wells and Allison Rank, "Young citizens and civic learning two paradigms of citizenship in the digital age" *Citizenship Studies* 13/2 (April 2009): 120. Accessed 9 February 2022:

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/248984320_Young_citizens_and_civic_learning_Two_paradigms_of_citizenship_in_the_digital_age

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.,120.

¹⁴⁶ Cristiano Bee and Ayhan Kaya, "Conventional versus non-conventional political participation in Turkey: dimensions, means, and consequences" *Turkish Studies* 1/18 (2017): 2. Accessed 19 November 2021: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/citedby/10.1080/14683849.2016.1272049>

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.,3.

¹⁴⁸ Pippa Norris, *Democratic Phoenix Reinventing Political Activism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002): 5.

Bee and Kaya draw attention to a few parameters in the Turkish context. To summarize a few of them: strong citizenship relations with the state and institutions, status quo, EU membership process in Turkey affected participatory practices.¹⁴⁹ According to them, active citizenship can be supported by internal and external dynamics. They mention that:

On the one side, we witness the intertwining of a pattern towards active citizenship that is enhanced by top-down dynamics were both external actors, such as the European Union, and internal actors, such as the national government, have been – to different degrees – interacting in order to promote active citizenship as a practice.¹⁵⁰

They draw attention to active citizenship promotion or policies as not a well-accepted concept. For this reason, they try to define that lack of conscious, active citizenship or emancipation leads to a bipolar system betweenness of passivity and militancy in Turkey. Their studies give examples of active citizenship, such as Occupy Wall Street, Tahrir Square, Gezi, Arap Spring, Marmara Earthquake, and Oy ve ötesi.

Besides all parameters, it should be noted that the emergence of new technologies changes the patterns of political participation practices. Thanks to Web 2.0 technologies, as Castell emphasizes and many others, top-down communication is replaced by bottom-up communication. Castell states that the most powerful feature that distinguishes new media from old media is Web 2.0, which paves the way for media consumers to be media producers simultaneously.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ Cristiano Bee and Ayhan Kaya, “Conventional versus non-conventional political participation in Turkey: dimensions, means, and consequences” *Turkish Studies* 18/1(2017): 3-4. Accessed 19 November 2021: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/citedby/10.1080/14683849.2016.1272049>

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.,17.

¹⁵¹ Manuel Castells, *İletişim Gücü* (İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2016): 1-7.

In other words, Morales and Hernández identify features of this era such as prosumer, lack of space and time limit, multidimensional identities¹⁵² and also “the flow of diverse experiences and knowledge on a global scale.”¹⁵³ They explain the disintermediation effect through digital social networks following words:

Disintermediation, favoured by tools such as digital social networks, implies that specific space and time no longer limit citizens. On the contrary, political communication has been transformed into a continuum of information transfer that allows the coordination of individual agents on a global scale and the flow of diverse experiences and knowledge.¹⁵⁴

On the flip side, with the developing new technology, they also focus on the results of producing the content at a cheaper cost.¹⁵⁵ Also, Loader, Vromen and Xenos state that “Networks exhibit new regulatory norms of exclusion and inclusion. It also requires us to consider what kinds of capacities young people require for effective networked citizenship.”¹⁵⁶ According to them:

Networking young citizens are far less likely to become members of political or civic organizations such as parties or trades unions; they are more likely to participate in horizontal or non-hierarchical networks; they are more project orientated; they reflexively engage in lifestyle politics; they are not dutiful but self-actualizing; their historical reference points are less likely to be those of modern welfare capitalism but rather global information networked capitalism, and their social relations are increasingly enacted through a social media networked environment.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵² José Manuel Robles Morales and Ana María Córdoba-Hernández, *Digital Political Participation, Social Networks and Big Data Disintermediation in the Era of Web. 2.0* (Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019): 2-6.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*,141.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*,141.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*,2.

¹⁵⁶ Brian D. Loader, Ariadne Vromen, Micheal A, Xenos, “The networked young citizen: social media, political participation and civic engagement” *Information, Communication&Society* 17/2 (2014): 145. Accessed 19 September 2021: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2013.871571>

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*,145.

However, the networked citizen term is a generalized concept; it has some doubt about using networked citizens when we refer to young people's engagement practice because this thinking practice is based on the assumption that network access, network use, or awareness are relatively equal terms. According to Morales and Hernández, a company with disintermediation and industrial society brings to the citizens deals with their problems; however, they do not ignore organizations that deeply affect citizens' everyday decisions. In that context, we can easily connect with the DIY (Do-IT-Yourself) politics; Bennet indicates this situation as a DIY ethos.¹⁵⁸ Bennet clarifies how to DIY ethos shape politics and also political participation definition. Following words from him:

Social fragmentation and the decline of group loyalties have given rise to an era of personalized politics in which individual expression displaces collective action frames in the embrace of political causes. The rise of personalized forms of political participation is perhaps the defining change in the political culture of our era. This trend can be spotted in the rise of large-scale, rapidly forming political participation aimed at various targets, ranging from parties and candidates to corporations, brands, and transnational organizations. The group-based “identity politics” of the “new social movements” that arose after the 1960s still exist. However, the recent period has seen more diverse mobilizations in which individuals are mobilized around personal lifestyle values to engage with multiple causes such as economic justice (fair trade, inequality, and development policies), environmental protection, and worker and human rights. This large scale individualized collective action is often coordinated through digital media technologies, sometimes with political organizations playing an enabling role and sometimes with crowds using layers of social media to coordinate action.¹⁵⁹

On the other hand, Papacharissi draws attention vulnerable effect of internet-based technologies on the political atmosphere. He noticed three points:

¹⁵⁸ W. Lance Bennet, “The Personalization of Politics: Political Identity, Social Media, and Changing Patterns of Participation” *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 644/1 (November 2012): 29. Accessed 19 November 2021: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716212451428>

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*,37.

“information access inequalities, fragmentizes political discourses, new technologies adaptation global capitalism.”¹⁶⁰ Papacharissi remarks, “(...) internet-based technologies will adapt themselves to the current political culture, rather than create a new one. The internet and related technologies have created a new public space for politically oriented conversation; whether this public space transcends to a public sphere is not up to the technology itself.”¹⁶¹ At that point, critics mainly focused on globalization internet makes society more tribalized or polarized.¹⁶² According to Papacharissi, the internet brings miscommunication and manipulated identity and representations within tribalizing groups; this situation also reflects the current political atmosphere. That is why Pruitt refers to Collin’s approach and states that “not digital democracy but democracy in a digital age.”¹⁶³ In democracy in a digital age, we need to mention connective action, which Bennet and Segerberg define as digitally networked action.¹⁶⁴ According to them:

Digitally networked action is emerging during a historic shift in late modern democracies in which, most notably, younger citizens are moving away from parties, broad reform movements, and ideologies. Individuals relate differently to organized politics, and many organizations find they must engage people differently.¹⁶⁵

In connection with all these parameters, digitally networked actions related to “individualized collective politics and, in other words, personalized politics.”¹⁶⁶ Between pessimists and optimists and utopias and dystopias, it should also be noted that the term slacktivism or -we also should say more broad- online activism is at

¹⁶⁰ Zizi Papacharissi, “The virtual sphere: the internet as a public sphere” *New Media&Society* 4/1 (2002): 9. Accessed 19 November 2021: <http://www.sagepublications.com>

¹⁶¹ Ibid.,9.

¹⁶² Ibid.,15.

¹⁶³ Lesley Pruitt, “Youth, politics, and participation in a changing world” *Journal of Sociology* 53/2 (June 2007): 3. Accessed 19 November 2021: <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/1440783317705733>

¹⁶⁴ W. Lance Bennet and Alexandra Segerberg “The Logic of Connective Action” in *Digital Media and the Personalization of Contentious Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: (2003): 52. Accessed 19 November 2021: <https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/abs/logic-of-connective-action/logic-of-connective-action/769AB2A0B89F4704E6490CFE39394F99>

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 52.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 29.

the centre of this discussion. In the age of digitalism, the critique of slacktivism is related to the “feel-good factor” and “no impact on real-life political outcomes”, as Christensen mentions.¹⁶⁷

According to Putnam, since the internet is a medium where social capital has eroded, democracy and political participation also damage this situation. Putnam is more likely to look at new technologies negative because the internet is not a good place to actualize political aims.¹⁶⁸ However, Christensen's study tries to show that the accusation of slacktivism in political participation is unsubstantial. As Christensen states, according to his empirical study, the online environment does not set out to provide democracy on its own; blurring formal boundaries of politics and creating a space of expression is effective for the changing nature of politics. Christensen also remarks that digital citizens are active and competent in public and virtual environments.¹⁶⁹

Consequently, because of structural shifts in late modern societies and adaptation necessities, digital ecology also changed the political participation definitions, which were shaped mainly by legal and predictable boundaries. Whether this change is natural or implemented, young citizens' discontent toward politics has come to the fore because the reflection of neoliberalism sovereignty and policies has encompassed their mobility. In this section, we tried to draw a general picture; in the next part, we will detail the controversial political participation concept within the limit and scopes of this study.

¹⁶⁷ Henrik Serup Christensen, “Simply slacktivism? Internet participation in Finland” *JeDEM EJournal of EDemocracy and Open Government*, 4/1(2012): 1. Accessed 20 November 2021: <https://doi.org/10.29379/jedem.v4i1.93>.

¹⁶⁸ Robert D. Putnam, “Tuning In, Tuning Out: The Strange Disappearance of Social Capital in America.” *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 28/4 (1995): 667. Accessed 20 November 2021: <https://doi.org/10.2307/420517>

¹⁶⁹ Henrik Serup Christensen, “Simply slacktivism? Internet participation in Finland” *JeDEM EJournal of EDemocracy and Open Government*, 4/1(2012): 1-3. Accessed 20 November 2021: <https://doi.org/10.29379/jedem.v4i1.93>.

3.3. RE-THINKING THE TERM OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Before entering the concept of political participation, it is necessary to talk about citizenship, which seems its a prerequisite to participating within legal boundaries. From past to present and “from the philosophers, sociologists the politician, the phenomenon of citizenship has been much debated.¹⁷⁰ Although democratic political theory seems to be the winner of the debate, at the same time became the centre of criticism. To begin with, Mouffe critics about democratic institutions in the light radical democracy perspective; she states that:

What they do not realize is that democratic politics needs to have a real purchase on people’s desires and fantasies and that, instead of opposing interests to sentiments and reason to passions, it should offer principles of identification that represent a real challenge to the ones promoted by the right. This is not to say that reason and rational argument should disappear from politics but that their role must be re-thought. For instance, the sterile opposition between rhetoric and logic must be discarded in favour of a new conception of argumentation that takes into account the nature of hegemonic articulatory practices.¹⁷¹

In a political system that mostly feeds on rationality by throwing passions to the surface, Mouffe distinguishes the political and the politics. According to Mouffe:

By ‘the political’, I refer to the dimension of hostility and antagonism that is an ever-present possibility in all human society, antagonism that can take many different forms and emerge in diverse social relations. ‘Politics’, on the other hand, refers to the ensemble of practices, discourses and institutions which seek to establish a certain order and organize human

¹⁷⁰ Russell J. Dalton, “Citizenship Norms and the Expansion of Political Participation” *Political Studies Associations*, 56/1(March 2008): 78. Accessed 21 November 2021: <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1467-9248.2007.00718.x>

¹⁷¹ Chantal Mouffe, “Politics and Passions: the Stakes of Democracy” *Ethical Perspectives*, 7(2000):14

coexistence in conditions that are always potentially conflictual because they are affected by the dimension of ‘the political.’¹⁷²

A similar distinction was made by Pitti, who separated the term participation in two ways: being part and taking part. According to Pitti’s interpretation, being part is related to “membership and belonging¹⁷³ but taking part is related to the “active involvement of an individual in the process of decision making socio-political concerning given solidarity and corresponds to active engagement.”¹⁷⁴ We see that the scope of political participation can be narrowed or expanded according to the research objectives and limits.

Conge defines “Political participation as any action or inaction of an individual or a collectivity of individuals that intentionally or unintentionally opposes or supports, changes or maintains some feature(s) of a government or community.”¹⁷⁵ However, Conge is aware that this definition is too broad. Also, Verba and Nie tend to interpret political participation as not just “in acts that influence governmental decisions.”¹⁷⁶ They focus on political participation concepts within two types, electoral and non-electoral, but it is not a means to exclude another form.

Electoral activity refers to “voting and campaign activity.” Bee and Kaya point out: “As witnessed in many different contexts, conventional forms of political participation such as electoral politics are being replaced with non-conventional forms of participation that take place outside, and sometimes in opposition to, the

¹⁷² Ibid.,149.

¹⁷³ Ilaria Pitti, *Youth and Unconventional Political Participation* (Sweden: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018): 1.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.,2.

¹⁷⁵ Patrick J. Conge, “Review of The Concept of Political Participation: Toward a Definition by Samuel H. Barnes, Max Kaase, Joan M. Nelson, John H. Booth, and Mitchell A. Seligson” *Comparative Politics* 20/ 2 (1988): 248. Accessed 21 November 2021: <https://doi.org/10.2307/42166>.

¹⁷⁶ Sidney Verba and Norman H. Nie, *Participation in America. Political Democracy and Social Equality* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1972): 3.

more traditional channels of representation.”¹⁷⁷ They mention alternative engagement and participation practices such as “volunteering, participating in NGO activities, boycotts and protest and demonstrations.”¹⁷⁸ In contrast with Bee and Kaya, according to Conge, political participation should be defined more restricted ways because:

(...) (1) Politics involve relations of power and authority, the key players in relations of power and authority; (2) are the governments of states (3) politics involve the governments of states: hence political participation involves behaviour within the realm of government.¹⁷⁹

Conge mentions six main issues that can agree in forthcoming, which are active/ passive, aggressive/nonaggressive, structural/nonstructural, governmental/nongovernmental, mobilized/ voluntary actions, intended/unintended outcomes.¹⁸⁰

It is undeniable that there is a growing literature discussing the concept of ‘political participation. However, the controversial general trend divides political participation into two main lines: conventional and unconventional. Despite this binarity, all these categories also can be expanded and expressed in similar words in different studies. For instance, Paul Whiteley defines “individual vs group activity, instrumental vs symbolic activity, legal/conventional activity vs illegal/unconventional activity, influence vs intent.”¹⁸¹ On the other hand, Pickard

¹⁷⁷ Cristiano Bee and Ayhan Kaya, “Conventional versus non-conventional political participation in Turkey: dimensions, means, and consequences” *Turkish Studies* 18/1 (2017):1. Accessed 19 November 2021: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14683849.2016.1272049>

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.,1.

¹⁷⁹ Patrick J. Conge, “Review of The Concept of Political Participation: Toward a Definition by Samuel H. Barnes, ax Kaase, Joan M. Nelson, John H. Booth, and Mitchell A. Seligson” *Comparative Politics* 20/ 2 (1988): 247. Accessed 21 November 2021: <https://doi.org/10.2307/42166>

¹⁸⁰ Patrick J. Conge, “Review of The Concept of Political Participation: Toward a Definition by Samuel H. Barnes, Max Kaase, Joan M. Nelson, John H. Booth, and Mitchell A. Seligson” *Comparative Politics* 20/ 2 (1988): 245. Accessed 21 November 2021: <https://doi.org/10.2307/42166>.

¹⁸¹ Paul Whiteley, *Political Participation in Britain: The Decline and Revival of Civic Culture* (Basingstoke:Palgrave Macmillan,2012):5,6. Accessed 22 November 2021: <https://bura.brunel.ac.uk/bitstream/2438/19098/1/FullText.pdf>

describes duality as successful/ failed activity, active/passive mainstream, or citizen-orientated activities.¹⁸²

3.4. CITIZENSHIP AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Changing the definition of citizenship also transforms political participation as Dalton states that when citizenship is essentially characterized in terms of citizen obligation, have a circumscribed definition of active citizenship. These duty-based standards and definitions empower other actions indicated outside the legal boundaries.¹⁸³ This criticism should not mean ignoring the political participation practices determined within the boundaries of citizenship. In other words, conventional political participation, such as voting.¹⁸⁴As known, citizenship has been discussed for centuries since ancient Greek. Verba, Scholozman, Brady and Nie also mention that within the frame of liberalism and its legal boundaries, the representation dilemma is controversial in democratic theory.¹⁸⁵

Besides Verba, Scholozman, Brady and Nie, according to Stevenson, the definition of citizenship consists of mostly abstract descriptions, and these descriptions should not underestimate culture and citizenship relations. It is both a national and transnational characteristic. On the other hand, the psychoanalysis approach interprets citizenship from Elliott's perspective, which is the "unconscious aspect of citizenship."¹⁸⁶ Stevenson states that:

In this respect, psychoanalysis offers essential resources in helping us unpack citizenship. In this respect, psychoanalysis offers essential

¹⁸² Sarah Pickard, *Politics Protest& Young People Political Participation and Dissent in 21'st Century Britain* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019): 66-68.

