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**An Intimate Distance between New Traditions and the Old Ways:
A Sociological Representation of Istanbul's Thriving Urbanite DIY (Do-It-
Yourself) Music Scene**

Gülşah Görücü

113611045

DOÇ. DR. ERKAN SAKA

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Yeni Gelenekler ve Eski Yaklaşımlar Arasındaki Derin Uzaklık: İstanbul'un
Yükselen Kendin-Yap Müzik Sahnesinin Sosyolojik Bir Temsili

Gülşah Görücü

113611045

Tez Danışmanı:

DOÇ DR. ERKAN SAKA

Jüri Üyesi:

Prof. Dr. Filiz Aydoğan Boschele

Jüri Üyesi:

Doç. Dr. E. Eser Gegez

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- 3)kültür endüstrisi
- 4)müzik endüstrisi
- 5)anaakım müzik
- 6)bağımsız müzik
- 7)Kendin-Yap

Anahtar Kelimeler (İngilizce)

- 1)musical functions
- 2)musical values
- 3)culture industry
- 4)music business
- 5)mainstream music
- 6)independent music
- 7)DIY(Do-It-Yourself)

ABSTRACT

Confucius said if you are in a new land and if you want to know about their culture, perspective, profound and shallow ideas, harken to their music. When you listen their music, you will understand everything.

As a universal language, music is deeply embedded in the social and cultural actions of every society. Music is a cultural product that may be found in all walks of life; each class, stratum or social group has a musical universe of its own. Music has often had several aspects as political, social, and cultural but its power has heightened from the very beginning the modern nation state. In many countries, as in Turkey music has been a tool for the nation-building project but also an instrument for members of the civil society. Today, we have more titles and subtitles to discuss local music; even the way of doing music is changed by the epic force of producing technologies. In this thesis, independent music approaches and practices of today's DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music in Istanbul are narrated thereby changing social, cultural, economic, political and aesthetical dynamics. In the line with these changing dynamics, evolving music production and communication technologies will be discussed accordingly.

Digital music market has arisen, music production and consumption habits got changed and diversified in the last years. Today, music production became something that anyone can do at his or her home and new online communication channels allow for distribution of tracks and live performance recordings. Briefly, in the scope of this research, the changing dynamics of global music industry at mass and local independent music scene of Istanbul, more comprehensively, have been investigated. Independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music industry of Istanbul under the influence of globalization, evolving music production technology and new media is presented at the historical line. Making use of a sixteen-month fieldwork mainly in Istanbul and other cities, this master thesis would like to present the assessment of local independent music scene development and uptrend within the case of independent DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene.

Keywords: musical functions, musical values, culture industry, music business, mainstream music, independent music, DIY (Do-It-Yourself)

ÖZET

Konfiçyüs der ki, "Yeni bir yere gittiğinizde o yerin kültürünü, kafa seviyesini, derinliklerini ve sıklıklarını anlamak için müziği dinleyin. Müziğini dinlediğinizde o yerle ilgili her şeyi anlayacaksınız."

Evrensel bir dil olarak müzik, her toplumun sosyal ve kültürel pratiklerine içkindir. Kültürel bir ürün olarak müzik hayatın her aşamasında vardır; her sınıfın, tabakanın ve sosyal grubun kendine ait bir müzikal dünyası bulunur. Müzik çoğu zaman politik, sosyal ve kültürel değerler taşısa da, müziğin gücü modern devletin oluşumuyla birlikte kuvvetlenmiştir. Çoğu ülkede olduğu gibi Türkiye’de de ulus-devlet kurma gayesi altında araçsallaştırılan müzik, aynı zamanda sivil toplumu oluşturan bireyler için de bir araç görevi görmüştür. Bugüne geldiğimizde artık Türkiye lokal müzik sahnesini tartışmak için bir çok konu başlık ve alt-başlığı olduğunu, müziğin yapılış biçim ve hallerinin dahi müzik prodüksiyon teknolojilerinin epik hızıyla değiştiğini görüyoruz. Bu değişen ve dönüşen sosyal, kültürel, ekonomik, politik ve estetik dinamiklerin İstanbul bağımsız müzik sahnesinin yaklaşımları ve Kendin-Yap müzik üretim pratikleri üzerindeki etkisini de dolayısıyla görmek mümkün.

Değişen dinamiklerin yükselen dijital müzik pazarı ve değişen müzik üretim & tüketim biçimlerini dönüştürdüğünü ve çeşitlendirdiğini görüyoruz. Müzik üretimi artık herkesin kendi evinde yapabildiği bir hal aldı. Yeni çevrimiçi iletişim kanalları artık müzisyenlerin parçalarını ve canlı performanslarını paylaşabildiği ve dağıtıma sokabildiği bir ulaşım aracı. Bu araştırmanın kapsamında, global müzik endüstrisinin yaşadığı dönüşüm ve daha ayrıntılı olarak lokal bağımsız müzik sahnesi araştırılmıştır. İstanbul’un bağımsız / Kendin Yap müzik endüstrisinin küreselleşme, evrilen müzik prodüksiyon teknolojileri ve yeni medyanın etkisiyle yaşadığı değişim tarihsel bir çerçevede sunulmuştur. Bu yüksek lisans tezi çoğunluğu İstanbul’da gerçekleştirilmiş olan 16 aylık saha çalışması çıktıları ışığında İstanbul lokal bağımsız müzik sahnesinin gelişimini ve günümüz Kendin-Yap trendinin bugünün bağımsız müziğindeki yerinin bir değerlendirmesini sunuyor.

Anahtar Sözcükler: müzikal işlev, müzikal değer, kültür endüstrisi, müzik endüstrisi, anaakım müzik, bağımsız müzik, Kendin-Yap

To My Sister and the all independent songs that have never been released yet...

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As I said above, words are not enough; probably will never be. Yet in my memory, within myself, all good moments and thanks will be eternal. This thesis document is dedicated to all of them, with joy and happiness.

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Introduction

Music has often had several aspects as political, social, and cultural but its power has heightened from the very beginning the modern nation state. In many countries, as in Turkey music has been a tool for the nation-building project but also an instrument for members of the civil society. Today, we have more titles and subtitles to discuss local music; even the way of doing music is changed by the epic force of producing technologies. Working on a sixteen-month fieldwork mainly in Istanbul and other cities, this master thesis seeks to present the assessment of local independent music scene development and uptrend within the case of independent music scene.

Starting from this section, a brief research problem statement will be presented, followed by pertinent research questions. These are presented as part of a causal mechanism, highlighting the different steps and concerns to be evaluated throughout this thesis. Special attention is paid to within-case analysis and case study selection, considering the place where fieldwork is conducted: mainly in Istanbul, in the case of the Turkish independent music scene and several cities. Methodology aspects are also taken into account in this thesis, with special attention on the operationalization of concepts, guided by theoretical reflections. In addition, fieldwork issues are covered. Conjointly, all these points are ought to structure the proposed research, which is expected to culminate in a thesis. Throughout the following sections, attention is paid to the causal model, main research questions, sub-questions, the theoretical framework, methodological aspects and case selection.

The following sections will be mainly encompassed by the concepts of music industry, alternative music, and independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene. Specifically, it is about highlighting the dynamics of the latter concepts and how these may be engaged within a context-sensitive independent music perspective. An important thing to remark in this conceptual model is that the relation among music industry, alternative music and independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene is not static, but rather an interactive one. Changes in any of these categories are reflected in patterns shifts, which finally determine how music reflects on societal dynamics

and how independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene reproduces itself in time by the hands of new generations.

1. Statement of problematique, main research aim, objectives and expected contributions

1.1. Statement of problematique

As a universal language, music is deeply embedded in the social and cultural actions of every society. Music is a cultural product that may be found in all walks of life; each class, stratum or social group has a musical universe of its own. It is the only means of expression everyone can equally and freely create, listen to and decide whether they like it or not (Kayhan, A., 2013). Music is the only means of expression in which everyone can freely create without any limitations of class, stratum and social group. However, it also becomes the symbol of some particular boundaries and it is transformed into an instrument of the economic, political, cultural and social struggle waged by the groups represents. What makes it possible for me to situate music in this debate is the existence of studies in twentieth century social science that grasp the significance of music in understanding the modern world. "This is how Martin Stokes formulates the place of music as a dimension of social life in making sense of the world in which we live (Kayhan, A., 2013)":

"And yet, social and cultural worlds that have been shaped by modernity (that is to say, the industrial-capitalist order, the nation-state, and secular rationalism) would be hard to imagine without music... Music is clearly very much a part of modern life and our understanding of it, articulating our knowledge of other peoples, places, times and things, and ourselves in relation to them (Stokes, M., 1997)"

Indie (abbreviation for 'independent'), is a music genre which, in the 1990s, has considerably outgrown its original audience among student and (lower) middle-class youth in general. It was at first a British phenomenon, and is often subsumed under the category 'alternative' rock in the US and elsewhere. If one checks the past academic studies on the music industry in Istanbul, alternative and/or

independent musicians are “usually not bound by contract to major recording labels... (and) are free to record their own type of music without the constraints of having to produce for particular target audience (Phua, S.C. & Kong, L., 1996).” “Local alternative musicians are different from their mainstream counterparts who are signed to major recording labels and produce songs tailored to a specific market (Loh, B., 2014). Hesmondhalgh characterizes alternative music as “having a relative lack of concern for performer identity and authorship over ‘the music itself’ (Hesmondhalgh, D., 1998).” Besides of these dispositional contradistinctions between “mainstream” and/or “popular” and/or “alternative” and/or “independent”, on the issue of being a writer of his or her song and the intimate relation of authorship and the genre, Hesmondhalgh (1998) underlines the fact that at “*a higher end of the (popular music) industry, in the World of big promotional budgets, genre tends to become less important than authorship.*” If one takes an example of Turkish popular music stars such as Tarkan, Sezen Aksu and Orhan Gencebay, in which their names serve as a brand, “it has to be confirmed that these musicians are often supposed to be beyond genre, or as representing a genre unto themselves (Loh, B., 2014).”

Independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene emerged as a product of a cultural conjuncture in which ongoing struggles between the popular and the official reached a turning point in the early 2010s under the impact of various social and political changes. This rapid rise in Istanbul’s independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene who shares the same roots of Turkish psychedelic folk music’s institutional and aesthetic challenge to the popular music industry but which, nowadays, has somehow started to become part of the mainstream light music. This thesis will be an exercise in engagement with these questions in companion with main research question and the sub-research questions respectively: How new traditions in independent music scene wink at the old-yet-constituent ways? Or do really they?

More particularly, it will analyse the following: who are the participants on musician, audience and sector side? What are the social aspects of this type of music? and so on... Nevertheless, one of the main concerns of this research relies on the uncertainty to evaluate Istanbul’s thriving independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene. Moreover, with no clarity on how this may be assessed as an outcome, little we could say about how the members of independent music scene

could affect the sound and musical approach of independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music overall. As a matter of fact, to study alternative music requires all social science to see the musical behaviour of individuals within different social groups of the city, the production of musical genres with their permeable boundaries and the points at which musical approaches, industry and institutions overlap or contradict with each other.

Through a first glance, defining DIY (Do-It-Yourself), alternative or independent music scene seems to be difficult, since it's meaning used to change culture to culture. Kruse mentions that "the term alternative music is problematic (Kruse, H., 1993)," "it is really an industry-imposed definition (Kruse, H., 1993)." Since every independent music belong to alternative side, this research proposal acknowledges that independent music is something of a mesh of genres: ranging from rock to folk, from indie-pop to classical Turkish music, but is best understood in Kruse's sense- as defined by musicians' claims about "the uniqueness of their music, and that no one else is doing what they are doing (Kruse, H., 1993)". This will mainly be this paper's approach to understand the alternative / independent canon in Istanbul, and will be expanded on in theoretical framework accompanied by conceptual descriptions accompanied by the chosen epistemologically and ontologically considered methodology.

Conducting triple case study (both from musicians'- sector side and the audience) will be supported each other. Utilizing a case study of independent performers and music professionals in Istanbul, I would like to argue that "the spatiality and temporality of independent aesthetic labour has changed the direction as a result of technological changes in the music industry and the changing ways of representing political-aesthetic stance of nascent independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene in Istanbul (Hras, B.J. & Leslie, D., 2014)". In particular, I will try to demonstrate that "the aesthetic labour in the music industry has become more time-intensive and takes place across a growing range of spaces, including the stage, the home and online (Hras, B.J. & Leslie, D., 2014)." Hopefully, this case study contributes to existing studies in geography that consider "the spatial dynamics and precarious conditions of creative labour (Hras, B.J. & Leslie, D., 2014)" on one hand. On the other hand, drawing

another case study of the audience side of this music scene will enable me to understand how new traditions in independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene are perceived by audience whether there is a sharing harmony or discrepancy with perspective of musicians. Later on, I will explore how this music has developed different trends with the approach of the post-modern times. The main research question will be asked for how different geographies, music industries and musical approaches accordingly, creates their own traditions of alternative music scene in their own economic, social and cultural (techno-cultural), aesthetic ("*taste*", Bourdieu) and political dynamics in the case of Istanbul's independent music scene. The Frankfurt School's academics may have fallen into generalizations – for fifty years of ethnomusicology have shown that "audiences do not react as dumb masses, taking whatever fare is on offer, but instead, select among offerings and reconstruct them to fit their own needs (Peterson, R., 1994). But for understanding this chain of causalities, it is also important to understand what particular conditions of the foster the generation and rise the of independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene. This suggests a focus on both by the side of the subject (musicians and music labourers) and audience and how this projected sub-culture recreates itself in an intimate distance between new traditions and the old ways.

1.2. Causal model, research question(s) and setting

The main causal relation in study can be described in a simple $X \rightarrow Y$ relation model as illustrated in figure 1. Here, the main focus is set on understanding how the changes on economic, social, cultural, aesthetic and political dynamics may affect the climate of music producing practices and the evolution & the transformation of independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene.

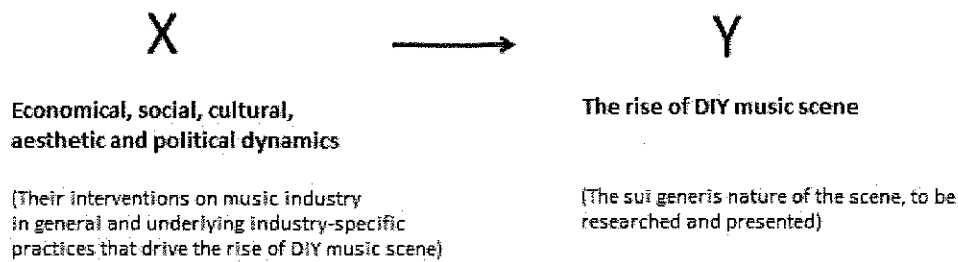


Figure 1. Own elaboration. A simple X -> Y relationship model. The arrow indicates a causal relation.

This research therefore follows a *causes-of-effects* model as described by Goertz and Mahoney (2012), where attention is paid on tracking the causes (X's) of an already detected condition or outcome (Y). However, such relation suggests a deeper interaction of causal events. I'll further scrutinize these issues in Methodology & Analysis section.

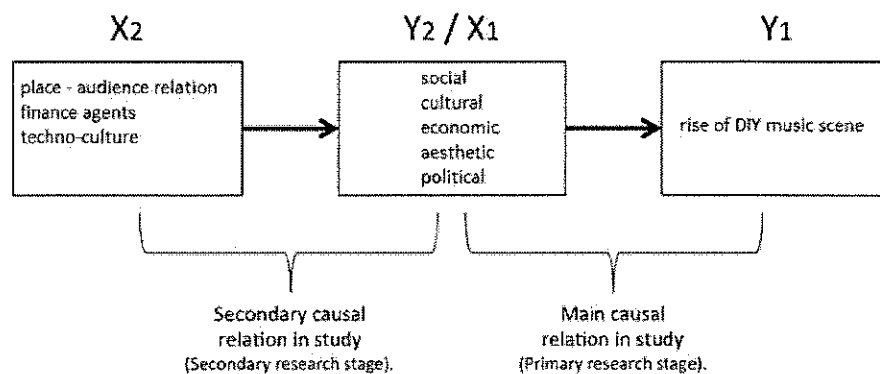


Figure 2. Own elaboration. An expanded causal relation model of figure 1. Arrows indicate causal relations.

As displayed in Figure 2, this proposal is set within two interrelated causal relations, which together guide the steps of this research, but also considering an order between these. Attending the issues of the secondary level (X2 -> Y2) cannot be

done without scrutinizing the primary causal relation ($X1 \rightarrow Y1$). Put differently, in order to understand how social, cultural, economic, aesthetic and political conditions influence or determine the sound, scene, wording and tone of independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene – first evaluating independent music scene of Istanbul and then tracking down how changing musical practices and volume of the audiences' request influence the triangle of alternative, independent and DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene.

Another important consideration in this model, specifically on $X2 \rightarrow Y2$, is what we may refer as changing technology and the power of social media, the monopolization of financial agents and the changing meaning of music by so-called gentrified neighbourhoods. On the secondary causal relation ($X2 \rightarrow Y2$), the point is to scrutinize the connections between changing technologies of music industry (mass and more technic technologies, but also the emergence of user-generated content, social media, and so on) and DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene. More specifically, understanding what particular conditions within the both music and everyday life technology influence and/or define the sound, wording and tone of independent music scene, finally determining the outcome of thriving DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene. Independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music producers, musicians, technicians are ideal-typical cultural entrepreneurs of this uniquely titled music groups such as Büyük Ev Ablukada, Yüzyüzeyken Konuşuruz, Son Feci Bisiklet so on and so forth, thus, provide the empirical basis for this analysis.

Correspondingly, the main research question takes into account the whole causal model.

Main research question (MRQ.):

How do different geographies, music industries and musical approaches accordingly, create their own traditions of independent music scene?

In order to answer the main question – and also following the aforementioned order – it is first necessary to focus on the relation between the conditions of contemporary music industry of Istanbul / Turkey and the rise of DIY (Do-It-

Yourself) music scene. Consequently, sub questions in the first causal relation (X1 -> Y1) should address what particular economic, social, cultural, aesthetical ("taste", Bourdieu) and political conditions of country could be catalogued as enhancing or alleviating the potential output of independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene.

Research sub-question 1

Research sub-question 1 (RSQ.1.1):

What is the role that economic dynamics play in the process of producing music and how these impact the development of independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene?

Research sub-question 1 (RSQ.1.2):

What is the role that social dynamics play in the process of producing music and how these impact the development of independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene?

Research sub-question 1 (RSQ.1.3):

What is the role that cultural dynamics play in the process of producing music and how these impact the development of independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene?

Research sub-question 1 (RSQ.1.4):

What is the role that aesthetical dynamics play in the process of producing music and how these impact the development of independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene?

Research sub-question 1 (RSQ.1.5):

What is the role that political dynamics play in the process of producing music and how these impact the development of independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene?

Research sub-question 2

This part will be related to exogenous factors later on thesis which provide an environment for the rise of DIY music scene.

Research sub-question 2 (RSQ.2.1):

How do financial agents (sponsors, organizers, promoters) reflect and have an impact on Istanbul's music scene?

Research sub-question 2 (RSQ.2.2):

How do recent information technologies enable to new manners of cultural practice in independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene?

Research sub-question 2 (RSQ.2.3):

How does the alternative music audience come together and create their own collective culture? What is the dynamics of this sub-culture? (in the context of creating new alternative place and public space even. In Turkey as elsewhere, music venues are spaces that have shown the social and cultural distinctions or the common denominators of entertainment life since the Ottoman period (Kayhan, A., 2013).)

