



Research Article

Repertory preferences of Izmir amateur Turkish classical music choir conductors in the context of Bourdieu's concept of capital¹

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Abstract

The transfer and survival of the cultural accumulation of Turkish art music is very important for the Turkish society in terms of the sociological phenomenon that Bourdieu put forward with the conceptualization of cultural capital. Cultural capital is functional in many areas of life. Music choir conducting is one of these fields. It tries to understand the repertoire preferences of amateur traditional Turkish classical music choir conductors in Izmir by making use of Bourdieu's concepts of social route, doxa, cultural capital, habitus. Within the scope of the study, interviews were made with amateur traditional Turkish art music choir conductors, choir members and instrumentalists working in these choirs, and observations were made in rehearsals for concerts and concerts. In addition, concert program booklets of about 30 choirs and repertoire booklets used in the studies were examined. In addition to the field study, a wide literature review was made, and the results obtained in the light of the data obtained from these two channels were evaluated from the perspective of Bourdieu's concepts of cultural capital and habitus. Strategies followed by choir conductors in the field were examined in the axis of Bourdieu's concepts (containment, surveillance and subversion). In addition, in our study, it was determined that while choir conductors were forming their repertoires, economic capital and social capital were also affected as well as cultural capital. Choir conductors' preferences to create their repertoire; their social routes, their habitus, their cultural capital, the habitus of the works and the musical elements that make up the works (the habitus of the tunes and the styles), the habitus and cultural capital of the choir members, the audience, the instrumentalists and, if any, the institutions they are affiliated with, affect the rules established in a field.

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Introduction

Bourdieu states that economic and cultural capital play a very important role in determining the position of people in the social space. "Cultural capital refers to all the equipment that the actor begins to acquire from his birth and reinforces in the process of his social life, especially school and family institutions" (Yuce, 2007: 54). "Cultural capital can be defined as the skills learned or acquired as a result of the cultural tendency, attitude, belief, tradition, value, way of doing business and expression shared by a certain group" (Aksoy and Enlil, 2010: 25). One of the most important elements of the collaborative work of traditional Turkish art music people is the works of traditional Turkish art music, which are cultural products belonging to this field. Cultural capital, which Bourdieu calls "Knowledge capital" (As cited in

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Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2014: 108), is used in gaining a tendency and attitude towards these products, attributing value, gaining familiarity, perceiving and making sense of the codes, learning and teaching the way, form of transmission of tradition and habitus play an important role. While preparing both concert repertoire and educational repertoire, the conductors benefit from their cultural capital related to this field. In addition, conductors must have the necessary cultural capital regarding the tone, procedure and lyrics of the works in their repertoire. It is an advantage for the conductors to have information about the works or anecdotes (the stories of the making of the works) about the composers.

Bourdieu's concept of "cultural capital" is one of the important concepts in the formation of the theoretical framework of this article. It is seen that this concept is useful in the repertoire preferences of the conductors and in the formation of interpretation in traditional Turkish art music. Arun (2010: 39) stated that the conceptualization of the field creates both the structure within, the given positions and the individual. From the point of view of our study, the concept of field plays an important role in determining the structure in traditional Turkish classical music and the repertoire preferences of the conductor. What are the conditions imposed on the chiefs by the field, how the chiefs who accept or reject these conditions or partially accept these conditions are positioned and defined in the field are another important point we consider in terms of our subject. Habitus is an important concept in examining the common intellectual and behavioral patterns of chiefs. Bourdieu (1995: 128) mentions that habitus is loaded with discriminating perception categories, classifying schemes and a taste. Chiefs with similar habitus make similar repertoire preferences due to their similar perception categories, classification schemes and taste. In traditional Turkish art music, the conductor decodes the work with his own cultural capital and decides what is right and wrong, what is good and what is bad. The predispositions from the chief's habitus also play an important role in decision making. For this reason, chefs prefer works that they consider meaningful and valuable by their own cultural capital. Another important point is that the conductors should understand and solve the habitus of the works.

Bourdieu mentions the habitus of not only persons but also material objects. A material object can be separated from its habitus spatially or temporally. Trying to understand the effect that the artistic work is trying to create, for example the form of belief it is trying to persuade, the basis of the conscious and unconscious choices used, and therefore the form, is only possible if the person understands the habitus of the created work, at least (Cited by Misci Kıp, 2015: 13).

This is also related to being familiar with the habitus of the makams, one of the systematic elements that make up the works. Because the conductors, who have knowledge about the habitus of the makams, the performance capacity of the instrument and the playing technique, take these features into account in the selection of repertoire. This situation is also related to whether the members of the choir, the instrumentalists and the conductor themselves are capable of fulfilling the performance characteristics required by the habitus of the makams. All this affects the repertoire preferences of the chefs.

Bourdieu defines the space of possibilities as the intersection space of the habitus of artists, artistic productions and the history of the art field" (Cited by Karagul, 2014: 50). There are things that have been done before, there are things that will no longer be done. Therefore, this space of possibilities assumes the function of a mediator that adds a creator to history (Bourdieu, 1999: 13,14). It is the effect of the probable space that the conductors take the repertoires in the field as an example and make their order in the concert program like the previous conductors. Bourdieu uses the following expressions about the space of possibles: It is a kind of space of possibilities that enables the conductors to assign values and classify such as "artistic genres", "artistic works", "artistic style", while determining the repertoire. At the same time, the space of possibilities is what both constrains chiefs to a certain degree in their choice of repertoire and allows them to differ.

According to Bourdieu, economic capital is an indicator of the economic power of individuals. Resources that can be converted directly and immediately into money or institutionalized in the form of property rights are defined as economic capital (Erdogan, 2011: 18). Bourdieu (1986a: 252) thinks that economic capital lies at the root of all other

forms of capital such as cultural, social and symbolic capital, and that these are actually transformed and disguised forms of economic capital (cited in Swartz, 2011: 117). A traditional Turkish classical music conductor must have sufficient economic capital in order to have books, musical notes and sound archives (plaques, cds, cassettes) about traditional Turkish classical music. The conductors who play saz (*sazende*)⁴ stated that a good conductor must play one of the traditional Turkish classical music instruments. For this reason, in order for the conductor to have an instrument, his economic status must be at a level to receive instrument and instrument training. Another issue is the economic strength of the institution where the chief works so that the repertoire can be determined freely. Thus, the chef will be able to freely choose the cultural products he wants to convey. The fact that economic capital plays a decisive role in determining the repertoire coincides with Bourdieu's view that despite the autonomy of the cultural world, it is subject to the economy (Cited by Swartz, 2011: 117).