¹⁸³ Russell J. Dalton, "Citizenship Norms and the Expansion of Political Participation" *Political Studies Associations*, 56/1(March 2008): 88. Last accessed 21 November 2021: <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1467-9248.2007.00718.x>

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 94.

¹⁸⁵ Sidney Verba, Kay Lehman Scholozman, Henry Brady and Norman H. Nie, "Citizen Activity: Who Participates? What do they Say?" *American Political Science Review*, 87/2 (June 1993): 303-3318. Accessed 21 November 2021: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2939042>

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 7.

resources in helping us unpack how citizens live their relationship with the broader community through rights and duties and feelings and fantasies.¹⁸⁷

Despite all the controversial notions of citizenship, Dalton remarks that these debates indicate the significance of the ‘idea of citizenship.’¹⁸⁸ According to Dalton, ‘the new style of citizenship’ has emerged; it can be defined following words:

The new style of citizenship seeks to place more control over political activity in the hands of the citizenry. These changes in participation make greater demands on the participants. At the same time, these activities can increase public pressure on political elites. Citizen participation is becoming more closely linked to citizen influence. Rather than democracy being at risk, this represents an opportunity to expand and enrich democratic participation.¹⁸⁹

Although his assessment is specific to the United States and Western democracies focuses, his study also gives a broad perspective to evaluate “(...) how the changing norms of citizenship affect one aspect of contemporary politics: the patterns of participation,” as Dalton mentions.¹⁹⁰ Although the citizenship literature goes beyond the scope of this study, Dalton’s seminal analyzes reveal that citizenship is the relationship to mutual expectations in ‘nation’s culture’, which means “They inform citizens of what is expected of them, as well as what they should anticipate of themselves.”¹⁹¹ A consensus is related to political participation within the reasonable, good or duty-orientated citizenship limit.¹⁹² On the other hand, Deth draws attention to the fact that it is more difficult to define the

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.,8.

¹⁸⁸ Russell J. Dalton, “Citizenship Norms and the Expansion of Political Participation”*Political Studies Associations*, 56/1(March 2008):78. Last accessed 21 November 2021: <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1467-9248.2007.00718.x>

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.,94.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.,77.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.,78.

¹⁹² Ibid.

term political participation with the introduction of the internet into our lives.¹⁹³ Apart from new technologies emerging, many studies also mention the “falling of oligarchic political organization” the distinction between non-elitist and elitist is that disappearance play a crucial role in engaged citizenship.¹⁹⁴ As Inglehart explains the following words:

Mass publics have played a role in national politics for a long time, of course, through the ballot and other ways. Current changes enable them to play an increasingly active role in formulating policy and engaging in what might be called “elite-challenging” instead of “elite-directed” activities. Elite-directed political participation is essentially a matter of elites mobilizing mass support through established organizations such as political parties, labour unions, religious institutions, etc. The newer “elite-challenging” style of politics gives the public an increasingly important role in making specific decisions, not just a choice between two or more sets of decision-makers.¹⁹⁵

According to Inglehart’s thesis, cards were redistributed in the transition from industrial to post-industrial society. Inglehart has mentioned the changing values in this new period. He states that the reign of post-materialist values plays a significant role in all aspects, such as in “sex roles, morals, lifestyles, fashions, in the ecology.”¹⁹⁶ Although Inglehart refers to especially Western society and value change after World War II, as this process brought economic growth programs and relative economic prosperity gain, it also affected Maslov’s Hierarchy of Needs, which mainly nourished the rational gaze. The implication of Inglehart’s study shows that for people who relatively had economic and physical security since

¹⁹³ Jan W. van Deth, “What Is Political Participation” *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics* (November 2016): 77. Last accessed 21 November 2021: <https://oxfordre.com/politics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-c-68>

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 88.

¹⁹⁵ Ronald Inglehart, *The Silent Revolution Changing Values and Political Styles Among Western Publics*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1977): 3-4.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 6.

World War II, these values become a less critical factor for their agenda. Inglehart explains this situation by giving more importance to the post-materialist value.¹⁹⁷ According to Inglehart, “intergenerational shift materialist values to postmaterialist value” opens a new page in new civic culture; however, he also remarks considering the “cross-cultural differences” in the study of “The Renaissance of Political Culture.”¹⁹⁸ Another point in the literature is that political participation forms an enhancement when the education level rises, and Inglehart and Dalton clarify this connection as a ‘cognitive mobilization.’¹⁹⁹ According to Dalton:

As people have become more educated, politically skilled and policy-oriented and accept engaged citizenship, they seek different means of influencing policy. Elections provide infrequent and fairly blunt tools of political influence. If one is dissatisfied with the policies of the Bush (or Clinton) administration, waiting several years to vote in the next election as a means of political participation seems like political inaction.²⁰⁰

However, this evaluation is controversial among scholars such as Kam and Palmer state that “The relationship between higher education and political participation derives not from higher education per se, but preadult characteristic.”²⁰¹ On the other hand, Mayer and other scholars do not accept this thesis, and their argument supports the strong relationship between education and political participation or engagement practices.²⁰² Similarly, as Norris states:

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.,23.

¹⁹⁸ Ronald Inglehart, “The Renaissance of Political Culture.” *The American Political Science Review* 82/4 (1988). Accessed 21 November 2021:<https://doi.org/10.2307/1961756>.

¹⁹⁹ Ronald Inglehart, *The Silent Revolution Changing Values and Political Styles Among Western Publics* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1977): 306.

²⁰⁰ Russell J. Dalton, “Citizenship Norms and the Expansion of Political Participation” *Political Studies Associations*, 56/1(March 2008): 88. Accessed 21 November 2021: <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1467-9248.2007.00718.x>

²⁰¹ Cindy D Kam and Carl L. Palmer, “Reconsidering the Effects of Education on Political Participation.” *The Journal of Politics* 70/ 3 (2008): 613. Accessed 21 November 2021: <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0022381608080651>

²⁰² Alexander K. Mayer, “Does Education Increase Political Participation?” *The Journal of Politics* 73/3 (August 2011): 633–45. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s002238161100034x>.

The central claim of the widely accepted socio-economic model is that people with higher education, higher income, and higher-status jobs are more active in politics. The resources of time, money, and civic skills, derived from family, occupation, and association membership, make it easier for individuals who are predisposed to take part to do so.²⁰³

At the same time, Norris also points out “social capital’ gender, race/ethnicity, age, and social class and cultural values and attitudes.”²⁰⁴ In other respects, Deth offers different analyses in the following words: “In fact, assessments of the quality of democracy rely directly on the question of which forms of political behaviour are considered to be specimens of political participation.”²⁰⁵

Besides the definition and discussions of political participation, there is also a growing literature of debate on which factors are influential in political participation. For instance, Bee and Ayhan draw attention to Barret and Brunton’s conceptualization, including macro contextual, demographic, social, and psychological factors.²⁰⁶ In other respects, Norris mentions “the level of societal modernization in each country, the structure of the state, the role of mobilizing agencies, the resources that individuals bring to the process, and the motivation that draws citizens into civic affairs.”²⁰⁷

According to Van Deth, political participation should not be limited. The nature of political participation should not exclude new and future forms of

²⁰³ Pippa Norris, *Democratic Phoenix Reinventing Political Activism*(New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002): 29.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.,29.

²⁰⁵ Jan W. van Deth, “What Is Political Participation” *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*, (November 2016): 2. Last accessed 21 November 2021: <https://oxfordre.com/politics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-68>

²⁰⁶ Cristiano Bee and Ayhan Kaya, “Youth and active citizenship in Turkey: engagement, participation and emancipation” *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*17/1 (2016): 3. Last accessed 19 November 2021: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14683857.2016.1232893>

²⁰⁷ Pippa Norris, *Democratic Phoenix Reinventing Political Activism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002):15.

participatory practices;²⁰⁸ he states that basic features can be determinant and to be considered. These features are:

The core features of political participation are integrated into a conceptual map of political participation, covering five distinct, clearly specified variants of political participation. These variants cover the whole range of political participation systematically and efficiently, based on the locus (polity), targeting (government area or community problems) and circumstance (context or motivations) of these activities. Additionally, the conceptual map of political participation could easily include future participatory innovations, the hallmark of a vibrant democracy.²⁰⁹

Part of the discussion related to “the abolition or blurring of the distinction between private and public spheres. Deth reference Habermas’s fundamental thesis.²¹⁰ Habermas states that the place of politics has changed in historical processes.²¹¹ Mainly, this disintegration effect plays a significant role in every corner of life, and their research attempts to answer whether it aids democracy? Although Habermas’s approach is more pessimistic, the fundamental questions in the literature are, how can we characterize the set of relationships that emerge outside of the state, and how do these relationships impact decision-makers?²¹²

Salvatore, Schmidtke and Trenz’s study tries to evaluate this dual process. Their study asks how the “concept of the public sphere is being affected (or undermined) by current processes of ‘post-Westphalian’ transnationalization.”²¹³

²⁰⁸ Jan W. van Deth, “What Is Political Participation” *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*, (November 2016): 1. Accessed 21 November 2021: <https://oxfordre.com/politics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-c-68>

²⁰⁹ Ibid.,3.

²¹⁰ Ibid.,2.

²¹¹ Armando Salvatore, Oliver Schmidtke, Hans-Jörg Trenz, *Rethinking the Public Sphere Through Transnationalizing Processes Europe and Beyond* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003): viii.

²¹² Ibid.,38.

²¹³ Armando Salvatore, Oliver Schmidtke, Hans-Jörg Trenz, *Rethinking the Public Sphere Through Transnationalizing Processes Europe and Beyond* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003):3.

According to them, the “comparative civilizational approach” of public space within the modernity era or what they called the “modernity project.”²¹⁴

They also mention critics of the public sphere within Westphalian world order relations, which is why they refer to the “frozen conception of the public sphere.” From this point of view, an evaluation can be made regarding ethnocentrism because most research about political participation is linked to the United States political system and based on American exceptionalism.²¹⁵ From this perspective, Norris criticizes ‘rational choice theory, as exemplified by the following words:

Nondemocratic regimes understand the symbolic power of legitimating events, as demonstrated by pro-government rallies organized by the police and military in Nigeria, plebiscitary elections in one-party predominant states such as Singapore, Algeria, and Belarus, and anti-American protests mobilized by ruling elites in Iraq. In elections during the 1990s in Uzbekistan, Angola, and Equatorial Guinea, all governed by nondemocratic regimes, over 87 per cent of voters flocked to the polls. By itself, public participation does not guarantee the workings of representative democracy.²¹⁶

²¹⁴ Ibid.,12.

²¹⁵Pippa Norris, *Democratic Phoenix Reinventing Political Activism*(New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002):xi.

²¹⁶ Ibid.,5.

3.5. AN HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE YOUTH POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Pitti draws attention to how youth political participation discourse shapes within historical turns.²¹⁷ In her study, the starting point was determined as 1960. However, Norris states that specifying this date as the birth of social movements is a limited research parameter.²¹⁸ As Norris mentions: “We need to build on the past and honour the intellectual foundations that we inherit.”²¹⁹ However, Deth remarks, “Rapid social and political developments in the late 1960s and early 1970s encompassed remarkable proliferation of citizens involvement, making clear that political participation is not restricted to broadly accepted actions or institutionalized activities.”²²⁰ When the era of “New Social Movements” arose, “these movements were not in line with social norms of the early 1970s; they were labelled unconventional modes of participation”, as Deth mentions.²²¹

According to Pitti, the historical period can be marked as the 1960s-1970s, 1980-1990s, and 2000’s. The turning point in the late 1960s protest, young people’s participation became a core element betweenness of “mythicized interpretations (emphasizing youth’s revolutionary capacity) and moral panic (emphasizing young participation as a threat to democracy)” as Pitti states.²²² Following the period in 1980s-1990s, there was seen signs of alienation public sphere; this alienation was interpreted by the following words from Pitti:

Suffering from this comparison with their “elder brothers”, young people in the 1980s and 1990s were frequently defined as apathetic, disinterested,

²¹⁷ Ilaria Pitti, *Youth and Unconventional Political Participation* (Sweden:Palgrave MacMillan): 24-25.

²¹⁸ Pippa Norris, *Democratic Phoenix Reinventing Political Activism*(New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002): xiii.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Jan W. van Deth, “What Is Political Participation” *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics* (November 2016): 4. Accessed 21 November 2021: <https://oxfordre.com/politics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-68>

²²¹ Ibid.

²²² Ilaria Pitti, *Youth and Unconventional Political Participation* (Sweden:Palgrave MacMillan, 2018):24.

and apolitical. However, many studies have under- lined a shift towards “less manifest” engagement practices, such as expressing political ideas through subcultural lifestyles and questioning the dominant culture through ritualised forms of resistance.²²³

As Pitti states, when we reach the 2000s, conventional political participation and engagement practices transform into a more “individualised and fluid” form. According to Pitti, youth participation evolves into non-institutionalised forms because of mistrust of the institution and less identification of democratic institutions.²²⁴

This path has similar characteristics to Turkey's atmosphere as well. When Lüküslü describes the adventure of the concept of youth throughout history in the Turkish context, she emphasises the roots of youth and their historical period from the Ottoman to the Turkey Republic. According to her, the youth, which appears as a political category, has always been loaded with missions since the 1980 coup.²²⁵ Aftermath, this process has taken the opposite route. While the dates show the 2000s, youth are accused of being apolitical without considering the transformation process and experiences surrounding them. In this environment, youth's stance and attitudes toward politics are considered apolitical, but literature illustrates it as a highly political approach.²²⁶

* * *

In conclusion, the “actively unpolitical younger generation”²²⁷ leads them to create new political forms and expressions outside the conventional political borders.²²⁸ This new expression also reflects the conditions of youth and their

²²³ Ibid.,25.

²²⁴ Ibid.,24-25.

²²⁵ Demet Lüküslü, *Türkiye’de “Gençlik Miti” 1980 Sonrası Türkiye Gençliği* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2009): 14-15.

²²⁶ Sarah Pickard, *Politics Protest& Young People Political Participation and Dissent in 21'st Century Britain* (London Palgrave Macmillan, 2019): 7.

²²⁷ Ibid.,93.

²²⁸ Rys Farthing, “The politics of youthful antipolitics: representing the issue of youth participation in politics” *Journal of Youth Studies* 13/2 (April 2010): 181. Accessed 11 February

surrounded positions in society. Also, structural elements of nations and transformations in the current world order can not be underestimated as specific codes and dynamics are interpreted and perceived in the phenomenon of political participation.

2022:https://www.researchgate.net/publication/249006048_The_politics_of_youthful_antipolitics_Representing_the_%27issue%27_of_youth_participation_in_politics

CHAPTER 4:

WHY DOES IT MATTER? RAP AND HIP-HOP CULTURE

4.1. INTRODUCTION

This section emphasizes that rap music, an element of hip-hop culture, is a way of expression tool, especially for youth identities. The historical gaze shows us that the birth of hip-hop and rap music traces can be found in oppressive environments.²²⁹ With the popular culture label of rap music, globalization “provoked perception of (sub)-culture” debates, media images, and different landscape characteristics is a part of the discussion. However, through rap music, voices want to be heard and visible.

