

Evaluation of Training Process of Choir Conductor and Orchestra Conductor in Turkey

Türkiye'de Koro Şefi ve Orkestra Şefi Yetiştirme Sürecinin Değerlendirilmesi

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to evaluate the process of becoming a choir, orchestra conductor, the field qualifications required for conducting, the criteria for being appointed to state art institutions as a conductor, and the training process of a conductor in Turkey. The "narrative research" approach, one of the qualitative methods, was used in the research. The study group of the research consists of individuals who work in state art institutions such as Turkish Radio and Television Corporation, Ministry of Culture, State Opera and Ballet, orchestra, choir conductor, and ensemble manager. In the research, interviews were conducted with the participants using a semi-structured interview form developed by the researcher. According to the results of the analysis, almost all conductors started conducting after working as vocal or instrumental artist in a music ensemble. Most of the conductors started to receive music education as an amateur at a young age, and a small number of them received vocational music education/conducting education. The status of being appointed as a conductor and taking the title varies according to institutions and music genres. It is not necessary to have professional music education/conducting training to be a conductor in other fields, except for the Presidential Symphony Orchestra Conductors, Turkish Radio and Television Corporation Polyphonic Choir Conductors, and Ministry of Culture Polyphonic Choir Conductors.

Keywords: Choir Conductor, Education, Maestro, Music, Orchestra Conductor

ÖZ

Bu çalışmanın amacı, Türkiye'de koro ve orkestra şefi olma sürecini, şeflik için gerekli alan yeterlilikleri, devlet sanat kurumlarına şef olarak atanma kriterlerini ile şef yetiştirme sürecini değerlendirmektir. Araştırmada nitel yöntemlerden biri olan "Anlatı Araştırması Yaklaşımı" kullanılmıştır. Araştırmanın çalışma grubunu TRT, Kültür Bakanlığı, Devlet Opera ve Balesi, orkestra, koro şefi ve topluluk yöneticisi gibi devlet sanat kurumlarında görev yapan bireyler oluşturmaktadır. Araştırmada, katılımcılarla araştırmacı tarafından geliştirilen yarı yapılandırılmış görüşme formu kullanılarak görüşmeler gerçekleştirilmiştir. Analiz sonuçlarına göre orkestra şeflerinin tamamına yakını bir müzik topluluğunda vokal veya saz sanatçısı olarak çalıştıktan sonra şefliğe başlamıştır. Orkestra şeflerinin çoğu küçük yaşta amatör olarak müzik eğitimi almaya başlamış, az bir kısmı ise mesleki müzik eğitimi ya da şeflik eğitimi almıştır. Orkestra şefliğine atanma ve unvan alma durumları kurumlara ve müzik türlerine göre değişmektedir. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Senfoni Orkestrası Şefleri, TRT Çoksesli Koro Şefleri, Kültür Bakanlığı Çoksesli Koro Şefleri dışında başka alanlarda şef olabilmek için mesleki müzik eğitimi ya da şeflik eğitimi almış olmak şartı aranmaz.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Koro Şefi, Eğitim, Maestro, Müzik, Orkestra Şefi

Introduction

Brief History of Conducting

It is seen that the emergence of the concept of conducting in music does not consist of successive and interconnected processes. The concept of conducting for both orchestra and choir has been formed and developed in different ways in different countries, and this situation has spread over a long period.

The conducting, which is named according to the type of music community today, has taken different names in its historical formation and development.

When the concept of "Conducting of Orchestra" is examined, it is seen that there were "conductors" who directed dances by using sharpened stones or sticks as well as some body movements during religious rites in the society of primitive people (Golodnyuk, 2003, cited., Hüseynova, 2013: 128).

It is known that there was someone who "conducted" music in representations as well as the existence of music in ancient Greek tragedies. Bowen (2003), in a document dated 709 BC, mentioned about the presence of the first known Orchestra Conductor named "Ferekides of Patras, who gave rhythm" (cited in Tura, 2010: 5). It was revealed that on the reliefs on this tablet, which was deciphered by Professor Murchard in 1825, it was written, "Strike the stick up and down with equal movements so that everyone fits together" (Akkaya, 2012: 6).

Bayramoğulları (2014: 3) states, as the first examples of choir conducting in Ancient Greece, that the people who led the choir kept rhythm with sandals with metal particles mounted on their feet.

In Rome, it is known that they kept the tempo by banging animal shells or insect shells together. In 95 AD, the Roman writer Marcus Fabius Quantilianus (35 AD–100 AD) wrote in his book, *Instutio Oratoria*, that the people leading the musical ensembles tap their hands or feet (Kılıçaslan, 2010: 12).

In a figure painted at the end of the eleventh century AD, a choirmaster is depicted hitting the ground with his staff, and it is stated that after the discovery of musical notation in the twelfth century, the choir conductors ensured the administration by hitting their hands on the lectern (Say, 1985, cited in Akkaya, 2012: 6).

In the middle ages, the choirmasters held the choir with their right hand, while their left hand had an official symbol similar to a scepter. The oldest information on the use of sticks is in the document dated 1594, which describes how the priests performed music in a Catholic monastery, where the music officer priest, with a well-polished long cylindrical stick in his hand, was told to lead the musicians (Bowen, 2003, cited in Tura, 2010: 6). The decorated heavy wands, symbolizing that these people belonged to high status, over time turned into battuta, which was a means of governing (Schultz, 2001, cited in Hüseynova, 2013: 128).

Vural (2010: 22) states that the interpretation problems in church music, or the problems related to the unity of the singers, are tried to be solved with the hand movements of the conductor, mostly by moving the hands forward and backward and that the singers use tools such as sticks and handkerchiefs (sometimes a handkerchief tied to a stick) to attract the attention of the singers, which also emphasizes that this kind of conducting lasted until the sixteenth century.

In the seventeenth century, in parallel with the development of instruments and the emergence of the concept of the orchestra, the identity of conducting gained great importance. It is stated that the first conductor to conduct the orchestra with the baton was J. W. Stamitz, who was also the founder of Mannheim School (Akkaya, 2012: 6).

Conducting has developed through a transitional period in which very different practices are seen simultaneously. With the development of opera at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the harpsichordist kept the tempo, and the chief violinist directed the orchestral accompaniment with the movements of the bow in the system that could be called "Co-Management," which was carried out together by the harpsichordist and the chief violinist in opera and vocal works.

At the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, conductors began to take an active role not only in concert halls but also in operas. During the first half of the nineteenth century, on the one hand, the first conducting experiments were carried out due to the need arising from the fact that the newly written works had a more complicated writing style, the enrichment of instrumental music, and the emergence of new genres, while on the other hand, the old traditions continued. In this period, the rulers moved away from using only technical methods and turned to artistic methods. Rhythm is not limited to tempo and intros; therefore, they tried to reveal the expression as well as tone harmony, specifying different colors, and highlighting the differences (Bayramoğulları, 2014: 4).

By the end of the nineteenth century, with the development of art, the art of conducting made its existence accepted as a profession. Since conducting training was considered a separate branch in many European countries, skillful and very good maestros were trained in this period (Bayramoğulları, 2014: 4).

Today, there are still conductors who conduct with or without staff. The main purpose of using the stick is to make the tempo more clearly visible to the performers. The basic view of maestros who rule with their hands is that the stick makes their right hand useless. They think that they can explain the music better with their hands and fingers when they are conducting without sticks. Stokovski was one of the conductors who said that he had 10 batons by using his fingers instead of a baton (Feridunoğlu, 2004, cited in Vural, 2010: 23).

Conducting Today

It will be appropriate to refer to the current definitions of the concept of conducting, whose historical development is conveyed. In this direction, first, the definition of conductor is that "The conductor is the musician who coordinates the orchestra and leads the instrument artists and direct them in terms of musical expression. The conductor, who undertakes the artistic responsibility of the ensemble, is responsible for expressing the rhythmic movement with his beats, applying the tempo, signaling the entrance of the instrumentalists to their own party, obtaining the musical dynamics in a healthy way, helping to resolve the vocalization errors, and above all, the

interpretation that emerges by observing the timbre balances is clear, understandable, performs a fundamental artistic obligation such as ensuring that it is presented in a sensitive musical integrity" (Say, 2002: 404).

The background of a conductor's education requires a good musical education. A good conductor knows all the instruments played in the orchestra and can play one or more of them. The most important value of a good conductor is his trained ear. He not only hears all the mixed sounds produced by all the musicians in the orchestra but also distinguishes each note played one by one. The conductor, who can distinguish every note, understands and knows the late and early entries. He does not forget a single part of the piece to be performed.

Comprehensive education and training systems for orchestra conducting and choir conducting have been formed in the historical process. Candidates for conductor can receive conducting training at universities and conservatories. There are undergraduate conducting training programs at 10 universities in the United States. These universities are as follows: Boston University, Michigan State University, Northwestern University, Temple University, University of Oregon, Texas Tech University, University of Northern Iowa, Portland State University, University of Michigan, and the University of Washington. In Europe, orchestra and choir conducting are given as separate training programs. Mostly in Europe, orchestra conducting and choir conducting educations are given as master's degree after composition undergraduate education. A total of 125 universities in Europe provide music education at the undergraduate level, 7 of which provide conducting education at the master's level (U.S. Statistics, 2022).

