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MUSIC IN THE IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES FROM TURKEY IN GERMANY

Aspects of Formal and Informal Transmission

INTRODUCTION

The terms ‘formal’ and ‘informal’, as attributes of transmission in the title of this chapter, have gained importance in international discourse, particularly in the English language. Originally relating to ‘education’ and being complemented by the term ‘non-formal’, the term ‘learning’, being more comprehensive, later partly replaced the term ‘education’. Its definitions, however, are diverse and not always clear in their delimitations; the debate still takes place mostly in a national surrounding and is less internationally orientated¹.

The terms applied in the following text follow, on the one hand, the classification laid down by the European Commission (Europäische Kommission 2001: 10, 57, 58). On the other hand, they rely on publications in and outside the context of UNESCO (see The Faure Report/Faure 1972; see also Overwien 2001: 359–360 and 2007). Additional definitions may follow in special cases, as divergences and overlapping in the application of the reference systems of two different culture areas are inevitable.

In my explanations, the various forms of transmission of music will be classified as follows:

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1 Adequate terms in Germany would be ‘formell’, ‘nicht-formell’ and ‘informell’, however with connotations partly differing from the terms of the English-speaking areas.

- The term 'formal' refers to organised, structured, certified forms of transmission, based on professional structures, at state-recognised institutions for education. The reference systems 'education' and 'science'² of the German Federal Republic are concerned, though the criteria of evaluation are not unified because of the federal structure of Germany.
- The term 'non-formal' refers to organised, structured forms of transmission, based partly on professional, semi-professional, or autodidactic structures. Reference systems of various origins can be found in this context, depending on the ethnic affiliation of the respective group in the society.
- The term 'informal' refers to non-organised, self-reliant, self-managed, irregular forms of transmission in areas of everyday life: The family circle, the work-place, or leisure, etc. This sphere is characterised by autodidactic structures of transmission.

The contemplations on the various types of the formalised transmission of music do not for instance contain opinions on the quality of music being transmitted, on the value of music for the individual himself, or on which sphere of emotions and tensions the transmission takes place. These questions can be taken into consideration only marginally.

Moreover, my paper will ask such questions as to how the Turkish community itself understands transmission in the German diaspora; to what extent German society has undertaken the task of musical transmission; how the Turkish community and the German majority have tried to cooperate on projects (also including groups of other ethnicities). This paper will also explore which music genres are transmitted, who transmits music and what method is used, as well as the intended audience, and at which educational institutions and in which surroundings Turkish music is transmitted. The centre of the research is the city of Berlin³.

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- 2 Serving as a basis for the recommendations of the KMK – Kultusministerkonferenz [Conference of the Minister of education and the arts].
- 3 Towns such as Berlin and Cologne have the a special position of being the fore-runners for other towns, urban centres, states of the Federal Republic of Germany.

1. THE TURKISH IMMIGRANT POPULATION AND THEIR CULTURE OF MUSIC

Citizens from Turkey in Berlin form the largest Turkish community living in a big urban structure outside Turkey. Today in Berlin⁴, there are about 200 000 citizens, and in Germany as a whole, there are about two and a half million people of Turkish descent (about one fifth of German citizenry)⁵. The minority population that immigrated from Turkey to Germany also includes several ethnic groups such as Kurds, Zaza, Tcherkess, and Laz⁶. There is no unified expression for the population with a Turkish immigrant background, neither among themselves nor among the German majority. Officially, they are called citizens with an immigrant background from Turkey. In the past few years, the term *Deutsch-Türken* [German Turks] is more and more in use, applied to citizens who have both a Turkish and a German passport.

Among the Turkish community, a cultural life influenced by Turkish elements has gradually established itself. An increasingly parallel music world has developed since the mid-1970s. It took place mostly unknown to, overlooked by, and independent of the music world of German hegemonic society, with some regional exceptions. To what extent these phenomena can be considered as subcultural structures or developments comparable to a partial culture is currently under discussion (Klebe 2001a, 188). In connection with the parallel world, a rather independent adjacent world of internal media, concerts, performances, and other music-related cultural events and places with appropriate strategies for transmission has arisen.

Cultural life encompassed an extremely active musical life⁷, playing an important role for immigrants from the very beginning. In the diaspora, they developed a desire to maintain the musical traditions from their former homeland, thus keeping a connection with their roots and origins.

4 Statistisches Landesamt, Berliner Statistik, SB_L11_110_5_Melde_Auslaender_2006H01.pdf, p. 9.

5 Statistics on the immigrant population with a German passport do not consider this fact.

6 A survey of different ethnic groups living in Turkey is given by Peter A. Andrews who mapped forty-seven of them (Andrews 1989: 47). Statistics in Germany do not distinguish between the single ethnic origin. Consequently, other minorities from Turkey are also included.

7 Further details in Greve 2003.

Various genres of Turkish music and areas are of concern: Different forms of electronic media, TV, video, DVD, and CDs, live performances in concert halls, music restaurants, wedding parties, or in welfare and cultural associations. Furthermore, the formal and non-formal transmission of music at state or private schools of general education, and the informal, private, familiar sphere play a significant part in integrating the adolescent German-Turkish generation into processes of transmission and productions of music in the future.

After the reunification of the 'two Germanys' in 1990, under the pressure of social, political, economic and ethnic change, the musical life of the Turkish community – especially in Berlin – underwent a short period of decline. From the mid-1990s onwards, a new epoch started with rapid increase: private music conservatories and academies were founded, teaching traditional Turkish music in a professional manner more and more, to mainly adolescent German-Turks.