Economic and cultural capital has a decisive role in Bourdieu's theory of social capital (cited in Erdoğan, 2011: 19). Chefs can increase their success in conducting social contacts with the musicians around them (*sazende, hanende*⁵, conductor). The conductors are both influenced by these musicians by the social contact they establish with the musicians around them, and they can also benefit from these musicians as soloists in the concerts they conduct. Thus, if the economic power of the institutions in which they work is not enough to pay the wages of some craftsmen, the chief's "for the sake", that is, the social capital, comes into play.

Bourdieu (1984a: 122) social capital is "the capital of social connection, reputation and prestige" and can be exchanged for economic, cultural, political and social advantages (Cited by Swartz, 2011: 221). Chiefs protect and increase their social capital with the choirs they grow up in, the choirs they lead, and the other choirs around them. From time to time, the conductors get help from other conductors and traditional Turkish classical music artists while creating their repertoire. It is an indication of the importance of social capital in conducting practice in the field of traditional Turkish classical music that conductors invest in cultural activities that provide social capital forms that enable them to become professionals such as fame and prestige.

Problem of Research

The aim of the study is to determine the repertoire preferences of Izmir amateur Turkish classical music choir conductors and to try to explain how the conductors differ from each other on the basis of the concepts of capital and habitus.

- What are your repertoire preferences of Izmir amateur Turkish classical music choir conductors?
- How do the capital and habitus of the field play a role in the repertoire preferences of Izmir amateur Turkish classical music choir conductors?

Method

Within the scope of the study, interviews were made with amateur traditional Turkish art music choir conductors, choir members and instrumentalists working in these choirs, and observations were made in rehearsals for concerts and concerts. In addition, concert program booklets of about 30 choirs and repertoire booklets used in the studies were examined. In addition to the field study, a wide literature review was made, and the results obtained in the light of the data obtained from these two channels were evaluated from the perspective of Bourdieu's concepts of cultural capital and habitus.

⁴ Saz player

⁵ singer

Participants

Table 1. Structures of participants

No	Gender	Age	Codes
1	Male	49	P1-M-49
2	Female	52	P2-M-52
3	Female	55	P3-F-55
4	Male	50	P4-M-50
5	Male	74	P5-M-74

Results

Repertory Preferences of Traditional Turkish Art Music Conductors in the Context of Cultural Capital and Habitus

The repertoire choices of the conductors in the field of traditional Turkish classical music are directly related to the position they have or the position they have, the *Güzergah* (Route) they have followed up to that time and the predispositions they have acquired. The fact that a conductor wants to include certain works in his program and to have them performed and performed, staying away from other works or not seeing them close to himself is due to the position he occupies in the space of habitus and the cultural capital he has.

The building blocks of tastes are cultural capitals. Bourdieu uses the phrases for the artists in the field, "He is positioned and it is not possible for him to position himself, not to separate himself, and not to do this outside of every kind of search for separation" (Bourdieu, 1995: 72). The tastes of the chefs are an important parameter in their separation among themselves. "Taste is the basis of everything we have, people, things, everything we express in the eyes of others, everything in our self-classification and others' classification of us" (Bourdieu, 2015a: 90). Classicist conductors do not include in their repertoire the types of creation such as *Kar*⁶, composition, *Ağır Semai*, *Yürük Semai*, which they see as artistic products (they prefer a repertoire consisting of popular works), they do not have a performance understanding in line with the classical style understanding, and they do not have an understanding of performance other than traditional Turkish art music (they define chiefs who are different from themselves as "market chefs" because they sing examples from genres (e.g. pop, arabesque, roman music, etc.), have a large string group, keyboard, guitar, many percussion instruments besides traditional Turkish classical music instruments, and sing their works with a faster tempo than they do. In addition, the habitus of the chiefs has an important place in this distinction. "In a sense, habitus is the collective consciousness of those in a similar position, because it provides a cognitive and emotional guide that enables individuals to present the world alike and to classify, select, evaluate and behave in a certain way" (Bourdieu, 2015a: 20). Therefore, chefs from similar habitus make similar preferences. As Bourdieu (1995: 24) states, "Habitus give rise to separate and divisive practices." The same concert program may seem too "heavy" or "sleepy" for one conductor, and "artistic" and "traditional" for another conductor. The influence of habitus manifests itself in all kinds of common intellectual and behavioral patterns, from the preparation of the concert program to its presentation. After mentioning how it is made, it would be appropriate to specify an important detail about the use of this distinction in the field. "Market chefs" do not define themselves as such, although they admit that they are not "classicist chefs". However, they do not see any harm in using this definition, which they do not accept for themselves, for chefs similar to themselves. For classicist chefs, making such a distinction is an indication of keeping distance from "marketer" chefs and being culturally superior to "marketer" chefs.

The chef's experience and knowledge are important factors in creating a good repertoire. The expressions of "equipped and dominated of the field", which are frequently expressed by the chiefs during the fieldwork, are related to acquiring the habitual behaviors in this plane and having valid cultural capital. Conductors with a classical understanding set themselves apart from other conductors in terms of jargon, style, instrument and venue selection. One of the important elements that allows these chefs to distinguish themselves from other chefs is their repertoire preferences. Also, according to the said chefs, a good chef's repertoire should be broad. The quality of this cultural capital

⁶ It is one of the biggest composition forms of non-religious Turkish music, and it is one of the oldest and most artistic oral composition forms in Turkish music.

is also an important factor in the classification of chiefs. One of the conductors we interviewed with code P1-M-49 said "If the chief's repertoire is weak, he always brings the same works like *"temcit pilav"*⁷ to the choir. A good chef's statement, "He needs to go far beyond 'Gölgesinde Mevsimler' and 'İnleyen Nağmeler' (Personal Interview, 2016) mostly coincides with the views of classicalist chefs. While classicalist conductors consider having a repertoire of mostly "classical" works as a capital to be learned, non-classicist conductors see knowing works that have won the audience's appreciation as a valuable form of capital.

Non-classicist conductors stated that the reason why some choir members did not prefer "classical" works in which Ottoman words were predominantly used was their foreignness to this language and, accordingly, their inability to understand the codes in these works. Because there are no codes in the cultural capital of some choir members to understand and make sense of the language and music of these works. Being forced to perform and learn works composed of such works is an unpleasant situation for those who do not have the capital to decode the codes. These works are described by these people as "heavy" and "drowsy". A chef we interviewed who does not define himself as a classicist expresses this situation as follows.