It is crucial to understand how independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene is evaluated within music industry and how this could affect the final implementation results. These sub-questions at this point are expected to go deeper into the highlighted issue, specifically analysing the discourses and practices of independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene in the selected case, İstanbul.

So far, all the presented questions may be grouped into a specific order within the causal model as shown in figure 3.

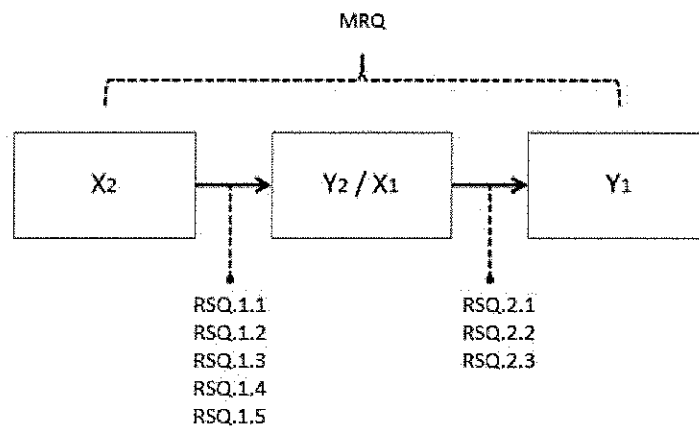


Figure 3. Own elaboration. Main causal relations in study and order of research sub-questions. According to this scheme, the main research question (MRQ) can only be engaged once the sub questions (RSQ) are attended. Research sub-questions 2, 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3 are part of the same process and are expected to be covered throughout an iterative analysis.

In summary, the main purpose of the research is to contribute to the present scientific debate linking contemporary conditions of Turkey's music industry and the development & the rise of independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene, by

(1) expanding the theoretical discussion on alternative / independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene, (2) defining what particular economic, social, cultural, aesthetical and political conditions in country can be catalogued as generators of DIY music scene, (3) understand how the rise of independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene nowadays drive these results & how the members of independent music audience come together and create their own collective culture, to finally (4) reflect the sociological dynamics of this very idiosyncratic sub-culture.

1.3. Methodology

This research is structured within a *case study* model, "a research modality that is keen on the intensive study of one or a small sample of cases to understand the

behaviour of a larger population of related cases (Gerring, 2006)". Under this research paradigm, case selection has an important role, as these are not selected randomly but according to specific characteristics (Ibid.). An in-depth analysis of these particularities – also referred as within-case analysis – is argued to provide a detailed and logical description of inferred causal claims. The latter is argued to conform the main principles of the qualitative research culture (Goertz & Mahoney, 2012). As mentioned in Causal model & research questions section in Introduction a *causes-of-effects* model (Goertz & Mahoney, 2012) – also referred as an X-oriented research according to Gerring's (2006) terms – basically describes a research setup in which efforts are placed on the study of the possible

causes that lead to a target outcome. In other words, it's the study of causal chains, starting from an identified or hypothesized outcome of interest, which in this research is presented as the rise of Istanbul's thriving independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene.

1.3.1. Causal mechanism and operationalization strategies.

As previously presented, the causal mechanism in study is presented in two levels, shown as two sub-causal relations: $X1 \rightarrow Y1$ and $X2 \rightarrow Y2$. The main research question gathers both sub-causal relations and puts them into one single overview or problem engagement. But in order to answer this research question, by first deepening the issues highlighted in the sub-questions, an operationalization strategy has to be defined. In short, it is expected that the presented ontological dimensions may guide the definition of empirical indicators after data is gathered throughout participant observations, interviews and the subsequent analysis.

1.3.2. Data sources and representation.

As described so far, the main body of data is of qualitative nature. For both phases of this research ($X1$, $Y1$ and $X2$, $Y2$), data will be extracted mainly from structured and spontaneous individual interviews. Additionally, data components relevant to the study of environment conditions in the first phase of research will also include personal observations and musical material. One of the main research methods will be "*the systematic ethnographic study of musical events* defined along the lines set by Ruth Stone (Stone, R., 1982) and recapitulated by J.H Kwabena Nketia (Nketia, K., 1990)". And the other one will be the interviews.

All in all, the analysis of the data, aimed at constructing knowledge about this specific subject, "has involved a combination of the emic (insider's) - ($X1 \rightarrow Y1$) and etic (out-sider's) ($X2 \rightarrow Y2$) perspective (Stone, R., 1982)", as it is shown in the research questions section above.

1.3.3. Case selection

Istanbul as a case not selected in abstract, but is actually chosen according to the purpose of the research design (Gerring, J., 2006). The selection and analyses should be (ideally) shown as *substantially important cases* for evidencing the importance of the research question and the causal mechanism in study (Goertz & Mahoney, 2012). As part of the requirements of this research, the case of study will take place in the city of Istanbul, Turkey. At the moment of choosing the case, Istanbul was considered because of its large extensions of creative capacity and the size of industry.

1.4. Objectives, expected contributions and significance of the study

The main object of this research is to make a contribution to the assessment of local independent music scene development and uptrend within the case of Istanbul's DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene. First, a theoretical reflection on independent music scene, its definition and engagement are scrutinized, following the late scientific discussions in sociology of music literature. The objective here is to develop an epistemologically open approach on the phenomenon, paying attention to the related independent music scene issues that could affect this outcome. Moreover, a context-sensitive approach is crucial in this thesis. It is not expected to compare the conditions of several independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scenes in general, but actually looking into Istanbul's own scene characteristics. That is, understanding how independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene is constructed and evolved according to the local reality of the case, Istanbul.

Hence, this thesis scrutinizes both theoretical and practical issues for independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene in Istanbul. The main research question drives the overall purpose of this research but leaves open further development on these matters in the future. In simple terms, this master thesis is the first step into a wider task of theory and practice development. Though understanding the complex relations between institutional politics and aesthetics in oppositional forms of popular music as Istanbul's brand-new thriving independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene is hard to define in one research, this thesis will hopefully be intended contribution in the field of sociology of music.

This thesis also would like to contribute this specific local story of the manufacturing of an independent music identity, instead defining and identifying the emergence and the development of a Istanbulite sound as a bottom-up, grassroots development -one more likely to be generated by alternative musicians. Approaching an Istanbulite independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene through the lens of alternative music allows for a definition of independent music sub-culture that does not solely consider its lyrics, musical approach or the people behind it, but that instead takes into account the thriving base of DIY (Do-It-Yourself) attitude. I would like to underline that in discussing Istanbul's thriving DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene, it is not this thesis's aim to intervene in the perspective of stereotypization of music as highbrow and lowbrow music cultures. Implementing three case studies as with musicians, music labourers and the audience would help to remember looking from wider perspective to independent music scene, as it is like a manner both from the sector side and the audience.

On the first case study, the particular musicians and music labourers I did interview often consider themselves revolve from the mainstream musical and personal act and are frequently referred to as alternative and/or independent artists. Utilizing a case study of independent musicians in Istanbul, I would like to argue that "the spatiality and temporality of aesthetic labour has shifted as a result of technological change in the music industry and the changing ways of representing political-aesthetic stance of nascent independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene in Istanbul (Hras, B.J. & Leslie, D., 2014)." DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene in Istanbul. In particular, I will try to demonstrate that "aesthetic labour in the music industry has become more time-intensive and takes place across a growing range of spaces, including the stage, the home and online (Hras, B.J. & Leslie, D., 2014)".

Drawing another case study of the audience side of this music scene enabled me to understand how new traditions in DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene are perceived by audience whether there is a sharing harmony or discrepancy with perspective of musicians. "Based on this perspective, it may be possible to identify a segment of society, particularly the youth, who literally *live and breathe* alternative and/or independent music styles and messages (M., Ferrarese *et.al*, 2011)". Later on, I

will explore how this independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music has developed different trends with the approach of the post-modern times.

1.5. Limitations

Although representativeness of this kind of small scaled qualitative research design can be criticized, the results in the analysis part clearly present the uses, values and functions of independent music scene of Istanbul. Through an inductive, bottom-up approach grounded in concrete ethnographic data, a comprehensive model reproducing the functions and sub-functions of independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene in our day. Suggestions for additional research might be expanding quantitative data by adding statistical analysis in which one can explore age, gender, background; uses of instruments and the role of genres.

I also would like to underline the fact that insufficient numbers of academic research and popular studies about the rising independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene in Istanbul. This was also a hard threshold to step for me while doing research on field. Since there is no adequate ethnographic research, drawing the lines of participant observation and preparing interview questions were a bit drastic.

Regardless of the fact that there is no unity of “sound” in Istanbul’s independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself), audiences or other investigators may claim the exact opposite of this study based on their approaches on context. Independent music scene in Istanbul has a favourable archive for research on oral history as well to further contribute to this fieldwork. Therefore, this study is open to improvements with new formations and additional research.

PART 1: LITERATURE REVIEW, THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGY

Chapter 1: Conceptual field, literature review and theoretical framework

1.1 Different approaches to culture industry

Frankfurt School is a critical thought discipline basically, collaborated with arts, psychology, sociology, politics, aesthetics, economics and history scientists. In their so-called critical theory, they first criticize the epistemological and methodological aspects of positivism; secondly, the role of technology and science in technocratic and bureaucratic sovereignty; and culture industry doctrine, thirdly.

The term “culture industry” was firstly narrated by Adorno & Horkheimer in “Dialectic of Enlightenment”. According to Adorno & Horkheimer; culture industry commodifies all aspects of everyday life for the sake of their possessors’ ideological benefits. Culture industry inevitably transforms cultural and creative activities into a consuming object.

Culture industry is responsible of the commodification of culture and converts artwork into an object. So to speak, for now, the opium of bilateral face of enlightenment now works as deception of masses. As Adorno & Horkheimer confirms; artworks are transformed into objects today to-be-commercialized in the industrial standards. Mieke (1979) and Girard (1981) also contribute the culture industry phenomenon in 1970s. Rather than the negative aspects of culture industries, they mainly focus on the positive aspects of culture industries as the development of cultural interrelations and increasing visibility of alternative products and approaches.

Cultural economy, on the other hand, is one of the important ends of culture industries in which music industry plays a critical role through interacting with different industries intimately.

1.2 Music Industry

According to Wikström, “music is a collaborative activities of production, consumption, distribution, copyright regulations, live performance, advertising

revenues, agents, managements, promoters, organizers, labels, digital channels (Leyshon, A., 2001)". Music industry is an output of interrelated processes (Leyshon, A., 2001). There might be defined three interrelated dynamics in this process: creative networks, reproduction of networks, distribution & consumption networks.

The first step, creative network is the phase of musical production which is a cumulus of socially, culturally and politically accumulated values and behaviours. Music is an imaginative thing; musician can protest, express his or her feelings or music can only be related its aesthetical existence. Reproduction of networks involves recording, mix & mastering process of music which makes music more standardized order in order to distribute it via particular channels and platforms. This process also commodifies the music by creating marketing strategies, packaging rules and advertising. Record labels are the centre of this process as well,

—provides a mutual environment for producing music, recording music and distributing music. Marketing in itself is a process, following research (A&R), production, strategic planning, designing, packaging, advertising, sales strategies, distribution and consumption. Radio, television and Web 2.0 as consumption networks finally enable music to be more extensive in terms of reaching and consuming the music.

1.3 Progress in music technology, changing producing and listening habits

Recorded sound was invented in the 1850s by Édouard-Léon Scott de Martinsville and the first invention of the industrialization of music, "phonograph" was developed by Edison in 1877. Phonograph is a machine that record a music track and make it available for multi-playing. However the most important dynamic of music was the invention of gramophone in 1900s. Gramophone can record the music so, music might be an industrial activity, can be bought and sold reciprocatively. By the extension of gramophones and phonograph records and vinyl, big recoding companies as RCA (Radio Corporation of America) took the first steps of recording industry. As music became the industrial activity, afterwards, it became something that enables musicians, producers, labels, distributors and services acting in a harmonic order as well. One can call this harmonic order as *music industry*

which's capacity is 35 billion American Dollar today. All record labels are the organizations at the same time that welcomes production, promotion and distribution in following order. They do research, create contents, produce music, release albums and distribute them in an economic value.

Independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) conversely locate themselves as oppose to this economic value. Major labels play an important role in local music market and retailing, independents, –Indies shortly, on the other hand marginally share income in this cultural-economy. Besides the economic differences between majors and independents, cultural and aesthetical differences should have been taking into an account. While major labels are interested in the commodification level of musical product, Indie mode of music production focus on personal pleasures and aesthetic notions.

Furthermore, industrialization of music is still continuing as new technologies enable both production and consumption practices in a more democratized and user-friendly way. Digitalization of music is one of the most important thresholds of music industry which made music a DIY (Do-it-Yourself) and easily sharable thing by the tools of Web 2.0. This also gave an opportunity to independent music be more visible and even “mainstream-able” which will also be examined in following sections.

1.4 Popular-Alternative-Independent Triangle

It can be said that there are two forms of audience: one is following mainstream industry and loves popular culture; the other one is the one who is being critical on popular products and following non-industrial musicians and bands; as being a member of a specific sub-culture (Shuker, R., 2008).

Popular music should not be confused with pop music in other respects. While popular music is the supporting type of music by masses and mainstream media; pop music is a genre. Alternative music, on the other hand, implies “(in the general sense of the term) non-conformity, creativity, and freedom of expression, without concern for (the musicians’) music reaching out or even catering to a particular group of listeners (Loh, B., 2014)”. Alternative music, as ‘*music in-itself*’ frequently characterized “as having a relative lack of concern for performer identity, authorship

and genre (Loh, B., 2014 and Hesmondhalgh, D., 1998)". Besides, indie music, –not an independent one, refers to the genre emerged by mainstream music industry of major labels for their economic survival. They commodified the independent "sound" and changed it into a genre but anyways, independent music can be summarized as the music opposed the mainstream music industry, a DIY (Do-It-Yourself) thing. Indie (abbreviation for 'independent'), as mentioned above, "is a music genre which, in the 1990s, has considerably outgrown its original audience among student and (lower) middle-class youth and mostly has an alternative sound, rock and punk, in general (Loh, B., 2014)."

1.4.1 The articulation of alternative traditions with everyday practices and the rise of independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music practices

Alternative traditions can be articulated with various modes of practices and/or social forces in everyday life practices. As Bourdieu refers, "everyday practices and lifestyles are politically significant phenomena, since they develop a space in which social struggle is going on in a very subtle way (Bourdieu, P., 1986)." "Cultural tastes are the sum of structured habitualized everyday practices since they are interrelated to distinct social positions of the all (Bourdieu, P., 1986)". So to speak,

"there is an intense link between cultural practices of individuals and their social positions (Bourdieu, P., 1986)" Following Bourdieu's argument, "it becomes possible to comprehend what a music genre means to its audience(s) only by looking at the general context within which they interact and communicate with each other (Bourdieu, P., 1986)." In this sense audience(s) also empower the music and "alternative traditions provides not only a language for communication but also a context to be in (Grossberg, L., 1997)."

In explaining the pursuit of independent music additionally, Bourdieu's notion of '*habitus*' comes into play. "As '*habitus*' structures an individual's practices and orientation towards the social world, '*habitus*' is itself structured by one's position regarding social space (Bourdieu, P., 1986)." "Social space determined by economic capital and cultural capital (Bourdieu, P., 1986)." While economic capital refers material sources, "cultural capital is more related to non-material goods that can

be converted into economic capital (Bourdieu, P., 1986).” The notion of ‘*field*’ of Bourdieu also relates with ‘*habitus*’ and has a huge impact on the *habitus* (Bourdieu, P., 1986).” *Fields* as structured systems of social positions are the organizations of internally confirmed power relations and working environment gathered by musicians, music professionals and audience. Independent music as “*field*”, is relatively independent from regime and politics: the focus of value is aesthetics, not politics. It cannot also be denied that alternative traditions can also be articulated by organized social movements in which culture becomes political. It is also a kind of resistance to status-quo in the process of dislodging usual legitimate use of power.

Besides, Bourdieu (1984) conceives the notion of cultural intermediaries while explaining the influences of different type of marketing approaches practised by cultural intermediaries in the making of a star. Cultural intermediaries can be defined as “creative workers who come *in-between* creative artists and consumers (or, more generally, production and consumption) (Negus, K., 2002)”. Since the pathway of being a gifted artist not only belongs to artist and his or her works, the creation of hype surrounding an artist by cultural intermediaries such as managers, booking agents, organizers, A & Rs (Artist and Repertoire), accountants, music critics, PR executives and lawyers. Besides the traditional cultural intermediaries, today, the other types of cultural intermediaries existed such as bloggers, online music critics, new-age DJs and so on. As promotion and marketing have been central to music production for both mainstream artists as well as independent musicians (Shuker, R., 2008), independent musicians are mostly in the side of self-promotion rather than giving high amounts of money to promoters and booking agents. However, in order to promote oneself, one must labour: “*the production of self must always involve some form of labour in order to create a public persona that might be of practical or relational use* (Hearn, A., 2008)”. Independent musicians have laboured to gain notices and to promote themselves by engaging social media channels personally. Another important point that one should underline is the online competitions (e.g. clicking – listening volume) which become a driving force for independent musicians where direct access to the mainstream industry and to put their work on the map.

1.4.2 From alternative music to independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music

Through a first glance, “*alternative music* has gained a position and role in the contemporary international music industry, becoming an umbrella definition for many musical styles which may not be just limited to the most popular punk, heavy metal, rap and funk (M., Ferrarese et.al, 2011)”. “Being an alternative to mainstream music and using a fresher, less institutionalized form and style, *alternative music* has widen its boundaries and attracted millions of fans worldwide (M., Ferrarese et.al, 2011).” Defining *alternative music* may prove to be difficult task: Since alternative is not a fixed definition but a constantly revolving one, it is not possible to know “what alternative is until we know what is an alternative to, and we can’t know what that is until the alternative shows us (Taylor, S., 2006)”. Under this perspective, “the term *alternative* in popular music appears to indicate an umbrella definition grouping together many performing styles that, before becoming institutionalized and *mainstream*, have to evolve and revolve (M., Ferrarese et.al, 2011)”. “*Alternative* may apply as a categorization under which new realities identify and shape themselves seeking acceptance (M., Ferrarese et.al, 2011).” All in all, “it may be possible to identify *mainstream* as the current thought of the majority, and *alternative and / or independent* as a minority voice, referring to a different category of music opposing the familiar and unthreatening ‘mainstream’ music for the masses (Halnon, K. B., 2005)”.

“During the post-punk (1979 – 1986) era, *alternative* popular music developed into *indie* (abbreviation for *independent*), a term mostly indicating those record labels who constituted an *alternative* to the mainstream industry’s distribution channels, this tag was later used to categorize a musical genre per se, encompassing at large many different artists playing different *alternative* music styles (Borthwick, S. & Moy, R. 2004)”. Over the last decade, the modern versions more authentically ‘alternative’ genres such as punk embraced a definite stand against mainstream commercialism. “This attitude has kept nurturing an *independent* concept of music and record distribution as an extreme consequence of the DIY (Do-It-Yourself) ethics abundant in the indie music communities during the 90’s and the first decade of the

millennium (Waksman, S., 2009)". Later in 2010s DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene cut its boundaries across and creates its own meaning & dynamics. While alternative music seems as merging with lack of branding at first glance, today's independent music industry shows us a different climate from that. "Although independent musicians and their works are less related to the outcomes of fame and they are more likely to achieve more creativity, the thriving rise of number of musicians lead to a kind of inner *star system* (Hesmondhalgh, D., 1998)" and fame started to become a thing to achieve by musicians today.