Private music schools spread like mushrooms, focusing on training lessons for the *bağlama* in particular, a specific type of the long-necked lute from the *saz* family⁸. The renaissance of Alevism⁹ in the 1990s, having extended from Turkey to the diaspora, also played a large role in this development. The last decade has been shaped by new musical genres created by Turkish-German pop singers and Turkish-German-multi-ethnic rap-groups. The development is generally characterised by new tendencies such as exchange and interaction between Turkish and Turkish-German musicians, cooperating globally to remove boundaries. This intermixing has produced new genres and styles.

2. TRANSMISSION OF TURKISH MUSIC

2.1 History and origin in Germany and especially in Berlin

Within the Turkish community, efforts to transmit their culture to the following generations¹⁰ increased from the mid-1970s onwards. There are

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8 Details of the family of these instruments, see Picken 1975: 210.

9 The Alevi are a religious group in Turkey, shaped by the Shiitic Islam, pre-Islamic beliefs, other great religions as well as local religious streams, see Dressler 2003. The *bağlama* is a regular component of the Alevitic worshipping ceremony and is regarded as a 'holy' instrument.

10 Generation in this context is not to be understood in the sense of degrees of relationship, see also Klebe 2001a: 190–192.

several reasons for the changes that have taken place since then. In 1972, the German government permitted families to reunite. As some immigrants adapted to their adopted country, they lost their native language and contact with their mother country.

The lives of the second generation of immigrants took place in an age of tension marked by dissonances, though their expectations were more realistic than those of their parents. The German-Turkish hip-hop singer Aziza-A touches on this feeling when she sings: “The daily life is German; the warmth, the longing, the temperament are Turkish.”¹¹

Through single initiatives within the Turkish community, private associations arose with the aim of cultivating and disseminating Turkish culture and folklore¹². After the German government had allowed families to reunite, the proportion of pupils with an immigrant background from Turkey shot up to 80–90 % in certain regions of Germany and especially in certain districts of Berlin. Consequently, German-Turkish teachers were employed to teach German-Turkish pupils in so-called *Ausländerregelklassen* [regular classes for foreigners] in the Turkish language, including the transmission of Turkish music. On the other hand, the German majority reacted to these changes. Music pedagogy in Germany started to take into account the new situation and prepared itself to consider the musical culture from the former homelands of foreign pupils (although to a rather modest extent) in a so-called *Ausländerpädagogik* [pedagogy for foreigners]. It was the beginning of *interkulturelle Erziehung*, in particular, *Musikerziehung* [intercultural education/music education], though the term *interkulturell* [intercultural] did not come into use until 1979. This educational form, however, had a hesitant start. In a second stage of *Interkulturelle Musikerziehung* from the 1980s on, music pedagogy and musicology/ethnomusicology opened itself to the music culture of Turkey. Even today, *Interkulturelle Musikerziehung* is an ongoing process, still in discussion and in need of being re-thought.

Within the framework of my studies dealing with specific areas of the music of Turkey, I included, in the sense of ‘Urban Ethnomusicology’, the development in Berlin since the late 1970s, partly concentrating my field research on recording not only music performances of Turkish music in the Berlin diaspora but especially focussing on the transmission of Turkish music in its various forms and situations. Some of the results of my studies as well as of my co-operation with German-Turkish scholars, musicians, and teachers have become part of scholarly ethnomusicological publications

11 In an interview given to the author on 14th October 1996.

12 E.g. Tüföyat – Vereinigung zur Pflege und Verbreitung türkischer Folklore [Association to cultivate and disseminate Turkish folklore].

and have also been integrated into curricula and a series of publications of teaching materials. In a report on Interkulturelle Musikerziehung, Irmgard Merkt¹³ evaluated my first publication as follows: “Eine erste fachlich kompetente Beschreibung der Musik der Türkei für den Gebrauch in Schulen stammt von Dorit Klebe aus dem Jahr 1983, veröffentlicht durch das Pädagogische Zentrum in Berlin” (see Klebe 1983).¹⁴

Musicians, teachers, and scholars of the Turkish community also started to publish as a new musical culture arose.

2.2 Which music genres were and are transmitted?¹⁵

During the first two decades after the start of the immigration in the early 1960s, the genres of Turkish music that were part of the musical culture of the mother country were mainly practised, although with different emphases. Musical life at that time was still dominated by traditional music genres. A main characteristic of these genres was their heterophonic¹⁶ performance practice. Mixed forms, however, already existed or had just begun to develop in Turkey, the motherland, being fusions of elements of ‘westernised’ Turkish and Oriental music in its broader sense. Orientated towards their origins and roots, people in the Turkish diaspora in Germany had no preference for these mixed genres. They favoured this kind of music because it largely came from the regions of their origin, the rural areas of Anatolia. The Turkish community at that time concentrated predominantly on the genres of the traditional *türk halk müziği*, [traditional Turkish folk music and dance], that also partly comprises genres of religious ceremonies¹⁷ as well.

13 Professor for social pedagogy at the university of Dortmund, with a focus on children from Turkey, see Merkt 1984.

14 Merkt 1993: 5. Translation into English: The first professionally competent description by Dorit Klebe of the music from Turkey to be used at schools dates back to 1983, and was published by the Pedagogical Centre in Berlin (see Klebe 1983).

15 For an overview of the genres of Turkish music, see Klebe 2005a and 2008a. Short definitions, however, are inserted into the current text of this paper.

16 The same melody can be realised with individual modifications by single performers, using variants and ornamentations, partly also improvising insertions; see also Reinhard 1984 II: 49.

17 The context of Alevism has already been mentioned. For fear of repression at that time, however, it took place in the hidden sphere.

Another area of traditional music which developed from the Ottoman heritage, the *klâsik türk müziği/türk sanat müziği* [Turkish art music/popular Turkish art music], played no dominant role in the first two decades of immigration. Later on, this genre developed a certain favour among middle-class immigrants; several choirs were founded, giving their members the occasion (besides a fundamental education in music and singing) to perform at regular intervals in front of a large audience.

