

BETWEEN A REFUGE AND A STEPPING STONE:
AN ORGANISATIONAL ANALYSIS OF UNDERGROUND MUSIC
IN TURKEY

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Günseli Naz Ferel, certify that

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ABSTRACT

Between a Refuge and a Stepping Stone:

An Organisational Analysis of Underground Music in Turkey

This thesis is focusing on an organisational and discursive analysis of a field of cultural production: the underground music scene in Turkey. As a distinct cultural production, the underground is shaped by its autonomous character from larger fields of economy, culture and politics. The research is based on a two-year-long participant observation in the subject field and nineteen in-depth interviews conducted throughout this period. The organisational analysis includes an examination and categorisation of different types of cooperation by focusing on processes of gathering, division of labour, decision-making and financial arrangements. The discursive analysis clarifies the most common value judgements operating in the scene, relating to different practices of inclusivity and collaboration. Through illuminating the correspondences between organisational structures and dominant discourses in the underground music scene, this research offers a distinct approach to the social process in the making of cultural products.

ÖZET

Sığınak Olmak ile Basamak Olmak Arasında:

Türkiye’deki Yeraltı Müzik Sahnesinin Örgütsel Analizi

Bu tez, Türkiye’de bir kültürel üretim alanı olan yeraltı müzik sahnesinin örgütsel ve söylemsel analizinden oluşmaktadır. Yeraltı müzik üretim alanı, kendisinden daha geniş olan ekonomik, politik ve kültürel alanlar ile kurduğu otonomi ilişkisi ile biçimlenen, kendine has bir kültürel üretim alanıdır. Tezin barındırdığı örgütsel/organizasyonel analiz, aktörlerin bir araya gelme, iş bölümü, karar alma ve finansal süreçlerine odaklanarak, alanda var olan farklı işbirliği biçimlerini kategorize ederken; söylemsel analiz ise yeraltı sahnesinde saha araştırması boyunca sık karşılaşılan, alanda işlerliğini sürdüren değer yargılarını ve bu yargıların ilişkili oldukları kapsayıcılık ve işbirliği pratiklerini incelemektedir. Tezin metodolojisi, alanda gerçekleştirilmiş iki yıllık bir katılımcı gözlemci saha araştırmasından ve bu süreçte yapılmış on dokuz derinlemesine mülakattan oluşmaktadır. Araştırma, örgütsel yapılar ile söylemsel yapılar arasındaki ilişkililiği irdelemesi sebebiyle, kültürel ürünlerin içinde var oldukları sosyal süreçlerin aydınlatılması adına önemli bir katkı sağlamaktadır.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This research focuses on the field of underground music in Turkey, a field of cultural production that holds autonomy from commercial concerns of making art. It examines conditions of cooperation in the making of artworks that do not strictly seek to appeal to the masses and the dynamics of gathering and working together in a type of creative production that does not prioritize profit. It seeks an answer to the following main questions: What are the scope and the texture of this field's autonomy, enabled by its distinct manners in a musical production? How does this relative autonomy in the production processes influence the types of cooperation and social distinction in the field? What are the social meanings attributed to musical works and tastes that are prominent in both building affinities and also boundaries within this area of production? Considering the philosophical and structuralist tradition of empirical research in music sociology, this thesis is rather focused on understanding cultural production as a social field accommodating a variety of engagements with musical practice. Approaching musical production as a social process, I examine the creative processes as well as the social and financial arrangements through an organisational analysis. This analysis is followed by an inspection of conflicting, co-existing and cooperating discourses on the definition of the underground and the differing tastes and divisions shaping the production processes of the field. To understand how the final musical form gets shaped, I argue that the organisational and discursive practices shaping the production process must be understood. Art, as Howard Becker states, is a cooperative and social process

through which every artistic work is actualised and what this research is seeking to unravel.

Several characteristics of the field follow this research throughout each chapter: the autonomy of interest in the aesthetic norms and financial arrangements of the general cultural field, the prominence of a non-institutionalised type of organisation in operations and the loose boundaries between the roles of artist and audience. The variance within the types of gathering and organising discloses a complex and divergent area of cultural production. Alongside understanding these organisational aspects, my subject is also the discursive field productive of and being produced by its actors' definitions on what "underground" is and who belongs to it or not.

First of all, this introductory chapter is defining what underground is and what are the limits of it and secondly, it is building a conceptual framework huddling the convenient paradigms of both music sociology and musicology. Even though the fundamentals of my questions are built around social processes, attaining an eclectic array of theoretical tools is what I need to build a satisfactory theorisation (Hesmondhalgh, 2007, p. 45).

1.1 Defining the "Underground"

A theoretical challenge that this research face is defining what is specific to the musical production that occurs in the supposedly "underground" sphere of culture. What is the underground and where is it exactly? Is it a distinct autonomous area located out of the relations of power and economy? If so, what are the conditions of this autonomy? Is it a discursive formation building a distinct frame of meanings for some types of music production? If so, what are these meanings are embedded with?

My definition of the underground is predicated on three specifications: first is the disinterestedness in the concerns of profit, second is the rejection of aesthetic norms of the commercial cultural field and lastly, the self-determinacy in productions. In defining these qualities of the underground, Stephen Graham's (2012) list of six characteristics provided me with a basis in limiting our subject by how actors define and locate themselves within this production. Like many other productive occupations, actors operating within this area have their definitions, passions and intentions of what they are doing as a work of art and why they are involved in this process at all. Thus, regardless of its scope and population, we are dealing with a heterogeneous crowd which I yet to define as a "community". Most fruitful discussion for us to make use of is Stephen Graham's (2012) list of six characteristics in defining what "underground music" is. Stating that his use of the term "underground" implies commercial, social, political and musical codes, Graham mentions the diverse points of congruity that underground musical production embodies both with popular music and art music. Relating to the well-accepted musicological classifications of Phillip Tagg (2012), Graham distinguishes two characteristics of underground music respectively: the non-written form that is based on performances and recordings resembling the making of popular music and the disinterestedness towards mass distribution and profits in parallel with the art music. Based on these two main characteristics, they list six features of underground music: (1) experimental, (2) aesthetically challenging, (3) holding minor commercial interest or potential, (4) mainly operating outside large institutions, (5) largely adhering to self-determinate modes of production, distribution and promotion and lastly, (6) deriving from western musical or cultural traditions. Acknowledging the relativity aspect of the terms like "experimental" and "challenging", he specifies these

descriptions with a fundamental uncertainty of the outcome embedded in the musical style and technique.

Following Graham's definition, I characterise underground music primarily with its lack of ambition for appealing to the masses. This implies a certain avoidance of market interests in shaping the musical and audial qualities. In other words, a rejection of conforming to the purpose of profit-making as a motivation in the musical production. However, in contrast with Graham's point of holding minor or non-commercial interest or potential, my definition's basis is formed rather with the matter of autonomy from these interests and concerns in the making of a work of art. Hence, the emphasis here is on the disinterestedness in the aesthetic norms of the mass market; an indifference towards the musical elements that are currently demanded or counted as profitable by the culture industry. However, there exists various works, artists and actors wandering in and out of not-so-isolated areas of popular and underground music whom also struggle to make a living out of what they are producing. Especially when we consider trans-local networks of production and distribution, the definition of "commercial potential" appears very much inconsistent. Thus, throughout this research what matters and counts as underground is independent of a work's potential. Regardless of its reception and economic return, our subject is the forms and contents of music that are not shaped by economic interests even if they make money or listened by crowds at some point.

This disinterested position being fundamental in locating this field amongst the general field of cultural production, there remains a quest to distinguish underground from other musical productions that similarly remain outside of the commercial concerns and the cultural market: independent or 'indie' music. First of all, this research is built upon the concept of 'underground' by considering the

common use of the word by the actors themselves in describing their work.

Underground is the common description of spheres of operations, seven out of fifteen organisations included in this research use this term in defining their practices.

However, my fieldwork is not determined upon the aim of drawing clear lines between modes of productions remaining outside of mainstream music. That would be a misleading task since they do not seem to be mutually exclusive. The words 'independent', 'alternative' and 'indie' were also used by a few interviewees and they are embraced by some of the organisations too. Yet, the word indie implies a specific perspective on the independence of modes of production and distribution that strive to create an alternative to the corporate dominance in the mainstream music industry. More, it suggests a coherence in genres, even though not strictly defined it is said to be reminding of a specific sound (Fonarow, 2006, pp. 25-26). In contrast, throughout this research, I will be identifying a variety of gravity points where people gather and initiate action, including a considerable differentiation in both genres and modes of production and distribution. Therefore, even though it is not my main focus, indie and independent productions corresponding to my definition of the underground, are not excluded from the field of this research. Underground is rather a cultural production that is marked by its venturing into deviance from conventional forms and contents. There are various ways for adopting this deviance and this is exactly why our research subject is not a homogenous one. And certainly, it does not bear a joint effort of building an alternative to the mainstream musical production. Ranging from an aesthetics strictly located in contradiction to popular musical conventions to a rather simple aimlessness in appealing to masses, the underground scene does not have to come together under the umbrella of strictly political and aesthetic opposition. Nevertheless, its production can easily become a field of ranging musical

experimentations due to its different types of reactions and disinterestedness to the commerciality.

The abstention from market concerns and the autonomy to create a rather experimental aesthetics requires disparate spaces for gathering, listening and sharing for many actors. Limits of this sphere can be drawn around the people who produce, share and listen to music with a manner of autonomy from commerciality. Inevitably, this brings an attempt to create what one aesthetically has a passion for, daring to production and distribution that might differ from a more general taste of crowds. Thus, Graham's point on being aesthetically challenging suits our subject in terms of the genres, forms and contents of the music being produced. Underground is a field that is specifically open and can be considered as encouraging of aesthetics that are unattempted and less likely to be encountered in the general field of cultural production.

Until now, my attempt to define the underground music includes two apertures. First is the break in the relations between concerns of profit, reception and the production of music; second is the dissociation from standardised form and content in musical works.

One more description of Graham (2012) enables me to shape the last criteria: whatever tools are used for its production, the underground music must be self-determinate and certainly not a cultural work that is imposed from above. It is the actors that this research takes as its subjects who create works of art rooted in relatively minor, alternative interests in music which does not rely on conventional aesthetics. Here, rather than being a matter of popularity, it is a matter of a distance taken from what is demanded by the mainstream music industry. These experimental musical interests and the distance taken from the aesthetics of mass production

reinforces the conditions of gathering and cooperating as groups, building up spaces and possibilities that can harbour the underground. Once a distance is taken from aesthetics, it also transforms into spatiality and requires new outlets to be built for the deviant sounds to be heard. Thus, what is being referred to as self-determination and growth from below is about both individuals and groups of people, operating in a distinct model of production. All organisations included in this research endeavour to own a variety of means of their productions: from streaming to performing and technical means of transferring sound. On a more individual level, many underground music producers acquire their digital equipment of production, promotion and distribution; use either private spaces like their bedrooms in family homes or studio-like arrangements funded by small groups, just like Graham points out. The self-owned tools of production and distribution (including the internet) that one can sustain individually, the do-it-yourself model of producing is another distinct character of the underground. The disinterestedness in conforming to musical norms of the cultural market manifests itself in all areas of production including the moments of meeting and initiating action. Especially the aesthetic and economic 'outsider' position of the scene is strongly related to its need for building and sustaining the outlets by the producers and artists themselves. Correspondingly, next chapter is focusing on the dynamics and conditions of gathering in the underground, leading to different practices of non-institutionalised cooperation. Differing centres enabling gatherings such as venues, genres, ideologies and the internet are being discussed concerning these characteristics of the underground.

In summary, the underground field of musical production is characterised by three main aspects: autonomy from the concerns of gaining ground in the larger cultural market, a relatively aesthetically challenging aspect of music being produced

and self-determination of the outlets and tools being used. These are the foundations of this thesis in defining its subject.

1.2 Theoretical framework

The foundational discussions in theoretical interpretations of groups gathering and operating around cultural production provide me with the conceptual tools I use throughout this research. These are established and transformed theoretical stances both in cultural studies, sociology and musicology that accompany me. The term "subculture", mainly ascribed to the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS), is one of the earliest dominant concept generated in explaining youth communities revolving around music (Graham, 2012; Curran, 2002; Hodkinson, 2007). It is embedded in a class-based interpretation of marginalised young people within a local context focusing on everyday life and fashion of specific communities. It focuses on and reminds the divergent aspects of local cultures located in contrast with what is mainstream and dominant in their context. Following subculture, a range of theories emerged together with the critique of the CCCS scholars as attributing a static and coherent culture, fixing individuals and their movements solely within race and age definitions.

Moreover, the term "scene" that is widely used today emerged with the need for new concepts that can embrace the fluid, unstable and fluctuating operations and relationships around cultural production. Scene differentiates from the subculture with its possibilities of including not just local but also global and trans-local activities including varying industries and communication outlets such as the internet and/or music festivals, that are not available for interpretation solely around race, gender, age and the manner of being strictly resistant against the mainstream culture.

Being the initiators of this broader concept, Shank and Straw employ the term in separate ways. Shank focuses on musical practices in a locality and its transformative aspects in creating a "signifying community". This term refers to a transformative space characterised and enabled by its split with the mainstream culture, encouraging new enunciative possibilities for individuals in being producers themselves. On the other hand, Straw deals with trans-local aspects of the scene in building cultural communities without being fixed to a place. Defining the term as anti-essentializing and usefully flexible, this interpretation is rather about the communities where categories of class, race and national boundaries are not as useful as they were before the globalisation (Hesmondhalgh, 2007, pp. 37-50). "Trans-local" and "virtual" scenes are rendered explicable with the concept of the scene as arrays of local groups, with similar musical interests that are in regular contact with each other from a distance with the advent of the internet (Bennett & Peterson, 2004, pp. 1-17). Regardless of local groups of people shifting between identifications and operations around music, the term scene applies for all movement within the area of musical practices.

Hesmondhalgh (2007) follows a thorough summary of the origins and discussions around these two significant terms, i.e. subculture and scene. Including his perspective on the critique of subculture and CCCS's thought through the term "scene", he points out the ongoing relevance of class and race in musical practices. From here we pass on to one more concept, presenting us with a possibility to interpret social processes and musical structures in reference to each other: "articulation". Referring to Toynbee's work on the concept, Hesmondhalgh (2007, p. 47) defines homology between music and social practices only as one kind of a link between communities and their social practice. Together with this perspective, these

assumed links between symbols and praxis transform into parts of many possible articulations. It is a term focusing on reciprocities of discursive formations, cultural productions and social processes. Hall puts the theory of articulation as ideology enabling people to make some sense or intelligibility of their historical situation. As explained in the upcoming passages, articulation is a rather complex approach and this character of it is actually what makes it suitable for our research: this complexity avoids creating simple homologies between cultural productions and social formations. It rather implies forms of intelligibility that is not reduced to socio-economical or racial positions. Insomuch that the possible linkage it indicates between making of art and the social forces does not necessarily occur or be connected at all (Hall, 1996, pp. 140-143).

In building the organisational and discursive analysis of the underground scene, I find the two concepts of scene and articulation quite favourable. Regarding the non-institutionalised forms of organising and cooperating, underground musical production is characterised by a looseness in defining specific roles and functions. Without incarcerating actors to specific positions in cooperative activities, it embodies a network that enables all kinds of roles to be adopted by anyone who wants to. Such as a movement from a position of being the audience to being the DJ or an event-maker is not something that encounters an institutional resistance in the underground. Thus, this is where the concept of scene becomes handy since it provides a framework that can acknowledge and analyse these shifting positions in the production process without condemning subjects into specific cultural and social categories. Moreover, the concept of articulation allows me to scrutinise the possible connections between the ways of organising, cooperating and the discourses on defining the underground. After the categorising the operational differences of the

scene in the third chapter, I analyse the discursive practices and their correspondence with the dynamics of inclusivity and the music being produced in the fourth chapter.

1.3 Two pitfalls: homology & textuality

The underground field is a type of cultural production that has a level of autonomy and diversity in contrast with mass production. Striving to settle a theoretical ground, there are two coexisting pitfalls that this research is refraining from: firstly a reduction of cultural production into textuality only, secondly a romanticisation of underground music and sounds as bearers of a cultural revolution or social change. A careful refrainment from these two points characterises the theoretical approach of this research. It is the points of people gathering and dispersing; the levels of autonomy and conformity; moments of conflicts and agreements that I am running after. All these instances can turn up as points of analysis within the organisational systems of underground music both as texts, meanings, finances, organisational practices and values being attached to differing musical and sonic practices as they are bound to time and space.

In last few decades the empirical tradition of the studies on the sociology of music transformed from a philosophical and structuralist background into a rather constructivist and interactionist approach focusing on actions and their matrices (DeNora, 2004). Thus, opening up new areas of research such as social movements, identity politics, organisational and production facets of music. The classical philosophical legacy is mainly predicated on Adorno's homologous theorisation of society-music relationship (DeNora, 2004). This homology is relying upon the idea that forms of music are structurally parallel to modes of consciousness and social developments. Through classifying differing compositional processes of music, it

attempts to define musical traditions with a function of harbouring modes of consciousness that either contradict or conform to existing social, political and economic systems. For this constructionist perspective, the social analysis of music can be defined as a tool for liberation, promoting the denunciation of "false" music as a necessity for a critical society. However insightful these dominant theories of the twentieth century were on the sociology of music and musicology, the homology they assume between music and society has later been criticised as lacking the knowledge of how these two supposedly separate spheres are corresponding exactly (DeNora, 2004). DeNora explains a distinction between the "toolkits" of musicology and sociology of music during the 1990s: While Adorno's influence on musicologists was increasing, sociologists instead turned towards examining music as a social practice. Hence, the discipline renounced Adorno's total and immediate dismissal of popular music as a "wrong" production spreading a submissive consciousness and being solely an illusion of capitalist superstructure (DeNora, 2004). Likewise, this research strictly avoids interpreting the underground musical production equal to an ideological resistance and an inherently oppositional consciousness.

Leaving the society-music dichotomy behind, sociology of music focused more on the social action of engaging in musical practice. Theoretical backbone of my research consists of a combination of these relatively new approaches: mainly the production perspective that scrutinises the organisational dynamics of musical production and secondarily, the ethnographical approach directed on the construction of value, identity, meaning and taste in music as a sphere of social interaction (DeNora, 2003; Peterson, 1976; Peterson & Berger, 1975; Willis, 2014). To clarify my stance, it is critical to mention that my use of ethnographical methods is directed on their relationship with the production perspective, focusing on the relationship

between organisational structures and discourses. While not necessarily rejecting the possibility of homology between art forms and social movements, with these new perspectives homology ceases to be a starting point of research but rather appeared as a result of an analysis. Any result as such will be conceptualised under the term articulation, not forcing any links between music and consciousness of individuals. Hence, instead of searching for an inherent social resistance within the production of experimental musical genres, this research will first be mapping the organisational aspects of their manufacturing. Today the production of culture perspective is directed upon the process of the symbolic production. It is an interactionist approach using the tools developed by the analysis on organisations, networks, occupations and communities to investigate the relations in the making of an artwork. Thus, this perspective also enables the researcher to compare different types of cultural production models and the work of art unfolding through them (Peterson & Anand, 2004). Following my initial attempt to understand the conditions of gatherings and meetings in the scene, I classify and describe various types of organisational structures in the third chapter. Instead of heading off my analysis with a presumption of homology between social consciousness and musical work, this research is revealing a substantial sphere in the production process through which musical work is made possible. The organisational structures are examined under four topics: division of labour, decision-making process, financial structure and the transformations that groups experience between these categories.

In accordance with the production perspective, Howard Becker (1990) describes the production of an artwork is a cooperative activity similar to any other work. He coins the term "art worlds" as fields of cooperation with many different actors taking part in the production, promotion and distribution of a work of art.

Hence, finishing a product requires many people with a diverse range of roles and workloads operating altogether. He emphasizes the division of labour as one of the definitive aspects of art worlds which also constitutes the fundamental focus of this thesis. There are various possibilities of cooperation shaped by the type of work itself and of course, the work too is determined by this division of labour. Turkey's underground music scene is confluent, diversified and abundant in terms of its types of organisations (collectives, labels, radios, zines etc.) and the works that they assign themselves to (production, distribution, promotion etc.). Moreover, characteristics of musical production processes, the definition of professions and their classification, the use of technological possibilities and the aforementioned loosely organisational character vary in each of these groups of people, even between individuals. A mapping of this abundance is the first prospect of this thesis and a breakdown of these organisations participating in this research can be found in the Appendix A.

1.4 Bourdieu's "field"

As mentioned the two pitfalls explained above to guide me in forming the main theoretical approach of this research. Pierre Bourdieu's (1993, pp. 1-71) work on the field of cultural production corresponds to these concerns. It both sets our perspective through the research and brings out new questions to focus on.

According the field theory of Bourdieu, cultural products are socially situated works. They are manufactured and valued within specific social conditions. Our focus on the material and social conditions of production are crucial in understanding the work of art itself and the other way around, as these cannot and should not be separated. Bourdieu's theoretical structure enables us to avoid falling into a reductionism of internal readings of texts and a generalisation of external analysis. An artwork itself

comes to exist within a sphere of agents, their positions, actions and values. The concepts such as "field" and "habitus" that he developed offer sociological research on the work of art, acknowledging its sociality as an integral part of the analysis. They are terms that enlarge and bring a necessary complexity to the means of explaining cultural products in their specific contexts.

The term habitus implies a set of dispositions, a 'second sense' as the outcome of years of inculcation of individuals, generating practices and perceptions that are objectively adapted to their outcomes without a conscious aiming (Johnson, 1993). Habitus enables us to reject two distinct explanations of a symbolic work: as an unconscious representation of the symbolic order or as a product of a fully responsive subject. It entails an agency coexisting with social situations, it avoids dismissing any of these two. Profoundly shaping the possible actions, it is a structure organising the practices of agents without requiring strict obedience but instead yields towards the doxa, the experience that is valued, taken for granted and labelled as natural in that environment (Bourdieu, 1977). Nevertheless, these practices also come to shape and structure the social conditions they exist within. All agents live, move, operate and produce within a system of objective social relations and dispositions. Acknowledging this objectivity is necessary to understand any subjectivity that we claim to exist, and of course, the other way around. Field, on the other hand, embodies these objective social relations, where agents are situated and where their acts gain meaning and value. A field is a structured space with its laws of functioning, independent of economic or political fields in some ways (Johnson, 1993). All fields are relatively autonomous and structurally homologous with other fields. Each agent occupies positions that enable them to reproduce and restructure the field itself. Thus, agents are not submissive within an imposed static structure.

Instead, positions that agents negotiate, occupy and change in a field, transform that field and hence, the value of their work transforms too. Bourdieu searches for and locates the explanation of each work outside of that work, within where it is flourished.

In other words, deriving from his intervention in the analysis of cultural products, this research is relating the works of underground music within their social conditions of production. This requires a mapping of positions, position-taking actions and an investigation of the works of art being produced within these social relations. Hence, following the organisational breakdown, understanding the terms in which a work is defined as valuable and artistic in the underground arises as a crucial matter. Reminding his emphasis on the work of art as a manifestation of its field, both the aforementioned organisational analysis and examination of the discourses on music being produced and shared is critical for our research. Bourdieu's notion of constant struggle and conflict generating the fields themselves and their relations opens up new questions for understanding ours: where is the underground music located in the field of cultural production in Turkey? What are the current understandings and meanings of being in the underground today for the agents operating within the field? Followingly, what are the dynamics of constant struggle and conflict in this field? Is it possible for the underground's dissociation from market concerns to initiate different types of organisational practices? Lastly, what is being valued and produced as art in a field that avoids incorporating mainstream value judgements of the art world in Turkey? The fourth chapter of this thesis consists of the analysis on co-existing discourses operating in the field, the distinctions they expose, their relationship between each other and with the organisational structures of the underground.

1.5 Framing the underground

Following these concepts emerging from the critical research on cultural production, a combination of the terms "art world", "field" and "scene" forms the way this research frames the underground music production. Since all works of art require different types of labour and effort sustained by a group of people working in collaboration; actors with a variety of interests and occupations are necessary for bringing together a finalised work. This description on the production of a work of art is not limited solely to the making but also enfolds its performance, sharing and circulation. Concerning Becker's understanding of cooperation, almost all works of art are built in this world of actors working in relation with each other. Moreover, they all have their organisational qualities in the making, such as the division of labour, the traditions in styles and assumed values on art, the finances of sustaining this production and so on.

Further, the detailed and variable character of the term "scene" opens up an opportunity to specify this complex web of networks within the underground not just in terms of the operational processes but also meaning-making and value judgements within organisations. Compared to other conceptualisations such as the "subculture", scene does not tend to limit its subject into a signification process via neglecting the constructive diversity of meanings and identities. While the term "art worlds" provides us with a focus on what is specific to the production of art itself, the "scene" expands the definition of actors from producers to a larger group of people who follow, listen, attend and comment on the product itself, i.e. the audience. This expansion is vital for this thesis since one of the most significant characteristics of the Turkish underground music scene is its blurriness in defining roles and functions, especially the boundaries between the artists and the audience. Even though these

boundaries exist during a music event between the one who plays music and the one who listens or in a release from a label where there is a core team dealing with the production and distribution; these lines between the ones who make and the ones who receive are very much temporary. There seems to be no effort to reserve the positions of agency, decision making and artistic production from the audience. Beginning the research with a supposition of a strict manner of role-taking and operational division of labour within the organisations, my own experience and the data I collected demonstrated me the rather loose boundaries between who makes the art and who is a part of the audience. Therefore, not striving to engrave it into a concept, the underground musical field itself requires a framework open for these interchanging relations of roles and functions as a part of musical production. Scene enables a conceptualisation of the underground as an area of cultural production open to an interchangeable positioning of being a member of the audience, the producers, managers and DJs. Also, it complements the focus of meaning-making and role-taking of Bourdieu's field of cultural production: The concept of scene harbours a variety of meaning frames within diverse groups of people that are constantly in contact via referring to musical practices. These frames operate in favour of actors to understand, associate with and distance themselves from one another. As aforementioned, similar to the critique that has been brought to the socio-economic and racial reductionism of the term subculture, the underground is not structured of a strict political stance and it does not harbour any homogeneity of tastes, discourses and ideologies. Therefore, while Bourdieu's field and Becker's art world are forming our conceptual framework for this research, the term scene will be used throughout as interchangeably with both of these terms in pointing out the subject.

In brief, I approach my research subject and my field of operation that I am a part of, as an art world spawning a web of collaboration between actors.