I want to perform and have Dede Efendi's works performed, but the choir members do not like this repertoire because they have difficulties. While the difficulty of execution is a problem that can be overcome, they do not like it because it will be difficult. Otherwise, difficult works can be achieved by working with curtains. When they don't like it, my chorus decreases. If this repertoire is going to be passed, we are considering taking a break, sir. They take a stand by saying 'I have no respect for you' (personal interview with P4-M-50, 2016).

This situation may cause the choir members to leave the choir or to change the choir conductor, which causes some conductors to avoid including such works in their repertoire. One of the conductors we interviewed stated that the choir conductor and the conductor had to part ways because the choirmaster before him preferred a repertoire consisting of "classical" works and did not make the changes requested by the choir members in the repertoire. According to Sönmez (2012: 34), a conductor change had to be made in 2008 because the conductor of the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Turkish Classical Music choir preferred a repertoire consisting entirely of "classical" works.

The choir conductor with the code P5-M-74 stated that "Classical repertoire is not preferred much nowadays, but despite this, he cannot give up classical works (personal interview, 2016). Classicist conductors tend to teach and interpret classical works because they think that they contain a high cultural capital, and cannot give up classical works no matter what. For such works, the statements of classicalist conductors such as "not everyone can learn or understand these works", "to understand these works, it is necessary to listen to them a lot", "this is real music, this is real art", classicalist conductors are mostly "classical" works of acculturation. It is a reflection of their views that it is possible to listen and learn. Because "for classical chefs, these products are serious, pure, clear, artistic and traditional".

"Taste unites those with similar preferences and separates them from those with different taste" (Arun, 2010: 12, cited by Bourdieu). While taste functions as approval, disliking functions as rejection. Thus, the conductor candidate internalizes certain tastes with the approval of the choir conductor and members he grew up in. Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital also includes aesthetic preferences and lifestyle differences. The taste and taste of the person who directs the ensemble and the taste of the choir member is a unifying and distinguishing feature. "The factor that causes to understand or like/dislike a work of art is whether the work has a command of the codes it carries, which is related to the habitus of the audience and the amount of cultural capital it has" (Karagül, 2014: 199). In other words, tasting something is possible by having knowledge about that thing and encountering it frequently. Therefore, as long as the conductor succeeds in instilling his cultural capital accumulation and codes for understanding the field, he can make the choir members adopt his own aesthetic taste and taste. Then, some works with pejorative meanings such as "sleepy", "heavy", "meaningless", "drowsy" by some choir members may turn into works enjoyed by the choir members under the influence of the conductor. Thus, the conductor not only ensures the continuation of the choir, but also achieves the kind of acculturation he desires. One of the conductors I interviewed met with a very harsh reaction when he first taught

⁷ Turkish idiom meaning to do the same things over and over again

the piece "Amed Nesimi Subh-u Dem", which Abdulkadir Meragi, one of the most important composers of traditional Turkish art music, described as one of the 'classical' works to his choir, but as he sang such works, he loved them and over time. The fact that he stated that they composed a part of the concert with such works indicates that the choir members began to master the codes in 'classical' works and enjoyed them frequently. Although some conductors do not perform the classical (or works that they believe to be artistic) they want to teach in concert, they teach in order for the members of the choir to take place in their cultural capital.

The repertoire of traditional Turkish classical music choirs in İzmir consists mainly of song genres. However, some conductors who adopt the classical understanding and include "artistic" genres such as *Kar*, composition and *Ağır Semai* in their repertoires tend to distinguish themselves from conductors with the opposite understanding. The first part of the concert given on 17.06.2014 by the choir conductor P2-M-52, who expresses that he adopts a classical understanding of performance, is as follows:

- Dügâh Peşrev (Yusuf Paşa)
- Dügâh Kâr: Pek Sevdim Efendim Seni Gayetle Beğendim (Hacı Faik Bey)
- Dügâh Beste: Cânâ Kamer-Tâl'atın Heman Dıraşan Görünür (Hafız Post)
- Dügâh Ağır Semai: Nedir Ol Cümbüş-i' Nadide (Tab'i Mustafa Efendi)
- Dügâh Yürük Semai: Der Yemeni Pîşi Menî Meni (Şeyhül İslam Es'ad Efendi)
- Dügâh Saz Semai (Nayı Yusuf Dede)

Some of the projects carried out by the P2-M-52 choir conductor with amateur choirs are as follows: Hamamizade İsmail Dede Efendi and Sultan III. Selim Music Works, Music Works in Hisar Buselik and a Few Modes, Selections from Muhayyer Moroccan and Violin Composer Cevdet Çağla Music Works, Samples Composed from Fuzuli's Divan, Music Works by Neva Kar and Bayan Composer, Mevlevi Ritual and Sema Ceremony, Music Works in Karcıgar and Bayati Araban, Tanburi Ali Efendi and Neyzen Tefvik Music Works, Sufi Music Concert, Music Works in Dügâh and a Few Modes, Kürdili Hicazkâr Fasıl, Acemaşiran Mevlevi Ritual and Sema Performance, Master Münir Nurettin Selçuk Commemoration Concert, Rast, Şehnaz, Siphir Music Works, Hüzzam Chapter, Composers from İzmir Concert, Rakım Elkutlu Works, Avni Anıl Compositions Concert.

The choir conductor with the code P2-M-52 has a classical style, the richness of composer, mode and genre diversity while preparing the repertoire, the choice of traditional instruments such as tambour, ney, classical kemençe, oud, kudum and qanun in the selection of instruments, small pieces where they can use the sound order at a minimum level. The fact that he prefers saloons allows us to define him as a classical chef.

For classical choir conductors, it is important to sing not only the works of the classical period, but also the works of today's composers, which are not very well known. The choirmaster with the code P1-M-49, who defines himself as a classicalist choirmaster, stated that works that are not very well known in the field are called "bag songs" by classical conductors. "I continued my studies with Ayhan Sökmen for years. The repertory aspect of Ayhan teacher intrigued me a lot. Maybe he knew works that no one else knew, songs that the conductors called "bag songs". These works were in different authorities. They were works that were not very popular in choirs." (personal interview, 2016).