Fusion and mixed music have several forms of appearance. In a selection, I would like to name the *çağdaş türk sanat müziği* [contemporary Turkish art music], which started in Turkey in the 1930s.¹⁸ There was a short and sudden boom of concerts in the late 1980s among academic circles of the Turkish minority and the German majority in Berlin. The principle of combining Turkish elements – mainly the melodies, melodic and rhythmic structures – with occidental techniques of composition is (in Turkey as well) also applied by professional musicians of and composers for the *bağlama* in Berlin, such as Adil Arslan (http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adil_Arslan), Siddik Doğan (www.musikschulen.de/medien/doks/mk01/referat_ag17.pdf), Taner Akyol (www.tanerakyol.com). This instrument, the *bağlama*, plays a dominant role in their polyphonic compositions, thus giving traditional Turkish folk music a new dimension. The artists are quite well represented on CDs edited by small German and Turkish labels.

Moreover, in the diaspora some genres became expressions of life abroad, such as *özgün müziği* [the music of political singers and songwriters]. Other genres were modified, such as the so-called *gurbetçi*, songs of/for foreign parts, away from home, having a long tradition in Turkey.

The Turkish pop music boom, *pop müziği*, started in Turkey in the 1990s. At that time, it was also possible for ‘German Turks’ to make their career in the Bosphorus. Whereas in this case they integrated themselves into an existing musical trend, the launch of a hip-hop and Türk rap movement in the mid-1990s in Turkey would not have been possible without the influence of young German-Turkish rappers¹⁹. Moreover, some of them, partly in cooperation with multiethnic musicians, created new styles containing, among other things, Turkish/Oriental elements, such as Oriental hip-hop. Furthermore, new creations emerged in Cologne and Berlin: Mixed styles with elements taken from Rhythm’n’Blues, and *arabesk müziği*, called *R’n’Besk*, a combination of styles including elements taken from Turkish pop music, Rhythm’n’Blues, and rap, called Oriental pop-rap. The activities in youth centres and study groups at schools of general education played a large

18 Further details, see Klebe 2005b: 45–47.

19 They even influenced the emergence of a German rap movement.

part in the emergence of these aforementioned genres. But they also arose as a leisure activity, in situations of informal learning. At private Turkish music schools, in associations and societies, this complex of genres is very seldom transmitted.

2.3 In which educational institutes and in which surroundings Turkish music has been and still is transmitted?

a) Formal transmission

Turkish music was a regular component of music lessons in the so-called *Ausländerregelklassen* at schools for general education. Though these forms of classes were abandoned in the late 1980s, the high percentage of pupils with a Turkish immigrant background remained in many schools of certain Berlin districts. Outside these regular music lessons there existed and still exists study groups practising folk music and dance in choirs and ensembles.²⁰

In the 1990s, new models of schools were established: the *Staatliche Europa-Schule Berlin* [State Europe-School Berlin], with a concept of bilingual education in nine different two-language combinations, among them the German-Turkish model, starting from the primary classes up to the school-leaving exams. German and German-Turkish teachers teach in their native language classes consisting half of German and half of German-Turkish pupils. Consequently, in music lessons given by teachers with a Turkish immigrant background, Turkish music is transmitted to the German pupils as well.

A further model experiment with an intercultural image was developed for a type of a secondary school in Berlin-Kreuzberg (www.ferdinandfreiligrath-schule.de). The project is based on a creative cooperation between pupils, teachers, and artists. Special programmes focusing on hip-hop and rap training unify, for instance, pupils with Turkish and Arabian immigration backgrounds. One of the more famous German-Turkish rappers in Germany, Koolhaas Savas (www.ksavas.de), went to this school.

The Berlin Institute for Further Education and Training of Teachers integrated courses on the transmission of Turkish music into their programme from the 1980s onwards. They were mainly conducted by the author of this paper. In addition, specific model experiments were established: A seminar for further training focusing on Turkish culture – including Turkish music culture – in the beginning of the 1980s for example. The participants were half from the German majority, while half had a Turkish background. The

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20 In this context, f.i. the Gerhart-Hauptmann-Oberschule in Berlin-Kreuzberg was famous for its activities.

second model experiment started in the mid-1980s and was directed towards a diploma for teachers with a Turkish background and other ethnic groups so they could teach in regular classes made up of all nationalities.²¹

In the area of university studies, transmission of Turkish music had a marginal position in seminars on *Interkulturelle Erziehung* at the Berlin Free University in the 1980s. Special courses at the Berlin University of the Arts started in the year 2000 and will be explained in detail in chapter 3.

b) Non-formal transmission

Comparable to study groups at school, courses with similar contents are held at state music schools, complemented by training lessons for single types of music instruments, predominantly those of the saz family initially, but later, also instruments of Turkish art music genres. State music schools also served as places for acquiring information on Turkish music in general. In this context, an early joint project with Turkish musicians was offered in 1980 by the state music school of Berlin-Kreuzberg²², under the leadership of the author. Among the German-Turkish multiethnic audience, there were scholars and students of musicology, ethnomusicology, music pedagogy, and teachers.

Among further joint projects in the 1990s, the Kardeş ensemble (www.musikschulen.de/medien/doks/mk01/referat_ag17.pdf)²³ shall be mentioned here, a cooperation of German and German-Turkish musicians and composers at the state music school of Berlin-Wedding²⁴.