4.2. GENERAL OVERVIEW OF THE DEBATES ON RAP MUSIC

Hip hop is inherently political; the language is political. It uses language as a weapon — not a weapon to violate or not a weapon to offend, but a weapon that pushes the envelope that provokes people and makes people think.²³⁰

In recent years, it is observable that there has been a considerable rise in rap music interest on both a global scale and also in Turkey. Rap music is an element of hip-hop culture inherited from the United States and has roots in African-American culture. It is pretty clear that the story begins with a love-hate relationship in place of origin, but with the spreading of hip-hop culture worldwide, all nations interpreted this culture in different forms. Trying to put it in historical perspective, the assassination of Martin Luther King is a determinant period of the

²²⁹ “What is Hip-Hop and why does it matter?” (10 July 2020). Last accessed 11 February 2022: <https://www.academyofmusic.ac.uk/what-is-hip-hop-and-why-does-it-matter/>

²³⁰ Scott Simon, “Hip Hop: Today's Civil Rights Movement? Author Says Musical Culture More Relevant than King Speeches”(1 March 2003). Last accessed 11 Şubat 2022: <https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=1178621>

genesis of Hip-Hop. Vann R. Newkirk II wrote “King’s Death Gave Birth to Hip-Hop” in *The Atlantic* following words:

Specifically, something of hip-hop’s genesis can be detected amid the chaos following April 4, the day Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated. Riots swept the nation, both the largest of the wave of annual multi-city uprisings in the 60s and the last such outbreak for decades.²³¹

Martin Luther King Jr, who was impressed by Mahatma Gandhi and Henry David Thoreau’s philosophy of civil disobedience and nonviolence, initiated the first civil disobedience attempt that lit the fuse Civil Rights Movement in America:

King’s first foray into nonviolent protest was with the Montgomery bus boycott, which began in 1955 when Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat to a white person while riding home from work. She was arrested, leading to an organized effort by Montgomery blacks to avoid riding the bus system, relying instead on carpools.²³²

That is why Alridge states: “Since the early years of Hip Hop, SPC hip-hopppers have continued to espouse many of the ideas and ideology of the Civil Rights Movement (CRM) and Black Freedom Struggle (BFS), but in a language that resonates with.”²³³ However, according to Murray, the main distinctive element of hip hop and rap is “spatial awareness.”²³⁴ This spatiality also shapes the

²³¹ Vann R. Newkirk II, “King’s Death Gave Birth to Hip-Hop” (8 April 2018). Accessed 11 February 2022: <https://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2018/04/fear-of-a-black-messiah/557474/>

²³² Bill of Rights in Action, “Martin Luther King and the philosophy of nonviolence” 32/4 (Summer 2017): <https://www.crf-usa.org/images/pdf/Martin-Luther-King-Philosophy-Non-Violence.pdf>

²³³ Derrick P. Alridge, “From Civil Rights to Hip Hop: Toward a Nexus of Ideas.” *The Journal of African American History* 90/ 3 (2005): 226. Accessed 11 February 2022: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20063999>.

²³⁴ Murray Forman, “Represent: Race, Space and Place in Rap Music” *Popular Music* Cambridge University Press 19/1(2000): 68. Accessed 11 February 2022: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/853712?origin=JSTOR-pdf>

“values, meanings and practices of rap” overlooked.²³⁵ As Murray states that rap music which is an element of hip-hop, needs depth examination in terms of:

(...) the spatial partitioning of race and the diverse experiences of being young and black in America. It can be observed that space and race figure prominently as organising concepts implicated in the delineation of a vast range of fictional or existing social practices, which are represented in narrative and lyrical form.²³⁶

This spatiality leads to different forms within rap music; styles sounds simultaneously local relationship and community consciousness developed. From this point of view, the regional differences between East Coast and West Coast rap²³⁷ and territorial rivalries might be considered in terms of neighbourhoods and community relations. However, the spatiality of rap is not fixed; it also has embodied transformative power in a post-industrial era, as Trica Rose stated.²³⁸

Besides the complex nature of hip-hop, such as resistance, authenticity, globalism, localism, economy, politics, spatiality, representations, sexism, and community power acquisitions are also considered post-hip-hop nowadays. Whether we call it hip-hop culture or nature, rappers tend to highlight their ways of living with a “real-life” emphasis. This multi-layer package also paves the way to creativity when the masses encounter the new genre and reveal that rap is a representation issue. Indeed, rap music, a part of hip-hop culture, surpasses the ‘pop’ music category and puts rap music into the widespread criterion in a global sense. It remains the fact that the capitalist provision in rap penetrates and leads to an identity crisis in creative industries or cultural industries, from popular to not-popular. At the same time, with this capitalist provision in rap growth, criticism

²³⁵ Ibid.,65.

²³⁶ Ibid.

²³⁷ Ibid.,66.

²³⁸ Tricia Rose, *Black Noise: Rap Music and Black Culture in Contemporary America*: (Wesleyan University Press, Year: 1994): xv.

comes of the rap about separatist discourse, aesthetics, lyrics, themes, and representations associated with discrimination, harmfulness, and literalism.

In addition to a lengthy discussion, through globalization and the digitalization process spread of the trend of “Broadcast Yourself” used by YouTube terminology, the principle of participation and interaction roles are re-disturbed. Through this re-distributed role, the most striking point in that dilemma, rap music transcends the own environment; day by day, listeners of rap broaden. For this reason, it is difficult to classify in terms of the betweenness of high culture or low culture classification like Jazz, and especially Arabesk music discussion peculiar to Turkey.

With the classification breakdown, the story’s origins are part of otherness, exclusion, resistance, subculture identity, etc. At first glance, it is worth considering the naming process. When we re-think rap’s naming process and subculture identity, Baker’s critics of classification in sociology lead to putting the question of this categorization. The following words from him demonstrate his view:

Protestant Max Weber, Lumpen-Proletariat in Marx, Bourgeois in Sombart Consumer in Veblen. If there is anything to describe the creation of these common types, this is nothing but the first social scientists 'extraordinary capacity' to make" analytical entities events in progress.²³⁹

For this reason, the term subculture needs to discuss in detail. According to Gelder, subcultures themselves are a fragile discipline. The term subculture is described by these words: “Subcultures are groups of people that are represented

²³⁹ Ulus Baker, *Kanaatlerden İmajlara Duygular Sosyolojisine Doğru*, çev Harun Abuşoğlu (İstanbul: Birikim Yayınları, 2010): 24-25.

as non-normative and marginal through their particular interest and practices, through what they are, what they do and where they do.”²⁴⁰

In that discussion, it is crucial to notice that members of subcultures get involved with more than one subculture simultaneously, and their relationships have different ways. Gelder’s work distinguishes different subcultures; alternative, unconventional, transgressive or oppositional. Gelder states that subcultures may be non-normative but not normless.²⁴¹ At that point, the central dilemmas arouse what is expected and abnormal, or non-normative, like a good-bad relationship. It is worth considering that these critics inhold judgemental values and need to evaluate a more transparent perspective. According to Baker and Jane:

If we can not judge cultural products, we have to accept that whatever is produced by corporations of the culture industries is acceptable because it is popular- hence the argument that discourses of power rather than aesthetic evaluations are a legitimate target of criticism. Here we are still making values judgements. However, these conclusions are political rather than aesthetics.²⁴²

On the other hand, Pierre Bourdieu mentions cultural tastes linked to class structure; these values nourish the judgemental values associated with our origin and background. At that point, Bourdieu notices the class boundaries; however, as Stewart states: “Expressions of taste are expressions of social power or powerlessness and that social inequalities are reinforced and perpetuated based on cultural distinction.”²⁴³ That is why he interrogates the idea of natural taste. Stewart explains the natural taste relationship and class relations-following words:

²⁴⁰ Ken Gelder, *TheSubculture Reader*, (London and New York: Routledge: Taylor Francis Group: 1977): 6.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*,6.

²⁴² Chris Barker& Emma A Jane, *Cultural Studies theory and practices* (London:Sage, 2016): 57.

²⁴³ Simon Stewart, “*Why Do We Like What We Like?*”*In: A Sociology of Culture, Taste and Value* (London: Palgrave Macmillan):56. Accessed 25 May 2021:https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1057%2F9781137377081_4

(...) some people, namely those who are ‘cultured’, are in a better position to engage with art and other ‘highbrow’ cultural activities simply because they ‘get it (in contrast to others who do not ‘get it) as a result of an innate ability (or lack of) to connect with the cultural object in question.²⁴⁴

Moreover, when we look at the term subculture again, Instead of using subculture, Muggleton uses the post-subcultural; he positions themselves against the heroic character of the subculture and critical approach of “politicalness” following words demonstrate:

Subcultural studies as projects proud of their ‘politicalness’, as projects of politicization even, and I do not intend to deny the politicizing effects that cultural studies had on the humanities. However, suppose we have a closer look at the imaginary coordinates of the heroic ideology. In that case, it will appear that all the seemingly political categories employed by this discourse on youth and pop culture – rebellion, subversion, dissidence and deviance, liberation, disturbance, and so forth – are based on relatively non-political and direct binary oppositions. A vertical relation is posited between a subordinated term and a dominant term: subculture versus mainstream, underground versus ‘overground’, alternative labels versus major labels, individual production (for example, home-grown electronic music) versus music industries.²⁴⁵

At that point, Muggleton criticizes that subculture has paved the way to create binary relations that sustain themselves. However, according to Marx, culture and political relations are inevitable as a mode of production also establishes the means of production. At that point, the economic structure is a

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ David Muggleton & Rupert Weinzierl, *The Post Subcultures Reader* (Berg: New York, 2003): 85. Accessed 21 December 2021: https://is.muni.cz/el/1421/jaro2016/IM090/um/ David_Muggleton_Rupert_Weinzierl_The_Post-Subcu_BookFi.org_.pdf

fundamental point of the base and superstructure relationship.²⁴⁶ Despite these views, Michel de Certeau's position does not merely explain economic reductionism. He considers "ways of using" the cultural products in the dominant economic order.²⁴⁷ Thus, examining within the scope of this study (rap music) can reduce economic relations and realise listeners' usage practices.

Term tactics refer to the complexity of producing meaning and the variability of its uses and practices. Certeau mentions that consumption of cultural products is not just explained by passivity; these consumptions are linked to 'users practice and users operations'; however, these operations include tactics and strategies as in everyday practice. However, Foucault Certeau also accepts limitations of users' operations because o because of the limited network opportunities and power; however, it is not an obstacle to creating tactics. Compared to Certeau, Meaghan Morris criticized the (audience/ users/ consumers active) theory because it also leads to the banality that offers limited space to comprehend. According to her, the betweenness of elitism and populism is like a "choose your side dilemmas." Thus, the resistance concept is also a questionable area when Stuart Hall asks: "What or who is youth culture resisting? Under what circumstances is resistance taking place? In what form is resistance manifest? Where is resistance sited?"²⁴⁸ There is also the possibility that these questions lead us to a pragmatist perspective.

Moreover, relations with the subculture and resistance have an old history. Beginning with negative connotations like a vagabond or deviant starting with Chicago School, that dominant approach is associated with pragmatism. It is also part of the naming process. Gelder expresses these words:

²⁴⁶ Chris Barker & Emma A Jane, *Cultural Studies theory and practices* (London:Sage, 2016): 66.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*,579.

²⁴⁸ Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson, *Resistance through Rituals Youth subcultures in post-war Britain*(Routledge:London, 1993): xi-ix.

In 1940's Early sociological extracts from the Chicago School focus precisely on itinerant social groups as they migrate into major American Cities, 'deviant' groups as they migrate into major American Cities, 'deviant' groups of people who inhabit 'words within words' alongside or adjacent to urban norms.²⁴⁹

On the other hand, Frankfurt School, Adorno and Horkheimer mention culture and commercial relationships (capitalist corporations). According to this viewpoint, the linked structure of cultural space with money, consumption, and trade is likewise manipulative. Standardization, clichés, and items that repeat themselves result from this interaction.²⁵⁰ Thompson said it is hard to separate culture and trade in this picture. We use the term culture industry; however, another term enters our language, a more positive outlook, "creative industries."²⁵¹ While having all these discussions, in general, critics of cultural studies, the discipline accentuates elitist notions of mass culture and promotes the notion that "what is popular is also political." In that context, the reason for what is a popular investigation is due to its political nature.

Moreover, according to Ayas, the hierarchies of taste are defined as a high cultural priority and automated, whatever the concept that stands against it. For instance, jazz music was once widespread and is now included in the high music category. Alternatively, as he said: "For example, when a classical music piece of high culture has become the music of a famous movie or advertisement, and it starts to be listened to by everyone, the top taste groups start to feel ashamed to listen to it."²⁵²

²⁴⁹ Ken Gelder, *The Subculture Reader*, (London and New York: Routledge: Taylor Francis Group: 1977): 5 .

²⁵⁰ Burak Özçetin, *Kitle İletişim Kuramları, Kavramlar, Okullar, Modeller* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2018).

²⁵¹ Nato Thompson, *İktidarı Görmek- 21. Yüzyılda Sanat ve Aktivizm* translated by Erden Kosova (İstanbul: Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları: 2018): 20.

²⁵² Güneş Ayas, *Müzik Sosyolojisi Sorunlar- Yaklaşımlar ve Tartışmalar* (İstanbul: Doğu Kitabevi, 2015): 153-157.

Debates are also related to political economy, production and distribution relations and the listeners. Whatever we position itself, this structure also paved the way to generate new identities. For this reason, taking into account digitalization, we are witnessed cultural homogenization and cultural heterogenization debates, the centre of these debates associated with globalization. According to Appadurai, cultural flow needs to explain five aspects: ethnoscaapes, mediascaapes, technoscaapes, finanscaapes, and ideoscaapes. On the other hand, Morgan interpret rap music, an element of hip-hop culture, as a speech community of youth.²⁵³

4.3. AFRICAN-AMERICAN ROOTS

In this chapter, I want to review the roots of hip-hop culture in African-American culture. Before moving this, it is essential to emphasize the differences between hip-hop and rap; it is often used interchangeably linked to context but often confuses. Bradley and Dubois mention differences following words:“(…) either rap describe commercialized music and hip-hop the sounds of the underground, or rap suggests a gritty style (as in gangsta rap) and hip-hop a more politically and socially conscious approach (as in backpack hip-hop).²⁵⁴ In that definition, it can not be seen that those distinctions; however; they example, a famous rapper who is known by their stage name (KRS- One) states in the song of *HipHop Knowledge*; “Rap music is something we do, but hip hop is something we live.”²⁵⁵ Jeff Change declares the five cultural modes of rap music which belong to the hip-hop culture; these are (oral), turntablism or DJing (aural), breaking (breakdance), B-boy-B-girl (physical), graffiti art(visual) and knowledge (mental).

²⁵³ Marcyliena H. Morgan, “Youth Communities: the Hiphop Nation” in *Speech Communities, Key Topics in Linguistic Anthropology*(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.):67. Accessed 20 May 2022: <https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/abs/speech-communities/youth-communities-the-hiphop-nation/2C7148B8575BC1B741BBFEB8BB0AB9D7>

²⁵⁴ Adam Bradley and Andrew Dubois, *The Anthology of Rap* (... Yale University Press: 2010): 39.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.,39.

However, according to DJ Kool Herc, hip-hop is more than this whole picture. He mentions:

I think there are far more than those: the way you walk, the way you talk, the way you look, the way you communicate. Back my in the era, we had James Brown and civil rights and Black Power: you did not have people calling themselves hip-hop activists. But these people today are talking about their era. They have a right to speak on it the way they see it coming up.²⁵⁶

It is essential to emphasize the fallacy that we generally associate with hip hop, just rap music, but it is a comprehensive movement that involving many elements. Rose defines rap music within the following words:

Rap music is a black cultural expression that prioritizes black voices from the margins of urban America. Rap music is a form of rhymed storytelling accompanied by highly rhythmic, electronically based music. It began in the mid-1970s in the South Bronx in New York City as a part of hip hop, an African-American and Afro-Caribbean youth culture composed of graffiti, breakdancing, and rap music.²⁵⁷

After learning this distinction, when we implemented the anthropological approach, it is essential to emphasize that rap music has its origins in West African bardic tradition. Keynes quoted from Afrika Bambaataa's interview: "Although (rap) has been in the Bronx, it goes back to Africa because you had chanting style of rapping."²⁵⁸ Lumumba Carson, which stage name is Professor X, also mentions describes this bardic tradition by following words:

²⁵⁶ Jeff Chang, *Can't Stop Won't Stop A History of the Hip- Hop Generation Introduction by DJ Kool Herc* (New York: St.Martin's Press: 2005): 11.

²⁵⁷ Tricia Rose, *Black Noise: Rap Music and Black Culture in Contemporary America*: (Wesleyan University Press,1994): 30.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 17.