Characterised by a non-conforming understanding of making art -especially concerning the mainstream cultural production- the art world of Turkey's underground music has its particular ways of gathering, role-taking, organising, transforming these dynamics and sometimes, dispersing. All these happen both in a local sphere and a trans-local and virtual environment, building connection, inspiration and ideas for production. Also, all these processes occur in an art world that is not institutionalised and nearly completely non-profit.

Together with this frame, I do not strictly disavow the interpretations of artworks as representatives of the emotional and psychological states of artists or as symbols of socially and temporally specific conditions, structures. Even though the priority of this research is not to find a homologous relationship between the deconstructed works of art and corresponding social structures, all works of art are considered as a social process, bounded to their conditions of making and of the structuring individuals being involved in the process. Thus, before anything else, this research is an endeavour to locate the field of underground music within the greater social and economic fields that it is structuring and structured by, striving to discover things or moments that appear autonomous and the ones that do not. The possibility of handling the work of art and its socio-political context regarding the manners, the praxis within our field arises with Hall's definition of "articulation". While encouraging the consideration of a possible correspondence between the music being produced and social practice, articulation theory refrains from fixating and assuming it. It provides a rather wholesome understanding in locating the data. Since all the experiences and narratives making this research attainable are of a field where people

who not only produce but live, socialise, work, sense and learn with music most of the time being their chief motivation; one can say that there already exists a kind of unity of daily life and music. This unity that I supposed "with a plop" does not necessarily connect any social condition and consciousness with the musical form and content. However, the element of personal affinities and identities, friendships and entertainment aspects are impossible to eliminate from an analysis of our field. While not being a prominent theme of this research, articulation forms a part of our analysis in both three chapters introduced below.

1.6 The outline

My research on the underground field of musical production consists of two main areas of focus: an organisational analysis and an investigation of the discursive practices. All organisation in the scene gather, operate, transform and/or disperse. This field is in a constant movement of new people joining in, a variety of groups being formed and more experienced actors shaping the scene. It can also be regarded as a scene where different generations with similar interests meet, interact and produce. People gather around a variety of things and themes including specific venues; particular genres that are induced with meanings and lifestyles; friendships and ideological common grounds. First of three chapters to follow is made of an examination of these dynamics of meeting and initiating a collaboration since these will be demonstrating the beginning motivations and grounding conditions of organisations being established, thus, the music being produced.

Following this first chapter on the gatherings, the operational details of already established groups when they are producing, distributing, performing music and/or organising musical events are being evaluated. In this chapter, divisions of

labour, decision-making processes and financial structures of the underground are forming the centre of gravity. What is peculiar to the field of underground music production is its non-profit and volunteer-based finances mostly in a manner of saving the day or the event on a specific project rather than planning savings or making participants' livings. This provides the field with relative autonomy in musical content from the general field of economics and cultural production. However, there are various other determinants still keeping the field related to wider financial conditions such as taxes on alcohol, managerial conditions and attitudes of venues, streaming services on the internet and the income they provide. These will be investigated alongside the loose and spontaneous structures of organisation and the aforementioned blurry boundaries between the makers, promoters and listeners of music. The main intent of this chapter on the operation is to find out how a non-institutionalised and non-profit mode of operation sustains a continuous flow of musical production with a content and form that is not on demand by the general public and the mainstream music industry. Hence, the conflict that arises between the autonomy of the field and its organisational and financial transience is evaluated. This second chapter also consists of an analysis of how these organisations accumulate knowledge of their experiences and either transform or disperse to become a "seed" for other cooperative formations. Names, genres, interests in types and styles of production are constantly in change, however the acts of gathering and producing remains and recurs. Therefore a dispersal most of the time implies a transformation. Every single operational structure (or in some cases an unstructured spontaneous gathering) actualises some of the things they dreamed of and later mostly organically disperse and spread the seeds for others affinities. However, none of these categorisations of gathering, dispersing, etc. exists in a vacuum or within

time bounded linearity and progress, instead, all of them are in constant relation and they do not necessarily occur consecutively.

The third and final chapter prior to the conclusion is focusing on a variety of discourses that are shaping and being shaped by the underground scene. This chapter aims to clarify the frames of meanings surrounding all productive activities in the field that are both in conflict and also nourish each other. These frames include differing approaches towards the form and content of music, the definitions of the "underground" and differing values given to the possible relationships with the general field of economy and cultural market. Moreover, this chapter also is an endeavour to combine the organisational and discursive analysis in order to discuss vulnerabilities of operations in the underground such as the widespread volunteering aspect of doing work and its possible exploitative character.

1.7 My source & subject position

Starting point of this research, its main questions, its scope and focus are based on my daily life struggle for making ends meet, an effort to bring two discrete personal interests together and hopefully create an occupation delving in and dealing with both music and critical theory. Aspiring to coincide these two endeavours, I seek to elucidate and analyse the underground music production in Turkey which became a field of interest in my social life and career before my academic enthusiasm in it. Setting off from personal acquaintances, occupational activities and organisational experiences; an impetus to contemplate on daily thoughts and questions is where my research question have flourished from: In what conditions do we gather, produce and disperse? What are the dynamics and conditions of organising, leading to the making of an artwork? The result of this personal interest sprouting from experiences

of concurrent cooperative action is my focus on the organisational dynamics and the production perspective. Thus, a map and an analysis of varying actors and their operations in the making of an artwork gains prominence to spawn knowledge and an illustration of this area of production. Just like every other work of conceptualisation, this research too is by itself an attempt to define and describe. To build a textual representation of what has happened, composed and lived through by individuals, collectives, institutions and systematic social processes is a work of creating the subject repeatedly through differing lenses. As Hacking (1999, pp.10-11) puts it, acknowledging my location as an actor within this area of musical production, my ideas exist within their matrices and thus, every step of my definitions are also constructive of my subject. Therefore, my delineative starting points of this thesis prior to my further exploration of the research subject were carefully built around the grid of terms that are explained in this chapter, hoping to build a correspondence between the concepts and the praxis.

All insights and analysis made through this thesis are based on two sources: my experiences and fieldwork in the scene as a part of it for two years now and nineteen in-depth interviews I conducted with a variety of people currently active within the field. As I mentioned, before considering any academic interest and thinking on methods of participant observation I started operating as a radio programmer and DJ within the underground scene. My activity was and still out of personal interest and career outlooks on a musical production. A year of working and socialising in this field enabled me to reach all the people I interviewed whom are mostly my friends and provided organisational insights on different groups that I became a part of. Of course, this involvement might open up discussions on any biases that my subjectivity brings, which I believe are unavoidable considering even

my field notes include insights on many emotions and friendships. At times of analysis and writing, I kept my focus on understanding the organisational structures of the underground, yet this inevitability of my subject position is not something I strived to left out completely. Instead, it can be regarded as nourishing of this research since personal relationships such as close friendships anyways build up the backbone of organisational gathering in the underground scene, which will be explained in following chapters. Moreover, especially the analysis that I conducted on the meanings, values and definitions attributed to the scene by the actors themselves was a difficult process for me due to my positioning of an emerging DJ, knowing that I am also being defined within these frameworks of meaning in the scene. Thus, I can wholeheartedly state that all the feedback I received for my work and the discussions on a musical value that I participated in, became my sources of analysis. Accordingly, striving to understand what is being values in this scene was both a challenge I had for my research itself and was something that I constantly tried to keep in balance with my musical interest, my taste in expressing myself. The third chapter of this research that focuses on the dominant discourses of the underground is constructed together with this negotiating position of mine and it also reflects the ideas that I was subjected to and struggled with while trying to become a part of the scene as an actor.

On the side of interviews, the first criterion in the choice of interviewees is to represent the variety and types of roles within the scene. Therefore, talking to organisations and persons with different types of occupations was my main concern. Hence, the interviewees include a variety of actors: DJs, producers, musicians, radio hosts, event organisers, record label members, sound system owners and content makers who focus on providing an archive and a written medium for the scene.

Following the variety of occupations, including organisations residing in the city of Ankara was another criteria to understand spatially differential aspects of the underground, such as the tradition, historical and socio-political context. Lastly, a balance between men, women and queer individuals were also conceded alongside organisational and spatial concerns. Apart from these two, secondary sources such as forums and seminars conducted during musical events, podcasts of radio shows focusing on discussions on the underground field of music production are also used as supportive of initial data.

CHAPTER 2

GATHERINGS: LOCI OF MEETINGS AND INTERACTION

A variety of forces, motivations and agents co-exist and cooperate in making a network possible and vibrant in today's art worlds. How people meet and interact depends on a variety of factors originating from within and outside of the field of cultural production. This chapter is intended to categorise these spatial, political, social and technical conditions within which people come together, meet and initiate collaboration in the underground music scene of Turkey. Further, it is an attempt to explain the ingrained character of these categories since they do not appear as isolated fields of forces from each other. However, their categorisation in this chapter provides us with a certain clarification of the social, economic and political context these gatherings and underground operations flourish within.

The commercially disinterested and aesthetically challenging character of the underground scene turns out to be decisive for the conditions of meeting. As explained in the introduction chapter, the music being produced does not conform to or fulfil the demands of commercial outlets such as labels, media channels, venues with a capital to sponsor and make profits out of their productions. This character leaves underground cultural production severely, or at least initially, outside of the cultural market, enforcing self-determination and multitasking actors in practices of production. In this field, the production is never solely a matter of creating the sounds that one is aiming but also, it is inevitably a quest for creating outlets in collaboration with other producers. The endeavour is never really limited to musical creation and the necessity of being multitasking forms the ways of making art and becoming an actor in the underground. Thus, this type of musical production goes

hand in hand with the creation and protection of its sites for sharing, listening and distributing. The necessity to create one's means to become publicly present, to share the sound that one produces and to listen and connect with people having similar tastes instigates many people to engage in organisational activities. Accordingly, nearly all DJs and producers I have interviewed are involved in one of the fifteen organisations that are a part of this research. My fieldwork and experiences in the field as an actor also consists of a variety of roles such as DJing, radio programming, taking part in the organisations of concerts, events and operations of labels.

Building spaces and sounds to share with others is an informal work in the underground scene. However, as mentioned above, it is also a work that needs multitasking actors who can operate as volunteers. As an example, most labels that are run by a collective are founded by musicians and producers themselves aiming to support, distribute and promote new music. Thus, any launch party of a new release from an underground label would be organised by the same people who are probably also playing as DJs in that party and doing the social media promotion earlier and throughout the event. They will be the ones posting the songs on online streaming channels, letting news agencies know about the new release and communicating with venue managers to arrange the cachet that performers (and themselves) will get from the night.

Hence, the underground scene is constantly being rebuilt and sustained operationally by people who also produce the music itself. Both the meanings being attributed by actors to what "underground" means and the lack of commercial interest in the aesthetically challenging types of music in Turkey are consistent characters of the scene in necessitating multitasking actors. Both the discursive and financial dynamics of the underground are to be discussed in the upcoming chapters

and both of these two factors include a range of prospects, adopted by different groups and actors. Popularity and profitability of musical genres, styles and contents transform within time and thus what is considered to be remaining in the underground go through changes too. Instead of seeking for the reasons, I tend to look at the operational dynamics of the ones staying in the underground and through this chapter, I discover the instances and moments of meetings, encounters and interactions between individuals being involved in artistic practice.

Accordingly, this chapter consists of a more detailed analysis of the elements that gather people around the field of underground music production in Turkey: More specifically, I will focus on (i) the venues owned and/or managed by the actors in the scene; (ii) the genres as traditionally organised meanings and common approaches to music and daily lives; (iii) political and ideological common grounds enabling companionship within the socially polarised context of Turkey; and (iv) the virtual aspects of gathering enabled by the internet and streaming outlets.

2.1 Venues

Being an actor in the underground music scene in Turkey usually requires one to get involved in actualising the scene itself. It is not a field that naturally encourages expertise in specific roles of production and many people take additional organisational roles on top of their work of making music. Due to the aesthetic and organisational characteristics of the music being outside the scope of the general field of cultural production and the cultural market, efficiency is certainly not a primary concern in operations and thus, institutionalisation is rendered redundant in the underground. So, musicians, producers and DJs are also the ones that are establishing and/or supporting the venues and channels for the music to be performed

and transmitted. More, these range of roles do not have a hierarchy of importance between them at all times, actors tend to move between them when needed or when they are interested. Accordingly, actors get engaged in a variety of organisational practices, sometimes by virtue of ideological and ethical concerns in building solidarity amongst field participants and sometimes simply for the necessity to create outlets to publish and perform their music. In a more institutionalised field of musical production where operational activities are sustained via hierarchical and professional divisions of labour, what might be expected from an artist is to be focusing on the production of music and to leave the rest of the work in the process of making art to a variety of employees. This too can be considered as an example of cooperative work. However, in our case, the outlets for the music to be shared and the ways of reaching them are not handled by people with economic, social and symbolic capital professionally mobilised for the scene.

Being located on the outside of the urged and demanded mainstream taste of the industry is an act of insisting on initial homelessness within the spatiality of cultural production. This is being transformed into acts of opening up spaces by the same people who need them. Thus, establishing, managing and/or protecting music venues and sound systems in the underground can be regarded as an obligation for the ones who are already producing music and DJ'ing. Yet, this necessity does not strictly deliver efficiency. Considering the labour and capital necessary for sustaining a venue together with other essential and time-consuming activities of actors mainly revolving around precarious jobs and studentships, there exist only a few availabilities in terms of venues for the underground scene in Turkey. Regardless of their number and scale, these venues become fundamental for gatherings in the scene and they are unique in their openness for peculiar types of music that probably won't

be welcomed by many others. Thus, venues are not only vital in reproducing and sustaining the activity of the scene but they also introduce these atypical forms of music and sounds to the newcomers and people just passing by.

Moreover, apart from the very few venues managed by actors already operating within the scene, there are also some other places where people gather and perform. The necessity of digging in and creating one's spatial visibility is still apparent in cases of musical events organised in more mainstream venues.

Arrangements of performances in these types of venues create new lines of work, carried by the actors of the field themselves. The work of communication including arrangements of events, their line-ups, promotions and costs are undertaken by artists themselves in these cases, requiring them to become mediators in building bridges between artists and venues.

Of course, be it underground or not the managing of all venues are based on commercial concerns. Regardless of the musical or economic priorities, there exists an ever and overly increasing level of taxes on alcohol prices and rents (especially rents in the centre of a city where nightclubs are generally located). However, the differences between these two types of venues begin with the extent of profit being aimed by owners. The managerial difference between hoping to making ends meet and aiming to expand one's business and profit is reflected upon the musical outlook, attitudes towards underground artists and financial remunerations of all personnel and artists working in the venue. There exists, in other words, always a difference in how musical events are being planned and organised between venues run by the actors of the underground scene and others. The motivational and emotional state of the organisers is very much related to their relationship the with managers and

owners of a venue. A founding member of Table Records explains their workload during their events as follows:

An event occurs, it gets crowded with a lot of people, you have to deal with a lot of things. You have to be there, you have to talk to people. . . . Not just running errands, you need to talk to the band, carry their pedals, manager of the venue comes to you and says stuff, you need to comfort them. Lets say, the band makes trouble and the soundcheck personnel gets angry, you need to smooth things over with them and etc . . . As a matter of fact, you constantly work until the event is over, even after it's finished. There is never a single time when you can sit down and say 'Oh well, what a beautiful music!'. It's very tiring. (see Appendix B, 1)

This experience of event-making processes also reveals the obligation of underground actors to be multitasking, doing all kinds of work from financial arrangements to social media. When the venue is not owned or managed by others in the underground scene, this work includes communications and negotiations with the venue owner who is not always focused on the music but rather on their profit. Here are two examples of what might go wrong in an underground music event taking place in most of the venues: Being forced to promise a lower limit for the number of attendants and otherwise ending up owing money to the owners, being compelled to turn down the level of music or similar other measures by the management, ending up ruining the event. These affect the whole crew of organisation, their mood and communication with each other, with the performers, DJs and eventually the audience.

The aforementioned absence of a mediator between two positions of organising and management requires a group of people mostly made of artists who are amateurs in financial and technical matters to arrange all these details. They are more likely to be left overcharged, deceived or disrespected by profit-oriented managers. One of the interviewees currently active as a DJ and organiser within the

event making collective Build Your Tribe explains the difference between financial situation and the manners of managers in clubs as follows:

The more manly the managers are the more you have problems on monetary issues with them. . . . The more they are, mmm, despotic . . . Patriarchal. They look at everything from the perspective of business managing . . . They think of the number of people that might attend and how much money they'll be left off. I'm talking about a group of people that do not care much about the music itself that's being played in the venue . . . There are some terms that we agree on before the event. As a collective, we usually keep the entrance fee low . . . for it to be accessible and easy for people to attend. . . . Venues know this and our guests are always specified prior to the event, but they still take their customers inside for free . . . if we have a deficit at the end they never listen to us and act in threatening manners, standing in the way. Even if the event goes well you leave the place unhappy . . . The last event we made in Temple¹ was like this and we decided to no longer make events in such a venue . . . We never had problems with money in Anahit Sahne² . . . Even when the event didn't go well and the venue itself didn't make enough money, they never projected it upon us. We also didn't have any problems in Pixie. (see Appendix B, 2)

This experience reveals the benefit of not dealing with these types of obstacles for underground organisations. It enables the organisers to focus on what they are doing the event for in the first place: music. Them being members of the scene as artists give the musical experience itself a priority for any event to be considered as successful. This brings us to the fundamental role of venues being owned or managed by actors within the scene in gathering people and initiating collaborations.

The spatial field of this research consists of 5 sites: two venues, one radio station and two sound systems as sites of gathering and performing. The first venue is Pixie, a bass music club located in Istanbul, Taksim; alive and functioning for

¹ A club located in Mis Sokak, Beyoğlu.

² Located one street westward from Pixie, Anahit Sahne was a concert hall that has been active since 2018 and was owned and managed by a queer activist, DJ and a drag queen. Prior to Anahit, the venue was known as the famous club Indigo, closed after the downturn of Taksim. Anahit Sahne has to close down after the months long COVID-19 restrictions.

twelve years, owned by a person active in the scene as a DJ too. Pixie's dance floor is at most 20 square metres and it is located in a very central backstreet of Taksim, closed to traffic with a vibrant nightlife. However, despite the flow of people around it, Pixie mostly harbours the same faces each week on Friday and Saturday nights. It is a venue that can be regarded as one of its kind in terms of (i) the genres of music that are being played inside since bass music is not something that one can encounter around the city, (ii) its loose policies of entrance fees and profits (iii) its organisationally collaborative and accessible approach via opening up space for new collectives and their projects. It is a club to meet with the same people each week, people that have similar tastes of music. It is a street where you know you won't be kicked out when you prefer buying your beer cheaper from a liqueur store instead of the club's bar. Within this 20 square metres Pixie holds groups of people who know each other and dance together every week and of course, it is the place where you perform and listen to your friends' DJ performances. The L shaped backstreet where Pixie is located is a hub in the weekends: it is where people hang out between sessions of dancing and get to keep up with their friends. Cost of a night's ticket does not usually exceed 5-7 dollars serving the attendants a night of at least 4 different DJ sets between 10 pm - 4 am. It is both a place where you hear the well-known bangers of UK originated bass music and also very much exploratory DJ sets of electronic music, not always limited to these specifically dominant genres. Apart from being able to listen to these distinct types of music, it is a club that enables discussions around them, transforms itself together with people's tastes and ideas. Throughout this research, this character of Pixie offered me a lot of insight into how actors of the scene associated with different genres. Music is a dominant topic of the conversations taking place around that street of Pixie and thus, it is also a place to

follow and acquire the discourses around musical practices. A DJ and an event organiser who is active in the underground for ten years now explains the general character of the genre discussions surrounding and transforming Pixie as follows:

Pixie changed a lot. Except for a two-year long dispute because of a funny conflict over music, I was always there since it opened. . . . In the beginning, there was this arguments as ‘Only drum&bass can be played in this club, nothing else.’ Later it appeared as “Only drum&bass and deep dubstep can be played, nothing else.’ Followed by “Only UK bass can be played here, nothing else.” In this way, the scale expanded in time but the old-timers kept on arguing with the newcomers. . . All were funny discussion on genres . . . people saying things like ‘Is that even music what you’re listening to? Wob-wob-woob’ or ‘But you’re very close-minded!’ . . . It was never a place embracing a motto of inclusivity . . . In cooperation, with the constant efforts of different generations it transformed into a very different place. (see Appendix B, 3)

Hence, it is a venue that exceeds to the role of being a performing stage but also a place where one encounters with discussions around meanings given to the genres and the scene. In terms of its role in gathering people, Pixie can be regarded as a master catalyser in the making of organisations not only due to its hub-like character for these specific types of music but also the general environment created via the priority given to the music and its experience. Many different ideas of forming new organisations were coined during the nights spent in Pixie and regular visitors of the club carry strong memories and emotions of this place. Such as the event-making collective and the news blog In the Void, as its founding member explains:

“Pixie is, of course, the place where we started and it is the epicentre of all activities.”³

³ “Pixie zaten olayın başlangıç noktası ve merkez üssü yani.”

Also, the connections between actors that led to the emergence of the Abyss Sound System, as the founders of the sound system mention:

We met with X in Pixie. I was anyways in Pixie all the time, my first visit was when I was seventeen. When I was nineteen, they started to attend too and we slowly met. I was anyways playing music there during the week days. they were the newcomers who wanted to become DJs and that's how we met. . . . We played together for some events and we were friends. . . . Last year he talked to me about his idea of building a sound system . . . He asked me to do it together and I accepted. (see Appendix B, 4)

While these two and many more experiences emphasise socialising aspect of Pixie, it is also a venue that initiated cooperative action for its survival.

As a result of the state-led urban transformation of Taksim following the Gezi Park protests in 2013 and the decline of the area's nightlife (Ural, 2017; Cinmen, 2011; Kalkandelen, 2017), Pixie also suffered a serious downswing and a risk of closing. As aforementioned, since its existence itself is critical for underground musical production, its sharing and socialisation processes, an organisation was formed by Pixie's regular visitors and artists. One of the members of this organisations PPQQMM explains their first initiation as follows:

A couple of years ago Pixie suffered a lot from Taksim becoming vacant. . . . There's a lot of reasons for that, people were not used to visiting Pixie anymore, they forgot the venue, they were not visiting. Maybe the venue was also not offering interesting things, it was giving a feeling of same things reoccurring. I cannot separate any of these as the main reason but to keep Pixie alive . . . we started with organising an event." (see Appendix B, 5)

Following Pixie, the second venue included in my field research is Karga Bar and KargART; a bar and a stage in İstanbul, Kadıköy respectively. Currently managed by an actor already active in the scene as a radio programmer and organiser

of what, it is a six-floor old building including a stage and art space on the top two floors called KargART. First three floors function as a bar with a DJ cabin on the entrance floor. Both the stage's and the cabin's line ups are arranged by the same person each month, mainly curated with performances of local DJs, musicians and underground event-organising groups. Musical genres that one can encounter in Karga are not limited primarily and specifically, however, there is a certain motivation in providing the space for artists producing in genres that do not have wide popularity, hence in the difficulty of finding outlets in general. These consist of many punk, metal, electronic, hip hop, indie and rock concerts and DJ sets happening each week in Karga. With a completely different arrangement compared to Pixie, Karga is not a club. The stage it offers is one of the rare outlets for underground musicians to have live performances not limited to electronic genres. During our interview, Karga's manager explains their motivation in opening up the stage to new artists as follows:

It does not offend me when bands come and perform here a couple of times and later leave here to perform in Salon.⁴ What matters to me is them to start somewhere. What matter to me is to enable this beginning. Knowing this fulfils me. . . After that, anyways, if the conditions are suitable, they should be going to those other venues, things should change. (see Appendix B, 6)

This constant openness of Karga's stage to new artists renders it a major outlet for underground music organisations. Considering the arrangement of space, Karga's form as a commercial bar is as prominent as its musical activities in the

⁴ Salon IKS V is a concert hall located in Galata, Beyoğlu. Run by the Istanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts, a foundation that is dominant in the arts scene of Istanbul and owned by a pharmaceutical conglomerate Eczacıbaşı Holding. Salon IKS V is known with its international line-ups of alternative music and its distance being taken from more popular genres of music. It is one of the very few relatively big and professional stages where an underground musician might perform in.

operation of the venue. It is alive and active since 1996, a well-known place that shaped the music scene of its neighbourhood by always offering space to new artists. In a neighbourhood with increased mobility and popularity in recent years (especially after the decline of Taksim), Karga stands as one of the rare places of stability in its both musical and architectural aesthetics. The building that this venue resides was built around the 1870s as a public housing project for the architects working in the construction of Haydarpaşa Train Station. Today, Karga's interior design and arrangement is not prone to the constant change in contrast with other venues of its neighbourhood; instead, it is a place to find the way one left off, a bar with the same staff, regular visitors, familiar design and music. Moreover, Kadife Street where Karga is located is an important meeting point of Kadıköy's nightlife. Being involved in the musical activities of the area inevitably leads one to get to know the faces of the street, creating a familiar environment each weekend. Since it is the most vibrant street of Kadıköy in terms of its nightlife, it is also known as the "the pubs' street" amongst people. With a concern of keeping up with the production of music in Istanbul, Karga is a place that is always considered an option for an event for the underground organisations and if not, it is a place to visit regularly to meet and communicate with other actors of the scene.