The tradition of the *halk evleri* [folk houses], a movement that started in the 1930s in Turkey, has also been taken up by the Turkish community in Berlin. The *halk evleri* offered an education for amateurs, especially semi-professional saz players, among others. According to tradition, instruments of the saz family were played mainly as solo instruments, or ensembles with chamber-like instrumentation. Beginning at the time of the *halk evleri*, the saz was played in ensembles and orchestras, and these forms of performance are still in use.

With reference to the tradition of the *halk evleri*, the *Türk Evi* of the Turkish consulate in Berlin can be seen as a facility for the community.

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21 In the course of this model experiment, the author trained about 200 music teachers with a Turkish immigrant background.

22 Kreuzberg is a Berlin district with a high percentage of immigrants from Turkey.

23 For more details see Klebe 2006g: 174–175.

24 Wedding is, like Kreuzberg, a Berlin district with a high percentage of immigrants from Turkey.

Cultural activities concentrate on representing traditional Turkish music genres in concerts, performing art music, or popular art music, folk music, and religious music, as well as contemporary Turkish art music and its recent developments in the Turkish diaspora in Germany, such as polyphonic compositions for bağlama. Performers are invited in part from Turkey, while others represent the Turkish diaspora in Germany. Less often, the Türk Evi offers training courses, such as those in folk dance.

Courses in training Turkish music have also become cultural objectives for associations originally established for political, social, and religious reasons, for instance by the Bahadin Sozialverein [Bahadin Social association]²⁵. In religious-related centres of the *Alevî*, instruction in bağlama can be seen as an important pillar for transmission and practise of their belief, for example, the *Anadolu Alevileri Kültür Merkezi* [Cultural Centre of Anatolian Alevi]²⁶.

In this context, religiously related genres of the *Alevitic* worshipping ceremony are transmitted to young believers, the *deyiş*²⁷ and *semah*²⁸.

German society has integrated activities for youths with a Turkish background, and their music has been incorporated into the intercultural programmes of youth centres, promoting self-organised youth activities. Two centres may serve as representatives for many others. One is the international *JugendKunst- und Kulturzentrum Schlesische 27* (www.schlesische27.de)²⁹ [Center for Youth Art and Culture] in Berlin-Kreuzberg. Another centre, the *Naunynritze* (www.naunynritze.de)³⁰, a *Kinder-, Jugend- & Kulturzentrum in Kreuzberg* [Centre for Children, Youth and Culture in Kreuzberg], has become a centre for hip-hop and rap music. The group of three German-Turkish rappers, *BerlinHipHopFraktion* (www.berlinhiphopfraktion.de, see also Klebe 2007: 148–149), had its roots there.

25 For more details see Klebe 2008b: 174.

26 For more details see Klebe 2008b: 174.

27 *deyiş* (= derived from the verb *demek* = to say) is a hymn with religious tales and mystical messages and a regular component of the Alevitic worshipping ceremony.

28 *semah* is a hymn for a round dance and a regular component of the Alevitic worshipping ceremony. The term probably derived from the Arabic *samāʿ* = to listen to, mostly in connection with an object, here to listen to words and music, see EI² VIII (1995): 1018.

29 The name “Schlesische 27” indicates the street and number of the location. Further details in Gabriele Berlin 2001: 179–187.

30 Named after the location of the youth centre.

Last but not least, the occasional activities of representatives of churches should be mentioned.

c) Informal transmission

Generally, there is little knowledge and research into the informal sphere of transmission in the Turkish community. What people do in their free time³¹ in the private sphere is often hidden from sight, especially from those who do not belong to the same culture group. Private life is a sphere that may be characterised by hermetic zones, taboo zones, archaisms, and religious feeling.

Regarding the transformation of music, in the first years of immigration to Germany had started, sound carriers were very often the only means of transmitting Turkish music to those who wanted to learn and transmit to themselves the music of their former homeland (see also 2.5).

The transmission of Turkish music through a PC or e-learning has, to my knowledge, not yet been explored but will be of more significance in the future.

2.4 Who transmits music? On which basis of systems of education and methods do they transmit?

The transmitters of music are musicians, musicologists, and teachers from the Turkish minority and the German majority. Not only do two different reference systems of education and instructing methods coincide, but also two forms of tradition, the oral and the written.

Most of the music teachers from Turkey immigrated to Germany as *Gastarbeiter* [guestworkers] originally, and started work in factories. They were educated and partly also worked as teachers in Turkey. (It should be pointed out that their exams were accepted by the German government, but not always without problems.) In the above mentioned model experiment for further music training for teachers from Turkey, the parallelism of the two different reference systems was always present and obvious. An important component for me as the leader of the music section was the integration of the different education of the teachers from Turkey into the German educational system.

The transmission of Turkish music within the non-formal and informal sphere was taken over mostly by semi-professional musicians of the first generation of immigrants who had learned in an autodidactic way what they were to teach afterwards. Freelance professional musicians were rarely

31 No examinations of blanket coverage available, only of single regions such as North-Rhine Westfalia.

met during the first two decades after the start of the immigration, such as those who flew in for special concerts. The situation became better from the 1980s onwards, when professional musicians increasingly came to settle in Germany. Because freelance musicians, professional or semi-professional, needed a diploma to work at state music schools, music courses were carried out mostly by the same people who already taught at state schools of general education.

At the beginning, German teachers, who made the transmission of Turkish music their task, had to rely predominantly on personal responsibility, initiatives, and studies. Although the governmental guidelines for music lessons postulated to mediate 'foreign' music, university curricula did not contain these subjects. Later on, publishing houses for music schoolbooks and specific courses at institutes for further teacher training offered help in orientation.³² A specific study of the music of minorities living in Berlin is still not a continuous part of the university curricula, not even in the recently established bachelor or master studies. Since 2000, however, there have been continual courses on transmission of Turkish music at the Berlin University of the Arts (see chapter 3).

