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Choir Formations (1973–2015) in Berlin – in Connection with Migration/Refugee Movements

Ustanavljanje zborov (1973–2015) v Berlinu – v povezavi z migracijo/begunskimi tokovi

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IZVLEČEK

Ustanavljanje zborov je predstavljeno v oziru na razmerje med manjšino in večino, zlasti v povezavi s socialnimi in glasbenimi dejavniki. Poudarek je na kreativnih oblikah samopomoči in glasbeno kulturnih povezavah, kakor se zrcalijo v glasbenem repertoarju in kažejo na osnovi analize strukturnih in oblikovnih elementov posameznih pesmi.

ABSTRACT

Two choir formations are featured in connection with minority-majority relations, under socially and music related aspects. The focus lies on creative forms of self-help and on music cultural interactions as reflected in the music repertoire and elaborated through analyzing structure and building elements of single music pieces.

1. Introduction¹

As part of research on Urban Ethnomusicology and Diaspora Research, especially in Berlin since 1971, the author has examined in particular the music cultures that have developed within the communities of migrants from Turkey. On migrant and diaspora issues Bruno Nettl says: “One relevant area of study is the musical cultures of immigrant societies compared with the traditional homeland, a type of study fifty years earlier but now a standard, often labeled with the catchword ‘diasporas’.”² Within this framework of studies, the author put emphasis on choral traditions and has documented about 20 German-Turkish choirs of different categories,³ partly for longer periods, with a focus on concerts of the performance cycle *fasıl*.⁴ Her field research was extended on to new developments after the flood of refugees which began in 2015. They emerged from the cooperation of people from the majority society with refugees and additionally from multi-ethnic mass singing movements in public spaces, such as “Sing along, Berlin!”.

It is worth noting that such an old structure as the choir – an original, cultural-anthropological phenomenon – until today has an effective power of integration in regard to modern choir formations.

This contribution presents two Berlin choirs, the Batiberlin İşçi Korosu (Westberlin Working-class Choir)⁵ and the Begegnungschor e. V.⁶ (Encounter Choir registered association). Batiberlin İşçi Korosu (BIK) was founded in 1973, its last concert dates from 1986, and the last record had been released in 1986, too. No official date of a dissolution of the choir is known. We may only assume that it does not exist anymore. Begegnungschor (BC) was founded recently in 2015. Both are mixed (male and female voice) choirs with instrumental accompaniment. Singers of both choirs are mostly amateurs, rarely semiprofessionals; the instrumentalists are semiprofessional up to professional musicians. The choirmasters of both choirs are professionally trained. In historical view, each choir will be classified in the frame of the general development of the choral system in Germany, especially Berlin. Regarding their date of formation, both choirs represent two quite different epochs. Each choir is differing from the other in relation to its position within its community as well as in relation and interaction with the majority society.

Batiberlin İşçi Korosu (BIK) was a relatively isolated hermetic group, in some respects a minority within a minority. Some members had agitational conceptions, engaged themselves politically in matters of the working class. The choir sang in Turkish, accompanied

1 Unless otherwise stated, all translations from German to English, Turkish to German, Turkish to English and all transcriptions are by the author Dorit Klebe.

2 Bruno Nettl, *The Study of Ethnomusicology. Thirty-one Issues and Concepts*, 2nd ed. (Urbana, Springfield and Chicago: The University of Illinois Press, 2005), 72.

3 The author elaborates her field recordings for publication.

4 A compound *suite*-like concert form of the traditional Ottoman-Turkish courtly music, containing instrumental and vocal-instrumental oeuvres, on the basis of the musical features *makam* and *usül*. It is still performed until today, of course having undergone several changes.

5 In this article, the Turkish name of the choir is used; in addition, the choir called itself also Türkischer Arbeiterchor Westberlin (Turkish Working-class Choir Westberlin).

6 The addition “e.V.” is an abbreviation for “eingetragener Verein” (registered association) and is only indicated in this article when it is first mentioned in the context of a name. This practice will be applied in this article also when naming further associations. The term “e.V.” is a fixed expression and the term “Verein” (association) in its abbreviation by the letter “V” in this context cannot be exchanged by the term “society” (Gesellschaft).

by an instrumental ensemble of non-Turkish and some Turkish musicians; they played on “western instruments”, as well as traditional Turkish instruments like the long-necked lute *saz*. The Turkish-speaking choir members were mostly workers, some were students, partly politically involved. Begegnungschor (BC) is non-ideological, with cosmopolitan musical views and referring to “world music”, multiethnic and multilingual music.

Access to research was made easier for the author by the fact that she knows the leaders of both choirs from her studies (2nd half of the 1960s) and her lectureship (2000–2013) at the Berlin University of the Arts (formerly Hochschule der Künste). The study is also affected by the author’s experiences as a choral soloist.⁷

The following elaborations will discuss some socially and music related aspects by means of comparing the functioning of both choirs with the emphasis on the selection of the repertoire. Further, a focus of the research lies on questioning, to what extent the chorus structures are fixed or open to socio-political changes. And in what way this is expressed in the repertoire or in individual pieces of music. The research also reveals the reasons and purposes of choir foundations. Further on, questions are raised whether chorus formation could contribute to identity building and has integration-promoting functions or even re-integrating aims for a return to their home country in future.

Through the choir models represented by the two choirs and the basic principles for the applied models, the following will be explored: the “self-help/supported-help principle” and the “tandem partner principle”, as well as their effects on the stability of the choirs' existence and duration will be evaluated. Further issues of the article are the musical approach to the internal and external relationship between migrants/refugees and majority society as well as tracing of the forms of reception by majority society.

In regard to the music related aspects the focus lies on examination and comparison of repertoire formation (i.e. mixing of songs of the countries of origin as well as the ones from the majority society) and to what extent the repertoire has widened and enriched the music culture of the majority society. In this context transcultural interactions are investigated underlining change processes and mutual interactions like permeations and amalgamations of the respective poetical and musical elements: in the poem's structure, its embedding in the traditional Turkish folk literature, the formal structure of the stanzas in relation to musical sections, metric-rhythmic structuring, melodic/harmonic basis, choral performance forms of *unisono*, multi-part and heterophonic singing as well as instrumental accompaniments with monophonic versus heterophonic sections. Furthermore, the individual style of composers/arrangers will be thematized.

2. The Term “Chor”, English: “Choir”/“Chorus”

Choral singing is a global-wide phenomenon. The term “Chor” had taken different meanings at different times since antiquity. The term “Chor” (English: “choir”/“chorus”) is

7 E.g., she was a member of the Berlin oratorio and concert choir Fritz Weisse and solo and chorus singer in the musical “Hair” (Berlin of the 1970s). Furthermore, she functioned as a choir director of, also mixed German-Turkish, school/student/teacher choirs, in the subject-specific education of Turkish teachers in a model experiment (TÜLL) of the Berlin Senate, and as an Assistant Professor at the Berlin University of the Arts.

– besides choral singing – used in music-related contexts like for music theory, for many part instrumentation, the choral work to be performed, only to name some. Further attributions of meaning can be found in areas like architecture, theater, dance (especially round dances). Rather, this paper focuses on choral singing in German-speaking countries and especially the city of Berlin. Documentary references about choir singing in the sacral context mention already in 1465 five Singeknaben (boy singers), appointed by the Brandenburg Elector Friedrich II at the Berlin cathedral.⁸

From the 18th century, there is to mention an event that developed especially for the emergence of mixed choirs with a predominantly secular repertoire in the bourgeois milieu: the foundation of the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin (1791). The choir took a unique position as an independent musical institution. At that time, an early form of singer associations emerged, which can be seen as precursors of today's associations.

The use of the German term “Chor” in this contribution is based on today's colloquial usage in Germany. It generally means „eine Gruppe von Singenden, die in verschiedenster Besetzung (Kinder-,...Männer-, Frauen-, gemischer Chor...u.s.w.), ein – oder mehrstimmig ohne Begleitung oder mit Instrumenten singen kann”⁹ (a group of singers, who can perform in a variety of types (children's-,...male-, female-, mixed choir etc.) either in *unisono* or in many parts without accompaniment or with instruments). Both choir forms, those who mainly perform a sacral and those who mainly perform a secular repertoire, call themselves choir. A distinction between “choir” and “chorus”, as it is often made in English-speaking countries,¹⁰ is not common in Germany. However, the use of the term “chorus” quite often occurs e.g. in connection with “musicals”. Choirs of migrant communities mostly use in their names the term for choir that is common in their homeland, e.g. “koro”, as contained in the name of Batuberlin İşçi Korosu for communities from Turkey.

2.1. Short Remarks on the Musical Life in Germany after the end of World War II

Ordinary life in Germany at that time was first dominated by survival strategies and attempts of rebuilding, reconstructions of cities. Only two weeks after the capitulation, the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra improvised its first concert.¹¹ In 1949, the two German states that were characterized by different political conceptions were established. The Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) aligned itself towards international developments. In the rapidly developing FRG economy, there was a need for labour force. From the beginning of the 1950s “guest workers” migrated to West Germany mainly from Mediterranean countries like Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Turkey, and the former Yugoslavia. The migrants performed in the beginning predominantly their own music. Communities from Turkey, the largest

8 Kai-Uwe Jirka and Dietmar Schenk, eds., *Berliner Jungs singen – seit 550 Jahren* (Beeskow: Ortus, 2015), 11. Today's Staats- und Domchor Berlin, a boy choir, derives its origin from the five boy singers (1465).