Thirdly, Radyo Modyan is an independently run radio station broadcasting via the internet 24/7, currently operating in its studio in Kadıköy, Istanbul. This studio is included as a venue in this research since the activities of the radio is not limited to its online broadcast but instead, the connection that Modyan creates between actors in the underground mainly takes place in its studio where most of the programmers visit frequently. It is certainly a hub of many DJs and producers in the scene to meet and listen to each others' work, discover the interests of each other and

initiate collaborations again to be produced for the radio or elsewhere. The organisational structure of Modyan is mostly arranged and sustained by one person who is the founder, initial investor and producer. Since its opening in 2016, new people joined and established a key team of decision-making and distribution of tasks, but the dominance of the founder is apparent in arranging the content of the radio and the relationship with all programmers. The reason for this seems to be the excessive amount of labour this producer gives to the radio itself including the transfer of personal income to the radio's expenses and a 5 days a week presence in the studio making all broadcasts possible as a sound engineer without a salary. As a topic that is included in the next chapter of "operations", Modyan is a good example for work-load of individuals being decisive in legitimising in the hierarchical relationships being established in independent organisations. From the standpoint of gatherings, Modyan functions similar to other venues with its function of catalysis between actors in the scene. A one-room apartment rented in a central place of the neighbourhood, it creates a place where one can stop by any time of the day and encounter and listen to a live set being broadcasted. This environment suitable for building new connections is something that is aimed and intentionally encouraged in radio's operations as the producer explains during our interview in their studio:

Our doors are open for everyone but not all of them continues at the end. Approximately 30-35 people broadcast here regularly every season. I get into contact with nearly 100 people each year to arrange new shows, only 30-35 of them continues. There is a criteria here: does this person take a workload on their shoulders or not? Because when they do, they feel more of a belonging to the radio. For example when a painter friend put one of their paintings on our wall, whenever they visit they feel a belonging even if they are not programmers. Or a programmer found us a coffee machine to use here. . . . This needs to be a place where people come together like this. . . . On the contrary, for example, there is a show called 'x' and the programmer never visits the studio and always sends recordings from a distance, they are never here. When they come here, you do not see that sense of belonging in

them. So, I eventually know, that show won't be on air on Modyan next year. Not because I tell them not to stop, but they just eventually and slowly fade out. (see Appendix B, 7)

In accordance, Radyo Modyan's studio provides a crucial space not only for broadcasting and production but for meeting, socialising. It is common in Radyo Modyan for the radio hosts to invite each other as guests in their shows or planning performances outside of Modyan after being met there. Moreover, the equipment provided to DJs, raising the motivation and curiosity of artists to visit and work on their sets in the studio. This hub-like character of Modyan's studio renders this organisation much more than an online radio channel for our research, instead, it is a prominent gathering space in the underground scene.

Lastly, the two sound systems that are a part of this research offer mobile, transitory but regularly formed spaces of gathering around music: Simba Roots Sound System and Abyss Sound System. These are handmade and independently owned portable sound systems. The series of events they initiate also occur under the same names, organised by the owners and DJs of the systems in commercial small-scale venues. All their events are functioning as spots for gathering around specific genres of music, and a ground for socialisation and sharing one's productions. They are treated under this topic of venues due to their ability to constantly open up any possible space for music events. Instead of being venues themselves, they transform already existing venues temporarily for specific events. A sound system is made of portable audio units specifically crafted following the musical interests of its owners in terms of audio arrangements and genres. It requires a huge amount of labour compared to any event being organised in venues with already existing audio systems since the main quest of a sound system is to craft, own, protect and carry the means of the sound itself by a group of people. Thus, they can also be considered as

temporary spaces of musical events, offering unique types of musical experiences to their audience.

The two systems included in this research are different in terms of their life spans, work experiences and approaches to musical genres, styles, meanings. Therefore, the audience they draw differs a lot. Sound systems are great cases to investigate the act of owning the means of distributing the sound. They provide strength to the scene with their portability since this allows many different organisations to rent or collaborate with them and spread events in a variety of places. Moreover, the sound quality that they offer is unique in comparison with most of the venues, especially when one considers the importance of bass sounds in the underground scene. A sound system event can only take place with enough people (hired or not) carrying all the sound boxes to the designated venue, the sound being arranged and set up, checked and after the event, tidied up back together and carried to the depo which is also another monthly expense on the shoulders of a sound system crew. Due to this workload and insufficient income to cover for the expenses, these events occur once or twice a month, they become an important occasion for the attendants. Similar to the previously mentioned venues and outlets, sound systems too are assembling gatherings in which people actively listen to each others' DJ sets and live shows. The difference inherent in gathering around a sound system (as opposed to fixed venues) can be found with the strong focus on music, sound and dancing instead of verbal communication between people during events. A member of the Simba Roots Sound System explains this focus as follows:

A sound system night is a place you let yourself relax and dance comfortably, if there's a good selection. You cannot chat or flirt in a sound system night, you don't go there for these purposes. Because the music is dominant, its anyways cannot possible to talk to a person. So that you can focus solely on

music and since the audience around you is made of people like you, a positive vibe rises and helps you recharge. (see Appendix B, 8)

Thus, sounds systems transform the place that they are visiting into a temporary dance floor where the audience hear, feel and dance to the vibrations that are meticulously arranged by the systems' owners.

2.2 Genres

A rather more conspicuous factor in bringing people together and get organised is musical genres. Genres, at the point of meaning-making, are invested with an intense cultural significance (Toynbee, 2000, p.103). Many people tend to connect with them and ease the process of finding a common ground since it enables presuppositions, a shared tradition in music and style. As Toynbee suggests, when talking about musical genres we refer to the structuring of creative arts according to style. Genre's importance comes from its function in aligning habitus of the artists and the field of the artworks (Toynbee, 2000, pp.102-103). Thus, it does not imply a code, conduct and a tradition that is fixed upon the artist who identifies with it. But instead, it is being constantly structured via new works of art and so it can be regarded as an accumulation of style, structuring of the art. Genre is not a textual essence, therefore it is not a tool for us to comprehend all elements of a work of art. Neale's definition too, offers a very useful approach to genres as being systems of orientations, expectations and conventions circulating between industry, text and the subject (as cited in Toynbee 2000, p.103). In accordance, a variety of genres are shaping and being shaped by the underground music scene in Turkey. Together with the stylistic and material features of the music being created, it is also a social process of establishing a difference referring to what is already there in the known world; a

circulation of repetition and variance both in technique and in meaning. A specific musical genre contains stylistic and intellectual baggage concerning its birth and its history. This is one of the reasons why nearly all of my interviewees mentioned their backgrounds in genres (without me asking specifically) to give me a sense of their tradition and approaches in listening and producing musical work.

Regarding the habitus-field relationship enabled by genre, how it draws people together is about a type of reciprocity in individual experiences within a structured space. Artists find their role, their position in a field of production through textuality that a genre accumulates over time and with works of others. Moreover, this social process embodies the power of building a framework of lifestyle and ideology due to the historically and socially specific communities associated with the births of genres. A few good examples for this can be: reggae music being born concurrently with the religious, social movement of Rastafari that is characterised with a stance against slavery and colonialism and the genre of disco implying a fierce dance floor as a space for queer and gender-bending public visibility. Genres have their histories enabling individuals to engage with and get involved in cultural production. Nevertheless, musical works falling under the labels of genres undertake creative production that embodies difference, change and transformation of this history and style. The core knowledge and that genres bring enables a correspondence between different actors, makes the points of entry and exit in musical production possible, instigates gatherings in the underground music scene of Turkey. Many organisations are established around specific genres, aiming to encourage venues, radios and individuals to get more involved with their more or less specified sound. Many venues too, operate around designated genres that change over time together with new audience and artists coming and going, just like the case

of Pixie as mentioned above. For instance, the root reggae focus of the Simba Roots Sound System is associated strongly with a political stance against oppression and the use of chemical drugs in music scenes, corresponding to the world-wide social themes emerging around this genre:

It is a matter of the ‘vibe’ that I cannot find in other types of music. We are aiming to promote a clean head and a conscious mind. So it is also a case of spirituality. The system that we call the ‘Babylon’⁵ does not want crowds of people to gather and feel the same feelings as if they are organising or something. That’s why people are pitted against each other, their political and religious concerns are being abused. They don’t want people to come together and bring their stance and their thoughts against this system into a maturity. The sound system is something that does that. It the ‘roots and culture’. Party people don’t have that. . . . If you give people something positive, that will lead to positive action. You cannot expect that when you provide darkness. . . . I am more involved in the ‘lifestyle’ perspective of this work we are doing. (see Appendix B, 9)

Amongst the fifteen organisations (including above-mentioned venues, sounds systems and the radio) about which I gathered, six of them put genre as a prominent orientation of their operations via stating this on their social media bios, event promotions and through our interviews without me asking for a specification. Apart from identifying with a specific genre as a foundational character, three organisations have a more or less consistent core of specific genres without staying limited to them in their productions. In some cases, it is an organisational idea (e.g. social activism) being at the root of cooperation, which is traditionally affiliated with specific genre cultures (e.g. punk) and thus inspires the group in producing music bearing the elements of these genres. Being effective in nearly all of the gatherings, the ones who put genre at their centre embody all their other characteristics such as

⁵ In the Rastafari religion and culture originated in Jamaica and strongly influence reggae music, the word ‘Babylon’ indicates the Western political and economic domination and cultural imperialism (Murrell, 1998, p.1).

division of labour, the daily language they use, ideological position in society etc. with the frameworks of tradition and meaning their genre is carrying. This six groups and their central genre can be listed as follows: Badmash Collective, active since 2018, built around Pixie and focusing supporting and releasing local bass music producers; Beton Orman, which translates as Concrete Jungle, the name of a Bob Marley song, starting as a reggae music (and other related genres) oriented radio show in 2004 and evolving into a label releasing local reggae productions; M4NM (music for non musicians), a label and collective mainly built around alternative/experimental/abstract hip hop productions -later involved other styles- founded in Eskişehir around 2009, still actively releasing local productions; Simba Roots Sound System, roots reggae music played with strictly analog equipments, active since 2013; Abyss Sound System, focusing on bass oriented music, just founded in the autumn of 2019; Chaos I Am Your Mistress (CIAYM), a riot grrrl punk organisation aiming to create new events and organisations hosting not just local punk bands but also has an international outlook since 2018, currently inactive.

While genre amongst these groups is a strong factor for their assembly and productivity, it also functions as a separator that draws a scattered map of organisations. When a genre is at the core of a gathering it shapes, determines and hence, limits, not just specific collaborations but also some of the possible interactions between different organisations. This is to say that, genre provides two co-existing and simultaneous acts: (i) softening social divisions within groups and (ii) sharpening differences of opinions between different groups. Therefore, it is critical to remember the referencing aspect of genre to the world that is known to us. It enables the act of locating oneself in the social world that is structured by a negational reference, a definition of the other. Yet again, there are also many actors

in motion between differing groups, venues and cooperations that embrace different approaches towards the musical genre.

Both the approaches towards musical production concerning tastes and lifestyles and the sharpness of these approaches in determining the contact between groups show critical differences within years. While the content and particularity of genres are in constant change, the theme of genre and the ways of understanding, relating to the cultures that genres bring remains fundamental in gathering people in the underground scene.

2.3 Self reflexivity and ideology

Apart from musical taste, a self-reflexivity in organising cultural production constitutes another determinant in the ways people gather and cooperate. This can also be described as a specific stance in a style and a manner of making art through which people find coherence. It is an interest in building a politically and/or ethically opinionated artistic practice. This common ground is mainly related to a critical understanding of cooperation and manifests itself in discussions around politics of artworks, division of labour and decision-making processes. Therefore it is embedded in the ways of engaging with labour and definitions of what responsibility and volunteering are in a scene that the main priority is the artwork and where nearly no one makes a living out of. Of course this set of organisational ideas that people revolve around depend on previous experiences of groups and individuals, sharing of experiences between generations and ideological common grounds between actors. Thus, an organisational stance depends on time and space, and it is under constant change just like other incentives in the organising. One of the founding members of

M4NM explained how they came together in the first place and the criteria they formed for accepting new members to the organisation as follows:

After all it is like a movement. It emerges without being planned and controlled cause its born out of a need. We are a group consisting of very few people, who sooner or later finds each other. We eventually created our own front-line and own community. . . . We were paying attention to our common grounds in terms of mentality and friendship with newcomers. We don't come together for profits and loss since we are not a company and so? We looked at the mentality. This is what we cared for and that's how we got crowded. . . . If there's one thing that I'm proud of . . . you won't be able to find a single racist and sexist word in the history of M4NM. Whether in lyrics of MCs, info texts or album promotions of beat-makers, they never spoke of non-sense. That's what I mean by 'mentality'. (see Appendix B, 10)

Not all cooperative activities operate around this political and organisational self-reflexivity and this factor too operates as a distinguisher between differing praxis in the musical production. Similar to this organisational stance -and most of the time concurrently- a search for an ideological consensus seems to be critical in a few topics, which unavoidably points at the political environment of Turkey in the last decade. Together with the formational dominance of the musical divergence from the mainstream, an ideological disparity from the daily political agenda and a stance within Turkey's currently very much polarised political environment seems characteristic to the underground organisations. A variety of analysis based on different survey data demonstrates the level of polarisation between people with conflicting political opinions (Esmer, 2019; Erdoğan, 2016). This environment of social distance appears on the level of daily lives such as people predicting each others' views via the news channels they follow and rejecting building communication with people standing on the other side of the divide. Leaving no space for the grey areas of discussion to exist, this situation is constantly being heightened via consecutive elections occurring very frequently and transforming the

discursive field of politics into a war zone stirred up by the political elite labelling political divisions as existential conflicts (Erdoğan, 2016). Even though elections are the times when these conflicts become more obvious, today this polarity and division can be regarded quite normal (let us say too visible that its invisible) in the socialisation processes of people. Thus, it is impossible to resist its constructing of the underground music scene as a field characterised with a specific stance and disinterestedness towards the general field of cultural production in Turkey. At its most general aspects, there exists an objection, a non-conformity and a dislike in today's socio-political conditions. This antagonism in some cases is crucial in sustaining both friendships and cooperations in production. Nevertheless, there exists a variety of approaches towards politics and ideology that help emerge distinct types of gatherings.

In our subject field of cultural production, an ideological common ground and a stance away and/or against the mainstream Turkish politics is a pervasive character of people operating together. The friendship factor and informal style of gathering and organising activities require this common ground which can in its most general way called "oppositional" or "critical". However, this is less than enough in helping us explain how ideological positions operate in the shaping of organisational structures. Not every group in the underground scene approach its organisational practice as political in itself and meanwhile some others put their political views in the centre of their operations. To clarify these differing perspectives and modes of sensibility towards politics of organising and cultural production, I designated four ideological positions that are not mutually exclusive and can be seen as the most prominent ones I encountered through watching and experiencing the socialisation processes of the scene.

First common ground is the most general one that might be applicable for many other cultural organisations outside of the underground, including commercial and formal ones: the prevalence of a general political opinion located in one of the social poles existing in today's Turkey. In the case of the underground music scene, it is commonly a critical stance against the government. As mentioned, it is not a cultural field of formal relationships and nearly all operations are being built or dispersed in line with personal relationships. Thus, this intimacy is being established within the socio-political environment of Turkey and highly characterised by a larger socio-political field. It is appearing in a seemingly natural way rather than actors actively picking their affiliates in line with their political stances. Therefore this category of ideological position applies to the scene that I had a chance to investigate. Spatialisation of cultural areas under this social polarity, too, leads to this generic consensus on an opposition. One of my interviewees explained this invisibility quite fittingly while answering my question whether they'd be ok with having a pro-government member in their collective: "We just happened to not have anyone in our group like that, not that we decided on it or anything."⁶

His formulation of the sentence as "happened to not have" ("aramızda öyle biri bulunmayıverdi") reflects my point quite well: the organisations, venues and events in the underground scene get their share from this social polarity and happen to become spaces for political consensus on oppositional ideas. This even applies for the venues (Pixie and Karga) and organisations with commercial purposes such as Audioban a sub-division of Efes (a local beer brand tied to one of the biggest conglomerates of Turkey the Anadolu Group) operating in the independent and underground music scene. This ideological stance does not require a quest, a

⁶ "Karşı olduğumuzdan ya da öyle bir karar aldığımızdan değil, aramızda böyle biri bulunmayıverdi sadece."

conscious act on reaching this point of partition yet it is a dominant aspect of our subject field.

The second common ground I define requires a political cause as the root and main motive in the gathering and organising of groups. Since this motivation enables a rather more specific will to organise, the causes for gathering as such are defined more firmly by the actors and the focus on matters such as public visibility of specific groups of people and identity politics appear to be more prominent. A clear example for this type is the queer activist collective “Build Your Tribe”, established in January 2019, in Istanbul. This organisation’s main motivation in coming together is based on activism, opening up space for a queer understanding of partying and most of the founding members do not prioritise musical content over their ethics of bringing people together. One of the members of the collective who mainly deals with arrangements of line-ups of the events explains some of their criteria in the making of events as quoted below:

Not everyone in the collective are extremely interested in or doing this for the music, except for me. They are mainly interested in the activism aspect of what we are doing. As Build Your Tribe, our main motivation is to employ queer and women artists, to bring in something for them or share their work. We always think of how we can incorporate drag and performance artists, if we have any of them on our radar. Most of our events include performances. . . . Our collective is a bit strict about this: whenever I offer someone for the line-up, other members usually ask ‘Are they queer or not?’. More than half of the line-up can never be cis-het male artists, we have this rule. . . . All our parties are free for drag performers . . . they immediately bring a queer visibility to the place and they change the environment and suddenly everyone feels more comfortable. Another important motivation of ours it to make our party a ‘safe space’. Not any kinds of abuse can be tolerated once it’s told to one of our attendants, the perpetrator will immediately and unquestioningly be thrown out and that enables the place to feel like a ‘safe space’. (see Appendix B, 11)

A similar approach in organising events can be found in the activities of the feminist collective CIYM, initiating its practices with the founding aim of increasing

female visibility in the punk music scene, a field that CIYM members define as male-dominated, leading them to intervene and transform this domination as a political quest. The last organisation that falls under this category of embracing a specific political quest in their gathering is Ppqqmm, as previously mentioned, an arts organisation that came into being around the venue Pixie. This was during the times when Taksim was at a decline due to municipal and state policies that put obstacles to the operations of entertainment venues alongside the raising taxes on alcohol and the rising popularity of Kadıköy district in nightlife as a rival to Beyoğlu (Çakır, 2009; Cinmen, 2011; Hürriyet, 2016). Thus, the main intention for Ppqqmm was to revive the popularity and engagement of new people with the venue, hoping to turn around the business to keep Pixie alive. Ppqqmm embodies a fitting example for a spatial struggle against the neo-liberal arrangement of urban spaces in Istanbul imposed through renewal projects undertaken by “entrepreneur” municipalities as the sole decision-makers leaving the public participation and consultation outside of urban transformation (Dinçer, 2011, pp. 47-48).

The third type of ideological consensus is based on a concern in applying a political stance into the organisational practice itself, into organisational elements such as the division of labour and decision-making processes. This actualisation of political opinion usually demonstrates itself in praxis like delineating consensus amongst members as a must to decide on all actions taken by the group, a relatively strict schedule of meetings, refusing to work with organisations who differ in ideological stance within or outside of the scene. On the other hand, these acts of embodying political positions also occur as consciously building informal and loose structures which enables the participants of a group to take action by their availability and interests. Table Records, In the Void, Bankpank, Ppqqmm, Build

Your Tribe and CIYM constitute the examples of this research that fall under this category of gathering.

Last common ground is the genre-initiated political discourse that some groups associate with and aim spreading through their events. Not every genre is as embedded with clear, slogan-like political discourse and an oppositional tradition as punk and reggae do. The two organisations falling under this category are embracing these two genres respectively: CIYM and Simba Roots Sound System. While not prioritising a political action on top of the music, they enable these two co-exist within the frame of meanings that the genres enable. Simba Roots and Chaos I Am Your Mistress are two organisations embodying discourses on oppositional practices.

2.4 Internet

Among these rather spatially specific conditions of coming together, the element of the internet is another factor in building bridges between people with similar musical interests and in transforming operational practices. Internet is an essential initiator of meetings, leading to the establishment of networks and collaborations in a musical production. Even though this research is focusing on Istanbul and Ankara, various interviews include experiences of actors meeting and collaborating through the internet before they ended up in these two cities. Internet transgresses the spatial possibilities of collaboration in a musical production. Especially concerning the challenging style, the inconspicuous character and unpopularity of these specific types of music, the internet creates a huge difference between generations in terms of how they reach, experience and share music. Here is an account of a member of

Simba Roots Sound System on how they finally met with reggae and dub music during the 90s in Turkey, without using the internet:

At the age of twelve - thirteen I started to search for music outside of the mainstream that is being offered to us. We didn't have today's resources during the 90s in Turkey. There wasn't an option to search for the names of bands, genres, songs on the internet. It was much more difficult to reach different genres. If you wanted to stop listening to pop, the first thing you can reach would be the rock and alternative music because those were the only ones within reach. So I've listened to them for a while. . . . After finding hip-hop, I discovered trip-hop and following that I found dub music which took me to reggae. . . . Even with the internet it was difficult to find the corpus of reggae music. Because reggae and dub have always been released through vinyl so you have to follow the records. . . . I'd go to the homes of collectors, to dances, I'd try to memorise the songs that selektors were playing in dances, I'd go the record stores. . . . There were places you'd go to spend time people to reach music. (see Appendix B, 12)

While this anecdote provides us with insights on what kind of spatiality and sociality that internet intervened in and to some extent replaced; in case of the organisations that were established after the emergence and public use of the internet, the communication that it enabled proves to be integral in the initiating collaborations between people. The facility of a much easier and to-the-point search mechanisms completely changed the routes that actors take to reach to the music they like, even to discover what they like in the first place. One of the collectives participated in this research, M4NM is an example of an organisation that built many of its relationships and memberships through the internet. There were instances of making songs in collaboration before meeting face-to-face as a result of two people meeting through internet while living in Eskişehir and Samsun. Not just enabling regular meetings, what is more prominent in the internet's influence on undergrounds gathering can be seen in its enabling of incisive meetings in terms of musical genres. In the case of M4NM, it is the alternative types of hip hop beats and abstract rap

styles that might usually be quite difficult to reach in relatively small cities as such.

Here is how a founding member and a beatmaker of M4NM explained how he met and collaborated with others through internet:

For years, most of our connections have happened thanks to MySpace. It was an amazing website. It had every feature that a minimal musician might ask for such as a direct message and comment system, friend lists. You could upload your songs and list them the way you like. . . . It was a very important website. We built all our connections via that. . . . We would send each other all kinds of recordings. We would upload our albums through computers in internet cafes. (see Appendix B, 13)

Apart from initiating collaboration that later leads to cohabiting same spaces and life long friendships as this experience demonstrates, the internet has also been influential in imagining and adopting new types of organisational practices via opening up international information for users. Again, my interviewees from M4NM specifically brought up how they were inspired by the independent record label Anticon operating in Los Angeles, California in building the structure of their organisation:

We followed people on the internet who are professionally doing this job, both foreign and local names. There was Anticon as a foreign source and we took our fundamental organisational form from them. They included people that we love the works of and they constantly collaborate in projects and produce. They do not pursue daily norms and sounds, they do whatever they want. We produced with an influence from that. Also, we saw some crews in Turkey such as Kuvvetmira and we realised that this work needs to be done as a group. (...) At the end of the day, we wanted to create more experimental things compared to the sound that was dominant back then and doing that took courage. We got that courage from Anticon. We said 'They are doing it, what can't we?' Their story has difficulties too, we read it . . . We actually imported their structure. (see Appendix B, 14)

This being an experience that reveals us the influential aspects of the internet via enabling accessibility to communities around the world, its communicative aspects that go beyond localities is also effective in the underground. Via opening up

the possibilities of gaining an international insight on organisations, labels and genres, the worldwide web enabled a sphere of presence and influence for individuals too. As mentioned, the withdrawal of spatial necessities opened an area of communication and expression for actors living outside of big cities. When it is difficult to relate to your peers' and friends' music tastes, the internet made it possible to release albums and get feedback from foreign parties. A founding member of the Badmash Collective explains how the internet enabled him to communicate with the international scenes while explaining how his journey in producing music began:

I never studied music, I did not have musicians around me. I was in Adana in the last year of high school. . . . I got involved in PC, to computer as an instrument, I liked digital stuff. Back then I didn't know that I'll be studying computer engineering and producing electronic music. I just got into it cause of curiosity. Around 17 years old, I made a song and I uploaded it in Soundcloud. I was checking out if anyone listened or commented every single day. . . . After I uploaded around fifteen songs a British label got into contact with me, they wanted to publish one my songs. . . . I said okay. . . . I published a couple of things through them. . . . After that label, I learned about contracts, I got used to the process, I knew how to pick labels, how to communicate with them and what they are supposed to offer me. . . . The label 'Digital Whomp' from France was very helpful. We published an EP and they invited me to France and covered all expenses for my EP's opening concert over there. (see Appendix B, 15)

Thus, it can be seen that the communicative aspects of the internet that enables gatherings even exceeds the local scene in some cases. The virtual space of communication can be constitutive of initial gatherings in the underground scene and in some others it is not a fundamental reason for cooperation. However, the internet is an integral part of every single activity within the process of producing music in the underground. Apart from the dynamics of gathering its uses can be exemplified as such: Radyo Modyan broadcasts through internet as the only option that enables relative freedom from both financial and expressional freedom; both sound systems

are built hand-made via benefiting from a huge circulation of knowledge on technical and engineering issues in the web; every single underground label that are a part of this research uses web pages such as Spotify, Bandcamp and Soundcloud to release and sell their work today. Thus, apart from gatherings internet is a tool of communication and distribution for already established organisations. During the first decade of the 2000s, Myspace appears as a critical tool for inaugurating communication and alliances between individuals, later collaborated on many different outlets. The internet was and still is an important tool for both creating new contacts leading to organisational practices and already established groups to expand orbit and to reach new people.

Throughout this chapter, four aspects of the underground scene that provides the suitable ground for people to gather, socialise and decide on cooperating. These include both spatial, intellectual and technical conditions providing actors spaces to perform, meanings to identify with, critical approaches to operational practices and technical possibilities of trans-local communication. Underground musical production requires constant labour dedicated to opening up and sustaining new places of performing and gathering, which brings forth the venues as critical places for meetings. Musical genres are at work in shaping the meanings of engaging with musical activity, and thus they are influential in different types of collaborative practices. Ideological common grounds and a critical self-reflexivity on operational practices characterises many organisational practices, and they are especially constituent in reasons for establishing new collaborations. Lastly, the internet is extremely effective in forming links between people with similar interests in music regardless of their spatial distances. These fundamental conditions in gatherings have

articulate relationships with different organisational and cooperative practices being explored in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

ORGANISATIONAL DYNAMICS

This chapter strives to clarify the organisational dynamics of the underground music scene of Turkey in three parts. The first part consists of a classification of operational practices, splitting differing types of division of labour, decision-making processes and financial arrangements from each other. These three categories illustrate differing approaches, systems or non-systems implemented by groups dealing with musical production, distribution, promotion and event-making. As a classificatory action, this first part summarises the variety of organisational preferences and combinations existing in the scene. However, by appropriating an intricate, non-institutionalised field of cultural production into a matrix consisting of particular types of associations and collaborations, these categories also decontextualise the subject. Whilst being an operational tool in mapping out the scene, this approach falls short in analysing phases of cultural production unless the links between these divisions are demonstrated. Consecutively, the second part is focusing on exactly these relationships between different modes of operations and an analysis based on the transformations occurring between different organisational practices through time. All organisations change and they fluctuate between the categories of operational structures that are being clarified in the first part. Therefore, the second part of this chapter is aimed at understanding these changes between forms of working together, their reasons and outcomes for the production practices. The third and last part is an attempt to initiate a discussion on the possible exploitative aspects of the organisational practices that are being scrutinised in this chapter. This third part involves a discussion on scene's level of autonomy from the general field of

culture and economics. Thus, it is getting into more detail about how and why organisations change and sometimes, dispersed in the underground.