Once upon a time ago, a long, long time ago, every Friday of the month, it was the grandfather's duty in a tribe to sit down and bring all of the immediate children around him to rap. One of the instruments played while grandfather rapped his father's existence was a guy playing the drum. I guess that's why we are so into rap today.²⁵⁹

Henry Louis Gates Jr. wrote in an article in Financial Times, the title is “An anthology of rap music lyrics”; following words demonstrate to us the term ‘rap’ roots goes back to old times that have overtones of verbal performance practices in African-American culture.²⁶⁰

The first person I ever heard “rap” was a man born in 1913 – my father, Henry Louis Gates Sr. Daddy’s generation didn’t call the rhetorical games they played “rapping”; they “signified”, they “played the Dozens”. But this was rapping just the same, rapping by another name. Signifying is the grandparent of rap, and rap is signifying in a postmodern way.²⁶¹

Besides this, Keynes investigates rap in a historical context; before rap, these roots have also early in Jazz songs. Elijah Wald describes the ‘Dozens’, a game that has a significant role in African American culture, especially linguistic code in Black America and is part of body language. It can estimate that the term dozens birth in the 19th century, but a reflection of dozens first seen in early jazz songs approximately 1920-1930, the word dozens has a different name and is intricate, such as joining, slipping, sounding, cutting, and capping.²⁶²

However, the term dozens used this ritual of birth earlier than in hip-hop culture; this activity was interpreted differently in his academic work regarding

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 18.

²⁶⁰ Ibid., 22.

²⁶¹ Henry Louis Gates Jr in The Financial Times, “An Anthology of Rap Music Lyrics” (5 November 2010). Accessed 29 April 2022: <https://www.ft.com/content/87cca6b0-e7a9-11df-8ade-00144feab49a>

²⁶² Elijah Wald, *Talking : Bout Your Mama The Dozens, Snaps, and the Deep Roots of Rap*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015): 5.

misogyny, defence mechanism from slavery time, psychological and sociological, and pedagogical context. Also, he tries to example from dozens of reflections in later songs within rap, jazz, and R&B. Wald tries to demonstrate the term of dozens following words:

Depending on who was talking, “play- ing the dozens” or “putting someone in the dozens” could mean cursing someone out, specifically insulting someone’s mother or other relatives, or engaging in a duel of increasingly elaborate insults that might or might not include ancestors or female kin.²⁶³

Based on all these “Rhymin MCs (Master of Ceremonies) indicates us bard and rap relationships. Moreover, Wald mentions that one of the books, “Roots: The Saga of American Family” written by Alex Haley in 1976, has a striking effect on discovering the obscurity of African- American culture and, most importantly, the story of slavery. When the books adopted TV series in 1977, echo was felt more in a cultural form in society—also Haley wrote the book “The Autobiography of Malcolm X” in 1965. Barker and Jane state the following words:

Nevertheless, the impact of ‘external’ cultural influences on South Africa is more complex than the idea of simple cultural imperialism. Consider the prevalence and popularity of American-inspired hip-hop and rap music amongst black South Africans. South African rappers take an apparently non-African musical form and give it an African twist to create a form of hybridization, which is now being exported back to the influence of West-African music and the impact of slavery. Any idea of clear cut lines of demarcation between the internal and external is swept away. Rap has no obvious origin, and its American form is indebted to Africa.²⁶⁴

²⁶³ Ibid.,4-5.

²⁶⁴ Chris Barker, Emma A. Jane, *Cultural Studies theory and practices*(London: Sage Publications, 2016: 191.

4.4. A BRIEF HISTORY OF HIP-HOP CULTURE

Although the place is evolving in the process, which is inevitable, the trace of Jamaican culture penetrates the first block party that DJ Kool Herc (Clive Campbell) organized for his sister for a birthday party in 1973. Out of Jamaican roots, there are several dancehall and funk records genres. As McCoy mentions, “He also played James Brown’s live albums, his friend Coke LaRock served as the master of ceremony or the MC. Little did the Campbells know that their party featured several elements—DJ’ing, MC’ing, and dancing—of a new innovative culture.”²⁶⁵ By the mid- 1970s, the main characters were their stage names: DJ Kool Herc, Afrika Bambaataa (DJ’S) and Grandmaster Flash. Austin McCoy states:

First, three prominent D.J.s were born in the Caribbean or into immigrant families. Campbell and the other D.J.s, such as Afrika Bambaataa, brought elements of Caribbean D.J. culture, such as loud mobile sound systems and "toasting," which referred to deejays talking over the music. Hip hop also drew from other musical genres such as funk, disco, soul, and electronica. D.J. sampled this music, which entailed using parts of songs or reinterpreting them.²⁶⁶

McCoy adds: “Since the 1970s, the term MC (or emcee) has become associated with hip-hop culture, and rap music in particular, as a vocalist who rhymes oversampling, scratching and mixing supplied by a DJ.”²⁶⁷ Although there are a lot of characters and milestones in hip-hop culture, one of the fundamental milestones is the first recorded rap song released in 1979—the song called “Rappers Delight” by The Sugarhill Gang. More interestingly, the background of this song has a woman character; thanks to Syliva Robinson, a record producer and

²⁶⁵Austin, McCoy. “Rap Music” *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History* (26 Sep. 2017): 2. Accessed 27 April 2022: <https://oxfordre.com/americanhistory/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199329175.001.0001/acrefore-9780199329175-e-287>

²⁶⁶ Ibid.

musician, rap songs gain momentum more commercial. Afterwards, diversification begins.

Bradley, classify the old school period between (1978- 1974) and the golden age period (1980- 1991) and (1993-1999) raps mainstream period and Millenium rap between (2000- 2010) The period we are in but cannot be named is between (2010 and 2020).²⁶⁸ Above this part, we tried to understand the old-school period. In the golden age period, some things happened differently from the old school period because, in the old school, DJs had domination in the hip-hop culture. However, as Austin mentions, the roles are thorn down, and MC's roles are in the foreground. At that point, we can see the power relations between MCs and DJs. Also, in that period, women rappers go on the stage, including MC Lyte's, Roxanne Shante, Queen Latifah, and Salt-n-Pepa. In addition, the fundamental milestones are this golden age period, the song "The Message" by Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five. The phrase of songs that "A child is born with no state of mind" is the political side more visible than before songs. On the other hand, in literature, we can see critics about rap songs associated with party songs; however, Adam Bradley states that the message was always there, but its visibility has changed. The following words demonstrate to us;

Not all songs were without political content, although none at first were as definitive in their message as the words of Brother D. Songs such as Kurtis Blow's "Hard Times" or "The Breaks" did paint pictures in glimpses of the hardships of the urban poor, their overtly didactic or corrective content was minimal.²⁶⁹

Songs by Public Enemy, *Fuck the police*, and other political rap songs that have been influential in 1988. In this period, we encounter the new term "sampling" that starts to dominate rap. McCoy states that:

²⁶⁸ Adam Bradley and Andrew Dubois, *The Anthology of Rap* (ABD: Yale University Press, 2010).

²⁶⁹ Adam Bradley and Andrew Dubois, *The Anthology of Rap* (ABD: Yale University Press, 2010): 108.

Rather than just relying on techniques such as using two records and turntables to create a breakbeat and creating pause tapes, producers began using electronic samplers and beat machines such as the SK-1, SP-1200, and the Akai MPC. However, sampling became a point of contention among musicians, critics, and lawyers as artists sought to collect a share of the profits.²⁷⁰

In the 1990's we witnessed the East and West Coast fight between Tupac Shakur(2Pac) and Christopher Wallace(The Notorious B.I.G). Adam Bradey states that:

In September 1996, Shakur was killed in a drive-by shooting on the Las Vegas strip. Six months later, in March 1997, Wallace was killed in a drive-by shooting on Wilshire Boulevard in Los Angeles. These two acts of violence were fueled by an atmosphere that pitted East Coast against West Coast in a battle about style and substance.”²⁷¹

After this period, most discussions about rap are linked to digitalization. So far, we have examined the links between tradition and anthropological standpoint; however, the emergence of hip-hop culture enlightened the historical context. Martha Diaz notes that stages affect the birth of hip-hop culture. First, “Milieu in South Brox in the 1970s”. As described by Diaz following words: “Crime was at an all-time high, drugs and gangs pervaded many communities, unemployment rates were high, political corruption was prevalent, and slum lords burned hundreds of buildings to the ground.”²⁷² Secondly in the mid the 70s, post-industrial movement brought unemployment, fires, and political organizations, and

²⁷⁰Austin, McCoy. “Rap Music” *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History* (26 Sep. 2017):11. Accessed 27 Apr. 2022: <https://oxfordre.com/americanhistory/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199329175.001.0001/acrefore-9780199329175-e-287>

²⁷¹Adam Bradley and Andrew Dubois, *The Anthology of Rap* (Yale University Press: 2010): 715.

²⁷² Martha Diaz, “The World is Yours: A Brief History of Hip- Hop Education”(?, 2011): 2-3. Accessed 25 April 2021: https://www.academia.edu/1088920/The_World_IS_Yours_A_Brief_History_of_Hip-Hop_Education

the black movement gained momentum.²⁷³ At that point, it can seem that this description of milieu is also in the discourse of rapper interviews. According to a rapper, this milieu is a sign of reality. However, The first influential forces are between 1955 and 1965 African- American Civil Rights. Morgan summarises this period following words: “Hip-hop begins with the generation of kids whose parents, family members were in the civil rights movement, black power movement, et cetera. So those are their kids.”²⁷⁴

4.5. A BRIEF HISTORY OF TURKISH RAP

In the Turkish context, Arıcan states that the first recorded rap songs is *Bir Yabancı'nın Hayatı* (The Life of a Stranger) by the Nuremberg crew King Size Terror, which was released in 1991.²⁷⁵ In favour of Cartels, rap became more visible in 1995. Çınar refers to two songs of Cartel *Sen Türksün* (You are a Turk) and *Number One*. The first song, “You are a Turk”, describes the diasporic identity of Turk in Germany; however, this song interprets different contexts, German press-and Turkish press. In Germany, the next phase of the song “from Germany” is excluded from the German press; however, in Turkey, the song subscribes to nationalist discourse. Çınar indicates that: “German- Turkish rap group Cartel shot the prominence in 1995 in Germany and Turkey with their album Cartel which within a month of its release sold 30,00 copies in Germany and 180,00 in Turkey.”²⁷⁶ The first commercial impact of these two songs quickly spread to the mainstream media. Çınar transferred by Soysal interruption for the song of *Sen Türksün* (You are a Turk):

²⁷³ Ibid.,2,3.

²⁷⁴ Marcyliena Morgan, “How Has Harvard Cultivated Hip-hop” (Harvard Magazine Podcast: 2019). Accessed 5 April 2020 <https://harvardmagazine.com/podcast/2019/marcyliena-morgan>

²⁷⁵ Tunca Arıcan, “Comparing Turkish- Speaking Rap Scenes in Germany and the Netherlands” in *Eurasian Journal of Music and Dance* 14 (2019): 201-203. Accessed 5 April 2021: <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/748185>

²⁷⁶ Alev Çınar, “Cartels- Travels of German- Turkish Rap” in *Middle East Report* 211 (Summer 2019): 43- 44. Accessed 28 April 2022: <https://merip.org/1999/06/cartel-travels-of-german-turkish-rap-music/>

The Turk of Cartel is not a foreigner. He belongs to Germany, although not to Germanness. Cartel focuses on its discontent against the continuing disempowerment of Turkish and other diasporic communities and against the label “guest-workers” (Gastarbitier) or foreigners, which serve to feed xenophobia and Nazi violence.²⁷⁷

Özyurt explains this diasporic character of Turkish rap following words: “Hip-hop since it has emerged not within the borders of Turkey, but within that of Germany.”²⁷⁸ In BBC Türkçe documentary, Cartel group member Eric E mentions that when they come to Istanbul (Turkey), they encounter a nationalist audience. According to Eric E, this is an unexpected situation as the following words describe “It is out of our plan, out of our knowledge.”

Also, Killa Hakan, an Islamic Force member, also meets rap music favouring American soldiers and students in Berlin. As mentioned before, Turkish rap reveals in Germany that Kaya defines Islamic Force as Turkish- German or mixed groups established before Cartel (1986). He categorized this group as universalist political rap. Kaya mentions, “To release their works in Turkey, they have changed their name to Kan-Ak. This change is the concern surrounding the probability that the name Islamic Force might well misinterpret by the Turkish audience in Turkey.”²⁷⁹

Group members are Boe-B (male Turkish) and the manager Yüksel. Killa Hakan (male Turkish), DJ Derezon (male, German mother and Spanish father), and Nelie (female, German mother and Albanian father). Kaya states: “What they make

²⁷⁷ Ibid.,44.

²⁷⁸ Deniz Özyurt, “The Role Of Internet Technologies and Social Media In Contemporary Turkish Hip-Hop” (Tilbug University, 2017): 29. Accessed 5 May 2021: <http://arno.uvt.nl/show.cgi?fid=144142>

²⁷⁹ Ayhan Kaya, “Constructing Diasporas: Turkish Hip- Hop Youth in Berlin”(PhD Thesis) Coventry: University of Warwick: 1997):235 Accessed 16 April 2021: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/1383497.pdf>

is conceived as oriental rap and anti-racist rap in Berlin”²⁸⁰ Kaya also mentions other German-Turkish rappers, Unal, Eric-E, Azize-A.”

When we look at the birth of rap in Istanbul, conditions are more different; Solomon points to underground discourses that use the different contexts of Turkish rappers in Istanbul. As Solomon states, being underground is always an important concept and opposite to the surface. Solomon illustrates hip-hop community in Istanbul, Bakırköy:

There are rappers, DJs, breakdancers and graffiti writers living throughout Istanbul, including the Asian and the European sides of the Bosphorus; the hip-hop community is mainly concentrated in the primarily middle-class western suburb of Bakırköy. Many of the most active and better-known participants in Istanbul hip-hop live there or originally come from there, including the rapper Dr Fuchs of the group Nefret, the DJ and rapper Mic Check of the ‘one-man group’ Silahsız Kuvvet, and the rapper and graffiti writer Turbo, as well as several breakdance groups.²⁸¹

In the TRT documentary, Ceza states that, at first, there have distinctions between the Asian side and European side rappers; afterwards, Ceza joined together and merged a group called Nefret. The main milestone for the hip-hop community in Istanbul was releasing a hip-hop album *Yeraltı Operasyonu* (Underground Operation, 1999). Thanks to this album, we have met a variety of rappers under to light of Tunç Dindaş (Turbo). In this album, we have meet (Unarmed Forces- Silahsız Kuvvet- Sagopa Kajmer), (Yener), (Nefret- Ceza). Whatever we say is created or real, the protest stance of rap was also seen as the first labelled album. In 2000, we witnessed the diss-culture (battle wrap) among rappers. In interviews, we can quickly notice the rivalry between rappers and the audience; their allegation is associated with “Who is the number one?” However,

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ Thomas Solomon, “Living Underground Is Tough Authenticity and Locality in the Hip-Hop Community in Istanbul, Turkey” *Popular Music* 24/1(Cambridge University Press, 2005): 4. Accessed 28 April 2022: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3877591>

this rivalry also is a part of the representations. For example, Sagopa Kajmer, who complains about rappers' imitation, and the Americanization of rap in general, believes his pessimist rap is original.

Besides, rappers, who are in the advertisement or perform a duet with famous musicians like Ceza, draw a more popular outlook; this outlook offends the rap environment. Against these objections, Ceza declares: "I sacrificed myself for the recognition of rap." However, in the end, we should not forget that rappers have the aim to announce their voices; they want their voices to hear somehow. During that period, the e-mail group "Hiphopistan" paved how rappers communicate with other countries, especially in Europe and the United States. In that e-mail group, people can hear rap songs and communicate with each other.

Solomon focuses on the term (underground) discourse among Turkish rappers and visual representations such as CDs and concerts. This marginal identity is evidence of representations in the first labelled album. Before releasing an album, some rap songs were released on Napster and Audio Galaxy websites and at home parties. After the effect of Cartel's rap, the desire to become surface wakes among the rap community.