9 Walter Blankenburg, “Chor und Chormusik,” *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd ed., Sachteil vol. 2 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1995): 766–774, 776–777.

10 See Smith, James G., and Percy M. Young, “Chorus(i),” In *Grove Music Online*, Oxford University Press, 2001, accessed July 18, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.05684>.

11 On May 26, 1945, at the Titania Palast Berlin playing the 4th Symphony of Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky.

migrant population in Germany and especially in Berlin (West), developed a limited, but rich cultural life. Choral formations were established among these communities in the 1970s (we have only sparse documents from the time before).

The German Democratic Republic (GDR) was looking for contact with the socialist, brother countries. “So-called contract workers from communist countries, the Eastern bloc, the Balkans, Asia, Africa, and Latin America, were employed from 1965 to 1990 to work for limited periods of time in East Germany. Little is known about the private activities of these workers and to what extent they maintained their musical cultures.”¹²

2.2. After the Reunion in 1990: Choir Statistics and New Developments

Data on the musical life in Germany after the reunion of the two German States was collected between 2004 and 2008 by Deutscher Musikrat, gemeinnützige Projektgesellschaft mbH (German Music Council, non-profit project society Ltd). The publication *Musical Life in Germany. Structure, facts and figures*¹³ informs us on choir organisations. Among amateur singers “the 55,000 choruses organized in registered associations include 22,000 secular ensembles, most of which are found in the German Choral Association. Some 33,000 belong to Germany’s two major (Catholic and Evangelical) churches”.¹⁴ Choirs of minority groups are not included in this Germany-wide inventory. And the 2019 subsequent edition *Musikleben in Deutschland* does only marginally consider choirs of migrant communities.¹⁵

According to the Chorverband Berlin e. V. (Choir Association Berlin registered association), there are an estimated 1500 choirs in Berlin, single-sex or mixed, from professional, semi-professional up to amateur choirs of different style orientations.¹⁶ Since probably only those choirs are listed, which have organized themselves as registered associations, it is unclear whether church choirs and choirs of migrant communities were taken into account or not.

We can also assume that autochthonous minorities – some of whom live in Germany for many hundreds of years, and which were officially recognized by the Federal Republic of Germany in 1997 – nowadays also have a lively choir life. But there are hardly any researches or statistics. For one of the autochthonous minorities – the people of the Lusatian Sorbs –, having migrated around 600 AD to East Elbia, we can refer to the publication of Rosemary Stelova.¹⁷

12 Dorit Klebe, “Germany: Modern and Contemporary Performance Practice,” in *The SAGE International Encyclopedia of Music and Culture*, ed. Janet Sturman, vol. III (Washington: SAGE Publishing, 2019), 1002.

13 Deutscher Musikrat, gemeinnützige Projektgesellschaft mbH, Deutsches Musikinformationszentrum eds., *Musical Life in Germany. Structure, facts and figures* (Bonn: Deutscher Musikrat gemeinnützige Projektgesellschaft mbH, 2011).

14 Ibid., 98–99.

15 Astrid Reimers, “Amateurmusizieren,” in *Musikleben in Deutschland*, eds. Deutscher Musikrat, gemeinnützige Projektgesellschaft mbH, Deutsches Musikinformationszentrum (Bonn: Deutscher Musikrat gemeinnützige Projektgesellschaft mbH, Deutsches Musikinformationszentrum 2019), 182–83.

16 See “Mehr als 1500 Chöre freuen sich über Mitsänger,” accessed May 1, 2018, <https://www.morgenpost.de/familie/article104911001/Mehr-als-1500-Choere-in-Berlin-freuen-sich-ueber-Mitsaenger.html>.

17 Rosemary Stelova, *Musikalische Begegnungen bei den Sorben. Aktuelle Musikpraktiken einer ethnischen Minderheit* (Bautzen: Domowina Verlag, 2013), 70, 90.

With the refugee wave since summer 2015, refugees came from countries/regions like Syria, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, North and Black African regions to Germany to apply for asylum. In 2015, there had arrived about one million refugees, and in October there lived already about 70,000 of them in Berlin. The refugees, in Berlin and also generally in Germany, differ from minority communities in so far as they fled as single individuals – even in adolescent age – and after that many formed small communities during their migration route. Or they came with small communities as existed already in country of origin, like families, family-like groups. In regard to their religious affiliations, it can be assumed that a large part of the group is of Muslim faith (Sunnites and Shiites), smaller groups are of other religious affiliations, among them Syriac Christians e.g. from Syria, or the ethnic/religious group of the Yezidis. Exact statistics are missing so far.

3. The Batuberlin İşçi Korosu (Westberlin Working-Class Choir) and the Begegnungschor (Encounter Choir): Comparative Study of Socially and Music Related Aspects

3.1. Social/Life-Practical Matters, Creative Forms of Self-Help

Below, the charitable, nonprofit or beneficial aspects as well as administration, management, purposes, objectives and social encounters of the choirs will be pointed out.

3.1.1. Initiatives for the Formation of the Choirs

Initiators for the establishing of BİK were a group of workers under the leadership of the musician and composer Tahsin Incirci (born in 1938). He studied first in Ankara (Turkey) at the *Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü* (Gazi Institute for Education), with Eduard Zuckmayer¹⁸ who had founded the music branch of the Teacher's College in 1938 and was its director until 1970. In the 1960s, Tahsin came to West Germany through a DAAD scholarship, studied violin (Siegfried Borries), choral conducting and composition at the Musikhochschule Berlin (Berlin Academy of Music). After a stay in Turkey from 1969, he returned to Berlin around 1971/72 and taught violin at the State Music School. Furthermore, he arranged 23 Turkish folk songs for two violins, published in 1972.¹⁹ Since 2000 he has also re-arranged some of his arrangements of 23 Turkish folk songs, now for solo voice, violin and piano. The author Klebe recorded two concerts in which Incirci's daughter Aslı Incirci performed the vocal part and Tahsin himself played the violin part accompanied by a German piano player.²⁰ Incirci later turned his attention

18 Eduard Zuckmayer, brother of Carl Zuckmayer, lived 1890–1972. He was a German pedagogue, composer, conductor, choir leader, pianist. Because of an occupational ban under the Nazi dictatorship, he had emigrated to Turkey in 1936.

19 Tahsin Incirci, *23 Violin-Duos über türkische Volksweisen* (Berlin [West]: Robert-Lienau Verlag, 1972).

20 The re-arrangement of one of the 23 folk songs, the *türkü Daldalan*, was recorded on August 1, 2000, Berlin Academy of Arts by Dorit Klebe (signature: K 2000/3). See also in Dorit Klebe, "Music of Sephardic Jews and Almançlar Turks," in *Music and Minorities*, eds. Svanibor Pettan, Adelaida Reyes, and Maša Komavec (Ljubljana: ZRC Publishing, 2001), 283–84.

to the *Klasik Türk Müziği*²¹ (Turkish art music), became leader of the choir Berlin Klasik Müzik Derneği (Society for Classical Music Berlin). Klebe recorded a choir's concert at the Berlin Congress Hall, 3 June 2000.²²

Begegnungschor (BC) is a cooperation project of the Leadership Berlin – Netzwerk Verantwortung e. V. (Leadership Berlin – Network Responsibility registered association)²³ in collaboration with Chorverband Berlin. In October 2015, Michael Betzner-Brandt and Bastian Holze founded the Begegnungschor. Artistic directors are the bandleader Michael Betzner-Brandt²⁴ and the choir leader Bastian Holze.²⁵

Michael Betzner-Brandt (*1972) was Lecturer at the Berlin University of the Arts from 2000 to 2016. His concept Chor kreativ: Singen ohne Noten (Choir creative: singing without notes) made him internationally renowned in the 2000s. In the fall of 2003, he founded the Fabulous Fridays – the Jazz Pop Choir of the University of the Arts. In 2011, he invented the Ich-kann-nicht-singen-Chor (I-cannot-sing-choir). Bastian Holze is founder (together with Dr. Thomas Busch) and director of TOTAL CHORAL, an annual Berlin Pop and Jazz festival and B Vocal – the house of vocal art, an *a-cappella* Pop Floor.²⁶

Both, Michael Betzner-Brandt and Bastian Holze, arrange songs of different cultural origins for BC choir and band and, with their versatile improvisational and creative approaches, manage to ensure that all those involved lose their fear of contact and shyness towards strangers. In 2018, Lydia Griese – a former student at the Berlin University of the Arts – played the violin part in the instrumental ensemble of the BC – was also Managing Board member.

3.1.2. Models for Choirs

As models for the choirs BİK and BC several principles can be observed. These are the “self-help principle”, the “supported-help principle” and the “tandem partner principle”.

The self-help principle means that the self-help activities come from the inside of the choir and rely on the members itself. Self-help, also “Hilfe zur Selbsthilfe” (Help for self-help), is supposed to empower people to help themselves. This includes receiving help but also passing it on, meaning a continuous learning process for the participants.

In relation to the sociopolitical situation and development in (Western) Germany in the 1970s, the BİK wanted to give its members assistance in raising awareness of one's own position in the social system, “to fight for their rights, to be proud of their work”.²⁷ It can be seen as a self-recognition process.