In 2014, U.S. education programs are 4-year programs that include conducting undergraduate degrees (called B.Mus. or B.M.), conducting lessons, amateur orchestral experience, and music history and music theory courses. The students to be conductors are given a comprehensive education. Orchestra conductors are expected to be able to rehearse orchestral and choral works and lead choirs. Therefore, conductors need to know the main languages used in choral writing (including French, Italian, and Latin, among others) and understand the correct diction of these languages in the context of choral singing. The reverse is also true: a choirmaster is expected to rehearse and conduct a string orchestra or full orchestra while performing works for choir and orchestra. Therefore, a choirmaster must know how to rehearse and conduct instrument parts. Another subject that the students work on is the languages used in the opera (U.S. Statistics, 2022).

The master's degree in conducting (M.mus.) consists of private conducting lessons, ensemble experience, coaching, and postgraduate courses in music history and music theory, and one or two concerts. A master's degree in music (referred to as M.Mus. or M.M.) is usually the minimum qualification required for those wishing to become professors of conducting (U.S. Statistics, 2022).

Doctor of Music Arts (referred to as D.M.A., DMA, D.Mus.A., or A.Mus.D) conducting degrees provide an opportunity for further education at the highest artistic and pedagogical level, often requiring an additional 54+ credit hours beyond the master's degree (approximately 30+ credits beyond the bachelor's degree). Therefore, admission is highly selective. Music history, music theory, ear training/dictation exams and entrance exams, and auditions are mandatory. Students perform a series of conducted concerts, including an accompanying doctoral thesis, conference with advanced courses as well as a self-conducted concert. Students must maintain a minimum B average. A DMA is a degree and therefore an academician who is qualified with DMA can teach at colleges, universities, and conservatories. In addition to academic work, another part of the educational path for many conductors is conducting amateur orchestras such as youth orchestras, school orchestras, and community orchestras (U.S. Statistics, 2022).

Orchestral conducting education has been based on a very recent past in Türkiye. Until the second half of the 1990s, prospective conductors were only working under the auspices of great conductors and were taking their places in musical life after studying abroad. Starting from the 1997–1998 academic year, the Master's Class in Art was opened at the Hacettepe University State Conservatory, and in 1999, the first orchestra and choir conducting graduates were given. In the following years, the department started to become widespread with undergraduate and graduate classes opened at Bilkent University, Istanbul University, Başkent University, Kocatepe University, and Mimar Sinan University. In these departments, lessons such as basic conducting techniques, technical information on wind, string and percussion instruments, twentieth-century composition techniques, and composition are given to meet the basic musical requirements of the conductor (Vural, 2010: 65).

The art of singing together (collectively) within certain rules is called the choir. As for choir conducting, the individual who trains and directs this ensemble of human voices is the choirmaster.

The choirmaster is primarily a trainer. He/she is the leader of the community he/she manages. Developing and strengthening the feelings of friendship, cohesion, solidarity, interaction, and sharing these properties among the choir members, which originate from making music together and take its essence from the love of music, can only be realized with the choirmaster's impressive, guiding, and reassuring personality (Çevik, 1997: 147).

According to Çevik (1997: 146), the choir director should be able to use management techniques effectively and in an aesthetic appearance. In addition to his educational formation, he/she should be able to perform voice training in the choir. He/she must have a rich choral repertoire and must have acquired knowledge of choir music and stylistic features of historical periods. He/she should be careful and attentive in using his mother tongue have a good diction and articulation, and be knowledgeable about language–music relations (prosody). He/she must also have good hearing and musical memory.

Conducting at Türkiye

Conducting in Türkiye has followed a different development process, which sometimes has not overlapped with the standards in classical music. To understand and deal with the current position of conductors in Türkiye, it is necessary to explain the change, development,

and existence of communities and the institutions of conducting from the past to the present. We can examine the historical process of conducting in Türkiye, such as the structure of musical ensembles in the pre-Republican period and what changes were seen after the proclamation of the republic, whether the conductors took part in the ensembles or not, the status of being involved in music education.

While examining this process, it is appropriate to mention the existence of conductorship in the musical ensembles in the Turkish music tradition. It is noteworthy that there has always been a conductor who addresses the ensemble in both education and presentation of music. The transfer of Turkish music from generation to generation has continued with an education method called meşk. "Meşk was performed in five different communities: Enderun-u Hümayun, Mehterhane-i Hümayun, Mevlevihanes, musical craftsmen's guilds and private meşkhane" (Tanrıkorur, 2003: 22). In these schools, students were trained under the control of their masters.

In terms of conducting, in mosque music, the ser-muezzin (chief muezzin) does not have a stick, but sits with the other muezzins and assumes the leadership of the community. In lodge music, Ser-zakirân (chief Zakir) in tekke (dervish lodge), chief kudumzen, and chief neyzen (ney Player) in Mevlevihanes are responsible for the management of the music works, the changes in the style, and the beginnings and the endings. In fasıl music, he conducts by singing as ser-hanende (chief singer) and striking the rhythm with the tef (tambourine) in his hand. Ser-sazende (chief instrumentalist) is also used in fine saz (instrument) communities, its performance serves as a guide for other sazendes (instrumentalists). The management style in these examples is similar to the management style of the experienced musicians, called "tenorista," who led the bands and made various warnings such as "do not shout" or "more slowly" in the ears of the singers.

When we examine the pre-republican period in Türkiye, we can see that classical music culture entered in the Ottoman Empire under the leadership of III. Selim became a genre that was trained and performed in official institutions in the nineteenth century. According to Ayangil (2006:15), major changes such as the end of Enderun, the establishment of Muzika-i Hümayun, and the popularity of anthems of Guatelli Pasha instead of Dede Efendi, point to a change of taste, an inclination, a trend.

The muezzin and sazende (instrumentalist) communities were united under the roof of Mızıkı-ı Hümayun, and western works began to take place in the repertoire of the palace orchestra and the harem band. It is a remarkable change that these structures are tried to be applied to Turkish music ensembles as opposed to the choral and orchestral structures that naturally take place in European music.

The first choral performance in Turkish Music was the "Cemil concert," which was open to the public in 1920 under the direction of Ali Rifat Çağatay. Çağatay is the first musician to appear in front of the choir and become a conductor with a baton in this concert (Özer, 1995: 43).

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the choir performances under the direction of Mesud Cemil Bey drew attention by using the nuances, and harmonies that could address the common vocal fields of male and female readers (Aksoy, 2006: 5). Although it was criticized by traditional circles at the time, Mesud Cemil Choir set a precedent for the establishment of other choirs in the country over time. The beginning of these choir formations led to the need for conducting.

In the period after the proclamation of the Republic, in 1924, the Muzika-i Hümayun, which was established during the Ottoman period, was moved from Istanbul to Ankara by the order of Atatürk. Osman Zeki Üngör was the conductor of the orchestra, the first institution in the history of the Republic.

Following these developments, radios have an important place as one of the innovations and developments in the field of art and music education because, in the performances performed on the radios, although not officially, there is a conductor that naturally takes place within the ensemble.

After Istanbul Radio on May 6, 1927, Ankara Radio made its first broadcast in 1928. During this period, many of the artists who worked at Istanbul Radio were invited to Ankara, and some members of the Presidential Fasıl Communities were transferred to Ankara Radio. By classifying the instrumentalists, "Classical Chorus," "İnce Saz," and "Küme Fasıl" communities were formed in the performance of Classical Turkish Music. The formation of these communities and new music communities is important in terms of conducting, so a director is required for each formed music community.

In 1941, Ankara Radio had Bureau A (National Music Branch) and Bureau B (Western Music Branch). In 1947, Yurttan Sesler Ensemble separated from the Turkish Classical Music (TCM) choir and gained a new identity within the institution, and officially started to work, so the Turkish Folk Music (TFM) choir was formed in addition to the TCM choir (Güney, 2010: 40).

The Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT) was established in May 1, 1964, with private law, as an autonomous legal entity, to carry out radio and television broadcasts on behalf of the state. When TRT was established, Turkish Classical Music and Turkish Folk Music choirs, which were already formed within Ankara Radio, were also included in the institution, and then, with the efforts of Hikmet Şimşek and Muammer Sun, TRT Ankara Radio Polyphonic Choir was established in 1970 as Türkiye's first professional acapella choir. This choir was established within the body of TRT General Directorate. Thus, ensembles belonging to three music genres, Turkish Folk Music, Turkish Classical Music, and Polyphonic Music took place within TRT. The formation of these three music communities has an important place for conducting in Türkiye because conductors who will direct these three communities have also been appointed.

A. Adnan Saygun was appointed as the head of the Presidential Symphony Orchestra (PSO) in 1934 while the radios continued to be structured. Hikmet Şimşek conducted the orchestra as an assistant conductor between 1957 and 1986, and Gürer Aykal, who was

appointed as assistant conductor of the orchestra in 1974, was appointed as the head conductor in 1988 according to the provisions of the special law numbered 6940.

The formation of musical ensembles in Türkiye and the formation of concept of conducting differs from ensemble to band.

There are "Yurttan Sesler Ensemble" and "Turkish Classical Music Ensemble" within the body of the Turkish Radio and Television Corporation. These ensembles are formations that host the orchestra and the choir at the same time and perform unison music. Turkish Folk Music and TCM music formations were named ensembles, and the individuals who led them were called "Maestro."

The TRT Ankara Radio Polyphonic Chorus was formed in a structure that corresponds to the word "Choir." The director of this choir is called the "Choir Conductor."