To satisfactorily analyse the field of independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene in general, and in Istanbul more specifically, "discourses on popular music should first be taken into account (M., Ferrarese et.al, 2011)". In order to understand what one mean by *alternative* music, one again should review "some definitions of the popular music beforehand that is often seen to be *alternative* music's dialectical opposite (M., Ferrarese et.al, 2011)". According to Birrer, there are four main categories that define popular music (M., Ferrarese et.al, 2011):

1. "Normative definitions (Popular music as an inferior type) (Frans, B, (1982))"
2. "Negative definitions (Popular music as music that is not something else) (Frans, B, (1982))"
3. "Sociological definitions (Popular music as associated with –produced for or by- a particular social group) (Frans, B, (1982))"
4. "Technologico-economic definitions (Popular music as disseminated by mass media and/or in a mass market) (Frans, B, (1982))"

"Those definitions of popular music can be taken as Weberian *ideal types* and are clearly of interest for academics explaining popular music (M., Ferrarese et.al, 2011)". "Discourses on popular music will be only be used to identify a greater understanding of independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene, musicians and the audience (M., Ferrarese et.al, 2011)."

Up to this point, the definition of independent music has not been presented as a stand-alone concept, but rather as a dynamic and constantly interacting one. In following sections, Istanbul's independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene is tracked down to the confluence of factors framed under several functioning affected by wide societal changes, which hence determine the tone and the mode of rise of DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene of the formation of brand-new subculture. Again, adopting this perspective is an attempt analyse Istanbul's independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene where it might've been overlooked, not looking for evident results but hidden or neglected processes instead.

1.5 Mainstream music industry & Independent music industry

In the few years prior to changing industrial patterns, both academic music studies and music industry magazines have worked on the various aspects of the production and consumption practices of music (Hirsch, P., 1970; Frith, S. 1987; Frith, S. 1988; Burnett, R., 1996; Hesmondhalgh, D., 1997; Negus, K. 1999, Frith, S. 2001; Jones, S., 2002, Hesmondhalgh, D. & Negus, K., 2002; Hiatt, B. 2006 and Hiatt, B. 2007). As Frith mentions, "there are two devices that the mainstream music industry relies on prediction and determination of popular taste (Frith, S., 2001)". First one is related to the fact that "the musicians whose past sales successes are taken to guarantee their future sales successes (Frith, S., 2001)" which is called as *star system*. "The second industry device taps into *genre labels* (Suhr, H.C, 2012)." "By strictly sticking to an established genre, the recording industry relies on a steady market composed of consumers who share similar tastes in music (Suhr, H.C, 2012)". With these two devices in mind, Laing (2003) describes the operational strategies of major record companies pushes mainstream sounds.

Portfolio approach (Laing, D., 2003), as a first strategy, symbolizes the heavy promotion of record company with the expectation that some of the recordings will be successful. The second strategy roots in the computations of consumers' musical tendencies. The third one, terminally, is "to influence the various gatekeepers or intermediaries such as music journalists, DJs, music industry executives perceived to be influential in consumer decisions (Laing, D., 2003)". Although these three devices

still current in various major music industries in many countries, the music industry shifted its focus and “move away from the selling of products to concentrate on the selling of musical rights and the collecting royalties (Burnett, R., 1996)”. Laing (2003) also touches on the transformation in which music industry started to merge with many different entertainment companies and record labels, resulting in a new type of entity: the independent record labels.

Shuker (2008) describes independent labels as “small record labels that are independent of majors (at least in terms of the artist acquisition, recording, and promotion) though still reliant on a major for distribution and more extensive marketing” which reveals the fact that “the term *independent* is, to a certain extent, arbitrary because independent labels can merge with major record labels (Shuker, R., 2001)”. There is a reciprocal relation between major record labels and the independent ones: “Independent labels have often forged partnerships with major labels to expand their distribution outlets, while major labels have used to labelling and ideology of independent labels a new marketing strategy (Lee, S., 1995)”. This reciprocal relation between mainstream and independent labels will be investigated broadly in following sections. Hesmondhalgh (1999) also mentions one of the other aspects of this commutual relation. As he states that “indie is a contemporary genre which has its roots in punk’s institutional and aesthetic challenge to the popular music industry but which, in the 1990s, has become a part of the ‘mainstream’ of British pop (Hesmondhalgh, D., 1999).” Since independent music is started to be pumped as a genre called indie for the sake of major music industry asking the question related how this reciprocal relation shapes new musical values and aesthetics is crucial. It is significant to be cautious of making an assumption that is one-sided and simplistic, since in the merging of indie and major record labels, the aesthetic consequences are not clear-cut.

In this thesis, therefore, the term independent is used for musicians and labels for who continue to insist on their distinctness by continuing DIY (Do-It-Yourself) approach and purposefully distance themselves from major labels, regarding them as a corrupted industry. As this kind of denial against to major record labels and mainstream performance halls become a political act rooted in an

ideology supposedly opposed to capitalism and corporatism, the case study conducted in Istanbul, mainly, might be a great example to investigate deeply since all independent musicians and labels positioned themselves at the heart of this refusal.

1.6 Independent music scene takes out DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music approaches

According to the independent label executives' and independent musicians' "*critique of the power relationships of cultural production is significant at a discursive level* (Strachan, R., 2007)." Although independent musicians still may not be able to become visible, their continuing existence matters in the overall scheme of the Istanbul's cultural industry since there is power posited in that independent manner. This type of independent manner is also supported by the emergence of Web 2.0 and the popularization of social networking sites. In few years, "independent musicians started to use the social networking sites as both marketing and distribution platform, a place where consumers and fans learn about the release of albums and buy them simultaneously (Suhr, H.C, 2012)". To better investigate the independent music scene in Istanbul, it is also vital to understand the nature of social networking sites and the social media environments.

Firstly, there is no strict demarcation between musician and the audience since Web 2.0 leads all internet users to produce their own content freely which opens the feedback & comment door directly between the audience and the creator. Secondly, the strict line between professionalism and amateurism somehow blurred since all musicians have a same chance to promote and sell their music. Thirdly, "the division between *high art* and *low art* is somehow started to be nebulous (Suhr, H.C, 2012)". In recent years, the mass media-produced arts were accessible to the public, whereas high art often existed in a niche market (Suhr, H.C, 2012). Nowadays, the strict line between *high art* and *low art* started to be became indistinct in social networking sites which leads to break the dichotomy between underground culture and mainstream culture.

Above all the three changing factors of social networking sites, in problematizing the framework created by independent, in other words, grassroots

forces, some concepts as the shift in the task scope of cultural intermediaries, self-promotion and distribution will be explored in following sections deeply because of the significant role they play in DIY musicians' social networking practices.

1.6.1 Music in transition: Networks, local identity and independent music scenes

Networks of independent music producers and musicians in urban economy directly interrelated with place and community based attributes that mediates network developments. In this thesis, I mainly deduced that the community-based attributes of Istanbul independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene are influential in sharing network within the music industry. As A.I. Scott defines (1997) "*cultural economy is the portion of the economy that is involved in the production, distribution, marketing, and retailing of cultural products*".

Cultural products are aesthetic goods to be served and consumed. Dance, paintings, performance, music; all are cultural products. Creative industry systems framework has developed by Paul Hirsh (2000) in which profit-seeking organizations and organizers, creators (artists & producers), brokers (agents, managements), producers (publishers, labels), distributors (ticketing companies), and media outlets takes a part and cluster with each other. "Cluster networks of creative industries are symbolized by the concept of buzz (Bathelt et al., 2004)." As Bathelt et al. (2004) reveals the fact that "buzz is the communication ecology created face-to-face contacts within same industry and working environment (Bathelt et al., 2004)." Informal settings of networking process of independent music, "physical spaces in which independents come together to produce, consume and have fun is very significant variable for promoting interactions (Lloyd, R., 2006; Markusen, A., 2006; Currid, E., 2007)". Shortly, "independent musicians in particular rely on face-to-face or community-based networkings to minimize the risks associated with unstable employment (Banks, et al., 2000)".

Furthermore, "advances in information technology have altered the geography and volume of music production, *the production of music is now placeless* (Hracs, B., 2009a)". "Democratization of music technologies have reduced the power of the major labels as well (Hracs, B., 2011a)." "New

technologies have also made independent production, promotion and distribution easier than ever before (Hracs, B., 2011a).” “The connections between place and musical content such as musical approach, instrument choice and song lyrics have been analysed by a number of cultural and economic geographers (Gumprecht, B., 1998; Connell, J. And Gibson, C., 2003; Sancar, F. H., 2003; Cummins-Russell, T.A. and Rantisi, N.M., 2012).” However, “there is very little work on how place affects network development (Gumprecht, B., 1998; Connell, J. And Gibson, C., 2003; Sancar, F. H., 2003; Cummins-Russell, T.A. and Rantisi, N.M., 2012)”. Istanbul’s independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music industry promises an interesting case in which to investigate the role of place in mediating network relations and creative dynamics for a number of reasons. Networks in Istanbul’s thriving independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene are thus strengthened and expanded by new alternative media channels which provides the resources for collaboration to occur.

1.6.2 The Digitalization, Record Labels and Social Media

In this thesis, I also would like to tease out emerging trends and patterns in social media environment as independent music community uses, however further investigation probing the nature of the utilization manners of independent musicians is necessary in order to understand whether it is preference or obligation and this will be investigated in following sections.

In the few years, there have been many transformations in the recording and distributing industry as the launch of brand-new technologies have deeply changed the industry in itself. “Especially with the progression of social networking websites, tremendous changes have occurred in terms of political economy and in the convergence of major and independent music corporations, and of independent (indie), major and unsigned artists (Suhr, H.C, 2012).” In order to understand “the origin of the tension and compatibility that occurs between mainstream and independent music industries, looking into the transition of this kind of interrelationship between two industries by the fast pace of social media integration which plays a significant role (Suhr, H.C, 2012).” Since “the activities related to production, promotion, consumption and live performance occur directly in the virtual world, the power of social networking

sites which somehow means the empowerment of independent musicians cannot be ignored (Suhr, H.C, 2012)".

"Because music requires consumers to listen, the virtual world can be a place where musicians can thrive, build up their careers and to sell their music to numerous people simultaneously (Suhr, H.C, 2012)." So it cannot be denied that "these websites assist musicians in gaining freedom from the controls of the corporate music industry (Morrow, G., 2009)". This transition in the social media age reshaped the intersection between mainstream forces and independent, so to call, grassroots activities.

Chapter 2: The concept of alternative and independent in local music and the emergence of independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music in Istanbul

2.1. Aesthetic labour and creative industries

The roots of aesthetic labour can be explained by Hochschild's "emotional labour" concept and definition which refers to *the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display* (Hochschild, a., 1983)." Hochschild underlines how aesthetic labour "involves managing one's deepest feelings and emotions (Hras, B.J. & Leslie, D., 2014)". "As music work has always entailed some degree of aesthetic labour, competition, which is denied by musicians over the interviews, forces independent musicians to perform a broader and more time-intensive range of aesthetic tasks (Hras, B.J. & Leslie, D., 2014)." "Financial mentality of as much musicians spend a growing amount of time on live performances, as much they earn money changed the temporality and spatiality of aesthetic labour (Warhurst *et al.*, 2000)." More particularly, the term aesthetic labour, which is referred to the "*embodied capacities and attributes possessed by workers* (Warhurst *et al.*, 2000)", "contains the need of this kind of embodied nature of service work (Hras, B.J. & Leslie, D., 2014)", and "the corporeal labour that goes into the production of particular dispositions (Witz *et al.*, 2003)". As Witz *et. al.* refers to Butler's ideas of these type of embodiment on performance, "distinct modes of audience interaction depend as much on performative *styles of the flesh* as they do on manufactured feelings (Butler in Witz *et. al.*, 2003)". All in all, emotional connections with audiences are still necessary.

"Aesthetic labour is a manifestation of social and cultural capital, its characteristics are related to gender, age, class, race and ethnicity (Pettinger, L., 2004)." It might be said that the development of physical capital is based on the performative output of symbolic values "which is a manifestation of a particular '*habitus*', a socially constructed system of cognitive and bodily dispositions that ensure a consistency and durability to performances (Bourdieu, P., 1993)". In order to explain the pursuit of independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music in Istanbul, Bourdieu's (1993) notion of "*habitus*" can be used as a scheme of perceptions and attitudes which generates, structures and organizes practices and representations. "*The habitus of any individual forms a mental or internal compass that shapes one's*

attitudes, perceptions, tastes and inclinations (Loh, B., 2014)". "Since '*habitus*' gives a shape an individual's experience of and orientation towards the social world, it is also structures by one's position in social space which is determined by the volume and types of capital possessed by the individual (Loh, B., 2014)". As Bourdieu (1993) defines, "*habitus* gets a presence according to his or her position in terms on *economic capital* and *cultural capital* (Bourdieu, P., 1993)". Bourdieu (1993) defines economic capital as material resources –wealth and cultural capital as non-material goods – aesthetic credentials, that has an intimate relation with economic capital (Bourdieu, P., 1993)." "As the product of an objective position within social space, the '*habitus*' therefore encompasses a system of objectively determined practices that reflect the possibilities or life chances that are tied to a given social structure (Loh, B., 2014)."

"Recently, researchers have also begun to analyse how creative workers perform aesthetic labour (Hras, B.J. & Leslie, D., 2014, Entwistle, J. & Wissinger, E., 2006, Dean, D., 2005 and Entwistle, J., 2002)". As many researches' outputs affirm that "creative industries depend heavily on symbolic knowledge, local context and '*know who*' factor (Asheim, B. & Gertler, M., 2005)", working in a creative industry requires perpetual effort from catching the new music technologies to local networking. By drawing on three asunder case studies of independent musicians, music professionals and audience in further sections, I argue that the spatiality and temporality of independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene's aesthetic labour as a result of changing economic, cultural, social, aesthetical and technological dynamics in the music industry and the decline of major record labels. "In particular, the independent aesthetic labour in the music industry has become more time-intensive and take place across a growing range of spaces, including the stage, the home and online (Hras, B.J. & Leslie, D., 2014)". In the following sections, I investigate aesthetic labour in Istanbulite thriving independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene, an occupation that shares many of above characteristics.

My study of independent music industry in Istanbul began to open a more complicated world of musical meanings that were infeasible to separate from questions about history and ideology, ethnicity and identity, moral beliefs and values, modernization process and both globalization and glocalization.

Understanding Istanbul's thriving DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene's aesthetic stance might be investigated by following the changing dynamics of music industry in global.

2.2. Evolving Countenance of Independent Aesthetic Labour

Musical characteristics of independent musicians in Istanbul, Turkey, I assert that although independent musicians have always had to position their aesthetic labour as distinct from mainstream acts, the nature of this kind of labour has changed over years and still is changing in the current period. Answering the question of how changes in mainstream music industry have altered the rise of independent music production in years has become more important in this context. In this section, I explore the changing nature of *independent* and/or *DIY (Do-It-Yourself)* aesthetic labour in creative industries of Istanbul, from the canon of global transformation.

To begin with, with the launch of streaming services which is overlapped with the Mp3 crisis and the following decline of record sales (hard-copy), independent musicians perform more live shows by placing greater emphasis on the practical and visual to generate income. Secondly, since major record labels are not generally interested in any independent music groups and artists because of their commercial and financial concerns, independent musicians undertake the responsibility both for communicating with promoters and fans and marketing their music in which their aesthetic labour expanded the range of spaces. "Under the old model, labels took the responsibility of promoting a band, booking shows and some communication with fans, but independent musicians must now perform the role of content generator (producer) and the promoter (intermediary) (Hras, B.J. & Leslie, D., 2014)." "The shrunken distance between work-identity and self-identity leads independent musicians to produce and manage their aesthetic labour in a growing range of spaces (Hras, B.J. & Leslie, D., 2014)." Thirdly, with the fast pace of Web 2.0 and the development of new online sharing services (such as Myspace, Soundcloud, YouTube, Facebook, Twitter and Instagram), independent musicians started to share their performance, their aesthetic labour so to speak, in new online habitats. Accordingly, "the emergence and evolution of *independent* and/or *DIY (Do-It-Yourself)* is closely

related to the effects of *technoculture* (Lysloff, R., 1997)". "As electronic technologies and the industries that supply them are not simply the technical and economic context within which 'music' is made, but rather, they are among the very preconditions for contemporary musical culture (Theberge, P., 1993)"; "recent media and information technologies have given rise to new communities and forms of cultural practice (Lysloff, R., 1997)".

"Creative work means being 'always on' (Entwistle, J. & Wissinger, E., 2006) today." Particularly "independent musicians are often freelance and required to become entrepreneurs of the self by taking responsibility for managing their own bodies and image (Dean, D., 2005 and Entwistle, J. & Wissinger, E., 2006)" since the creative work is not produced for the sake of commercial concern, branded by major record label and dictated by promoters. "New online and offline communication channels encourage disintermediation and allow musicians to bypass traditional middleman, such as record labels, distributors, radio networks and independent record promoters (Young, S. and Collins, S., 2010)." It is also a fact that "digital technologies and the digitalization of music process have allowed contemporary independent musicians to enter the world of '*working in a full-time job as a freelance aesthetic labourer*' which encourages them at the same time to directly promote and sell their creative products to a vast audience at a low cost (Young, S. and Collins, S., 2010)." (Young, S. and Collins, S., 2010)".

"Freelance aesthetic labourer cannot walk away from the product which is their entire embodied self (Entwistle, J. & Wissinger, E., 2006)." "New forms of subjectivity are being constructed within social networks which is the result of extending '*the self*' into cyberspace, becoming a '*digital body*' (Cote, M. and Pybus, J., 2007)" and individually constituting site of labour. Contemporary social media applications such as Facebook, YouTube, iTunes, Spotify, Twitter, Soundcloud, Instagram and even Snapchat alter the relationship between producers (executives) and consumers and "allow musicians to engage directly with their audience on increasingly personal levels (Hras, B.J. & Leslie, D., 2014)". "Like physical bodies digital bodies are always in a state of becoming, and require continuous maintenance and enhancement through constant investments of time, energy and aesthetic labour

(Hras, B.J. & Leslie, D., 2014).” As musicians create their social profiles to promote themselves and sharing new stuffs, they need to work harder to catch the attention of alternative music listeners in highly crowded online marketplace and make them loyal both material and non-material terms. The idea of connecting personally online with your fans immanently existed in

Istanbul’s independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music industry and became an important marketing tool through creating conversations with fans. New technologies enabled both independent musicians and audience to communicate with each other in a more direct way and made aesthetic labour more independent to another third party. Besides the democratization of commercial concerns on aesthetic labour and the rise of independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music in Istanbul, new technologies bring some uncertainties as well. Aesthetic labour started to be sorted as writing song and present it both on offline and online stage “which limit the resources musicians can allocate to developing new creative content and results in *corrosion of creativity* (McRobbie, A., 2002)”. As the independent musicians started to follow new industrial changes in music network as being ‘sponsored’ band, audience started to deny listening their songs by accusing them to be a part of mainstream which is also the basic characteristic of music subcultures.

If one collects all foregoing ways under the same title, the common ground might indicate that all these ways increase independent musicians’ “workload and further erodes the division between work and leisure (Hras, B.J. & Leslie, D., 2014)”. Independent musicians started to spend a significant amount of time upgrading their musical skills, networking and marketing his or her products. On the other hand, “the performance of aesthetic labour extends beyond the headphones and stage to a range of spaces, including both in private and public life (Lazzarato, M., 1996)”. In this way, “work extends beyond the four walls of major record labels’ studios and spills in to society at large (Lazzarato, M., 1996)”. “The basin of aesthetic labour become larger since the occurrence of a more fluid boundary between work and leisure (Jarvis, H. and Pratt, A., 2006).”