In Cengiz Özkarabekir Hip- Hop documentary, Tunç Dindaş (Turbo) refers that the rap made by Cartel has a higher commercial quality, even though the rap community does not accept it, is a turning point in terms of Turkish rap. At this point, effect on the next generation of rappers joins the stage. Ceza states that: "After all, the event that comes to your mind, they come from Germany and it seems their conditions are better than us and their age older, and their mentality adapts more successfully. Of course, this made me think a little differently, and I always thought I could do it, and I could do better." However, Fuat Ergin positioned himself against the Cartel's rap and commented that: "We started the same with them, but they were recording the Cartel album upstairs; we were recording our demo downstairs." Also, he added: "General culture level should be high for doing rap." Graffiti artist and producer Turbo also mentions the same

approach as Fuat; he states, “Rap includes many words; for this reason, the character of this music is different from pop music.” The tension between visibility and non-visibility, which Solomon distinguishes between underground and surface. The term (yeraltı) underground narratives also position themselves against the major record companies. As Tunç Dindaş (Turbo) mentions, these narratives from rappers both use style- attitude and nourish identity and authenticity. Whatever its position and critics about the capitalist penetration of rap, rap preserves a relatively underground identity because of a non-mask attitude toward life.

Indeed, the debates about the locality of rap remind Appadurai’s question: “What is the nature of locality as a lived experience in a globalized, deterritorialized world?”²⁸²

In all these interviews, rappers both complain about the gaze simultaneously; this gaze reveals two different forms, one is about outsiders, and the other is about insiders. Gelder describes this situation: “(as seen by others, from the outside) and the organized (seen internally from the perspective of the subculture itself)”²⁸³ In this part, I have noticed that rappers’ discourse is strongly associated with freedom, somehow, this freedom also brings autonomy with a fanbase.

From the margins and mainstreams,²⁸⁴ the birth of rap is a product of African-American youth culture; the elements of oppression reflect this music genre’s political and resistive character. Although the resistive nature of rap music

²⁸² Thomas Solomon, “Living Underground Is Tough”: Authenticity and Locality in the Hip-Hop Community in Istanbul, Turkey” (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005): 1-20. Accessed 29 April 2022: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3877591>

²⁸³ Ken Gelder, *The Subculture Reader*, (London and New York: Routledge/Taylor Francis Group, 1977): 2.

²⁸⁴ Katina R. Stapleton, “From the Margins to Mainstream: The Political Power of Hip-Hop.” *Media, Culture & Society* 20,2 (April 1998): 219–34. Accessed 28 April 2022: <https://doi.org/10.1177/016344398020002004>.

is a witness to cultural industry debates, the rise of youth cultures, post-war social and cultural change atmosphere, and spatiality, all nations interpreted this music form differently. However, global influences reflect the position and conditions of youth, and their voices and messages can be analyzed multidimensional perspective in terms of both artist, fan base and political atmosphere.

CHAPTER 5:

CASE STUDIES *SUSAMAM* (I CAN'T STAY SILENT) and *OLAY* (INCIDENT) INTERNET MEDIA REPRESENTATION

5.1. #*SUSAMAM* (I CAN'T STAY SILENT) and #*INCIDENT* (OLAY): A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF INTERNET NEWS COVERAGE IN TURKEY

In this section, the following question will be asked through a discourse analysis of how news organizations handled these songs: How is youth discourse in Turkey politically marginalized? For this purpose, some headlines and their contents in various government and opposition newspapers will be examined.

A News Headline: “Organized works continues: They cannot allegedly be silent”²⁸⁵

- Placement of news/category of news: Daily News
- Ownership structure: Turkuvaz Media Group
- Discourse analysis:

Considering that the text is served from the daily news category, the news moves away from the framework of the journalist-source relationship and is supported by the opinions of Sabah newspaper columnist Hasan Basri Yalçın, with subjective titles and expression. While the columnist reinforces the perception of threat and fear created through youth over the headlines of “Organized crime continues.” First, headlines activate the codes of Turkey’s “youth provoked identity,” as stated earlier in the previous chapter. Second, the grammatical strategy of passivization comes to the fore to make invisible the agency. Then, it is worth asking who is the organizer? and what? As Johnstone states, “passive voice

²⁸⁵ A Haber, “Organize işler devam ediyor: Susamazlarmış” (8 September 2019). Accessed 21 February 2022: <https://www.ahaber.com.tr/gundem/2019/09/08/organize-isler-devam-ediyor-susamazlarmis>

presents the active agents as unknown, evident, or inconsequential”²⁸⁶ According to Johnstone, “The passive can also conceal a known agent or minimize the evidence that one is present.”²⁸⁷ The following title, “Organized works continue”, can be given as an example of this passive form. The article published in the news category also included a non-neutral tone and non-objective statements within speculative language. Also, the common vocabulary and phrases from the article can be listed;

“targeting the state by raising the public’s sensitive issues.”

“organized youth”

“organized affairs”

“youth that is rebelled provoked and manipulated.”

“manipulation of the art of rap”

“political conspiracy”

“the amount of agenda that society is sensitive to sting”

“inviting young people to the street.”

“manipulated social sensitivities.”

“a carefully calculated provocation”

“using rap music-which is the favourite of the recent years-
to “reaches large audiences.”

“Gezi Incidents” -without “park” naming-

On the other hand, the critics of Susamam do not cover also explain the following words: “Those who make ‘Susamam’ and their supporters, blind and deaf to people who want to take their children away from terrorism in front of HDP. If you want to talk, look a little that way.” While the author accuses Susamam’s “supporters” of turning a blind eye to PKK terrorism, the phrase with a large spectrum of character implies both listeners and audiences, the owners of the song.

²⁸⁶ Barbara Johnstone, *Discourse Analysis* Third edition, (United States: Wiley-Backwell, 2017):188.

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

Critics of excluded themes such as terrorism illustrate the Foucauldian complaint about what it did not say, what it did not see and what is left out in the context of the song. The words refer to songs as “a true artist sensitivity and lack of natural protest attitude” provides a dominant image of manipulated and provoked youth when their engagement practices outside the conventional political border. In other words, their dispositifs de sensibilization has been perceived as a radicalization of youth perspective. Nevertheless, Lüküslü also Neyzi have already been mentioned in the early chapter, and Turkey’s long-standing perception of youth and their engagement forms in politics carries a turbulent character. When the writer constructs his identity, he defines “the others” as a manipulated or provoked youth. The discourse and fear of provoked youth are based on moral panic, as stated by Cohen in his work:

Calling something a moral panic does not imply that this something does not exist or happened at all, and that reaction is based on fantasy, hysteria, delusion and illusion or being duped by the powerful. Two related assumptions, though, require attention- that the attribution of the moral panic label means that the thing’s extent and significance has been exaggerated(a) in itself (compared with other more reliable, valid and objective sources) and orb compared with other, more severe problems. This labelling derives from a willful refusal by liberals, radicals and leftists to take public anxieties seriously. Instead, they are furthering a politically correct agenda: downgrade traditional values and moral concerns.²⁸⁸

The moral panic corresponds to “things that already exist”, but this existing one is either overstated or compared to the causes of certain events. This scenario can also result in hazards and risks, which can change levels and forms; it can even be fabricated. The following news quotes exemplified this moral panic:

²⁸⁸ Stanley Cohen, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics, The Creation of the Mods and Rockers* (London, New York: Routledge, 1972): vii.

Especially when I hear a voice that invites young people to the streets, I always think of fiction. The violence of street politics comes to my mind. We saw the dirtiest examples of this during the Gezi events. You have to be either an idiot or a party not to see what kind of an effort to overthrow the government. They failed. Nevertheless, this time, they will come more organized. They want a final confrontation.

Moreover, in the context of the writer's statements, we can remember what Griffin said in the previous chapter of the study; from a psychological standpoint, Griffin mentions that "concern about young people's lives somehow as a response our concern."²⁸⁹

***Sabah* Headline:** "Do you understand who silenced them?"²⁹⁰

- Placement of news/category of news: Column
- Ownership structure: Turkuvaz Media Group
- Discourse analysis:

A columnist for Sabah newspaper, begins the title of her article with a rhetorical question. While the discourse in the text complained about the "shallowness of the song", the sentence that "rap requires being oppositional, but I understand the desire of these friends to be oppositional" disclaimer is a denial strategy of the song's oppositional character. As Djik states "(...) denials come in many forms, each with cognitive, emotional, social and political and cultural functions."²⁹¹

²⁸⁹ Christine Griffin, "Imagining New Narratives of Youth: Youth Research, the 'New Europe' and Global Youth Culture." *SAGE Childhood* 8/ 2 (May 2001): 150.

²⁹⁰ Sabah, "Kim susturmuş şimdi anladınız mı?" (9 September 2019). Accessed (8 September 2019). Last accessed 21 February 2022: <https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/hilalkaplan/2019/09/09/kim-susturmus-anladiniz-mi>

²⁹¹ Teun A. Van Djik, "Discourse and the Denial of Racism." *Discourse & Society* 3/1 (1992): 91. Last accessed 15 April 2022: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42887774>.

Another remark is the Gezi reference within an “attempt” emphasis, an “intertextual chain” of pro-government media outlets. The article includes the following statements:

It is clear that since the Gezi attempt, non-opposition circles should be united over common issues (women-environment-justice). We have written many times about accounts that deliberately disinformation about this. Susamam has gathered all these titles under one title.

At the same time, using irony in the text, such as “dissing government”, is a strategy that benefits the cynical positions the writer is developing negative attitudes toward the songs. When the writer also remarks on “the manipulation of the common quality of the themes chosen in the songs by non-opposition segments”, phrases have an analogousness to the previous column in A News, “targeting the state by raising the public’s sensitive issues.”

When the columnist narrative specifies the statements of rapper Miraç, who withdrew from the Susamam, the text discourse focuses on contradictory process of since the song released and emphasizing the disagreement among the contributors of the song. However, the ignoring of external factors and the political atmosphere, the fact that the “rappers who can not even defend their songs” discourse come into to fore, and the way the article’s discourse is constructed over this appears as a part of this strategy of disempowering youth. As Thomson, Flynn, Roche and Tucker assert, “How young people are seen or socially constructed and how they see themselves”²⁹² is a critical point to understand the elements surrounding youth, and marginalization strategy is also part of the reflective process.

²⁹² Stanley Tucker, Ronny Flynn and Rachel Thomson, *Youth in Society: Contemporary Theory, Policy and Practice*(London: SAGE, 2004): xvii.

Yeni Şafak Headline: “PKK-FETO joint production”²⁹³

- Placement of News/ Category of News: Daily News
- Ownership Structure: Albayrak Group
- Discourse analysis:

As can be seen from the title of Yeni Şafak, there is more active language and grammatical presence instead of the passive voice. The voice intends to target songs following words “full of marginal leftist groups discourses”, “the rap sheets” with the Gezi references, “FETO and PKK’s publication sources, social media accounts and websites”, “call for civil disobedience,” “support of foreign broadcasting organizations”, “targeting the government, judiciary and police” within the Gezi references. The following statements in the article proclaims the marginalization discourse:

In the 14 minutes and 55 seconds clip titled “Susamam” (I can’t stay silent), state institutions, especially the government, judiciary and police, were targeted with provocative words and images. It is also noteworthy that the message of “civil disobedience” was given many times in the clip, in which arrogant references were made to the Presidency by saying “white palace” even though it was not watched as much as the clip named “Susamam” a similar work called “Olay” (Incident) was made by rapper Ezhel.

Fugitive FETO members, especially Can Dündar and Hayko Cepkin, brought the clip to the agenda with expressions targeting Turkey. Like in the Gezi events, CHP administrators, municipalities, deputies, and journalists screen faces close to the CHP and actively contribute to the video’s agenda.

HDP/PKK also wrapped the clip with four hands. Adnan Mızraklı, the former mayor of HDP, who was dismissed due to terrorism links, shared the headline “I

²⁹³ Yeni Şafak, “PKK-FETÖ ortak prodüksiyonu” (8 September 2019). Accessed 21 February 2022: <https://www.yenisafak.com/hayat/pkk-feto-ortak-produksiyonu-3505308>

can't stay silent" Clips of HDP's official accounts were sparked with the stigma of fascism's 'gang', 'looting'. Foreign media organizations broadcasting in Turkish from digital platforms in Turkey also carried the clip to an international dimension with their news. British BBC and German Deutsche Welle interviewed the people who made the Turkish clip.

The text's common accusation themes "PKK-FETO production" and "external forces" discourses reflect the widespread attitude of Turkish politics in recent years as a consequence of the securitization of foreign policy-Even unrelated topics and events- The discourse of the text equates the song production of Susamam as PKK terrorism in Turkey and the disintegration of Justice and Development Party and Gülenist movement relations since 2013 and after the 15 July Coup Attempt. Furthermore, the slash punctuation mark of (HDP/PKK) is a text stance, despite unveiling uncomfortable relations between HDP and PKK. However, this externalization of the topic is a form of strategy that makes songs a criminalization criteria. Therefore, all these discourse in the text function as a barrier to political participation climate in Turkey.

Yeni Akit Headline: "Called out to those who said, 'I can't stay silent': You said I couldn't stay silent; you were silent on July 15... When you said PKK in Diyarbakır, you were a shrink... You're all bastards!"²⁹⁴

- Placement of News/ Category of news: *Daily News*
- Ownership Structure: Ramazan Fatih Uğurlu
- Discourse analysis:

²⁹⁴ Akit, "Susamam diyenlere seslendi: Susamam dediniz, 15 Temmuz'da sustunuz... Diyarbakır'da PKK deyince sustunuz... Hepiniz p*ştsunuz!"(9 September 2019). Accessed 21 February 2019: <https://www.yeniakit.com.tr/haber/susamam-diyenlere-seslendi-susamam-dediniz-15-temmuzda-sustunuz-diyarbakirda-pkk-deyince-pustunuz-hepiniz-pstsunuz-919967.html>

First of all, the news headline and many expressions in the text are out of the news cycle guidelines. Non-neutral tones and notions of targeting discourses approximate the hate speech dynamics of the news. Statements in the text such as:

- “so-called social problems and so-called artists”
- “calling the riot by declaring even the police as murderers”
- “the section where the state policy is declared a murderer”
- “A circumstances that plunged the country into chaos, such as the attempted Gezi, were praised”

As seen in the news, in similar characteristic of the radicalization and marginalization strategy of pro-government media outlets and news discourse is also supported by the punctuation of the ellipsis and the exclamation mark.

Hürriyet Headlines: “Criminal complaint about the song Susamam,”²⁹⁵, “The rappers didn’t stay silent”²⁹⁶, Guide to understanding the last explosion.”²⁹⁷

- Placement of news/ category of news: Daily News
- Ownership structure: Demirören Group
- Discourse analysis

To begin with, the headline “criminal complaints about the song Susamam” are part of the criminalization strategy of rap music and artists. Another article about the songs in Hürriyet and the title of “Guide to understanding the last explosion” is

²⁹⁵ Hürriyet, “Son dakika: Susamam şarkısına suç duyurusu”(17 September 2019). Accessed 20 March 2022: <https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/son-dakika-susamam-sarkisi-icin-suc-duyurusu-41332374>

²⁹⁶ Hürriyet, “Rapçiler susmadılar”(10 September 2019). Accessed 20 March 2022: <https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/ayse-arman/rapciler-susmadilar->

²⁹⁷ Hürriyet, “Son patlamayı anlama rehberi” (15 Eylül 2019). Accessed 20 March 2022: <https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/kelebek/hurriyet-pazar/son-patlamayi-anlama-rehberi-41330346>

more likely to glorify discourse and includes “White Turk references” and popular culture debates about rap music. It is understood that newspaper groups close to the government, columnists, magazines, and culture-art departments are more comfortable compared to the news section covering the song of Susamam. Arman’s statements are as follows: “The song appeals to each hon. Especially, in particular, they expressed the silence of the White Turks.” The metaphor of “White Turk” means, as stated by Yörokoğlu following words:

(...) the term “White Turks” started in circulation in the 1990s; it gained more popularity since the current religious government came to power in 2002. The new prominence and visibility of “White Turks” have been created by the influence of mainstream and populist discourses on race, religion, and terrorism in the post 9/11 world. The discourse about “White Turks” started as a topic of cynical humour and class-based critique before it came to be claimed and appropriated by secular urbanites. This appropriation is Turkey's socio-political, cultural and economic changes since 1980 (...) (...).²⁹⁸

When column also refers to the Susamam, used with youth discourse “courage and creativity” and “rebellious character of rap.” Columnist states that:

Each chapter has strong enough lyrics to be the subject of a separate article. There are so many stupid nonsense lyrics these days that we are going to die of superficiality. That is why this song of the young people excited many people.