The underground field of musical production is a constantly changing collaborative environment. Looking closely at the transitions between modes of cooperations provides us with moments of shifts in methods of organising, drawbacks in existing ways of operating and decisions aiming transformation. Not only because I witnessed these transformations throughout my fieldwork but also, the interviewees participated in this research brought along their varying lengths of backgrounds and experiences. Most of the stories that I encountered are full of a variety of meetings, excitements and implementations of new ideas; disruptions and disappointments leading to new approaches. The differences between experiences can be roughly classified in three groups/generations: first-generation operating in the scene for more than 20 years, being involved in a variety of groups and projects; the second generation being involved in the musical production for at least ten years, either came to point of sustaining their economy through music-oriented work or occupying a respected, recognised position in the scene with their artwork and reputation; the last and youngest group of artists being involved in the scene for around 3 to 5 years via building new collaborative movements focusing on music. Thus, there is a generational range, a contact and a transmitting of knowledge between different age groups and a transformation of organisational preferences through time. This research itself will hopefully function as a transfer for experiences, an assembling of stories of people who operate within the same field with similar goals. By this aspiration for an analysis that can render the organisation of underground music scene in Turkey more legible and interrelated primarily for its participants and of course for all readers, second part of this chapter is made out of

an effort to bring back together what is being extricated in the first part of the classification.

As mentioned at the beginning of this thesis, musical production is first of all regarded as a social process in this research. A variety of organisational aspects incurred both comfort, productivity, solidarity and also unrest, dispute and resentment for actors operating through them, constructing their types of cooperations and being constructed at the same time. In short, this chapter is breaking down the organisational forms into fragments of styles and systems. Later it continues via locating these specific practices within the stories, the social process of the cultural production and analysing the lineage of organisational transformation. Therefore it is designed to illustrate the general cooperative environment of cultural production in the underground music scene of Turkey.

3.1 Classification of operations

3.1.1 Types of division of labour

Despite his reference to a large scale of cultural production subordinated by the competition within the market structures, Bourdieu's (1993) statement on forming an artwork applies in our case too: the structure of an artwork is always a result of existing economic and social conditions of its production. While his remarks on this relationship of structuring are made on what he calls the *middle-brow art* aimed at an "average" public, these qualities might differ but the relationship between the modes of production, the audience that it aimed and the music being produced stays very much similar. First of all, the disinterestedness in appealing to a designated crowd forming the audience of mainstream musical production enables the underground work of art to diversify its content by what the artists aim to reflect. Our focus on the

division of labour becomes appealing when one thinks of this relationship of reciprocal structuring within a scene that does not strive for bigger audiences. Then, how is the division of labour shaped when a strict need for systemised and profit-making collaboration does not exist? And of course, in what ways does this help shaping the artwork itself?

Throughout my fieldwork, I encountered many bedroom producers, focused on creating their sounds with their equipment, which they later share on their social media and streaming accounts. Even though encountering these production processes gave me the expression of a complete self-sustainability, all these artists were also in collaboration with someone or with an organisation at some point of their production process. This can be in the shape of contact with a label during a release, a concert organisation with a venue, occasions of being guests of radio shows, etc. A much-quoted and referred statement of Becker (1990, p.13) in building perspectives towards cultural and artistic production seems also appropriate to begin this part with: every art rests on an extensive division of labour. Even though in cases of self-contained musical production in bedrooms or performing arts like films, and concerts this becomes rather more conspicuous, the division of labour is still a necessity in arts that seem like they seldom require collaboration such as painting and poetry. Every art needs manufacturers for its tools for production, whether online or not all artwork needs distributors, in any case, artworks require outlets for exhibition and response from an audience. By rendering the definition of an artwork inherently bounded to differing ways of collaborating and thus, to various types of division of labour, Becker points at the social process that makes a work of art possible in the first place. We all depend on each other, how this dependence shape the underground

music scene is in my focus. Hence, Becker enables us to build a larger frame for examining artworks that includes the collaboration at work in the making.

In the case of underground music production in Turkey, the agents in the gatherings of people that are laid out in the previous chapter are constitutive of the division of labour. They prompt the ingrained character of the act of artistic production with other roles focusing on promoting and expanding the scene. The task of opening up spaces and outlets for artists to perform and meet is on the shoulders of anyone and everyone. Work focusing on logistics, publicity etc. in the field of underground music production is not strictly and consistently divergent from the process of making an artwork. Namely, these works other than the creative labour itself are not strictly taken for granted by artists, to be done by someone else who is appointed to this role. Similarly, the friendship aspect of people being involved in new organisations strongly leads to an informal understanding of working together, without strictly building a control mechanism amongst each other. Without undermining the existence and influence of a larger field of mainstream cultural production, in terms of division of labour the underground music scene is characterised with not being oriented or concerned about the profits being made out of the productive activities. However, this difference and independence from these specific concerns do not solely demonstrate itself as a liberation from musical and organisational norms but it also brings flexibility and spontaneity to how the work gets done.

Another point made by Becker (1990) regarding artistic production brings up a challenging aspect in understanding the dynamics of the division of labour. Via exemplifying the important role of composition in producing jazz music, Becker touches upon the changing significances of different roles in the making of artworks.

Different types of organisations are divided from each other by their need for peculiar types of labour. Again, in our field, a variety of organisational practices focus on separate parts of making the scene and all these parts require specific roles that are before others. A good example of this can be the difference in what a radio needs as a work compared to a record label. While a sound engineer and producer precede any other role for radio to exist technically, a record label might require a variety of roles with similar importance to make a release possible. This aspect of organisational practice forms the types of division of labour in groups, following the necessity for abilities such as technical expertise, communication skills, etc.

My categories of division labour are formed in the light of these conditions determining organisational practices. Furthermore, there are three different types of division of labour that the field of this research demonstrates: organic, predetermined and one-person types of division of labour. Many organisations tend to exist in flux between these types throughout their establishments, their experiences bring out new ways of structuring the relationship in sharing work. To follow these transformations between various ways of organising, first I am looking at my categories in detail, starting from the organic division of labour.

Organic division of labour is a type of distribution that occurs naturally in line with the works being done by the organisation. It depends on the availability, ability, willingness and the interest of individuals at any given topic and time. This provides the organic division of labour a spontaneity and an operation that is not predictable for long-term endeavours. In cases of records labels, this can be seen as a single focus on a specific release and a rather scattered communication once the work is being done and the production is released. Similarly, in organisational practices of event-making groups, the organic division of labour enables a focus on a

specific event and a strong association for that one instance that later drains away once the event is completed. A member of the collective M4NM explains these spontaneous cooperative aspects with an example from one of the events they organised: “We organised a concert for our 6th anniversary, everybody was extremely motivated and helpful for like 10 days and through the concert. After that, no one is around for a year.”⁷

Moreover, organic division of labour might lead to members of a group feeling discontent and depleted with what they are doing since it will anyways be in line with their direction and focus in life at any given moment since many people have other occupations than music. However, in many cases, this type of a division of labour also leads to a workload on the shoulders of a few people, who eventually express frustration and demotivation towards the work they are doing. Organic division of labour is a type of collaboration that requires all members of the group to acknowledge the possibility of simply not doing some of the things that the line of work towards a production requires. It necessitates a recognition of being sketchy sometimes, which if not accepted by each member might lead to a conflict within the group. It embodies an unsystematic working style that might be considered unproductive or deficient from a more institutional point of view.

On the other hand, this temporal focus of the organic division of labour towards a specific goal also equips the group with the energy to accomplish that single goal in their focus (an album release, an event, a broadcast, etc.) and this leads to a variety of very self-sufficient, memorable moments of artistic productivity. One of these types of noteworthy events that I had a chance to participate was the event series that took place in Bodrum Yalıkavak throughout the summer of 2019. Without

⁷ Bir altıncı yıl konseri yapıyoruz, herkes o on gün inanılmaz yardımcı oluyor her şeye, konser esnasında da. Ondandır bir yıl kimse yok.

an intention for collaboration as such, I was searching for suitable venues to play music and improve my DJing skills in the upcoming summer months around the Western touristic cities of Turkey, where I can also easily find accommodation and food without spending much money. After asking for help and info for new connections from some friends from the organisation Bankpank (initially a radio show collective broadcasted in Radyo Modyan), this individual aspiration transformed into a range of small-scale festivals we organised in the pub and stage called Buluntu Kulcha Kulüp in Bodrum. Buluntu is known for the welcoming attitude of its owners for all kinds of musicians outside of the mainstream cultural production, opening up their space for collective use throughout events including not only for performances but their space for accommodation and their kitchen for cooking. As a venue with unavoidable commercial concerns to keep afloat the business, parts of profits being made by them are being used to cover the expenses of musicians such as food, drinks and travel costs. Being distinct from the touristic business that is abundant in the area, Buluntu takes place in a three-floored building providing a space both for bar-like arrangement including a DJ set, a middle floor full of equipment and couches for musicians and any other workers to sleep and chill and a rooftop suitable for louder live and DJ performances with a dance floor.

The two events we arranged both lasted 3 days and 3 nights, giving the stage to more than 15 musicians and DJs in each event including members from Table Records, Radyo Modyan, Beton Orman, M4NM, Badmash Collective, and Bankpank. This event in Buluntu was one of my first active field experiences and members from all these organisations participated in this research through interviews. All operational practices from arranging intercity bus tickets to our guest artists to buying and cooking the food for everyone for three days were arranged

partly organically throughout these events. The supposedly two different groups: a core team that organised the event and the guest musicians there to perform were not separable in terms of the division of labour. Organisers were performing, guests were cooking and shopping, owners of Buluntu were initiating and recording jam sessions. One cloud-shared excel documents were constantly checked for all expenses and line-ups of each day, this was the only written and calculated arrangement of our events. However, prior to both these two events we had no idea if we'd be able to make money, pay all expenses from the money being made by the event or if we'd be obligated to pay from our pockets. We made profits from the first event which was used to organise the second one, and after the second everyone returned to Istanbul and Ankara with no profits and no loss. Events in Buluntu were considered by many participants as a 'free holiday' in Yalıkavak, where spending a summer is not so cheap. This type of an organisational practice is something that I have heard of frequently during interviews and following field observations, apparently what I was experiencing for the first time was not uncommon in the underground: the spontaneous gathering, temporal collective motivation and devotion for a specific event without an aim or a vision to create permanence.

Moreover, defining the organic division of labour as a type of sharing the work in line with interests, availabilities and abilities does not render this type of organisation completely unpredictable for each group. In some cases, it can be interpreted solely as a way of working that is open for mistakes within a more conventionally valid understanding of doing work. Ankara-based independent record label Table Records (which I am also a part of as a facilitator/supporter for their events in Istanbul) bear an example for this type of division of labour that is not completely spontaneous and involved in the musical production on a consistent

manner for more than two years today. They summarise their everyday operations with a face-to-face meeting each week through which they update each other about the current workload they have at that moment and distribute this load between each other following daily agenda of each member at that given moment. While this consistency co-existing with the instability of everyday life enables them to keep on functioning and actualising their goals, it also, without doubt, leaves a space for forgetfulness, negligence and a variety of living conditions of the members to get in the way of finalising a targeted objective. However, the acceptance of these interruptions as a part of the organisation process is an important aspect of keeping the production from being systemised. Any sustained miscommunication on the distribution of work and anticipations of different members might lead this spontaneity and unpredictability of operations into a destructive element for the integrity of groups. Thus, the organisations operating with an organic division of labour are constantly subjected to change, transformation and dispersal according to the daily life conditions and changing taste and interests of their members. Lastly, on this type, the organic division of labour is the most encountered type of division that I have encountered throughout this research.

The second type of division of labour is based on a predetermined and consistent style in distributing the tasks. Again, this type of division is based upon interests and abilities too, however, it is not as flexible as accepting all types of availabilities of the members in taking responsibilities varyingly from time to time. In an organisation that embraces a predetermined type of division of labour, each member knows which type of work is done by whom. It requires a distribution of tasks that is relatively fixed and maintained. This type of division of labour is

implemented by three organisations that are included in this research: Audioban, Beton Orman and Simba Roots Sound System.

Firstly, Audioban's position in the field of underground music production can be regarded as the closest to the field commercial music production: it is a company, a sub-division of the conglomerate Efes⁸, focusing on providing consultancy, network and career opportunities to independent musicians. The reason they are acknowledged as a part of the underground in this research is their motivation for being independent of profit-making and the members of the team being involved within the scene for a long time, even before Audioban came into existence. Thus, their experience in the field of underground music production offer insights for the transformations between different types of organisational practices. Audioban seems to be sustaining its predetermined, disciplined and systemised division of labour by the means of being an institutionalised organisation, being funded yearly and thus, offering a predictable and secure financial and occupational position for its members, who are also workers. One of the interviewees and the former coordinator of Audioban (during the interview they were still employed in the company) explains the foundational motivation of their founding member, predetermined division of labour and the decision-making process of the company as such:

I can say that its an organisation that is supportive of independent musicians, opening them spaces. He had a chance to tell this idea to a big brand like Efes. He told them that they have been a team supporting famous musicians for years now, they are a big brand and they give money to big names . . . however, in here there is a field that they can contact via much smaller budgets. The musicians that perform in their festivals as headliners every year were all playing here five years ago. So, he told them to pay attention to this field and support it. . . . Apparently the brand was convinced with it . . . We have a linear system of division of labour, everyone gets a fixed salary and Audioban itself does not make any profits but transfers the money from the brand to the musical production and creates content. That's what we do . . .

⁸ Efes is a beer brand produced within the structure of the Turkish conglomerate Anadolu Group.

We do not have a hierarchy but this person who first thought of and founded Audioban also invited us to work here and he is in the primary position in communicating with the brand, he is the director. Apart from that we were four people. One member doing visual works of video and photo shoots, two of us dealing with coordination and correspondences . . . one of us is directing the social media . . . That's it. . . We have a big table in our office that we sit around and work together . . . We produce our ideas on events all together. (see Appendix B, 16)

Another organisation that is currently running on a predetermined division of labour is Beton Orman and its members do not exceed three people working at the same time. Moreover, two members undertaking most of the label's work are close friends and colleagues, working in the same office for both their day-time jobs and the labour that Beton Orman requires. Last organisation under this category is Simba Roots Sound System, an analogue audio system handmade and self-funded by the same individual and sustained by a group of people who also have close, personal relationships. The team has two more members alongside the owner of the system, who are mainly taking responsibilities of the events, organising, storage and the transportation of the sound units. General tasks that a sound system requires is event-based and requires both physically intensive work of making a night-long event with preparations beginning early morning. On the other hand, despite the physical hard work, the list of what needs to be done is quite definite, specific and oriented on a single day each month. Other technical sustenance issues of the audio units are the responsibility of the same individual who built them in the first place.

Beton Orman is organised by a small group of actors making decisions without having many conflicts as friends and co-workers. Similarly, Simba Roots Sound System is characterised with simplicity in listing and applying the tasks, in contrast with the physically and technically demanding workload. Predetermined division of labour is either implicated via an institutionalised wage system or by a

group of people not exceeding three members and close friends. All three organisations that fall under this category consists of people who either sustain themselves financially through the work that they are doing or they incorporate relatively less complex relationships of labour and they tend to be on the same page about what they envision in their musical production.

The third and last category is the one-person type of division of labour that is not based on a collective division and distribution of the labour amongst members since this type of organisations are not formed by individuals with equal shares in decision making. Two of the organisations under this research fall into this category of one dominant individual regulating a vibrant web of productive relationships. Thus, these types of organisations still include and induce a variety of collaborations involving actors with differing interests and abilities. Depending on the labour required by the organisation, these collaborations can be voluntarily or via short-run project-based employments. However, these collaborations are determined, limited and controlled by a single individual who seems to be a founding member, an invested actor and the prime decision-maker of that specific production process.

In *The Void* and *Radyo Modyan* are the two examples to this category. They are both organisations to which many people participate at different capacities but their defining feature is the fact that they are led by a single devoted founder who has ultimate/absolute decision-making power. These processes of the division of labour and dominance of a single person do not always occur smoothly and without conflict, but sometimes they do. What determines the quality of these decision-making processes and the possibility of conflict depends on the labour required by the work that needs to be done. Aforementioned insight of Becker on cooperative activities becomes significant at this point of our research: differing types of works require

different types of abilities and interest, their importance and necessity differ between organisations. As exemplified earlier in this chapter an independent radio like Modyan requires a technical expertise knowledge that is a priority for any broadcast to be made at the first place, not limited to this, it is also a type of cultural production requiring space and adequate equipment which all depend on a previously accumulated capital. Radyo Modyan should also be considered as an investment into a studio space located in a popular centre of the city with high rents and a variety of sound equipment offering a professional environment for varying styles of radio shows. Moreover, it is an organisation that does not secure any short or long term profits, no external fundings. The conditions within which it has the capacity to hang within this economically risky and unpromising condition is to a large extent dependent on what Bourdieu (1993, p.67) calls the “possession of substantial economic and social capital”. Thus, the single person who invests into the radio altogether with these necessities gains the power over the knowledge and finances of the whole administration of the radio and make all kinds of other decision such as the visual image of the radio, the selectivity of radio content, etc. Therefore, in case of Radyo Modyan, this type of the division of labour depending on the decisions and presence of a single actor seems to be accepted by programmers and other members, volunteers of the radio.

It is acknowledged and even serve’s the purposes of many programmers who solely focus on their shows. It would be unfair to not mention people who were involved extensively in the establishing of Modyan and members who still actively support by volunteering for the radio. However, these members appear less permanent, coming and going from time to time. Compared to them, the one person keeps the main control of the radio with a power that is legitimised by the physical,

economic and social investments they made and still are constantly making. In the light of these, a daily load and share of work in Modyan can be explained as follows: Modyan's schedule has only one day free of live broadcast, six days a week starting early in the evening around 5-7 pm to midnight and sometimes later hourly live shows are being broadcasted. Accordingly, while each radio programmer visits the studio for their shows and sometimes send pre-recorded material from their homes without showing up, the sound engineer works in the studio during these broadcasts. So, the main division of labour occurs between the making of content for shows, undertook by programmers and all other technical, social, economic etc. work of the radio undertook by a single person. Radyo Modyan also arranges at least two seasonal meetings, inviting all programmes to meet with each other and to get updated about the new plans of the radio (which is mostly decided by one or two-person before the meeting). However, these meetings also work as chances for programmers to share their ideas and get a say on what is happening on the radio. Nearly all new programmers join the radio via the constant efforts of meeting with new people by the sound engineer/manager/founder of the radio. Thus, regular programmers usually do not have a say on the overall content of Modyan.

In case of In The Void however I instead encountered a process of nine years of activity including recurring attempts for cooperation that each time ended up with a takeover of a founding member via withdrawing other members of the group. As an organisation aiming to create a news channel and a written archive for local underground musical productions, In The Void seems to have harboured many people's labour which later critiqued and eliminated by a single person after personal relationships of conflict. My understanding of "elimination" here is based upon the ways how the organisation continued functioning after these conflicts: it stayed in the

control of the same person rather than being diminished or transferred between actors. Again, this foundational member appears to be the ultimate actor devoted to the organisation who took pains to keep it going in the first place. In terms of division of labour, during the times when In The Void included many members alongside the founder, works that needed to be done were distributed amongst people in a rather organic manner. However, these cooperative periods constantly ended, leaving the one-person as the ruler of all actions whom after nine years decided to finalise the organisation altogether. Even though this actors' explanations of the gatherings and breakups that the organisation witnessed were not so clear cut, the founding member of In The Void explained these connections as follows:

Being together, working together was not something that I did frequently before. Not that I say 'things should happen as I want them to be' but instead, due to my character if I have a vision, it matters to create it. . . . When I couldn't correspond to them with the things that I want to accomplish, I didn't accept ideas from outside. . . . Later one day . . . we decided to get together since everyone was doing a lot of work separately, let's come together . . . I knew one of them from a distance for example and I was irritated by them . . . I was hearing things that I don't want to hear from hearsay, about the people that I don't know and when we meet I was getting stressed, its ridiculous, we were in it for a cause and we needed to overcome that. . . . Everyone had a different idea and we were not always reaching to a consensus. . . . Later I understood that I approached In The Void from a very maternal manner, I wanted to protect it. . . . At the end we were representing In The Void and because of some of their behaviours I felt like what I am trying to build is kept in the background. . . . After I told them that I want to stop working together during a Skype meeting, we stopped and we did not see each other much again. In The Void continued. Of course, I would. Regardless of anything, a valuable thing should not be diminished because of the ridiculous relationships between people. (see Appendix B, 17)

Considering the dominance of organic, loose ways of organising in the underground, In The Void is a great example of the struggle one might experience in building a production process that one aspires for. It can be seen that this organisation was a case of devotion and very personal actualisation of musical

interests. Illuminating the non-institutionalised character of the underground, this scene is highly determined by the qualities of friendships, mental states, differing expectations from volunteer work and how actors make sense of cooperation.

3.1.2 Decision-making processes

As quoted by Mauws, instead of being regarded as a “thing” or solely defined as “sound”, music is rather a process, a series of actions (Bennett, Frith, Grossberg, Shepherd & Turner, 1993, quoted by Mauws, 2000, p. 231). In the making of an artwork, there exists not solely an artistic inspiration and enjoyment but also a multiplicity of practices and positions taken by a variety of actors involved in the social processes of production, promotion and distribution. How a group decides on its actions is a definitive aspect of the types and depths of involvements by these actors. It gives us an idea about the roles and positions that are more dominant in the course of cooperative activities, the ideological stances of groups in cultural production, the accessibility of different ideas to being heard and implemented. Further, decision-making processes imply a lot about the inclusivity of varying, differentiating and sometimes conflicting ideas about production, promotion and distribution in a cooperative activity. Alongside division of labour, it can become a matter of experimentation rather than opting for a mainstream systematisation of artistic production.

The underground scene harbours a variety of procedures for cooperating by the nature of its outsider character, its disinterestedness towards the socio-economic grounds that popular music production is built upon. Decisions being made by these music organisations determine a variety of dynamics within the field such as how the curation of a label’s catalogue is being determined; how the contents of the shows in

radio are being selected; how much the tickets will be for the entrance of an event; who will be playing in an event; on what platforms and formats an artists' album will be released; if any sponsorships will be accepted or not for which actions of production. Therefore, the decision-making process determines the ways of reaching the audience: decisions regulate and demonstrate boundaries and accessibilities in the scene. Many research that I might refer to focus on the commercial and industrial actors being involved in the production of culture, intending to examine this mutually constructing dynamics of decision-making processes within the larger economic and political fields and the types of music being produces (Peterson, 2001; McIntyre, 2008; Burnett, 1996; Graham, Burnes, Lewis & Langer, 2004). While the questions remain similar, our field of cultural production is rather informal and contingent. Even though the cultural industry remains as a field that is constantly affecting the discourse, career directions and artistic concerns of the underground scene; our subject keeps a level of autonomy in its own production choices and the variety of decision-making processes can be regarded as a demonstration of this. There are four different decision-making types that I cover in this chapter: organic, one-person dominated, consensus and designated core team.

The most common process of decision making in the underground scene is, similar to the division of labour, an organic one where the expression and discussion of different opinions take place in face-to-face meetings or via using chat applications for smartphones. However, the spontaneity of this type of decision making inevitably falls short in sustaining a fairground for all members (be it new, old, shy or confident individuals) to express their opinions. While the friendship aspect of working together seems to enable this ground of discussions that do not necessitate strict rules for enabling equity for all, this also seems like a circle that

keeps the organisations within the limits of friendships since this organic, unstructured character leaves outside the ones who cannot keep up with them. This leaves gatherings to the fortune of personal relationships. Despite its shortcomings, this kind of spontaneous organisation allows for a smooth decision-making process. It provides the members with the easygoing way of dealing with the musical production, together with people whom they somehow get along with. This most common type of decision making operates rather smoothly in groups consisting of a limited number of members and tends to bring stagnation of operation with newcomers. A perfect example and experience from first hand to these outcomes of organic decision making can be found in how things proceeded for me after the previously mentioned collaborative events in Bodrum Buluntu with the team of Bankpank. My initiation as a member of this organisation occurred spontaneously following the first event. Even though more than half of the team of six people were not included in this decision at all, everyone seemed to be accepting of me and no one questioned my participation, at least not openly. My relatively short experience as a member of the Bankpank team between July 2019 - January 2020 consists of many decisions similar to my affiliation with them. I joined at least 3 general meetings through which we discussed and decided upon a variety of matters such as events being planned, the content and medium of the radio show, etc. However, I encountered many decisions being made through casual and spontaneous meetings of friends within the group, deciding upon things while hanging out outside of these meetings and outside of our online chat group. After a while, I realised it was quite common within this team to find out about a decision, after a couple of weeks that it has been made by half of the members while they were out on a regular friends' meeting. The sense of a settled paradigm and a shared understanding of what

“Bankpank” was never a discussion, however, I always felt as if there is something that I cannot quite align with. Like a manner, an approach built around a companionship that the members are used to and comfortable with, which enabled their spontaneity and organic operations to remain to function, however, which also left me outside of the core team. I left the group six months later, after not being able to position myself and concurrently some members not being able to align with me both as friends and as actors in the scene. Most of the decisions in the team of Bankpank was organically made, including my involvement and withdrawal.

Nearly no organisation is strictly dependent upon the rule of consensus in making decisions except Table Records. Referring to the previous experiences of members in other organisations, their consensus rule is aimed at preventing dominance of one or more members within the group. However, due to the friendship aspect of coming together and actors’ differing levels of knowledge and experience in music, sometimes the decision-making process resembles the organic types in this organisation. Members of Table Records did not hesitate to remind me that even though they did their best in keeping the consensus, there were some instances where many members later expressed their hesitation but still somehow convinced themselves to not interrupt the activities. Maintaining the rule of consensus does not always mean a perfect implementation of it. Yet it offers an initial balance, a stepping ground for the opinions of different members with various backgrounds and prevents decisions being made without every members approval, unlike organically deciding groups.