2.3. A spatial analysis of creative industries of Istanbul: Local economy,

festivals, decreasing presence of sponsorship

As it is defined in theoretical framework section briefly, culture industries are regarded among the key contributors for economic development. "Culture industries can be defined as the sectors that deal with production, distribution and consumption of products whose economic value is constituted mainly from their cultural value (O'Connor, J., 1999)."

Starting from 80s, "Western industrial economies are being transformed from an economy based on manufacturing to one based on knowledge and culture which reveals creativity as output (Cunningham, S., 2002)." In the global competition of being creative city, culture industries, accordingly qualified creative labour and innovative environment have become key factors to gain strength over one another to captivate international capital. "These industries also provide an opportunity to individuals by encouraging creativity in battling unemployment in cities and contributing to the development of the local economy (Cunningham, S., 2002)." Creative industries "contribute to the economy of the city through the size of their budgets, the permanent and temporary employment they create, and the new existing sectors they stimulate (Enlil, Z. M., et al., 2011)", such as security firms, cleaning companies, media agencies, transportation companies, custom clearance companies, design firms, advertisement agencies, polling organizations, ticketing companies, production companies, publishing companies and so on.

"Cultural industries cultivate the creative and innovative environment, associated by the '*new economy*', and enable cities to maintain their role as incubators of creativity and innovation (Hall, P., 1999)." Cultural industries, – creative industries in other words, "contribute not only to the regeneration of run-down urban areas (Montgomery, J., 2003)", but also the *branding* of cities in global competition scene. With its cosmopolite, historic and urban vitality, Istanbul has fertile potential upon which creativity and cultural industries could flourish. Istanbul, as a city of culture and thus strengthen its competitive potential. But something went wrong. The positive developments of the past 15 years, creative industries of in Istanbul, mostly music-related ones, are facing several difficulties. Today, there are very few spaces in the city centre that meet the requirements for large-scale events; Ataturk Kültür

Merkezi has already gone and the taste of entertainment is deeply changed in Istiklal Street. Furthermore, organizing a creative event today, needs more budget since the foreign currency's lift; rental costs, organizational and logistic costs are above the global average. The high rates of tax, lack of municipal services and limited lost-cost of marketing budgets are also weakening the potential "creativity" of Istanbul at the same time. As the central core of Istanbul has diminished systematically, "*creative milieu* (Landry, C., 2006)" also melted down; no creative environment for interactive learning.

The influence of sponsorships: Decreasing presence of sponsorship in Istanbulite music festivals

Sponsorship, –one of the most powerful media, once was "the most popular tool in marketing communication that connects stakeholders and target markets (McDonald, C., 1991; Allen, J., 2011; Bowdin, G., 2003)". "Sponsorship is described as a strategy of marketing which involves exchanges between two entities; the sponsor and sponsee in a business relationship to achieve goals that are beneficial for both sides (Farrelly, J. & Quester, P., 1997)." Besides that, "sponsorship is based on two outputs: exchanging money and / or service as well as developing communication activities (Cornwell, T. B. & Maignan, I., 1998)". "As contemporary audiences are more fragmented; today, it is harder for communication professionals and marketers to interact efficiently with their target markets (Blonde, K. & Roozer, I., 2007; Tseng & Lee, 2001)." Event sponsorship in arts and music area, particularly music festival is one of the sponsorship event that is more considered and used as media promotion by many online and offline brands. "Sponsorship is a significant revenue stream for music festivals (Rowley, J. & Williams, C., 2008)" as well. Although music festivals give a perfect environment "where brands can create an inside, close and meaningful interaction to its consumers (Allen, J. & O'Toole, W., 2011)", the numbers of music events started to decrease dramatically year by year since 2013. The number of participants of these events also started to go down since these events were placed in outskirts of city and questioned security-wise. Plus, alcohol brands are no longer able to show their name on brandings if they would like to work with festivals, entertainment events in general.

Nevertheless, “a small number of research focus on the influence of sponsorship in music festival (Oakes, S., 2003)”.

While over 150 festivals were held in the central area of metropolis in 2005 (Enlil, Z. M., et al., 2011), at the end of 2017 the number of festivals will be around 40, including the outskirts of city. While in 2004, a total of 7,500 people were employed for just 5 days in Rock’n Coke, now it is even hard to find a music festival to attend. In 2017, Istanbul will host only 8 alternative music festivals: Sonar Istanbul, MIX Festival, SoundGarden, ParkFest, Chill-Out Now, İstanbul Müzik Festival, IKSVM Caz Festivali and Akbank Caz Festivali. Moreover, there is an insufficient interest and inadequate support both from private sector, local authorities and central governmental bodies as well. Remembering the decreasing numbers of art events in Istanbul, –Turkey in a broad perspective; nowadays, brands started to terminate their contracts with art & music events, festivals as Efes Pilsen left One Love Festival in its 17th year. One Love Festival is no longer supported by ANADOLU EFES –a local beer brand in Turkey which means there will be no more One Love Festival in following years.

The contributions of festivals to economic and social development can be evaluated on two levels; the international and the local. On international level, festivals attract international wonder and lead to an increase in the number of visitors. On a local level, they are significant in raising the quality of life in the city & enabling social integration and artistic production. Festivals are also “instrumental in creating new accessible spaces for musicians and other actors to meet (Allen, J. & O’Toole, W., 2011)”, networking and making new productions visible by drawing attention to grassroots artistic products in Istanbul. As the numbers of music events including festivals and concerts have started to decrease in offline world, musicians started to be more pro-active in online world while the music industry have also been transforming by evolving digital technologies.

2.4. Creative Industry Transforming: Digitally Driven Independent Music Production

2.4.1. The heat is on: Digitally driven independent music production

“Digital technologies have challenged the entrenched power of the major record labels (Leyshon, A., 2001).” The fundamental wave was the introduction of MP3 files in this challenge. Launching file sharing networks and the massive practice of this illegal sharing constituted a structural shock to the global music industry. After years, “technologically driven production and distribution standards are still altering the music industry, structurally, economically, politically and spatially (Leyshon, A., et al., 2001)”. It’s no doubt that technology is increasingly democratizing the production and distribution of music. “Until the development of the MP3, the majors welcomed technological innovations as opportunity (Leyshon, A., et al., 2001).” “As world connected to internet and music industry came face-to-face with the MP3, –a software program called MPEG-1 Audio Layer 3 (Motion Pictures Expert Group of the International Standards Organization, 1992), music industry has changed in itself radically. MP3 was something for the goods of television industry which standardizes pictures and audio files (Leyshon, A., 2001).” The main revolution was hidden in its size; CDs are requiring one-tenth storage space per minute of sound that CDs do, MP3s could be downloaded through even *narrow band* Internet connections.

During this period of transition, “before any legal regulations on file sharing networks and individuals, the Internet facilitated the development of a series of ‘*gift economies*’ occupied by enthusiasts who exchanged digital commodities such as image, movie and tracks (Hracs, B. J., 2012)”. Napster was one of these computer science dropouts, developed in 1999 by Shaun Fanning. According to Leyshon, by 2001, Napster had attracted over 60 million users sharing copyrighted music files (Leyshon, A., 2003). This can be seen as a massive social integration that people creates while sharing and downloading, but on the other side because of the industry’s lack of technological foresight and the inadequate legal implementations, mainstream music industry came face to face with economic crisis. In spite of surviving major record labels, “global music industry sales fell by 5 percent in 2001 and further 9 percent in 2002 (Hracs, B. J., 2012)”. However, blaming this illegal sharing and downloading attitude might be deficient on discussing this transition.

As Leyshon et. al (2005) interpret, there are series of other reasons such as shifting consumer tastes, transforming *Zeitgeist* and the different formats of music entertainment products like DVDs, Blue Rays, smart phones and streaming services. However, regardless of these changing consuming habits, mainstream music industry's response was slow and inadequate. There were two ways for major record labels: defending themselves in legal manner as claiming against the illegal online sharing services and/or delivering same service legally to audience in high-quality. However, second way still had to do something technical, logistical and strategic problems such as the question of dealing with copywriting rights and royalty payments. It takes years for major record labels to deliver "a legal and audience-friendly system to the market because of the poor strategic planning and policies which are implemented by the old school music industry executives; inherently ended up the alienated and pushed audience toward the *black market* (Leyshon et. Al, 2005). In time, the major record labels and retailers not only lose control of distribution, but also they lose control over the production processes of music itself in this process.

As high-quality file sharing corroded the strength of the major labels dispelled the traditional retailers; new distribution channels, record labels and organizations emerged –brand-new power relations began to take the stage in music industry. We have a particular example of that: Apple. "Apple adopted the pay-per-song model of distribution and leveraged its online platforms, company brand name, and line of MP3 players (iPods) to make its iTunes music store the market leader (Hracs, B. J., 2012)." The iTunes music store has come into our life in April 2003, it currently offers over 20 million songs and as of last quarter of 2009, "Apple accounted for 25 percent of the overall music market –both physical and digital –and 69 percent of the digital market (Whitney, L., 2009)." At this point, starting to tell the story of music industry from the beginning by using the canon of major labels might be efficient.

2.4.2. Majors vs. Independents: Consolidation of Power

Starting from 50s, “the recorded music industry was populated by dozens of records labels, each varying in size, location, scope and power (Burnett, R., 1996)”. During 80s and 90s several rounds of consolidation, altered the landscape of the industry.

“By 1999, the music industry was controlled by five large corporate major record labels: Bertelsmann AG (Germany), EMI (Britain), Seagram/Universal (Canada), Sony (Japan), and Time-Warner (U.S.) (Scott, A., 2000).” “Majors were vertically integrated multinationals, controlling every aspect of the production process ‘in-house’ (Hracs, B. J., 2012).

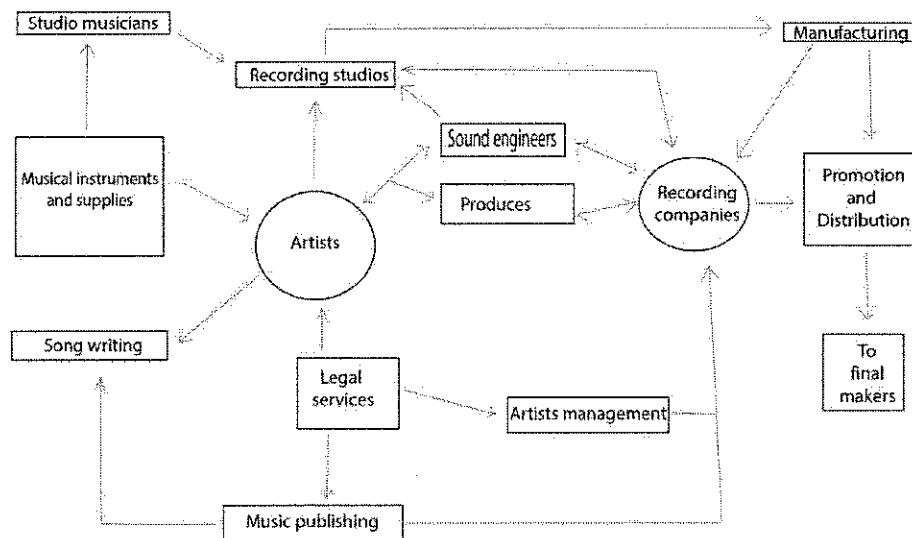


Figure 4. The traditional model of services controlled by the majors (adopted from Scott, A., 2000)

Figure 4. above, shows the major label model of music that there is no need for performers, to-be-musicians so to speak, to possess any technical, managerial, legal or entrepreneurial skills if one works with major record label. However, in signing a contract with a major record label, musicians abandoned much of their autonomy. While labels were imposing their vision to musicians’ creativity, as producer of the label is the only decision-maker on song, as creative director of the label decides the artwork and how to package it, musicians have started to lose their artistic freedom at some point.

Furthermore, the ongoing corporate formulations of major record labels started to collapse regarding the infertility of production, inadequate repertoire, demonetized marketing and promotional tactics. As Leyshon et al. describe, “the music industry was already struggling and on the verge of crisis. Internet piracy has legitimised the talk of a crisis of reproduction within the music industry (Leyshon et al., 2005)”.

2.4.3. Redistribution of power and the post-crisis restructuring of music retailing

Before all that’s happened; “strong control over the content, pricing and distribution process of majors allowed majors to dictate the terms of cultural production. Majors were developing product type, genre, marketing and promoting strategies which were forced upon their subsidiaries, as well as retailers (Power, D. and Hallencreutz, D., 2007)”. From the very beginning of launching legal online stores –Apple/iTunes example as above, the power structure of music industry has been changed from the pricing structure of music to the style of music that is being produced. The major difference between traditional and brand-new retailers is firstly product diversity today. However online music stores offer millions of songs and it helps democratization of music by genre heterogenization, “in reality these e-retailers are contributing to the process (Power, D. and Hallencreutz, D., 2007)”. As a singular music consumer, I can either go music markets or check iTunes store and see the same heavy promotion of the same music albums.

Today, music consumers still have Top 40, Hot 100, Fresh 20 lists on the very first page of those music online stores’ home pages. ‘*Pay-per-song*’ model for example can be taken as a new entity of music consuming that charters the consumption of popular singles and publicises limited number of album songs and makes them marketable. Briefly, at the level of mainstream cultural production, the rule of the game is same: there are specific kind of songs of each musical eras to be demanded, produced, marketed and distributed which has an important impact on musical production and individual musicians as well. The majors on the one hand

“were trying to reduce risk by looking for proven musical commodities in order to manufacture hit songs (Hracs, B. J., 2012)”, on the other hand “they have scaled

back the level and comprehensiveness of the services and support they provide to recording artists (Hracs, B. J., 2012).”

Today, musicians do not have to wait for a major record label to produce, promote and distribute his or her album, now, they can produce and distribute albums independently. Major labels have become less concerned discovering a talent and creating a new star; they have become more risk averse. Today, according to them, the magic of commercial success lies behind the *ready-to-eat* projects. Now artists are taking their risks by themselves, they are creating, performing and producing. *Getting into business* for musicians is now a well-accepted structuring in music industry, maybe it is a *must* thing to do, in fact, and “the majors are more interested in the finished product instead of the development process (Leyshon, A. 2009)”. It is too easy: If the album gains commercial success, major labels will find the artists instinctively. Consequently, “as major labels scale back their involvement in discovering and developing new talent they are transitioning from being music producers to acting as brand-led marketing companies (Leyshon, A. 2009)”. As the major record labels retreat from talent development, “independent music production is becoming a more widespread alternative for musicians (Leyshon, A. 2009)”. Independent music production is now “a new form of music production and the majority of artists end up on the independent side even if they are producing mainstream pieces (Leyshon, A. 2009)”. Well then, how does contemporary independent music production differ from traditional model?

In early 80s, being an independent musician was choice, but now it is a legal alternative way. Musicians have always been able to create music on their own of course, however, recording, producing, marketing and distributing of the product required capital and networks beyond the comprehension of individual musicians in traditional model. Traditional independent production was an ad hoc system with inherent limitations in which recording and producing required music professionals and networks. Today, however, environment of music industry has changed. “The introduction and development of digital technologies have finally given musicians the tools to be truly independent (Hracs, B. J., 2012).” Musicians, can now record in home studios, do mix and mastering by “hiring some engineers and producers who have technical skills (Hracs, B. J., 2012)” and release them online either via official or non-official online music stores and / or social media channels. Technology has made

recording and producing more affordable and allowed musicians to distribute and promote their music independently. In other words, “digital technologies have democratized the production of music by making traditionally expensive and specialized activities accessible to a much wider range of musicians (Von Hippel, E., 2005)”. In the current period, “individually produced tracks can be licensed and distributed directly through online music stores (Von Hippel, E., 2005)”, which also introduces independent musicians into the chain of global distribution for the first time as a result of new digital technologies’ flattening influences on global music industry. “Musicians are no longer tied as they once were to the major centres of music production and the major labels (Hracs, B. J., 2012)”, they have the Internet now and the major centre of the production, distribution and promotion is themselves.

2.4.4. Technology serves: Democratization of music and the rise of independent music

In this section, I would like to demonstrate how technology serves to democratize the music industry by reducing entry barriers and redistributing power. Technology has altered music production cheaper and accessible and allowed musicians to be free while producing, marketing and distributing at the global scale. “Technology has restructured the music industry and transformed independent music production from a niche market to a mainstream model of music production at the macro level (Hracs, B. J., 2012)”. At the micro level, independent musicians are now required to be active in a wider variety of tasks including non-creative ones such as business tasks (financing, networking, marketing, branding, accounting, merchandising, etc.) and managerial tasks (media relations, booking, licensing, distributing, legal arrangements, etc. as Hracs mentions, “the working lives of the contemporary independent musicians are moving away from ‘artist’ or ‘bohemian’ models of creative production to encompass a more professionalized entrepreneurial model. (Hracs, B. J., 2009)”. Despite working longer hours and giving their times (both for the creative production and the non-creative ones), independent musicians are still earning less money because of the royalty rates, the limited number of audience, restrictions of

mainstream music industry and bounded limits of live music & entertainment sector. Shortly, it is hard to explain independent music by associating only the creative part of it, today, it has become an integrated and extensive musical experience.

The nature of work restructures and “the rise of contemporary independent music production develop new opportunities and new challenges for creative class (Hracs, B. J., 2012)”. Autonomy, freedom of choice and creative control are now at musicians’ elbow but the risks as well. “Technology on the one hand has created a new structural and spatial order of independent music production in which individual musicians can make and sell music from anywhere (Hracs, B. J., 2012)”. On the other hand; “it has also ineradicably altered the market for recorded music (Hracs, B. J., 2012)”. Digital music industry is now stuck between this freedom and risk dichotomy for independent musicians “where power has been redistributed to a broad set of actors, including retailers and individual musicians (Hracs, B. J., 2012)”.

Many recent academic and popular studies have suggested that the independent and the major division needs to be dissolved together (Negus, K., 1997) since their collaboration is reciprocal and consensual within the scope of music industry, more generally creative industries. The varieties of this reciprocal relationship between majors and independents based on “a range of licensing, distribution, ownership and financing deals (Negus, K., 1997)”. Today, “many independent labels are distributed through majors, although there are many independent distribution companies offering alternative routes (Negus, K., 1997)”. Yet the majors have the financial power on artists’ recognition by financing the recordings, licensing tracks & albums, marketing plans and touring schedules; independent labels are still waiting on door steps of majors. So, how “independent” is the independent music sector?

Today, the old American model of conflicting majors and independents in the recording industry, which portrayed the majors as bulky and non-reacting stakeholders, no longer works, as many recent critics have argued, as one can easily find the examples of it in Turkish music industry. However, there are certain characteristics of

the Istanbulite independent music industry which make it a particularly useful case study of contemporary independent cultural production. Independent music labels are living their golden years nowadays in Turkey in terms of intense rotation in music shops and Web 2.0 in general. The more established labels of independent music industry such as Olmadı Kaçarız, Dunganga and Partapart are very keen to see the development of name artists and the rise of a star system in Istanbul's thriving independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene which would run in parallel to that of the popular music industry as a whole.