"Cultural distinctions arise from the contrasts between rare and common, elite and vulgar, dignified and humiliated, and serve to underline social distinctions" (Ayas, 2015: 138). Just as in social distinctions, performing and knowing rare works among conductors is also a distinctive feature among choir conductors. Knowing and performing works that are not widely known and performed is an indication that choir conductors have a higher level of cultural capital than other conductors. Accordingly, the chief must be a good notist and be able to decipher the works he does not know in order to have this cultural capital. In this, he should have a good note, maqam and style knowledge. The classical conductors we interviewed stated that the conductor should bring a new perspective to the choir, that he should bring new works within this and that he should make innovations in every event. Touching on this point, the choir conductor with the code P1-M-49 expressed his views on the subject as follows:

To give an example, I ask people who have been in the choir who have been interested in music for thirty, forty years, about a work by Erol Sayan " Beni Reddetse de Tavrın Bilirim Özler İçin ", does anyone know this? No answer. Because it's not on the radio. But once you pass it, this piece conquers the hearts of the whole choir. An amazing work. For example, there is a song on my table right now: Selahattin Pınar's " Leyla Gibi Hıçkırma ve Mecnun Gibi Yansa" If you ask this piece to the choir, maybe one of them has passed. Why not pass? Because this is a difficult work. (personal interview, 2016)

It is stated that the conductor of the choir must work hard to learn and teach such works, and that he must have the energy to work, and for this, "bag songs" should definitely be in the repertoire of conductors who adopt the classical understanding. In addition, "Composers from İzmir Special" concerts are held in the arena, both as a tribute to the composers in İzmir and with the aim of keeping these names and works alive, which are seen as the values of İzmir. Concerts in this concept are more common in classicalist conductors.

Classicist conductors stated in our interviews that the modes and genres taught in amateur choirs should be diversified and works that have never been performed should be performed. Classicist conductors stated that they preferred the works that were not passed in the modes that were not passed, and that this was their main purpose of doing this work. Their aim is not to show themselves like some non-classicist chefs, "not to go out there and show ourselves. At least, that is not our concern". It is possible to see this in practice. This is a good situation when he stated that in one of the amateur ensembles led by the choir conductor with the code P2-M-52, he passed a piece of Cevdet Çağla's composition in the *şevennüma* mode this year, and last year they sang 'Rast Kar-ı' by Erol Sayan, which has never been sung before. is an example (personal interview with P2-M-52, 2016).

At this point, including different types of works while preparing the repertoire related to traditional Turkish art music is an indicator of the diversity of cultural capital for some conductors. Some chefs (mostly classical chefs) think that the transfer of this cultural capital is the chief's primary duty. Performing only the song genre means an incomplete and sterile transmission of tradition for these conductors. For this reason, P2-M-52 coded choir conductor performs and teaches creation types such as *kar*, *karçe*, composition, Mevlevi Ritual, *divan*, instrumental works, hymn, *Yürük Semai*, *peşrev*, instrumental work, folk son, *peşrev*, *Kar*, *Kar-ı Natik*, composition, *Ağır Semai*, canto, *Yürük Semai*, folk songs, Konak Municipality Classical Turkish Music Choir conductor Ahmet Özçağlayan sang the hymn and Mevlevi Ritual, Güvenç Birer's *kar*, heavy *semai*, composition, Performing *karçe*, song, folk song, *divan*, *peşrev*, *Saz Semaisi*, *longa*, *sirto*, *köçekce* shows that there are conductors who care about the diversity of work/creation genres in İzmir.

The non-classical conductors stated that they mostly sang a song genre, sometimes they sang *Yürük Semai*, but even the chanting parts of *Yürük Semai* were difficult for the choir, they were bored, and they only sang the well-known or pleasant *Yürük Semai* in their concerts.

The authorities that make up the repertoire are an important criterion in measuring the cultural capital of the chiefs. In particular, some of my "classicist conductors" consider the performances of traditional Turkish classical music choir conductors in İzmir as "not dominating the field", "ignorance" and "incompetence". As a result of the interviews with the conductors and the examination of the program booklets, the most preferred *maqams* are: *Hicaz*, *Kürdilihicazkar*, *Nihavent*, *Rast*, *Muhayyer Kürdi* (the form used mostly as a descending kurdi), *Hüzzam*, *Segâh*, *Uşşak*, *Hüseyini*, *Bayati*. In the interviews with the conductors, the classicalist conductors stated that they did not have any *maqam* distinctions while preparing their repertoires. However, the order of teaching the *makams* changes according to the knowledge and experience of the choir. Conductors prefer to teach *maqams* that are easy to perceive when the members of the choirs they employ are mainly people who have just started to perform traditional Turkish classical music. These *makams* are generally *Muhayyer Kürdi*, *Nihavend*, *Hicaz*, *Rast*, *Uşşak*. In our field study, we have determined that classical conductors who have been conducting choirs composed of experienced choir members, who have a performing background in the field of traditional Turkish classical music for more than ten years, pass difficult *maqams* such as *Eviç*, *Ferahnak*, *Evcara*. Our interviews also support this.

Non-classicist conductors, on the other hand, stated that the public and Turkish Radio Television (TRT) distinguish maqams and that they prefer certain interpretations with the people and performances they prefer. The maqams most used by these chiefs are Kürdilihicazkar, Hicaz, Nihavend, Muhayyer Kürdi, Rast, Uşşak. The works used in Turkish cinema, which are described as "Yeşil Çam" songs, and the works created after 1950 are frequently used in the repertoires of these conductors. Since most of these works are in the musical memories of choir members and instrumentalists, they are preferred because they reduce the possibility of making mistakes, do not require intensive work, provide ease of going on the stage most of the time without rehearsal, and are appreciated by the audience and provide immediate accompaniment to the instrumentalists at the concert. At the same time, due to the ease and familiarity of the works performed, there is no need for the selection of instrumentalists who have a high cultural capital, making it possible to hold a large number of concerts in a year. In addition, one of the reasons why this repertoire is preferred today is that it allows the use of visuals technologically. This is why multivision shows are often used in the choir. While the visuals and information about classical composers are limited in today's choirs, when a concert is held about composers close to today, all visual and auditory materials related to the subject from the birth of that composer to his death are presented in a way that will attract the attention of the audience and win their appreciation. Even some choirs present information about the private life of composers or sound artists in an interesting way to the audience in concerts about composers or sound artists. For this reason, concerts of famous personalities such as Zeki Müren, Yıldırım Gürses, Yusuf Nalkesen and Suat Sayın are held frequently, especially on the anniversary of their death. In addition, the invitation of living composers to concerts also attracts the attention of the audience. For this reason, composers such as Zekai Tunca, Yılmaz Yüksel, Erol Sayan and Çoşkun Sabah are preferred. Coşkun (2007: 32) expressed the reason why this repertoire was preferred by the choir members as follows: "This repertoire is coded with experience for them and has a memory value for this generation. These works are their collective memory and they are works that have a connotative load and power". For example, a repertoire of *Yeşil Çam* songs, as well as the use of films in which songs are included in the concert, attracts attention and memories are remembered. Visual and auditory materials that have a meaningful relationship with the repertoire, the words of the work or the composer have an important place in gaining the audience's appreciation.