The "Presidential Symphony Orchestra" is one of the leading professional orchestras under the Ministry of Culture and performing classical music, and there are also the "State Symphony Orchestras" in Istanbul, Izmir, Çukurova, Antalya, and Bursa. There are six state-affiliated orchestras called the Symphony Orchestra and the conductors of these orchestras are called "Orchestra Conductors."

Under the name of the ensemble under the Ministry of Culture, similar to the naming on TRT, There are nine Turkish Music ensembles as "Ankara Turkish World Music Ensemble," "Istanbul Historical Turkish Music Ensemble," "Istanbul State Modern Folk Music Ensemble," "Istanbul State Turkish Music Ensemble," "Istanbul State Turkish Music Ensemble," "Turkish Music Research and Application Ensemble," "Edirne State Turkish Music Ensemble," "Konya Turkish Sufi Music Ensemble," "Izmir State Turkish World Dance and Music Ensemble," and those who manage them are called "Ensemble Artistic Director."

"Ankara State Polyphonic Music Choir" within the Ministry of Culture takes place in a structure that literally provides the equivalent of the word "Choir" and the conductor of this ensemble acts as the "Choir Conductor."

It is not appropriate to call these communities a choir due to their formation because there is also an orchestra, but they have been under the name of choir for years under the Ministry of Culture. There are 12 formations as the "State Classical Turkish Music Chorus" as "Ankara State Turkish Folk Music Choir," "Istanbul State Turkish Folk Music Choir," "Sivas State Turkish Folk Music Choir," "Şanlıurfa State Turkish Folk Music Chorus," "Presidential Classical Turkish Music Chorus," "İzmir State Classical Turkish Music Chorus," "Ankara State Classical Turkish Music Chorus," "Bursa State Classical Turkish Music Chorus," "Diyarbakır State Classical Turkish Music Chorus," "Elazığ State Classical Turkish Music Chorus," "Samsun State Classical Turkish Music Chorus," and "Mersin State Classical Turkish Music Choir." Although the directors of the "Choirs" are also called "Choir Conductors," these formations are different structures from the "Choir" as they are the formations that host the orchestra and the choir at the same time and make unison music. It may be conceptually more appropriate to call these musical ensembles as a "community/ensemble" and to call the rulers as "community maestros/ensemble maestros."

It is seen that there are some deficiencies in the naming of musical formations from the past to the present. The difference between the concepts of choir conductor, orchestra conductor, maestro, artistic director, and ensemble maestro has just started to come to the fore in our time. For example, the art director assumes the task of supervising the "director (conductor)," giving ideas, and expertise; that is, he does not act as a maestro, but the communities of the ministry of culture are managed by the "community art director." This naming is conceptually incomplete and incorrect. Although these concepts are not fully known yet, they are often confused with each other.

In addition to the conceptual deficiencies, there are some problems and deficiencies in the readiness, professional competence, and training of the conductors. For example, as a result of considering the professional readiness levels of the ensemble maestro who direct Turkish music ensembles together with the changing and developing musical structure, not only their regional or modal proficiency but also musical proficiency, conducting techniques, nuance in performance, musicality, harmony, orchestration knowledge, etc., it can be thought that having the necessary qualifications can be beneficial for management techniques and the profession of conducting. It is possible that the conductors' knowledge of these basic principles is not parallel to local and modal/maqam qualifications, personal experience, knowledge, and self-education. These competencies may not be acquired through informal ways such as master-apprentice relationships, seminars, or self-education. Ideally, it is necessary to have received training in the field of "Conducting in Turkish Music," and at least professional music education.

Symphony orchestra and polyphonic choir performances, on the other hand, continue to exist as the accumulation of a centuries-old tradition and culture. Orchestra conductors can pass before the orchestra as a conductor after qualified and long-term training in conducting an orchestra. After the orchestra conducting training, they work as assistant conductor for a certain period and then gain the title of the conductor. Choir conductors, on the other hand, can practice this profession by adopting the process of recognizing, training, and managing the human voice as a whole. It is thought that the conductors of polyphonic music ensembles are more competent in having vocational music education than the maestros of traditional music ensembles in these contexts.

As a result of the explanations made from the beginning of the introduction until here, the problem sentence was formed in line with the evaluation of the field qualifications required for conducting, the criteria for being appointed to state art institutions as a conductor, and the training process of a maestro: "How is the process of raising a choir conductor and orchestra conductor in Turkey?"

Methods

Research Model

In this study, in which the upbringing of choir conductors and conductors was examined through the conductors' own stories, the "narrative research" approach, one of the qualitative methods, was used (Creswell, 2016: 70). Narrative research is primarily a way to

understand the experiences, but also a research methodology. A narrative exploration of their experiences allows the researcher to do a close examination of individuals' experiences over time and context. Researchers using narrative research closely examine the life stories of individuals in three dimensions: place, time, and sociability, on the one hand, and try to interpret and make sense of each story in terms of broader cultural, social, and institutional narratives, on the other. However, not only researchers but also participants take an active role in narrative research, and researcher–participant interaction creates the story (Clandinin, 2006: 45). Thus, the lives and experiences of individuals are explored with the participation of both parties. Various designs such as biographical study, auto ethnography, autobiography, life history, or oral history can be used in narrative research (Creswell, 2016: 73).

In the research, of these designs, the "biography" technique was used. In the studies, which are called biographical narrative research (Wengraf, 2001: 116), the life experiences of the participants are examined, generally using the interview technique (Qin Zhao & Poulson, 2006: 125). The participants, who are in the position of the narrators of their own lives, are directed to a certain side with the questions of the researcher, and the focus of the research is maintained. The "thing" that makes narrative research a narrative rather than a story is the maintenance of focus, the willingness of individuals not only to seek connection and harmony but also to acknowledge that different perspectives, voices, and experiences exist and can provide information. While this enables the participant's life experiences to be handled from a much broader perspective, it makes it possible to consider the participant's story holistically.

Each discipline creates and deepens various uses of narrative research by applying narrative research methodology in its field (Clandinin, 2006: 44). Narrative studies, as in many disciplines, have gained importance in the field of music education, especially in recent years (McCarthy, 2007: 3). In this field, especially young career researchers try to portray their career journeys by focusing on the life stories of experienced music educators or performers in the field of music.

Considering this study specifically, it is seen that it is based on the literature on biographical narrative research, the career journeys of choir and orchestra conductors, in other words, career stories, regarding their becoming choir or orchestra conductors are investigated.

The Study Group

The study group of the research, as can be seen in Table 1 consists of individuals working in state art institutions (TRT, Ministry of Culture, State Opera, and Ballet), orchestra, choir conductor, and ensemble maestro. Interviews have been carried out with one symphony orchestra conductor, three polyphonic choir conductors, two Turkish folk music ensembles, and two Turkish classical music ensembles, who have 15 years or more experience, and volunteer to participate in the research, and are senior among the other conductors in the ensemble they work for and are working in ensembles with different musical genres.

The Measurement Tools

As a data collection tool, literature was scanned and consulted to examine the basic concepts and subjects of orchestra and choir conducting. Interviews were conducted with individuals working in state art institutions, universities, orchestras, choirs, and ensembles. The best way to search the life story of the individual in narrative research is to carry out interviews with the individual (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990: 5). Through interviews, the life stories of individuals can be examined in depth. Rather than conducting these interviews randomly, they are formed within a focused framework with semi-structured interview forms. In this context, the researcher created a semi-structured interview form. The interview form was prepared by taking the opinions of experts in the fields of measurement and evaluation, music education, and art education to collect the necessary data to achieve the purpose of the research; and the interviews were carried out within the framework of these questions.

Data Collection

The researcher collected the data in a face-to-face and online (video) environment. As a result of collecting the data in this way, the participants expressed their learning experiences, observations, feelings, and thoughts about the past and future in the form of oral life stories. Conducting the data collection process based on interviews has highlighted the advantages of narrative research.

These advantages are as follows:

- It enabled the development of a clearer perspective on the life of the individual and a better understanding of the individual's emotions.
- Information was obtained about the insight into the individual's life.
- Before and after events that the individual considered important, in other words, their chronology was understood.

	Organization	Type of Music	Field	Experience
Maestro 1	P.S.O./University	Classical Music	Orchestra Conductor	37 years
Maestro 2	Ministry of Culture	Turkish Folk Music	Choir Conductor	27 years
Maestro 3	Ministry of Culture	Classical Music	Choir Conductor	15 years
Maestro 4	TRT	Turkish Folk Music	Maestro	21 years
Maestro 5	TRT	Classical Music	Choir Conductor	28 years
Maestro 6	TRT	Turkish Classical Music	Maestro	37 years
Maestro7	TRT	Turkish Classical Music	Maestro	25 years
Maestro8	TRT/University	Classical Music	Choir Conductor	38 years

- While listening to the life story of an individual, an idea about the account of the past and satisfaction with his life was obtained.

Considering all these advantages, the role of the researcher in the data collection process is described as "research-based friendship" rather than a detective investigating the life of the individual.

The interviewees were allowed to reflect their opinions on the subject with impartiality, without restricting their answers. Interviews were conducted with the interviewees independently of each other, at separate times and places. Audio or video recordings of the interviews were made with the permission of the interviewees.