Chapter 3: Being an alternative, listening alternative and the current image of independent music scene and DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music practices today

3.1. The City as “Place”, The City as a “Hub of Production”

The fact that independent music as a commercial category has already gained popularity in Istanbul is intimately depended on the transition taking place in itself, Istanbul has not only been the place where various musical traditions and approaches have integrated historically, but it also composes a space in which some certain interactions of globalization might be frankly observed. As global cities defined as the controlling centres of capital and productive forces (Friedmann, J., 1986; Sassen, S., 1991), the city of Istanbul has been the subject of globalization studies in which Istanbul has been labelled as ‘becoming’ global city from late 90s. (Keyder, Ç., 1999; Keyder, Ç. & Öncü, A., 1997). The city has witnessed heavy growth in the fragments of creative industry such as entertainment, media, technology which resulted in the emergence of the new branch of activities and which made Istanbul a cultural centre not only for Turkey but also for the rest of the world in this sense. “How global is Istanbul?” is not the exact question and the discussions about the “global city” within the scope of this paper. However, the independent music phenomenon might be seen as part of the process of the both cultural and economic (re)construction of the city, which is inherently embedded in a more comprehensive global mechanism. As the global economy channels cultural forms, in a globalizing world, “culture-related productions and activities have been become significant sources of competition in global markets (Friedmann, J., 1986; Sassen, S., 1991)”. Briefly, culture as the main mediator of processes of redevelopment, reconstruction and revitalization has become a tool of economic practice mainly in urban landscapes.

Independent music phenomenon is a global cultural and commercial form paradoxically claiming to represent the very locality and the *place* itself. Independent music is a medium through which “discourses of the *global* and *local* are produced and disseminated”, and the term itself “relies on its being perceived as both global and *distant*” with connection to specific places. By giving more importance to the deterritorialization and redrawing of boundaries in a globalizing

world, local independent music projects have become attractive cultural form in which musicians and audience formed a kind of micro-musical scenes in global contexts. It is no doubt that local culture, identities and musical creations as local sound are cumulative and also based on acquaintance and socialization of local communities. Moreover, it is also important to discuss about the sub-cultural factors, production phase, organization type and audience. Istanbul includes various kinds of genres and sub-genres of music which do not take place in popular industry and directly opposed to pop culture and industrial production.

As a matter of fact, to study Istanbulite independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music requires to see the musical behaviour of individuals within the shared social, cultural, economic, political and aesthetic aspects, the production of musical genres with their leachier boundaries and the points at which locations, identities, industries and institutions overlap and contradict with each other. From this point of view, independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene in Istanbul is a constructed one rather than being given thing depending upon lifestyles that are reproduced in everyday life by determined socio-economic and socio-political groups and based on aesthetic choices. The discursive tensions, financial pressures and new traditions in the independent music of Istanbul are distinctive traits of contemporary independent cultural production as well. The independent music scene corresponds to the ambivalent position Istanbul occupies –this city’s spatial and cultural in-betweenness.

3.2. Two continents, two attitudes: Beyoglu vs. Kadikoy in the sense of local sound and local scene

Istanbul, as one of the important provincial cities, is now on course to becoming the dominant centre of a music industry network in terms of economic relations, both national and international level (Özügür, M., 2008). Istanbulite independent music ranges from traditional Turkish traditional love songs to classical Turkish music, to jazz, punk, rock, blues and rap along with the music and performances of stars and folk singers; it is a range as diverse and complex as the urban space it represents. Istanbul is a product of cultural exchanges, it is politically, gendered, classed and culturally produced. Its space also structures subjectivities and identities. There is no doubt that

music provides a guarantee for individuals for the protection of their identities. So, *“musical identity may also become a unifying element that defines whether one is inside or outside a group (Reyes, S. A., 1979)”*.

Moreover, independent music in Istanbul not only has a polyphonic soundspace but also does carry masculine representations less apparent. A considerable amount of feminine singers and musicians are on stage accompanied by their feminine discourses today. Even further, they are on the way to be mainstream as in the example of Kalben.

3.2.1. Beyoglu vs. Kadikoy

In its desire to emulate the advance of the West, following the rock & roll boom in the West, Turkey's music industry met the first example of new alternative bands at the end of the 60s. During 70s and 80s the Turkish government, fearing the emergence of opponent and leftist musicians, by the help of coup d'état, discouraged musicians and bands from playing. In mid-80s this resulted in a much more subdued alternative music scene, some of the musicians moved to another country and even some of them stopped playing music. Second strike to alternative music occurred depending upon new capitalist climate around the beginning of 90s. “When a more liberal climate began to prevail starting from mid-90s onward, band playing alternative and/or independent music found it difficult, even impossible, to survive in such a cruel environment, and few went beyond providing mainstream, more popular offerings in other words (Phua, S.C. and Kong, L., 1996)”.

From the beginning of 90s, independent music in Istanbul has been separated as Kadikoy and Beyoglu, are still visited by these communities and used by entertainment industry. Both Kadikoy and Beyoglu are very identical locations where creative industries cluster in Istanbul. One of the main reasons behind this clustering in the central area is the fact that the social, cultural and physical atmosphere of these areas is much more suited than anywhere else in Istanbul. Kadikoy and Beyoglu have alternatively create their own social interactions and social consumptions as opposed to mainstream industry in years. Two continents have created their own style, dialect, taste and scene as independent music industry. Beyoglu and Kadikoy have separately their own sound localization and both has a specific sound in

independent music scene. The different local sounds of Kadikoy and Beyoglu do not only lie in their separate musical and stylistic unity, these sounds also reflect their particular communicational socialization in themselves.

Kadikoy is one of the important music hubs in Istanbul, especially in 90s. Kadikoy sound was the thing people can easily define if he or she is interested in music not even close. Today some symbolic words closely related to life-style and sound of Kadikoy such as Akmar Passage, Arka Oda, Bina, Zor, Karga and many others, reminds the same taste to Istanbulite independent audience. Kadikoy Sound is more indie, alternative, rock and experimental, while Beyoglu is hosting more eclectic sounds including almost all genres together. Even though there are some local sound differences, the two continents together contain social life to use music as an attitude. Beyoglu has always conserved its distinct status as the cultural and entertainment centre of Istanbul. Beyoglu is another context to discuss which carries many refraction of genres extended beyond its districts from the beginning of 80s, through creating its own cosmopolite and mixed local consumption cycle. With the youth sub-culture leading the way, the 90s were, in fact, years of the huge expansion of night clubs and performance stages all around Beyoglu. Indeed, "the city's role as European Capital of Culture in 2010 transformed the image of Istanbul to make it a '*brand city*' (Aksoy, A., 2012)". These changes have affected Beyoglu as well. Beyoglu lived its spring times around 2006-2012, but unfortunately, after the removal of the chairs from Beyoglu streets, we cannot say the same things anymore. As record stores, cinemas, theatre halls, pubs and concert halls are either closed or be the victim of gentrification projects. Regardless of erasing indie identification of Beyoglu, it still draws breath with its loyal stakeholders such as COOP, Peyote, Nardis Jazz Club and so on.

However, it is still hard to categorize the sound as Kadikoy sound or Beyoglu sound today since there is no polarization, musically. It is valuable to deal this sound as embracing this manner independent, both musically and politically; and reading this alternative manner in terms of the conceptualization of "*scene*", instead of the term of "*sound*". Variety and heterogeneity of musical characteristics, styles are explicable with the term "*scene*" since this term includes social interaction, musical consumption and social location, communication, collective

communities, groups, fans and frequenters in local area (Demir, B. & Hakarar, T., 2015).

Scene emerges through mutual relationships and unity of attitudes although there is a diversity of musical lives entwined to various meanings and identities (Demir, B. & Hakarar, T., 2015). As Barthes refers, creativity and meaning of art depend on reader and/or audience as various culture and dialogs are in a mutual relationship with art of work (Barthes, R, 1977). This kind of “*unity of attitude and / or manner*” is based on negating themselves as opposed to the popular and industrial musical market by alternatively consuming music and social life as well. As Will straw refers, “*that scenes do not spontaneously emerge from a particular group, class or community, but from various ‘coalitions’ and ‘alliances’, which have to be actively created and maintained* (Negus, K, 1997)”. It is also known that these alliances include voluntary productions as fanzines, music press publications (Shuker, R., 2001) in their own alternative discourses.

3.2.2. Local sound and Local scene

“The term ‘*scene*’ is commonly and loosely used by musicians and music fans, music writers and researchers to refer to a group of people ‘*who have something in common, such as a shared musical activity or taste*’ (Cohen, S., 1999)”. These common and shared activities belong to a consumption organization involving started from producing to record buying, from “radio listening to home recording; along with the various secondary levels of involvement: the music press, dance, clubbing, and concert going (Shuker, R, 2005)”. In the sense of analysis of Bourdieu on ‘*taste*’, local communities use music to define themselves against others (Roy, W.G., 2010). The concept of ‘*scene*’ “has long been used by musicians and music journalists to describe the clusters of musicians, promoters and fans, etc., who grow up particular genres of music (Bennet, A., 2004)”. Particular genres of music are performed in some particular local areas; such as punk in Kadikoy, rock in Beyoglu and surf in Kadikoy and jazz in Beyoglu. Embracing this kind of sub-cultures organized around the specific genres can be done by understanding local social musical lives and local scene. Sub-cultural attitudes and behaviours are somehow against the mainstream and belongs to underground scene. The underground scene feeds “being alternative in local areas and

social activities related with music included the active adoption of alternative value systems (Negus, K. 1997)".

"Sub-culture is an integration of social activities, values, beliefs, behaviour patterns and '*taste*' (Hebdige, D., 1979)" which brings independent and unique sharing of class-consciousness. Subcultures generally carries a working-class life representation in which youth culture plays a key role. "Youth culture-usually associated with rock music-developed differently through history in Turkey (Demir, B. & Hakarar, T., 2015)". In early phases of rock music in Istanbul, young musicians started by imitating foreign rock'n roll bands, mostly performing cover songs during live concerts. "Competitions also played an important role on encouraging youth culture to make their own music and first rock band in Istanbul from Heybeliada Maritime College in 1957 (Erkal, G. E., 2013)". First alternative stars of Istanbul were collegian and connected to the middle class or even bourgeois, Barış Manço, Cem Karaca, and Erkin Koray somehow. Consequently, rock music was born in a different direction in Istanbul but developed itself against the popular culture, the mainstream industry as it is used to be. In years, rock music influenced by both East and West culture, it became independent (Today we have only few mainstream rock music bands such as; Duman, Athena, Şebnem Ferah, Mor ve Ötesi) and some of them are troubled with political powers and opponents but have never acted a class-community.

As Shuker mentions that "youth subcultures appropriate and innovate musical forms and styles as a basis for their identity, and in so doing, assert a countercultural politics (Shuker, R., 2001)". Independent music as an identical behaviour rather than musical style, which provides an environment for new, local, un-industrial audience in local areas such as Kadikoy and Beyoglu. These two districts of Istanbul liaise in their young and indie identities as as sub-cultural group. Basically, "music feeds the identities not only through industry but also through local places (Demir, B. & Hakarar, T., 2015)" and local scenes have started to emerge cumulatively. Cohen reflects local scene as "a particular life style, a social network and identity outside of work, family, or home; a sense of purpose, status, and prestige; a unique means of communicating emotion and idea; and the lure of

artistic and financial success (Cohen, S., 1999)". Stanojevic defines "*local scene* like a cultural space –a set of symbols and signs –shared by members (Kozorog, M. & Stanojevic, D., 2013)". So independent music scene can be defined as both audience –subculture, and performers who do not participate in industrial popular music and who make their own.

Accordingly, musicians and audiences of independent music scene get together around a certain *alternative* manner which is introverted in its periphery. This alternative manner also creates a common-sense between these groups of people which can be evaluated as sharing influential musical stance, a local attitude. This local attitude also nourished by mutual relationships, creates their own industry within street culture. It is important to underline that local scenes do not only lie in the homogeneity of '*sound*'. In terms of musical climate, alternative and/or independent music is something of not abandoned, ranging from progressive folk rock to rap and even dark-wave post-punk. It seems most likely to use Kruse's approach –as defined by musicians' claims about "the manner and tone of their presence and the way they do music, in order to understand the alternative and/or independent canon in Istanbul since these scenes are where Istanbul's *critical mass* is present (Kruse, H., 2010)".

As independent music had been described depending upon its geographical and physical spaces, the way in which it was and it understood in relation to local identity is significant (Kruse, H., 2010)". "Identities and correspondingly subjectivities we formed, developed, changed, sustained and maintained within localities that were constituted by geographical boundaries, by networks of social relationships, by a sense of local history, and in opposition to other localities (Kruse, H., 2010)". On the one hand, "the social and economic connections and structures of independent music might be embraced as networks in which musical knowledge, genre, geography and position in the commerce and business located subjects within one or more sets of relations (Kruse, H., 2010)". "Shared musical knowledge and know-how of this business and practices are also significant in the formation and maintenance of inter-local social and economic systems (Kruse, H., 2010)" on the other.

Istanbulite independent music scene formations attracted the attention from mainstream, in other words, popular media and academics starting from the very beginning of 80s. The inexpugnable proliferation of independent music projects, the increasing attention of mainstream labels such as Universal Music, Sony Music Turkey and DMC to these independent projects and the changing rules of entertainment sector made independent or independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music a hot topic. Besides the rapid rising of independent music scene in terms of both quality and quantity of projects, with the widespread popularity of the internet, the nature of local independent music scenes has started to change where listening music also democratize both for musicians and audience. It is the fact that the internet has become a key environment and tool in the production, promotion, distribution, dissemination, and consumption of independent music.

3.2.3. City, Place Attachment and Independent Music

As “music gives emotional life to the place, becomes memorable and is passed from one generation to the next (Shepard, J. & Wicke, P.; 1997)”, investigating the role of music in establishing and expressing place attachment is significant. “Understanding place involves studying social-personal experiences and meanings that are assumed to be subjectively assigned, unique and multi-layered (Shepard, J. & Wicke, P.; 1997).” Studies of place mostly use an approach that is intersubjective: that is, the focus is on shared meanings that are socially constructed. On this construction cultural process, impacts of globalization on the one hand and local forces on the other interact with the sense of place attachment. Consequently, there may be various kinds of place attachments.

A city as a place provides a stage where both globalization and localization are musically played out. Places are both produced and re-produced in social, cultural and symbolic sense and music is one way of constructing, resuming and transforming social relations. As “the music symbolizes social processes” (Shepard, J. & Wicke, P.; 1997), it plays “an important role in transforming social, political and economic aspects on the particular place in which it is created (Shepard, J. & Wicke, P.; 1997)”. Therefore, “any kind of change in place plays a crucial role in formulating the politics of dissent and in constructing a community feeling and

identity. In fact, the core of such activity is the nature of urban form itself (Shepard, J. & Wicke, P.; 1997)". In this urban way of life, "music establishes place by acting as a context for social gatherings as well (Shepard, J. & Wicke, P.; 1997)". More precisely, production, exchange and consumption of music makes people come together as Madonna said once, "reinforcing social identity and marking relations of kinship and alliance at the same time today (Shepard, J. & Wicke, P.; 1997)". Music contributes producing sense of belonging and transmits emotion first-hand. As "music is conditioned by lifestyle, it can also represent the spirit of an epoch (Supicic, L., 1987)". *Place* is an important topical category in all independent genres of music in Turkey.

Owing the fact that independent music might be propagated online and 21st century's online tools allow audiences in distant locations to engage with these audio tracks online; the globalization of music production and rapid dissemination have not ended up in the evanescence of local music scenes and music production perspectives and methods. Globalization has not, apparently, concluded as the dissemination of local music scenes and specific sounds.

From the very beginning of 90s, *online* world has become a key field in order to service the product, to promote, to disseminate and to consume of music independent music scene. Internet as a realm of freedom –as many argue, has transformed these production-consumption practices into more widespread manner. Today, one can tune into an internet radio station, a music-based social networking site or s streaming service if he or she cannot find a local broadcast radio station to listen independent music. One can also watch a live performance of his or her favourite singer on YouTube, can do a karaoke of his or her favourite song or can even purchase his or her favourite album of all times just by clicking on the link. This also does not mean independent music is something belongs to *being online*, listeners now take the advantage to consume more music, from more different sources. *Listening it online*, now, can be key in forging listening more music which creates more demand and consequently leads to more production and sharing. There is no doubt that the internet has the potential to break new bands, so to speak, performers as we experience today.

The online (virtual) and the offline (conventional) are not truly separate (Hodkinson, P., 2004) actually, the members of independent music audience are just now able to access quite easily and connect with each other. They can even be in a contact with performers by following in their web page or social media accounts which It is definitely correct that having “an electronic place in which to ‘gather’ enables a direct link between fans, and even makes possible a direct connection between fans and performers (Kibby, M., 2000).” Still, “independent music is largely described in and by discourses of authenticity, and therefore the construction of situated local practices as authentic practices and the physical sites of local music remain important for scene participants despite the accessibility of music through the internet (Kruse, H., 2010)”. Independent music nights and performances –even it is so small, still matters as places to talk about and listen to music, exchange the ideas and network with the other listeners. Another source of the rise of independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music was the changing face of live performance venues which are inclined to increase in number. Due to the fact that the small-scaled pubs and clubs around Kadikoy and Beyoglu such as Peyote, Karga, Gitar Café, Arsen Lügen and so on started to open its live performance stages to these local independent musicians and/or groups, audience on the other hand started to be more aware about local acts of Istanbul’s independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene.

As independent music had been frequently characterized by the ends of some particular geographical, cultural and socio-economic conditions, the way in which it is received in relation to local identity is crucial. Subjectivities and identities are getting their forms, transforms and carries on within their localities which were once generated by geographical limits, by socio-economic networks, by an inheritance of local common-senses, and in conflict to other local entities. As it is underlined by H. Kruse, “an important way in which musicians and others involved in local scenes understand their own involvement is as something that both identifies them with and differentiates them from individuals and groups in other communities (Kruse, H., 2003)”. Besides of understanding local through looking the lens of local dynamics of producing and consuming music, it is also significant to catch the importance of “emerging trans-local networks that brought institutions

and musicians in varied local scenes together in broader systems of musical production and dissemination without sparing the scope of economic structure of industry and social practices (Kruse, H., 2010)". "The social and economic connections and structures of indie music could, in the end, be seen as networks in which musical knowledge, genre, geography, and positions in the independent music business located subjects within one or more sets of relations (Kruse, H., 2010)."

3.3. Local independent music: "being online" and "sharing" it

21st century cannot be only described as *breakdown* as Green Day mentions in their songs, it is also an enabler in which music can easily get into circulation online and local sounds and local music identities have a chance to maintain their existence. 21st century also "hosts the decentralization of music production and distribution (Stone, B., 2009)". Today, musicians and/or groups do not even need to record for a major label to reach the masses, or to sell music. Established mainstream acts like Radiohead, Nine Inch Nails and Jack White, or small independent acts like Son Feci Bisiklet in Istanbul have in recent years released their albums on their own, have revoked the commissions of major labels. Today, "performers can create their own demand mechanism by the ends of online world and sell their music without major label contracts, they can easily tour with their own budget, and disseminate and promote their music (Stone, B., 2009)".

Independent music's economic model, whatever geography it is, is something that creates a demand in itself. Selling music online is not only the benefit of 'being online' and 'sharing' but also is the promotional key which leads performers and products to be visible. New online world, –Web 2.0 in other words, is a subsidiary thing to make local independent music available and "accessible to more national and international audiences than ever before (Stone, B., 2009)". Today, Kalben's song "Sadece" is on the first rank among the all performers attended in Sofar global. By the development of digital music technology and Web 2.0, musicians, audience and even music critics & writers started to interact with each other more easily. Venues also started to create their own to-be-follow schedules in very creative ways, or basically, Facebook now reminds the event or show that one clicks "plans to attend". Many academic studies show that "online

communication is a valuable and meaningful as offline communication (Johnson, A.J.; Haigh, M. M., Becker; J. A. H.; Craig, E. A.; Wigley, S., 2008)".