The organisations that are previously characterised as one-person dominance in the division of labour, also function quite similarly in the decision making processes. These types intertwine and differ on single occasions, however, their main

characteristic enables a line of activities pursued by the organisation. By which I mean, a single individual's dominance in decision making does not strictly leave all opinions and their influences on the organisation outside completely. Anyways, people intervene and listen to one another. However, when this type of decision making is the principal character, the greater part of the activities are determined by a single individual without being questioned. They may be open for critique, but most of the times decisions become a matter of "taking it or leaving it".

Similar to the consensus type, our last category of decision making is not quite common in the scene: a selection of a core team of decision-makers from the members of the group. This seems like an option for some organisations to abandon organic decision making when the group starts to get crowded and dispersed geographically. This type is made of a consensus of all members being met on distinguishing a core team of decision-makers. What leads to this decision is not solely being dispersed or become crowded but also the changes in the lives of individuals throughout years of organising. M4NM is the only example who opted for a core team to decide upon all activities of the organisation. Starting as a group of university students residing in Eskişehir, the organic and easygoing music-making practices of a group of four, transformed into various models from being a collective to a record label and a sub-division of a record company and later retreating to their previous form. The seemingly similar social, economic lives and musical aspirations of group members both differed from each other throughout years and diversified extensively with new members. Therefore the decision is made for building a core group to keep the productivity of the collective going, which later turned into a collapse of workload on shoulders of a few who started to stake a claim on actually defining where the organisation is heading both financially and ideologically.

To summarise, four types of decision making in the underground music scene of Turkey consists of organic, consensus-based, one individual and core team of members. These categorise imply dominant but not static styles within organisations whom also vary across these types every now on then.

3.1.3 Financial arrangements

The conditions of both organisational and individual finances reveal the positioning of my subject field concerning the broader field of economics. All agents within the field of underground music production also occupy positions within the field of the economy through their jobs, families, friends etc. Their habitus is itself the intersection between various levels of accumulated capitals and the structure of their field of cultural production. Economic capital being transferred to the underground scene via active role takers, determine the domain of activities, their range and sustainability. This transfer is the determining aspect of the economic continuity of the scene and thus it creates a distinct musical production based on a surplus that individuals manage to create from their activities outside of the underground.

Together with this dominant aspect, the financial solutions brought to the cultural production in the underground scene are grouped under four categories: organic self-funding by the members of the organisation, differing types of sponsorships, self-sustaining by organisational practices and subscription system paid by members.

The most common financial sustenance of all activities is simply supplied by individual members with adequate income to spear for musical activities or via members who are supported by their families. While the scale of these costs cannot be compared to corporate mainstream musical production, still we are talking about expenses such as printing posters before events, online streaming costs for labels,

costs for merchandise, nightly wages for the performing artists, storage and carriage costs of sound systems, radio space, streaming and equipment costs etc. Considering these different types of production processes, these costs might vary between 60 to 300 dollars each month, more or less. These put on a certain weight on the shoulders of members for sure. Some parts of them are covered by events and very minor sales of albums. However, especially record labels and sound systems require funding that is external to the musical production itself. Accordingly, they are sustained by members who specifically have this spare income in their daily lives. A member of Table Records explain their financial situation as such:

Money coming from the event is never enough for us, Table earns nothing, it all goes to the musicians performing. When we have an event in Istanbul, we pay all costs from our pockets including the travel and accommodation and we give the money that comes from the tickets to the musician as cachet. No income gets into the pockets of Table. We don't know what's gonna happen with this situation. . . . I make my own money from other jobs and transfer it to Table, another member does the same. Other members are still students and we don't want them to support Table financially. We'll find a balance but we now see that it is not possible to make a lot of money when you are a D.I.Y. record label. For that, you have to have a sponsor that provides terrific amounts of money or you need to be a sub-label of a bigger label to get funded. (see Appendix B, 18)

Both types and scopes of sponsorships vary across organisations in line with their purposes and stances towards being sponsored by a larger firm. The only completely sponsored and institutionalised organisation is Audioban since it is a subdivision of Efes. Other than this, sponsorship is either seen as something that goes against the ideological stance of a group or it is accepted as long as it is temporary, project-based and certainly prohibiting a corporate intervention in the musical content. While Audioban workers encounter mild interventions of the conglomerate management on their yearly and monthly programme, there are no other examples as

such. A very common type of sponsorship can be seen in the case of Wunderfest, a niche music festival in Gökçeada organised twice a year by Radyo Modyan. Even though it is mostly funded by individual financial assets, in Spring 2019, Wunderfest was partly sponsored by Efes as funding in kind via a batch of beers granted to the event. In return the firm's demand was photos being regularly shared on the Instagram account of the festival throughout the event, demonstrating people drinking them in a way that leaves the brand logo conspicuous. Similarly, if Audioban sponsors an event and offers a nightly wage to musicians performing, their alliance is usually limited for that single night and what Audioban receives in return is the public visibility of their name on social media, posters of the event and publicity of their logo on noticeable points in the venue. Therefore, these more frequent types of short-term sponsorships are made possible through selling the power of publicity that the artists and organisations have to the sponsor without any change in the musical and lyrical content.

Another quite common financial situation to emphasise in the scene in terms of organisations focusing on making events is that there exists a much little cost specific to events which are usually covered by the income of that day. Which means that many event organisations in the underground music scene sustain themselves solely by the money they make from the events themselves. They sometimes even put money aside solely for organisational purposes. However, it is again crucial to remember that the labour of members given to these event making processes are not covered, they are actualised as volunteer work. So, while not requiring a special fund for the events themselves, these types of organisations are usually run by people who can manage to have free time to volunteer in such events.

The last and not very successfully implemented system of finances is the subscription system attempted only by Radyo Modyan in the broadcast season of 2019-20. Following radio's announcement of annual fees to be collected from the programmers to cover the expenses of the radio, many criticisms were raised against this new system and some programmers rejected it and left the radio. Amongst this criticism, there were a couple of different approaches: a doubt from Modyan being transparent about the expenditure, consideration of content making already as an investment that programmers make for the radio, a stance against having an exchange relationship with the radio itself and problematisation of this new valorisation of radio shows. Again mentioning my experience with Bankpank, I remember this new subscription system and the new exchange relationship being promoted between programmers and the radio administration was something that we considered as a reason to leave the radio for good. This new system was not successful since the radio both lost some programmers and also many others did not completely pay the fee.

Accordingly, there is not a structured and consistent system of financial sustainability, a regular understanding of the interpretation of musical and sonic works in the monetary value in the underground. Instead, the finances are generally relying upon personal capitals, low-budget operational practices, volunteer work and short-term, project-based minor sponsorships. Financial sustainability of production practices cannot be considered continuous even though sometimes it appears to be possible at the cost of free labour of the actors. Up until this point, I explained the categories under three main aspects determining the organisational structures: division of labour, decision-making process and financial arrangements. The second

part of this chapter consists of a discussion and description of how these categories are in work together in the scene and constantly transforming between each other.

3.2 Bridges between different forms

Through my experiences in the underground music scene and the stories of my interviewees, I observed a variety of transformations occurring in their organisational activities. These may happen organically, spontaneously and also out of conscious decisions being made by members of groups due to specific states of minds, feelings, daily life conditions, what they define as failure or success in operations. As mentioned many times above, all these categories of the division of labour, decision making and financial arrangements illuminate differing types of organising, producing and sustaining the underground scene and they are constantly being adopted and abandoned by organisations. In this second part of the chapter, I will be focusing on three different courses of action regarding the changes in the structure of operational practices: (i) transformation between one-person dominance and more cooperative models and vice versa, (ii) a shift from the model of consensus to a selection of a core decision-making team with a limited number of members, (iii) the point of dispersal of an organisation. These three practices are constituting the organisational efforts and experimentations for building a more suitable system of operations in a field where organic and loose types of organising are dominant. All these movements between models are scrutinised to identify breaking points and new trials that somehow sustain the scene but also reveal the shortcomings of some organisational structures.

The first type of these transformations occurs between the strengthening and loosening periods of power of a single individual (or a few individuals from the core

team) over the organisational practices. This is a transformation usually taking place in organisations that are mostly dominated by a single individual, who sometimes agree with new cooperations and temporarily enable the organisation to be run with the cooperation of new members. The reason for this change between one-person and more collaborative operational practices is because of the periods and types of work that the main actor finds suitable for collaboration. These set suitable examples for Becker's understanding of artistic production being inherently cooperative, whether someone is dominant or not every type of organisation in this research experienced a common operational ground for a team of actors working together. Two of the organisations included in this research fall into this category of constant transformation between the domination of one individual and a period of collective work: In The Void and Radyo Modyan. Both of these organisations are undeniably associated with single actors who were involved in the foundation. This association plays a crucial role in keeping these actors' dominance of all actions since they are the ones defining the aspirations of the organisation and the conceptualisation of musical production in the first place. They constitute the scale of value judgements in the selection and curation of the actions, of the music being promoted. These already established values and objectives were also operating as a gatekeeping mechanism for the dominant member to re-organise memberships, manage the content and the inclusivity of the organisation. However, both In The Void and Radyo Modyan have experienced new people joining in core team which resulted in periods of more than one individuals being involved in the decisions being made and actions being implemented. This is the type of transformation that constantly occurred in these two organisations, which remained as a temporary period later turning back to a one-

person dominated system. Here are some descriptions of how this fluctuation takes place:

Through a nine-year-long journey, In The Void enabled many musicians to come together, perform to crowds and collaborate not just in Istanbul but also in Ankara and Eskişehir. Throughout this journey, there exist two separate periods of completely different groups of people collaborating with the same foundational member under the name In The Void. These collaborations both begin with regular meetings followed by a fast-paced, spontaneous, financially self-sustaining events, perceived as successful by members. First of these periods of collaboration ended with a personal dispute within the group that led many members to disband from In The Void. Apart from this matter, this period also had problems with how the organisation approaches the scene itself. An actor who left the group after this period explains as such:

We didn't know the core member of In The Void so much except for some events that we played together. . . . We gathered to talk about building solidarity between collectives. . . . We started to organise a thread of events but we couldn't reiterate them. We turned into a scattered group of people making different events under the name of In The Void. After some time we had a stillness on our chat group, I was writing every now and then. . . . Everyone was stopped up and each time when someone asked if there's a problem to talk about, people just said 'no'. . . . But later I hear someone saying something during an event . . . and it gets to me. We were four women in the team, were we really dealing with things such as 'She said this to me, she took x equipment from me'? . . . I realised that there must be an ill will in the group and they are not talking about it. We insisted on asking about it, had a couple of Skype meetings but no one mentioned any problems . . . I continued working . . . The team turned into something where no one was able to complete their responsibilities. One day, a week after our last Skype meeting, out of nowhere we received a very long text message⁹ on our chat group which was one of the most shocking and saddening things I've ever seen in my life, it was paranoid and malicious. By the way, I still want to emphasise that everyone was going through a hard time back then. . . . It was a very long, ugly, paranoid and malice message targeting the personal life of one of the female members of the team. . . . We couldn't believe it, we

⁹ The member of the team sending this message is not an interviewee of this research.

couldn't recover from it for a couple of months asking how come this happened in a group that started with very good intentions. . . . These were the times that we needed each other the most, it was after the coup attempt on July 15th . . . I couldn't believe how we got snowed out of what people heard and conceived through gossips around them. (see Appendix B, 19)

This was the first time that In The Void was operating as a relatively crowded group of people made of at least 5 to 7 members, disbanded after this dispute. The second period of collaboration followed around a year after this with the participation of new people the organisation. How this period ended was explained by a former member as follows:

We had a lot of ego conflicts. It was a matter of planning something in your head and saying that 'this is how this work should be done'. Later it goes out of collective consciousness, becomes your personal idea and you want it to happen so much but it becomes a personal desire outside of the collective. Both of us were doing this. So, we were having serious conflicts. Such as me saying 'lets have this x band performing, x number of people on the line-up, and have it on x date' and they were offering other ideas, we were having conflicts and we never left room for each other. Our arguments grew bigger and bigger and we reached a point where we said 'This is not working.' . . . I kinda got dismissed by the founding member. . . . I didn't know that this person had an authority to do so , I've learned it at that moment. I asked other members if this was a decision that they made all together or is it a one-person decision but they didn't want to get involved with this fussing. Later they were disbanded too, silently. . . . The founding member started to make events without them knowing, that how she was seeing it. Seeing In The Void equal to herself, that's what it was. If I knew this in the beginning, I'd think more differently. . . . Around this time, we were talking about how amazing things were taking place in Ankara and we thought of establishing a record label for them. . . We established Table Records. (see Appendix B, 20)

These were the loops of cooperation that sparked instantly and later followed by a period of the single person organising all actions alone. On one hand, the previously made definition of In The Void's aspirations and understandings towards the underground scene is kept fixed, static and principle by one person, which left people out of action. On the other hand, these experiences led to different groups of people organising after their first contact and participation in In The Void.

In the case of Radyo Modyan, the necessary technical expertise that the radio is built upon is certainly not available to all members of the radio. By members, I mean programmers and DJ's producing the shows that are being broadcasted in the radio. Apart from the dominance of one individual in the technical arrangements, like any other organisation, Modyan too is in a constant need for cooperative activities and exchange of experiences with other actors. These actors changed and replaced over time but the core team that runs the radio and runs the decision-making process is made of people who use their sources to supply technical and financial necessities of the radio. Radyo Modyan never openly located itself as a closed, selective group of cultural producers or as a collective striving for a just system of expression. Hence, a variety of transformations and experimentations occur within all the three basic categories of organising at different times and levels. As a programmer, one day you may encounter a show that you might not approve as a content that represents a radio which you are a part of and another day you can join an open meeting, get involved in the decisions and even take more technical, general responsibilities for the radio. Thus, it is an intermediate form of cooperative activity in the underground, inclusive of technical support, initiatives and new ideas; exclusive of determining the ideology, socio-political stance of the radio. Therefore, the co-existing conditions in these two examples are, first, the initial social gate in defining the organisational entity and its fundamental agenda, and second, their partial openness towards new members, ideas and support. Thus, being involved in these types of organisations differ from other cooperations in the underground scene. Organic gatherings built on friendships, ideology and genre are the dominant aspects of other organisational practices in the underground music scene. In contrast with these semi-gated groups, they offer a sense of belonging and a common ground on

more theoretical approaches, frameworks of meaning towards everyday life and musical practice. This also can be interpreted as a reason for new organisations emerging within In The Void or Radyo Modyan and later drawing apart from them as new autonomous organisations. They offer seeds for new beginnings by building bridges between artists, also not strictly being a nest to build and run altogether.

Another transformation between the organisational practices occurs in division of labour and decision-making practices as a preference of designating a limited group of decision-makers. A core group and a rather more systemised sense of doing work are opted by these groups to keep up with the workload corresponding to their aspirations properly. Badmash Collective is an example of this type of a transformation started as an organically gathered group around the venue Pixie, initiated by a few people. They designate their beginning with a compilation album they released, which somehow spontaneously involved many more producers as “members of Badmash”. Through time and experiences, the need for a decision-making process for further actions arose and the initial actors defined the membership accordingly. According to the memories of a core team member, their ideas for cooperation began as excited and drunk discussions and dreams of friends meeting in Pixie frequently. As an organically gathered friend group identifying around a genre, Badmash is a great example for a very common process in the underground scene: organising as a process of learning, experiencing and experimenting. Instead of implementing specific types of arrangements in the division of labour, decision making and finances, every cooperation constantly find, lose, reorient and sustain their organisation.

We didn't know who was a part of Badmash in the beginning. As I said, it was a rapid process, we released a mixtape. It seemed like the people included in the mixtape were members of Badmash. There were around 15

songs in the mixtape. Everyone thought they were a part of the team. . . . In our second phase we started to release EPs. After those releases and our events, things started to get serious. We realised the seriousness because things were growing. People were having a lot of fun in the events, our songs were being listened on Spotify, there was money coming from these. . . . Some started to add the name 'Badmash' on their Instagram profiles. . . . We started questioning that. For example, a person that didn't release anything from Badmash, only played in our event and says that they're a member of Badmash on the profile. We liked it since people felt a belonging and a reputation through the name. At the end we designated a core team. . . We told people that we are 'downsizing'. (see Appendix B, 21)

Similar in Beton Orman, being open for identification by every single reggae-related actor within the scene, the organisation occupied a position that was more like a roof for the local reggae artists. This condition leading to an overuse of the name in events and for the self-interest and financial exploitation by some members, the core founder team of Beton Orman decided to change how they define their actions and membership, designating the name solely belonging to a radio show and a record label, run by a small core team. Deciding on a core team of decision-makers does not strictly change the spontaneous dynamics of distributing the work and the indulgence for personal forgetfulness in operational practices. In fact, it seems to ease the complexity of collaboration within the organic dynamics.

However, these changes in organisational dynamics are not always occurring in a way that enhances the operational practices of an organisation. They are not always taken as measurements enabling a more suitable road map towards the goals of a team. Especially in case of organically functioning organisations (which is the most common character as mentioned), sometimes these transformations are necessities resulting from a variety of changes in the personal lives of members. These can be exemplified as hardships in finances, changing working hours and conditions of the day jobs, change of residence by some members, etc. The very beginning of these gatherings are tied to the everyday living conditions of the

members, they somehow find themselves going along with each other while living similar daily live conditions (such as students meeting in Pixie every Saturday) and because of this, every single change in the lives of members have impacts on the overall organisational process. Usually, a dispersal and a full stop of an organisation happen in the way that they got together in the first place: “somehow it did”, “nobody decided or talked about it”. This transformation can also take place in a change of musical interest, taste and preferred genres by the members of a group, and usually, an organic dispersal becomes an incentive of other new organisations. In any case, all the experiments on differing types of division of labour, decision making and financial arrangements should also be considered as a learning process, which leads to these transformations that we scrutinise. In her extensive research on the feminist music festivals called LadyFest organised by feminist musicians, Susan O’Shea (2014) engages with Howards Becker’s art world theory. Referring to the event within the context of feminist cultural movements, Shea points out the less well-informed choices and mistakes being made by organisers as initiators of a learning process. Similar to my subject field of underground musical production, both in terms of learning a variety of new skills to sustain the organisational practices within the scene and also knowledge on the ways of working together are things that actors become equipped with throughout their operations.

The last point on these transformations that this chapter includes is another outcome of the organic division of labour: workload being left on the shoulders of a few, leading to disputes, exclusions and sometimes dispersals. While leaving an open space for creative work according to the daily life conditions of actors, the organic division of labour can also turn into an unjust mechanism, a soft ground for sharing the workload. The occurrence of this consequence is tied to the general amount of

labour that the type of organisation requires since there is an obvious difference in being a project-based event making team and a record label: tasks differ in amount, variety and permanency. Spontaneous division of labour can easily yield to the non-existence of an accountability mechanism in cooperations, leaving some responsibilities to members who are more available/eager/caring at a given moment. Moreover, this collapse of workload on a few individuals tend to leave them more responsible and operative compared to other members since these unjust distributions tend to occur in a row once they begin. This imbalance can transform into a change in decision making processes too via allowing some members to decide more easily and appropriately since they become more up to date, practical and informed about the necessities of operational practices. In time, consistency of unjust distribution of labour and decision making can both alienate the members who are not as involved as others to the organisation and also cause fatigue and decrease in motivation for the members who work more.

3.3 Creative work easing exploitation

In the underground, we are faced with a creative work occurring in a network of friendship and spaces built and sustained by the artists themselves without necessarily securing enough means for financial independence, let alone making high levels of profit. Neglecting the mainstream musical norms which enable the artwork to be autonomous of extensive economic and social return does not leave the artist unmotivated to share their work. Instead, every single feedback to one's artwork is of utmost value in an environment where you are certainly outnumbered in your cultural taste and labour. Thus, alongside a spatial necessity for performance, conditions of coming together are also related to a personal need for socialisation and

approval of taste. Music stands as the backbone of this socialisation, its role in creating meanings and forming identities even heightens when actors openly get involved without prioritising financial returns from it. The creative work being initially bounded with self-actualisation, most of the time the exchange value of the music being produced is not prioritised and this leaves the line between locating music as a career goal and a way of living is blurred. In the underground these are shared conditions, thus most relationships and cooperations are characterised by a sense of devotion. This is not because there are not any returns or any satisfaction that actors get from their productions, instead, it is an emphasis on the creative work being done without its interpretation into a monetary value. There, of course, exists other values and modes of approval and fulfilment, which are being analysed in the following chapter. However, again this distance from financial benefits have a couple of different consequences such as constant volunteering and precarity becoming normalised in the scene.

The work of making art is creative labour. It is an emotional work bearing positive associations for the realisation of the self and its spheres of production obtain unique aesthetic competency (Holt & Lapenta, 2010 p. 223). In a field where this production is an intimate vocation, something that the individuals extend from themselves; the search for a means of sharing one's work and receiving feedback becomes a personal matter of socialisation and friendship. It turns out to be a way of finding shared meanings over music and individual perspectives on life because displaying (and/or performing) the artwork combines the act of reflecting upon oneself both by creative labour and also by exhibiting this self to others. Creative work as a type of labour that unfolds self-realisation in the performer through high levels of emotional investment is critically handled for its openness to a blurred state

of volunteering and exploitation (Hesmondhalgh, 2010, pp. 232-233). It is a difficult task to designate an exchange value for a work that one does for creative purposes and with an emotional burden of self-expression. The same reason that invokes passion in working on art can also be responsible for facilitating alienation of workers in the field of cultural production. Both the personal and emotional aspects of creative work carry our discussion to another level on volunteering and exploitation in the field of the underground music scene.

To put it more clearly, finding expression through creative work is naturally a process that involves self-discovery. In a scene where these processes do not coincide with cultural works that are more common and widely accepted in the market, sharing similar musical tastes with others can become equivalent to a conception of life. Thus, gathering around underground musical production and distribution is an act of defying loneliness, a transformation of a cultural otherness into a field of socialisation where one refers to while creating an identity. The intimacy of creative work and its possibly exploitative status due to this character is usually problematised in discussing market relations of the cultural production. When talking about a field that barely funds the production itself without promising the actors much income, we must re-conceptualise the question of labour and exploitation.

The autonomy of the individual and self-realisation through labour are considered as features of “good work” from a Marxist perspective, good and meaningful work should be redistributed more evenly to reach a just system of labour (Lapenta & Holt, 2010, pp. 223-229). In the underground, however, there certainly is autonomy from stylistic concerns and organisationally it is a production process that individuals themselves decide on whether to take responsibilities of more routine

tasks or not. Being in a rather informal relationship to each other as friends without institutionalising the division of labour, these loose decisions on distributing the tasks become spontaneous and most of the times eliminates the possibility of monitoring one another. This does not mean that all types of volunteering are unable to surveil, instead, this is an emphasis on the informal relationship in the underground scene that disables this monitoring. The general condition of making music production in the underground is its character in supporting self-realisation. Accordingly, collective work and its division between the actors in the underground music scene is based on one's faculties, interests and availability. These informal and non-institutionalised working conditions appear to be applicable only via people who are already able to sustain their lives financially. Thus, the seemingly autonomous position of the scene in terms of its relationship with the general field of economics is disproved when the influence of each actors' everyday life condition and accumulated capitals are considered. Most common types of income are based on precarious part-time jobs, white-collar full-time jobs, family or scholarly funded studentships or an already existent economic capital. However, one might easily conclude that underground music production is only accessible for a group of people with a surplus of money or time, hence holding a privileged position in the more general field of economy. To a certain degree, this is true, however, it is crucial to explain the fundamental position of musical practice being decisive on every other activity including one's daily job. The underground music scene is constantly being reproduced by people who arrange their time to appear and actively take part in the cooperative musical activities regardless of its financial possibilities.

Apparently, the organisational conditions of the underground are characterised by a spontaneity sustained by music's position and definition in the

lives of actors. It is an occupation with an emotional investment remaining outside of the exchange relationships of the cultural market. This brings the spontaneity due to the dependence of the production on all other aspects of actors' lives. However, it is also this character that abides the production process into a scene that remains autonomous in style but highly exposed to the actors' conditions of living, hence to larger social fields. Therefore, it is a sphere of cultural production that is by itself inclusive of people who sustain themselves outside of it. Thus, actors who do not depend on their musical production as a source of income and this boundary is somehow accompanied by several narratives adopted by actors in making sense of the scene. Apart from the material organisational conditions that this chapter scrutinised, underground scene and its levels of autonomy are also shaped by discussions over meanings and dominant discourses operating in the making. This aspect of the research is forming the following chapter.

CHAPTER 4

DISCOURSES AND RECIPROCITIES

Given that works of art exist as symbolic objects only if they are known and recognized, that is, socially instituted as works of art and received by spectators capable of knowing and recognizing them as such, the sociology of art and literature has to take as its object not only the material production but also the symbolic production of the work, i.e. the production of the value of the work or, which amounts to the same thing, of belief in the value of the work. (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 37)

This last chapter preceding our conclusion is focusing on the analysis of discourses about what operating within the field of underground musical production. Exploring the organisational categories of the underground scene both offered a map of possible types of affinities and arose the necessity to understand the social meanings that sustain these types. Therefore in this chapter, our first quest is in line with Bourdieu's approach to the field of cultural production: it is based on the frames of meaning belonging to the underground music scene and how these frames are operating in correspondence with the organisational categories of the previous chapter.

The values around which people tend to categorise each other and their musical practices offer us a demonstration of the ground on which the web of relations and organisations are built. Differing value judgements articulated in this chapter are directed to two distinct domains – that of musical production and financial preferences. I first analyse four distinct descriptions of what is underground music being (i) the underrated, (ii) the necessarily surprising, (iii) the stage accessible for all, (iii) a work of devotion and investment respectively. Further, I discuss their corresponding organisational design and musical production, in general,

I try to understand how these understandings of the scene form the cooperations and vice versa. These judgements operate in ways of creating a distinction within the cultural productions. They can be exemplified with some general division such as “good and bad music”, “authentic and wannabe styles” and being a “sellout person or truly devoted member” of the scene. Interpretation of these concepts differ within the scene and the varying interpretations shape the ways of organisational choices, inclusivity of new actors and social boundaries of a given group. They are topics that every single actor has opinions concerning the position they occupy within the field and how they prefer to collaborate.