21 The term *Klasik Türk Müziği* (also called f.i. *Türk Klasik Müzik*) can comprise contemporary Turkish art music, partly using Western many part composition techniques, as well as – in the meaning here – the heritage of the former traditional Ottoman-Turkish courtly music. See also footnote 4.

22 The concert was partly recorded by Dorit Klebe (signature: K 2000/5).

23 Founded in autumn 2011. See “Leadership Berlin – Netzwerk Verantwortung e.V.,” accessed August 14, 2018, <http://leadership-berlin.de/>.

24 For further information see Begegnungschor, “Menschen,” accessed May 2, 2018, <http://begegnungschor.com/menschen/>.

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid.

27 Edda Brandes, Dieter Hauer und Marcella Hoffmann, “Der türkische Arbeiterchor in West-Berlin,” in *Musikalische Streiflichter einer Großstadt – gesammelt in West-Berlin von Studenten der Vergleichenden Musikwissenschaft*, ed. Max Peter Baumann (Berlin: Fachrichtung Vergleichende Musikwissenschaft des FB 14 der Freien Universität Berlin, 1979), 81.

The supported-help principle differentiates between the self-help principle in so far as the supported help comes from outside the choir, mostly in form of financial support e.g. by institutions, the government, organs of the state, more seldom private sponsors. The eingetragener Verein –e. V. (registered association) plays an important role, is indispensable for the application of support. Because not being a registered association, the BİK did not get any financial support by the government. The BC as a registered association can profit from supported help.

The tandem²⁸ partner principle applied for the Begegnungschor consists of a membership constellation in such a way that a member of majority society (a “long-established Berliner”) brings a refugee (“New Berliner”) into the choir. Thus, the choir has created a new way or new form to link people together in order to correspond to current social needs and new forms of community. Through the musical encounter at choir rehearsals, the choir members establish contacts with each other. They create a network which supports the choir members on both sides: e.g. they help each other finding a flat or a job, provide translations, assistance for visiting the authorities or joint concert visits.

Other Choirs as Models

In the two Germanies of the 1970s, the situation for workers-singers movements was different. In the FRG, in connection with the student movements from the 1968s, there isolated choir foundations took place in the sense of working-class choirs. These choirs existed more in the students' and not in workers' environments. In the GDR, there were few workers choir formations, not comparable to the situation of the workers in Germany before 1933.²⁹

In West Berlin, we can find two choir formations in 1973. The founding of the Hanns Eisler Chor Berlin – Ensemble für neue Chormusik e. V. (Hanns Eisler Choir Berlin – Ensemble for new choral music registered association) on 6 July 1973, was the result of a long (music) political development. It has been inspired by the idea of using choral singing “to set in motion political and aesthetic learning processes, with a 'music that generates, activates attitudes', a music that can move.”³⁰ The second choir foundation was the Batuberlin İŝçi Korosu, which today does not exist anymore.

Today's Ernst Busch Chor Berlin e. V. (Ernst Busch Chor Berlin registered association), was first founded in East Berlin (GDR) on April 18, 1973 as Chor der Berliner Parteiveteranen (Choir of the Berlin party veterans) with approval and support of the District administration Berlin of the SED.³¹ In 1983, the name of the singer and actor Ernst Busch was added, becoming Chor der Berliner Parteiveteranen 'Ernst Busch'. When the end of the GDR was foreseeable in 1990, the choir changed into Veteranenchor Ernst Busch

28 The term “tandem” is used e.g. in the context of learning languages, see “What is Tandem?” last modified Mar 23, 2019, accessed September 23, 2019, https://www.sprachenzentrum.hu-berlin.de/en/independent-study/tandem/was-ist-tandem?set_language=en.

29 See Inge Lammell, *Arbeiterlied, Arbeitergesang* (Teetz: Hentrich, 2002), 72–114.

30 The citation (translated to English) follows Internationale Hanns Eisler Gesellschaft (IHEG) e. V., ed., “Chorgeschichte,” *Eisler-Mitteilungen* 59 (April 2015): 22. See also “Hanns Eisler-Chor Berlin – Ensemble für neue Chormusik e.V.,” accessed April 23, 2019, <https://www.hanns-eisler-chor-berlin.de/>.

31 SED= Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (Socialist Unity Party of Germany).

(Veteran choir Ernst Busch), registered as an association, e.V. From 1991, after the reunion of the two Germanies, they sing under Ernst Busch Chor Berlin e.V.³²

A choir foundation, which took care of the refugees in 2015 as well, and has similar objectives comparable to the Begegnungschor, is the Kölner Willkommenschor (Cologne Welcome Choir).³³ The model for its founding however is unclear.

Further Models

The idea and motto³⁴ of the non-profit organization Leadership Berlin – Network Responsibility “Begegne dem anderen” (Meet the other) was taken up by the Begegnungschor. The verb “meet” means in German “begegnen”, thus being the basis for the choir’s name Begegnungschor. Help came also from the Chorverband Berlin providing their knowledge of setting up a choir. The BC is based, on the one hand, on a tradition of “open singing”, a musical phenomenon which has a long and varied history in Germany. This tradition relates to singing movements in churches, or among movements of the youth, e.g. *Jugendbewegung*, *Bündische Jugend*. Since 2011, on the other hand, increasingly open singing formations and sing along choirs in public space can be observed.³⁵

3.1.3. Purpose and Objectives

The activities of the BİK aim a step forward towards joint actions that could be the union of workers’ organizations, union membership. Another concern is to maintain the cultural bond with the homeland. The choir’s objective is also – in connection with re-integration of returnees – a contribution to a social-political change in the homeland, in order to open a possibility for the workers to return to Turkey, for example by creating new job opportunities.

For the Leadership Berlin, Susanne Kappe,³⁶ underlines that the members (volunteers and refugees) of the BC are meeting and thus constantly learning from and with each other. Everyone can actively contribute. Singing connects people, communicates a sense of community and offers access to language and culture. In this way, BC is contributing to the integration of refugees.

32 “Ernst Busch Choir cultivates the tradition of the workers-singers movement, which has its roots in the liberation struggles of previous centuries and in the year 1908 when the Workers’ Singing Association was founded [...] The choir is committed to the artistic and humanistic work of this great artist-personality. [...] Like him, we cultivate the tradition of the workers-singers movement”. For all citations, see the website of the choir. “Ernst Busch Chor Berlin e.V.,” last modified March 29, 2019, accessed April 23, 2019, <https://www.ernstbuschchorberlin.de/>.

33 Kölner Willkommenchor existed from September 10, 2015 to February 21, 2019, see “Kölner Willkommenschor,” accessed April 24, 2019, <https://integration.miz.org/koelner-willkommenschor-k40461>. Reasons for its dissolution are not known.

34 The Leadership Berlin explains his motto the following: “[...] that in its training programs and projects [it] brings together numbers of executives from the business, public and non-profit sectors, who then work together on the social dimension of leadership responsibility.” (“Über uns – Idee begegne dem anderen,” accessed August 14, 2018, <http://leadership-berlin.de/idee/>)

35 For example “Rudelsingen” (horde singing) – a cult format of singing along in communities, see “Rudelsingen,” accessed April 18, 2019, <https://rudelsingen.de/>.

36 The explanations of Susanne Kappe (Project Coordinator) are shortened by the author Klebe. Full text, see <http://www.berlinerratschlagfuerdemokratie.de/projekte/begegnungschor-berliner-singen-mit-gefluechteten/>, accessed May 1, 2018 .

3.1.4. Conditions for Membership and Membership Structure

A precondition for membership at BİK is the social position as a worker. The BİK members consists from about 90% workers, the remaining part are students. No previous musical knowledge is necessary.

The tandem partner principle of the BC requires the so-called membership admission, meaning that a member of the majority society brings a refugee into the choir. The members of the majority society are often volunteering in refugee work. Some of the older generation have similar experience, as they have been refugees after the end of the Second World War. For this choir, also no previous musical knowledge is necessary.

3.2. Music-Related Aspects

The focus is on the evaluation of the sources in order to examine to what extent the material is significant. Batuberlin İşçi Korosu and Begegnungschor are represented by their song repertoire as being performed in concerts to an audience in public, or live recordings of concerts and studio shots on disks. The main part of this section will be the description of the repertoire, the construction of the programs, and the classification of the songs, supplemented by details of performance structures, performers, instrumentation. Some insights are given on the reception by the majority society.

3.2.1. The Choirs' Performances, Programs, Repertoires

During the years 1973–1986 BİK gave several concerts, solo concerts or concerts with other choirs, and published several records.³⁷ To mention some of the concerts:³⁸ one in front of the exhibition building Bethanienhaus on the occasion of the exhibition Mehmet Berlin'de – Mehmet kommt aus Anatolien (Mehmet in Berlin – Mehmet comes from Anatolia) in Berlin-Kreuzberg in 1975.³⁹ Second, it is necessary to highlight a joint concert of the Batuberlin İşçi Korosu with the Hanns Eisler Choir. It was devoted to the poet Nâzım Hikmet,⁴⁰ it took place in the Audimax of the Berlin Technical University in 1977. The third to name is the participation of the BİK at the 11th Festival of Political Song 1981 in East Berlin. Among the performers was e.g. the Chor der Berliner Parteiveteranen based in East Berlin.⁴¹

³⁷ See Discography.