Some choir conductors in Izmir take samples of different music genres into their repertoire and have them performed in their choirs. While some conductors took samples from Roman music in their repertoire, others included Arabesque music, western classical music and Turkish folk music on the grounds that they added "richness" to their repertoires. The Selim Gönültaş Culture and Art Association Turkish Music Choir's performance of Carl Orff's famous opera "Carmina Burana, Mozart's Turkish March, and Kahır Letter" is a good example of this. It is an unacceptable choice for many classical conductors that these conductors perform works consisting of Arabesque and Roman music in their repertoire. However, although they are few in number, there are conductors who do not see any harm in performing these music genres with a "correct performance", on the condition that the program is not called traditional Turkish classical music and the works are performed under a separate section.

Although most conductors state that they have prepared an original repertoire, there are mainly works performed in choirs. It is possible to see this situation more clearly, especially in non-classical chefs. Examples of works that are predominantly found in the repertoire of non-classical conductors are given in the table below.

Table 2. Names and maqams of oral works that are predominantly found in the repertoires of marketer chiefs

Title of the musical piece	Maqam
Artık Gelecek Sanama Geçti O günler	Acem Kürdi
Aşkın Kanunu Yazsam Yeniden	Acem Kürdi
Bak Yine Geçti Bahar	Acem Kürdi
Berduş (Ben Yaralı Bir Kuşum)	Acem Kürdi
Bir Sevda Geldi Başıma	Acem Kürdi
Fikrimin İnce Gülü	Acem Kürdi
Kıratıma Bineyim	Acem Kürdi
Rüzgâr Uyumuş Ay Doluyor	Acem Kürdi

Samanyolu	Acem Kürdi
Seni Çok Seviyorum Her Zaman Seveceğim (Son Hıçkırık),	Acem Kürdi
Sevdadır Şu Kalbe Dolan	Acem Kürdi
Yar Peşinde Koşa Koşa Yoruldum	Acem Kürdi
Aşkı Seninle Tattı	Hicaz
Ayrılık Ateşten Bir Ok	Hicaz
Ben Bir Garip Kuşum	Hicaz
Ben Gamlı Hazan Sense Bahar	Hicaz
Bir Ateşim Yanarım Külüm Yok Dumanım Yok	Hicaz
Bir Bahar Akşamı Rastladım Size	Hicaz
Bir Dünya Yarattım Yalnız İkimiz İçin	Hicaz
Bir Gün Karşılaşırsak Ayrıldığımız Yerde	Hicaz
Bir Kere Sevdim Diye	Hicaz
Bülbülün Çilesi Yanmakmış Güle	Hicaz
Çatılmış Kaşlarıyla Kime Düşman Gibisin	Hicaz
Dediler Zamanla Hep	Hicaz
Değdi Saçlarıma Bahar Gülleri	Hicaz
Dilşad Olacak Diye Kaç Yıl Avuttu Felek	Hicaz
Enginde Yavaş Yavaş Günün Minesi Soldu	Hicaz
Erkilet Güzeli Bağlar Bozuyor	Hicaz
Fincanı Taştan Oyarlar	Hicaz
Gemilerde Talim Var	Hicaz
Geceler Yârim Oldu	Hicaz
Gölgesinde Mevsimler Boyu Oturduğumuz	Hicaz
Gönül Penceresinden Ansızın Bakıp Geçtin	Hicaz
Gözyaşımda Saklısın Ağlayamam Ben	Hicaz
Günbegün Yaşanan O Hatırayı	Hicaz
Hastayım Yaşıyorum Görünmez Hayaliyle	Hicaz
İçimdeki Özlemi Unutamıyorum Yar	Hicaz
İlk Aşkı Unutmak Çok Kolay Deme	Hicaz
Kader Kime Şikâyet Edeyim Seni	Hicaz
Kalbimde Gizli Bir Sevgimi Arar	Hicaz
Kapıldım Gidiyorum Bahtımın Rüzgarına	Hicaz
Karanfil Oylum Oylum Geliyor Servi Boylum	Hicaz
Kırmızı Gülün Alı Var	Hicaz
Körfezdeki Üç Beş Güzel	Hicaz
Mahmur Bakışlı Dilberim	Hicaz
Mayadağdan Kalkan Kazlar	Hicaz
Muhabbet Bağına Girdim Bu Gece	Hicaz
Nasıl Geçti Habersiz O Güzelim Yıllarım	Hicaz
Nasıl Katlansam Bilmem (Çaresizim)	Hicaz
Ne Gelen Ne Soran Var	Hicaz
Ne Yeşil Ne Siyah (Mavi Dünyam Benim)	Hicaz
Pencere Açıldı Bilal Oğlan	Hicaz
Pencerenin Perdesini Aç Bana Göster Yüzünü	Hicaz
Rüya Gibi Uçan Yıllar	Hicaz
Sandalım Geliyor Varda	Hicaz
Sarı Kurdelem Sarı	Hicaz
Sazlar Çalınır Çamlıca'nın Bahçelerinde	Hicaz
Sen Hep Beni Mazideki Halimle Tanırsın	Hicaz
Sen Saçlarıma Koşan Aklar Gibisin	Hicaz
Seni Ben Unutmak İstemedim ki	Hicaz
Seninle Bir Sonbahar Mevsimiydi Tanışdık	Hicaz