As Woodman, Bennet, and Hall stated earlier, one of the components that created the youth debate is a “metaphor of social change.” Sentences in the article “This song, which took the attitudes of those targeted young people excited many

²⁹⁸ İlgin Yörokoğlu, “Whiteness as an Act of Belonging: White Turks Phenomenon in the Post 9/11World” *Glocalism Journal of Culture, Politics and Innovation* 2/(2017): 3. Accessed 4 April 2022: https://glocalismjournal.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/yorukoglu_gicpi_2017_2.pdf

people.”, “What we could not achieve with writing, I hope they can achieve with music!” “revolution in rap” also refers to the transition perspective about youth.

CNN Turk Headlines: “What kind of message is the SUSAMAM clip sending? Art or street calls? Here are the reactions...”²⁹⁹ “Who is Şanişer? How old is he? What is his real name?”³⁰⁰ “Breaking News: Criminal complaint about the song Susamam”³⁰¹

- Placement of news/ category of news: TV, Daily News, Breaking News
- Ownership structure: Demirören Group
- Discourse analysis:

The debate in the program is mainly motivated by a rhetorical question centred on the well-known canonical phrase, “Is it an art or a call to the street?” While the program anchor repeated the question many times, background debates about the song mainly shaped the “Art for Art’s Sake or Art for Society’s Sake” discussion. Simultaneously, the emphasis on civil disobedience at the centre of the narrative is the blurred concept of the debate also gives the picture of what is understood by the concept of civil disobedience and what it means in Turkey context.

The discussion, divided into two oppose groups with the program’s four commentators, started with one commentator states “seeing the song as a positive

²⁹⁹ CNN Türk, “#SUSAMAM klibiyle nasıl bir mesaj veriliyor? Sanat mı, sokağa çağrı mı? İşte verilen tepkiler...” (11 September 2019). Accessed 21 March 2022: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Dy73f1G6180>

³⁰⁰ CNN Türk, “Susamam’ın sahibi Şanişer kimdir, kaç yaşında, gerçek ismi ne?” (6 September 2019), Accessed 21 February 2022: <https://www.cnnturk.com/magazin/susamamin-sahibi-saniser-kimdir-kac-yasinda-gercek-ismi-ne>

³⁰¹ CNN Türk, “Susamam şarkısı hakkında suç duyurusu”(17 September 2019). Accessed 21 February 2022 <https://www.cnnturk.com/turkiye/son-dakika-susamam-sarkisi-icin-suc-duyurusu>

value.” However, within the positive value, one of the commentator mentions that following words; “every criticism should not be seen as politics” and “any criticism should not include a material for politics”, “perception operation”, “these are the youth of this country.” These depoliticization sounds about the political character of the song is a reflection of the oppression of the political atmosphere even while even when trying to defend songs. Another remarkable expression “I have never listened to this kind of music in my life but...” is also part of disclaimers strategy about the song.

The program title of “New searches in politics” started with Turkish politician Deva (Remedy) Party Chairmanship Ali Babacan’s views about the song; the presenter emphasized, “But now, what was this video clip since it was first published, especially on social media, this clip was shared by CHP and IYI Party, and positive comments made. On the other hand, there are statements from the AK Party; Art should not be a means of provocation, political manipulation should not be done.” In the face of the commentator defending the song, the presenter says the following words:

What I understand is that you liked this video very much. It is evident from your every mood. You said that this is an art and encouraging, and you kissed the eyes of the children and kissed them from their hearts. On the one hand, there are these allegations cooked somewhere, and now it is being staged, and behind this, there is the situation of making the state and the government a target. Some of them say, “They are trying to start a riot? (...)...”

While the second part of the discussion started with these questions: “What do you say to the provocation comments? What do you say about the story and timing of this song’s release? So who is provoking behind the provocation? Do you not see that the young people came together of their own free will so that we could sing and give a message to the youth?”

When opposer tries to explain their argument about the songs, “subliminal message”, “provocation”, “They did something; however, they did something wrong”, “lack of nationalism tone”, “no mentions of terrorism”, and “the one-sided character of the Susamam song.”, “Did they miss out on purpose?”, “February 28”, “professional and intentional work”, “American project”. One of the commentators states the following words:

I personally can not stay silent PKK, I can not stay silent against FETO, I can not stay silent with PKK voice, I will not stay silent with those who killed the Bedirhan baby, I will not stay silent who shot the Aybüke teacher, I will not stay silent who victimized a Nazire mother and took her child to the mountains, I will not stay silent those who call July 15 theater, I can not be silent to those who say we will win in Kurdistan, I can not stay silent when the children of fire burn forests, I can not stay silent about the children who are sacrificed to drugs, I will not be silent about those who call the state a serial killer in the fight against terrorism, I can not stay silent those who defame and accuse the Turkish nation with the allegations of the Armenian genocide, I can not stay silent to those who support terörist Sakine Cansın, I can not stay silent to those who are disturbed by the sound of the Azan, I can not be silent to those who tease of the rank of martyrdom, I can not stay silent to those who call to the streets for Kobani. However, there is none of that.

When the presenter asked, “Who is provoking behind the provocation? The answer one of the commentator said, “FETO PKK, everyone America, England, France, Israel; It can be whoever is against Turkey, against the Turks and The People’s Alliance (Cumhur İttifakı).”

The other commentator about song states “Totally aimed at the president, the government from beginning to end. The CHP might like it very much, the HDP might like it very much, or The Nation Alliance.” He also emphasises, “There may be those who say so, but I am describing my opinion as a conservative and Kemalist person within a freedom of expression.” The other commentator mentions, “You can not humiliate and insult the Republic of Turkey”

On the other hand, on the other side of the discussion critics expressed by following words:

“Society has problems with self-expression.”

“Art should guide politics.”

“It is not good to consider art and politics as a separate entity”,
“Song reaching large audiences” within the purpose constraints and supranational social policy.

“Let us make another rap so that “mothers do not cry.”(laughing)

“The brain drain of the Turkish youth and the protection of the environment” should also be interpreted as nationalism.

The second part will analyze the news of the opposition media outlets. Instead of youth discourses, the general tendency in these texts is to focus on “rappers”. As the study’s central question focuses on marginalization discourses, this section will be more limited and general as it gives fewer answers to the study’s main research question. For this reason, news headlines are considered for understanding how counter-discourses constitute and bringing to our attention the self-reflective process of marginalization. The headlines can be listed as follows;

Cumhuriyet Headline: “Summary of the country in 15 minutes”³⁰² “We are not so unscrupulous as to be afraid”³⁰³

Sözcü Headlines: “I can’t stay silent”, and the “Incident” is on everyone’s lips... Those who don’t stay silent growing up!”³⁰⁴ “The architect of Susamam, Şanışer, explained: “Don’t attribute to any thought alone”³⁰⁵

Medyascope: “RAP is on Turkey’s agenda: “The Incident and I can’t stay silent”³⁰⁶

T24 Headline: “A Haber targeted the names in the song ‘Susamam’; ‘criminal offender’³⁰⁷ “Ezhel said Incident, Şanışer said ‘I can’t stay silent’ millions watched in one night; October 10 Massacre, Gezi Protests, Emine Bulut...”³⁰⁸ “Şanışer said I can’t stay silent with 17 musicians: “We are not so unscrupulous that we’re afraid”³⁰⁹

³⁰² Cumhuriyet, “15 dakikada ülkenin özeti” (6 September 2019). Accessed 21 February 2022:

<https://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/galeri/15-dakikada-ulkenin-ozeti-1566627>

³⁰³ Cumhuriyet, “Korkacak kadar vicdans değiliz” (6 Eylül 2019). Accessed 21 February 2022:

<https://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/korkacak-kadar-vicdansiz-degiliz-1568075>

³⁰⁴ Sözcü, “Susamam ve Olay herkesin dilinde... ‘Katlanarak büyüyor susmayanlar!’”(6 September 2019). Accessed 21 February 2022:

<https://www.sozcu.com.tr/hayatim/kultur-sanat-haberleri/susamam-ve-olay-herkesin-dilinde-katlanarak-buyuyor-susmayanlar/>

³⁰⁵ Sözcü, “Susamam mimarı Şanışer’den açıklama: “Hiçbir düşünceye tek başına ma etmeyin” (8 September 2019). Accessed 20 March 2022:

<https://www.sozcu.com.tr/hayatim/kultur-sanat-haberleri/susamamin-mimari-saniserden-aciklama-hicbir-siyasi-dusunceye-tek-basina-mal-etmeyin/>

³⁰⁶ Medyascope, “Türkiye’nin gündeminde RAP var: “Olay” ve “Susamam”(6 September 2019). Accessed 19 March 2022: <https://medyascope.tv/2019/09/06/turkiyenin-gundeminde-rap-var-olay-ve-susamam/>

³⁰⁷ T24, “A Haber, ‘Susamam’ şarkısındaki isimleri hedef gösterdi; ‘kriminal suçlu’. Accessed 21 February “2022: <https://t24.com.tr/haber/a-haber-susamam-sarkisindaki-isimleri-hedef-gosterdi-kriminal-suclu,930181>

³⁰⁸ T24, “Ezhel ‘Olay’, Şanışer ‘Susamam’ dedi, bir gecede milyonlar izledi; 10 Ekim Katliamı, Gezi eylemleri, Emine Bulut...” (6 September 2019). Accessed 21 February 2022:

<https://t24.com.tr/haber/ezhel-olay-saniser-susamam-dedi-bir-gecede-milyonlar-izledi-10-ekim-katliami-gezi-eylemleri-emine-bulut,838244>

³⁰⁹ T24, “Şanışer 17 müzisyenle birlikte Susamam dedi: Korkacak kadar vicdansız değiliz”(7 September 2019). Accessed 21 February 2022: <https://t24.com.tr/haber/saniser-17-muzisyenle-birlikte-susamam-dedi-korkacak-kadar-vicdansiz-degiliz,838361>

BirGün Headlines: “Two opposition rap songs made their mark on the agenda: ‘Susamam’ and ‘Olay’”³¹⁰ “The conscience of art: Susamam”³¹¹

Duvar Headline: “The rappers on the agenda: Incident and I can’t stay silent!”³¹²

Evrensel Headlines: “Two political rap songs named “Susamam” and “Olay” mark on the agenda”³¹³ “Support from artist to Susamam: Not just a song, but a manifesto!”³¹⁴ “Susamam can be interpreted as a rebellion against the style that whose turns its back on society”³¹⁵

BBC News Türkçe Headline: “#Susamam (I can’t stay silent): What is in the rap clip that Şanışer shot with 17 singers? Why did it come to the fore?”³¹⁶

DW Türkçe Headline: “#We feel guilty when we avoid our word”³¹⁷

Euronews Türkçe Headline: “Covering controversial issues in Turkey, #Susamam ve Olay reached 1.5 million listeners on YouTube”³¹⁸

³¹⁰ BirGün, “2 muhalif rap şarkısı birden gündeme damga vurdu: “Susamam” ve “Olay” (6 September 2019). Accessed 21 February 2022: <https://www.birgun.net/haber/2-muhalif-rap-sarkisi-birden-gundeme-damga-vurdu-susamam-ve-olay-267495>

³¹¹ BirGün, “Sanatın vicdanı: Susamam ve Olay” (8 September 2019). Accessed 15 April 2022: <https://www.birgun.net/haber/sanatın-vicdanı-susamam-ve-olay-267679>

³¹² Duvar, “Rapçiler gündem oldu: Olay ve Susamam”(6 September 2019). Accessed 21 February 2022: <https://www.gazeteduvar.com.tr/kultur-sanat/2019/09/06/rapciler-gundem-oldu-olay-ve-susamam>

³¹³ Evrensel, “Susamam ve Olay adlı iki politik rap şarkısı gündeme damga vurdu” (6 September 2019). Accessed 15 April 2022: <https://www.evrensel.net/haber/386206/susamam-ve-olay-adli-iki-politik-rap-sarkisi-gundeme-damga-vurdu>

³¹⁴ Evrensel, “Sanatçılardan Susamam’a destek: Sadece bir şarkı değil manifesto!”(6 Eylül 2019). Accessed 28 March 2022: <https://www.evrensel.net/haber/386220/sanatçılardan-susamama-destek-yalnizca-bir-sarki-degil-bir-manifesto>

³¹⁵ Evrensel, “Susamam, topluma sırtını dönen tarza bir isyan olarak yorumlanabilir” (8 September 2019). Accessed 21 February 2022: <https://www.evrensel.net/haber/386328/susamam-topluma-sirtini-donen-tarza-bir-isyan-olarak-yorumlanabilir>

³¹⁶ BBC Türkçe, “#Susamam: Şanışer’in 17 şarkıcı ile birlikte çektiği rap klibinde neler var, neden gündeme oturdu”(6 September 2019). Accessed 21 February 2022: <https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler-turkiye-49610797>

³¹⁷ DW Türkçe, “#Susamam: “Sözümüzü sakındığımızda suçlu hissediyoruz”(6 September 2019). Accessed 21 February 2022: <https://www.dw.com/tr/susamam-sözümüzü-sakındığımızda-suçlu-hissediyoruz/a-50332319>

³¹⁸ Euronews Türkçe, “Türkiye’deki tartışmalı konuları işleyen #Susamam ve Olay, YouTube’da 1.5 milyon dinleyiciye ulaştı” (6 Eylül 2019). Accessed 21 February 2022:

In Cumhuriyet newspaper, the songs handled “rap artist expression” without highlighting the youth discourse. It is also mentioned in Ezhel’s last song, “Incident”, timing and topics in “Gezi Resistance, the Ankara Massacre, the July 15 Coup Attempt.” The text is also supported by social media reactions about the song of Susamam (I can’t stay silent). While Sözcü handled the news, using these statements: “It looks like a reflection of society outcry” and “chaotic state of the world” within the reactions and mentions of Ezhel’s last song Olay (Incident).

Without using youth discourse, the other news in Sözcü foreground the statement made by rapper Şanışer on Twitter “Do not attribute our song to any political thought alone, do not assume that we are directed against any political thought. I seriously request this from both the friends who listen to it and the friends involved in the project. This reaction also reflects youth discontent about politics, as we stated earlier. As Pickard also mentions, “(...) the precarity experienced by many young people and notably the disappointment and distrust in the politicians that brought about austerity, as well as other issues of concern, has meant they are also increasingly acting politically without politicians.”³¹⁹ This reaction also reflects youth discontent about politics, as we stated earlier chapter. As Lüküslü also identifies as “an actively unpolitical younger generation”³²⁰ within the context of Beck ve Gernsheim terminology. The following words from the text prove that relations:

I got a lot of criticism from the left-wingers due to the fact that I did not speak bluntly in order not to put my colleagues under pressure. This is not the first time I have written a song; I have been singing similar songs for years. One could easily see what I criticize. You can take a look at my

<https://tr.euronews.com/2019/09/06/susamam-ve-olay-doga-siddet-insan-haklarini-isleyen-youtube-1-5-milyon-dinleyiciye-ulasti>

³¹⁹ Sarah Pickard, *Politics Protest& Young People Political Participation and Dissent in 21'st Century Britain* (London Palgrave Macmillan,2019): 7.

³²⁰ Demet Lüküslü, *Türkiye'de "Gençlik Miti" 1980 Sonrası Türkiye Gençliği*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2009): 198.

Tweets and songs. For instance, I can not accept if they stigmatize the guy in the song who says ‘fasten your belt’; he is not a ‘dangerous opponent’. I tried to bring together all kinds of people, ranging from religious ones to nationalist ones. Unfortunately, I failed. But then I get sad if I am labelled as the apolitical ‘white Turk’ trying to appease everyone.

Instead of youth discourse, **BirGün** and *DW Türkçe* mention “oppositional rap” labelling. Image selection in BirGün used in the news section of the song “Because the child died, you said, ‘He is right because it was the officer who shot him.” Besides, Ezhel’s Olay’s (Incident) is also mentioned in the headlines, emphasising that the song has been removed from the YouTube list. When we look at *DW Türkçe* and **BBC Türkçe** headlines, hashtag is preferred.

In DW Türkçe, the news includes the interviews of the rapper’s statements. In the report, one of the rappers said, “We want our children to grow up in a beautiful world. Therefore, our entire message is to raise awareness of the youth, not to dull their intellectual thoughts but to express this when they see injustice anywhere. We want to raise awareness among young people.” Rap artist also emphasises youth discourse in the context of “The future is in your hands”, which is a part of youth and hope correlations. As Neyzi said earlier in her study, “Turkish nation-state and the duty of the youth dedicate their lives to the construction of a future society.” However, the point to be noted here is that the youth says, “the future is in your hands” to the youth. Besides, the discourse of “We can direct the future as we wish” in the interview is a part of the youth-led social change highlight. The words “fear” and “elements in which the youth is besieged” are expressed following words:

Now we have to make a living with the money we have, an area all the things that erode our most important times.