³⁸ It is unclear if any sound documents exist.

³⁹ Subproject of the "Berliner Festwochen" celebrating its 25th anniversary. Kreuzberg is a district of Berlin with a high percentage of German-Turkish inhabitants.

⁴⁰ More information about the poet, see section 4.1 ff.

⁴¹ Which took the name Ernst Busch Chor Berlin after the reunion of the two Germanies.



Figure 1a and 1b: *Batiberlin İşçi Korosu* in concert at the Audimax of the Berlin Technical University, 15 November 1977 (© by the Henschel-Fotobestand, FHXB Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg Museum).⁴²

Three records can be useful as sound sources for the study of the repertoire. The first is “İşçi şarkıları ve marşları” (released in 1974), the second is “*Barış ve gurbet türküleri – Lieder für den Frieden und Lieder aus der Fremde*” (released in 1979) and the third one is “Wenn die Feinde mächtig sind... : Chöre live” (released in 1980).⁴³ There is a further record (released in 1986), but it is not taken into account here because it contains mainly traditional Turkish folk songs and folk dance tunes, thus greatly differing from the song repertoire from the years 1974, 1979, 1980.

Ela Gezen has analyzed the record “İşçi şarkıları ve marşları” in her article “The Soundtrack of Migration: Tahsin Incirci and the Türkischer Arbeiterchor West Berlin”. In the chapter Sound of Solidarity she foregrounds three songs. Two of them are based on the song texts by Bertold Brecht/Hanns Eisler which are originally in German and were translated for the performance into Turkish. The third one is a song based on a traditional epic tale about Kerem and Aslı. Ela Gezen sees the innovativeness of the BİK in the musical settings of poems written by the Turkish writer Nâzım Hikmet. She stated that “they transformed traditionally solo and male-dominated repertoires into choral repertoires [...]”.⁴⁴ She furthermore sums up in her conclusion that Tahsin Incirci through his musical settings of Turkish poems, “accentuates the mutual interactions of Turkish and German traditions, which he illustrates by his creation of something new that draws on both traditions”.⁴⁵ Demonstrations of the interactions between Turkish and German traditions through music and its structures are unfortunately missing in this article.

The second source comprises the repertoire of the LP Pläne 88196, titled “*Barış ve gurbet türküleri – Lieder für den Frieden und Lieder aus der Fremde*” (Songs for Freedom and Songs from Abroad). Performers of this studio recording from 1979⁴⁶ are the

42 I am grateful to the Museum Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg (Berlin) for providing me with the copyright for these photos (numbered B01_0149_23 and B01_0149_24).

43 See Discography.

44 Ela Eylem Gezen, “The Soundtrack of Migration: Tahsin Incirci and the Türkischer Arbeiterchor West Berlin,” *Studien zur deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 24, no. 2 (2010): 121. Remark of the author Klebe: Already from the 1930s onwards, Turkish composers, educated in Western composition techniques, set songs to be sung traditionally as *solo* into music for many-part choirs. See Hayrettin Akdemir, *Die neue türkische Musik: dargestellt an Volkesliedbearbeitungen für mehrstimmigen Chor* (Berlin: Hitit, 1991).

45 *Ibid.*, 128.

46 LP, Pläne 88196, see Discography.

solo singer Sümeyra⁴⁷ and the BİK accompanied by an instrumental band; the leader is Tahsin Incirci. On side A, Sümeyra sings mostly alternating with the choir. The songs on side B are sung solo by Sümeyra with instrumental accompaniment.

The third source for research is a recording of a live performance of the BİK in 1980, LP Pläne 88 240, titled “Wenn die Feinde mächtig sind ...: Chöre live” (If the enemies are powerful ...: choirs live). The BİK is represented by two songs. Further choirs performing at this concert recording were for example: Bert Brecht Chor Essen, Ernst Busch Chor Kiel, Bremer Chor Die Zeitgenossen and Hanns Eisler Chor Berlin.⁴⁸



Figure 2: Record's label of the LP Pläne 88196, Side A (© Dorit Klebe).

As documented in Table 1, the repertoire of the BİK examined for this contribution consists of twelve music pieces, arranged/composed by Tahsin Incirci. For the author's detailed investigation of the song “Asker Kaçağı” is taken into account, see section 4.1.

Remark: “Asker Kaçağı” is Incirci's musical setting of the poem “Köyün evleri...” (Of the Turkish poet Nâzım Hikmet). The song was part of a concert at the International Congress-Centrum Berlin 1980. Though the choir sang the song in Turkish, the title is presented on the label (Pläne 88240) in German: “Der Deserteur” (The Deserter) instead of “Asker Kaçağı”.

47 Sümeyra Çakır (1946–1990), had studied Western Music Voice Training at the Istanbul Music Conservatory.

48 See Discography.

Repertoire of the Batiberlin İşçi Korosu (Westberlin Working-class Choir)		
<p>LP Pläne 88196, 1979</p> <p>“Barış ve gurbet türküleri – Lieder für den Frieden und Lieder aus der Fremde” (Songs for Freedom and Songs from Abroad) Studio recording Performer: Solo singer Sümeyra and Batiberlin İşçi Korosu with instrumental ensemble Music and choir-/bandleader: Tahsin Incirci</p>	<p>Side A</p> <p>(1) “El kapıları” (Foreign Doors), lyrics: H.H. Korkmazgil</p> <p>(2) “Ateşçiler türküsü” (The Song of the Stoker), lyrics: Yaşar Miraç</p> <p>(3) “Dursun kaptan” (Captain Dursun), “Halk Türküsü” (Folk song), lyrics: traditional/ Sadettin Kaynak</p> <p>(4) “Barış türküsü” (Peace Song), lyrics: Rezul Rıza</p>	<p>Side B</p> <p>“Nâzım Hikmet’in şiirleri üzerine Türküler” (Songs on poems of Nâzım Hikmet)</p> <p>(1) “Varna türküleri – Burda Yesil Biber, Dikili taşlar, Sofra” (Three Varna Songs – Green Pepper, Standing Stones, Table)</p> <p>(2) “Japon balıkçisi” (The Japanese fisherman)</p> <p>(3) “Kızçocuğu” (Little Girl)</p> <p>(4) “Hürriyet Kavgası” (Fight for Freedom)</p>
<p>LP Pläne 88240, 1980</p> <p>“Wenn die Feinde mächtig sind... : Chöre live” (If the enemies are powerful ...: choirs live) Concert recording. Compilation of several choirs on the record, as “Bert Brecht Chor Essen”, “Ernst Busch Chor Kiel”, “Bremer Chor Die Zeitgenossen”, “Hanns Eisler Chor Berlin” and “Batiberlin İşçi Korosu”. Batiberlin İşçi Korosu with instrumental ensemble perform two songs. Choir-/bandleader is Tahsin Incirci.</p>	<p>Side A</p> <p>(7) “Der Deserteur” (The deserter), lyrics: Nâzım Hikmet, music: Tahsin Incirci Remark: Title of the song “Asker Kaçağı” on the Pläne label in German: “Der Deserteur”; the choir sings the original version in Turkish.</p>	<p>Side B</p> <p>(1) “Lass mich heiraten, Vater, sonst brenne ich Dein Haus ab” (Let me get married, father, otherwise I will burn down your house), lyrics: traditional, music: Tahsin Incirci Remark: see above, title on the label in German, choir sings in Turkish.</p>

Table 1: The repertoire of the BİK, a selection from the records: LP Pläne 88196 and LP Pläne 88240.



Figure 3a and 3b: sing-along concert of the BC, 25 May 2018; a. The choir with its choir leader Bastian Holze; b. the instrumental ensemble with its bandleader Michael Betzner-Brandt at the piano (© Dorit Klebe).

Although the BC is a very young choir, it has already had about 70 performances since its foundation in 2015 (as of April 2019). They perform choral concerts on various occasions, such as charity concerts, community concerts with other choirs (such as the Chamber Singers of Haverford and Bryn Mawr Colleges, USA), run workshops with concerts, perform sing-along concerts in social clubs, such as the Nachbarschaftshaus Friedenau (Neighborhood House Friedenau⁴⁹), Telefonseelsorge Berlin e. V. (Telephone Pastoral Care registered association) and other foundations, like Robert Bosch Stiftung GmbH (Robert Bosch Foundation Ltd.), and also at summer festivals (like school festivals). Furthermore, they perform at political and social events, such as ceremonies in the Federal President's Office, awards, such as an integration award, to the opening of action weeks, e.g. against antisemitism, racism. Since 2016, the performances have spread beyond the Berlin area to other cities, such as Rheinsberg, Hamburg, Stuttgart, Dortmund. The following three concerts are considered exemplary by many: 1. the Flashmob⁵⁰ "Ode an die Freude" – Ausstellung Erlebnis Europa der Europäischen Kommission (Exhibition European Experience of the European Commission) at the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin, 14 May 2016,⁵¹ 2. a concert in Hamburg "Wir singen heute alle zusammen!" (We All Sing Together Today!), together with the International Mandolin Orchestra "SOL", at the Foyer of Hamburg Central Station on 28 October 2018, 3. a sing-along concert of the BC with neighbors and guests in the Nachbarschaftshaus Friedenau, Berlin, on 25 May 2018. The titles and some background information on the lyrics were given to the audience by the choirmaster. The lyrics were projected onto the wall with a projector. The sing-along concert program consisted of fifteen songs, see Table 2, and section 3.2.2.