The Analysis of the Variables

Although different researchers suggest different approaches for data analysis in qualitative research, analysis processes generally follow one stage (Creswell & Poth, 2016: 148). The first stage of qualitative data includes organizing the data set for analysis, the researcher's reading the data more than once, and creating dominance over the data. In this context, the audio and video recordings obtained in the research were listened to more than once by the researcher, and notes were taken, and the participants' stories about their lives were visualized in the mind of the researcher. Thus, the researcher gained deep insight and knowledge about the life story of each participant.

After this information and insight acquisition phase, the data were analyzed.

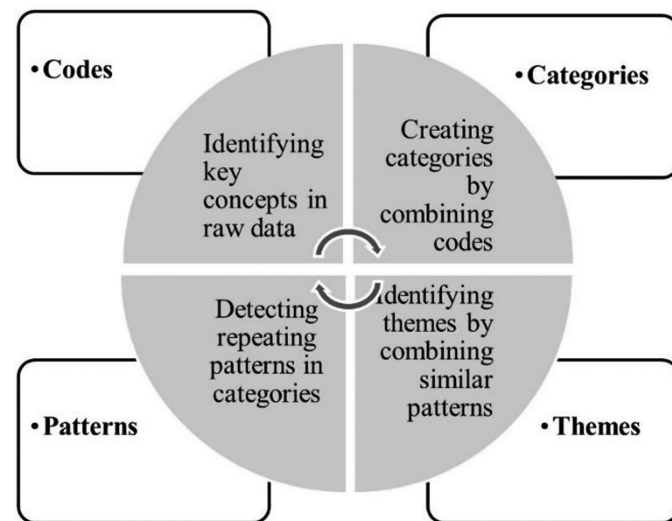


Figure 1.
Analysis Process.

While the researcher emphasized on the objectivity and he pointed out the need to analyze data meticulously in narrative studies, he also emphasized the post-structural role of the researcher in narrative studies. Because narrative analysis not only collects the life stories of individuals but also enables the researchers to understand individuals by the nature of life by discovering patterns and differences as a result of interviews with multiple individuals. Accordingly, while creating code-category themes, the data were analyzed based on rigor and objectivity, and, at the same time, patterns and differences were not overlooked, and a holistic approach was approached.

In the qualitative analysis phase using the Maxqda program, first, the interviews were deciphered, and then the line-by-line analysis of the deciphered interviews began. At this stage, the data of each interviewer were handled separately and the coding process continued within itself. After the coding of the first interviewer's data was completed, patterns began to appear while the second interviewer's data was being coded, and as the process repeated, the themes began to appear (Figure 1).

To ensure the reliability of the codes-categories-themes that emerged as a result of the analyses of the research, two music educators who are experts in their fields were given nine pages of interviews randomly selected from the interviews of the participants and they were asked to analyze them. It was determined that the code-category-themes that emerged as a result of the analysis of the experts overlapped with the code-category-themes obtained by the researcher.

Results

Findings on the Process of Orientation to Choral Conducting and Orchestral Conducting

When the life stories of the participants regarding their orientation to conducting processes were examined, different "experience"-oriented situations emerged. As a result of the analyses of these situations, "social capital," "cultural capital," "role model," "emulate," and "education" situations come to the fore. Bourdieu defines social capital as the sum of real and potential resources obtained through permanent networks based on mutual recognition or group membership and a certain degree of institutionalized relationships (Bourdieu, 1983: 190–191).

From what Maestro 1 conveys about the process of starting to become a conductor, he first shares what it takes to start being a conductor. It can be thought that the situation he calls "luck" exists within social capital: *He states that a few things are required to start conducting an orchestra, firstly desire, secondly luck, thirdly talent, fourthly perseverance.*

Maestro 1 mentioned about his family as artists, which shows the importance of social capital. And he said that both coincidence and his strong desire for the subject were powerful motives that directed him to the conservatory at a young age, as his family was intertwined with music and art, his mother was a professional opera singer and his father was an enthusiastic music lover despite his being a theater artist.

Maestro 2 talked about an opportunity in the process of starting a conductor, which seems to have developed within the scope of his social capital. He started conducting in the years 89–90, when Şanlıurfa State Turkish Folk Music choir was founded, and he added that he entered the choir as an instrumentalist. In 1994, when the conductor of our choir had to leave on a temporary assignment, he received an offer to do the job. He thought about the job a little bit, which was deep inside of him, and he accepted opportunity as if it was going to push a button, so did it happen.

The importance of education and social capital in the process of Maestro 5 draws attention, but as an important finding here, although she considers the process of starting the conductorship as a "coincidence," the situation may not be called "coincidence" considering the factors of social capital and orientation. According to Coleman, social capital represents a resource in which there are expectations of reciprocity and relationships are formed with a high degree of trust and shared values so that an individual goes beyond communication networks (Field, 2008: 28). Maestro 5 started her career when she went to the piano department at the music school at the age of 6, because she wanted to be a pianist. The famous composer Vasif Adigüzel was on the jury in the entrance exams, and he was the principal of that college at the same time. When he announced whether the young girl could direct a stanza or two, she directed it for a while, then three quatrains, four quatrains, six eights. She thought that they were asking her about rhythm or something else, so she directed it like that. They wanted her to direct a musical anthem or a similar music work when they played she easily directed it, which was really good. Vasif Adigüzel said that the one who he looked for was exactly like her, so he offered her choir-conducting job since they had a quota. Although maestro 5 was thinking to be a pianist, since Vasif Adigüzel was a great authority, he insisted her to accept the offer, which was a turning point in her life. That day changed her whole life, which was a coincidence; or else, she had never thought of being a conductor.

Here, the fact that Maestro 5 started music education at a young age is directly related to her social and cultural capital, and the fact that her talent was discovered by the jury in an exam can be seen as an advantage of her social capital.

According to Bourdieu, the positions of individuals are based on two distinction principles. These distinction principles are economic capital and cultural capital. People take their positions according to the weight of their economic capital and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1995: 20–22).

The cultural capital and education of Maestro 3 have an important place in the process of starting conductorship, which an important issue here is that it is equally important in the process of Maestro 5, and the two conductors are conducting in the same musical genre (polyphonic choir). "Education," one of the important themes of the research, shows itself as a more specific and formal education in polyphonic music than other music genres. Maestro 3 regarding the initiation process expressed his ideas about being a conductor as to be a singer in a choir. He stated that he graduated from a German high school where he had German teachers and he sang in the school for five years in the choir. He and his friends and teachers performed concerts with orchestra after which he enrolled Boğaziçi University and performed as a choir member of classical music ensemble. When the conductor left, they offered him to be the conductor which he accepted and found himself in the conductor position.

Here, the importance of taking part in the choir or orchestra becomes evident. Individuals who took part as instruments or voices in maestro 1 and maestro 6 music ensembles, this situation is the same for maestro 3, that is, individuals start conducting after taking part in ensembles and performing voice or instrument in the process.

This issue, which is also of great importance for the research, is the absence of a training program on choir conducting in our country. Maestro 3 states that whatever he learned about choir conducting was abroad. In addition, he mentions the gap in the education program in this field. Although there are choir lessons, choir, and management lessons in undergraduate and high school music education institutions in our country, the absence of the "Choral Conducting" program as an education program hinders the training of conductor candidates who will lead polyphonic choirs. It paves the way for individuals who graduated from educational institutions to become choir conductors as a result of the education they receive with their means. For this reason, because each individual is not equal in terms of opportunities, it can be thought that the process of educating a choir conductor is not healthy and proceeds with individual opportunities.

It is noteworthy that there are many variables in the analysis of the life stories of the participants regarding the process of becoming a conductor, and that there are different triggering factors in the process of starting to become a conductor. When the stories are analyzed, it can be thought that the situations described as "coincidence, chance, being there" actually correspond to social capital and cultural capital.

It cannot be said that the most important element reached here is one, but it can be said that social capital, cultural capital, emulation, role modeling, and education are interrelated processes and have an important place in creating "starting conducting" process.

As an important finding, it was found that all of the conductors came from the communities, regardless of the type of music and conducting. It can be thought that this is a requirement for the profession of conducting because individuals who have served as voices or instruments in an ensemble can be thought of as having the ability to sing or an instrument and are familiar with the dynamics of the ensemble of which they are members. In addition, it was found that the status of being a performer in the ensemble supports the possibility of being a conductor in terms of social capital because it was determined that more than one conductor, while working in the ensemble, moved to the conductor position as a result of the departure of the conductor.

Findings Regarding the Qualifications Required to Be a Choir Conductor or Orchestra Conductor

While examining what kind of changes being a conductor causes in individuals, the necessary characteristics for being a conductor emerge in connection with the changes they see in themselves in line with the experiences of the participants. The conductors grouped under two musical genres, Classical music, and Turkish music, lead ensembles with different characteristics under these areas as well. The prominent elements here were "Leadership," "Cultural Capital," "Musical competence," and "Psychology knowledge." "Musical competence," "Psychological knowledge," etc. were determined as the components of the cultural capital required for conducting and discussed in this context.

Although conductors lead different entities, they have many views that may be similar to each other regarding the changes they experience after transitioning from community member to conductor and the qualifications required for conducting.

Maestro 1 describes the leadership characteristic of the conductor that orchestra and conductor are whole; however, they are two poles repelling each other. In addition, he says that both are friends who get along well, but not they are not two communities facing the same direction. On the contrary, they are two poles conflicting in nature and transforming this conflict into energy to carry it forward. Therefore, he states that a conductor is a leader who kneads and directs the community in accordance with his wishes and gathers all community into a pot of energy with their resistance.