Thanks to digital recording technology, "performers can now, relatively inexpensively, make professional quality recordings even if they do not have the financial backing of a record company to pay studio time or are located far away from recording studio (Connell, J. & Gibson, C., 2002)" and "getting local music to larger audience is easier, obviously (Connell, J. & Gibson, C., 2002)". Of course there is an independent music in 80s and home-recording devices are not new. Today lo-fi recorded room music takes its roots from these times and embrace this 'room' quality as a marker of 'authenticity' (Kruse, H., 2010). That shows that there is an intimate distance between new traditions and the old ways of making music but still, independent musicians struggle to be heard despite the new digital music technology's tools and services.

Digital music technology has allowed musicians to create high-quality recordings in home and to share them via more professional delivery systems. For instance; it is now theoretically possible now for a musician to produce a music track by only computer-based software and share it online from Australia which can be accessible from Turkey if someone has internet connection hopefully.

Major recording labels still exists and will always be an important figure on deciding the music that reaches to masses, for sure. However, online world, provides an ideal structure outside any hierarchy. Audience now creates its own gatekeepers, as following opinion leaders of music industry figures' online accounts, listening what they are listening. Moreover, they can turn into a gatekeeper by creating their own playing lists for example on Spotify and make them public.

PART 2: ANALYSIS

Chapter 4: Methodology

This study is an exploratory and interpretative research which led me to use qualitative research methods. My purpose is to develop a deeper understanding about independent music scene in Istanbul and how DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music producing habits and attitudes occur, develop and take shape. I would like to present an in-depth exploration of their *independent habitus* indicating their motives, perceptions, attitudes and practices. Denzin and Lincoln (2000)'s definition of qualitative research can be utilized as a framework for how I used this methodology:

“Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (pp. 3).”

In line with the above definition my endeavour is a situated and reflexive attempt to understand and represent the experience and subjectivity of a particular section of the independent performers, audience and sector professionals in Istanbul. Here, I should account for my position as a white-collar labourer in music industry – working as a booker & talent buyer in Zorlu Performing Arts Center with globally oriented lifestyle and consumption preferences, I am very much a part of the social group which I study. This is most peculiarly an advantage because I have multiple insights about both mainstream and independent music scene as a result of my personal and professional experiences, observations and self-analysis.

4.1. Ethnography: Investigating modern “uses” and “functions” of independent music scene

4.1.1. Participant Observation, as an On-site Observation

The main research method was “the systematic ethnographic study of *musical events* (Stone, R. 1982; Nketia, J.H.K., 1990)”. Paid, free-of-charge and closed events during which independent local music was performed live, were attended in a variety of social settings, situated in a wide geographical area covering İstanbul, İzmir, Ankara, Kocaeli, Eskişehir, Sivas, Bursa, Konya and Antalya. This is a systematic study of musical events (May 2015 – March 2017) involved participant observations, semi-structured in-depth interviews and spontaneous interviews. Each particular observation was carried out along “a structured form which covers a broad range of music related contexts and aspects (Stone, R. 1982; Nketia, J.H.K., 1990)”.

The figure below interprets the attended music events in to more generic categories, representing the variety of uses of independent music scene in contemporary İstanbul, Turkey in general. It becomes clear that independent music is used in widely divergent kinds of musical events, involving a broad range of contexts and occasions. As A. Kayhan indicates “In Turkey, as elsewhere, music venues are spaces that have shown the social and cultural distinctions or the common denominators of entertainment life since the Ottoman period (Kayhan, A., 2014)”. In İstanbul we have several forms of music events which can be also sub-titled from a mainstream one to the most alternative one.

Home sessions	Training of playing & recording skills with peers, informal social gatherings
Festivals	Summer festivals, Winter Festivals
Cafe Concerts, Venue Concerts, Pub Concerts	Independent Music Nights
Official opening of venues, Launch Parties, Closed Events, Brand Parties	Free-of-charge events, Invited-only parties
Sofar	Free-of-charge events, formal social gatherings

Figure 5. Own elaboration. Uses of independent music performances in İstanbul, Turkey in general

In order to investigate the modern uses and functions of Istanbulite independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene, thirty-five musical events, occurring in a broad range of social and regional contexts, have been ethnographically studied in a systematic way (Stone, R. 1982; Nketia, J.H.K., 1990)".

The data, collected by means of participant observation and in-depth interviews with musicians (performers), listeners and promoters-organizers (sector labourers), I analysed all according to the qualitative inductive approach. The analysis showed that Istanbulite independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene plays a role in different kinds of events: artistic training, variants of the "concert" concept such as festival concerts, café concerts, pop-up concerts, free-of-charge event concerts, official openings & launches; mainly formal & informal gatherings.

This thesis deliberately applies a broader, more open perspective, in order to gain insight into;

- 1) The different contexts (settings, occasions) in which independent music is used in contemporary music industry, and
- 2) Values ('uses') and 'functions' of these independent music manifestations for the people involved.

These two words; 'use' and 'function' are discussed in accordance with well-accepted conceptualizations from the literature. While Alan Merriam defines 'use' as "*the situation in which music is employed in human actions* (Merriam A. O. & Merriam, V., 1964)." and 'function' as "*the purpose which it serves* (Merriam A. O. & Merriam, V., 1964)."

Istanbulite independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene also turned out to adopt variety of uses and functions which might be situated in different fields; "a sociological function and an aesthetic function (personal field); the communication of emotional, social and societal content and the preservation or transmission of cultural heritage (cultural field), creating or strengthening social ties and expressing political views (social field); the expressions of cultural identity (social – cultural field), inducing a mystical –'We are together' feeling and evoking feelings of solidarity, humanity and philanthropy (social-ritual field) (Merriam A. O. &

Merriam, V., 1964)". All these results express the evidential varied role of Istanbulite independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene.

4.1.2. In-depth Interviews: Structured, semi-structured and spontaneous interviews

For studying independent music scene in Istanbul basically make use of in-depth interviews which I conducted between the beginning of May 2015 and the middle of April 2017. My structured and semi-structured interviews were developed according to the three interrelated branches of my research agenda which are the motives and approaches of independent music, how they accept it and how they reflect it. Interviews were conducted in relaxed and informal settings mostly in cafes, clubs, pubs, concert halls and interviewees' apartments. Interviews are recorded and I took extensive notes after each interview about the respondents' answer and the common & divergent themes emerging in their narratives. Recorded material and notes are used basically in below analysis.

35 (Thirty-five) musical events have been observed and of the 44 in-depth interviews conducted, 16 were with independent musicians, 14 were with independent music listeners and 14 were with key informants who works as managers, producers, promoters, organizers and executives at major and independent record labels. The interviews covered musicians and executives working in a variety of indie-genres including, jazz, and pop, rock and electronic. Interviews ranged from half-an-hour to one hour in length and some were digitally recorded, transcribed and coded according to theme. Most of them were not recorded by paying regard of interviewers' demand. In order to demonstrate how musicians, executives and audience expressed their ideas and experiences particularly in their own words, verbatim quotations are used in following analysis section.

32 (Thirty-two) interviews were structured semi-structured and same order in asking questions followed which helps categorizing the respondents' answers and identify the common, recurrent and divergent themes in their narratives. The other 12 (Twelve) interviews were conducted spontaneously. I utilized narrative analysis for interpreting interviewees' attitudes and experiences, and the ways in

which they make sense of the experience of being a part of local independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene or movement.

“As narratives are specific representations of and constructions about reality, my purpose is to see *how respondents in interviews impose order on the flow of experience to make sense of events and actions in their lives*’ (Kohler-Riessman, C., 1993)”. “Narrative analysis is a sufficient way for interpretative and exploratory research, and for studying the construction of emotions, identity and the self-image (Smith, C. P., 2000).” On the other hand, using a thematic analysis model also helped me giving an emphasis on ‘*what* is said more than *how* it is said, the *told* rather than the *telling*’ (Kohler- Riessman, C., 2004)”. Categorizing narratives according to themes in thematic analysis was the second step so; the third one is to analyse “the meanings presented by the respondents on the basis of *what* is said by them (Kohler- Riessman, C., 2004)”.

Generally, interviews were conducted on the spot with significant others playing different roles in independent music, Istanbul’s independent music industry in general: performers, managements, agents, organizers, audience. “To be eligible to participate in the study (Kohler- Riessman, C., 2004)”, respondents had to be formally and informally involved in music industry. Even it is structured or spontaneous, “all respondents were asked questions drawn from a standard interview guide focusing on background information, place-based attributes and independent behaviour (Kohler- Riessman, C., 2004)”. Interviews are mostly driven spontaneously however in-depth ones were structured and semi-structured and aimed at ensuring information and insight about the ‘*use*’ and ‘*function*’ of Istanbul’s independent music. A clear majority of events have also been documented with audio and video recordings, photographs.

The analysis of the data has been done using both insider’s (emic) and outsider’s (etic) perspective in order to find a clue of uses and functions of Istanbul’s independent music scene. “*General inductive approach* (Thomas, D.R., 2006)”, “integrated to the basic principles of *Grounded Theory* (Scott, H., 2009)” has provided prevalent purview and a theoretical framework from the concrete, individual information by every single interviewee. The triple-sided analysis (both with musicians, audience and sector labourers) is based on these interviews

conducted in Istanbul which is the largest music centre in Turkey and further, some of them is conducted in Izmir, Sivas, Konya and Antalya in order to investigate the reflexion of audience through the lens of wider audience mass.

Istanbul is chosen as a main research field for this interviews because of its scope of creative industry and builder characteristic of independent music in Turkey. Istanbul is home to several state-run schools and conservatories and private institutions, all of the major Turkish record labels and features the largest number of recording and producing studios, commercial and independent venues and music-related stores. On the other hand, Istanbul's characteristics of *the place to be* is still continuing in the perception of musicians since from the very beginning of 70s which aspiring musicians, accordingly supports a diverse array of genres as alternative music. Istanbul is also a city combined with a high cost of living and recording accompanied with a serious lack of government support.

Eventually, these in-depth interviews provided valuable information about the current situation in the music industry and further affirmed the hypothesis of the thesis associated with environment of DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music and the rise of independent music production in Istanbul. I also conducted a small-scale unstructured media analysis to gain further insights about how independent music scene embraced by music critics both in online and offline publications & broadcasting.

Chapter 5: Conducting the research questions, findings and analysis

5.1. Istanbulite music in 80s, 90s, 00s, 10s under the effect of globalization, coup d'état(s) and digitalization of technologies

While music was perceived as a tool for maintaining social unity and conveying the Kemalist message during the single party period, music during the multi-party period which started in 50s served a different purpose. Starting from the very beginning of 50s, the policy of liberal trade and culture industries created its own pop stars singing “Western Light Music in Turkish –Türkçe Sözlü Hafif Batı Müziği (Erkal, G. E., 2013)”. 1960 coup d'état created a vibe of localization in urban life which also allowed of a curiosity on folk culture. In 60s, as in global, music has become “more sensitive to the social problems in the field of cultural production, new forms emerged and ‘folk music’ has become something different than before (Erkal, G. E., 2013)”. “Following the rock’n roll boom in the West, Turkish music industry hosted a wave of new alternative musicians and bands starting from 60s (Erkal, G. E., 2013)”. Parallel to this, a generation of new artists and music groups such as Modern Folk Üçlüsü, 21. Peron, Üç Hüreller, Barış Manço, Erkin Koray began to recompose local tunes using a Western technique, particularly that of alternative / rock music. “Anatolian rock has been carrying protest characteristics and it became one of the most important music forms, particularly for urban youth (Erkal, G. E., 2013)”.

In 60s, the emergence of Anadolu-pop and/or Anadolu-rock and popularization of local melodies with Western instruments creates an open door for the emergence of “arabesk” which reflects the emotional destruction of migration and urban way of life. In parallel to the fast pace of globalization and the new post-Fordist era, economy and culture began to be ruled by a set of New Right principles. Authoritarianism, free-market economy and small-strong state was the keywords of this decade and assisted politicization of culture at the everyday life level. 1980 coup d'état restrains musical activities by inhibiting records and artists’ live performances. Following years, the structural change of economics created a new process of neo-liberal politics which originates the transformation of music

industry. Innovations on music production and distribution began to be organized as a neo-liberal approaches of promoting enterprise and consumption culture. Professional musicians and producers started to organize around new associations as MESAM (Turkish Occupational Union of Owners of Music Production) and MÜYAP (Association of Music Producers) and even the relation between them become deeper. State and music market are no longer partner, this also fostered the process of privatization of culture. Export-oriented free market economy has met new technological developments. Music production broke the shell of capacity however musicians started losing control over their products. New broadcasting system led to the rising amount of television channels, radio stations and RTÜK (The High Council of Radio and Television). Recording companies and labels considered the new broadcasting system as a threat, but it was a medium of advertising. Invasion of private media channels and the increasing numbers of music channels, music industry lived its golden years which is resulted in extending genres. In Istanbul –Turkey in general, while 90s commemorated by pop music, 2000s are the phase of mingling genres and new musical approaches. 2010s are now the home of electronic music in which rock music referred as an independent music.

In 2010s, the Anatolian rock music that circulated in the big cities started to have an impact on independent musical creation in the province and let to change as you can feel it in Hey! Douglas songs in which you can find Erkin Koray songs' samples. As albums, promotions and the means of alternative communicating channels to reach out to the country, the repertoires and playing styles of independent music performed in bars and pubs became diversified, up to and including the styles of performance. What further motivates these changing styles of performances is the fact that the use of Eastern music, either directly or their motifs, had become a new market within the global mainstream music industry.

Conversely, the ordinary routine of globalization such increasing capital flows, commodification of neighbourhoods and gentrification have become ever more visible throughout the city. It is better to look at the on-the-ground examples of neoliberalism, as entertainment industry and urban life. The transformation of Istanbul's entertainment industry can be analysed through three thresholds:

Commodification and corporatization of the entertainment industry, city branding and symbolic capital in terms of *taste* and *aesthetics* as described in Chapter 2.

5.2. Independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene as a manifestation of alternative subculture in Istanbul

Two dynamics connect musicians/producers and audiences in the music industry: authorship and genre which have creative and commercial functions. In mainstream music industry, “genre tends to become less significant than authorship in the world of big commercial and promotional budgets (Hesmondhalgh, D., 1988)”. Today, the biggest stars (e.g. Lady Gaga, Madonna, Justin Bieber) tend to be thought of as beyond genre. From the major record labels perspective, “once promotional money has been spent on establishing an artist’s name and identity (Hesmondhalgh, D., 1988)”, “it needs to be served as a brand, around which meanings can be attached and varied, in accordance with changing audience patterns (Hesmondhalgh, D., 1988)”. On the other hand, “it is common to hear the claim, for instance, that the lack of a star system within the independent music concentrates attention on ‘*the music itself*’ (Hesmondhalgh, D., 1988), –which creates an alternative tone, rather than on front-man or diva image. In an independent music culture, over many years, as in the case of the rock music, music somehow more concerned with authorship and performer identity. As the independent music’s roots belong to singer-songwriter kind of music, –basically alternative music, can we say that the rock music culture substantially affected the structure and organization of independent music industry in Istanbul?

The guitar, for example, as an essential instrument of rock music, has both musical and culturally-symbolic significance. When one looks at albums chosen randomly on the shelves of music markets, it can be seen that guitar is used on most albums, across a wide range of genres, but especially in the performance of independent rock music. The history of the guitar in Istanbul is closely related to the entry of western pop, rock, jazz and classical music into the local soundscape, all of which influenced the development and structuring of music industry in general or the emergence of such genres as Anatolian rock as an independent example.

In global sense, the first independent music was *punk* which criticizes mass culture and standardized life dynamics in an activist way. The historical roots of indie music belong to punk music as both of them are opposed to the monopolization of production.

Independent music is defined as opposed to the popular music and mainstream record labels. It is an industrial and artistic presence as well. “Indie movement followed this behaviour in 90s and youth subcultures plays a critical role in the emergence of indie music (Hracs, B. J., 2012)”. Indie music can be simply defined as a sub-genre of alternative rock; Istanbulite independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music is based on independent rock (alternative rock, psychedelic rock, surf-rock and progressive rock) approaches and traditions according to the results of the case study findings. Besides, DIY (Do-It-Yourself) behaviour finds itself in indie music during 90s in Istanbul. In 2000s, music industry transforms into a new structure by the means of new media instruments. As it is explained above sections, in Turkish music industry, 70% of the industry was still in the hegemony of major labels such as Universal Music Group, DMC, Sony Music Entertainment, and so on. However, there are new communication channels in new media still and this channels directly effecting the consumption type of music: Myspace (2003), YouTube (2005), last.fm (2002), Facebook (2004), Soundcloud (2007) and the experience of music: Sofar, Pürtelaş 3+1, Karavan Sessions. Evden Uzakta, B!P Akustik, Groovypedia, Babylon Sessions and Studio Lokalize Sessions are the video-music projects of independents. There are also festivals such as Byzantion Fest, Paradisos Sessions, Demonation Festival, and Bağımsız! Festival, Beton Orman Sessions. Today, thriving practices of DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music is actually creating basics of independent music industry. The competitive dynamic of independent music geography is also encouraging the aesthetic labour which leads extreme amounts of tracks, performances and albums.

5.3. Istanbulite independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music: Musicians, sector side (labels, promoters, organizers) and audience

Exploring Istanbul’s thriving independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene as an outcome of confluence and change also helps to see various parallel and

contradictory dimensions in fluidity. Like the merging coexistences of aesthetic approaches in Istanbul, much of the independent music in Istanbul is a fusion of musical forms and a product of cross-fertilization. The vibrant soundspace of Istanbul remains a laboratory of sounds.

The repertoires of all the attended music venues in Istanbul are determined not only by the identity of each venue or the owner, but also the audience as well. In all cases I conducted participant observation, there is a very complex and special relationship among the audience, venue, organizer and musicians. The relationship of the bars with the music market is also quite complex and dynamic: some independent musicians acquire fame at several independent music stages and pass to the mainstream music industry while certain performance stages function as venues for celebrities in order to consolidate their position in the music market. Yet the recent period has witnessed both the emergence of performance centres and stages and the decline of huge amount of clubs, pubs, galleries and live music stages that bring together new generations around the values represented by independent music scene.

Istanbul has been a musical centre since the 9th century. In eras, through changing civilizations; the city became a major centre for the fine arts and music in the rich cultural context. Today, Istanbul's independent music manifests itself in a wide range of contexts, settings and occasions. Independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music culture create a semiotic medium where anyone can associate his or her particular personal experience in the world of hegemony. Independent music, in terms of its texture and musicality, addresses the everyday life problems that the popular masses face in modern urban life, which make audience 'come together' and 'share common-sense' in a particular level.

Interviewing both with sector labourers and musicians of independent scene enables me not only to observe Istanbul's thriving independent / DIY(Do-It-Yourself) music scene on the ground, but also to embrace how the professionals locates themselves in the sector. The particular musicians I am concerned with generally consider themselves apart from mainstream culture, and are commonly referred to as alternative and / or independent artists. Independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) musicians and sector labourers are idea-typical cultural entrepreneurs

and, thus, provide content-wise good feedbacks for this analysis. One of respondents refers the significance of music networks:

“First of all, you need to feel in a community. If you know the right people at the right time, then you can get whatever you want. You can record a track but you need somebody to listen it, to communicate.”

Interviewing with the members of independent music audience were also a part of understanding social formations existing musical practices and traditions affected by emerging music. As one of the independent music listener puts it:

“They are doing music on stage yes, but we are creating the environment and give their music an identity. The music has becoming the way of thinking and maybe the attitude with us. The attitude of audience is more important for independent music scene rather than mainstream music industry. I am travelling with them, I went to Eskişehir, Ankara and Adana with them and support them. This is very important. Isn’t it?”