Further, I discuss people’s views on financial matters and preferences and how these are interpreted by the dominant discourses of the underground scene. Since the beginning of this thesis, the impact of the aesthetically autonomous position and its relation to the financial restraints of the underground scene has been apparent in every chapter. Financial options and positions are also matters of discussion and (in some cases) distinction in the scene since there is a constant relationship between the finances and modes of musical production. Being less entangled and conflicting, value judgements over the financial decisions are usually hovering in a grey area that does not always lead to strict distinctions within the scene. This lays bare the dominant character of musical definitions in generating inclusivity and gatekeeping in the scene compared to financial aspects. Moreover, this section on financial preferences reveals the current financial and cultural context of Turkey and the constant relationship of impact between the organisational sphere and financial aspects in the underground. They provide a focus on the changing organisational practices in the scene and the possibilities of sustainability in operations.

Understanding distinctions in relation to meanings being attributed to the musical production of the scene were quite effective in my ways of becoming a part of it. As explained in the very beginning, this thesis is built upon two equivalent objectives: doing research and building a social existence through musical production. Thus, the fieldwork that lies underneath this project can also be regarded as a personal struggle to understand and find a position within the field. As occupying the roles of being a researcher and an actor in the scene concurrently, the social distinctions within the field personally effected me in rather direct ways. Therefore, their summary is also built upon my personal experiences of socialisation and struggle to find an identity concerning these given categories. I find them not only being discussed in conversations but also embedded within insider jokes, in the slang, in the formation of friend groups as they enable various identities with a reference to the other, not-so-approved musical practices. Accordingly, my first focus in this chapter is to illuminate and clarify some of the discourses that I encountered the most, in the course of my fieldwork and organisational involvements. Inevitably, clarifying the co-workings of value judgements and organisational structures led me to grasp their impositions on musical production, content and form of creative works, gatekeeping processes and inclusivity of the scene.

In brief, this chapter is a search for the meanings given to specific ways of dealing with the musical production, organisational and financial practices surrounding it.

4.1 Values attributed to music and musicians

The underground musical production in Turkey is characterised by the dominance of organic divisions of labour and decision-making processes. It is a sphere of productivity that is not inhabited with expectations of making a living and it is shaped by the daily life availabilities, interests and personal relationships of actors. Perhaps the reason for the diverse range of groups and their multifarious activities in the underground scene is an outcome of the social and economic characteristics of this cultural production. Remembering the conditions of gathering summarised in Chapter 2, there is a distinct type of cement, binding people together for operational purposes that are not systematised, not institutionalised and strongly influenced by informal factors such as the tastes, lifestyles and friendship networks of participants. Accordingly, the insignificance of having a market position and strong economic sustainability in determining actors' engagement with the underground scene provides this cultural field with its diversity of organisations. At least the initial organisational motivations are autonomous from these concerns and this makes a very crucial aspect of the scene's organisation viable: actors do not have to agree with each other on what to be valued in form and content of the musical production. This is not about assuming a total autonomy from the market relations, the point being made here does not position the underground out of these dynamics of the general field of economy. Instead, the relative independence of the organizations from the profit motive enables actors' more autonomous involvement in artistic production, as expressed in the previous chapter.

Nevertheless, from an organisational point of view, most of the production processes are not defined as "jobs" to be carried to a level of funding and economic sustenance of its actors. When one is invested in an artistic activity for the sake of the

creative production itself, it becomes unnecessary to find solutions to most of the disagreements between individuals with personally, ideologically and psychologically different backgrounds. Instead of constantly seeking common ground on a variety of taste and value discussions for the sake of keeping up with the workload and to stay efficient, the voluntary and unconstrained character of the scene enables its actors to disintegrate from some affiliations and begin creating new ones rather easily. Therefore, this is a field where there is not a constant effort in being on the same page of the meanings attributed to musical production. I try to identify the most common opinions where people tend to have diverse opinions that become a kernel of various organisational practices. Especially the dissociation of the underground from the general field of cultural production can be regarded as a de facto element of meaning-making in the scene. However, a clarification on these value judgements that actors do not always meet upon is needed to both locate inner diversities of the field and its relationship with the larger fields.

4.1.1 The underrated underground

The first discourse defining the underground musical production emphasises a necessity to give voice and open up space for the art that remains in the background, compared to other works in the general field of cultural production. Thus, this discourse is sustained by a comparative approach between the reception and attention that musical works get from the general audience. Hence, the underground is conceptualised as a type of musical production that does not receive the much-deserved appreciation and support, it is highly underrated. The actors adopting this discourse establish organisations that embrace independently produced works of arts without making strict distinctions between styles, genres and other musical contents.

Whatever the work may be, from this frame of meaning, all efforts being given to the musical production that somehow stays outside of the cultural market must be supported and lifted. This understanding of the scene corresponds to the one-person dominated organisations within the scene and they tend to promote an institutionalised division of labour. Together with their conceptualisation the scene, I discuss their conflicting position within a field that is dominated by organic ways of operating and the consequences of their avoidance of the cooperative styles of the underground without bringing sustainable alternatives.

The organisations operating in this manner usually have crowded schedules and line-ups for their events and projects, welcoming and involving as many artists as possible. This underrated character they attribute to the scene is defined as something that worths to effort to try and change. Hence, all work is valuable since there is a necessity, an urgency attributed to the underground scene, to the productions that remain financially and socially uncovered in the market. Three organisations in our research construct their operations by this understanding of the scene as an area of musical production that needs to be heard by more people: In The Void, Radyo Modyan and Audioban. One of the founding members of In The Void whom at the end stayed as the only member, describes their motivation to establish the organisation in the first place and their feelings during music events being organised as:

All was for lifting, enhancing the local scene. . . . In the Void is something that's running since 2011. . . . There are some people and they do music and we need to witness it. Whatever that's been going on in the world, we need to experience too. . . . The questions such as "Why don't we have it here? Why can't we do it?" were the ones we were making real. (see Appendix B, 22)

This definition of a necessity to support and lift the scene allows these organisations to have an indiscriminate approach towards the aesthetics and contents of works. In terms of the musical production and other works surrounding it (such as literary works and radio shows), these organisations give value to all kinds of products that are independently produced and does not have a mass of followers. Similar to this, Radyo Modyan and Audioban too, organise their content and pick the artists they cooperate without prioritising a specified aesthetic critique of the artwork. Even if there exist some selection processes that are not so apparent and transparent, they seem to be related to the personal tastes of singular actors without any remarks on the so-called “messages”, socio-political positions, genres and/or styles of music. This approach is usually built upon a narrative of resentment and dissatisfaction of the approval that the scene gets. Compared to other discourses, this one seems much more open for locating the underground as a stepping stone towards a more sustainable career plan or a place to be improved into the realm of public appeal, recognition and support. The founding member and producer of Radyo Modyan explain the definition of “underground” as: “I think ‘underground’ has an expiration date. It ends, it needs to end. Either it dies, blends into the soil and regenerates or it flourishes and being transferred to a forest.”¹⁰

Locating which organisational classification of the previous chapter that this conception of the scene corresponds, aids us in interpreting the reciprocal relationship between discourses and operational structures. Both of these organisations embrace this manner of approval and acceptance towards all independent local works without many strict limits on aesthetics, form and content of productions; Radyo Modyan and In The Void are organised through the dominance

¹⁰ Bence ‘underground’ un bir son kullanma tarihi var. Bitiyor, bitmesi gerekiyor. Ya ölüyor, toprağa karışıyor ve tekrar doğuyor. Ya da filizleniyor ve alıp onu bir ormana ekiyorlar.

of one single actor in the operations and Audioban works with a somewhat hierarchical system of predetermined ways of working. To remember shortly, all expenses of Radyo Modyan is funded by personal means of very few individuals including the foundational member; this is similar for In The Void, however since it is an organisation focused on a news blog and event making, it does not require as much funding as the other two; finally, Audioban is a sub-division of Efes which is the main and only sponsor of the organisation.

On one hand, this inclusivity of these organisations provides the scene vibrant areas of visibility, connection, tools for learning and improving a variety of skills such as production, performance, etc. Artists find better conditions and just payments for performing concerts through the intermediary position of Audioban, while not dealing with the management process alone during these events they also tend to gain experience in doing arrangements in favour of them to have their claims in return for performing. Inexperienced DJs, radio programmers and artists find space for meeting with people, outlets to transfer their work and chances for practising, improving their skills through being a radio programmer in Radyo Modyan. Similarly, In The Void's events with crowded line-ups always include new artists and many people performs their first gigs/sets. In some cases, In The Void's events initiated new gatherings, collectives and brought a unique vibrancy to the scene. This was stated by two different interviewees residing in Ankara and one of them conveys their experience as follows:

The music scene in Ankara gained its vibrancy with the first 'Fill the Void'¹¹ event and my band was also invited. . . . During that period we met with a lot of people. . . . We were all very surprised at that even. Both because it was a

¹¹ An event series initiated by In The Void during a period of time when a group of people were involved in the organisation. Later continued by the single founder after their personal disagreements and separation. Fill The Void is a distinct type of event by its crowded line-up sometimes holding more than 30 different performances in a single venue.

very crowded event, we didn't know that there was an audience as such in Ankara and there were peculiar types of music. We didn't know to what degree of experimental music that the audience in Ankara could handle but many people stopped and listened. It was weird and surprising times for us. The gathering that resurrected Ankara's music scene at least for a while, initiated there. (see Appendix B, 23)

On the other hand, it is hard to ignore the insistence on the dominance of one-person in these organisations and its conflict with more prevalent organisational practices in the scene. One-person domination of all organisational work can be understood as a way of avoiding the loose and discontinuous character of the underground scene while remaining within the field that is mainly operating around organic practices, as explained in previous chapters. The continuity of the scene's organisations is highly dependent upon informal relationships between individuals and their feelings of belonging and devotion. In the underground, what is gained in return for the labour that is given to the scene is not made of profits or other accumulation of capitals but instead, it is usually the sustenance of the scene itself, the channels that actors create for each other to perform. One-person dominated organisations value all the work produced in the scene and enable a variety of new connections between people, however, they also tend to break the multitasking aspect of the underground and limit the types of labour that each individual can undertake. Thus, these organisations are inclined to confine creative actors solely to the artistic work, stripped out of organisational practices. Hence, this type of organisations usually tends to lead the scene towards a more institutionalised and funded position, which is constantly limited by the dissidence of the music being created. They promote a division of labour that is based on professional knowledge and expertise, however, they also operate within a field that is not economically sustainable to maintain these divisions.

Especially in cases of Radyo Modyan and In The Void, this inclusive curation of their content and line-ups are mostly arranged by either one or very few people, via personal decisions that do not include collective processes of decision making. It seems like this indiscriminate approach is only possible either via two people who do not have any kinds of conflicts between each other or one person who simply does not prefer taking other opinions into account and keep working in their accustomed ways. Since there is only one person's value, it is eventually actualised as the dominant and unquestioned opinion for the actions of the organisation. This all-embracing attitude and the definition of the scene as "underrated", incarcerate these organisations in between searching for support, a larger audience, an exchange value for their work and working with underground artists that keep a level of autonomy from what is deemed normal in the cultural market. To put it more simply, they tend to linger between the market and the underground via rejecting organic ways of organising and also embracing dissident works of art. Considering the organisational consequences of organic ways of operating as mentioned in the previous chapter, an interpretation of the underground from a cultural market perspective can ascribe an inefficiency to the labour that is left unreturned. Similarly, this persistence on one-person rule appears as a reaction towards the unjust distributions of labour, unforeseen breaks of promises in individual responsibilities and any other abrupt consequences that organic organising unavoidably causes. However, despite being easier to control, arrange and predict the execution and deficits of productive activities, this type of organising is eventually neglecting the cooperative aspect of producing art. The manner of expecting a more disciplined type of cooperating and rejecting other types of organising due to possible (and already experienced) disappointments isolates these individuals with an overload of work which they also

struggle to fulfil. This leads to shortcomings in operations similar to other underground organisations. Hence, existing within and still in conflict with a spontaneously organised environment, leaves these actors lonely with an overload of work. Considering the amount of technical and management works, their inclusivity in content can even be interpreted as a result of their inescapable negligence of the works they are promoting. Interestingly but correspondingly, this circle of rejecting cooperation, the overload of work and negligence over the forms and styles of production results in leaving the cultural work being produced under these names not so aesthetically challenging but rather culturally conforming. Moreover, not every actor has the same interests and abilities, neither do they have to. The undertaking of all kinds of work by one person only leaves some lines of activities quite inadequate which might eventually harm the organisation.

An example of this can be the two separate areas of technical work and networking/socialisation work in the case of Radyo Modyan. As previously mentioned, the dominance of the producer who undertakes all the technical necessities of running an online radio channel is also determinant in building social networks around Modyan and the content of the radio shows being broadcast. Both mine and many other programmers' experiences in working with Modyan includes many memories of feeling disconnected and intimidated by the same manager/producer/all-encompassing actor's presence in the radio during live shows. After two years of being involved, I am aware of the reasons for these feelings of discomfort: the social habits and practices of Modyan's producer is not as professional as their technical abilities, which is nothing but ordinary for any human being. Still, the insistence on conducting these distinct types of labours all together at

once leaves the radio weak in its social processes and communicative activities with its programmers.

Therefore, the restraint over creating collaborations in the organisations that embrace the discourse of the underrated underground and the supremacy of one single actor in all practices inescapably turns their back on the crucial necessities of existing in the underground: informal affinities building around musical production, a collaboration of multitasking actors, the required devotion in building and protecting the scene alongside personal productivities. As a new actor within the scene trying to build an occupation, these organisations provided some personal experiences to me: a chance to go on stage, perform and improve my skills through the outlets and equipment they provide; a network of people with whom I can collaborate with, most of the time outside of the operations of these organisations; the confusion over the criteria of being selected for their lineups in several events since this process of collaboration was never transparent, causing concerns over the friendship and taste aspect reliant upon one single individual in their decisions.

Last but not the least, the possible division of labour that these types of organisations might instigate is rather a disciplined form based on expertise, which requires an obligation and should offer a financial return to its actors. Without being able to fulfil these conditions in the underground scene and still striving to limit organic collaborations, these organisations simply and strictly separate different lines of work. E.g. they condemn a radio host to simply do their job without being able to express their opinions and have an impact on the other production processes at all. Both the visions on organising and the principles of inclusivity of these organisations seem to exist in conflict with the distinct social and economic characteristics of the

underground scene, leaving them vulnerable to an overload of differing works and close-mindedness.

4.1.2 The necessarily surprising productions

A more common and dominant discourse on the definitions of the underground scene is built upon the idea of a necessity for musical production to be surprising and challenging. Thus, this approach necessitates a reluctance in following the musical forms that are proved to be popular and market-wise successful. By locating the organisational practices corresponding to this understanding of the underground musical production, I reach a point of discussion on what operational possibilities that this discourse reserves. Being more open to the organic ways of organising, this second types of organisations embracing the necessary surprise aspects of music as a defining point of the underground appear to be more suitable for new experimentations of working together.

In its most generalised way, this value judgement is shared by a variety of organisations and individuals. However, how this “surprise” is defined differs between perspectives and across genres. In some cases it is regarded as the very reason for the conscious choice of building and staying in the underground itself: to be able to have a ground on which one can simply produce non-conforming styles or i.e. non-styled sounds and music. This is also applicable to the speech-related elements of the politically opponent content such as the lyrics of punk songs or the discussions taking place in radio shows. Nonetheless, some musical aspects are also defined as challenging such as the rhythmic structures of genres, verse-chorus formulas of songs and the use of noise in production. Thinking of this discourse reminds of my first set in Pixie around a year ago and the critique I received from the

owner and manager of the venue afterwards: according to him, my first set was not challenging enough for a club audience. In a manner that I couldn't interpret either as encouraging or as demotivating, I was explained that the purpose of having a space that is defined as a 'club' is actually to provide the DJs with a channel to reflect their non-conforming styles of music and the audience a chance to be surprised and encounter with something that they won't be able to find on their own through internet or other venues.

Another perspective coinciding with this discourse and adopted by some actors is the strong critique against musicians who tend to follow genres that seem to get popular in a given time and space. This perspective reminds me what Bourdieu (1993, p.40) calls the 'autonomous principle' that is based on specific interests in the artistic field as one of the two principles of hierarchisation alongside the heteronomous principle that is based on external factors. With its actors identifying with independence from the stylistic norms of the general field of cultural production, this principle is characterised by seeing success as a sign of compromise, a compromise that enables a comfortable spot within the cultural market. This critique in our case is not strictly built against the popularity itself but rather towards the productive styles of musicians that act under specific codes promising and guaranteeing popular appeal.

Today this applies to a distaste of mainstream hip hop within the underground scene, especially by the people who produce alternatives and subversions of the genre, refusing to conform to the more popular elements of it. Similarly, the recent popular demand in the dark wave and synth-pop genres in Turkey initiated an expansion of career possibilities and market value for musicians who follow this genre (Üzeltüzenci, 2019; Sharpe, 2020). However, the increasing adoption of these

stylistic features by new musicians from the underground is being criticised and denounced as insincere, far from being authentic self-expression and instead labelled as an imitation with concerns of profit which does not regard to suit to the disinterested character of musical production in the underground scene. In one of my radio shows, live broadcasted through Radyo Modyan during the COVID-19 quarantine, an Ankara-based electronic music producer and a member of Table Records explains his concerns on the popular production dark wave music as follows:

Bro, dark wave has ended in the 80s. It is an extremely formulated and robotic kind of music. . . . It seems extremely empty, emptied for me. . . . But, I don't know, that's what I think. It seems to me that it is a very easily produced music. Some people produce dark wave that I enjoy listening to, I should say. . . . I am not talking about specific individuals but, as i said, it is like a cover we put on music. . . . Especially for the last couple of years, it's turned into something like a logo, a trend, a brand. I am vexed at this. (see Appendix B, 24)

The distinction between more popular styles is made through these accusations based on arguments of authenticity and detour from what is already admired. This functions as a protection for underground's autonomy from the frameworks of meaning that define what it is to be "successful" in the general field of cultural production. Autonomy from the career and profit concerns of the underground does not render its actors completely free from more dominant value judgements since we continue to function within the same world, in contact with our families and other institutions of society, regularly reminding the ways of being successful in the market. Hence, the constant reproduction of this discourse against popularity maintains the motivation and persistence of actors in keeping up with their productions without acquiring the rewards of the cultural market: fandom, profit, bigger outlets to perform, etc.

In comparison with the first value judgement mentioned earlier, this second and dominant discourse is not strictly based on a conceptualisation of the underground as a scene to be promoted to larger audiences and as a musical production that does not receive the attention it deserves. Instead, the relatively small scale production and reception of the scene is rendered inevitable, both because it is a necessity for and an outcome of unconventional musical, lyrical and sonic productions, also for making freedom of speech possible. Thus, the politically involved works adopting a critical approach towards the socio-economic context are valued and aspired as indispensable productions to build a cultural stance through inhabiting the underground. Upon this distinction, differing groups might merge and collaborate or disperse and dissociate once their definitions diverge on what is conscious and critical of society, economy and the state.

Moreover, dissolutions of co-working organisations occur frequently around these first two value systems: through my fieldwork, I encountered differing examples of separations based on value judgements critical of the political stance of one another. These conflicts are more likely to happen between the two value judgements that are summarised up until now, in some cases there arises a decisive contrast between these definitions of the underground: either as underrated, needer of promotion or as a scene that belongs to its already established outlets due to the style and content preferences. Thus, the second system of distinction does not claim that every work produced within this field has to belong and embody the characters of the underground and therefore not every work is worthy of support. Active in the scene for at least ten years, a musicology graduate working in jobs that he defines as eclectic including music directory of Pixie, event-making and music authorship explains what how he defines underground as follows:

Underground is not an identity, it is a concept. . . . Having a financial return does not make it less underground. . . . But some people truly make use of this concept to coin money out of it, there's a difference like that. . . . Genre-wise, underground music can be many things. It depends on where you make it, how you approach it. . . . I think the approach towards music is what matters, we should talk about music when we are referring to the underground. It always remains in the background and is tied to the venue. . . . Every example should be evaluated on its own time and place. It might seem nonsense to you but for example house genre being played in Pixie makes that music underground cause it'll be the other in that place, cause it'll be on the fringe, cause it'll annoying. (see Appendix B, 25)

This is a manner of drawing the boundaries of the scene through a dissidence of the music being produced compared to its contemporaries and cohabitants. Thus, it attributes a character to the underground that enables a distinction in production, distribution and experiencing music. This understanding of the field corresponds to the organic ways of organising explained in the previous chapter. The types of cooperation in the operations differ but in general, embody a spontaneous and loose character and ideally, music's aesthetic, content-related and formal autonomy is prioritised. While not strictly rejecting the exchange value of their labour and a corresponding financial return, this focus on being the contextual dissident of the cultural field is not the ideal for earning a livelihood. Within these organisations, a partnership is a built-in focus of producing a shared understanding of music, regardless of exterior values. However, many other aspects of life are not usually brought to the table of general discussions, leaving individuals responsible for their financial and psychological survival in whatever conditions they are living under depending on their backgrounds. Therefore, the consciously defended autonomy of musical production is deemed as a limitation of living conditions of actors, constantly on a state of flux. At first sight, organic organisational practices appear to be corresponding to the nonconformism of the music being carried out: it is not

institutionalised, leaving possibilities of artistic production in tune with personal conditions, rejecting a definition for exchange values of artworks and repudiating the profit concerns. Upon further thought, it becomes apparent that this prioritisation of musical and organisational dissidence leaves the cultural production vulnerable in a roundabout way: leaving the order and continuum of organisational and creative activities dependent to the actors' positions in other and bigger socio-economic fields. As an example suitable to these categories of organisation and mindset, M4NM experienced different organisational forms trying to leaving the circle of individual financial struggles and its to disrupt over the organic collaborations. The attempts and efforts to build an official and legal record label out of the music collective M4NM failed after economic insufficiency and disputes over the division of labour and differing levels of investments actors made. One of the founding members describe their efforts while turning M4NM into a legally established record label as follows:

When we were students in Eskişehir when we were not struggling to make a living, when we were able to deal solely with this work, we were able to run the collective properly. After we moved to Istanbul, we started to deal both with life and the organisation, things fell apart. . . . Back in the days when you have a lot of time, you think as if you can continue dealing with everything at the same time. But when you start working shifts . . . you realise that you are actually a musician and you can at most make music in this life . . . For that reason, after trying for a couple of years, we dismissed the idea of corporatisation from our minds. . . . In Turkey, initiating corporatisation requires a wealthy parents. Check out those x, y, z musicians, magazine crews. They are all very rich people. . . . When you attempt to establish a business without this wealth, even twenty liras you spent for the company drives a wedge between you and the people that you've been standing together for years. Makes you say 'Dammit! Far be it from me.' . . . We used to look for similar mentalities, after this we we start building relationships with people regarding the possibility of having a commercial partnership with them. But you don't know that once you lose that chemistry, everything falls apart. It even breaks your relationships to people with the same mentality. . . . We all wanted to become a corporate, but we didn't know what'll be befallen us. Even though things might grow, we still had the beliefs from our teenage

years. We assumed that nothing can come between us. But the world is not a place as such. (see Appendix B, 26)

Even though there is an apparent correspondence between this distinctive understanding of underground music production and the organic ways of organising throughout my fieldwork and my interviews, this does not necessarily make them an inseparable duo. In fact, no part of this chapter attempts to find any fixed pairings but instead to build an analysis upon what is already established in the scene. In contrast with the previously discussed one-person organisations mainly adopting an inclusive approach towards all independent creative works, this second dominant discourse is less rejective of new organisational practices. The main point of the partition of the first group being between organisational and content-wise inclusivity, they turn out to be tamed to a rejection of non-institutionalised collaborations. However, the second group is rather more open for new trials of dealing with the dead-end of finances and this individualistic isolation in all aspects of life other than music. In other words, the distinction of underground works via the element of dissidence does not prevent experimentations of existing both beyond the organic and loose organisation and institutionalisation. Moreover, a production that is dominated by a single individual seems to exist in a form that rejects possible types of informal collaborations. The friendship and personal relationship aspects here becomes even more critical in understanding this inability: when there is no financial capital produced by the scene, emotional investment and devotion of individuals become prominent in the survival of all activities, bringing the element of informality inevitably. Hence, a total rejection of this informality does not secure a disciplined operational system due to the current financial, spatial and socio-political context where challenging musical productions are striving to exist. However, putting aside

the differing life conditions of actors bounded to their class, gender, racial positions in society prevents organic organisational practices from establishing sustainable and reliable possibilities for artists. Their relatively exclusive approach towards musical productions forms the main character of underground music being disruptive of cultural norms, dissident of market concerns and aesthetically autonomous. But without considering individual struggles of survival in all aspects of life they are doomed to be accessible only to a limited group of people with a certain accumulation of capitals. An elaboration and critique of the organic ways of organising appear to be necessary to build a more just system of inclusivity in the underground musical production.

Furthermore, throughout my fieldwork, experiencing collaboration with these organically structures organisations that mainly value a surprising, deviant element in musical form was extremely challenging for me and I group them two reasons: (i) the relativity of this supposedly surprising element that is subject to change between different viewpoints of actors, (ii) the loose organisational ties functioning mostly upon the dynamics of friendships that I was yet to build. The aesthetic obligation tended to become an obstacle for me to explore my musical expression since I was not able to identify and comprehend this surprising element at all cases. Did it mean a disavowal fo pop music? Or a distaste for the four on the floor rhythmic structure? Was it about the lyrics of the songs or the histories of genres? While it was certainly encouraging for me to learn more about my tastes and the traditional meanings that some aesthetical forms come with, it was also a state of ambivalence while playing the music that I like in this scene. This value system offers a musical path that one learns through approval and disapproval,

carrying the risk of a gatekeeping mechanism which sometimes turned into a threat I felt while trying to establish my expression and understanding of music.