As seen in this transfer, the leadership quality of the conductor is one of the most important qualities that a conductor should have. According to Adair, leadership is the activity of influencing people to follow a certain path (Adair, 2004: 9).

As for Maestro 2 and his ideas about the importance of musical competence, and knowledge of human psychology, he says that commanding both art of music and human existence is not easy to combine both. Therefore, he states that for this, he should know and have a better command of music in general, which puts a lot of responsibilities on him.

Expert Power, one of the leader's characteristics, is based on the fact that the subordinates do not have as much knowledge and experience as the leader in certain subjects. Expert power only applies to a narrow field covering a particular subject. Subordinates fulfill their duties by relying on the leader's knowledge and experience in this regard. Maestro 2's transfer of musical competence can also be considered within the scope of "Expertise Power," one of the Leadership characteristics.

The concepts of education, musical competence, psychology knowledge, and pedagogy, which are the necessary features for conducting, are considered components of the necessary cultural capital for conducting.

Maestro 2 mentions the lack of conducting training in the field of Turkish Folk Music and states that knowledge of choir and orchestra management techniques, namely musical competence, is one of the characteristics. Therefore, he states that a conductor should train himself or herself since there is a deficiency in the country in terms of institutions where conductors will be trained in the field of Turkish Folk Music. Moreover, for doing this, they need to carry out this by researching, living, learning, and observing their education. Naturally, his friends often mention about management techniques, since they say that there is a different production he learned, though he/she is neither an orchestra conductor nor a choir conductor, which implies that, in fact, they are because by this way they feel to master both orchestral and choir management techniques.

The maestro 4 explains the necessity of being a vocal or instrumentalist in the ensemble, that it has advantages, and that a person without instrument knowledge cannot be a conductor, which can be called cultural capital that it is a great advantage for a choir member to be an instrumentalist and to be able to play an instrument as conductors assume that the voices are more comfortable in the performances of those with a vocal artist background as are the instrumentalists. In addition, he adds that even a choir member is the best soloist in the world, he/she cannot be a conductor if he/she does not know to play an instrument.

Maestro 5 states that musical competence and pedagogical aspect as a whole are important and necessary to become a conductor and adds that conducting a choir or an orchestra is not moving hands in the air. He conveys his ideas that even if a person is a good choir-master, has a good technique or theory, is like a book, his being a conductor will be a scandal and he cannot conduct anything since he does not have any pedagogical aspect.

Maestro 8 states that conductors should know the basic musical knowledge by doing and living and adds that a choir trainer or director will know by doing and living basic information, harmony, counterpoint, ear training, and prosody at a good level. And he states that a conductor should play the piano, his/her voice should be good and have pedagogical features, and know psychology, understand a person by looking into his/her eyes, and act accordingly, which makes that conductor a different and equipped conductor.

When examining what kind of changes being a conductor causes in individuals, definitions of the profession of conductor and the necessary characteristics for being a conductor have emerged based on the individual lives of each conductor. Although each conductor conveys his musical genre and conducting, many common points have emerged.

When all of these features and the answers given in the other research questions are examined, it is revealed that the most basic concept/category of being a conductor is cultural capital. The concept refers to institutional capital as education, musical and technical equipment, and related situations, and internalizing cultural capital in terms of embodied and carrying these characteristics in the conductor.

The absence of some of these features seen in the expressions of Turkish music ensemble conductors and the way they are completed/substituted also reveals the need for cultural capital for conducting.

Leadership is one of the main components of the conductor's cultural capital. When they are in the situation of managing the community, they are a member of, the first criterion is that the individual must have leadership qualities. Leadership is not only a characteristic that the leader must have but also means that the community accepts the leader.

In line with the cultural capital theory, one of the most important common features is that all of the conductors take place as vocal or instrument artists in the ensemble they are members of or in another ensemble. In this regard, all of the maestros emphasized that it would be beneficial to come from the community, the necessity, and the importance of providing professional competence.

The most basic of the qualities that a maestro should have is the ability to manage. Because the ability to direct is a skill area like an instrument or sound field. An individual can be a good instrumentalist or a good soloist, but the ability to direct and manage the ensemble using hand movements, gestures, facial expressions, and body during conducting is essential and this ability may not be directly proportional to voice or instrument ability. It is not possible for an individual who cannot manage, to perform his profession properly.

The conductor should have a high level of musical knowledge as one of the components of the cultural capital of conducting, and he should know the fields of music genres, music genres in particular, music theory, history, harmony, counterpoint, prosody, music technologies, and performing arts. He/she should have a command of musical interpretations, and an idea about contemporary works as well as classical literature. All of these characteristics can be called musical competence.

Within the scope of embodied cultural capital components, a maestro's communication with the community should be healthy, and his approach to individuals should be inclusive and positive. The identity of the educator is an important part of the identity of the maestro. The basis for this is pedagogical knowledge. Human communication, being a whole with the community, being solution oriented, and gaining the trust and acceptance of the community are among the requirements of the maestro profession.

Findings Regarding Professional Appointment Criteria in Choir Conducting and Orchestral Conducting Experiences

The processes of the conductors taking part in the orchestra, choir, or ensemble differ according to the institutions. There is a different entrance examination or appointment criteria for each institution, or none at all. The maestros conveyed the basic features that a conductor should have in line with their professional experience and knowledge. Do these characteristics match or are similar to the appointment/assignment criteria applied in government agencies? In this part, where the answer to this question is sought, criteria that vary based on different institutions and have changed over time have been reached. The professional experience period of the maestros is very decisive in this regard, as they convey the changes over time. "Merit," "Education," and "Leadership," which are the components of cultural capital, come at the beginning of the elements that appeared in this field, and also the elements of "Symbolic capital," "Social Capital," and "Political Atmosphere" have emerged.

Maestro 1 states that it is a condition for the conductor to have received orchestral conducting training, then the process of being selected by directing an entire piece given to him takes place. Moreover, he adds his information that mostly young conductors having completed their education are given the opportunity to conduct a concert or a production. To give an example, he states that he was given *La Traviata for the first time in 1982 and he directed Madame Butterfly in 83; and after directing these works with full responsibility, he was offered the position of a music director. As a result, he says that the two performances were his exams to be a conductor.*

Maestro 1 stated that, as a criterion, there is also the condition of having worked as an assistant conductor for 2 years with an important conductor abroad or in the country, but the main thing is that the candidate conducts a given work completely, that is, it is tested by trial. Here, it is seen that selection is made on merit. In addition, the presence of social capital and cultural capital stands out from the transfer of maestro 1. He admits that the case was the same for him and would be the same for all maestros because there are criteria in the following years. For example, there is a criterion in the CSO law and regulation, such as having served for 2 years with an important maestro in the country or abroad, a person can be conductor. In the laws and regulations, the case is so; however, the management of a conductor has always been important in CSO and other symphony orchestras, which is tested by giving a concert. In accordance with this, he says that his first task as a music director was with Izmir State Symphony Orchestra and then I became the general director of CSO, where he worked as an orchestra director for many years; and participated in the administrative staff. He finalizes that after him all his young colleagues were tested and evaluated by trial for this position.

Maestro 2 provided information for the Ministry of Culture Communities regarding the criteria for appointment and the entrance examination and made a lengthy speech and reproach in this part of the research. Because in the current system, there is no requirement for an individual to have professional music education to manage the Ministry of Culture Turkish Folk Music or Art Music ensembles, and there is no entrance exam. These situations are indicative of the lack of cultural capital, negatively affect the acceptance of the leader who lacks cultural capital, and are not in line with the principle of merit.

The merit system, on the other hand, is for the personnel who will work in public services and public institutions. It is the principle of keeping competence as a basis in all conditions in being called to duty, being assigned to duty, advancement, and promotion, displacement, and dismissal (Aykaç, 2003: 390).

Maestro 2 states that this situation causes problems in the community and that there should be training and an entrance exam with the following words. He clarifies his views that there should be an exam and he adds that he, after Mehmet Özbek, has been directing the choir as his successor predecessor. He mentions that when he came to the position, as a young colleague coming from the country, arose some discomfort, which made it difficult to accept this appointment. He agrees with this reaction; however, if there had been an education and a conductor selection exam; there would have been no objection to such appointments. Because the one who passes the exam as the first will have the opportunity to become a conductor.

In these communities, the maestro is appointed from within the community by the relevant unit of the Ministry of Culture. In other words, one becomes a maestro by being selected and appointed through bureaucratic ways, not by being tested, professional knowledge, educational status, measurement, and evaluation. Cultural capital is the ground of legitimacy for becoming a maestro. If this legitimacy does not exist, then the basis of groundless legitimacy is sought in the exam, but there is no exam in this application, which leads to a greater deficiency.

Maestro 2 expresses the lack of cultural capital and states that it is necessary to eliminate it. He states that there should be an entrance exam and that the candidate should have been trained. These requirements should be sought in the entrance examination, as they will complement merit and leadership qualifications. Maestro says about the two criteria that there should be an entrance exam and some criteria. If someone has an intention to be a conductor, he should demonstrate his/her ability. For example, if it is folk music ensemble, the person should have Turkish folk music education in this school. He/she must complete at least bachelor degree, and the maestro is happy that he has finished master degree. In addition to this, a conservatory education should be compulsory for a foremost leadership qualification with pedagogical formation because of the people he/she will lead. Last but not the least, he/she should graduate from the conducting department of school.