My sceptical analysis does not avoid the possibility that independent music has had essential influences in other ways: in making venues and live performance stages less oppressive for women, in providing a kind of utopian togetherness synergy while being an individual at the same time and so on. Independent woman musicians are less threatened the male-dominated world order by appearing on stage. Desexualisation through controlling body image and behaviour on stage is the first aspect of independent woman musicians. Music provides a space for “*gender cross-over*”. Independent music enables woman musicians to escape from being identified with sexual stereotypes and were appreciated as an artist.

5.3.1 Understanding the transforming nature of thriving independent music scene in Istanbul

As in other cities, the meaning and the practice of *music work* has changed in Istanbul over the past decades. After “the gigantic cash flows to music industry in

70s in global scale, during the corporate era between 1978-1998, most musicians were either affiliated with a record label or striving to sign a record contract (Hras, B.J. & Leslie, D., 2014)". "Recording, promoting and distributing music were capital and skill-intensive activities that required a specialised division of labour, and the support and resources of large firms (Leyshon, A., 2009)". In the late 1990s, "new digital technologies lead to many legal troubles depending upon the nascent commercial gap which weakening the power of record labels and ushering in a new form of digitally-driven independent music production (Leyshon, A., 2009 and Hras, B.J., 2012)". Having a song only by clicking the download button, resulted in massive losses for the major record labels, the descending supremacy of working with major record labels. Now we are living in a century vocalized by the intangible services of streaming services such as Spotify, Deezer, Apple Music and the others.

"At the same time, digital technologies have democratised the production, promotion, distribution and consumption of music (Hras, B.J. & Leslie, D., 2014)." While the new technologies bring opportunities on producing music and allowed "musicians to record in home studios, Web 2.0's online retail spaces allow musicians to enter the world of marketing, fundraising and distributing individually for the first time (Leyshon, A., 2009)". Thanks to relatively affordable "compact digital bedroom recording technology (Durant, A., 1994; Ryan, J. Peterson R. A. 1993)", which allowed independent record companies to thrive. Today, small record labels generally claim to be more keen to subcultural and *–the unknown* trends than major companies and to introduce their artists' aesthetic autonomy. Changing listening habits and digitalization of music consumption also reveals the fact that decreasing numbers of published albums. Today, with the high expansion of digitalization, new media channels nurtures DIY (Do-It-Yourself) nature of music production free-of sector dynamics. As one musicians refers:

"People these days listen music by streaming it, can we imagine it before the internet? No. Now we have the internet to produce and share the music or to get to go for you gigs."

As one of the informants agrees:

“As digital technology developed, recording and sharing music became more affordable. 10.000 TL will buy you a really good computer software and a bunch of equipment. Technology has made recoding more affordable. More people are now able to do it on their own. People became less dependent on the label deal, or the big-money contracts. You did not have to sell your soul for that 20.000 TL to make the record. You can actually do whatever you wanted at home by yourself. Now, anybody who owns a computer is a producer and engineer. For example, Soundcloud is a great music resource for musicians because it puts everything in your hands. Within an hour you can set up everything, a profile for your band, add songs that people can listen to, send messages and send out updates about upcoming shows. You can have the most clicked song in TOP 50 lists today without any label effort.”

...and the other ones continue:

“The best thing about technology is that now anyone can make music but the worst thing is that now anyone can make music.”

The choice of becoming a professional musician was not as costly for them as they had either family support or the pocket money provided by another corporate career.

I also investigate the tendencies of independent musicians who had a deal with major record labels in order to sell their albums and/or singles on digital music platforms. As one of the independent musician states:

“We have many songs on YouTube and if people hear us on YouTube they can go to iTunes and buy our songs. We got ourselves on iTunes through a distribution deal through “DokuzSekiz Müzik”. They put our stuff on there. We have sold close to 100 albums on iTunes...surprisingly, it is not only people from Istanbul, but from all across the world.”

Major labels are also aware of this self-produced & established musical careers and trying to get their achievements into their artist catalogue. As one of the label responsible declares:

“Why should the record company go out there and find a row talent and walk them through all the steps in the whole process? It is a much less risky proposition to take established talent or somewhat established talent than completely raw talent. Labels today are not willing to take the same kind of risks or invest the same kind of time to develop an act, and to build an audience. They are looking for ready-made products.”

“As the value of recorded music has declined due to illegal downloads and streaming services, so to speak *Zeitgeist*, live performances have become the dominant revenue stream for independent musicians (Young, S. and Collins, S., 2010).” The increasing popularity of songs filled with post-predicate, troubled, but also fun-loving lyrics and pro-western originated compositions has also transformed the determining role of live performances on independent musicians and/or groups’ popularity from a relatively small shows to a highly competitive and intense activity that determines their aesthetical sustainability. But this should not mean that the visual and entertainment elements are often more important to be popular than the quality of music as in mainstream music industry. Independent music actors are still sharing the simplicity of performing stage personalities, but unlike in mainstream industry rules. Narcissism, radicalism and nihilism have

mostly seen in the lyrics. "I am, as I am" is the keyword of performing in order to catch audience and make them feel that you are just like them. In addition to playing songs, independent musicians are independent since they have to work hard to engage nothing staying out of the audience. One musician puts it:

"You have to make sure you are better than any bizarre-named independent group people are going to see. You need them to walking away thinking the same thing as the same way you do."

As one musician adds:

"If there is no age limit, we mostly play in bars and clubs, going on 10-11 p.m. Our job a late night stuff, people are drinking alcohol and taking drugs. The audience might already be ready to party and you cannot permit to fall of their expectations. If I did, the audience would share his or her dissatisfaction which affects me and my star image directly."

Independent musicians, my findings present, are not commercially driven ones as well. Doing an alternative music is a creative escape from the insipidity of everyday life for them. Most of them are more likely to have come from middle-class. However, with little profit margin, alternative music does not really move musicians earn enough money to live. As one musician puts it:

"It is a full time job but only about 10 percent actually involves music. The rest of is the marketing and the looking for work."

Many musicians I did interview with declare that if you actually want to make a living as an indie musician, it is a tough way. You have to get pretty much do it

yourself. You have to be able to play your instruments well, write song and perform them. You need to be on your own booking agent, manager, PR responsible and so on. Plus, there are financial and technical skills that you need. Serhat Göker, the tour manager of Son Feci Bisiklet explains it:

“Put together a home studio, get good recording, mixing, mastering... plus, radio stations and magazines, fanzines that you can send your music for review...all that kind of stuff and promotion, merchandising...Now you have to do all of these things by yourself. So musicians are now responsible for the whole range of activities, technical and commercial know-how, performance and musicianship.”

Independent music, today, started to popularize and some songs are already in mainstream radio stations' rotations as many interviewees confirm. An audience member of a Sofar Istanbul night stated that in contemporary music scene, independent music started to be more appreciable in a favour of mainstream music, and that listening to it is mostly considered as snobbish, hipster-ish and cool thing. Alike view was also pointed out by a performer through referring the increasing number of listeners and live performance followers. As he referred that independent music have started to find its own level when mainstream music industry lost his presence respectively depending upon Turkey's socio-political change, ingrown arts & culture politics, lack of security in streets, withdrawal of foreigner music industry and the increasing numbers of independent music acts.

It was also recognized by several independent performers that music has a higher value for independent musicians rather than the performers from mainstream music industry. One of them explained the tint that musicians must have trouble with the any type of power while he or she also have get along with its social circumstances. A significant, recurrent conceptualisation of independent music during almost all interviews is its bonded relation with '*a way of life*', lifestyle or even with life itself. Making music is '*a way of life*' for them which also directs their life status. As one of the performer declares:

“I really cannot imagine what I can do without music. Yes, I am not earning too much money, I cannot even pay my rent however I am pretty sure that I cannot survive in any corporate job, 9:00 a.m. to 7.00 p.m. Music makes me feel like I am as I am.”

As one of the promoter contributes:

“I work with both popular musicians and independent musicians. When I host the mainstream musicians such as Kenan Doğulu, Volkan Konak or Yalın, I know that they are doing their shows just for the audience. They always get their balance payment before the show, and the show they are going to do is always the rehearsal of next show since they have very strictly scheduled show agenda. But when I work with independent musicians, I feel like they are doing their music not just for the audience, they have something to say, they are doing their music for themselves as well. It is OK for them to get the payment after the show, if they want one more whisky to the backstage and event manager says no, they are OK. But you cannot say no any mainstream musician. Saying these words can be crucial but it can be said that independent musicians are on stage because they love singing, playing and sharing. Mainstream musicians are on stage in order to continue their career and make audience not to forget them.”

Majority of interviewees are also considered independent music as urban thing rather than rural thing; even though the term independent does also belong to the roots of Turkish folk music scene. Identification with urbanite subcultures of Istanbul was frankly and regularly mentioned by almost all interviewees. As one of the musician clarifies:

“We are all living in this city. We are experiencing the same sh.t.s and beauties of this city together. We do belong to this city. We are Istanbulite

no matter what you are coming from. We share the same cosmopolite feelings under the same sky.”

The other independent musician contributes:

“We are sharing the same bitter sweet stories of this city. We are all taught by the same musicians from 60s, 70s, 80s and still trying to establish an intangible bond between today and past. Let’s think about it: Why all independent musicians are now interested in Anatolian sounds and show respect to Erkin Koray, Selda Bağcan and Cem Karaca. Many of my friends are now trying to find these musicians’ records to get some samples in order to use in their songs. Today, independent music turns into something that reminds Anatolian rock sounds as Hey! Douglas do or Turkish Classical Music as Gaye Su Akyol does.”

Those two independent musicians would seem to be respectfully acknowledging the influence of a wide range of cultural diversity over their musical sensibilities, demonstrating their visionary way of looking into the intimate relation between new traditions and the old ways.

5.3.2. Values and functions of Istanbulite independent / DIY(Do-It-yourself) music scene

General values of independent music

Briefly, almost all interviewed performers defined independent music which carries an alternative and generally opponent entity in itself. However, two of them drew attention to the fact that not all independent songs have the same “have something to say about us” value and meaning. According to them independent may also be a trouble-free presence in which performers does not even related the things that happen expect from him or her. Moreover, all interviewed performers considered

the performance content, style and approach towards the repertoire and genre as worthwhile threshold.

Fields of functioning of independent music

Below fields of functioning refers a more or less distinct fields such as individual field, social field and cultural field but interrelated fields of functioning: socio-cultural field, socio-individual field and individual-cultural field. These fields will be discussed with the findings of interviews in following section.

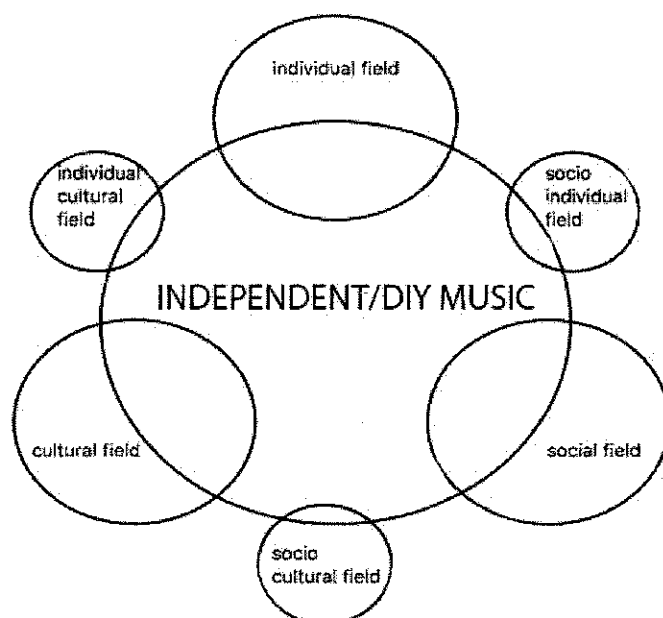


Figure 6. Fields of functioning of independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music

Specific functions of independent music scene

In this section, the different functions of Istanbul's independent / DIY (Do-it-Yourself) music scene manifestations, as collected from the interviews with performers, audience and creative labourers (organizers, promoters, venue employees etc.) present at a wide variety of musical events in different regional, social and cultural contexts are summarised.

Throughout the whole of the attended musical events, the psychological function, a sub-function within the individual field was there and played an

important role among performers, audience and sector labourers. The most common function was providing the opportunity of feeling oneself together with *the other* others. The expressions of feeling like himself and / or herself, individuality in other words, were ever so often used by performers and audience alike in the context of different type of events from closed events to free-of-charge concerts.

Expressing one's own ideas and feelings and finding a common ground through evoking these feelings and thoughts were also remarkable psychological functions. One of the performer giving 21 concerts in a month shares his deep feelings by using metaphoric descriptions as:

"There was an irrepressible demand of telling his and / or her story in his and / or her words which are closely related to the common happenings and situations of everyday life. For example, when I say "Kendime çaylar demliyorum" (from the lyrics of *Adamlar*'s song –*Kendime Çaylar*), the audience can feel that I am alone and the only thing I can do is "çay demlemek" and to live my own melancholia."

Along with facilitating individuality and expressing & evoking feelings and thoughts, independent music also appeared to have a healing and *I am not alone* effect and to give the opportunity to find rest and to feel melancholy.

Besides this 'feeling together' aspect of independent music, it also evokes the idea between the audience that "when many others discover 'the song', the value of songs will decrease" as one of the seventeen years of listener mentions:

"I feel like this song is only made for me. I know that if the one radio station starts to play a song, it is going to lose its meaning and will be no longer an independent song. Remember Can Güngör's song; "Yalnız Ölmek". They use the song as the soundtrack of "Cesur ve Güzel (Turkish TV series) and now everybody listens this song. It has already lost its unique feeling and meaning for me."

The aesthetic function secondly, also situated in between the individual field and cultural field, and was most often referred to in a rather moderate way, in terms of 'loving the music' and 'something should be notable'. It is important to remember the words of one of the musicians that I interviewed with:

"I do not have so many words to define my music or any scientific explanations but, if you were asking me what it is, then perhaps it is one of the fundamental reasons for me to feel alive. I breathe while I am singing. In my opinion, being independent while making music somehow feels like I am freely living in peace."

As the other one agrees with:

"I make music because it makes me happy; because I like to. It is not like I have to make a living and pay the bills."

The cultural field of functioning is conversely formed by two sub-functions as communication of emotional (individual) and historical content. While some songs are related to emotional contents such as pangs of love, everyday life problems and joy some others are related with more major contents such as war, fascism and peace. As one musician declares:

"I do not see singing as a profession, singing should become a way of life and your protest machine. I conceive singing as a stance, as a revolt against injustice and oppression. Singing also coincides with my identity as an oppositionist."

...and continues:

“I am an independent musician; I mean I resist the oppression of rulers, the unfair social and economic order, discrimination and injustice. This is something I found out through making my independent music by doing it by myself.”

K.E., who has several night clubs and alternative performance stages before Beyoglu transformed into grey, today, lost his job. But he still defends:

“The policies of discrimination that the capitalist world carelessly implements remain, I will support this music and show I have something to show, to resist!”

As one musician puts out:

“There no global stars coming to Istanbul because of the terrorist attacks and bombings. No one wants to come to Istanbul nowadays however we are here. We are here actually even if no one gives a sh.t. We are still doing our music. Now it is out time to perform and the organizers need us to maintain their commercial careers.”

The socio-individual field also involves two sub-functions: the professional function –can be defined as aspect related with earning a living and a self-realisation in his or her social environment, and communication of emotions and thoughts – can be summarised as sharing common feelings and thoughts with the audience. As one of the independent performer points out:

“I belong here and make music here. Istanbul is like a site of blending musical styles, approaches and the place where domestic and international melodies & rhythms meet. There is an eclectic soundspace of Istanbul. Yes, I am now doing Anatolian psychedelic-rock grunge but my best friend for example Ahmet Ali (Arslan), is doing his own music, the plays folk. We really have genre-flood.”

“The socio-cultural field includes the function of expressing social and cultural identity which is not fixed or absolute but always *in process* and being negotiated (Hall, S., 1996; 2003)”. Various types of identification have detected from the interviewees discourses. As one of the independent music follower expressed his evoking feelings of solidarity:

“Listening independent music allowed me to ‘come closer to *my* own life’, to become more aware what is happening and to more connected to my significant others.”

The social field of functioning has two roots: creating & strengthening social ties – can be found in the feeling that “*being together and sharing*” on micro level and expressing political views on macro level –can be shared with audience, in a closed audience of like-minded people. As one of the promoter states:

“Music makes people come together. Music makes the common social groups dance together. My music is usually for alternative people who come to listen. They come, drink beer, some cigarettes and then leave.”

As Emre Nalbantoğlu took the microphone and said in his Zorlu PSM concert:

“Let’s have a beer and forget the sanctions of modern world and taste the dirty melodies! We now found each other, enjoy it!”

Specific functions of independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) discussed briefly above. As it is explained broadly, independent music has several functions interrelates with independent, social and cultural field that all interconnects with each other.

PART 3: CONCLUSION

3.1. Findings

In this thesis, independent music approaches and practices of today's DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene in Istanbul are narrated thereby changing social, cultural, economic, political and aesthetical dynamics. In the line with these changing dynamics, evolving music production technologies discussed accordingly. The main research question "How do different geographies, music industries and musical approaches accordingly, create their own traditions of alternative music scene?" created the backbone of the research and Istanbul's thriving DIY music scene has investigated. Accordingly, the role of economic, social, cultural, aesthetical and political dynamics in the process of producing independent music has been examined and the impact of these changings on DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene in Istanbul. I use "independent" throughout this thesis to refer all actors (musicians, music professionals and audience) in the music industry who are not directly affiliated with the major labels. For the purposes of this study, there was no difference between independent and Do-It-Yourself (DIY) actors, as there were serious behavioural commonalities. This thesis reflexive attempt to understand and represent the experience and subjectivity of a particular section of the independent performers, audience and sector professionals in Istanbul. As I mentioned previous chapters, I should account for my position as a white-collar labourer in music industry –working as a booker & talent buyer in Zorlu Performing Arts Center with globally oriented lifestyle and consumption preferences, I am very much a part of the social group which I study. This is most peculiarly an advantage because I have multiple insights about both mainstream and independent music scene as a result of my personal and professional experiences, observations and self-analysis.

In the scope of this research, the changing dynamics of global music industry at mass and local independent music scene of Istanbul, more comprehensively, have been investigated. Independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music industry of Istanbul under the influence of globalization, evolving music production technology and new media is presented at the historical line. Drawing

on a sixteen-month fieldwork mainly in Istanbul and other cities, this master thesis seeks to present the assessment of local independent music scene development and uptrend within the case of independent DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene. Special attention is paid to within-case analysis and case study selection, considering the place where fieldwork has been conducted: mainly in Istanbul, in the case of the Turkish independent music scene and several cities. Methodology aspects were also taken into account in this thesis, with special attention on the operationalization of concepts, guided by theoretical reflections. In addition, fieldwork issues have been covered. Conjointly, all these points were ought to structure the proposed research, which was expected to culminate in a thesis.

An important thing to remark in thesis's conceptual model was that the relation among music industry, alternative music, independent music and DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene is not static, but rather an interactive one. There is no doubt that results indicated that while the structural transformations affecting the music industry are common to musicians everywhere, they are also impacted by local dynamics. It can be said that there is no one and unique independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music definition. Every geography has its own definition and one can describe Istanbulite independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene through its characteristics of *in-betweenness*.