4.1.3 A stage accessible for all

Another character of the underground scene that is being valued and promoted by several organisations is characterised with a rejection of locating artists, DJs and producers to occupy a privileged and gated role in the field. Thus, this definition of the underground is built upon the rejection of strict hierarchies in the scene regarding the types of labour. Instead, organisations and venues that value rather blurry lines between the stage and the audience constantly promote an interference to the stage/cabin/studio by newcomers and amateurs. Concerning the previously mentioned multitasking character of the organisational practices, the value given to horizontal relationships in producing music is supported by the ways of gathering and working together in the underground. The immediacy of the scene's organic ways of working sets the suitable ground to implement the indiscriminate approach in artistic production. Thus, the intrinsic cooperative character of all art worlds becomes way apparent and acknowledged in the underground through the balance of value between different roles and actions. What is being cherished or criticised is dependent upon the qualities of musical production and organisational practice, instead of a distinction between the artists and other actors. Another element of this balance of value given to all positions in the division of labour is the importance of owning the means of musical production, promotion and distribution within the scene. *Pixie* and the sound systems are perfect examples for these ownerships and their demand for all kinds of work to be done to sustain the autonomy. The much-valued surprising and deviant character of the musical production necessitates

available spatial and sonic means to be spread, shared and experienced. Thus, the control over the sound and space becomes crucial for the underground scene, as important as the musical production itself. This obligation too renders each type of work and support valuable to the scene. A member of *ppqqmm* explains how they planned their first events as follows:

We got together and thought of things we can do in Pixie during the daytime. We thought on how to create something that breaks the boundaries between the artist and the audience. . . . We thought of DJing as something that we are doing in someone's bedroom, as if we are hanging with a friend. (see Appendix B, 27)

This equal value given to all tasks regardless of being creative or not is very much in correspondence and support of the necessity for being multitasking in the underground: all types of work are needed even though they are not stated, listed or predicted. This rejection of strict gates between the stage, the dance floor and the bedroom is usually an attitude taken by most of the organisations. Both organic and one-person dominated operational practices are shaped in line with a notion of bringing new people on stage and enabling new musical practices for newcomers. Regarding the organically organised groups, the adoption of the aforementioned 'surprise' element as a prominent aspect of underground music, results with actors doing all kinds of work including being the audience of each other. However, for organisations mostly being ruled by single individuals, there exists a border between the stage and the operational team that separates the organisational labour, decision making and financial arrangements from musical practices.

4.1.4 Devotion and investment

Last apparent value judgement enabling distinction within the underground scene is the appreciation of doing what is difficult. This includes the value given to the investment of volunteer labour as a type of work that is bounded with dedication. This can be seen as a praise of doing the hard thing that does not offer a guarantee for a future or a career but is challenging, needs passion and labour. The founding member of the Simba Roots Sound System defines their process of including new people in the team as a “natural selection” since it is a work that needs a lot of effort in return for a single night of music. Not everyone tolerates this and becomes a permanent member and labourer of the sound system.

It’s like natural selection. . . . Because, this is a job of love. You gotta love it because if you don’t love it you cannot cope with it, it’s madness. It’s not something to be done without love or with someone forcing you. At most one can hire people with money and that doesn’t correspond to the mentality of doing a sound system. (see Appendix B, 28)

Here, hard work itself brings the meaning to the events themselves as hand made, carefully crafted and served music once a month to its followers. It is regarded as an act of transforming an otherwise regular night out into a dance floor with socio-political consciousness through reggae and dub music filled with traditional and universal meanings promoting peace and unity. The praise of labour points at the wholesome character of making a night possible from scratch and an emphasis on owning the means of production, total control over the musical and lyrical content. Therefore, as a necessary extension of owning the means of making music and sound, the labour too is valued and transformed into a ritualistic activity requiring

dedication for the sake of music only. The functioning of this discourse can be found in the organisational practices requiring volunteering labour that does not prioritise the financial outcome. Therefore it helps to sustain the focus on music and satisfaction over spreading it.

These differing approaches are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Very few organisations tend to inhabit one of them quite strongly and even their practices conform to a variety of seemingly conflicting discourses in some cases. There is no such thing as a pure point of view being implemented on the actions. Thus, there are a variety of examples of labels such as Table Records and Badmash Collective, maintaining an understanding of authenticity and sincerity in productions and still act upon a need to be heard and promoted. On the other hand, the two organisations Radyo Modyan and In the Void that seems to adopt the first discourse of the "underrated underground". initiate so many acquaintances within the scene that their inclusivity functions in a way of keeping the communication vibrant and open for new collaborations with different values. This all-encompassing understanding renders the scene more accessible for all including the ones who promote more strict definitions of authenticity. All these types of distinctions in the underground also build experiences of the scene as a community, not always persistent and dependable but instead a fragmented and spontaneous one within which actors encounter in different venues every weekend. This sense of community is also being built around the reciprocal mechanism of finding each others' work significant. A new release by a local underground organisation or an artist is simply a matter of conversation and discussion in regular gatherings: people listen to each other actively and contemplate on each others' works constantly. Thus, the value given to the challenging musical character of the scene is actualised by the approval mechanism that encourages

people to produce new things each time and to defy the aesthetic norms over the music. Moreover, these music events are instances where actors know that their tastes will be approved by others. By people who also put similar understandings of music at the centre of their lives without strictly measuring an exchange value of it, without defining it with the symbols of 'success' belonging to the market.

4.2 Grey areas in financial sustainability

Discussions and discourses on the finances of musical production are also common and vibrant in the underground. As apparent in the previous topic of this chapter, due to the co-existing character of seemingly conflicting approaches, this field does not delineate strict boundaries that would cast out specific relationships with the cultural market. Anyways the venues that harbour the underground events inevitably become actors in the competitive nightlife and entertainment sector. They strive for profit to keep going even if they are spaces opened up by the actors in the underground themselves. Thus, people operating in the scene are not just artists and organisers, but also workers and customers keeping this small-scale music business alive. Upon this ground that can never be completely detached from the general field of economics, there are a variety of positions taken by actors with changing proximities towards both corporate sponsorships and independent organisational practices. Thus, a range of values and meanings given to these differing ways of forming financial sustainability can be found.

The main divergence on this matter seems to be rooted in actors' aspirations over their artistic work, the ways they relate with their creative work. If we were to locate these within a scale, two opposite stances on the margins of this scale would consist: on one side the identification of art as a career centred activity with financial

ambitions and on the other a complete rejection of assuming an exchange value to the artwork and thus, ignoring the support of other parties. However, the aforementioned convergence of venues as both being commercial organisations and also homes for underground music reflects the general financial character of the field. Upon this scale, three organisations stand in the pole of completely rejecting economic support that can be sustained via external sources such as sponsorships: Bankpank, Ppqmm and (after wandering around different choices) M4NM. On the other side of the scale, Audioban stands as the only organisation that is completely dependent on the external sponsorship ensured by Efes. All other organisations included in this research constantly fluctuate between these two scales but in general, they are striving to be self-sustainable via their means (be it self-funding individuals or the sales organisation makes through events or releases). These organisations that are in between are mostly approving short-term sponsorships that do not require any changes in their form and content.

Therefore, most of the actors and organisations are located in the grey area between these two opposite approaches to financial return. This not only because a flexible understanding of financial relationships in the underground but also due to the changing socio-economic context of the cultural market in Turkey. Especially after the decrease in foreign artists' visits after the turmoil of terror attacks and coup d'état attempt in 2016, followed by the depreciation of the Turkish lira, mainstream and corporate actors operating in the field of cultural production turned their focus towards independent, local and underground artists as a way to fill their schedules such as the Zorlu PSM: a performing arts centre of an upper-class shopping mall and a gated residency Zorlu Center which was highly criticised and discussed with its infraction of city development plans, given license by officials after its construction

was finished (Yılmaz, 2014; Kalkandelen, 2016). This performance arts centre is one of the most vibrant and dominant stages in Turkey today due to the financial capability of the Zorlu Holding being able to survive the conditions of crisis that many small scale cultural institutions suffer from. When first opened, Zorlu PSM was promoted as a centre that will harbour internationally acclaimed shows with its well equipped and immense stages, being the first of Turkey (Karaman, 2013). However, following the crisis which crisis, today Zorlu PSM's calendar is full of local bands including genres that were mainly performed in the underground scene such as hip hop, metal, dark wave, sonic artworks and a variety of electronic genres. On the one hand, such changes in the general field of cultural production enable local musicians to transform their occupations into careers that sustain themselves economically. On the other, these new stages like Zorlu PSM offer performance experiences that are technically and technologically unimaginable for some artists and of course a presence in Zorlu brings popularity and listening ratings. Another example of building corporate relationships occur via RedBull's investment in the alternative music scenes of Turkey in recent years. From offering an international membership of RedBull Music Academy to the organisation of RedBull Music Festival in Istanbul, their activities in the field of cultural production bring opportunity for professional studio and stage experience, enabling reaching new audiences for the underground artists. In terms of the production of music, Sony's sub-label Epic focuses mainly on the music of independent artists also inhabiting the field of the underground. The contracts Epic offers can also be short-term, based on single EPs or albums that the artists can sign without being bounded a lifetime and without changing their musical content at the cost of staying precarious.

These various types of corporate interests in the underground music open up new grey areas for musicians who can initiate a career from their artistic occupations. However, some of these are also artists who are involved in organisational practices of the underground and their associations with these corporate parties transform their work into solely music-oriented activities, setting aside the multitasking character of their productions. Once the artist gets a chance to abandon the works of promotion, distribution and management to other actors, they occupy a rather more specific role of making music. Thus, career objectives and collaborations with corporate actors are not strictly condemned by the dominant discourses in the underground scene however, these new relationships inevitably leave the artists outside of the non-institutionalised, spontaneous works of building the underground scene. They rather tend to focus on the stage and creative work. A founding member of M4NM who later started to work with Sony's sub-label Epic instead of releasing their songs from the collective explains their relief after leaving some of the work to the label as follows:

I am not dealing with things such as which channels the songs will be uploaded, where to share them, what the press release will consist of etc. and this saves incredible amount of time for me. Now, someone else writes my press release. I just write some keywords and send it to them. I didn't think of these as important stuff before but now I see they really are. This lightens my burden a lot. Cause you produce your own beats, write your own lyrics, listen to the mix, send a revision of the mix, deal with the mastering. After all these, when someone comes and tells you to write your own press release, I just wanna hit them in the face. I just reach the point of being disgusted by the song. (see Appendix B, 29)

The construction of the social distinction via musical practices is not always built upon the relationship with the general field of economics and the cultural market. Therefore, it can be assumed that the corporate interest does not directly influence the musical and lyrical content of the underground. But it has a certain

dismantling effect on the organisational practices since it can get tempting for musicians to stop dealing with many different work items requiring different types of labour and instead just focus on creative production and performing. Moreover, attention and profit gained from specific styles and genres are somehow being followed by others in the underground. Thus, an indirect effect of this commercialisation on musical production can also be a case open to discussion.

Throughout this chapter, I explained what is being valued and defined as belonging to the underground musical production both in terms of aesthetic qualities, operational strategies and financial arrangements. Since the beginning of the research, I emphasized the disinterested character of my subject field as an area of cultural production that remains outside of the norms of the general field of cultural production. Accordingly, all discursive practices are in a reciprocal relationship with organisational structures, being shaped by this nonconformist character of the underground. On one hand, the priority being given to the aesthetic autonomy and the indiscriminate approach towards all works (including the non-creative) undertaken in the scene, forms a ground for diverse musical production. On the other, the dominance of organic organisational practices and corresponding discursive approval of external financial sources deepen the vulnerabilities of cooperative activities in the underground. Without extending the discussions and experiments over organisational practices enabling a solid ground for actors to find financial and mental sustainability, the much-valued aesthetic autonomy is at stake. In this case, it is condemned to the productions of actors who either have the privileges to engage in volunteer work or who can focus on their creative production via the support of external sponsors. Genuinely, organic types of organisations appear to be more open to new experimentations on cooperative action compared to

one-person dominated organisations. Instead of individually trying to cope with various types of equally demanding work to escape the flaws and disappointments of organic organising, my analysis highlights the importance of searching for new possibilities of cooperations.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This thesis is based on an attempt to understand the organisational dynamics of a field of cultural production that I am personally and professionally a part of. It has been built on my curiosity on cooperative and collective works carried out with my background as a sociology student and an actor in the underground music scene with career prospects. I initiated my research via approaching cultural and artistic production as a social process, inherently comprising collaboration between multiple actors to be actualised. While my main methods include nineteen in-depth interviews, two-year long fieldwork including participant observation in music events, radio shows and involvement in cooperative work. Alongside these fundamental sources, I also made use of some recordings of discussion forums and radio shows. In order to understand how the boundaries of my specific field of cultural production shape the organisational structures, I began this research by defining what ‘underground’ is. Accordingly, with the support of Graham’s (2012) work, I characterised this specific field of cultural production with three aspects: a disinterestedness in appealing to the mainstream cultural market, an aesthetically challenging character of the musical works and a self-determinant sustenance of the channels and tools for production.

My main questions, in the beginning, were focusing on the social process of producing underground music: how do the organisational practices and financial arrangements are structured in a cultural field that is characterised by an aesthetic autonomy from the mainstream forms and norms of music? What are the discursive formations operating within this field of production and how are they associated with

these organisational forms? Therefore, I structured my conceptual framework with the terms (i) ‘art worlds’ coined by Howard Becker (1990), referring to the cooperative aspects that every artwork is made possible with, (ii) Pierre Bourdieu’s (1977) ‘field’, implying a structured space embodying its laws with relative autonomy from other bigger fields like economy and political, space where actions and actors gain their meanings and values, (iii) the term “scene” indicating cultural communities moving around musical practices.

Following the introduction of my questions and the theoretical framework of this research, my attempts for classification, explanation and analysis of the organisational and discursive practices embedded in the underground music scene of Turkey consisted of three parts: understanding the conditions of gathering, categorising the organisational types and discursive formations of the scene and finally, analysing their correspondence.

Scrutinising the initiating conditions of gatherings and meetings in the underground scene provided me the necessary information about the beginnings, the suitable environments enabling cooperative activities to come into being. The independently owned and/or managed venues turned out to be crucial meeting places for actors in the field, putting an emphasis on the necessity of solidarity and support in the underground in order to keep these outlets open. What I was dealing with was a type of creative production that required its artists to be involved in managerial, organisational practices so that they can keep these outlets open for performing their productions in the first place. The self-determinant character of the underground scene came into view through a variety of organisations being formed by people who meet and socialise in these venues. They appear to be open spaces for aesthetically divergent musical practices, offering staged for the performance of underground

music within a general field of cultural production that would otherwise remain reluctant to these works. Genres, on the other hand, as traditional frameworks of meaning in musical practices enabled me to set up the foundations of a significant part of this research: the meaning-making practices and dominant discourses in defining the underground by the field's actors. Considering that many organisations that are a part of this research are formed around the sounds and meanings of specific genres, this element of gatherings initiated my focus on meanings that enable socialisation and cooperation. The third condition for the gatherings was the self-reflexivity aspect of some organisations built on a political contemplation and critical approach towards organising around music. This highlighted the heterogeneous state of the scene in terms of political stances, preventing an assumption on the underground as an inherently politically oppositional practice. Lastly, I identified the internet as a tool providing channels for contact and communication beyond spatial restrictions and a means for producing, sharing, co-working, streaming and thus in some cases, making sales of musical works.

The following third chapter consisted of a classificatory process of several fundamental parts of organisational practices that the subject field of this research subsumed throughout the time of my fieldwork and in the shared experiences of my interviewees. This was a clarification of different types of division of labour, decision-making processes and financial arrangements. In both of these parts of organisational structure, the organic ways of operating appeared to be predominant compared to one-person dominated organisations, groups that prioritise consensus in decisions and predetermined divisions of labour. The underground musical production is characterised by an informal and transient way of cooperating, which I call the 'organic' manner that leaves most of the operational practices bounded to

spontaneous and changing conditions of the daily lives of its actors. Financial arrangements are likewise handled mostly in an organic way via actors with suitable backgrounds and enough capitals, self-funding their organisational practices when they can afford to. However, there is also a sign of short-term sponsorships based on singular projects, self-sustained organisations mainly focusing on works like event-making through which they can “save the day”.

These categories are appeared to be constantly adopted and switched by the organisations. Especially the transformation that occurs between the organic and one-person dominated ways of organising is significant since it reveals (i) the shortcomings of organic organising in terms of fulfilling all actors’ aspirations, causing disappointment and an introverted understanding of working by some and (ii) the influence of personal and emotional relationships in causing fractions and disputes within organically organised friend groups. In this chapter, I interpreted transformations between organisational practices as experimentations of cooperative practices to build more sustainable, persistent and sometimes simpler ways of working. Moreover, they disclose the shortcomings of financial arrangements that are mainly built upon personal capitals that cause an inevitable withdrawal of some actors in accordance with their class position in the general field of economics. Hence, this appeared as a compromise of the much valued aesthetic autonomy by limiting it as an opportunity for only a group of people with a secure subsistence.

Moreover, the prominence of personal affinities and friendships in organising appears as an element that enables cooperation in the first place in a field that is characterised by the devotion of actors invested in volunteer work. However, it is also an element that in some cases hinders a necessary communication between some actors due to the inevitable difference in social skills, individual temperaments,

mental states, etc. Hence, create inner circles and dismissive social processes for some actors. Overall, these shifts and experiments between different ways of organising reveal negligence of the possibility of building a financial and social autonomy of the scene alongside aesthetic independence.

Following these two chapters, the last one was focusing mainly on the discursive practices and the value judgements that I came across frequently throughout my research. These meaning-making processes implicated differing definitions of the underground by the actors and their characterisation of the music that belongs to the scene. Accordingly, I defined four discourses and values that are adopted and reproduced via differing organisations and their productions: the underrated, the necessarily surprising, the accessible stage and the work of devotion and investment. Further, the main analysis was built upon the correspondences and conflicts between specific discourses and organisational practices. The main question that this last chapter strives to answer is as follows: are there any relationships between the ways of understanding, defining the musical productions and the ways of organising, cooperating. Searching for a possible correspondence led me into pairing off specific understandings of the underground and some organisational structures. The underrated definition of the underground can be summarised as an understanding of the scene as a production to be lifted by cooperative action, to be appreciated by more audience. This discourse is supportive of an inclusive and supportive practice without putting much emphasis on aesthetic qualities and forms. Its corresponding organisational practice was one-person domination. These are the organisations seemed to be closed to discussion and decisions in terms of musical selectivity, operational practices, content selection, etc. due to their leading member's control over all aspects of the operations, including both division of

labour, finances and decision making processes. The highly inclusive character of their production appeared to be a result of either the taste of one single individual who is not open to negotiation or a meagre arrangement of content by an overwhelmed actor who is dealing with all kinds of work without building cooperation with others.

The second dominant discourse was focusing on the aesthetic quality of music being produced in the scene and defining it as necessarily being challenging of the mainstream musical norms, bringing forth a surprising element. Organisations which tend to follow this understanding are usually the ones that are organically, loosely and informally organised, prioritising the aesthetic autonomy of their works. While these appear to be a more open ground for new organisational experimentations compared to the one-person dominated practices, their aforementioned negligence of other aspects of autonomy confined the scene into a vulnerability in sustaining their cooperations. Supported by the not so strict understanding of the financial practices in the underground, these organisations tend to bring a limitation solely to the musical work itself and build a legitimisation of possible gate-keeping practices on not-so-clear and sometimes personal aesthetic values, creating a slippery slope for newcomers to engage freely in both creative and organisational practices.

Moreover, in some cases, organic organising corresponds to the social approval of most types of financial arrangements including corporate support and sponsorships. This operates in favour of the negligence of experimenting on building autonomous financial sustainability in the first place, leading to a definition and production of a scene as incapable of becoming a career option of the actors. Thus, this creates an environment that offers a binary of choices, excluding the work on

building organisations outside of career prospects, leaving some actors looking for new cooperations outside of the field of underground productions.

This research is built upon a curiosity for one thing: building an archival work of analysis of the underground musical organisations, artists and actors operating in Turkey which hopefully can enable transmission of experiences regarding the experimentations, achievements and failures of cooperations. Throughout an organisational and discursive analysis of the underground scene, I positioned the possibilities and dilemmas of the quest for autonomy from the general field of economics, politics and culture. This appears to be a work of long term experiments on cooperative action, constantly creating new gatherings and dispersals. I suggest this thesis would be beneficial for further research on organisational practices that do not prioritise profits such as communities built around political struggles, religion and/or similar artistic productions. I believe what is left unattended in this research was the possible cooperative aspects over mental states of differing actors, especially within the socio-political conditions of Turkey in the last couple of years. Thus, another suggestion for further research would be on the organisational dynamics of groups relating to different psychological states of individuals. Organisational vulnerabilities that I have tried to illuminate bear the risk of transforming similar scenes into sole stepping stones for actors to reach more commercial fields. Future investigations on possible solutions for building better shelters that are conscious and cautious of this risk is highly encouraged and supported by the constituents of this thesis. Last but not the least, the articulation aspect between the forms, contents and affects of artworks and the social process that they are produced within comprises another field of study that I am wishing to benefit. Alongside the desire to reinforce further research, I am hoping to bring a

sociological perspective to the underground music scene itself, to inspire new organisational practices that consider the larger socio-political dynamics constantly in relation with all aspects of our autonomy.

APPENDIX A

ORGANISATIONS¹²

Name	Definition	Gathering	Division of Labour	Decision Making	Finances
<i>Audioban</i>	Operates as an intermediary organisation between artists and institutions as a record label and an event-making organisation.	A selected crew by the founding member	Predetermined	Organic, sometimes influenced by the decision of the sponsoring corporate.	Sponsored by Efes.
<i>Table Records</i>	Record label	Friendship, political and ideological common ground	Organic	Consensus	Organic self-funding by the members
<i>In The Void</i>	News blog & event making organisation	Venue (Pixie), friendship	One-person (sometimes organic)	One person dominated	Mainly self-sustaining by organisational practices
<i>Badmash</i>	Record label	Venue (Pixie), friendship, genre	Organic	Organic	Organic self-funding by the members (sometimes self-sustaining by events)
<i>Bankpank</i>	A group operating around a weekly radio show with the same name, occasionally organising music events.	Friendship, political and ideological common ground	Organic	Organic	Organic self-funding by the members (sometimes self-sustaining by events)
<i>Radyo Modyan</i>	Online pirate radio station	Friendship, venue (radio studio)	One-person (sometimes predetermined and organic)	One person dominated	Organic self-funding by the members, subscription system, types of sponsorships
<i>PPQQMM</i>	Event organisation	Venue (Pixie), friendship	Organic	Organic	Organic self-funding by the members

¹² Venues are included in this table for the purpose of clearly listing all organisations that interviewees are associated with. Further information about the venues' operations are not included since they operate in a rather institutional manner with concerns of profit.

Name	Definition	Gathering	Division of Labour	Decision Making	Finances
<i>Build Your Tribe</i>	Event organisation	Friendship, political and ideological common ground	Organic	Organic	Mainly self-sustaining by organisational practices
<i>Beton Orman</i>	Record Label	Genre, friendship	Predetermined	Organic	Self-sustaining by organisational practices (sometimes members self-funding)
<i>M4NM</i>	Collective, releasing and promoting the productions of its members.	Genre, friendship, internet, political and ideological common ground	Organic	Organic, designated core team	Organic self-funding by the members (sometimes temporal sponsorships)
<i>Simba Roots Sound System</i>	A group of people organised around a sound system, making events.	Genre, friendship, political and ideological common ground	Predetermined (sometimes organic)	Organic	Organic self-funding by the members (sometimes self-sustaining through events)
<i>Abyss Sound System</i>	A group of people organised around a sound system, making events.	Venue (Pixie), friendship	Organic	Organic	Organic self-funding by the members (sometimes self-sustaining through events)
<i>Chaos I Am Your Mistress</i>	Event organisation	Genre, friendship	Organic	Organic	Organic self-funding by the members
<i>Karga</i>	Venue				
<i>Pixie</i>	Venue				

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW QUOTATIONS IN THEIR ORIGINAL LANGUAGE¹³

1. Bir etkinlik oluyor, kalabalık, bir sürü insan, çok şeyle uğraşmak zorundasın, orda bulunmak zorundasın, insanlarla konuşmak zorundasın. . . . Sadece getir götür değil, grupla konuşmak gerekiyor, grubun pedallarını taşıman gerekiyor, mekanın sahibi geliyor bir şey diyor onu eylemen gerekiyor. Atıyorum grup arkada bi sorun çıkartmış, soundcheckçi eleman ona kızmış senin onların arasını düzelmene gerekiyor falan . . . Hatta etkinlik bitene kadar, bittikten sonra bile sen sürekli çalışıyorsun. Öyle oturup ‘Tamam ya ne güzel müzikmiş’ dediğin şekilde hiçbir zaman olmadı. Çok yorucu.

2. Mekanın işletmecileri ne kadar erkekse, para konusunda o kadar sorun yaşıyorsun, o kadar böyle şey oluyorlar, ne denir, mmm, despot . . . Ataerk. Daha işletmeci bir yerden bakan . . . ‘Bu etkinliğe bu kadar kişi gelir ve bize bu kadar para kazandırır’ kafasıyla bakan. Orda çalan müzikle çok da ilgilenmeyen bir tayfadan bahsediyorum. . . . Öncesinde konuşulan şartlar oluyor. Biz genelde kolektif olarak giriş ücretlerini düşük tutuyoruz . . . ulaşılabilir olsun, insanlar daha rahat gelsin zart zurt. . . . Mekan bunu biliyor oluyor, guest’ler hep belli oluyor ama mekanın önünde sürekli müşterileri içeri alıyorlar . . . para açığı olduğunda da dinlemiyorlar ve tehditkar bi tavırla onun önünü kapıyorlar. Mutsuz ayrılıyorsun, güzel bir etkinlik geçse de keyfini çıkaramadan ayrılıyorsun ordan. Temple’da yaptığımız en son etkinlik böyle oldu ve sonra bir daha yapmama kararı aldık . . . Parayla ilgili bir Anahit Sahne’de hiç sorun yaşamadık . . . etkinlik kötü geçse de hiç sorun olmadı az para kazandık,

¹³ Deciphered directly from the voice recordings of the interviewees.

mekan az kazanmış gibi şeyleri bize hiç yansıtmadı. Pixie’de de hiç sorun yaşamadık.

3. “Pixie de çok değişti. Sanırım açıldığından bu yana hiç kopmadan, aradaki bir iki sene küslük dışında, o da çok komik bi sebepten bi müzik tartışmasından ötürü . . . İlk zamanlarında kesinlikle şey vardı ‘Burda drum&bass çalınır başka bir şey çalınmaz.’ sonra bunun “Drum&bass ve deep dubstep çalınır başka bir şey çalınmaz.”, “Burda UK bass çalınır başka hiçbir şey çalınmaz.” diye gitgide skalanın genişlediği ama genişlerken yeni gelenlerin hep eskiden olanlarla tartışma yaşadığı bir dönem vardı. . . . Türle alakalı, komik yani . . . ‘Abi sizin çaldığınız da müzik mi vob vob vob vob’ falan ‘Abi sen de kafan hiç açık değil’ falan . . . Aslında kapsayıcı bir mottosu olan bir duruşu yoktu. . . . Elbirliğiyle, birkaç jenerasyonun sürekli emek vermesiyle tabiki çok daha farklı bir alana dönüştü.