Maestro 3 conveyed the subject for the Ministry of Culture State Polyphonic Choir regarding the appointment criteria and the entrance exam, to be appointed as a conductor to this choir, the criteria to graduate from the conducting department, and have 3 years of conducting experience are sought, this is an example of corporate cultural capital. The entrance exam, on the other hand, is held with tradition, a method that does not exist in Turkey and has an important place in research. The choir evaluates the "leadership, communication skills, and musical abilities," that is, the embodied cultural capital of the conductor candidate, who already has the institutional cultural capital. Many conductors are invited to direct the choir, and the choir itself monitors the process of running and directing the choir, and informs the artistic committee chosen from among the choir about the conductor they want to work with, the maestro of the artistic committee notifies the general directorate and the appointment is made in this way. This way, in which the choir chooses the conductor it wants to work within a democratic way is also used in Europe, ensuring the harmony of the choir conductor and being a transparent selection method. It can be said that merit is sought in the full sense because education, performance, and compatibility are looked at. Maestro 3 describes the process that in this regard, Ministry of Culture State Polyphonic Choir has its selectivity, which is unique to this choir as they experiment the conductor candidates they will work with. They carry out this selection in a way that first they invite the conductor candidate to perform a concert. They evaluate him/her while they check the other conductors, which is the same in Europe where the choir get together and assess the candidate. Maestro 3 says that he worked with Cemi as an assistant conductor for 4 years. He was not a staff, so he came and went. They had hundreds of projects that they carried out together. Later, the art committee, which is an important structure, made a request. At this request of the art board, he was appointed to the general director of the choir.

Maestro 4 gave information to TRT Ankara Radio Turkish Folk Music Ensemble (Yurttan Sesler) about the criteria for the appointment and the entrance exam. There is no educational requirement to be appointed as a conductor to this choir, but it is essential for the person to have worked for 10 years as a vocal or instrumental player in the ensemble and to be successful in the entrance exam. The conditions are sought. Having worked in the institution for 10 years can be considered as an effort to acquire cultural capital and replace the institutional cultural capital with a community member. Maestro 4 describes the process that when a person starts in an ensemble, choir, as a soloist, he/she knows that someone will fulfill the need for a conductor. If that person can see these features in himself/herself, and if he/she thinks that he/she can do that task, in that case, you prepare and make an effort to achieve it. The way to get ready for this can be by conducting amateur communities, or observing his/her choir. When the person believes that he/she has reached a certain stage, the person has generally have passed at least 10 years to feel ready to apply for the conductor exams. It may be 15 years, as the person cannot apply for the exams before that time. However, since there is no school and no standard for this job, a person learns it by seeing and experiencing.

Here, an evaluation and selection process focused on the master–apprentice relationship is at the forefront, as the individual in the ensemble follows the current conductor(s), works together, and is tested after a certain amount of knowledge. The system applied in TRT can be evaluated as more objective and decisive when compared to the direct appointment in the Ministry of Culture State Turkish folk music ensemble. Because here, after an oral and written exam, the maestro performs a determined program with the ensemble and is selected through trial. Here, the entry system can be said to be based on merit and institutional capital.

As a school, TRT can generate corporate cultural capital within itself. "Coming from the tradition of collective performance," "supervision and evaluation of the great masters" constitute the training pillars. Embodied cultural capital, on the other hand, is both gained and evaluated by spreading the concert program and a 2-year trial period. Maestro 4 explains that the exam is already tested in detail in which all, from the notation including a person's track record, is taken into account. For example, while the exam was held their masters, Yücel Paşmakçı, Behçet Bostan, and Yaşar Aydaş, were present in their exam. The jury consisted of experienced teachers and they tried to evaluate the exam taker whether he/she could do the job. After passing the oral exams, he/she is to direct a program in front of the jury of Yurttan Sesler ensemble. After this performance, the jury decides whether the person in question has the potential to lead the choir. After the person is chosen, a 2-year process starts when the person produces live broadcasts and recorded performances. At the end of 2-year assignment, the records of the candidate should pass an inspection of more than 80% on average. If the records of the person do not pass the inspection, the person's position is extended and he is removed. After 2-year practice period, if the person's conducts go on well, he becomes a maestro directly before that summer sets in. At the end of a year, if he makes the current success graph, he removes assistant maestro to become the director.

There is a different element in the process here, even if the individual applies for the exam after 10 years of being an artist, is successful, and is appointed as a maestro, his staff remains as an artist. In other words, individuals practice the profession of conducting and have artist personal rights. In this respect, it can be thought that the conducting system applied in TRT is incomplete, since the duties and responsibilities of the conductor and the duties and responsibilities of the artist are not the same, so it may not be fair for the personnel rights to be the same.

When the legislation of TRT institution is examined, it is learned that those who meet the criteria of graduating from any music undergraduate program and succeeding in the written/oral/practical exam to be appointed as a conductor to the TRT Polyphonic Choir are appointed as the choir conductor by the general manager.

Maestro 6 provided information for the TRT Ankara Radio Classical Music Ensemble and other TRT Ensembles about the appointment criteria and the entrance exam, the professional experience of conductor 6, and the fact that he worked as an administrator, conductor, and artist during his working time in the TRT institution for the research process. Turkish Radio and Television Corporation-specific change was decisive in terms of describing the developments. The beginning of TRT's process of becoming a school and the maestros they choose among the great masters and artists under their supervision. Then the 10-year requirement and the process of preparing the exam legislation. Maestro 6 gives information about the prerequisites for conducting the theoretical and practical exams in the history of TRT institutions. Here, as components of institutional cultural capital, merit in selection principles is expected, and both experience and talent as an embodied cultural capital component are expected. Maestro 6 also took initiative for the creation of corporate cultural capital and contributed to this field by organizing conferences and training related to conducting. Maestro 6 tries to explain the features of a conductor. For example, if he is in the branch of classical choir conductor, he will be asked to prepare a classical choir detail in Hijaz mode. Then he describes the singer and instrumentalist. The first character knows to sing, yet the second can play the instrument in the same notation even if he cannot sing beautifully. Therefore, Maestro 6 explains why 10 years of experience is prerequisite for a conductor candidate to take the exam and he adds some other properties that he/she should have such as clear and beautiful gestures. He says that he made education plans and applied them in the department at the beginning.

Maestro 7 conveyed the subject for the TRT Turkish Classical Music Choir regarding the appointment criteria and the entrance exam. Maestro 7 states that the standard procedure regarding the examination process was not followed due to some internal problems. In this regard, the effect of the political atmosphere on the appointments of in-house maestros and elections is observed. Maestro 7 stated his ideas that he had a letter from Music Department regarding the appointment of new conductors in 2010, when he was the director of Turkish Classical Music Directorate. And he added that they were three maestros working, and the upper directorate wanted them to transfer another conductor, Suat Bey. In normal circumstances, they would establish a commission and conduct an exam for the position, but they had some problems. Some of the maestros said that they would retire, and it was necessary to train the new comer. They skipped the exam process and picked up the one in question and then they looked at his performances after which he was appointed as a direct assistant conductor from the Music Department.

From the statements of Maestro 7, it is seen that the appointment criteria can be used flexibly in case of need in the TRT institution, and the process can be advanced with more administrative initiative. Some extraordinary circumstances remove the need for legitimacy, which is substituted by the exam. But the way TRT was created as a school, the way it produces cultural capital, comes from 10 years of experience, the tradition of collective playing, and the testing of embodied capital with a 2-year trial period remains the same.

The process of starting Maestro 8 at TRT was not with the entrance exam, but by running the TRT youth choir before the TRT polyphonic choir. While he is an artist in the polyphonic choir, he also conducts choir lessons at Gazi University. At this time, the TRT polyphonic youth choir is established. The fact that Maestro 8 was educated, then became an artist, and has an educator aspect shows the existence of institutional, symbolic, and embodied cultural capital. Maestro 8 stated that it was the year 1983. That year TRT Ankara Youth Choir was founded and he was assigned to conduct it as the founding conductor. It was an extra opportunity for a conductor to make high-quality refereed recordings and use them in concerts and even in radio broadcasts. He mentioned that they had 276 works published from the control tapes that he sent. The number of works was close to the number of works produced by Istanbul Youth Choir.

To be appointed as the conductor of the TRT Polyphonic Choir, Conductor 8 meets the condition of graduating from any music undergraduate program. Even though conductor 8 is adequate and qualified in terms of capital types, he has problems in harmony with the choir. Expert power and charismatic power are not accepted as leadership qualities. There is legal power and it can be thought that the incompatibility stems from this. Maestro 8 describes the case as that the development of choral music in Türkiye is not only possible through TRT. He mentions that he started working on TRT polyphonic choir, which was going successfully. Since there was nobody to carry out the job, they appointed him as the conductor of TRT polyphonic choir. He says that he objected to the task of directing the choir since there are many details, and he thought that he could not get the efficiency with his friends who were with me for 20 years. In order that he would accept the offer, they threatened me that they would not sign the general manager contract of Kerim Aydın Erdem, which he did not want to happen. If he had not accepted the offer, they would annotate his appointment document, so he accepted the offer but without taking responsibility. Though he did not want to be the conductor of the choir since he was not ready to psychological state of his friends, which constantly opposed him. And there was a large jealous group, who did not congratulate me for my new position. Despite all these problems, he conducted the choir for 5 months officially, after he had trained for 2 months; and he made a 13.5-minute tape recording.