Sevemez Kimse Seni Benim Sevdiğim Kadar	Hicaz
Sevgimizin Aşkımızın Üstünden	Hicaz
Sevmiyorum Seni Artık Gözlerimi Geri Ver	Hicaz
Son Ümidimde Bitti	Hicaz
Söyleyemem Derdimi Kimseye	Hicaz
Şu Gelen Atlı Mıdır Sorun Bağdatlı Mıdır	Hicaz
Tadı Yok Sensiz Geçen Ne Baharın Ne Yazın	Hicaz
Tel Tel Taradım Zülfünü	Hicaz
Yalan Değil Pek Kolay Olmayacak Unutmak Seni	Hicaz
Yalancının Birine Kapıldı Kandı Gönül	Hicaz
Yar Saçların Lüle Lüle	Hicaz
Yaşamak Yalan Belki Yalan Delice Sevmek	Hicaz
Yeşil Gözlerinden Muhabbet Kaptım	Hicaz
Yeşil Gözlerini Ufkuma Gerki	Hicaz
Yollarına Gül Döktüm Gelirde Geçer Diye	Hicaz
Yüreğimde İnce Sızı	Hicaz
Yürü Dilber Yürü	Hicaz
Aşk Rüyadır Çok Zaman	Kürdi
Biz Ayrılamayız	Kürdi
Dudaklarında Arzu Kollarında Yalnız Ben	Kürdi
Güz Gülleri	Kürdi
Ne Aşk Kaldı Ne de Bir İz	Kürdi
Okyanus	Kürdi
Onun Olmaya Hakkım Yok (Tanrım)	Kürdi
Seni Andım Bu Gece Kulakların Çınlasın	Kürdi
Seninle Tattım Ben Her Mutluluğu	Kürdi
Seven Ne Yapmaz	Kürdi
Avuçlarımda Hala Sıcaklığın Var	Kürdilihicazkâr
Bu Akşam Yine Dertlerimle Baş Başa Kaldım	Kürdilihicazkâr
Dertleri Zevk Edindim	Kürdilihicazkâr
Geçmesin Günümüz Sevgilim Yasla	Kürdilihicazkâr
Karşıyaka'da İzmir'in Gülü	Kürdilihicazkâr
Manolya	Kürdilihicazkâr
Ne O Bensiz Edebilir Ne Temelli Gidebilir	Kürdilihicazkâr
Ne Senin Aşkına Muhtaç	Kürdilihicazkâr
Öyle Dudak Büküp Hor Gözle Bakma	Kürdilihicazkâr
Sefalar Getirdiniz Sefa Geldiniz Dostlar	Kürdilihicazkâr
Seni Ben Ellerin Olsun Diye Mi Sevdim	Kürdilihicazkâr
Yıldızlara Baktırdım Fallarda Çıkmıyorsun	Kürdilihicazkâr
Agora Meyhanesi	Muhayyer Kürdi
Sarmaşık Gülleri	Muhayyer Kürdi
Akşam Olunca Yarelerim Sızlar	Muhayyer Kürdi
Ankara Rüzgârı	Muhayyer Kürdi
Arım Balım Peteğim	Muhayyer Kürdi
Artık Sevmeyeceğim	Muhayyer Kürdi
Artık Yeşerecek Bir Dalım Yok	Muhayyer Kürdi
Aşkınla Yana Yana Kül Olsa da Ocağım	Muhayyer Kürdi
Ayrılmalıyız Artık	Muhayyer Kürdi
Benimde Canım Var	Muhayyer Kürdi
Bir Çift Sevdalı Bakışın Aşk Ateşin Ruhumu Sardı	Muhayyer Kürdi
Bir Garip Yolcuyum Hayat Yolunda (Yalan Dünya)	Muhayyer Kürdi
Bir Kızıl Goncaya Benzer Dudağın	Muhayyer Kürdi
Bir Sabah İstiyorum Gözyaşlarımı Silsin	Muhayyer Kürdi

Bunca Güzel İçinde Birisi Var ki	Muhayyer Kürdi
Daha Benden Ayrılmadan Başka Sevgili Buldun	Muhayyer Kürdi
Damarımda Kanımsın	Muhayyer Kürdi
Duydum ki Unutmuşsun Gözlerimin Rengini	Muhayyer Kürdi
Elbet Bir Gün Buluşacağız	Muhayyer Kürdi
Güller Ağlasın	Muhayyer Kürdi
Hasreti Yıllara Sor	Muhayyer Kürdi
Hayat Bazen Tatlıdır	Muhayyer Kürdi
Hiç Tükenmeyecek Sandığımız Aşkımız Bitecek miydi	Muhayyer Kürdi
İçin İçin Yanıyor Yanıyor Bu Gönlüm	Muhayyer Kürdi
İntizar (Sakın Bir Söz Söyleme)	Muhayyer Kürdi
Kadehinde Zehir Olsan Ben İçerin Bana Getir	Muhayyer Kürdi
Kapın Her Çalındıkça O mudur Diyeceksin	Muhayyer Kürdi
Mazideki Aşk	Muhayyer Kürdi
Nazlı Bir Çiçek Gibi	Muhayyer Kürdi
Ne Çıkar Bahtımızda Ayrılık Varsa Yarın	Muhayyer Kürdi
Neyleyim Neyleyim Ben Böyle Yâri	Muhayyer Kürdi
Ne Olursun Güzelim Sevsen Beni	Muhayyer Kürdi
Boş Kalan Çerçeve	Muhayyer Kürdi
O Beni Bir Bahar Akşamı Terk Edip Gitti	Muhayyer Kürdi
Oyun Bitti	Muhayyer Kürdi
Sarsam Seni Gül Dudaklım	Muhayyer Kürdi
Senden Bana Ne Kaldı (Kalbimi Kıra Kıra)	Muhayyer Kürdi
Sevgi Deli Gönülden Gönüle Bir Akıştır	Muhayyer Kürdi
Sitekler Örüyor Kaderin Ağı	Muhayyer Kürdi
Son Bahar Rüzgârları	Muhayyer Kürdi
Tekrar Bana Dönsen Yine Beni Sevsen	Muhayyer Kürdi
Veda Busesi	Muhayyer Kürdi
Yıllar Var Ben Onu Hiç Unutmadım	Muhayyer Kürdi

When the examples found in the repertoires of non-classical conductors are examined, it is noteworthy that these works were popular in weight, easy and quick to perceive, easier to perform, simple verbal structures, and simple and easy to understand rhythmic structures of the works.

One of the constant repertoire preferences of choir conductors is the songs that Atatürk loved. Due to the fact that "Atatürk's personal cultural taste, cultural capital and habitus are clearly based on Ottoman music" (Ayas, 2014: 165), many of the conductors in İzmir aim to create a habitus by taking the works that Atatürk likes into their repertoire. It is possible to see this situation both in non-classicist chefs and classicalist chefs.