49 Friedenau is a district of Berlin.

50 A flashmob is a group of people who assemble suddenly in a public place, perform an unusual and seemingly pointless act for a brief time, then quickly disperse, often for the purposes of entertainment, satire, and artistic expression. Flash mobs are organized via telecommunications, social media, or viral emails, see "Flashmob," *Wikipedia*, accessed July 31, 2019, https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Flash_mob&oldid=902269281.

51 Flashmob "Ode an die Freude", Brandenburg Gate Berlin, May 14, 2016, for an audio example see "Flashmob 'Ode an die Freude'," accessed August 14, 2018. <http://begegnungschor.com/videos/>.

Program of the Mitsingkonzert beim Fest der Nachbarn	
(Sing-along concert at the Festival of neighbors) at the Nachbarschaftshaus Friedenau (Neighborhood House Friedenau), Holsteinische Straße 30, 12161 Berlin-Friedenau, May 25, 2018	
Performer: Begegnungschor with instrumental ensemble Choirleader: Bastian Holze, Bandleader: Michael Betzner-Brandt. Guest singer: Sonja Poland	
(1)	“Wir singen heute alle zusammen...” (Today we sing altogether), anonym
(2)	“Hallo Nachbar, Sidi Mahzur” (Hallo, neighbour), anonym, lyrics in German and Arabic
(3)	“Lamma bada yatathanna...” (When she appeared, my lissome love...), from the Mašriq, lyrics and melody are anonym ⁵²
(4)	“Komma zamma, na samma mehra” (Come together, then we will become more), anonym, lyrics in Bavarian dialect, with guest singer Sonja Poland from Bavaria
(5)	Ludwig van Beethoven: “Ode an die Freude”, lyrics by Friedrich von Schiller
(6)	“Nassam alayna El-hawa” (The air breezed upon us), from the Libanon, well known and popular song by the Lebanese singer Feyrouz
(7)	“Jannie Mama”, traditional from Jamaika
(8)	“Mensch« (Human being); lyrics and music by Herbert Grönemeyer
(9)	“Musik ist meins, Musik ist deins...” (Music is mine, music is yours), anonym, with guest singer Sonja Poland from Bavaria
(10)	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: “Eine kleine Nachtmusik” (Erster Satz, Ausschnitt), instrumental
(11)	“Die Gedanken sind frei” (Thoughts are free), traditional, German-speaking folk song
(12)	“Labkhand” (Das Lächeln), anonym, from Persia
(13)	“Liebeslied” (Love song), lyrics and music by Bodo Wartke, multilingual lyrics in German, English, French, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, Japanese, Finish;
(14)	“Bi na mo”, traditional from Africa
(15)	“We want peace”, lyrics by Lenny Kravitz, music by Lenny Kravitz, Kadim Al Sahir.
Remark: The program was documented in written form during the concert by the author, who added supplementing informations partly given by the choirmaster to the choir and the audience during the concert. The choir sang fifteen titles with a pause between the eighth and ninth song. During the pause the author could talk to some of the refugees from Syria on their situation in Berlin and also on their knowledge about the music of their home country.	

Table 2: The program⁵³ of the sing-along concert of the BC, 25 May 2018.

52 Referring to Habib Hassan Touma – the lyrics belong to the genre *muwaššah*. “The term *muwaššah* refers not only to a poetic form, as used in the andalusi *nūba* [a suite-like large form composed of vocal and instrumental pieces], but also in the [Arab] East, a separate vocal art genre of the Arabs, basing on a poem genre of the same name”. Following Touma, lyrics and melody are anonym. As shaping features he indicates *nahawand* for the *maqām* and *samā’i ṭaqil* (10/8) for the metro-rhythmic structure *wazn*. See Touma, *Musik der Araber*, 117–120. Music notation, 119–120.

53 The source are handwritten field notes by the author Klebe.

3.2.2. The Selection and Structure of the Repertoire, Performance, Performers and Instrumentations

The repertoires of both choirs consist of songs that are sung chorally with occasional solo performances and accompanied by instruments. These are songs that have been passed on in aural/oral or written tradition. For the choir performance, most of the songs have been arranged or more rarely set to music at least in parts. Furthermore, they got a frame of pre-, inter-, and postludes and/or additional composed parts. The lyrics can be classified as belonging to folk literature in its broadest sense. Classical poem forms are infrequent, exceptions are e.g. “Ode an die Freude” (Friedrich von Schiller); songs in Arabic may have lyrics in forms of classical Arabic poetry.

Predominantly the songs belong to the fields of folk songs, love songs, ballads, political songs, battle songs, dance songs. Many lyrics are in German and/or in languages from the areas of the refugees and even multilingual (up to 8 international languages in one song).

In majority, they are secular songs if they come from the German and Western cultural areas. In the songs from Mediterranean cultural areas in the broader sense, – with regard to the textual content and the music – a secular reference cannot always be distinguished from a sacral one, especially when the sacral piece is performed in an extra-ceremonial context. Occasionally, arrangements of instrumental pieces known world-wide are performed, like “Eine kleine Nachtmusik” by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart.

The repertoire of the BİK: it is safe to assume that the choirmaster of the BİK, Tahsin Incirci included the members into the choice of the repertoire, for example, the selection of lyrics and the translations of non-Turkish lyrics into the Turkish language. The choirmaster himself has made musical settings and/or arrangements. To what extent the accompanying instrumentalists have been involved in this process is not known.

The lyrics forming the basis for the BİK song repertoire are mostly of political content. They can be classified as belonging to folk literature in its broadest sense; structures from Ottoman poetry are not used. All lyrics are in strophical form and with an end rhyme. They were written by three poets of Turkish and one of Azeri origin from the 20th century. The poets are Hasan Hüseyin Korkmazgil (1927–1984), Yaşar Miraç (*1953), Resul Rıza (1910–1981, Azeri), and Nâzım Hikmet⁵⁴ (1902–1963). One song is called a *halk türküsü* (folk song).⁵⁵

The title of the record Pläne 88196 “*Barış ve gurbet türküleri – Lieder für den Frieden und Lieder aus der Fremde*” (Songs for Freedom and Songs from Abroad) is partly alluding to the *gurbetçi*⁵⁶ – migrant songs that have a long tradition in Turkish folk mu-

⁵⁴ Because of his political beliefs, the poet spent a great part of his life in exile.

⁵⁵ It is unclear whether the lyrics are traditional or written by the composer Sâdeddin Kaynak, or a combination of both.

⁵⁶ *Gurbetçi* (singer of the *gurbet* songs), see Dorit Klebe, “Identitätsbildungen in multiethnischen, insbesondere deutsch-türkischen Singtexten und Musiken – Entwicklungen und Tendenzen ab ca. 1980 in Deutschland,” in *Musik und Identität. Tagungsband des 22. Seminars für Volksmusikforschung und -pflege, Augsburg, Januar 2013*, ed. Elmar A. Walter (München: Bayerischer Landesverein für Heimatpflege e.V., 2015), 56.

sic. Furthermore, the *gurbetçi* songs belong to the repertoire of the *âşık*,⁵⁷ wandering poets (minstrels) and song makers accompanying themselves on string instruments, mostly the longnecked lute *saz*. “Their repertoire included and still includes religious and erotic songs, elegies and heroic narratives. Their songs may contain social criticism and political content”.⁵⁸

The song repertoire from both records can be categorized as follows:

- songs for peace and freedom: “El kapıları”, “Bariş türküsü”, “Kızçocuğu”,⁵⁹ “Hürriyet Kavgası” and “Asker Kaçağı”;
- songs of the workers: “Ateşçiler türküsü”, “Japon balıkçisi”;
- *gurbetçi*: “Ateşçiler türküsü”,⁶⁰ “Varna türküleri”;
- traditional Turkish folk song: “Lass mich heiraten, Vater, sonst brenne ich Dein Haus ab”;
- composition of a ballad-like *türkü*: “Dursun Kaptan”, composed by Sâdeddin Kaynak (1895–1961).⁶¹ Tahsin Incirci has taken Kaynak’s composition for the choral part and provided it with an instrumental introduction composed by himself.

Performance structures, performers, instrumentation: the choir sings to the accompaniment of the instrumental ensemble. Individual pieces are performed by guest singers who sing solo parts, in some cases the solo singer and choir are singing alternately, or the choir sings the refrain part. The accompanying instrumental ensemble consists of a transverse flute, oboe, two clarinets, trumpet, trombone, violin, viola, violoncello, guitar, piano, drums, and the long-necked lute *saz*, depending on the arrangement. The musicians are mostly Germans and some of them are Turkish.

The repertoire of the BC: in the BC association (consisting of a seven-member board with two refugees and five other members), a repertoire group decides which songs are going to be included in the repertoire program of the choir. The decisions are often emotional as well as the songs that are “living within the choir” are often included, as Bastian Holze⁶² said on May 25, 2018.