In the process of Maestro 8, the management, direction, and assignment of the administration, as a similar situation to Maestro 7, are taken into consideration. Although Maestro 8 himself did not request to be a conductor, the top management of TRT institution stated that if TRT general manager of the period did not accept the task, his contract would not be extended as an artist and directed Maestro 8 to take up the task.

Discussion

Based on the findings obtained in line with the life stories of the participants regarding the process of starting to become a maestro, it was determined that the process of becoming a maestro did not happen all at once.

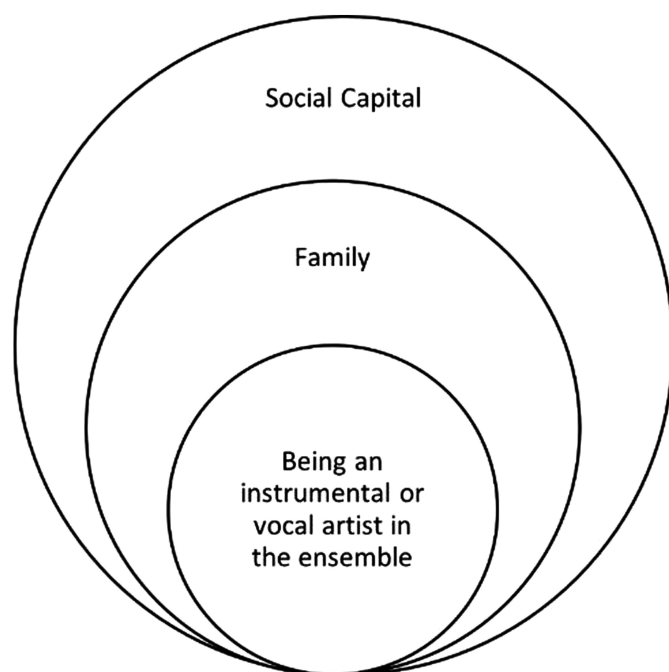


Figure 2.
Social Capital.

continued their lives by taking music education in this direction. One of the most important factors in the conductors' acquaintance with music is their social capital, their families' approach to art, music, and their ability to be in the art environment (Figure 2).

Maestros often come to the position of conductor after serving as vocal and instrumental artists in the ensembles they lead, but this may not be standard for every conductor or ensemble. This is an indicator of the social capital of the maestros. A conductor may have worked in another music ensemble as a vocal instrument, not in his group, and can come to another ensemble as a conductor. In this case, it turns out that the first condition to start conducting is vocal and instrumental performance. An individual who does not play an instrument or sing may not be able to act as a conductor.

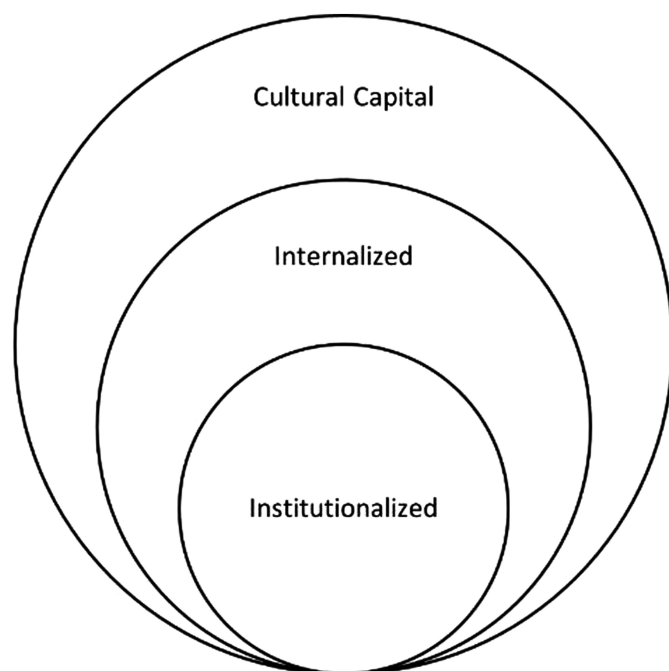


Figure 3.
Cultural Capital.

The infrastructure and appropriate conditions for starting the maestro profession are largely shaped by the social capital of the maestros. Social capital is the state of having connections and social networks established in formal or informal ways in daily life. Family affiliation as a network can provide certain opportunities, such as a job offer from close relatives or a prestigious surname. Whether informal such as family or formal social capital such as business organizations, it makes it easier to connect with the labor and job market and to be in different social networks (Figure 2).

Maestros are lucky, and they have the opportunity, sometimes, it is a coincidence, etc. It is seen that the situations Maestro 1 calls social capital are social capital. As a result of the fact that the family of conductor 1 is an artist, the opportunity arose in the ensemble where conductor 2 is an instrumentalist, the family of conductor 5 started him in music education at the age of 6, and conductor 6 was a student of the conservatory, where he was educated, from the first years of its establishment, and as a result of the support of his teachers, their state was supported. Choir conductor 8 being an artist on TRT and the choir teacher at school directing himself to conduct are the situations that have developed, formed, and shaped thanks to the social capital of the conductors.

When the status of taking part in a music ensemble as a voice or an instrument is examined, it is revealed that the participants met music in their education life and childhood, and some of them

The choir, orchestras, and conductors here are of great importance, in which the conductors are involved in their education life. While they are studying music, they mentally form the foundations of the conducting profession by emulating the conductors of the ensembles they are members of as role models. It has been concluded that the vast majority of conductors, both in amateur ensembles and in the ensembles they are in, have taken a maestro as a role model in their past and emulated.

It has been concluded that cultural capital is the determining factor in these situations, in line with the findings about the qualifications required to be a choir, or orchestra conductor and the criteria for the induction exam and appointment.

Two types of cultural capital emerged prominently here. These are embodied cultural capital and institutionalized cultural capital (Figure 3).

Embodied cultural capital includes legitimate cultural attitudes, preferences, and behaviors such as speaking, eating according to rules, and bodily posture (self-confidence, balance, courage) and is embodied in the socialization process.

Institutionalized cultural capital includes, for example, school diplomas and certificates that certify embodied cultural capital. For example, in the academic world, titles and qualifications distinguish between an academic and an autodidact.

When the characteristics required for conducting are examined, the components of the cultural capital required for conducting have emerged. The most obvious result in this regard was the leadership position of the conductor, the necessity of coming from within the ensemble, and the necessity of musical competence (Figure 3).

The maestro needs to take into account the ability to establish authority over the community by showing his leadership qualities, and human psychology, balancing, and communicating while doing this. Musical knowledge and skill are indispensable requirements for the performance of the profession of conducting, but besides these, the conductor must also be adequate and equipped in terms of pedagogy. These aspects are included in embodied cultural capital (Figure 3).

Undoubtedly, the most important element for the conductor to perform his profession is the ability to manage, because the individual can be a good instrumentalist, vocal artist, or be equipped with musical knowledge, but the ability to manage is an independent skill area and is the most basic requirement for the profession of conducting. Being a good instrumentalist and vocal artist may not mean that he can manage, and this should be handled as such.

In the field of choir conducting, the individual should know the human voice better than in other conducting areas, and learn by living and by making music, the ensemble conductors should recognize and direct the instrument and the human voice together, and the conductors should recognize and manage the instrument and the human voice. Here, the polyphonic choir conductor is essentially the choir trainer-manager, that is, he both trains and directs the choir, not just the management. Polyphonic choirs, which are the ensemble type formed by human voice communities, are subject to both education and management processes, and this is the tradition of these choirs for centuries.

The ensembles performing in the field of Turkish Folk Music and Turkish Classical Music, were formed according to the conditions of the period in which they were founded and have undergone changes and development over time. Due to the type and dynamics of the music they perform, the conductors of TFM and TCM ensembles have to know both instruments and the human voice. The ensembles they lead are neither polyphonic choirs nor classical music orchestras due to their formation and the type of music they perform.

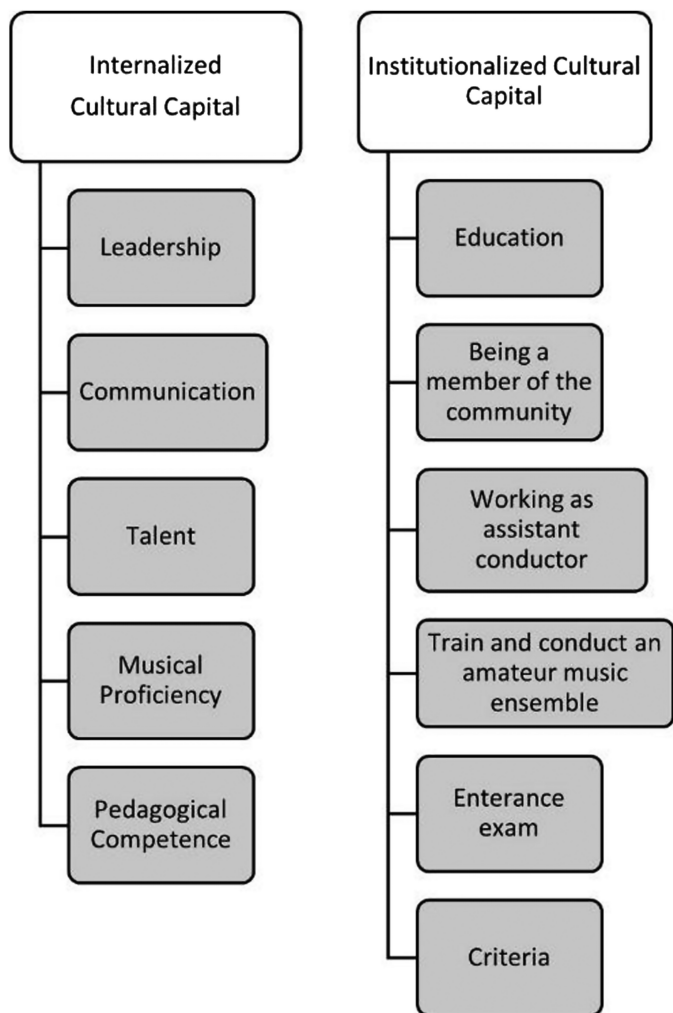


Figure 4.
Types of Cultural Capital.