The applied methods of instruction are characterised by a parallelism of the two different reference systems. German teachers transmit Turkish music to Turkish, German and multinational pupils following the subject-specific instruction methods as applied in the German music education system. On the other hand, colleagues with a Turkish background apply, under the circumstances working at the same school, for subject-specific instruction methods of the Turkish music education system, which will be briefly outlined in the following paragraphs.

In the course of my research, I could observe that German-Turkish music teachers and training musicians base the transmission of Turkish music both on the oral tradition, a long tradition that is still practised today, and on the written tradition.³³ The introduction of musical notation into music education on the basis of European staff notation had begun already in the Ottoman Empire in the middle of the 19th century³⁴, and

32 The author has transmitted theoretical and practical fundamental principles of Turkish music in courses and papers in cooperation with musicians and teachers with a Turkish immigrant background since 1980 at state schools, state music schools, at institutes for further teacher training for publishing houses such as Klett and Schott and since 2000 at the Berlin University of the Arts.

33 See Klebe 1999: 34–41.

34 The introduction stood in the context of establishing a military band following a European model by the Italian Giuseppe Donizetti.

was intensified from the period of the Turkish Republic on³⁵. During the 1930s, institutions for educating musicians and music teachers introduced a system for curricula that were directly connected to those of the Berlin University for Music (at that time, known as the *Hochschule für Musik*). The lecturer and composer Paul Hindemith, banned from his profession by the National Socialists, emigrated to Turkey³⁶. His *Vorschläge für den Aufbau eines türkischen Musiklebens* (1935/36) [Proposals for constructing a musical life in Turkey] became a basis for the curricula in Turkey and are still used, of course with modifications, today. The so-called *Solfège*-method³⁷ became compulsory for musical education (Hindemith 1935/36: 42).

Nearly all German-Turkish teachers were educated according to this method in Turkey. That way, a method of instruction which was once part of music education in Germany, returned to be – diachronically – applied in Germany again, thus standing in a certain contradiction to the current system of instructing methods at German universities.

Besides these academic forms of tradition that developed and deepened in the course of the 20th century in Turkey, the transmission in form of oral tradition applied for hundreds of years is still practised by certain singing poets. Various forms of modifications, of intermixing with written tradition in Turkey as well as in the Turkish diaspora in Germany shall be shown in the following case study.

2.5 Case study: The phenomenon of the *usta-çırak* [master-apprentice] system, a comparison between Turkey and the Turkish diaspora in Germany in relation to *âşık* and bağlama teachers

General explanations

This complex and highly professional training system in oral tradition comprises, besides specific instructing methods and techniques (especially religious, ethical, social and emotional components), part of a special relationship between the master and the apprentice. In Turkey, this is known as *usta-çırak ilişkisi* [master-apprentice relationship]. In Eastern

35 At the sultan's court there had existed various forms of written notation of music in previous centuries, which, however, were only partly successful.

36 Turkey was at that time a country of immigration for a series of scholars and artists who had to flee Germany because of political reasons.

37 Partly also used as synonym for the technically more generic term solmisation, that are melodic-rhythmic exercises for voice and/or instruments on tonic syllables do-re-mi etc. of the diatonic seven-tone scale, including sight-singing and aural training.

as well as Western Asia, the master-apprentice system is a widespread phenomenon in various forms. In Asia Minor, where several Turkish tribes settled after emigrating from Central Asia, the *usta-çırak* system can be directly connected with the long tradition of wandering poet-minstrels, the *âşık*³⁸. These are song creators accompanying themselves on string instruments mostly from the *saz* family. Their repertoire included and still includes religious and erotic songs, elegies and heroic narratives. Their songs may contain social criticism and political content, and they sing for and about those who live in foreign countries, (see EI I 1960: 697). The title *âşık* is given only to those who are the creators of the lyrics and the melodies.

In addition, the *âşık* who are affiliated to the *Alevî* may perform specific songs and tunes within the *Cem* that is a ceremony of worship among the *Alevî*. The *âşık* usually integrates his name into the lyrics, mostly in the first line of the last stanza, thus ensuring the survival of the original creator of lyrics and melodies over long periods without textual transmission. Today, you can still find this type of *usta-çırak* system among the *âşık* in Turkey, especially in Eastern Anatolia.

In Turkey: From the master to the apprentice – forms of transmission in oral tradition are used by *Âşık Şeref Taşlıova* and *Âşık Murat Çobanoğlu*

The masters *Âşık Şeref Taşlıova* and *Âşık Murat Çobanoğlu* described their forms of oral transmission, which I summarise in the following abridged version (full version see Reinhard and Pinto 1989: 48):

- The apprentice must watch the master very carefully “with his eyes and ears” to find out what would be useful for himself.
- The apprentice learns by imitating the master. He has to repeat it until he knows it well.
- After having learnt it by heart, he may write down the lyrics and melodies – if he knows how to read and write.
- The master himself does not use musical notation; in his opinion, these notations are not able to convey basic melody models or patterns, called *ses*, nor the sound.
- Furthermore, in writing it down, the value of the *âşık* tunes is lost.

38 The word is derived from the Arabic عشق (*ʿaşq*, = love, passion) in the sense of an ardent lover, frequently in a mystical sense, ecstatic love of Allah, including also the one of the prophet Muhammed and Ali = Ali bin Ebutalip, cousin and son-in-law of the prophet Mohamed. Ali became the fourth Caliph (= successor of Mohammed); under his reign the later called Shiites separated from the orthodox Sunni Muslims.

These statements will be compared with the practise of the usta-çırak system in the course of the following section on transmission forms in the Turkish diaspora in Germany.