We don't think we should be silent and are not afraid of investigations; we think the root of all these problems is fear.

It is observed that the language of state-owner-affiliated media organizations is more neutral and without using exclamation punctuation remarks in the news discourse. On the other hand, oppositional media outlets also mainly used exclamation marks to consolidate the song's rebellious character. Furthermore, handling songs multiple times in the news cycle in terms of quantity of the news also can be criteria for discourse analysis. It should also be noted that NTV and TRT are not covering these songs in the news cycle.

The last section of the discourse analysis covers the media outlets of some major international newspapers that were accused of being provocative by pro-government media outlets in Turkey.

“Here's how pop culture woke Turkey's disillusioned opposition on Friday” article served the analysis category of The Monkey Cage in **The Washington Post** newspaper; the news started with the photos of the Republican People's Party gathering/rally in Istanbul on September 6. The text emphasizes social media power within the repressive regime and rap music's role in articulating reactions, resentments and protests. When an article uses youth discourse through the listener mass of songs, the following expression comprises: “This is particularly the case for Turkey's youths, 93 per cent of whom regularly use social media.” At the same time, “Gezi Park” references, the “political earthquake label”, “authoritarian politics”, and “Erdoğan and his Justice and Development Party (AKP) administration” are emphasized in the text.

Statements about the youth attitudes towards politics and political participation dynamics described within the following words: “Turkey's opposition is that its parties fail to get enough people to the polls- particularly voters under

25.” At the same time, the song interpreted in the context of “indictment of Turkey’s citizens for their apathy and “rallying cry around which the disillusioned are mobilizing.” While the text mentions Turkey’s political figure Canan Kaftancıoğlu’s tweets about “Youth, today and for always, I too, can not stay silent”, the text’s narrative is mainly focuses on Turkey’s opposition.

On the other hand, the death of Berkin Elvan, the death of Alan Kurdi, Cumartesi Anneleri (Saturday’s Mother), the CNN Turk Penguin documentary and the 2015 Ankara bombing are especially addressed in the text in the framework of “police brutality, politicians corruption and casualties of war” in Turkey.

Due to the lack of space and time, it was impossible to give a detailed account of the foreign press such as **The Guardian**³²¹ **France24**³²² and **The Economist**.³²³ However, one could see that the media coverage of the two songs consisted of a direct link between the rappers and the new mayor of Istanbul, who won the local elections in 2019 Summer. For further information on how the songs were covered in The Guardian, especially see Turkey’s polarized atmosphere mentioned with “stifled climate.” Following remarks from The Guardian texts: “Turkey is no less polarised than Brexit Britain or Trump’s America; Susamam has been lauded as a protest anthem by some and labelled a ‘terrorist co-production by one prove-government tabloid.’ Instead of directly linking youth emphasis, the text uses “generation,” referring to “feeding up with complicity.” According to the texts, this generation does not portray a unified identity. The following words from texts

³²¹ The Guardian, “It’s possible to live together in peace: the Turkish rap epic taking on the government” (6 November 2019). Accessed 18 March 2022: <https://www.theguardian.com/music/2019/nov/06/words-are-our-weapon-blistering-power-turkish-protest-rap-susamam>

³²² France24, “I cannot stay silent’: Turkish rappers get political” (13 September 2019). Accessed 18 March 2022: <https://www.france24.com/en/20190913-i-cannot-stay-silent-turkish-rappers-get-political>

³²³ The Economist, “The Turkish rappers who rib the regime” (12 September 2019). Accessed 12 September 2019: <https://www.economist.com/europe/2019/09/12/the-turkish-rappers-who-rib-the-regime>

illustrate the “new generation” discourse which leads to glorification of youth position and it comprises generational classification following words:

Turkey has always struggled to have a single identity, despite nationalist politicians pushing the idea. A new generation, fed up with the patrimonial past, wants to create something homegrown they can be proud of, and finding it in lyrics such as: “Hate is your weapon ... Our weapon is our words!

The other assessment of the text is that “Rappers in Turkey speak out to hold their country –and themselves- to account” also is a counter representation in the face of demonization discourses. Meanwhile, France 24 assets the song of Susamam as “liberal critics of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan” the evaluations of the song expressed by words of “polarised society”, “stifled dissent”, “a spark”, lack of terrorism and LGBT rights.” In the news, which includes expert opinions, the following statements are mentioned: “It is not a revolt but a sign of optimism.” In terms of the content of both songs, free speech, women’s rights, anti-government protest(Gezi), police brutality, war and refugees are mentioned.

Additionally, the news image in The Economist used screenshots of the law chapter in Susamam’s song. The lyric “You have become stronger because you are quiet” is heightened. The headline of the text, “The Turkish rappers who rib the regime”, and the phrase “sticking to a man, sultan, Ottoman, Erdogan”, are generally the speculative language of the article.

CONCLUSION

This thesis is written under the influence of two identities. One of them was my identity as a young person and the other as a media worker identity within the framework of the “manufacturing of consent”, revealing the main problem of this thesis. It would not be wrong to say that my questioning about these two identities, starting from the individual and oriented towards the social, determines the subjective position of the thesis. Therefore, in the introduction, which constitutes the first part of the thesis tried to justify why I was interested in such a subject and explain critical discourse analysis as my method within the scope of the case study. The reason for choosing different media organizations is to ensure objectivity and reveal the discursive struggle between these organizations. Following this, the study intended to open the possibility of a new discourse for discussion.

In the first chapter, the concept of youth, which forms the thesis pattern, is discussed from the questioning point of view. The connection between youth studies and the thesis’s relations can be explained in three ways. First, the themes that make up the two rap songs that I chose within the case study scope reflect the youth’s current concerns and the elements they are surrounded by, and this idea forms the subject of “youth studies.

For examining the elements that make up the youth discourse and making sense of the reasons that weaken the youth, the leading destination was to establish that “how young people are seen, how they are socially constructed, and how they see themselves” have a reflective quality and the labels “apolitical, indifferent to the political arena, or the young generation who are actively away from politics³²⁴ were not sufficient to understand the position of the youth. In addition, during the research process, it was necessary to examine the shift in the nature of political participation to non-traditional political forms and forms with certain lines of

³²⁴ Sarah Pickard, *Politics Protest& Young People Political Participation and Dissent in 21'st Century Britain* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019).

discussion such as natural processes, developing technology, participatory media practice, fragile citizenship, and the crisis of democracy. While the context also gives us the dynamics of the emergence of political engagement practices in Turkey, as seen in the case study, the general strategy is to suppress the protest nature of these songs, which provide political engagement through a cultural product, and to highlight the language of marginalization and manipulative discourse as a power strategy.

Robertson explains this strategy in general terms with the concept of “the politics of protest in hybrid regimes”³²⁵ Although his study deals with street protests, the logic of hybrid regimes are essentially related to the understanding of turning all kinds of protest elements in their favour. He states that “Contemporary authoritarians do not only need to find a way to defeat-proof elections; they also need to defeat-proof the streets.”³²⁶ This strategy reflectively affected the owners of the songs. However, one of the main dilemmas in this discussion is the extent to which the term hybrid regime, which expresses the grey area, represents Turkey.³²⁷

The second connection with youth studies was the factor that I tried to explain with “reflexivity of contemporary youth”³²⁸ in a theoretical framework. It was also essential in explaining why the youth, often accused of being apolitical, adopt such an attitude. The rap songs that I have discussed within the scope of the case study were referred to as “manipulated, provoked and organized” elements in

³²⁵ Graeme B. Roberson, *The Politics of Protest in Hybrid Regimes*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

³²⁶ Ibid., 11.

³²⁷ Feyzi Karabekir Akkoyunlu, “The Rise and Fall Of The Hybrid Regime: Guardianship and Democracy in Iran and Turkey” (PhD Thesis) *The London School of Economics and Political Science*, 2014: 11. Accessed 18 May 2022: http://etheses.lse.ac.uk/936/1/Akkoyunlu_Rise-and-Fall-of-Hybrid-Regimes.pdf. Hybrid regime is a useful concept to make sense of the vast ‘grey area’ between the theoretically perfect democracy and the theoretically absolute dictatorship. However, it has been based on vague and conflicting definitions and thus has come to mean everything and nothing at the same time.

³²⁸ Steven Threadgold and Pam Nilan, “Reflexivity of Contemporary Youth, Risk and Cultural Capital Current Sociology” *Current Sociology* 57/1: 47-68. Accessed 18 May 2022: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/249679890_Reflexivity_of_Contemporary_Youth_Risk_and_Cultural_Capital

the discursive representations in the media. In a song that set off with the motto “We believe that music can change things”, the parenthesis of “don’t attribute the song to any political thought” is an example of this reflexive process and reflects the perceptions and distrust of the youth in their current relationship with politics. On the other hand, it should not limit these perceptions and distrust only to the youth. Lastly, despite the growing anti-youth language, the expression of the youth labelled as apolitical, expressing their concerns in certain cultural forms, it should be said that the structural dynamics that we briefly generalized at the political, cultural, economic, and educational levels are also reflected in the obstacles to political participation in Turkey.

The second chapter, while discussing the disappearance of traditional and non-traditional definitions of political participation today, tries to analyze the negative and positive evaluations regarding the blurring of this distinction. Along with the elements that the youth is surrounded by, the analysis determines how youth see themselves in this representation and how they reflect. This situation also reflects their forms of political participation demeanours. The debates about political participation were not limited to the political participation of the youth; they also included the changing definitions of citizenship, technology, and some theoretical discussions. When the changing nature of political participation-both global and national- is examined, as well as its limits and the codes of Turkey were included together with historical grounds.

The relationship with these codes that appear in different forms in Turkey’s memory has also been revealed. As Bourdieu pointed out, This relationship indicated the existence of an “anti-youth” attitude. As soon as this situation defines the elements that constitute the youth’s anxieties about the future, it becomes definite that the opposite establishes itself in the “anti-youth” language and fears that the youth will determine the future.

The fourth chapter touches on the canonical debates on rap music, popular culture, globalization, the music industry, and the creative industries. The main conclusion of this chapter is that rap music is one of the ways for youth to express themselves. First, I aimed to reveal the relationship between rap music and youth culture by drawing attention to the presence of oppressive dynamics that shaped the historical context and starting point. In addition, the connection between the canonical debates on the axis of rap music and the study, as mentioned in the discourse analysis section, was about the points at which these discussions gave an advantage to what was said and, more accurately, how the writer or speaker used these discussions.

In the fifth chapter of the study, the study aims to reveal the reflection of the political engagement practice outside the traditional borders through critical discourse analysis. Online news portals are chosen within the scope of the case study and reveal the media discourse in Turkey about youth and their political engagement practices.

It proved that the struggle at the discursive level also includes an ideological struggle. On a large scale, the media's political economy or ownership structure affects how the songs are handled in the news cycle. On the other hand, I also observed that this parameter was ineffective at certain points within the scope of the study.

In the betweenness of pro-governmental and opposition media, which we are forced to distinguish with sharp classification, this study tries to draw attention to the characteristics of elements such as the power of news headlines, the effect of the news genres, speculative and non-speculative or rhetorical expressions, editorial processes, speech analysis, neutral and non-neutral discourse language, use of similar words in different contexts in the texts, active and passive forms of headlines, clickbait, disclaimers, and decontextualization, especially in news headlines, which are reflected on the discursive level, in order to ensure the

objectivity of the study for both wings. In some news reports, I encountered the non-ideological and neutral side of the discourse. I have observed that the ownership structure of international media organizations influences a more objective and neutral language, especially in public news broadcasting.

I chose the internet news portals of different media organizations within the scope of the case study to reveal the intricate structure of the struggle at the discursive level for points to particular social issues, reflecting polarization and including power relations. When the headlines were critical reflections of this struggle, the study aims to reveal the function of news headlines and their propaganda language beyond ideological discourse.

The use or non-use of similar and repetitive words in the texts (such as Gezi and youth) in different contexts were the elements that I mainly focused on within the scope of the thesis and drew attention to the relationship between youth and political participation. For example, the reference to Gezi was prominent in almost all of the articles dealing with these songs. While “Gezi” expresses the intertextuality chain of these writings, the reflection of the ideological struggle at the discursive level has been differentiated with the expressions “Gezi attempt, Gezi Park, Gezi, Gezi generation.” Djik explains this with the concept of “discourse and manipulation”. He says that this manipulation is mostly about knowledge that affects perception and that this knowledge highlights ideology. For example, Foucault says that the determining factor in the episteme of the subject is the historical condition and process in which the subject is the product of his knowledge. While “youth” is somewhat traumatic in representing these songs by the pro-governmental media, the context of these concepts has been used differently or not used in opposition and alternative media organizations. Djik states, “Our good things, emphasizing their bad things.”³²⁹ There is an emphasis on youth in pro-governmental media organizations, and the manipulated and

³²⁹ Ibid.

provoked representations of youth are emphasized. On the other hand, it has been observed that the expression rappers are used in opposition and alternative media organizations without an emphasis on the concept of youth. Media organizations close to the government covered the songs more comfortably in the culture-art corners and columns; this situation indicates that news departments have less editorial autonomy than the other departments.

For all that, it is also noted that not covering the songs reflects a preference in terms of news value. The existence of a non-objective narrative in pro-governmental news organizations and the handling of the title of the “criminal complaint” about the song is a part of the demonization strategy. Another critical point is the emphasis on state discourse. When we examine the way the songs are handled, we observe that the state appears as an unthinkable concept and is surrounded by paternalist elements. At that point, Bourdieu’s analysis of the state is helpful for to realize rather than seeing the state as an unthinkable and block structure, it is a field of struggle woven with vested interests.³³⁰

On the other hand, the view of youth as a driving force and an element of change is prominent in opposition and alternative media. Hall and Jefferson explained this situation with the concept of “Youth was a metaphor for social change”³³¹ and especially criticized cultural movements’ political significance and efficacy in cultural studies.³³² He said that this situation led to a different dimension of marginalization. However, it can also be concluded that this is part of a reflective process.

Controversy over the appeal and the concept of civil disobedience about what the song does not address has centred around the debate of whether art is for

³³⁰ Pierre Bourdieu, *On the State Lectures at the College de France 1989-1992* translated by David Fernbach (Cambridge, Malden: Polity Press, 2014): 100.

³³¹ Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson, *Resistance through Rituals Youth subcultures in post war-Britain*, Routledge: London and New York, 2006: viii.

³³² *Ibid.*, ix.

art or society. On the other hand, the songs were covered more than once in the news portals of opposition or alternative media organizations, and non-neutral emotional, slogan headlines and context externalization elements were also noted in the new language. However, media outlets did not address and criticize Ezhel's Olay (Incident) song as much as the song Susamam- which is also related to the song referring to the July 15 Coup Attempt and the PKK terrorism.

This thesis mainly focused on the perception of youth discourse by politics and how youth perceive politics through a case study. It tries to convey that the dominant discourse structure here is a sociocultural and sociopolitical element based on Fairclough's CDA. In this way, the thesis wanted to draw attention to the function of discourse as "a mirror reflecting the society", as Oskay stated..³³³

Due to the lack of time and space and limits, the interviews of rappers, reactions of politicians and audiences, and more profound analysis of journalism can not be covered. Critical discourse analysis, which constitutes the methodology of this study, was not able to go deeper into linguistics too much and did not be able to deal more with the discussions on the axis of journalism and media. However, the focus of this study was to deal with the perception of youth discourse and political engagement practices in internet news portals with different ownership structures and to explain that this is a reflective process. Of course, if I consider all these parameters, I could say it could be a more comprehensive study. I can suggest to those who want to deal with the subject for future studies that the discursive elements of protest rap music, apart from the more visible ones in Turkey, can be the subject of another study.

To sum up, the songs are seen as an example of unconventional political participation within the scope of the study. As a consequence of propaganda language, the media atmosphere allowed the songs to go through a depoliticization

³³³ Barış Çoban ve Zeynep Özarslan, *Söylem ve İdeoloji* (İstanbul: Su Yayınları, 2015): 11.

process both in terms of contributors of the songs and supporters of the song in a reflexive way. While this is just a simple example of a growing attitude in Turkey, the dynamics of the process comprise historical dimensions, structural dynamics, unauthorized policies and barriers.