In line with institutionalized cultural capital, the most important requirement for the profession of conducting is undoubtedly education. It may be possible to provide the characteristics of conducting with a certain standard with a formal education program, which is the necessity of institutionalized cultural capital. Although there are currently conservatories in our country that provide training in the field of orchestral conducting, they only provide conducting training in the field of classical music and are at the master's level. Even in this field, there is no conducting training program that provides education at undergraduate level yet. In the field of choir conducting, no program provides training, which leads to the situation that individuals who work as choir conductors train themselves in line with their possibilities, and it is not an ideal situation. The situation is the same for the conductors who lead Turkish Folk Music and Turkish Classical Music ensembles. The conductors started their professional life by improving themselves in terms of musical knowledge under the conditions of the time, and they were not subjected to a formal education in the field of conducting. Conducting training is also an important requirement for conductors who manage Turkish Music ensembles (Figure 4).

It is seen that the need for cultural capital differs in choir conductors who have received classical music education. Conductors already have cultural capital, but they take part in a particularly high-quality choir as choir singers to understand the choir more deeply. In other words, while the Turkish music conductor is struggling to learn to conduct, the already-knowing classical music conductor is in search of a deep musical understanding. This situation reveals two different levels of cultural capital need.

In line with the findings regarding the entrance examination and appointment processes in the institutions where the conductors officially work as orchestra conductors, choir conductors, and conductors, different and non-standard results have been reached regarding this situation. The first requirement for the selection, examination, and appointment of a conductor in classical music ensembles is that a bachelor's degree in music education and

conducting education must be taken. However, this requirement does not exist in Turkish Music ensembles, which is a lack of institutional cultural capital.

When hiring a conductor to the CSO institution, there is a condition to have worked as an assistant conductor for 2 years with a well known conductor in the country or abroad. After this, the conductor candidate is subjected to the selection process by directing a concert program given to him or their entire work. If the concert program and the work management process are successful, the conductor candidate is entitled to become a conductor.

For the Ministry of Culture State Turkish Folk Music or Turkish Classical Music ensemble, there are no conditions or criteria of education to be appointed as a conductor, an individual member of the ensemble is appointed by the relevant unit of the Ministry of Culture and becomes a conductor. This situation can be considered a major deficiency in terms of cultural capital and institutional cultural capital. It turns out that this situation is disadvantageous in terms of the development of ensembles, having standards, and the advancement of musical performance, because of the conductor's musical competence, management ability, etc. He becomes a maestro by being appointed, not by measuring his competencies.

For the Ministry of Culture State Polyphonic Choir, there is a rare conductor selection process and it is a process with institutional cultural capital. First of all, undergraduate or graduate education in the field of conducting and a 3-year conducting experience are sought. The entrance exam is a method that has an important place in research, which is done with tradition. Many conductors are invited to lead the choir, and the choir itself follows the process of running and directing. Choir members notify the artistic committee about the conductor they want to work with, the artistic committee maestro notifies the general directorate and the appointment is made in this way. This evaluation method is seen as a transparent and qualified selection process in terms of both measuring musical knowledge skills and directing ability and predicting choir-conductor harmony.

To be a conductor in TRT Turkish Folk Music (Yurttan Sesler) Ensemble and TRT Turkish Classical Music Ensemble, it is not necessary to have music education. Having worked for 10 years as a vocal or instrumental artist in the ensemble seems to generate a form of cultural capital as TRT is considered as a school. Here, an evaluation and selection process focused on the master-apprentice relationship is at the forefront, as the individual in the ensemble watches the current conductor(s) while he is a vocal or instrumentalist, and in this way, they experience the conductorship. After an oral and written exam, the maestro candidate performs the task of conducting with the ensemble for 2 years as the assistant maestro and then he/she is selected through trial. This is a test of embodied cultural capital. It is seen that this 2-year assistant conductor process, which is followed after the written and oral exams, is the main determinant, as musical competence, conducting ability, and communication with the ensemble are subjected to the evaluation process during this trial period. Individuals appointed as conductors after 2 years practice the profession of conducting gain artist personal rights. In this respect, it can be thought that the conducting system applied in TRT is incomplete because the duties and responsibilities of the conductor and the duties and responsibilities of the artist are not the same, so it may not be fair for the personnel rights to be the same.

The system applied in TRT can be evaluated more objectively when compared to a direct appointment in the Ministry of Culture State Turkish folk music ensemble. However, in TRT institution, the management/administration can appoint a conductor directly by not applying the oral and written exam process if it deems necessary, and this does not leave any determining factor, as there is no requirement to have music education. In such extraordinary situations, there is a policy effect and these situations create a lack of cultural capital and institutional cultural capital.

It is seen that those who meet the criteria to graduate from any music undergraduate program and to be successful in the written/oral/practical exam to be appointed as a conductor to the TRT Polyphonic Choir are appointed as the choir conductor by the general manager. However, in case of need, a conductor can be appointed by skipping the written/oral/practical exam in the polyphonic choir.

The main requirement of the conducting field is the ability to conduct. This ability is part of embodied cultural capital. This ability should be blended with professional music education, pedagogical education, intellectual knowledge; and the profession of conducting should be performed. Regardless of any institution, professional music education/conducting training should be a basic requirement for the profession of conducting. After the oral, written, and practical examination process on this, individuals should be choir conductors, orchestra conductors, and ensemble conductors.

Increasing the qualifications of our musical ensembles that serve, sustain and transfer the culture of the country to future generations will be possible by increasing the qualifications of the individuals who employ, manage, and conduct these ensembles. The principles of selection and assignment of conductors, which were accepted in times of inadequate conditions of the last century have lost their validity and are not reliable today, therefore, should be abandoned. Community maestros should be chosen in this way.

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Yapılandırılmış Özet

Bu çalışmanın amacı Türkiye’de koro şefi ve orkestra şefi olma sürecinin, şeflik için gerekli alan yeterliklerinin, devlete bağlı sanat kurumlarına şef olarak atanma ölçütlerinin, bir şefin yetişme sürecinin değerlendirilmesidir. Araştırmada nitel yöntemlerden “anlatı araştırması” yaklaşımı kullanılmıştır. Anlatı araştırması, öncelikle deneyimleri ve yaşantıları anlamının bir yolu olmakla birlikte aynı zamanda bir araştırma metodolojisidir. Araştırmanın çalışma grubunu, devlet sanat kurumlarında TRT, Kültür Bakanlığı, Devlet Opera ve Balesi, orkestra ve koro şefi, topluluk yöneticisi olarak görev yapmakta olan bireyler oluşturmaktadır. Bu bireylerden 15 yıl ve üzeri deneyim sahibi olan, araştırmaya katılmaya gönüllü, çalıştığı topluluktaki diğer şefler arasından kıdemli, 1 senfoni orkestrası şefi, 3 çoksesli koro şefi, 2 Türk halk müziği topluluğu şefi, 2 Türk sanat müziği topluluğu şefi ile görüşme yapılmıştır.

Çalışmada, araştırmacı tarafından geliştirilen yarı yapılandırılmış görüşme formu kullanılarak katılımcılar ile görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Görüşmeler aracılığı ile bireylerin yaşam öyküleri derinlemesine incelenebilmektedir. Kod-kategori-temalar oluşturulurken titizlik ve nesnellik temelinde veriler analiz edilmiş, aynı zamanda örüntüler ve farklılıklar gözden kaçırılmayarak bütüncül yaklaşımıştır.

Analiz sonuçlarına göre; şeflerin neredeyse tamamı bir müzik topluluğunda ses veya saz sanatçısı görevinin ardından şefliğe başlamıştır. Şeflerin büyük çoğunluğu çocuk yaşta amatör olarak müzik eğitimi almaya başlamış, az olabilecek bir kısmı mesleki müzik eğitimi/şeflik eğitimi almıştır. Şefler kendilerine bir rol model belirlemiş, bir şefe özenmiş ve bu durum şeflik kariyerlerinin temellerini atmıştır. Şef olarak atanma, göreve başlama durumları kurumlar ve müzik türleri özelinde değişiklik göstermektedir. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Senfoni Orkestrası Orkestra şefliği, Türkiye Radyo Televizyon Kurumu Çok Sesli Koro şefliği, Kültür Bakanlığı Çok Sesli Koro şefliği alanları hariç diğer alanlarda şef olarak görev yapabilmek için mesleki müzik eğitimi/şeflik eğitimi almış olmak şart değildir.