IN THE TURKISH DIASPORA IN GERMANY

1. From generation to generation – forms of transmission in oral and written tradition, used by Âşık Şahturna and her husband Ozan Şiar

Only a very few âşık came to live in Berlin, mainly with the first generation of immigrants. In the middle of the 1970s, Âşık Kemteri, born in 1953,³⁹ and a female âşık, Şahturna Dumlupınar, born in 1953, arrived in Germany. The blind female singer-poet Şahturna was born in Eastern Anatolia. In 1975, at the age of 22, she went to Berlin. Âşık Şahturna had been educated in Turkey by her father, who was also an âşık. She was also trained by other âşık-lar during her stay in Istanbul. She had to leave Turkey in 1975 for political reasons. Âşık Şahturna (www.sahturna.com) has written and composed more than 200 songs. Most of them are political songs, some of them are about the problems of the immigrant workers and their life in Germany.⁴⁰



Fig. 1 – Ozan Şiar, daughter Şirin, Âşık Şahturna, daughter Şafak (from left to right), May 2002.

Photo: archive Dorit Klebe

39 Further details on both *âşık*, see Ursula Reinhard and Pinto 1989.

40 For example of one of her songs on immigrant workers, see Klebe 2004: 16–17.

Often families build a line of âşık. This is the way that singing and bağlama training often begin, in childhood, when parents, relatives or friends of the family are poet-minstrels. Here in Germany, Âşık Şahturna keeps alive the tradition by transmitting her skills to her daughters, now 14 and 17 years old, who already began to perform in public four years ago. While Âşık Şahturna teaches the vocal parts, her husband Ozan Şiar⁴¹ takes care of their education in bağlama playing (Fig. 1).

The training methods used for their daughters are rooted in both oral and written tradition. In addition, Şahturna and her husband have founded a centre for culture and art, the *Şah Turna Kültür ve Sanat Evi*. Her school programme focuses on the training of the instruments bağlama and *tar*⁴², and includes training in musical notation on the basis of *solfej* (Turkish version of *solfege*) as well.

Generally, however, the profession of the âşık-lar is dying out in Berlin and in Germany generally. They seldom perform in public, sing only occasionally for friends, and living in seclusion. They partly commit themselves in Alevitic societies, where lessons in bağlama are included. It is rare to see a new generation of âşık-lar among the succeeding migrant generations. There will be little continuity necessary for maintaining this tradition in Berlin, and in Germany as a whole.

2. The principle of the 'second' father – the bağlama teacher Halit Çelik

Whereas Şahturna and her husband were educated in their countries of origin, in the diaspora, there arose a new migrant generation which started its music training outside of Turkey, in their new homeland of Germany. Because of the lack of professional teachers, they had to teach themselves. The situation changed in the late 1970s and 80s, when professional master singers and players settled in Berlin and built up a continuity of master-apprentice training in singing, and especially in playing the bağlama.

The teacher Halit Çelik was born in Eastern Anatolia in 1966. At the age of three, he came with his parents to Berlin. At the age of 18, he started to practise the bağlama. He partly taught himself with of books and music cassettes; he also took lessons with one of the first professional master teachers to come to live in Berlin, Adil Arslan. He also had periods

41 The term *ozan* (= poet singer) goes back to ancient traditions, to Central Asian origins. Delimitation and interpretation of the terms âşık and ozan are not used in an unified manner.

42 Long-necked lute.

of intensive learning when highly-reputed masters came from Turkey for a teaching visit to Germany. Halit Çelik earns his living as a car mechanic. Since 1998, he has also worked as a semi-professional bağlama player and teacher in state music schools, as well as in private music schools run by German Turks, and in the *SazEvi* (www.berlinsazevi.de). This music store sells instruments from the saz family, and has developed into a centre for bağlama playing. In his lessons, Halit Çelik applies the instruction method of the solfej. In his teacher-pupil relationship, he aims to realise the traditional usta-çırak ilişkisi, though he regards himself to be far away from being called an *usta*.

In 2006, I conducted an interview⁴³ with him about the usta-çırak ilişkisi. An abridged version of his description outlines the main points:

- The usta-çırak ilişkisi is a very valuable relationship, not only in a musical sense. There is a relation between two people, as one becomes the companion of the other and they respect each other. The apprentice learns how to behave in life.
- The master becomes like a father, a second father. In his opinion, human beings who have such a relationship develop a more emotional side, which is also important for singing and playing.
- The usta takes it for granted that he must answer every question. He always knows which apprentice values what he has taught them. Halit always said to himself: All my knowledge I owe to my master, thus I must, I am obliged to give it to my pupils; nothing shall remain with me.
- The çırak develops moral duties, cultivates social contacts, calls the masters on holidays, even in between holidays, and when someone is ill. The usta expects the apprentices to take care of him.
- Halit does not regard himself as an usta, because he has not yet reached his goal; he still has a lot to learn. For him, *türk halk müziği* is like a *derya*, a huge ocean, and he wants to become a drop in it.

A short comparison

The master-apprentice training system in its oral tradition is still practised in specific centres for aşık in Anatolian Turkey. Though the masters refuse to use the written tradition, they allow their apprentices to do so for the purpose of memorisation, after having learnt the lyrics and melodies by heart

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43 17th May 2006.

through oral tradition. In the Turkish diaspora in Germany, a pure oral tradition is hard to find. Some impediments to this form of transmission include the decline of the tradition of the *âşık*, with very few exceptions such as *Âşık Şahturna*. Some of the songs of the *âşık* partly survive through the repertoire of *bağlama* teachers who have taken their place. However, as lyrical poets setting their poems to music, the *bağlama* teachers more often reproduce the collection of songs rather than creating new ones. Therefore, the maintaining of the *usta-çırak ilişkisi* is of great importance. A phenomenon that prepares the ground for prospering lessons, because it contains, besides the formal technical training, further dimensions of learning including social, religious, and emotional components.