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APPENDIX

LYRICS OF SONGS³³⁴

OLAY (INCIDENT)

[Intro]

Incident, incident, incident, incident, incident, incident, incident, incident
Incident, incident, incident, incident, incident, incident, incident, incident
Artz, what's poppin' my G?
B-B-Bugy

[Hook]

Every day a new incident
It's easily said
Koal, Koal
Whatever is abnormal, for me it's become normal
Paranoia, my brain can't cope with it
They ask "Wow, how did you do it?"
It was easy
It's easily said
Koal, Koal
Whatever is abnormal, for me it's become normal
Paranoia, my brain can't cope with it
They ask "Wow, how did you do it?"
It was easy

³³⁴ Geniuscom, "Ezhel Olay(English Translation)". Last accessed 27 April 2022:
<https://genius.com/Genius-english-translations-ezhel-olay-english-translation-lyrics>

[Post-Hook]

Incident, incident, incident, incident, incident, incident, incident, incident
Incident, incident, incident, incident, incident, incident, incident, incident

[Verse 1]

All incidents on me
All eyes on me, around me
Tens of thousands like zombies
I'm a bit drunk, alcohol downed
Berlin-Kotti
Istanbul-Bomonti
Capital-METU
Kitto-Ostim
The whole world is my hood, my slum
Are we too high? My spirit is a cockpit
Police everywhere
Cops everywhere
Incidents every day, incidents, incidents
Off into the state of emergency
Your people are guinea pigs
There is no reason not to be a psychopath
So go and steal and snatch
I have the loose change, you the bundle
There are clashes
The water cannon shoots out water
And things are exaggerated
Civil servant dies children die
Live and come out
If they wanted to it would be over
But don't you believe that anyone
Resolves the matter because the incident brings money

The same news every day
Again harassment and rape
The magazines want incidents
Celebrities make headlines
Everybody alone, everybody someone's enemy
Conflict wherever I look, incidents wherever I go

[Hook]

Every day a new incident
It's easily said
Koal, Koal
Whatever is abnormal, for me it's become normal
Paranoia, my brain can't cope with it
They ask "Wow, how did you do it?"
It was easy
It's easily said
Koal, Koal
Whatever is abnormal, for me it's become normal
Paranoia, my brain can't cope with it
They ask "Wow, how did you do it?"
It was easy

Post-Hook

Incident, incident, incident, incident, incident, incident, incident, incident
Incident, incident, incident, incident, incident, incident, incident, incident

Verse 2

Flash, flash
Paparazzi
Like, tweet
Virtual world, ego
That's all that drives us

That's why, wherever we go, we become an highlight
That's what it looks like here with us
Disagreements among ourselves, that's what they want
It helps them, because they didn't get anywhere
Who are we, where do we come from?
Every human bein' racks their brain
Fundamentally it's all about
Euros, liras, dollars
There are clashes
Spillin' blood is easier than gettin' along
A bullet fades more cheaply than a flower
A bomb falls like a needle but does not burn
On the street with the crews, on the third side...

Hook

Every day a new incident
It's easily said
Koal, Koal
Whatever is abnormal, for me it's become normal
Paranoia, my brain can't cope with it
They ask "Wow, how did you do it?"
It was easy
It's easily said
Koal, Koal
Whatever is abnormal, for me it's become normal
Paranoia, my brain can't cope with it
They ask "Wow, how did you do it?"
It was easy

Outro

Incident, incident

Related to encouraging substance use–

Incident, incident

Um, you were actually inc-incarcerated because of the music you have put out?

Now can you please resemble your–

Incident, incident

When we actually listen to her songs–we'll talk about a rapper, Ezhel related developments–

Incident, incident

Every day a new incident

*SUSAMAM(I CAN'T STAY SILENT)*³³⁵

INTRO

As days go by in a rush

You've forgotten why you exist

And you are unaware of the problems

You've caused

You want to laugh

You want to have fun

Life is tough as is

That's why

You want music to entertain you

To whisk you away from reality

But we believe that music can bring about change

Come with us

Shall we begin?

³³⁵ Geniuscom, "Susamam (English Translation)". Last accessed 27 April 2022:
<https://genius.com/Genius-english-translations-sanser-susamam-english-translation-lyrics>

[Verse 1: Fuat] (Nature)

At the time of Cengiz Han, the price of washin' your hands in a river was death
We migrated and decayed spewing trash we've ended up fuckin' up our three seas
The unpredictable ruffian he breathes exhaust gas and he's now having a
barbecue!

Forests on fire

Mother Nature weeping blood

Arrogance at an all time high!

Factory chimneys belch smoke

Nuclear reactors, hazardous waste

"Electro smoke" is always on the go

The biggest parasite is man just look at the planet!

Man isn't even as capable as animals

He changed things up, then couldn't adapt

The bill is for the next generation to pay

Doomsday's upon us, watch like an imbecile!

[Verse 2: Ados] (Drought)

Don't do it!

Don't toss cigarette butts in the sea

You can't take it back

There'll come a day when that trash-filled sea

Will be missed, but it won't be there!

Not long before we go barren like Africa

Children growing up without water

Because we destroyed our lakes, rivers, streams, everything!

No mercy?

I can't believe it

We've taken it all for granted

Animals have their stomachs filled with plastic

Doesn't it break your heart?
Retweeting isn't enough
Something must be done
Do not pollute the water!
Let my land be serene like water
Don't inject no poison into its veins!

[Chorus: Şanışer]

Come
There will come a day
When these guilty words will be imprisoned
Defeated I'll disappear they won't notice
I won't stay silent
I can't stay silent

Don't be afraid come
There will come a day
When these guilty words will be imprisoned
Defeated I'll disappear they won't notice
I won't stay silent
I can't stay silent

[Verse 3: Şanışer] (Law)

I am a "White Turk"
My laws are Anglo-Saxon but my mind is Middle-Eastern
I grew up apolitical
I never voted
I've cared about holidays, traveling and debts
Justice is dead
I stayed silent and participated until it was me
Now I'm too scared to send a tweet

I've come to fear my own country's police
Sorry to say, but this hopeless generation is your creation
The unhappy faction is your creation and this gunfire!
Innocent men rotting in jail without even knowing why
It's all you!
This horrifying picture is your creation this tired voice of mine
Idiot MPs, corrupt leeches, building their wealth on the back of the poor, using their
taxes
it's all you!
You've never encountered death, never once lost your breath
A coffee expert, always a cup in your hand
All you care about is your wannabe "Startup"
Now, the justice that was supposed to protect you will come knocking, will break
down your door!
You've acquitted child-killers just because they are cops you didn't say a word,
which means you're guilty!
Because you mourned for two days, and moved on
You forgot the name of the judge
Who released Tugce and Busra's killers!
If something happens to you, will you rely on the law?
If they falsely arrest you one night, no single journalist can report it because they're
all locked up!
The lives taken by released killers (They won't come back)
Wasted years in prison on a false charge (They won't come back)
You stayed silent
You were overpowered because you were quiet
They took away your rights and they won't give them back voluntarily!

[Verse 4: Hayki] (Justice)

Justice is supposedly the pillar of a country

It's turned a deaf ear, won't listen to you
Traditions, morals, customs
If the one before was bad, tell me, is the incumbent any better?
Is this civilized?
We can't even afford what your dog won't eat
Your police can't pull out his gun and shoot whoever he wants in broad daylight!
Media, press, law, military they all work for you
Young boys are out there at the crack of dawn putting their lives on the line
Hate is your weapon!
These aren't even our sins to pay for
Your plan is all nice!
I don't know who buys this
But I do know this
Our weapon are our words!

[Verse 5: Server Uraz] (Law)

I'm the voice of the lost generation
I can't be censored in a flawed picture
To get my team out of this grave I always slept with one eye open
Sticks, knives, they're all ineffective!
A sharp mind is my prime objective
As patience devoured my brain the ones who rained down on me, I set aflame!
All I did was make music!
The police took offense and took me in
I'm at another hearing while you go to your gig
Wearing the same old suit for the past ten years
The day someone tells me all is not for nothing will be the day I'll give my heart
and my soul
The judiciary comes and collects its dues
In hell I'm living, my body is burning

[Verse 6: Beta] (Turkey)

Hello Turkey (3B)

I have an ID (T.C.)

We're trying to get by without getting in harm's way

The charlatan on TV, always a fanatic devotee!

Maliciousness is an epidemic, continues to manipulate!

This is all a charade!

We're flying into turbulence!

Syria was our neighbor, now are they our citizens? (Fellow countrymen?)

Even the dead aren't at peace, we're cursed by them

"Hurriyet" was just a newspaper

You go be as free as you can be!

[Verse 7: Asil Slang & Zen-G] (Istanbul)

Swallows us whole in a single bite

All-devouring Istanbul!

Chipping away at the best of times

It's an elusive mystery!

Its streets are paved with gold

You gave your hand, it grabbed your arm (get 'em!)

Transport, education, judiciary (help!)

The devil's spread his poison!

Money is a must or having contacts is a must

The big guys having your number is a must

Having an insider in Aksaray is a must

We never owned a yacht, a flat or a mansion

Our piggy banks were never full

I wasn't born rich

You must have a purpose in the big city

You didn't produce anything, yet you burned down forests!

You've become an animal in the concrete jungle

You've got dark circles under your eyes again

Dinosaurs are in power

There's a role for everyone in this jungle

"Stay silent and you will be next"

"Bright minds are facing a dark future next!"

[Verse 8: Sokrat St] (Education)

I will graduate!

I'll give you cash, you give me a diploma

No money, I must work up a sweat

Equal opportunity in education is what I exploit as a college student
I graduated
I'm a drifter because of the system you created
I graduated
I'll be a cashier or I'll be your usher at the movies!
Universities everywhere but village schools are in dire need
Whatever ideology the higher-ups have is what is taught in class
Rich, poor separated favored according to their money or backing
Education is an industry the same as making illegal profit from construction!
One doesn't have money for books
A budding teacher who doesn't know "the right people"
You know an MP? Wow!
You'll never get me if that's how you roll!
At least help out a village school
Chaos everywhere
You should fight too!
The kid barely slept tonight
He will go to school build him a road!

[Verse 9: Ozbi] (Curiosity)

Why this sky?
These stars, these galaxies, the planets...
Why?
What makes this universe?
What makes the Earth?
Why me? Why you? Why us? Ask!
First of all, ask "Why do I exist?"
"Where did I come from and why am I human?"
How did I? How did we? How does everything?
How did we add meaning? How do we learn?

What does life favor? Who gets the grace?
"Who gets to eat?"
To understand, to explain and comprehend?
Is it forbidden to understand?
Could be, but there isn't one answer!
There are many, go seek them out!
Chase it, make sure to look for proof!
Feed your soul, keep looking for fuel!
Protect your heart and find a witness
Take a breath and pursue art!
Ask, ask about the atoms
Think of the speed of light and go get yourself wings
And then... Fly!
Fly as high as you can!
Fly as high as you can fly!
Let yourself go!

[Verse 10: Deniz Tekin] (Women's Rights)

I wouldn't know
I've never had to defend myself
I wouldn't know, I've never had to worry about a child
I've never been forced to marry
There was no abuse in my home
In my own home I've never been imprisoned in my room
I've never been indoctrinated
I've never been displaced
I've never been burned with hatred
I was never burned to death
I never had siblings
I've never been afraid of my older brother

I've never been pulled out of school

I've never been murdered!

[Verse 11: Yeis Sensura & Sehabe] (Violence Against Women)

You never lay your hands on a woman, you idiot!

You're a sorry excuse for a human being!

She deserves the best

Say "No to violence against women!"

Why are the males at the top of the pyramid?

In traffic, at home or in public transportation?

The harassments never end

A slap on the wrist doesn't cut it

Uh, ah, are these moneybags your idea of a "Man"?

Slapped her five times in Beşiktaş, nasty

Pockets full of money, heart worthless

Where's your head at? Are you even human?

Secondhand embarrassment! Are you even human?

Are you even human?

How do you even get to this point? How?

[Bridge: Aspova] (World)

Let this world spin like my head is spinning

As I lose my mind

A dream

My breath, my inner voice

I fall into the deep

Let this world spin like my head is spinning

As I lose my mind

A dream

My breath, my inner voice

I fall into the deep

[Verse 12: Defkhan] (Foreign Lands)

They banged my head against a wall
They put out cigarettes on my skin instead of protecting me
They made me get up
The smell of burnt skin and smoke
Bastinado, "motherfucker"
Is that the due process here?
According to which rule?
I'm ready for battle, there will be chaos
This is what is taught, loving violence and fanning the flames
Germany is as cold as ice, let me tell you
Most of the youth are on Amphetamines Tilidine" or "Weed", "Cocaine" or
"Speed", "Crack"
You might like it but it's not my cup of tea
Not my cup of tea!
Walk as you please! Step on a mine and die
And for what cost?
How much is it?
Stop rolling around like a wheel
Just be my friend
If you're talking, be honest!

[Verse 13: Şanışer] (Animal Rights)

A bowl of water, is that too much to ask?
Have a conscience, damn it!
You don't want to understand but their lives are entrusted to you and me
Think for once!
"You're living alone, outside, in the cold, in winter

Nobody speaks your language
Danger everywhere
Always disaster, always calamity!"
They can't win, they are the wounded
Whatever they do, it's never enough for you
It's about compassion, not money!
Abandoning them in the woods is not the answer!
They're not wolves, they can't survive on their own there
Protect them
They can't fight for their own rights
The shelters are full
The territory is harsh
Its sky is dark
The punishment is money for raping and torturing stray animals
"Major immorality requires major imbeciles"
Not all humans are guilty but all animals are innocent!

[Chorus: Şanışer]

Come
There will come a day
When these guilty words will be imprisoned
Defeated I'll disappear they won't notice
I won't stay silent
I can't stay silent

Don't be afraid come
There will come a day
When these guilty words will be imprisoned
Defeated I'll disappear they won't notice
I won't stay silent
I can't stay silent

[Verse 15: Sokrat St] (Suicide)

Don't go! (Don't go)
There's still a lot we can change in this life
Don't be stubborn!
We all gave up at some point in time
Now clench your fist
Put an end to your silence
Remember how strong you stood when you blew a fuse!
Hate inside, hate outside
Come!
Love life the most
I can't create a world for you but I will definitely hold your hand
Don't leave the world even if everyone leaves you
I'm not judging you
I will never fully understand your pain
I know
If it's too heavy, I leave it behind I walk down my own path
Please look at the mirror say "I love you"

[Verse 16: Aga B] (Fascism)

Ey! What is fascism?
To put it roughly, we will be deceived
All of us, together
All you know is "you"
Many accidents caused by overambition
This ambition is an everlasting emotion
Snap at your wife at home
Crisis on the street
Shh!
Kick a dog, not the purebred, but the mutt, brainless!

Ey! A thief who steals from himself
Fear the police, ey!
The "System" wants you to be a nobody, a raw, and shallow, individual
Know what is what and know us
We're the generation that looks dirty but has clean hands
You are the seat of the bike while we are the wheels and the handlebars
Ey! Naturally, we want a generation like ours
Ey! This is our main goal, respect is all
Grandchild, be a mirror!
Anxiety galore but this is our road
Drown or be born
So many wrongs, as many rights
So be it, grandchild
Respect is all!

[Verse 17: Miraç] (Street)

I can't look you in the eyes, my face falls
Barefoot but dreams in their eyes
Timid but he still puts in the work
He's spent
Look! Every day is an exile!
He can't escape, bullies chase him
They look for a helping hand
Burn the big shot's money and go knock that fuckin' ego out
Don't name streets after ministers, but after the poor and the orphans
Don't interfere with the street vendors, send the officers to the skyscrapers

[Bridge 2: Mert Şenel]

I'm a branch broken off by the storm
Been around a lot and fraying
So much goes on inside me

There are no words if I tried to explain
Sometimes I'm the story of a homeless child

I'm a branch broken off by the storm
Been around a lot and fraying
So much goes on inside me
There are no words if I tried to explain
Sometimes I'm the story of a homeless child

[Verse 18: Kamufle] (Traffic)

A death trap
Highways are death traps
365 days at risk
Countless ruffians with no conscience
Pay hush money
A car accident overshadow the holidays
Broken hearts, so much pain
A requiem rings in their ears, the wound never heals
Alcohol, violence, and speed cause terror
Kids driving expensive sports cars have no fear
Safety first, leniency next
Patience, peace, man needs these
The smallest of mistakes can ruin everything
Believe me, there's no return!