As it is explained in above sections, Istanbul's independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene was invented as a contra-aesthetic and stance to state's major music politics and mainstream music industry's pitiless economic organization. Independent music is approached from a socio-historical perspective concentrating not only on the process of local social transformations in fifty years along in Turkey, but also on the global history of emergence and transformation of independent music genre. As it is deduced from the ethnographic case study of this thesis, today, alternative and/or independent musicians are not easily bound by contract to major labels and free to record their own music without the audience constraints. But still, independent music as a term is problematic and an industry-imposed definition.

All in all, these findings have importance on existing stories in ethnomusicology and music sociology that consider both global and local dynamics

and slippery ground of aesthetic labour in independent music geography. In this thesis, I argue that the processes of development and transformation of independent music affecting the structure of music industry are similar for all cities, but each cities' independent music have their own characteristics affected and transformed singularly by local economic, social, cultural, political and aesthetical dynamics.

I have also wondered, whether it is possible to insert some sound localization to Istanbul & see whether there is any specific sound in rock-culture or any local sound in Istanbul within this independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene or culture. Kadikoy and Beyoglu sounds and musical approaches are separately investigated, however it is still hard to define two different sounds of Istanbul's DIY music; using the word "scene" rather than "sound" would be more appropriate since there is no specific sound to define Istanbul's independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music. Today, thriving practices of DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music is actually creating basics of independent music industry. The competitive dynamic of independent music geography is also encouraging the aesthetic labour which leads extreme amounts of tracks, performances and albums. From this point of view, independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene in Istanbul is a constructed one rather than being given thing depending upon lifestyles that are reproduced in everyday life by determined socio-economic and socio-political groups and based on aesthetic choices. The discursive tensions, financial pressures and new traditions in the independent music of Istanbul are distinctive traits of contemporary independent cultural production as well. The independent music scene corresponds to the ambivalent position Istanbul occupies –this city's spatial and cultural in-betweenness. However, independent music has started to find its own level when mainstream music industry lost his presence respectively depending upon Turkey's socio-political change, ingrown arts & culture politics, lack of security in streets, withdrawal of foreigner music industry and the increasing numbers of independent music acts.

According to research results, there were two features of independent music culture which can be portrayed as allowing a democratization of music production: its decentralization, and the rise of an independent sector which was able to co-exist

with only the major labels. The success of independent music scene seems clear: it has been the basis of a significant *decentralization* of urbanite subcultural music production. All in all, *semi-independent* —can be used by referring musicians and bands who are producing independently but are distributed by the major labels, would be a concept for Istanbulite independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene today, as it is hard to find any fully independent musician in Istanbul according to research outputs.

3.2. Contributions & further researches

The use of the methodological research approaches and the way concepts have been presented is coherent with the demands and reflections highlighted by the late sociology of music debates. Hence, it is expected that the shown methodological strategies may bring into discussion the need for new perspectives for dealing with music in more sociological perspective matters in contributing the field of sociology of music and everyday life.

The defined case selection typology and strategies, along with the characterization of Istanbul's thriving urbanite independent / DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene, is also expected to bring valuable conclusions for further theory development on understanding society through the lens of music. Though discovering the underlying fact of intimate and reciprocal relation between music and society could be heavily esoteric, this research will not pay attention to de facto identifications of global alternative music scene. Instead, this research is aiming to describe how different geographies, music industries and musical approaches accordingly, creates their own traditions of alternative music scene in their own economic, social and cultural, aesthetical and political dynamics, opening the discussion on why such matters could have a transcendental impact in the future of sociology of music studies. As such, this thesis aims to make a small contribution the existing literature by highlighting the unique meaning of *alternative* and *independent* music by reading between the lines of the thriving urbanite DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music scene in Istanbul. Overall, this thesis suggests that s convergence of place-specific attributes can be critical on networking, producing and consuming.

I have tried to present this academic document not only for an academic audience, but also for musicians, audience and creative labourers. I am certainly aware that certain concepts relations could be more complex to understand and would therefore take additional time to operationalize. However, this is partly justified by the larger discussion presented here, reflected in the aims of the causal model present in the first chapter of this document.

Defining independent music is still a hard thing. For the most part, the analysis of such phenomenon will always be limited by the methodological procedures and conceptual definitions that are made by either labourers and audience or academics. However, understanding its multidimensionality and applying such ontology for its further study could lead to new means to establish more sensitive social, cultural and locational indicators.

This research project was an attempt to do so, or at least to provide a means to that end. However, considering the whole causal model, the logic of the pathway case would allow the explanation of how different geographies, music industries and musical approaches accordingly, creates their own traditions of alternative music scene in their own economic, social and cultural, aesthetic ("*taste*") and political dynamics, opening the discussion on why such matters could have a transcendental impact in the future of sociology of music studies. It is my hope that this thesis can provide a basis for further research of the issues surrounding in Istanbul. Anyways, Istanbul is still breath-taking for anyone who gazes upon her and semi-independent music is still alive!

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APPENDIX 1: Independent musicians and the bands of Turkey

Nekropsi, Replikas, Sidarta, BaBaZuLa, Cartel, Zen, Cenotaph, Volvox, Pilli Bebek, Kesmeşeker, Mavi Sakal, Akbaba, Objektif, Rahit, Radical Noise, Ali Somay, The Away Days, Yüzyüzeyken Konuşuruz, Burcu Tatlıses, Utkan la Deniz, Yolda, No Land, Stornoway, Görkem Han Jr., Seha Can The Yarns, Yok Öyle Kararlı Şeyler, Cihan Murtezaoğlu, Kaan Boşnak, Tolga Akdoğan, Son Feci Bisiklet, Hay Bin Kunduz, Nihil Piraye, Oha Aho, Sapan, Kaan, Can Büyükbaş, Öfkeli Kalabalık, Kor, Can Ozan, Nilipek, Can Kazaz, Ah! Kosmos, Akın Sevgör, Seretan, İskeletor, İpek Görgün, Biblo (Pınar Üzeltüzenci), Sahte Rakı, Uluru, Kırkbinsinek, El Topo, Allen Hulsey, Mara, Nekizm, On Your Horizon, Meriva, Ars Longa, Selin Sümbültepe, Sena Şener, Evrencan Gündüz, La Dee Eda, Lara Di Lara, 123, Miss Crowley, Nu Park, Ağaçkakan, The Ringo Jets, Yıldıztozu, Ezskiz, TSU!, Adamlar, Biz, Kalben, alarga, Emre Akbay, Hedonutopia, Tesir, Neyse, Astrofella, Derin Sarıyer, Simge Pınar, Sedef Sebüktekin, Merve Çalkan, Kıvılcım Ural, Gözyaşı Çetesi, Kahraman Deniz, Barıştık mı? Barış Demirel, Hakan Vreskala, Can Güngör, Deniz Tekin, Cava Grande, Beyaz Hayvanlar, İnsanlar, Hayvanlar Alemi, Neigh Pupil, Flower Room, Entegre, Allame, Hey! Douglas, Gaye Su Akyol, Bubituzak, Berk Sivrikaya, Tolerance Break, Jakuzi, Eli, Cansu Kandemir, İrtifakaybetdiyoruz, Help! The Captain Threw Up, Emre Temiz, The "ı", Plaj, Palmiyeler, Emir Yargın, In Hoodies, Genç Osman, Can Gox, Beyaz Eşme, Yiğit Seferoğlu, Subgreen, Pitohui, Ezgi Aktan, Selin Sümbültepe, Ayyuka, Z.AXIS, HICCUP, ACAİPADEMLER, Young Shaven, Akkor, Indefinite Time Period, Electric Bliss Bora Dayanıklı, Skychetch, İsmira, Kırka, Foton Kuşağı, Yarımada, Skata, Sürveyan, Ponza, Kafabindünya, Cemiyette Pişiyorum, Kökler Filizleniyor, Wolfson & Müjde, The Madcap, Büyük Birader, Dasti, Kaptan Anadol, Serkan Ölmez, Soul Project, Elif Yoldaş, Fethi Okutan, Hakan Küçükçınar, 51 Promil, Pilli Bebek, Sufle, MODE XL, Labirent, Sakin, Alican Demirtaş & Scale, Sade, Heavy Sky, Görkem Han Jr., Doruk Petekkaya, Sedat Anar, Sütü Kakao, SesVerSus, Komik Günler, Özüm İtez, Seksendört, TNK, Sakin, Gece, Klişe, Yaşlı Amca, Güntaş Özdemir, Bam Bam Bam, Farabi, Agabando, MickeySaysBye, Gevende MilWave, Cxngvrx, roadside.picnic, Kanca, Fondi

Çirkef, Odak, COSY, Başbozuk, Yaygara, Aydok Moraloğlu & Normal, Cümbüş Cemaat, Palmiyeler, Norm Ender, Anıl Piyancı, Balina, Obuan, Kırık, Berk Sivrikaya, Birdcage, Şanışer, İhtiyaç Molası, Oğuz Akgün, Mavisakal, Alaca, JR. Blues Band, Server Uraz, Beta Berk Bayındır, Sansar Salvo, Evdeki Saat, Tahribad-I İsyân, Biz, Yolda, Tankurt Manas, Ah! Kosmos, Cem Yıldız, Ponza, Ozbi, Astrofella, Da Poet, Lara Di Lara, 123, İdil Meşe, Deniz Tekin, Songs From A Breeze, Esra Kayıkçı, Deniz Taşar, Pitohui, Sedef Sebüktekin, Selin Sümbültepe, Sapan, Soyut Boyut, Can Kazaz, Merve Çalkan, Koza, Gözyaşı Çetesi, Yatay Zeka, Islandman, Subgreen, Asena Akar, Sahte Rakı, Gökçe Kılınçer, El Topo, Kırkbinsinek, TSU! İki Direk Arası Temaşa, Mosquito, Uluru, The Ringo Jets, Agency, She Past Away, Ağaçkakan, Lopenstraat, Melis Danışmend, İkiye On Kala, Peyk, Özgün Semerci, Cosmic Wings, Farazi v Kayra, The Away Days, No Land, Big Beats Big Times, Eskiz, Help! The Captain Threw Up, Yekpare, Norrda, Eve Dönüş Yok, Foton Kuşağı, Yıldız Tozu, Portecho, Loradeni, Birileri, onor bumbum, Ufuk Beydemir, Kahraman Deniz, HerAnHerŞeyOlabilir, İlker Aksungar, Tolerance Break, Murat Uncuoğlu, Ezgi Aktan, Cihan Mutezaoğlu, BaBaZuLa, Nekizm, Nekropsi, MadenÖktemErsönmez, Bubituzak, Pinhani, Gözde Öney, Erdem Güreler, Simge Pınar, Cüneyt Taylan, Z•AXIS, Mehmet Güren, Ahmet Ali Arslan, Kıvılcım Ural, Barlas Tan Özemek, Hiccup, Can Karadoğan, Hedonuopia, Umut Töre Bandosu, Zeytin, Ülkü Aybala Sunar, İstanbul Sha Foundations, Barış Demirel / Barıştık mı, Gettoda Çıkış, Congulus, Pilot, Hepyek, Volan İncüvez, Midvil, Locust Star, Elif Güngör, İskeletor, Mosquito, TKO (Technical Knock-Out), Ayyuka, Kudura, Skata, Plaj, Havantepe, Kinesis, Büber, Roncalli, Golem, Yiğit Seferoğlu, KES, Kam, Ege Dai, Kaosmos, Selim Saraçoğlu, Deli Saçması, Frapan, Praksis, YARIMADA, Sulfür Ensemble, Zıtların Birliği, Mikado, Aysu Çoğur, NaéF, Flasxs, Ars Longa, Neyse, Kozmik Yıkım, İrtifakaybediyoruz!, Farketmez.

APPENDIX 2: Participant Observation Schedule: The attended musical events

Date	Name of the event	Province	Location	Short description
May 2015 - January 2017				
May 2015	Büyük Ev Ablukada	Istanbul - Beyoglu	Çıplak Ayaklar Kumpanyası	A ticketed acoustic concert, seated
May 2015	Gevende	Istanbul - Kocamustafapaşa	Çevre Tiyatrosu	A ticketed live concert, seated
June 2015	Can Güngör	Istanbul - Beyoglu	Hayal Kahvesi	A ticketed live concert, standing
July 2015	Gece Gezmesi: The Away Days	Istanbul - Kadikoy	Moda Sahnesi	A ticketed live concert, seated & standing
July 2015	Gece Gezmesi: Deniz Taşar	Istanbul - Kadikoy	Living Room	A ticketed live concert, seated
July 2015	Samet Kılıç & Serhat Yılmaz Duo	Istanbul - Kadikoy	Atölye Hangart	A ticketed live concert, seated
August 2015	Son Feci Bisiklet	Izmir - Bornova	Bornova Açık hava Tiyatrosu	A ticketed live concert, seated
October 2015	Korhan Futacı ve Kara Orkestra	Istanbul - Kadikoy	Moda Sahnesi	A ticketed live concert, seated & standing
October 2015	Adamlar	Istanbul - Beyoglu	Hayal Kahvesi	A ticketed live concert, standing
October 2015	Yüzyüzeyken Konuşuruz	Bursa - Nilüfer	Jolly Joker Bursa	A ticketed live concert, standing
November 2015	Emre Nalbantoğlu ve Orkestrası	Istanbul - Kadikoy	Karga	A ticketed live concert, standing

Novemb er 2015	SOFAR ISTANBUL	Istanbul - Beyoglu	Selected Sofar house in Galata	Free of charge community event, standing&seated
	Yüzyüzeyken			
Novemb er 2015	Konuşuruz - Son Feci Bisiklet	Izmir - Karsiyaka	Suat Taşer Tiyatrosu	A ticketed ldouble- bill live concert, steated
Novemb er 2015	Yüzyüzeyken Konuşuruz	Sivas	Fidan Yazıcıoğlu Kültür Merkezi	A ticketed live concert, seated
Novemb er 2015	Son Feci Bisiklet	Kocaeli	Sabancı Kültür Merkezi	A ticketed live concert, seated
Decembe r 2015	Yüzyüzeyken Konuşuruz	Istanbul - Kadikoy	Kadıköy Halk Merkezi	A ticketed live concert, seated
February 2016	Yüzyüzeyken Konuşuruz	Konya	Hiç Hane	A ticketed live concert, cafeteria, seated
February 2016	Ceylan Ertem	Istanbul - Sisli	Babylon	A ticketed live concert, standing
February 2016	Kalben	Istanbul - Beyoglu	Salon IKSİ	A ticketed live concert, standing
March 2016	Can Kazaz & Can Güngör	Istanbul - Beyoglu	Bronx Pi Sahne	A ticketed live concert, standing
April 2016	Adamlar	Antalya - Kaleici	Tudors Arena	A ticketed live concert, standing
April 2016	Palmiyeler - Ponza	Istanbul - Sisli	Babylon	free-of-charge live concert, standing
	Müzik Boğaz'dan Gelir Teknesi: Burcu Tatlıses - Selin Sümbültepe - Nil İpek - Sena Şener	Istanbul - Besiktas	Müzik Boğaz'dan Gelir Teknesi	A ticketed live concert, seated & standing
Septemb er 2016	Uluru	Istanbul - Beyoglu	Peyote	A ticketed live concert, standing

October 2016	Nihil Piraye / Sedef Sebüktekin (Canlı Sahne)	Istanbul - Beyoglu	Peyote	A ticketed live concert, standing
October 2016	Rock Off - Duman, Ceylan Ertem, Pinhani, Adamlar	Istanbul - Sariyer	Volkswagen Arena	A ticketed live concert festival, standing & seated
October 2016	Jakuzi, Çerikunda	Istanbul - Beyoglu	Salon IKS V	A ticketed live concert, standing
October 2016	Can Gox	Istanbul - Kadikoy	Dorock	A ticketed live concert, standing
Decembe r 2016	LOKALİZE : Büyük Ev Ablukada - Ay Şuram Ağrıyo	Istanbul - Beşiktaş	STUDIO - ZORLU Performing Arts Center	A ticketed acoustic concert, seated
Decembe r 2016	Gaye Su Akyol & Bubituzak	Istanbul - Beyoglu	Salon IKS V	A ticketed live concert, standing
January 2017	Deniz Tekin: KozaKuluçka	Istanbul - Sisli	Babylon	A ticketed live concert, standing
January 2017	Lara Di Lara	Istanbul - Beyoglu	Salon IKS V	A ticketed live concert, standing
February 2017	Lokalize: 9'dan Sonra Blues - Sahte Rakı, Emre Nalbantoğlu	Istanbul - Beşiktaş	STUDIO - ZORLU Performing Arts Center	A ticketed live concert, standing
March 2017	Lokalize: 9'dan Sonra Rock - Kırkbinsinek , El Topo, Uluru	Istanbul - Beşiktaş	STUDIO - ZORLU Performing Arts Center	A ticketed live concert, standing

March 2017	Lokalizе: 9'dan Sonra Elektronik - Tolerance Break (Live), Akın Sevgör (Live), Seretan (Live)	Istanbul - Beşiktaş	STUDIO - ZORLU Performing Arts Center	A ticketed live concert, standing
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APPENDIX 3: Interview Schedule: Informants list

- A. Görücü. Personal Interview. 18 February 2016.
- A. Günebakan. Personal Interview. 12 August 2016.
- B. Büyüker. Personal Interview. 12 January 2016.
- B. Korkmaz. Personal Interview. 23 March 2016.
- B. Kula. Personal Interview. 19 December 2015.
- B. Küçükçağlayan. Personal Interview. 12 October 2016.
- C. Köklükaya. Personal Interview. 16 September 2015.
- C. Özen. Personal Interview. 14 January 2016.
- Ç. Özdemir. Personal Interview. 24 December 2015.
- Ç. Sertel. Personal Interview. 17 June 2016.
- D. Gençtürk. Personal Interview. 14 December 2016.
- D. Usta. Personal Interview. 12 January 2016.
- D. Tuğmaner. Personal Interview. 25 January 2017.
- E. Bozkurt. Personal Interview. 2 August 2015.
- E. Nalbantoğlu. Personal Interview. 18 November 2016.
- E. Yusufoğlu. Personal Interview. 2 August 2015.
- G. Güney. Personal Interview. 29 October 2016.
- G. Güray. Personal Interview. 3 February 2016.
- G. Kılıçay. Personal Interview. 25 May 2016.
- G. Sepici. Personal Interview. 18 February 2016.
- G. Yıldız. Personal Interview. 12 October 2015.
- İ. Aydınöğlu. Personal Interview. 2 August 2015.
- İ. Yıldız. Personal Interview. 19 June 2016.
- K. Ertürk. Personal Interview. 18 January 2016.
- K. Yalçın. Personal Interview. 4 November 2015.
- M. Gebeş. Personal Interview. 2 August 2015.
- M. Kılıkçier. Personal Interview. 2 July 2016.
- M. Peker. Personal Interview. 14 September 2016.
- M. Sezgi. Personal Interview. 15 March 2017.
- M. Türkaslan. Personal Interview. 13 August 2016.

- O. Çelikkol. Personal Interview. 24 December 2015.
- O. Taşçı. Personal Interview. 23 March 2016.
- O. Unay. Personal Interview. 23 March 2016.
- O. Yılmaz. Personal Interview. 30 March 2017.
- O. Yusufoglu. Personal Interview. 7 May 2015.
- Ö Torluoglu. Personal Interview. 23 January 2017.
- R. Okçu. Personal Interview. 13 February 2016.
- S. Koç. Personal Interview. 12 August 2015.
- S. Maden. Personal Interview. 5 September 2015.
- S. Sebüktekin. Personal Interview. 16 February 2017.
- S. Sumbültepe. Personal Interview. 16 February 2017.
- S. Yıldız. Personal Interview. 6 April 2016.
- S. Göker. Personal Interview. 14 September 2015.
- U. Çetin. Personal Interview. 12 November 2016.