3. RECENT DEVELOPMENTS SINCE 1990

3.1 Establishing a professional education among the Turkish community

At the end of the 1990s, two institutes fulfilled the desire for an education leading to a profession: the *Berliner Orient-Musikschule* [Berlin Orient-Music school], later named *Deutsch-türkische Musikakademie* [German-Turkish music academy], and the *Nuri Karademirli Sanat Merkezi* [Nuri Karademirli Art Center], later named *Berlin Türk Musikisi Konservatuvarı* [Berlin conservatoire for Turkish music]. Both schools were renamed a short time after their opening, as ‘conservatoire’ brings into the fore the claim for a professional academic education.

Both schools use the curricula applied at music conservatoires in Turkey. It means that, in addition to education in Turkish music, the study of ‘western’ music in theory and practise is compulsory, following the ‘Hindemith-Modell’. Included are lessons in the western instruments such as the piano, violin, and guitar. The lessons are taught in Turkish with some German; exceptions are those lessons given by non-Turkish teachers, from countries such as Russia, who are very often employed for the teaching of the western instruments. The students are of the German-Turkish adolescent generation. Very few members are of German origin, or belong to other ethnic groups.

3.1.1 Deutsch-türkische Musikakademie⁴⁴

The founder, Adil Arslan (born in 1962), is one of the first important representatives of professional bağlama players in Germany. He came to Berlin with his parents in 1979, at the age of 17. In Turkey, he was already trained by the highly-reputed usta Âşık Ali Ekber Çiçek who had developed a specific personal style, a very highly elevated technique for playing the bağlama. In addition, Adil Arslan took lessons at the state conservatoire in Istanbul to gain theoretical and practical knowledge. His academy focuses on the bağlama play. The training programme of the academy includes a folk music choir, a folk music dance group, and a choir and instrumental ensemble for *türk sanat müziği* [popular Turkish art music]. In this context, training lessons for the instruments of the ensemble, like the *ûd*⁴⁵, and the *kanûn*⁴⁶ are integrated. ‘Western’ music is also part of the programme, in the form of aural training and piano, violin, and guitar playing lessons.

3.1.2 Berlin Türk Musikisi Konservatuarı⁴⁷

The founder Nuri Karademirli was born in 1950 and worked as an *ûd*-player at the radio station of Izmir/Turkey, up to 1969. In 1970, he came to settle in Berlin. Since the beginning of the 1980s, he has conducted a choir for *türk sanat müziği*.

His school offers lessons in five special fields. The following is an excerpt of the programme⁴⁸:

1. *Klassische türkische Musik (Instrument)* [Classical Turkish music (instrument), such as bağlama, *ûd*, tanbûr⁴⁹, kanûn]
2. *Türkische Volksmusik (Instrument)* [Turkish folk music (instrument)]
3. *Gesang (Klassische türkische Musik und türkische Volksmusik)* [Voice (classical Turkish music and Turkish folk music)]

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44 <http://www.d-t-musikakademie.de>

45 Short-necked lute, an instrument belonging to the former Ottoman-Turkish art music and popular Turkish art music of the higher entertainment sphere, containing genres of traditional Turkish folk music as well.

46 Zither in trapezi form; used in the same context like the *ûd*.

47 <http://www.btmk.de>

48 In brackets are translation and explanations in English by the author.

49 Longnecked lute, belonging to the former traditional Ottoman-Turkish art music.

4. *Volkstanz, türkische Folklore (neu)* [Folk dance (new)]

5. *Instrumentenbau (neu)* [Construction of instruments (new)]

All courses of study last for a period of five years. In addition to acquiring a qualified education in traditional Turkish instruments such as the bağlama, üd, tanbûr, and kanûn, the training also includes traditional European instruments such as the piano, guitar, and violin. An examination decides on one's admission to the school.

Both institutes may serve as models for the formal transmission of Turkish music. However, applications for official recognition have not yet been granted by the German ministry of education – with the exception of the seminar on constructing musical instruments for apprentices –, only Turkey accepts the diplomas, thus revealing the difficulty of being part of the formal transmission of Turkish music in Berlin, Germany.

3.2 Transmission of Turkish music at Berlin universities or other institutes

3.2.1 Scholarly institutions in Berlin

Since the mid-1950s, the exploration of Turkish music has been a focus at the institute for Comparative Musicology/Ethnomusicology of the *Freie Universität Berlin* [Berlin Free University], thanks to Prof. Dr. Kurt Reinhard and his comprehensive studies and research in this field. A series of publications by the head of the institute and his students on various topics have contributed to the transmission of Turkish music from the Ottoman Empire and Turkey to Germany. In the 1980s, on the initiative of a few German-Turkish students, a small choir of students of mostly German background was briefly established. Its repertoire consisted mainly of traditional urban and rural folk music.

The *Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv* [Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv] contains a comprehensive collection of instruments and recordings from Turkey. Some of its material is prepared for didactic purposes and presented to classes or groups of pupils in special courses and workshops. The music of the German Turks living in the Turkish diaspora in Germany is not included in the collections of the *Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv*, which argues that only non-European music cultures should be part of the collections. Following their opinion, the *Museum für Europäische Kulturen* [Museum for European Cultures] should take responsibility for this part of culture in Germany.



Fig. 2 – Nuri Karademirli, üd, instructing a Turkish song to students. Universität der Künste Berlin, 1st February 2001.