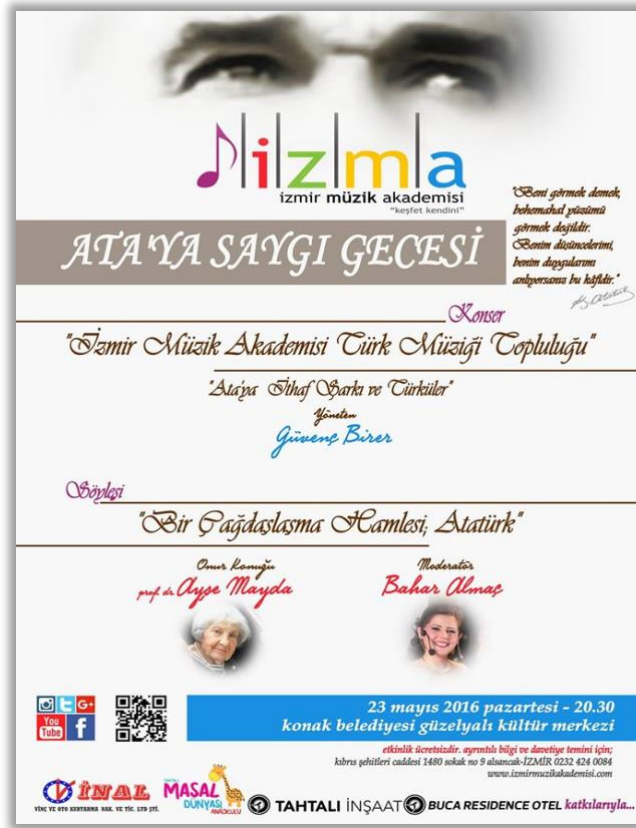


Photo 3. Izmir Music Academy Turkish Music Ensemble Concert Poster



Photo 4. Bornova Municipality Turkish Classical Music Choir Concert Poster

“Bourdieu states that there are three strategies to be followed by the player (agent) in a game (field) according to his position depending on the distribution of specific capital in that field - this is also his position in the existing power relations in that field. These strategies are protection (conservation), following (monitoring) and overturning (destroying, destroying)” (Cited by Karagul, 2014: 44). Classicist choir conductors, due to their sensitivity about the arrangement of the works from slow tempo to fast tempo while preparing the repertoire, the short-termed works taking place after the long-running works, the ordering of the maqams one after the other according to certain rules, the preservation and transmission of the classical repertoire, and the consideration of maqam diversity while preparing the repertoire. They use protection strategies from the strategies stated by . These are mostly experienced chefs who are old

in the field. In our interview with Halil İbrahim Yüksel, he stated that many chiefs asked him to prepare a repertoire, and he did not break this request.

These behaviors of the new conductors who follow these choir conductors and take them as an example, coincide with the strategy of following Bourdieu's strategies. The strategy followed by some chefs who have just entered the field coincides with the overturning strategies stated by Bourdieu. An example of this is that classicalist conductors do not teach these works by stating that the maqams such as evcara and suzidil, which they want to be taught and conveyed, tire the choir members, and that the choir members do not enjoy these works because they have difficulty in performing the works in this maqam. In addition, it has been observed that the newly-entered chefs are more limited in terms of mode and genre while preparing their repertoires.

In addition to the repertoire of oral works, the repertoire of instrumental works is another important point. The number of instrumental works in traditional Turkish art music is less than the oral works. However, some saz works are highly preferred because they take place in the memories of saz artists and do not require rehearsal. For this reason, it is easier to determine the instrumental works performed by the conductors the most compared to the oral works. The most commonly used instrumental works in the field are:⁸

Table 3. Names, maqams and composers of instrumental works that are predominantly found in the repertoires of choir conductors

Title of music pieces	Maqam	Composer
Peşrev	Bayati	Seyfettin Osmanoğlu
Peşrev	Hicaz	Refik Fersan
Peşrev	Hicaz Humayun	Veli Dede
Saz semai	Hicaz	Refik Talat Alpman
Oyun Havası (Çeçen Kızı)	Hüseyni	Tanburi Cemil Bey
Peşrev	Hüseyni	Lavtacı Andon
Peşrev	Hüzzam	Tanburi Büyük Osman Bey
Saz Semai	Hüzzam	Tanburi Büyük Osman Bey
Saz Semai	Hüzzam	Udi Nevres Bey
Saz Semai	Hüseyni	Lavtacı Andon
Peşrev	Kürdilihicazkâr	Tanburi Cemil Bey'e
Peşrev	Kürdilihicazkâr	Kemençeci Vasilaki
Saz Semai	Kürdilihicazkâr	Kemani Tatyos Efendi
Saz Semai	Mahur	Refik Talat Alpman'a
Peşrev	Muhayyer	Tanburi Cemil Bey
Saz Semai	Muhayyer	Sadi Işıl原因
Peşrev	Muhayyer Kürdi	Astik Ağa
Saz Semai	Muhayyer Kürdi	Sadi Işıl原因
Peşrev	Nihavent	Hüseyn Sadettin Arel
Saz Semai (Gönlümün Melali)	Nihavent	Ömer Altuğ
Peşrev	Nihavent	Tanburi Osman Bey
Saz Semai	Nihavent	Mesut Cemil Bey
Peşrev	Rast	Tatyos Efendi'ye
Medhal	Rast	Refik Fersan
Peşrev	Segâh	Yusuf Paşa
Peşrev	Suzinak	Kemani Tatyos Efendi
Peşrev	Sultaniyegâh	Kanuni Hacı Arif Bey
Sirto	Sultaniyegâh	Sadi Işıl原因
Longa	Sultaniyegâh	Santuri Ethem Efendi

⁸Generally, it is seen that the choir conductors prefer instrumental works according to the maqam of the works they prefer to sing. Here, the most common instrumental works in the area are included.

Another issue is the economic strength of the institution where the choir conductor works so that the repertoire can be determined freely. Thus, the choirmaster will be able to freely choose the cultural products he wants to convey. In the interviews, it was stated that in order for a choir conductor not to compromise on his art, there must be an institution that will provide the financial support to which the choir is affiliated. In this way, the chef will be able to determine the repertoire he wants. The good economic situation of the institution where the conductor works is necessary for a free repertoire choice, as well as for the provision of sufficient accompaniment instruments and a suitable hall for study. In addition, there is a similar situation in the selection of soloists. Due to the insufficient economic capital of the institution to which the conductor is affiliated, the conductors have to sell tickets to the choir members in order to meet the expenses required for the concert. Some conductors who remained in this situation stated that they had to give solos to some choir members who were not qualified to perform solo because they sold too many tickets. This situation is as important as the choice of repertoire, as it negatively affects the "correct transfer" of cultural products.

It should not be forgotten that non-classical conductors play a more active role in the transfer of capital, since the number of classicalist choir conductors in İzmir is less than the number of non-classical conductors, and the number of choir members and audiences of non-classical conductors is much higher than that of classical conductors. In addition, it is seen that non-classicist chefs organize more organizations than classicalist chefs.

It is true that classical choir conductors differ from non-classical conductors with their repertoire, preferred modes and creation types. However, it is possible to come across that classicalist conductors sometimes "compromise" from this attitude and perform a repertoire of popular works, prepare a song-based repertoire, and use the makams used by non-classical conductors in these programs. Likewise, from time to time, it is possible to see non-classicist chefs performing works in the repertoire of classicalist chefs for concept projects. In other words, chefs take positions from time to time according to the situation. This situation is also related to the audience (social capital, audience habitus) addressed by the conductors. However, the rarity of this situation does not change the general opinion, which allows us to distinguish between a "classicist" and a "non-classical" chef.