The song repertoire of the sing-along concert (May 25, 2018) can be categorized as follows (categorization contains partly multiple nominations):

- songs from the homeland of the refugees or migrants (also considered their cultural home): “Lamma bada yatathanna ...” (Maşriq), “Nassam alayna El-hawa” (Libanon), “Labkhand” (Persia),

57 “The word is derived from the Arabic *‘aşq* (love, passion) in the meaning 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 Ebu Talip, 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”. In Klebe, “Music in the Immigrant Communities from Turkey in Germany,” *Music in Motion*, eds. Bernd Clausen, Ursula Hemtek, Eva Sæther and European Music Council (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2009), 312, footnote 38.

58 Ibid., 312.

59 The lyrics thematize the consequences of the Hiroshima bomb.

60 The song can be regarded as a *gurbetçi*, too, because of the refrain of the last stanza beginning with “Türkiye’den geldik” (We come from Turkey), added by Tahsin Incirci.

61 See Yilmaz Öztuna, “Hacı Hâfız Sâdeddin Kaynak,” in *Türk Musikisi Ansiklopedisi* I, Vol 1. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1969), 332.

62 Citation Holze, the source are handwritten field notes by the author Klebe.

- songs of the “old-established” Berliner (the majority society) and other German folk songs: “Die Gedanken sind frei”,
- German dialect songs: “Komma zamma, na samma mehra” (Bavaria),
- songs from different countries or continents, mostly traditional: “Jannie Mama” (Jamaika), “Bi na mo” (Afrika),
- new songs, anonymous or composed: “Wir singen heute alle zusammen ...”, “Musik ist meins, Musik ist deins ...”, “Liebeslied”,
- multilingual songs: “Liebeslied”,
- lament songs: “Lamma bada yatathanna ...”, “Nassam alayna El-hawa”, “Mensch”,
- internationally recognizable melodies or songs from Western art music: “Eine kleine Nachtmusik” (Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart), “Ode an die Freude” (Ludwig van Beethoven/Friedrich von Schiller),
- songs with rhythmic accompaniment and/or movement, “Jannie Mama” (Jamaika), “Bi na mo” (Afrika),
- songs for peace and freedom, “Ode an die Freude”, “Die Gedanken sind frei”, “We want peace”.

Most of the songs are arranged by Michael Betzner-Brandt and Bastian Holze, the repertoire is constantly expanding, changing and being supplemented, see e.g. a stanza⁶³ in the Arabic language in the song “Die Gedanken sind frei” (Thoughts are free), see section 4.2.2.

Performance structures, performers, instrumentation: the choir sings to the accompaniment of the instrumental ensemble. Individual pieces are performed by soloists that are singers from the choir, the choir sings mostly the refrain parts, or the solo singer and choir are singing alternately. Among the choir members there are – besides amateur – also semiprofessional singers, as the author could realize when interviewing the choir singer Abdullah from Syria during the pause of the sing-along concert.⁶⁴ The song texts are projected onto the wall via a projector.

The audience also takes part in the singing as much as possible and is animated by the choirmaster Bastian Holze to sing along. In some songs, rhythmic accompaniments in the form of body percussion and/or dance movements are included, and here too, the audience is encouraged to participate. The instrumentation of the ensemble consists of a transverse flute, two violins, violoncello, guitar, piano (bandleader Michael Betzner-Brandt), various percussion instruments, like bongo, djembe, darabuka. The instrumentation is chosen differently for individual musical pieces. The musicians are of mixed nationalities/ethnicities, partly refugees as well.

63 The term stanza in this article indicates a stanza form of a poem; the term strophe is used for the musical setting of a poem's stanza.

64 For the source, see footnote 62.

4. Analysis of Two Musical Examples Performed by BİK and BC – Creative Forms of Transcultural Interactions

Transcultural interactions between the music cultures of the minority/refugee groups and the majority society are demonstrated by analyzing the songs “Asker Kaçağı” (BİK) and “Die Gedanken sind frei” (BC). In regard to the content of the lyrics both songs can be classified as belonging to the rubric “Songs for peace and freedom”.

The analysis will underline the processes of change and mutual interactions like permeations and amalgamations of the respective poetical and musical elements. The elements are examined in the poem’s structure, its embeddedness in the traditional Turkish folk literature, the formal structure of the stanzas in relation to musical sections, metric-rhythmic structuring, melodic/harmonic basis, choral performance forms of *unisono*, multi-part and heterophonic singing, as well as instrumental accompaniments with monophonic versus heterophonic sections. Furthermore, the individual style of the composers/arrangers will be taken into consideration.

4.1. “Asker Kaçağı” (BİK)

The poem with the incipit “Köyün evleri ...” (The houses of the village) forms the basic lyrics for Incirci’s composition of the song “Asker Kaçağı” (The Deserter). The poem with six stanzas was written by the poet Nâzım Hikmet (1912-1963) on February 26, 1959.⁶⁵ The musical setting of four of the six stanzas is by Tahsin Incirci who gave his composition the title “Asker Kaçağı”.

4.1.1. Lyrics

Each stanza of the poem “Köyün evleri ...” consists of 4 lines of text or two couplets. The building principle orientates towards traditional folk poetry, based on a verse metre with *arsis* and *thesis* and counting the syllables – *parmak hesabı* –, here constantly eight syllables for each line. The rhyme scheme for the four lines is consistent in each of the six stanzas: abcb. The verse lines 2 and 4 are not repeated as a whole; they only have the same final rhyme. Due to its formal structure, the number of syllables and the rhyme scheme, the poem can be assigned to the *koşma* or *semâi* form of traditional Turkish folk literature.⁶⁶

65 For the source for the lyrics, see “Köyün evleri,” accessed August 14, 2018, <https://siirlerlesarkilarla.wordpress.com/2012/12/21/nazim-hikmet-koyun-evleri-grup-yorum-asker-kacaklari/>.

66 Klaus-Detlev Wännig, *Der Dichter Karaca Oğlan. Studien zur türkischen Liebeslyrik* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1980), 150.

»Köyün evleri« – The houses of the village		
Poem with six stanzas by Nazim Hikmet (1912-1963); Tahsin Incirci is using the following four stanzas for his musical setting with the title “Asker Kaçağı” (The Deserter)		
(1)		
köyün evleri karanlık, a gökte yıldız pır pır eder. b ben bir asker kaçayım, c gelin, bana bir tas su ver. b		The houses of the village are dark, Stars flicker in the sky. I am a deserter, Bride, give me a cup of water.
(2)		
neyliyim kusura bakma, elleri kınasız gelin, çalar asker kaçakları kapıları geceleyin.		Sorry, What should I do, Bride, her hands without henna, The deserter knocks on the doors at night.
(3)		
köyde bebeler ağlıyor, uyku uyutmuyor açıklık. yaramı sanver, bacım, jandarmalarla çarpıştık.		In the village little children cry, Because of hunger they cannot fell asleep, Get my wound bandaged, sister, We have fought with gendarms.
(4)		
görüp durur yolumu emzikli bir kadıncağız. biz on kere on bin memet on kere on bin kaçayız.		Await my return full of worries A woman with a baby, We are ten times ten thousand soldiers We are ten times ten thousand deserters

Table 3: Lyrics of the song “Asker Kaçağı”, formal structure, number of syllables, rhyme scheme.

4.1.2. Musical Setting

Tahsin Incirci makes the first change for the setting already in the song’s title. Although it is customary in Turkish literature to name a poem with the incipit “Köyün evleri ...” he created the title “Asker Kaçağı” for his setting of the poem.⁶⁷

The topic of the deserter has been widely elaborated in literature and music. Under the title “Deserter” a series of songs exists based on poems by poets other than Nâzım Hikmet, e.g. Bertold Brecht; in settings by various other composers, like Hanns Eisler and in performances by other performers, like Josef Degenhardt, Hannes Wader, Joan Baez. In addition, the topic is part of various movies and even an operetta.

Formal structure of the music, compositional structure and musical sections: the composition of Tahsin Incirci consists of an instrumental introduction followed by a

⁶⁷ Audio example under “Der Deserteur,” YouTube video, 3:20, posted by Andreas Kettel, accessed August 14, 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xVetCRsdKCU>.

choir part with instrumental accompaniment. The choir is singing the lyrics. The composer however has formed one “musical long-strophe”, as this structure can be called, out of two poem stanzas.

“Asker Kaçağı”	
Formal structure of the setting are 2 Musical long-strophes. First Musical long-strophe comprises the stanzas 1 und 2; Second Musical long-strophe comprises the stanzas 3 und 4.	
The composition starts with an Instrumental Introduction, played by transverse flute, oboe, clarinet in B, violin, viola, violoncello, piano, drums.	
First Musical long-strophe comprises 4 Musical form sections: A, B1, C, B2. Performers are the choir and ensemble musicians. They accompany partly with single instruments, partly with the whole ensemble.	
Structure of one “Musical long-strophe”:	
First stanza, first couplet :köyün evleri karanlık a gökte yıldız pır pır eder : b Chant (Choir) one-part + instrumental accompaniment (clarinet, piano)	- :Musical form section A:
First stanza, second couplet :ben bir asker kaçığıyım, c gelin, bana bir tas su ver: b Chant (Choir) two-parts + instrumental accompaniment (see Instrumental Introduction)	- :Musical form section B1:
Second stanza, first couplet :neyliyim kusura bakma, a elleri kınasız gelin: b Chant (Choir) one-part + instrumental accompaniment (clarinet)	- :Musical form section C:
Second stanza, second couplet :çalar asker kaçakları c kapıları geceleyin.: b Chant (Choir) two-parts + instrumental accompaniment (see Instrumental Introduction)	- :Musical form section B2:
Instrumental Interlude (corresponding to the Instrumental Introduction) The Second Musical long-strophe corresponds musically to the First Musical long-strophe (with slight variations).	