Photo by Dorit Klebe

3.2.2 Universität der Künste Berlin [Berlin University of the Arts]

1. In 2000, courses on Turkish music started to become a regular component at the department of music⁵⁰. An introductory seminar on Turkish music as it is performed in Turkey was conducted by scholars and musicians⁵¹, and visited by students of various courses of studies. The students were mostly of German origin because those with a Turkish immigrant background are still very rare among at the Berlin University of the Arts. In the course of the seminar, the students formed an ensemble, consisting of a choir and accompanying instruments such as the violin, violoncello, guitar, and recorder⁵² (Fig. 2).
2. A second seminar has been established by the author under the title *Von der ney bis zum Turk Rap* [From the *ney* to Turk rap] focusing, on the one hand, on the traditional and recent Turkish music genres, and on the other hand, on genres which have been developed in the Turkish diaspora in Germany. Apart from a theoretical introduction into Turkish music culture, different practices of instruction came into the fore. These last-named objectives have become an important part of the seminar: Highly-qualified people have been integrated into the programme of the seminar. Professional and semi-professional experts, musicians,

50 But not of the curricula.

51 Martin Greve (musicologist), Nuri Karademirli (musician), Ursula Reinhard (ethnomusicologist), Dorit Klebe (music pedagogue and ethnomusicologist).

52 Report on the university courses, see Klebe 2001b: 2–21 and Greve 2002: 17–20.

and dancers of the Turkish community have acquainted students with information and training methods in its initial points. This model of cooperation had already been started in 1980 by the author at the music school of Berlin-Kreuzberg and was continued in model experiments of further teacher training. It has been applied at the Berlin University of the Arts since 2000. In addition to performances in university seminar rooms, the students had the chance to visit institutions in order to explore the objects face to face.⁵³

A survey of the activities for the students (selected topics) will be given in the following.

- The semi-professional bağlama player Hasan Kuzu⁵⁴ performs specific songs of the so-called *Gastarbeiter* [guest workers], demonstrates his



Fig. 3 – Hasan Kuzu, bağlama, at the Universität der Künste Berlin, 16th January 2004.



Fig. 4 – Ayhan Kaplan, bağlama, Staatliche Europa-Schule Berlin, 25th May 2004.

Photos by Dorit Klebe

⁵³ I would like to express my warmest gratefulness to all the people who performed for the students. They did it for the sake of music and without payment. The university unfortunately has no funds for such activities.

⁵⁴ He works as a social worker.

instrument bağlama and gives initial instructions bağlama playing instruction to the students (Fig. 3).

- Sitting in on a music lesson at the *Staatliche Europa-Schule Berlin*. The music teacher Ayhan Kaplan⁵⁵ instructs a traditional Turkish folk song with the *aksak*⁵⁶ rhythms, accompanying himself with the bağlama. The language of the lesson is Turkish. All the students attending the lessons are always very impressed by the ability of German pupils to follow the music lessons in the Turkish language, to carry out the specific Turkish rhythmic structures, to sing the songs with the right intonation, and to explain the content of the lyrics in German (Fig. 4).
- Sitting in on seminars for instrumental practise at the *Berlin Türk Musikisi Konservatuari*. Students could watch lessons in instrumental training and practice some of the instruments, like the *ûd* and *tanbûr*, in a first attempt (Fig. 5).
- Sitting in on a choir rehearsal of classical Turkish music (*Berlin Klasik Türk Müziği Derneği – Berliner Ensemble für klassische türkische Musik e.V.*). These choirs are always accompanied by an instrumental ensemble. After the rehearsal, some of the instrumentalists demonstrated the playing techniques of their instruments, the *kanûn*, *ney*, and *ûd*, in front of the students (Fig. 6). The experiences made at the rehearsal by the students could be deepened at the choir's concert.



Fig. 5 – Students of the Universität der Künste Berlin at the Berlin Türk Musikisi Konservatuari, 14th June 2002.

Photos by Dorit Klebe



Fig. 6 – Kenan Tosun, kanûn, demonstrating the playing techniques to students, at the Zentrum der Arbeiterwohlfahrt [workers' welfare association], 3rd June 2005.

55 Ayhan Kaplan was one of my pupils in the 1980s.

56 Rhythmic structures, mostly in odd measures.

FINAL REMARKS

The transmission of music is generally well and successfully organised by the Turkish community in Germany, apart from the fact that single music areas are represented differently. There are also good attempts to engage in fruitful interchange with the culture of the German majority, and that of other ethnic groups. Among the young German-Turkish generation especially, a wealth of creative potential can be observed in the rise of new genres, and it is necessary to present these developments to a greater audience.

Three requirements, however, seem to be important for the future:

1. In order to bring the endeavour of a professional transmission to a successful conclusion, an appropriate commission should be established to find operable terms to render the two different reference systems compatible at university level. This would be a first step on the long and difficult path for state recognition of professional education at private Turkish music academies and conservatories in Germany.
2. To intensify the interchange of the transmission of Turkish music in its various forms to a German audience, and also to counteract against parallel developments⁵⁷, universities, as a place for the education of mediators for the future, should take on more responsibility and open up their curricula. On the one hand, the model of cooperation, the integration of the highly creative potentials of the Turkish community into seminar programmes should be continued. On the other hand, in addition to fundamental information about Turkish music culture with all its genres and including recent developments, students should have the possibility to learn to play characteristic musical instruments such as the bağlama and the ûd, within instructions from professional teachers from the Turkish community. In this way, German-Turkish adolescents would hopefully tread new paths as music students at the universities.
3. A sound archive containing compilations of the musical culture of the Turkish community as well as of all other minorities living in the Turkish diaspora in Germany should be established. In the case the *Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv* does not take responsibility, an appropriate institute should be separately established.

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57 The music cultures of the other minorities living in Germany should be integrated into this programme, too.

All of these activities would be a further step towards mutual understanding between the cultures and music of those living together in the societies in the future.

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