Conclusion

Choir conductors who define themselves as "classicist" choir conductors distinguish themselves from other conductors by having certain types of creation in their repertoire. These creation types are Kar, Kar-ı Natik, composition, Ağır Semai, Yürük Semai. Classicist conductors, for "Kar", which they see as a genre of traditional Turkish classical music, "artistic", "traditional", "with a deep-rooted history"; They stated that since most of this creation is made up of Persian words and its interpretation and execution is difficult, not every chief can and cannot perform this type of creation. In addition, "classicist" chiefs distinguish themselves from "marketer" chiefs with the number of maqams they know and can perform. Because it is very important for the chief to know the maqam in the correct execution of the types of creation. "Kar-ı natik", which is one of the long-term creation types of traditional Turkish art music, contains many modes. The Kar of Hatîb Zâkirî Osman Efendi, Hamamîzâde İsmail, Zekai Dede, Ahmed Avni Konuk and Refik Fersan are suitable examples for this situation. In these profits, Osman Efendi described fifteen maqams and Dede Efendi described twenty-four maqams. The work composed in the evsat style by Zekai Dede has thirty-six maqam descriptions, Ahmed Avni Konuk's one-hundred-nine maqam nâtik of one hundred and nineteen couplets, and Refik Fersan's kar-ı nâtik has forty-nine maqam descriptions. The conductors who will perform such works should also know lesser-known modes. Conductors prefer to teach maqams that are easy to perceive when the members of the choirs they employ are mainly people who have just started to perform traditional Turkish classical music. These makams are usually Muhayyer Kürdi, Nihavend, Hicaz, Rast, Uşşak.

Çevikoğlu (Web1) stated that there are 23,592 pieces of Traditional Turkish classical music in the archive of the TRT. It is not possible for chefs to learn and teach thousands of works in the archive. Therefore, they have to be selective. In our field study, the conductors, their social routes, their habitus, their cultural capital, the habitus of the works and the musical elements that make up the works (habitus of the maqams and procedures), the habitus of the choir

members, the audience, the instrumentalists and, if any, the institutions they are affiliated with, their cultural capital and the characteristics of the field. It has been concluded that established rules affect them.

The repertoire choices of the chiefs are important in the integrity and continuity of the grove. Choir members who do not like the repertoire either leave the choir or change the conductor. Some conductors want the choir members to indicate the works they want to be included in the repertoire in written or verbal form in order not to spoil the integrity of the choir. During our interview with the choir conductor with the code P3-F-55 (2016), she stated that he had carried out an application in this direction.

The chiefs stated that in order for the chiefs in the field to prepare a good repertoire, their knowledge of the makam and the procedure must be complete. If the chief has not received the training of this job, the repertoire consists of simple works, and the order of maqam, the order of procedure will bring merit. If he is equipped, his mode of procedure and the selection of the work will be as it should be. Non-classical conductors criticize "classicalist" conductors for teaching amateur choir "difficult to perform" pieces such as the Evcara team. They state that the conductors should prefer the modes that the choir members like or hear, and the ones they like and listen to. These conductors state that it is wrong for classicalist conductors to teach works in the makams Suzidil, Evcara, Hisar Buselik Nişaburek, and they say that it tires the choirists and reduces their desire to learn traditional Turkish classical music. According to these conductors, maqams such as Nihavent, Hicaz, Muhayyer Kürdi, Rast, Uşşak, Hüseyini should be preferred. The most preferred maqams in amateur traditional Turkish classical music choirs in İzmir are: Hicaz, Kürdilihicazkar, Nihavent, Rast, Muhayyer Kürdi (more commonly used as a descending kurdi), Hüzam, Segâh, Uşşak, Hüseyini, Bayati. Classicalist conductors, on the other hand, stated that they did not have any maqam distinctions while determining the repertoire. In addition, experienced chefs in the field pay attention to the selection of maqams in the selection of repertoire. The vocal amplitudes of the choir members should be at a level to be able to perform all the voices of the makam. It is necessary to have choir members with a wide sound amplitude in order to include maqams with a wide vocal range such as Sultaniyegâh, Hüseyini Aşiran, and "suzidil".

In our field study, it is seen that choir conductors frequently perform what they call "concept concerts". One of these concerts is composer concerts. The artist with the most concerts in the field is Zeki Müren. His concerts are usually held on the anniversary of his death. Other composers who performed the most concerts in the field are as follows; Yıldırım Gürses, Yusuf Nalkesen, Suat Sayın, Zekai Tunca, Yılmaz Yüksel, Alaeddin Yavaşca, Sadettin Kaynak, Erol Sayan, Avni Anıl. The reason why the repertoires of these composers are preferred today is that they allow the use of visuals technologically. This is why multivision shows are often used in the choir. For classicalist chiefs, these names are Münir Nurettin Selçuk, Tabur-i Ali Efendi, Rakım Elkutlu, Hamamizade İsmail Dede Efendi, III. It is possible to add composers such as Selim, Cevdet Çağla, Sadi Hoşses, Selahattin Pınar Works, Osman Nihat Akın. Classicalist chefs describe the works of these names they prefer as "artistic" and "difficult to perform". Another concert that is given the most place among the concept concerts is the "Green Pine Songs" concerts. In these concerts, the works used in Turkish cinema are presented in such a way as to present the visuals of these works to the audience. Other concerts most frequently featured in the venue are: "Valentine's Day Special Concert", "New Year/New Year Special Concert", "Mevlana/Şeb-i Aruz Concert", "Atatürk's Commemoration Youth and Sports Day Concert", "İzmir Songs", "Atatürk's Favorite Songs Concert", "Composers from İzmir Concert"...

As a result of our field study, the strategies of classical choir conductors to protect (conservation) from the strategies stated by Bourdieu, to new conductors (both classicalist and non-classicist) and to follow, and the strategy followed by non-classicist conductors who are new to the field is the upside-down strategy Bourdieu stated. appear to use coping strategies.

Choir conductors in their repertoire preferences, in the formation of the value they attribute to the works, in the formation of their thoughts on whether they produce art for art or for the society, in the order of the works they make while preparing the concert program (whether they take into account the parameters of the creation, mode, method), their preferences for vocalization / playing techniques, the performance of the concert. The effects of the habitus of the conductors (traditional Turkish classical music performers), their social route and their cultural capital are seen in the

determination of the role of the effect of space, audience, institutional identity in determining the repertoire, under the influence of the tendency to choose one of the styles such as classical style and market style, in the selection of instrumental and choir members.

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