4. Ben hep Pixie’deydim zaten, ilk 17 yaşındayken gittim. 19umdayken de onlar gelmeye başladılar. Yavaş yavaş tanıştık. Ben zaten hafta içi orda çalışıyordum. Onlar da yeni gelen ve DJ olmak isteyen tayfaydı, o şekilde tanışıldı. . . . Belli gecelerde birlikte çaldık, arkadaşlık. . . . Geçen sene Ayberk sound system kurma fikrinden bahsetti. . . . Bana sordu, ben de olur yapalım dedim.

5. Pixie o dönem, üç-üç buçuk sene önce, biraz Taksim’in boşalmasından fiziksel olarak çok etkileniyordu. . . . Bunun bir sürü sebebi var da bir tanesi işte bence insanların oraya alışmamış olması, unutmuş olmasıydı, gelmiyor olmasıydı. Aynı zamanda mekan da ilginç bir şey sunmuyor, hep aynı şeyler olup bitiyor hissi de

veriyordu galiba. Ayırt edemiyorum bunları ama bir şekilde Pixie'nin yaşaması, hayatta kalması için . . . hemen bir etkinlik yaparak başladık.

6. Şeye mesela alınıp kırılmam, iki konser verip sonra Salon'a gittiler. . . . Benim için önemli olan zaten burada başlamış olmaları. . . Başlayabilmiş olmaları ve bunu sağlamış olmam bir şekilde Bunun bir tatmini var ister istemez. . . . Zaten şartlar el veriyorsa oraya gitsinler, bir şeyler değişsin. Hani, oralarda da değişsin.

7. Kapılarımız herkese açık ama herkes sonuna kadar devam etmiyor. Burdan düzenli olarak program yapan kişi sayısı her sene 30-35 kişi. Belki 100 kişiyle konuşuyorum ben her yıl yeni programlar için, bunların 30-35'i devam ediyor. Burada önemli kıstaslar var. Bir şekilde bir işi yükleniyor mu insan, bu çok önemli çünkü o zaman o mekan o insana daha ait geliyor. Mesela, atıyorum ressam bir arkadaşımız duvara eserini astı, daha sonra bu mekana geldiğinde programcı olmasa bile bir aitlik hissediyor. Bir başka programcı bize kahve makinesi buldu. . . . Bu hisleri sağlayabilen insanların aslında bir araya geldiği bir mekan olması gerekiyor. . . Öte yandan x programı var, hep uzaktan podcast yolluyor bize, hiç burda değil. O buraya geldiği zaman onda farklı bir, o aidiyeti görmüyorsun mesela. Ben o program için şey diyebilirim, önümüzdeki sene olmayacak. Ben onlara yapmayın demiyorum ama o yavaş yavaş kendi kendine zaten fade out ediyor.

8. Bir sound system gecesi, eğer iyi bir selection varsa kendini bırakıp rahat rahat dans edebildiğin, tamamen müziğin hakim olduğu bir yer. Sound system gecesinde muhabbet edemezsin yani oraya muhabbet etmeye, flörtleşmeye gelmiyorsun anlatabiliyor muyum çünkü müzik baskın yani konuşamıyorsun biriyle zaten. O

yüzden orda sadece müziğe konsantre olabildiğin ve çevrende senin gibi insanlar olduğu için etrafında pozitif bir vibe yükseliyor ve deşarj olmanı sağlıyor.

9. Vibe meselesi. Ben bu vibe'ı başka müziklerde yakalayamıyorum. Temiz kafa, temiz bilinç yaratma çabasındayız aslında. Ruhani bir durum da var. . . . Babylon dediğimiz sistem, insanların bir araya gelip örgütlenir gibi aynı duyguyu taşımasını istemeyen bir sistem. O yüzden insanlar birbirine bileniyor, politik kaygılar ve din konusuna istismar ediliyor. İstemiyorlar bir araya gelip sisteme karşı bir duruşu ya da düşüncelerini olgunlaştırsın. Sound system bunu yapan bir şey. Party people'da bu yok. . . . İnsanlara pozitif enerji verirsen, insanlar pozitif davranırlar. Ama karanlık bir şey koyarsan pozitif beklentin olamaz yani. . . . Ben biraz daha meselenin hayat tarzıyla ilgilenen tarafındayım.

10. Bu hareket gibi bir şey zaten. Kontrollü değil, planlı değil ama oluşuyor bir şekilde çünkü ihtiyaçla doğuyor ve azsın, çok azsın kişilik bir grupsun, o az birbirini bir şekilde buluyor. Sen de kendi cepheni ve topluluğunu yaratıyorsun ister istemez. . . . Yeni gelenlerle öncelikle karşıımızdaki insanla mantalite ve dostluk olarak ne kadar uyduğumuza baktık hep. Şirket değiliz, kar-zarar ortaklığı kurmuyoruz e o zaman ne olması gerekiyor? Mantalitenin tutması gerekiyor. Bunu gözettik. Böyle böyle kalabalıklaştık. . . . Övünebileceğim bir şey varsa eğer . . . bütün M4NM tarihinde ırkçı veyahut cinsiyetçi kelime bulamazsın. MC'ler söylememiştir, şarkı isimlerinde veya infolarında beat-makerlar yazmamıştır, saçma sapan konuşmamışlardır. Mantalite dediğim bu.

11. Kolektifteki herkes müzikle süper alakalı değil ya da bunu müzik için yapmıyor, çoğu hatta ben hariç. Diğerleri daha çok bunun aktivizm kısmında. Build Your Tribe olarak şu anda motivasyonumuz daha çok queer sanatçılara, kadın sanatçılara iş vermek, onlara kazandırmak ya da üretimlerini paylaşmak üzerinden. Onun dışında eğer bir performans sanatçısı varsa gözümüze kestirdiğimiz ya da bir drag sanatçısı, etkinliğe nasıl dahil edebileceğimizi hep düşünüyoruz. Genelde çoğu etkinliğimizde performans da oluyor. . . . Kolektifimiz bu konuda biraz katı, ben bir öneriyle gittiğimde genelde soruluyor 'Queer mi? Değil mi?'. Etkinliğin yarısından fazlası asla cis-het erkek olamaz gibi bir kuralımız var kendi aramızda belirlediğimiz. . . . Drag gelenler partilerimize ücretsiz giriyor . . . Böylece direk bir queer görünürlüğü oluyor ve partinin bütün havası değişiyor, herkes daha rahat hissediyor kendini. Bir de en büyük motivasyonlarımızdan biri parti yaptığımız alanın 'güvenli alan' olması, öyle bir yerde en küçük bir taciz vb. durum etkinlik görevlisi herhangi birine söylendiğinde, şikayetçi olunan kişi direk atılıyor etkinlikten. Sorgusuz sualsiz. Bu da içerde bir güvenli alan hissi sağlıyor.

12. Oniki - onüç yaşlarımdan itibaren bize ana akımda sunulan müziklerin dışında neler olduğunu araştırmaya başlamıştım. Türkiye'de 90larda şimdiki imkanlar yoktu. İnternete tür, grup ismi yazıp şarkılara ulaşalım gibi bir şey yoktu, çok daha zordu başka türlere ulaşmak. İlk gittiğin yer de rock ve alternatif müzik oluyordu, pop dinlemek istemiyorsan. Çünkü ilk onlara ulaşabiliyordun. Biraz onları dinledim. . . . Sonra hip hop ve trip hop'ı keşfettim, trip hop üzerinden dub'ı keşfettim, dub üzerinden de reggae'yi keşfettim. . . . İnternet varken dahi reggae külliyyatını şu anda olduğu gibi bulamıyordun. Çünkü reggae ve dub her zaman plak üzerinden yayınlanmış türler, o yüzden plakları takip etmen lazım. . . . Kolektörlerin evine

giderdim, gecelere giderdim, danslarda selektaların çaldıkları parçaları aklımda tutardım onları öğrenirdim, plak dükkanlarına giderdim. . . . Müziğe ulaşmak için gittiğin yerler ve tanıştığın insanlar vardı.

13. Bizim bütün bağlantılarımız çok uzun yıllar hep MySpace sayesinde oldu. Müthiş bir siteydi. Minimal bir müzisyenin isteyebileceği her şeye sahip olduğu bir site. Özel mesaj, yorum yapma, arkadaş listesi yapma sistemleri vardı. Şarkılarını istediğin gibi yükleyip belli sıralarla diyebiliyordun. . . . Çok önemli bir siteydi tüm bağlantılarımızı ordan kurduk. . . . Her türlü kaydı atıyorduk birbirimize. İnternet cafe'ye gidip albümleri yüklerdik.

14. İnternette bu işi yapmış usta, yabancı ve yerli isimleri takip ediyorsun. Yurtdışına baktığımızda Anticon vardı temel olarak bütün örgütlenme biçimini onlardan aldık. Orda bir sürü örnek aldığımız, işlerini çok sevdiğimiz isim var. Bunlar durmadan birlikte proje yapıyorlar, üretiyorlar, günlük normlara ve soundlara takılmıyorlar ne istiyorlarsa onu yapıyorlar. Bundan çok etkilenip yaptık biz de. Türkiye'ye bakınca Kuvvetmira gibi, dedik ki demek ki bu iş böyle, gruplanmak gerekiyor. . . . Anticon üzerinden de şeyi gördük: günün sound'una göre deneysel kalacak şeyleri seviyorduk ve bunu yapmak da cesaret ister, bu cesareti onlardan aldık. 'Onlar yapıyor oluyor, biz de yapalım neden olmasın?' Onlar da zorlanmış, bir hikayeleri var onları okuduk . . . O yapıp neredeyse ithal ettik sayılır.

15. Müzikle ilgili hiçbir şey okumadım, çevremde hiç müzisyen yoktu. Adana'da lise sondaydım. . . . Bilgisayara yöneldim, bilgisayarı bir enstrüman olarak kullanıcam dedim çünkü dijitali seviyordum. O sırada ne bilgisayar mühendisi olacağımı

biliyorum ne de elektronik müzik yapacağımı. Sadece meraktan girdim. . . . On yedi yaşımın ortalarına doğru bir parça yaptım Soundcloud'a yükledim. Her gün bakıyordum kim dinlemiş, yorum gelmiş mi diye. . . . Sonra on beşinci parçayı yükledim heralde, bir tane İngiltere'den bir label yazdı, bizden yayınlatalım dedi. . . . Tamam dedim. . . . O label'dan bak bir şeyler daha yayınladım. . . . İngiliz label'dan sonra kontrat vs. süreçlerine alıştığım için label'lara nasıl ulaşacağımı biliyordum artık. O süreci çözünce her şey aktı, label seçmeyi öğrendim, neler yapıyor olması gerektiğini öğrendim. . . . Fransa'daki label'ın çok katısı oldu, 'Digital Whomp' diye bir label vardı onlarla EP çıkarttım lansmana bütün masraflarımı karşılayıp Fransa'ya çağırıldılar falan.

16. Bağımsızlara destek olan ya da alan açan bir oluşum diyebiliriz. Bu fikri Efes gibi büyük bir markaya anlatma fırsatı buldu ve onlara dedi ki 'Yıllardır farklı reflekslerle müzik üreten ve paylaşan bi ekipsiniz, büyük bir markasınız, büyük isimlere paralar veriyorsunuz . . . ama burda aslında sizin çok daha küçük bütçelerle başka bir alana dokunabileceğiniz bir yer var çünkü şu an sizin festivallerinizde her sene headliner olarak çıkan fiks müzisyenlerin hepsi beş sene önce buralarda çalışıyorlardı. Dolayısıyla sen şimdi buralara bak, şimdi burdaki insana destek ver.'" Marka da buna ikna olmuş Paralel bir akış içerisinde, lineer bir iş dağılımı içerisinde, herkes sabit bir gelir alarak ve Audioban herhangi bi gelir kaynağı almayarak markadan aldığı fonu etkinliklere ve sanatçılara dağıtacak ve içerik üretecek. Yaptığımız bu. . . . Bi hiyerarşi yok ama bunu kuran, düşünen ve bizi davet eden insan her zaman birincil noktada, ilk başta markayla muhattap olan direktör pozisyonundaydı. Onun dışında dört kişiydik, birimiz video ve fotoğrafla, ben ve biri daha koordinasyon, yazışmalarla . . . biri de sosyal medyayı yönetiyordu. . . . Bu

kadar. . . . Bizim ofiste büyük bir masamız var onun etrafında çalışıyoruz. . . .

Birlikte etkinlik fikirlerini üretiyoruz.

17. Birlik olmak, birlikte bir iş yapmak daha önce çok yaptığım bir şey değil. Biraz da yapım gereği ‘benim dediğim olsun’ gibi değil de daha çok biz vizyonum varsa onu oluşturmak mesele. . . . Tamamlaman gereken şeyleri diğerlerinde göremediğim için dışardan çok bir şey kabul etmedim, fikirlerini. . . . Sonra bir gün . . . toplaşalım, herkes ayrı ayrı bir şeyler yapıyor, bir araya gelelim dedik . . . Bir tanesini tanıyordum mesela ama uzaktan da biraz gıcık oluyordum . . . Tanımadığım insanlar hakkında dedikodu çemberinde duymak istemediğim şeyleri duyup bir araya gelince de kasılıyordum çok saçma, bir şey uğruna oradayız bunları aşmamız lazım . . . Herkesin kafasından bir fikir çıkıyordu ve tek bir noktada buluşmak durumu çok yoktu. . . . Sonra anladım ki benim açımdan In The Void çok anaç bir yerden çok korumaya çalıştığım bir şey . . . Sonuçta bir şekilde In The Void’i temsil ediyorduk ve onların bazı davranışlarından ötürü biraz kurmaya çalıştığım şeyin gölgelendiğini hissettim. . . . Bir Skype görüşmesinde onlarla devam etmek istemediğimi söyledim. Durduk ve ondan sonra pek görüşmedik . . . In The Void devam etti. Tabiki devam edecektim. Ne olursa olsun saçma ilişkilerden dolayı değerli bir şey yok olmamalı yani.

18. Etkinliğin getirdiği para bize hiçbir zaman yetmiyor çünkü biz Table olarak hiçbir şey kazanmıyoruz, gelen para müzisyenlere gidiyor. Atıyorum İstanbul’da bir etkinlik olacağı zaman kendi yolumuzu, konaklamamızı biz cebimizden karşılıyoruz. Kapır gelirini de müzisyene kaşe olarak veriyoruz. Table’ın cebine giren hiçbir şey yok. Nolacak bu konuda bilmiyoruz. . . . Ben ve kendi paramı başka işlerden

kazaniyorum onu da Table'a aktarıyorum. Bir başka üye de aynı şekilde. Diğer üyelerimiz öğrenci oldukları için onlar çok fazla ekonomik destek versinler istemiyoruz. Bir denge oturtulacak ama D.I.Y. bir label olarak ortaya çıkıp da para kazanmak çok da mümkün değilmiş onu görüyoruz yani. Ya bir sponsorun olacak ondan dehşet paralar gelecek ya da üst bir plak şirketinin sub-label'ı olarak çıkıp parayı oradan alacaksın.

19. Birkaç sefer birlikte çalmak haricinde In The Void'un kurucu üyesini çok da tanımıyorduk. . . . Kolektifler arasında dayanışmayı konuşmak için buluşmuştuk. . . . Bir etkinlikler silsilesi başladı ama sonra bunun hiçbir şekilde arkasını dolduramadık. Kopuk kopuk etkinlikler yapan In The Void adında insanlar gibi olduk. Grupta sürekli sessizlik vardı, ara ara ben yazıyorum. . . . Herkes tutuk konuşuyor, sinerji gitti, bir sorun mu var diyince yok deniliyor. . . . Bir kere bir etkinlikte biri birine bir şey diyor, ben bunu duyuyorum . . . buna çok alınıyorum yani bu grubun içinde dört kadını böyle şeyler mi düşünüyoruz gerçekten. Yok o benim elimde şarkıyı aldı, CDJ'i aldı falan. . . . Anladım ki orda bir kötü niyet var ve söylenilmiyor. Çok üstüne gidildi, birkaç Skype yapıldı kimse sıkıntısını, derdini dile getirmede. . . . Dolayısıyla ben de çalışmaya devam ettim yani. . . . Grubun içinde kimsenin işini tamamlayamadığı bir şeye dönüştük. Bir gün ansızın hayatımda gruba bir mesaj geldi, gördüğüm en şok edici ve üzücü şeydi, son Skype'ı yaptıktan bir hafta sonra. Herkes kötü bir dönemden geçiyordu bunun altını çizmek lazım bu arada. . . . Çok uzun ve çirkin, paranoyak ve fesat, ekibin kadın bir üyesinin özel hayatını hedef alan bir mesajdı. . . . İnanamadık, birkaç ay kendimize gelemedik, bu kadar iyi niyete başlayıp nerde böyle olduk. . . . Hayatlarımızın 15 Temmuz'dan sonra en çok dayanışmaya ihtiyaç duyduğumuz zamanda . . . hiçbir şekilde özelini konuşmadığın

insanların sağdan soldan duyduklarıyla kurduğu dünya ve yediğimiz kazık inanılmaz bir şeydi.

20. Ego çatışmaları fazlaydı. Bir şeyi kafanda kuruyorsun, ‘Bu iş böyle iyi olur.’ diyorsun. Sonra o biraz kolektif bilinçten çıkıp senin kendi fikrin haline geliyor ve onun olmasını çok istiyorsun ama bu biraz kolektifin dışında kişisel bir isteğe dönüşüyor. Bu bende de oluyordu, In The Void’in kurucu üyesinde de. Çok net çatışıyorduk. Ben diyordum ki ‘şu grup sahne alsın, şu kadar grup sahne alsın, şu gün olsun’, o da başka şeyler öneriyordu, çatışıyorduk ve hiçbir şekilde birbirimize aralık bırakmıyorduk. Öyle kavgalar büyüdü ve en sonunda da olmuyor dendi. . . . Kurucu üye tarafından çıkarıldım gibi bir şey oldu. . . . Onun öyle bir yetkisi olduğunu o an öğrendim, bilmiyordum. Sordum diğerlerine, oy birliğiyle alınmış bir şey mi yoksa tek bir kişinin kararı mı, onlar da çok velvelenin içine girmek istemedi ve ben çıkmış oldum ve aynı zamanda iki kişi daha ayrılmış oldu. Sessizce dağılıverdiler. . . . Bu üyelere haber vermeden etkinlikler yapmaya başlamıştı kurucu üye. O da onu öyle görüyor, In The Void eşittir kendisi gibi görüyor, böyle bir şey. Bunu bilerek girseydim farklı bir şey düşünürdüm. . . . Tam da bu dönemlerde, Ankara’da harika şeyler oluyor biz de bunun label’ını kuralım dedik. . . . Table Records’ı kurduk.

21. İlk başta kimin Badmash’de olduğu belli değildi. Dedim ya, hızlı bir süreç oldu, bir tane mixtape çıktı. Görünürde mixtape’deki herkes Badmash’deydi. Yaklaşık 15 parça vardı. Herkes ekipte olduğunu düşündü. . . . İkinci kısımda EP’ler çıkmaya başladı. EP’ler çıktıktan ve etkinlikler başladıktan sonra olay biraz ciddileşti. Biz de olayın ciddiyetinin farkına vardık. Bir şeyler büyüyordu çünkü, etkinliklerde insanlar çok eğleniyor, Spotify’da parçalar dinleniyor, para geliyor bunlardan. . . . İnsanlar

Badmash’i Instagram profillerine eklemeye başladı. . . . Biz de onu sorgulamaya başladık mesela biri hiçbir şey yayınlamamız, etkinliğimizde çalmış ve Badmash’denim yazıyor profilinde. İnsanların bunu hissetmesi hoşumuza gitti, aidiyet hissetmeleri, itibar hissetmeleri. Geline en son aşamada kemik kitleyi oluşturduk. . . . İnsanlara direk ‘Biz küçülüyoruz’ dedik

22. Tamamen yerli sahneyi kaldırmak, yükseltmek amaçtı. . . . 2011’den beri, sekiz yıldır süren bir şey In The Void. . . . Birtakım insanlar var ve müzik yapıyorlar ve buna şahit olmalıyız. Dünyada ne oluyorsa bunu biz de yaşamalıyız. . . . ‘Bizde niye yok? Biz niye yapamıyoruz?’ durumunu biraz gerçekleştirmek aslında.

23. Ankaranın müzik sahnesinin ilk canlanmaya başladığı Fill The Void etkinliği oldu, biz de çalışıyorduk. . . . O dönem bir sürü insanla tanıştık. . . . O etkinlikte hepimiz çok şaşırdık. Hem baya bir gelen oldu, öyle bir kitle olduğunu bilmiyorduk, hem çalan bir sürü insan vardı, garip garip müzikler vardı. Ankara’nın dinleyicisi deneyselliği ne kadar kaldırır bilmiyordum ama baya durup dinliyordu insanlar. Hepimiz için garip, şaşırtıcı bir dönemdi o. Ankara’nın bir süre canlanmasını sağlayan insanların tanışıklığı orada başladı.

24. Abi dark wave, seksenlerde bitmiştir. Aşırı formülize ve aşırı robotik bir müzik yani. . . . Aşırı içi boş ve şey geliyor bana içi boşaltılmış bir şey gibi geliyor. . . . Ama, bilmiyorum, böyle düşünüyorum. Aşırı basit bir müzik yapımı gibi geliyor bana bir noktada. Müziğini sevdiğim dark wave yapan insanlar da var, tenzih ederek söyleyeyim. . . . Kişi bazında söyleyemiyorum ama dediğim gibi, böyle üzerine

oturttuğumuz bir kılıf gibi. . . . Bir logo, bir trend, bir marka gibi bir şey oldu özellikle son birkaç senede. O durum biraz benim canımı sıktı.

25. Yeraltı bir kimlik değildir, bir konsepttir. . . . Bence işin içine iktisadi bir şeyler giriyor diye yeraltı olmamazlık gibi bir durum yok açıkçası. . . . Bazıları da yeraltı konseptini kullanarak gerçekten para kırmaya oynuyor öyle bir fark var yani. . . . Tür olarak baktığın zaman, yeraltı müziği bir sürü şey olabilir. Nerede yapıldığıyla alakalı, nasıl yaklaştığınla alakalı. . . . Müziğe yaklaşım bence önemli, yeraltından bahsederken bence müziği konuşmak lazım o hep geride kalıyor, mekana bağlı oluyor. . . . Her örneği kendi içinde, kendi zamanında ve mekanında değerlendirmek gerekiyor. Sana saçma gelecek belki ama mesela Pixie’de house çalınması house’u yeraltı müziği yapar aslında çünkü diğerlerinin arasında öteki olduğu için, kenarda olduğu için, rahatsız ettiği için.

26. Aslında bu kolektifin bir kolektif gibi yürüyebildiği zaman Eskişehir’de bizim öğrenci olduğumuz, çok fazla hayat kaygısına girmedığımız, sadece bununla ilgilenebildiğimiz zamanlardı. İstanbul’a gelip de hem hayatla hem bununla uğraştığımız zamanlar dağıldık biraz. . . . Eskiden çok vaktin olduğunda her şeyle uğraşabileceğini zannediyorsun ve buna devam edebileceğini sanıyorsun. Ama gidip mesai yapmaya başladığında . . . fark ediyorsun ki sen müzisyensin ve bu hayatta en fazla müzik yapabilirsin. . . . O yüzden zaten bir iki sene şirketleşmeyi denedikten sonra çıkardık kafamızdan. . . . Türkiye’de bu tarz işlere girmek biraz babadan, anadan zenginlik istiyor. Bugün bak x, y, z müzisyenlerine, magazine ekiplerine, hepsi çok zengin insanlar. . . . Bunlara sahip olmadan bu işlere girmeye çalışınca bi anda yıllarca yan yana durduğun insanlarla yirmi liranın muhabbeti araya girmeye

başlıyor. ‘Lanet olsun bu işe, bizden uzak kalsın, hiç gerek yok.’ . . . Eskiden mantalite arıyorduk, o kesiliveriyor, ticari ortaklık kurabileceğin insanlarla diyaloga geçmeye başlıyorsun sonra o kimya bozuluyor işte. Bilmiyorsun ki sen o kimyayı eğer kaybedersen, her şey gidiyor birden. Mantalite olarak uyduğun insanlarla olan ortaklığın da bozulmaya başlıyor bi şekilde. . . . Başta hepimiz istedik şirketleşmeyi, başımıza geleceğe dair hiçbir fikrimiz yoktu. Biz ne kadar büyüsek de eski gençlik yıllarımızdaki inançlarımıza takılıp kalmıştık, aramıza hiçbir şey giremez diye. Ama yok öyle bir dünya.

27. Pixie’de gündüz vakitleri ne yapabiliriz diye konuşurken yan yana gelip sanatçı olanla, sanat üretenle bunu izleyen arasındaki bariyerin biraz kırılabileceği, daha yan yana olunabilen ne yapabiliriz diye düşündük. . . . Sanki birinin yatak odasında, arkadaşımızın yanında kalıyormuşuz gibi bir DJ’lik düşündük.

28. Doğal seleksiyon gibi. . . . Çünkü bu sevgi işi yani, seveceksin, sevmezsen uğraşılmaz çünkü deli işi. Sevmediğin bir şekilde ya da başkalarının dayatmasıyla yapabileceğin bir şey değil ancak parayla insan kiralarsın o da sound system mantığına çok uygun bir şey değil.

29. Bir şarkı yayınlandığı zaman nerede paylaşılacak, n’olacak, basın bültenine ne yazılacak falan bunları artık düşünmemek bana aşırı vakit kazandırıyor. Biri yazıyor basın bültenini artık, ben sadece anahtar kelimeleri yazıp yolluyorum. Ki bunları önceden önemli değil zannederdim ama çok önemliymiş. Üzerinden yük alıyor gerçekten. Çünkü bi şarkının beat’ini yap, sözünü yaz, kaydını al, miksini dinle,

revizeni yolla, mastering aynı şekilde falan filan derken biri sana 'Basın bülteni de yaz.' diyince ağzına yapıştırırsın geliyor artık şarkıdan nefret etmiş hale geliyorsun.

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