Table 4: Text-music construction of the musical long-strophe.






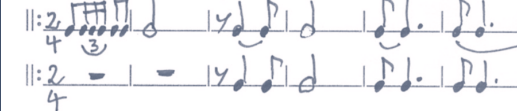
»Asker Kaçağı»	
Metric-rhythmic structuring of the melodic sections of the Musical long-strophe	
First Musical long-strophe	
First stanza, first line	
First stanza, second line	
First stanza, third line, 1 st singing part	
First stanza, third line, 2 nd singing part	
First stanza, fourth line, 1 st singing part	
First stanza, fourth line, 2 nd singing part	
Second stanza, first line clarinet solo	
Choir	
Second stanza, second line = Second stanza, first line Second stanza, third line B2 = B1 Second stanza, fourth line B2 = B1	
Development of a Metric-rhythmic basic formula for the musical form sections A, B1 and B2	
From the rhythmic material of the six variants, taken from the musical setting of the first stanza, (four lines), there can be derived a metric-rhythmic basic formula for this composition consisting of 18 meters, structured in	
Conclusion: This Metric-rhythmic basic formula can be considered as a characteristic compositional element in the composition "Asker Kacagi".	

Table 5: Metric-rhythmic structuring of the melodic sections of the long-strophe.

Metric-rhythmic structuring, metric-rhythmic basic formula: asymmetric meters – *aksak*⁶⁹ – are very common in traditional Turkish folk music, like five, seven, nine meters; some of them occur specifically at the Black sea coast. The 5/8 time signature used in this composition is metrically divided into 3 + 2 and 2 + 3. It occurs in the musical parts A and B as a constant musical section of two 5/8 time units, followed by one time unit in 8/8 meter. The 8/8 time signature can be seen as a bar divided into even units (4+4, 2+2+2+2), however it is here subdivided into smaller, irregular groups: 3 + 2 + 3.

A combination of the two 5/8 time units with one time unit of the 8/8, that is a number of three bars, results in a metric-rhythmic pattern, formed out in six variants. From these variants, the author developed a metric-rhythmic basic formula of 18 beats, see Table 5. It can be understood as a compositional characteristic of the creator of this piece of music. The effect of the metric-rhythmic basic formula is a very insistent and striking one, thus emphasizing the content of the song's topic, a deserter.

Melodic/harmonic basis: the melodies of the single musical sections (A–B1–C–B2) are characterized through a very small *ambitus*. For the musical section A the range is a sixth (a-fis'), section B is in the first part a third (h'–d') and in the second part an octave (a–a'), section C comprises a fifth (h–f'). All musical sections have in common small tone steps consisting almost exclusively of intervals of a second. Small tone steps and a frequency of intervals of a second are a characteristic element of traditional Turkish folk music. Further characteristics are scales, like the tone group of g'–fis'–es'–d'–c'–h used in the musical sections A and B, containing the interval of an augmented second, a building element used in folk music of some regions of Turkey. Moreover, the one-and-a-half tone step is a distinguishing feature of tone scales of traditional Turkish art music, like the *makam* Hicâz. It is necessary to stress the fact that the intervals in both music areas, traditional Turkish folk and art music, are played non-tempered. Tahsin Incirci uses the tempered European system for his compositions. The harmonic framework is based generally on a very early form of Western homophony, using especially in the musical section B2 two-part singing, reminiscent of the early occidental pedal point in the first voice and with contrary motions in the second voice, as Edda Brandes et al. evaluated.⁷⁰

Monophonic vs. heterophonic music making: the heterophonic music making is an essential element of traditional Turkish music. Tahsin Incirci puts stylistic elements of monophonic (*unisono*) and homophonic music making in its place. The composer uses also elements of traditional Turkish music, e.g. the characteristic *aksak* rhythms. In the song “Asker Kaçağı” the basic metric-rhythmic pattern, which is intensified with *aksak* rhythms in combination with parts sung *unisono*, emphasizes the content of the poem in a forceful manner. Heterophonic music making however is then practiced when the long-necked lute *saz* is integrated into instrumental parts (not applicable to “Asker Kaçağı”).

69 *Aksak*, the Turkish word literally means limping, stumbling or slumping.

70 Brandes, Hauer and Hoffmann, “Der türkische Arbeiterchor in West-Berlin,” 88.

4.2. “Die Gedanken sind frei” (BC)

4.2.1. Lyrics and the Origin of the Song⁷¹

The lyrics themselves had already undergone several processes of change over time. It is said that later versions of the song were built of stanzas from a song that was distributed at the time of the French Revolution on handbills in southern Germany. Approximately between 1800–1815, the lyrics appear together with a melody in Switzerland. The melody probably originally came from a Swiss folk song – whether it was a shepherd song in the mountains or a dance song, it is not certain. A text variant, in form of a dialogue between a girl and a prisoner, was printed in *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* (The boy’s magic horn: old German songs) by Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano, eds.⁷² Hoffmann von Fallersleben published another song version in the edition *Schlesische Volkslieder mit Melodien: Aus dem Munde des Volkes*, 1842.⁷³ This version appears to this day in many song collections. The song often became a symbol of inner resistance, even in Nazi concentration camps.

4.2.3. Structure and Arrangement of the Song Performed by BC⁷⁴

The first strophe was sung by the choir in *unisono* to the basic melody (the sequence of the stanzas, see Table 6; the basic melody, see Figure 6.)

In place of the lyrics’ second stanza, a text in Arabic is sung. The Syrian refugee journalist Abdulrahman Osmaren, member of the BC, composed it together with some choir members.⁷⁵ The Arabic characters had been phonetically transcribed into Latin characters, so that the choir could sing the lyrics. A translation into German by Rafael Sanchez⁷⁶ for those choir members who could not understand Arabic was given. The literal translation of the German words of Rafael Sanchez into English is the following: “If we can hoist the flag of freedom, thoughts will sparkle like stars in the dark. Once upon a time in a harbor people sang our songs. We want to hear the flute’s voice. The flute’s voice should sound.” This second strophe (with lyrics in Arabic) is sung in *unisono* to the basic melody.

71 See also Hans-Peter Banholzer, Harald Hepfer, Klaus Wolf, *333 Lieder zum Singen, Spielen, Tanzen* (Stuttgart: Klett Verlag, 1987), no. 299.

72 Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano, two poet friends, born in Germany in the 18th century; among others they edited *Des Knaben Wunderhorn. Alte deutsche Lieder. 3 volumes* (Heidelberg: Mohr und Zimmer, 1806/1808), a compilation of old and new lyrics of German folk songs.

73 Hoffmann von Fallersleben, August Heinrich, and Ernst Heinrich Leopold Richter, *Schlesische Volkslieder mit Melodien: Aus dem Munde des Volkes*, (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1842), 307.

74 Research is based on the author’s handwritten field notes documenting the performance and transcriptions of selected songs on May 25, 2018. A video of this song shot at a concert of the BC on another date and at another location is available at: “Die Gedanken sind frei,” YouTube video, 5:55, posted by “Mal’s Scheune,” accessed August 1, 2018, <https://youtube/oNjMZHUBhM>.

75 Source of the Arabic text is the article “Musik verbindet Flüchtlinge und Berliner” (Music combines refugees and Berliners) written by the journalist Abdulrahman Osmaren for the Berlin newspaper “Der Tagesspiegel,” October 15, 2015, see “Die Gedanken sind frei,” accessed August 20, 2018, <https://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/jetzt-schreiben-wir-musik-verbindet-fluechtlinge-und-berliner/14691074.html>.

76 Source *ibid*.

“Die Gedanken sind frei” – lyrics	
The Begegnungschor has sung the song on the 25 May 2018 with the following stanzas ⁷⁷	
First stanza: Die Gedanken sind frei. Wer kann sie erraten? Sie fliegen vorbei Wie nächtliche Schatten. Kein Mensch kann sie wissen, Kein Jäger erschossen mit Pulver und Blei: die Gedanken sind frei.	Fifth stanza: Und sperrt man mich ein Im finsternen Kerker, Das alles sind rein Vergebliche Werke; Denn meine Gedanken Zerreißen die Schranken Und Mauern entzwei: Die Gedanken sind frei.
Second stanza: ⁷⁸ Iza mumkin fiena nirfaa rayaat al-huriya al-fikkra mitel nadschma fi l-aatma tilmaa kan ya ma kan fi miena kan yighanni aghan'ena bidna nismaa saut an-nay challi yaala saut an-nay	Sixth stanza: Nun will ich auf immer Den Sorgen entsagen, Und will mich auch nimmer Mit Grillen mehr plagen. Man kann ja im Herzen Stets lachen und scherzen Und denken dabei: Die Gedanken sind frei.
Third stanza: See First stanza	Seventh stanza: Ich liebe den Wein, Mein Mädchen vor allen, Sie tut mir allein Am besten gefallen. Ich bin nicht alleine Bei meinem Glas Weine, Mein Mädchen dabei: die Gedanken sind frei.
Fourth stanza: Ich denke, was ich will Und was mich beglückt, Doch alles in der Still' Und wie es sich schicket. Mein Wunsch und Begehren Kann niemand verwehren. Es bleibet dabei: Die Gedanken sind frei.	
Remark: for a translation into English, see under https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Die_Gedanken_sind_frei .	


Table 6: “Die Gedanken sind frei” – lyrics as sung by the BC on May 25, 2018.

⁷⁷ Copy by D. Klebe, on her written documentation of the performance.

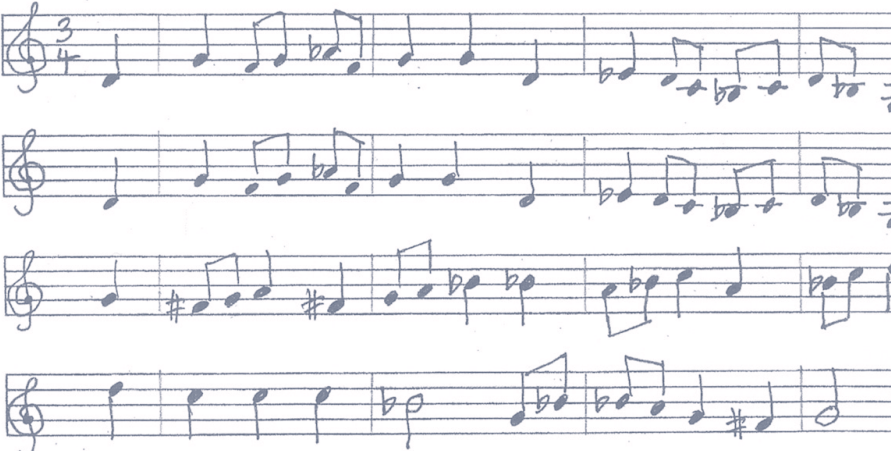
⁷⁸ Source for the Arabic text, see the issue of the newspaper “Der Tagesspiegel”, October 15, 2015.

“Die Gedanken sind frei” – music notation of the melody

Basic melody, first stanza



Melody variation for the fifth stanza



The image displays two sections of musical notation for the song "Die Gedanken sind frei". The first section, titled "Basic melody, first stanza", consists of four staves of music in 3/4 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The melody is written in a treble clef and features a mix of quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes, with some rests. The second section, titled "Melody variation for the fifth stanza", also consists of four staves in the same 3/4 time and key signature. This variation introduces more complex rhythmic patterns, including sixteenth-note runs and some chromatic alterations, while maintaining the overall melodic contour of the original piece.

Figure 6: “Die Gedanken sind frei”, partly de-ornamented music notation of the basic melody and a variation form of fifth strophe.

In the third strophe the choir starts to sing the basic melody in *unisono*, some male choristers sing selected melody parts transposed an octave higher, the second part of the strophe is sung by the choir as arranged in a homophonic, simple harmonic manner.

In the fourth strophe, the basic melody is rhythmized and arranged in a Brazilian-like rhythmic style. Onomatopoeic syllables, like *papalapapap*, are additionally sung, rhythmically structured to the *samba*-like rhythm, and the choir's members are moving their bodies rhythmically. The fifth strophe is arranged with a change in the key. The scale of the basic melody, the major key is turned into minor, giving the melody an "orientalized" character through using a one-and-a-half tone step (see Figure 6). A soloist partly sings melodic ornamentations and melisma in a free meter and retarding manner. Solo and choir parts are sung alternately.

The sixth strophe is arranged as a Shout and Rap chant.

The seventh strophe is sung by the choir in a homophonic arrangement of the basic melody, ending with some voices partly changing into a higher register.

5. Conclusion

The two featured mixed choirs with instrumental accompaniment belong to two fundamentally different choral models. From the large number of choral models briefly mentioned in the general section, the BİK is characterized by the type of the "self-help principle". This is a principle with relatively closed internal structures, which obtain a rather closed and specifically defined group character through certain ideological or dogmatic definitions. Such choirs with very special, in this case national orientations or even hermetic encapsulations, are in danger of a short lifespan, but can also exist across generations or centuries. The BİK has not shown signs of life since 1986, though the official date of its dissolution is not known. Maybe the choir and its leader Tahsin Incirci, a strong personality, did not withstand huge political and economic changes. The BC Begegnungschor is a very powerful project - it is open, young, modern, a "breath of fresh air", international, global. The "tandem partner principle" is aimed at help from the majority society; a refugee has a reference person, so it can also come to quite personal contacts here. However, both choirs can be viewed as successful in terms of self-help. The BİK remained in a narrower sociated group, while the BC is comprised of a wide variety of social groups in a more complex manner. Both choirs have promoted communication and community experiences as well as established and improved interactive contact with the majority society. In addition, re-integrative goals were added to the BİK, as many members were at times thinking of returning to Turkey, which was seldom actually done. Through public appearances, both choirs have had a great response throughout Germany and beyond its borders, while in the music culture of the majority society they have been accepted in different ways.

The detailed analyses of the repertoires and specific songs show that with the interweaving of different cultures, both choirs make an important contribution to the music culture of the majority society. The musical settings of poems for the BİK were based on mutual influences of Western compositional techniques and amalgamations

with elements of traditional Turkish music, like metric-rhythmic structures, such as the *aksak* rhythms, a melodic framework with characteristic tone groups of one-and-a-half tone steps. With the instrumental accompaniment, heterophonic and non-heterophonic parts are created. The arrangements for the BC are comprised of solo and choir alternations. Soloists often sing melodies from their native repertoire and incorporate improvisations in an “orientalizing” style. The artistic director of the BC has complemented and loosened up the arrangements by setting single music strophes with dance-like rhythms, which stimulate the choral members to dance movements and, in the case of sing-along concerts, also spreading quickly to the audience.

Both choirs have developed a repertoire that did not exist before in this way. By setting the political literature into music, the artistic director of the BİK has created a compositional oeuvre which is relatively homogenous in itself, and which can be regarded as a novelty in the field of choral repertoire. The repertoire of the BC has a broad spectrum, consists of songs which had been passed on in aural/oral or written transmission and were arranged additionally, and of present-time compositions. The songs originate from Germany, from Mediterranean cultures, traditional songs from other continents, belong to pop music of the mainstream, and even pieces from Western art music. There are differently structured arrangements which give some pieces of music an unexpected new shape.

Regarding the repertoire formation, the BİK has a relatively closed repertoire based on a limited period of time and a genre. The BC, on the other hand, shows a constantly changing repertoire, supplemented by the knowledge of individual choir members, in a form of “new openness”.

In the overall assessment, the “tandem partner principle” of the BC is a very positive and stabilizing model compared to the “self-help principle” of the BİK. While the BİK lost its “breath” too soon for a longer existence, one can hope for the BC that the “breath” of the choir lasts for a long time and the “tandem partner principle” is expected to provide very positive impulses for the future.

Recent research in general anthropology and its neighboring disciplines has shown that the integration of the foreigner into a closed social group is unique to human beings. Music-making (as seen from the earliest developments of human culture) and especially the choirs can play a major and powerful role in this process and thus contribute to the currently highly pressing issue of the integration of migrants into the ‘new’ society.

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POVZETEK

Članek analizira tradicijo in ustanavljanje zborov v Nemčiji po drugi svetovni vojni: znotraj manjšin po začetku migracij v Zvezno republiko Nemčijo od leta 1955 naprej in po združitvi Nemčij (1990) ter v povezavi z migracijami beguncev od leta 2015. Iz obeh obdobjev je bil izbran po en zbor glede na svoj položaj v skupnosti kot tudi glede na povezave z večinskim prebivalstvom. Za izbor je bilo pomembno, da sta bila oba mešana zbora in da ju spremljajo glasbeniki. Položaj zborov je določen v oziru na razvoj zborovske tradicije v Nemčiji. Primerjalni razmisleki naslavljajo socialne in z glasbo povezane poglede. En poudarek je na vprašanih kreativnih oblik samopomoči, drugi pa osvetljuje pomen kreativnih oblik glasbeno kulturnih interakcij in medsebojnih vplivov. Pri tem se pojavijo vprašanja, do kakšne mere so ti razvoji dokončani oz. še odprti, kar se kaže na repertoarju in/ali posameznih

pesmih. Raziskava je pokazala, da se v besedilih mešajo besede različnih jezikov, nastajajo nove kombinacije različnih zvočnih sistemov in tehnik skladanja. Tradicionalni elementi so sestavljeni v nove jezikovne in glasbene stvaritve, še zlasti na osnovi zlitja »zahodne« in mediteranske, a tudi zahodnoazijske glasbe ter s skladanjem »orientalskih« jazz, brazilskih, govornih/rap in popularnih stilov. V zaključku sledi presoja, kako uspešno sta zbora uporabila različne socialne modele, in poudarek o pomembnosti prispevka zborov h glasbeni kulturi večinskega prebivalstva v povezavi s kreativnimi in novimi kompozicijskimi deli, ki so predstavljala novosti za zborovske repertoarje, ter s skladbami z veliko variacijami, ki so nastale pod vplivom lokalne, pa tudi svetovne glasbe. Zbora sta odigrala ključno vlogo pri integraciji migrantov in beguncev v »novo« družbo; prav tako pa je tudi v prihodnosti mogoče pričakovati nove pobude.